ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
Gender
AND
Society

EDITED BY
JODI O'BRIEN

volumes 1 & 2

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Editorial Board

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Contents

List of Entries

ABANTU for Development
Abortion
Abzug, Bella
Access to Justice
Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. *See*
  HIV/AIDS
Activo/Passivo Sex Roles
ACT UP
Addams, Jane
Adultery
Advertising, Gender Images in
Affirmative Action
African American Feminist Thought. *See* Black
  Feminist Thought
Ageism
AIDS and International Women's Health
Aid to Families with Dependent Children
All-China Women's Federation
All India Women's Conference
Alpha Male
American Birth Control League
American Civil Liberties Union
American Men's Studies Association
American Woman Suffrage Association
Androcentrism
Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome
Androgyny
Anthony, Susan B.
Anti-Miscegenation Laws
Anzaldúa, Gloria
Arab Feminist Union
Arranged Marriages
Art, Gender Images in
Asaf Ali, Aruna
Assertiveness Training
Association of Community Organizations for Reform
  Now (ACORN)

Bachelors and Spinsters
Balch, Emily Greene
Barbie
Bears
Beauty Pageants
Bem Sex Role Inventory
Benedict, Ruth
Benjamin, Harry
Berdache (Two-Spirit)
Bifurcated Consciousness
Biological Determinism
Bisexuality
Blackburn, Molly
Black Feminist Thought
Bloomsbury Group
Bluestocking Society
Bodybuilding
Body Hair
Body Image
Body Politics
Boston Marriages
Brazilian Federation for the Advancement
  of Women
Breastfeeding
Breast Implants
Bridal Industry
Buffy the Vampire Slayer
Butch/Femme

Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE)
Camp
Cancer
Caregiving
Caste
Castration
Celibacy
Cervical Cancer Vaccination

Reader's Guide

This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

Arts, Popular Culture, and Sports

Advertising, Gender Images in
Art, Gender Images In
Barbie
Bodybuilding
Buffy the Vampire Slayer
Cheerleading
Children's Literature, Gender Images in
Diaries
Feminist Magazines
Gender Roles on Television Shows
GI Joe
Hip-Hop/Rap
Media and Gender Socialization
Media and Gender Stereotypes
Men's Magazines
Primetime Comedy
Primetime Drama
Quilting
Romance Fiction
Rosie the Riveter
Sports and Homosexuality
Superheroes
Surfing
Toys
Women Artists
Women's Museums
Wonder Woman

Associations and Organizations

ABANTU for Development
ACT UP
All-China Women's Federation
All India Women's Conference
American Birth Control League
American Civil Liberties Union
American Men's Studies Association
American Woman Suffrage Association
Arabic Feminist Union
Association of Community Organizations for
  Reform Now (ACORN)
Bluestocking Society
Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women
Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE)
Christian Coalition
Coalition on Violence Against Women (Kenya)
Committee on Women, Population, and the
  Environment
Concerned Women for America
Daughters of Bilitis
Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era
Federation of South African Women
Féministes Révolutionnaires
Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation
Gender Public Advocacy Coalition
General Union of Palestinian Women
Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria
  Association
Human Rights Campaign
Indigenous Women's Network
Mattachine Society
National American Woman Suffrage Association
National Association for the Advancement of
  Colored People
National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws
National Association of Colored Women
National Coalition of American Nuns
National Congress of Mothers
National Council of Negro Women
National Federation of Business and Professional
  Women's Clubs
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
National Organization for Men Against Sexism
National Organization for Women (NOW)
National Woman's Party
National Women's Political Caucus

Biographies

Body Image, Health, and Illness

Crime and Criminal Justice

Economics, Environment, and Ecology

Relationships, Marriage, and the Family

Religion, Mythology, and Spirituality

Science, Research, Education, and Technology

Sexuality and Reproduction

About the Editor

Jodi O'Brien is the Louis B. Gaffney Professor of Arts and Sciences and chair of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Seattle University. Her work focuses on social differences and inequality with an emphasis on gender, race/ethnicity, social class, sexuality, and religion. Her books include *Everyday Inequalities* (1998), *Social Prisms: Reflections on Everyday Myths and Paradoxes* (1999), and *The Production of Reality* (2006). Her most recent articles focus on religion and sexuality and the politics of same-gender marriage. She is currently working on a research project exploring the experiences of transgender inmates in California prisons. She is a founding member and past chair (2001–2002) of the American Sociological Association's Section on Sexualities and recently completed a term as the president of the Pacific Sociological Association (2007–2008).

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Introduction

We are continually and inescapably immersed in gender, so much so that we take it for granted without fully realizing its impact on our lives. As gender scholar Judith Lorber once remarked, talking about gender is like fish talking about water. When a child is born, the first question we ask is, "What is *it*?" We expect that everyone understands that the question is about the baby's gender. When we do pause to consider what gender is and how it affects us, we may be surprised at the extent to which gender is everywhere and influences every aspect of society. For decades, scholars of gender have been documenting and analyzing the various ways in which gender shapes individual lives, cultural beliefs and practices, and social and economic organization. Once they become aware of its significance, students of gender find themselves thinking about everything from why the labels "men" and "women" on public restrooms evoke such a sense of forbidden territory (we don't have similar separation in our homes), to why banks and funding agencies prefer to lend money to women rather than men in developing countries.

The Field

Gender scholarship is based on the premise that gender is one of the primary organizational categories of human social life (other significant and interrelated categories of social organization include economic class, race/ethnicity, age, and nationality). In addition to its importance as the central aspect of personal experience and identity, gender can be studied as a social factor that has tremendous impact on economic, cultural, religious, legal, and political institutions. Gender scholars explore questions ranging from the ways in which individual lives are shaped by gender (our ideas about who we think we can be and what we think we should do) to ways in which social institutions reflect gender patterns (for instance, why are women and men concentrated in different employment sectors, why do men suffer different kinds of disease and depression than women do, and how are women and men affected differently by globalization).

Organization of the Encyclopedia

Gender is so significant in the ways it shapes individuals and societies that it isn't possible to cover every aspect of gender scholarship in a single venue. Our intent with this encyclopedia is to provide users with a "gender lens" on society by focusing on significant gender scholarship within commonly recognized areas of social research. Accordingly, the material in this encyclopedia focuses on basic aspects of social life from the most individual (self and identity) to the most global (transnational economics and politics).

The specific categories covered in the encyclopedia include the following:

- Art, Popular Culture, and Sports
- Associations and Organizations
- Biographies
- Body Image, Health, and Illness
- Crime and Criminal Justice
- Economics, Environment, and Ecology
- Gender Identities and Roles
- International Development and Human Rights
- Politics, Public Policy, and Social Movements
- Race and Ethnicity
- Relationships, Marriage, and the Family
- Religion, Mythology, and Spirituality
- Science, Research, Education, and Technology
- Sexuality and Reproduction

Together, these categories encompass the most commonly understood aspects of social life. Within each category, the user will find new information on well-known subjects, surprising information that may

counter common assumptions, and information on areas of study in which the impact of gender has been traditionally overlooked. For example, the entries on Cheerleading and GI Joe provide both a history of these gender stereotypical subjects and a framework that allows the reader to view the subjects in novel ways. The entry on Fetal Rights/Public Fetus describes the ways in which medical technology has broadened our knowledge of fetal development, resulting in an emphasis on fetal personhood and, consequently, a greater involvement of the public in determining fetal rights. The entry on Global Care Chain Work reveals the ways in which women working as nannies from developing countries import love and care to wealthy nations but leave a nurturing gap at home. Contemporary scholarship on topics such as the Death Penalty, Microlending, and Cancer indicates ways in which these areas reflect gender differences that have a significant impact.

We have also included several "framing" essays representing the organizing categories listed earlier. These essays are longer entries that provide an overview of the area and summarize commonly used concepts and directions of research. These framing essays can be used as a basis for reading related topics and understanding how they fit in contemporary gender scholarship.

The material in the encyclopedia reflects the most cutting-edge discussion and scholarship on contemporary issues and debates regarding gender and society. For instance, gender scholars widely accept that the nature-nurture debate is a false dichotomy. The most up-to-date knowledge on gender identities and expression, as well as sexual practices and forms of family organization, indicate that biology, culture, and environment (e.g., diet, medical care, housing, economic stability) are interconnected in complex ways that defy simple explanations. The complexity and nuances of these contemporary frameworks are reflected in many of the entries dealing with topics of sexuality and gender identity.

Gender and society is a complex subject. One of the central contributions of the encyclopedia is the framework of analysis that can be seen when reading across several areas and topics. These frameworks reflect an emerging consensus on both the significance of the various areas covered and increasing sophistication in addressing the complexities of gender in ways that are comprehensible, relevant, and useful. This consensus does not necessarily mean complete agreement on how gender influences self and society, but it does reflect cumulative knowledge among scholars on the necessity of a "gender lens" in understanding human development and social life.

How the Encyclopedia Was Created

The encyclopedia was developed in six steps.

Step 1. We knew from the outset that it would not be possible to provide a comprehensive compendium of all the scholarship on gender and society. Accordingly, we assembled a panel of advisory experts to develop an organizational plan for the encyclopedia. This advisory team consisted of senior gender scholars, all of whom have published several books and articles in the field, edited major journals in the field, held positions of leadership in the gender-related professional organizations of their discipline, and trained at least one generation of graduate students in areas related to gender and society.

Step 2. A planning meeting was convened at Sage and all members of the advisory team attended. During this meeting we articulated the following as a basis for organizing the encyclopedia:

- Provide users with a "gender lens" on significant topics dealing with the individual and society.
- Identify the most commonly recognized aspects of social life to serve as the basis for organizing the selection of topics (this became the *Reader's Guide*).
- Identify "area experts" for each of the areas of organization.

Step 3. We then contacted the people who had been identified as area experts and asked them to suggest topics that they thought should be included in the list of entries (i.e., the headword list). We also asked them to suggest possible contributors to write the suggested entries. The initial headword list, consisting of approximately 570 anticipated entries, was created through this process. It's noteworthy that during this phase, an initial "buzz" began to develop about the encyclopedia, and we received several helpful emails from people around the world with suggestions for entries that might otherwise have gone overlooked.

Step 4. The advisory team and the area experts compiled lists of first-choice contributors to author the

entries, and we began the massive task of contacting these people. The initial rate of acceptance was very high and when authors were unavailable to write the entry themselves, they graciously suggested colleagues with similar training and expertise or volunteered to supervise senior-level graduate students in writing the entry. As a result, we are confident that the entries in this encyclopedia represent the most up-to-date, cutting-edge scholarship in each of the various areas covered. Most contributors are at academic institutions in the United States and the United Kingdom, but several come from other countries.

Creating the headword list and selecting contributors presented considerable challenges in that we wanted to be as comprehensive as possible but do so within the limits of reason given the enormity of our topic. Our method, as reflected in steps 1 through 4, was to make use of the "weak ties" theory of social networks. In other words, we began with an initial team of advisors whose expertise was known to us and then made use of their networks of expertise, thus ensuring a broad reach among scholars working on gender and society around the world. The result is a list of contributors who are sources of the most up-to-date knowledge and training in the field and who share a common understanding of contemporary issues and debates in a way that may be the closest approximation to date of a cumulative, collaborative understanding of gender and society. In short, one of the central contributions of the encyclopedia is the list of contributors and the collective voice reflected here in framing the future of this area of scholarship.

Step 5. Contributors were provided with basic guidelines and instructions for writing their entries. In particular, they were encouraged to write in a manner that was thorough and accurate but nontechnical and accessible to general readers. Throughout each step, some headwords were either dropped or combined because of redundancy.

Step 6. The editor and the associate editors reviewed all entries and requested revisions as necessary to complete the final manuscript.

Acknowledgments

The scope of this project has been immense. Its completion reflects the combined efforts of many people who were instrumental at various stages throughout the process. Rolf Janke and Jerry Westby envisioned the possibility of this encyclopedia and convinced me that it was doable. Their enthusiasm and encouragement has been unwavering. Diana Axelsen is an editor *par excellence* and her expertise and insights have been invaluable. I owe much to her keen editorial sensibilities. Kate Schroeder (production editor) and Sara Tauber (developmental editor) have been wonderfully helpful and professional in overseeing the final production of the manuscript. The editorial team, including Carla Freeman and Robin Gold (copy editors), Sally Jaskold and Anne Rogers (proofreaders), and Joan Shapiro (indexer) have done an incredible job attending to the myriad details of this project. In working with them, I have been constantly amazed at all the little, but significant, things they suggest to improve the quality of the encyclopedia. Michele Thompson (assistant to the publisher) and Leticia Gutierrez (systems coordinator) have responded to all of my queries and concerns (and there have been many) with grace and efficiency. Many thanks to all of you on the Sage production team.

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Eres una nepantlera divina. Contigo y caminando de tu mano.

Jodi O'Brien

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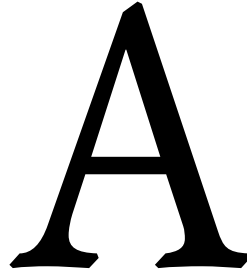
ABANTU FOR DEVELOPMENT

ABANTU for Development, established in 1991 in London by African women, is an international non-governmental organization. *Abantu* means "people" in several African languages, and this aptly named title captures the essence of the organization's people-centric philosophy for participation and involvement to positively effect change. ABANTU's vision statement focuses on recognizing gender discrimination as the key obstacle to sustainable development and social justice.

ABANTU is an African- and gender-focused organization whose desired outcome is to empower African people, especially women, to participate at all levels, be it local, national, regional, or international, in policy making and decision making that ultimately impacts their lives both socially and economically. ABANTU maintains four key areas of focus: gender and poverty, gender and conflict, gender and governance, and gender and ICTs (information and communication technologies). The organization's main goal is to ensure the advancement of women's interests in a way that is equally beneficial to men and women, using three primary modes of exposure.

Training and Capacity Building

Through utilization of adult learning techniques and recognition of learning differences between genders, ABANTU trainers strive to simultaneously educate and solicit participant contribution. Examples of past workshops include 1-day sessions that focus on gender and social change, providing participants with a basic understanding of gender concepts, and HIV/AIDS in the Workplace, a longer, 9-day program that serves to promote nondiscriminatory policy development for the protection and support of HIV-infected workers.

Research, Publication, and Communications

ABANTU provides an assortment of reports and activities derived from its research and publishes a quarterly newsletter. *ABANTU News* imparts additional tools for empowerment and includes a wide variety of topics, including impact on women's issues during upcoming elections and openly reporting on sexual assault awareness to promoting good health practices.

Advocacy, Public Awareness, and Networking

Seminars, public policy forums, and consultations with policymakers and other women's groups provide content for advocacy campaigns. Various forms of media are enlisted, including ABANTU's own radio program, called *Gender Forum.*

ABANTU has successfully collaborated with other African and international nongovernmental organizations in various issues concerning gender development, including the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and is currently the only African non-governmental organization to have gained the United

Nations Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Commission (ECOSOC). This special status allows ABANTU to attend all United Nations meetings.

ABANTU's main offices are located in the United Kingdom, Kenya, and Tanzania. Additional regional offices include the United Kingdom, covering activities in Europe, and an office in Nairobi, covering activities in East and South Africa. In 1997, an additional regional office opened in Accra, Ghana, to further the focus in West Africa. ABANTU (ROWA) also has a presence in Nigeria.

Jennifer Jaffer

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Web Sites

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ABANTU for Development (ROWA):
    http://www.abantu-rowa.org

ABORTION

The term *abortion* is defined as an induced or spontaneous expulsion of an embryo or fetus from the uterus of a pregnant woman. In the United States, abortion refers to a medical procedure that terminates a pregnancy, while spontaneous abortions are more commonly called *miscarriages.* This entry explores the procedures and political controversies of abortion and the abortion debate as generally understood in the United States.

In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court granted women the right to obtain "safe and legal abortions" in the landmark case, *Roe v. Wade.* A woman's right to abort a pregnancy was designated a right to privacy protected under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Under *Roe v. Wade,* women may seek legal abortions at any time during the first and second trimester of pregnancy, and in the third trimester (or after a fetus becomes viable) only if the life or health of a woman or fetus is in danger. Thirty-five years after *Roe v. Wade,* abortion remains a divisive issue in present-day politics and society. Contemporary

women's rights advocates often focus energies on the preservation of abortion rights, while politically conservative—and often religious—groups work to hinder access of abortion services available to women. Political parties and government officials commonly run campaigns that include speaking out in support of or in opposition to legal abortion.

The National Abortion Federation estimates that annually, 1.3 million U.S. women terminate their pregnancies through surgical or medical abortion and approximately 35 percent of American women will have an abortion in their lifetimes. The World Health Organization estimates that 50 million abortions are performed globally each year. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reports that about 88 percent of abortions occur during the first trimester and approximately 98 percent of abortions take place in the first half of a woman's pregnancy.

Surgical Abortions

Surgical abortions are the safest and most common type of abortion procedure. Surgical abortions, known to medical professionals as *dilation and extraction* (D&X) or *dilation and evacuation* (D&E) abortions, are performed by using a series of dilators to open the cervix and inserting a small tube or curette attached to a vacuum aspirator, which removes the contents of the uterus. Surgical abortions can be performed at any time during a woman's pregnancy. The CDC maintains that surgical abortions are safe and effective medical procedures, safer even than giving birth after carrying a pregnancy to term. They state that "less than one in 100 abortions results in serious complications, and less than one in 100,000 abortions have complications that result in death." Common complications following surgical abortions include infections (typically treated with antibiotics), incomplete abortions or the formation of blood clots requiring follow-up aspiration procedures, and perforation of the uterine wall.

D&X procedures and "intact" D&E procedures performed during the late-second and third trimesters are best known in contemporary culture as *partial-birth abortions,* a term coined by abortion opponents. Such procedures require a doctor to collapse the head of a fetus before bringing it into the birth canal for aspiration. Though abortion doctors have argued this to be the safest procedure for women undergoing late-second and third trimester abortions, abortion foes maintain that the procedure is inhumane. In 2000, the

Supreme Court heard arguments in *Stenberg v. Carhart* to review a partial-birth abortion ban proposed in Nebraska and found it unconstitutional, as it lacked exceptions for cases in which a woman's health or life was in danger. Despite this, President George W. Bush signed the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban of 2003 without provisions for health exceptions. In 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the updated ban in *Gonzales v. Carhart* and *Gonzales v. Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.,* making the procedure illegal in the United States.

Medical Abortions

Medical abortions were approved in the United States by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in September 2000 and are generally known as the *abortion pill,* or RU-486. The clinical name for a medical abortion is *Mifeprex.* In medical abortions, women ingest pills containing mifepristone and misoprostol to induce an abortion, resembling a spontaneous miscarriage. Though women must take the pills over a series of days and may be required to make three or more doctor's office visits, many women prefer this less invasive procedure, most of which takes place at home. Medical abortions have been approved by the FDA only through the first 9 weeks of pregnancy. Complications from medical abortions occur in less than 0.5 percent of women, the most common being an incomplete abortion or excessive bleeding, requiring a follow-up surgical aspiration procedure. Other common complications can result in uterine infections and are easily treated with antibiotics.

The Abortion Debate:
Pro-Choice Versus Pro-Life

Pro-choice is a term adopted by supporters of legal abortion, inferring that women should have the right to choose abortion, carry a pregnancy to term, and make other choices regarding their reproductive health. Pro-choice individuals commonly support initiatives to make birth control and safer-sex education and funding available to mass populations to help prevent unplanned pregnancy, thus ultimately lowering the number of necessary abortions. Supporters of abortion also contend that if abortion were outlawed, women would continue to seek illegal abortion services, leading to serious health and fatality risks. In the years before *Roe v. Wade,* many women died as a result of illegal abortions. The World Health Organization estimates that 68,000 women die annually in regions without access to safe and legal procedures.

Pro-life is a term adopted by those who oppose abortion. Pro-life individuals acknowledge an embryo or fetus as a life developing within a pregnant woman. Many pro-life individuals claim their stance as a moral or religious one and view abortions as murderous acts. They frequently argue that adoption and parenthood are alternatives to abortion that can be chosen to protect the life of an unborn child, and they speak out against birth control and safer-sex education in favor of abstinence-only education by promoting virginity until marriage. They contend that a culture promoting abstinence-only education will decrease the number of sexually active individuals, thus contributing to a decrease of unplanned pregnancies and abortions.

It is important to note that pro-choice and pro-life are propaganda terms that have been successfully utilized to imply a certain message or political stance. Though some pro-choice individuals refer to abortion opponents as "anti-choice" or "anti-woman," abortion opponents claim that women have more choices than abortion, such as adoption or parenthood, and that their concern is for the mental and physical health of women. Similarly, pro-life individuals often claim that supporters of abortion are "anti-life" or "pro-abortion," though most pro-choice advocates argue that they support the right of women to choose among parenthood, abortion, or adoption and are not advocating one over another. Instead, they believe women should make their own health-related decisions.

Limitations on Obtaining Abortions

Though *Roe v. Wade* granted women legal access to abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court allowed states to place their own various restrictions on abortion services. In 1992, the Supreme Court decided in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* that states may place restrictions on abortion as long as it does not place "undue burdens" on women seeking abortions. The case responded to Pennsylvania's 1989 Abortion Control Act that required women to receive state-issued materials on fetal viability and abortion, submit to a 24-hour waiting period before obtaining abortions, and inform their husbands of their decision to abort, and women under 18 were required to obtain the consent of a parent or guardian unless they acquired a judicial bypass. The Supreme Court found

all requirements constitutional except the one that women must inform their husbands of their intent to abort. Since then, a number of states have enacted 24-hour waiting periods, parental consent and notification laws, laws prohibiting escorting minors across state lines, informed consent mandates, imposed restrictions on specific procedures, and other laws to which women and abortion providers must adhere. Abortion opponents often view these restrictions as protections for women who they claim could be harmed physically or psychologically by abortion, whereas abortion supporters find such laws unnecessary, unconstitutional, and impeding women's reproductive freedom.

Abortion and Government Funding

In 1973, after the decision of *Roe v. Wade,* Senator Jesse Helms introduced the Helms Amendment, prohibiting the U.S. government from funding abortions overseas. This amendment was later named the Mexico City Policy, now known as the Global Gag Rule. The Global Gag Rule, first imposed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984, lifted under President Bill Clinton in 1993, and reestablished by President George W. Bush in 2001, denies research funding and family planning funds to foreign nongovernmental organizations that provide abortion services and abortion counseling (including abortion referrals), even if abortion is legal in that region.

The Global Gag Rule has implications for funding abortion supporters and providers overseas, while the Hyde Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976, bans the provision of federal funds in the United States for "abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term." Abortion supporters claim the Hyde Amendment violates rights of low-income women utilizing governmental health coverage, as Medicaid recipients are denied federal funds to help pay for abortions they often cannot afford.

Abortion and Violence

Most opponents of abortion do not resort to violence to fight for their cause. Still, many acts of violence have been committed against abortion clinics, doctors, and staff. Since 1973, abortion clinics have faced harassment from picketers, arson and bombings, anthrax threats, and various types of vandalism, including butyric acid attacks. Extreme violence has resulted in shootings and injuries of abortion doctors, police officers, and staff. In 1993, Dr. David Gunn was the first abortion doctor to be shot and murdered by anti-abortion extremists; his death was followed by the murders of Dr. John Bayard Britton in 1994 and Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998.

After the murder of Dr. Gunn in 1993, coupled with the frequency of anti-abortion protestors forming blockades to prevent abortion providers and patients from entering clinics, Congress passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). Enacted by President Clinton in 1994, FACE laws protect providers and recipients of abortion services by forbidding the use of "force, threat of force, or physical obstruction" of picketers for people entering abortion clinics.

Conclusion

While abortion remains controversial in political and social circles, most regard abortion and sexual activity as personal and private matters. The above positions are well-known to the general U.S. public, with most claiming to fall somewhere between pro-choice and pro-life, and do not view abortion as a black-and-white issue. Reasoning supporting one's stance often changes based on one's religion, political affiliation, and circumstances of pregnancy. For example, many who claim to be pro-life support the right of incest and rape victims to have abortions. Pro-choice individuals often contend that there should be limitations on the number of abortions a woman can have and the time span after which pregnant women should no longer be able to have abortions, for instance, related to the viability of the fetus, the week when brainwaves or a heartbeat develops, or other aspects.

Regardless of the side on which we stand, most would probably agree that the ultimate goal should be to create a culture in which all pregnancies are wanted and children are provided with a solid quality of life. It is possible that comprehensive sex education (incorporating abstinence, birth control, and safer-sex education) in schools and increased communication between parents and teenagers and men and women can accomplish this goal.

Rebecca Willman

See also Contraception; Fetal Rights/Public Fetus; Gynecology; Pregnancy; Safer Sex; Sex Education; Sexuality and Reproduction; Women's Health Movements

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Abzug, Bella (1920–1998)

Bella Abzug was a famous politician and lawyer who battled for the rights of women, working people, and overall civil rights concerns throughout her life. She had a career first as a labor and civil rights activist and peace activist, before being elected in New York 1970 to the U.S. House of Representatives. She was the first Jewish woman elected to Congress, and when she was elected became one of only 12 female members of Congress. By the time of her election, she became known for her fiery support of the underdog and her activist and feminist politics. In addition, she became a symbol of the outspoken feminist, well-known for her raspy voice and her trademark hats. In Congress, she became a strong opponent of the Vietnam War and was an important advocate for civil rights and feminist concerns. In her initial campaign, she used a slogan that became famous: "This woman's place is in the House—the House of Representatives." She served three terms in Congress and left to run in the New York U.S. Senate race in 1976, a campaign in which she lost the Democratic nomination to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who went on to win the seat. Although she later tried to return to electoral politics, she was unsuccessful in campaigns to become the New York City mayor and two efforts to return to Congress.

She was born as Bella Savitsky in New York City in 1920 to Russian immigrant parents who owned a butcher shop, and she grew up in the Bronx. She graduated from Hunter College and afterward from Columbia Law School in 1947, at a time when only 2 percent of lawyers were women. Her early law career focused on battling for the rights of the underdog. She worked at institutions such as the Civil Rights Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union. She defended victims of Senator Joseph McCarthy in his witch hunt against suspected Communists in the 1950s. She was also the chief consul in the unsuccessful appeal of Willie McGee, a black man from Mississippi who was accused of raping a white woman. She combined a successful professional and personnel life, marrying Martin Abzug in 1944 and having two daughters. She died in 1998.

The major contributions for which Abzug is remembered are to feminism and the women's movement and her antiwar activism and stand against Richard Nixon. She tried but failed at a bill for troop withdrawal, was a leader in trying to force President Nixon to surrender the Pentagon Papers, and was the first congressional member to call for the impeachment of Nixon. Within the women's movement, while many leaders began their political activism in that movement, Abzug came to the movement from many years of involvement in progressive politics. She was seen as able to speak to the needs and concerns of blue-collar women, not just women with high levels of education and professional achievements.

Jennie Jacobs Kronenfeld

See also American Civil Liberties Union

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Access to Justice

Access to justice refers to the ability to receive, mobilize for, and be informed about social practices and procedures that reinforce certain ideals of accountability, fairness, equality, civil liberties, and human rights. The concept of justice presumes that there is at least a minimally agreed upon moral and/or legal code that affords the opportunity to seek redress when individuals or groups have been victimized (whether through physical or social hostilities and marginalization). However straightforward this may appear at first glance, the process of defining what is "just," who gets to decide how justice is enacted—formally (e.g., through courts or other state-sanctioned systems of punishment) or informally (e.g., through family responses to a particular event or exclusion from a specific social group)—and how information about systems of justice are disseminated, are complicated and frequently highly contested issues. In relation to gender in particular, definitions of justice and the possibility of monitoring and penalizing unjust practices have been crucial components of addressing concerns such as sex discrimination in national and international legal frameworks, gender-related violence, gender-related stereotyping (e.g., in education and discussions around "appropriate" careers for women versus men), and gender inequalities in general.

To examine these issues in greater depth, the following discussion draws on a range of brief case studies, including concepts of justice; the accessibility of justice in relation to gender; marital rape; and activism addressing aspects of gender inequalities, civil liberties, and human rights. These examples highlight the varied ways in which access to justice has been, and continues to be, tied to a diversity of social contexts in which gender relations play a key role.

Concepts of Justice

As suggested at the outset, the concept of justice encompasses various social and political perspectives, some of which reflect competing notions of acceptable behavior and suitable punishments for practices that are viewed as immoral, unacceptable, and/or illegal. Moral judgments and public discussions about what is considered right or wrong may be informed by cultural, religious, spiritual, and political beliefs and can be enforced through various institutions, policies,

and discourses (commonly agreed upon ways of speaking and representing ideas)—for example, church-sanctioned policies, state laws, neighborhood gossip, and gang codes of honor. Ideas of what constitutes just practices and how these are defined are dynamic; they are reflective of and also influence the geographical and historical contexts of which they are a part. Indeed, an issue of contention in debates about establishing systems of justice has been the issue of the "naturalness" of the concept and to what extent concepts of justice can be revised and enforced. For some, justice is seen as part of a natural order that is grounded in a relatively strict set of beliefs—which may be the case in certain religious and political traditions, for example—and as such it is sometimes viewed as a concept that is less open to negotiation. For others, justice is seen as being representative and adaptable to a combination of individual and collective goals that are guided by changing secular values and needs.

Although frequently represented otherwise, neither of the aforementioned understandings of justice is neutral in their construction and implementation: Religious tenets are interwoven with changing political and economic contexts even if these human-based activities are minimized in broader discussions of spirituality; and state-run legislative systems and judicial processes are often reflective of attitudes held by dominant social groups. In other words, regardless of the specific concept or system of enforcement, the cornerstones of justice are *decision making* (what form and application justice takes) and *power* (who is afforded the privilege of making decisions determining the goals and implementation of justice), both partial (to varying degrees) and often controversial, as the following examples below highlight.

Gender and Accessing Justice

Historically and in the contemporary context, gender roles and relations have been key factors utilized in the determination of who has the power to define and enact justice, as well as the manner in which it has been put into practice. While gender may not be referred to explicitly in judicial decisions, closer scrutiny of popular discussions of justice and specific case studies of decision-making procedures and punishments frequently reveal deep-seated assumptions that produce differential representations and experiences of justice for women, men, and children

of different social identities and backgrounds (as can be seen in the disproportionate presence of economically deprived and socially marginalized youths and adults in the U.S. justice system). Given the presence of patriarchal relationships—where males are granted greater power and status than females—in numerous locations around the world, women in particular have felt the brunt of, and have sought to challenge, their marginalization and underrepresentation in popular conceptions and practices of justice.

In the same way that feminist scholars and social activists have argued that gender roles—behaviors and practices differentially assigned to women and men—are socially constructed (i.e., they are not biologically determined, but are produced through social practices and discourses), researchers and social advocates have attempted to highlight the ways in which many dominant notions of justice reflect gender inequalities and sexist attitudes about fairness, accountability, and crime. For example, up until 1976, no states in the United States categorized rape in marriage (also known as spousal rape) as a criminal offense. Now it is considered a crime throughout the United States, but some states differentiate rape by spouses from rape by strangers (with the latter being seen as the more serious offense and the former being minimized in certain instances due to the existence of legal exemptions). In addition, while several countries now have legislation outlawing spousal rape and the United Nations General Assembly categorizes the act as a crime under international law, there are still many states that do not recognize this view. These legislative guidelines for addressing sexual assault within marriage are significant in that the majority of victims are women and the legal codes have been shaped by social attitudes that have historically stated that once married, women relinquish the right to refuse consent to sexual intercourse.

Because of the trauma and stigma associated with rape in general—and spousal rape in particular—combined with the complexity of the related legal processes, it has proven to be extremely difficult for rape survivors to file charges or to ultimately successfully achieve a conviction against their attackers. The historical notion (embedded in many religious guidelines, for example) that not only a woman's monetary assets but also her physical being becomes a shared "property" between the woman and her spouse has meant that until recent decades, the possibility of receiving some form of legal recourse and social

support has been extremely difficult. This is an example in which access to justice has been central but also remote: Unofficially, women may find themselves shunned by family members or local communities if they pursue a charge of spousal rape, while officially, women may be intimidated by the lengthy and complicated judicial system that reduces charges against spouses and in which female judges and legislators are often underrepresented. Attitudes surrounding privacy and the body—in this case in association with sexual relations and violence toward a spouse—are publicly monitored in ways that, ironically, work against the ability to receive public protection and accountability and instead largely remain the concern and struggle of the individuals immediately involved.

From the previous example, it can be noted that access to justice cuts across a range of scales: from the body, to the household, neighborhood, city, nation, and international arenas. These different levels of conceptualization and implementation are rarely discrete and frequently intersect in ongoing debates about how justice can be realized and what impacts are produced in different contexts. Another useful example of the multiscalar nature of justice is that of sex work, where the public policing of sexuality, female and male bodies, paid-for sex practices, workers unions, the built environment, and city and national policies focusing on prostitution and economic activity intersect to produce lengthy discussions about the commodification of sexuality, the legality of sex work, appropriate legal and social support networks for sex workers, discriminatory practices against sex workers, and urban planning and policing programs.

Political Activism, Space, and Justice

While the accessibility of justice is challenging for many social groups (particularly low-income women and men, ethnic and sexual minorities, and children), several individuals and organizations have galvanized around the concept and successfully worked toward creating more inclusive systems of accountability and representation. This activism has involved addressing accessibility in terms of (a) physically being able to seek redress in cases of inequity (e.g., being able to attend court hearings, having community advocacy groups based in local neighborhoods or easily accessible locations); (b) improved availability and dissemination of information related to justice (e.g., having materials related to human rights and legal processes

clearly written and available in libraries, public offices, and online and the availability of affordable legal advice); and (c) increased social awareness, a broadening of what justice means, and context-sensitive policies (e.g., public campaigns about relevant issues in local and national media and schools).

This activism has come in several forms: For some, it has involved reformulating practices of justice from more punitive processes in which retribution for unjust actions is integral toward processes of reconciliation through which perpetrators of crimes and socially exclusionary practices publicly recognize and accept responsibility for their actions at village, city, national, and international gatherings (as can be seen in recent truth and reconciliation hearings addressing past events; e.g., widespread political imprisonments, assault, murder, and rape during the apartheid regime in South Africa; ethnic conflicts in Rwanda in the 1990s; and in relation to the last 40 years of the civil conflict in Colombia). For others, this reconceptualization has involved redefining concepts of citizenship to be more socially inclusive in terms of gender, sexuality, race, nationality, and age (e.g., antislavery and emancipation campaigns, early 20th century campaigns for a woman's right to vote in the suffragette movements of the United Kingdom and United States, lesbian and gay rights movements challenging homophobia and sexist legislation, civil rights campaigns, antiracist advocacy organizations and Black nationalism during the 1960s, and current [and past] opposition to anti-immigrant legislation and discriminatory treatment of migrants in a range of international setting.

Finally, broader issues of human rights—from the local to the international levels—have been challenged by community organizations highlighting the intersections of personal, emotional, economic, and political impacts of discrimination, violence, and unaccountability, as can be seen in the long-standing marches of remembrance held by the Madres de (Mothers of the) Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. This group has been protesting against, and seeking state redress for, the disappearance of relatives—particularly daughters and sons—during Argentina's "Dirty War" (1976–1983). Wearing white head scarves (symbolizing peace) and holding regular weekly walks around the Plaza de Mayo, this diverse collective has highlighted how the more abstract concept of justice can be located and challenged in specific sites. By focusing their calls for justice through a range of legislative and protest activities, the Madres de Plaza de Mayo have very effectively highlighted the

connections between place, emotions, media representations, and national politics to illustrate the complex and challenging roles that justice—and the ability to access it—plays.

Susan P. Mains

See also Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Human Rights Campaign; Sexual Rights and Citizenship; Suffrage Movement; Universal Human Rights

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ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME

See HIV/AIDS

ACTIVO/PASSIVO SEX ROLES

Activo/passivo sex roles, or *active/passive sex roles,* describes a gender-stratified form of male homosexual behavior common throughout Latin America. Rooted in expectations of appropriate gender behavior for males and females in general, the activo/passivo model of homosexuality defines one's sexuality according to the gender demeanor of participants in homosexual sex, which is understood as complementary to and coinciding with the sexual role taken. Activo

and passivo sex roles closely mirror the dominant construction of normative sex roles for men and women within the context of heterosexual relations, which presumes male dominance and female submission.

Activo/passivo sex roles are understood as somehow reflective of "natural" or inborn differences between "normal" men and women and between "normal" men and homosexual men. According to this construction of homosexuality, "normal" men are masculine and take the active role sexually, while homosexual men, much like heterosexual women, are effeminate and take the passive role sexually. In terms of homosexual sex, activos penetrate passivos during anal sex, and passivos perform oral sex on activos.

Since these sex roles are understood to be reflective of natural differences between the sexes as evidenced by gender demeanor, they are thought to be both permanent throughout one's life and mutually exclusive. That is, activos are understood to always take the active role sexually and never the passive role, while conversely, passivos are understood to always take the passive role sexually and never the active role. Thus, within this model, the possibility of role switching with the same partner does not exist, nor does the possibility of playing different sexual roles with different partners.

According to this model, only the passive sexual partner considers himself or is considered by society at large as homosexual, since he is the one who enacts feminine behavior and is the one whose sexual role deviates from the normative male sex role. Conversely, the active partner's sexual identity is considered "normal," since his behavior does not deviate from expectations of masculinity as the penetrator in sexual relations. Further, it is expected that the activo partner will also engage in heterosexual sex with females, since his sexuality is understood as flowing from his gender, which is presumably normative and masculine.

The activo/passivo model of homosexuality has been the dominant form of homosexuality in many different societies at various time periods. In the contemporary moment, the activo/passivo framework coexists along with an object-choice model of homosexuality—which defines one's sexuality according to the biological sex of sexual partners, not their gender—in several cultures throughout the world, including many Latin American, Caribbean, Asian, African, and Mediterranean societies.

James Thing

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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ACT UP

The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), an organization committed to using civil disobedience, direct action, and other forms of confrontational protest to fight the AIDS crisis, emerged out of the lesbian and gay community in New York City in March 1987. ACT UP chapters and affiliated groups across the country soon formed a locally autonomous but nationally networked street AIDS activist movement. Using dramatic tactics, including street protests, die-ins, office takeovers, disruptions, and guerrilla theater, ACT UP targeted all levels of government, the scientific-medical establishment, the insurance and pharmaceutical industries, the media, the Catholic Church, and other institutions seen as hindering the fight against AIDS. ACT UP was also famous for its visually striking graphics—such as the "SILENCE = DEATH" emblem—and for its sex-radical, queer-positive sexual politics. In addition to its many significant AIDS-related victories, ACT UP inaugurated a new queer era in which anger, defiant street activism, and sex-radical politics became normative and valued among lesbians, gay men, and other sexual and gender minorities, many of whom began identifying as "queer."

Early AIDS Activism

From the beginning of what soon became known as the AIDS epidemic, lesbian and gay communities responded to the crisis, establishing means for caretaking and providing much-needed services to people with HIV/AIDS. In contrast, the federal government's

response to the crisis was close to nonexistent in those early years, in large part because the onset of the AIDS epidemic in 1981 coincided with the start of the Reagan administration. President Ronald Reagan, ideologically committed to shrinking government and indebted to the religious right who had helped to elect him, did not mention the word AIDS in public until 1985, 4 years and 10,000 deaths into the epidemic, and then only in response to a reporter's question. Reagan did not give a policy speech on AIDS until 1987, at which point he advocated a punitive, mandatory HIV testing policy. Paralleling Reagan's near silence, his administration did almost nothing to deal with the exploding epidemic. Indeed, the chairman and vice-chairman of the Reagan-appointed commission on AIDS (formed in June 1987) resigned in October 1987, citing lack of support from the White House. Meanwhile, right-wing politicians and pundits used AIDS to build a grassroots base and to solicit donations, citing the epidemic as proof that homosexuality was abnormal and sinful. In this hostile context, the political work of caretaking and service provision was vital.

The Shift to Confrontational Street AIDS Activism

By the mid-1980s, the government's continuing failure to address the AIDS crisis and widespread homophobic hysteria about AIDS in the media were generating anger and frustration among growing numbers of lesbians and gay men. A few AIDS activists began to try more confrontational tactics. In late 1985, two gay men with AIDS chained themselves to San Francisco's old Federal Office Building to protest the government's failure to respond to the crisis and to demand an increase in federal AIDS funding; their action marked the beginning of the San Francisco AIDS/ARC Vigil. Around the same time in New York, activists formed an organization that eventually became the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD). In December 1985, 800 people joined GLAAD in a demonstration that targeted the *New York Post* for its sensationalized AIDS coverage. This more oppositional activism was not yet widespread, but its occurrence indicated the beginnings of a shifting emotional and political climate within lesbian and gay communities with regard to AIDS. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) decision upholding Georgia's antisodomy

statute marked a turning point in the history of AIDS activism. Occurring in the context of government negligence regarding the AIDS crisis, growing calls for quarantine of people with AIDS, and ever-increasing deaths, the ruling spurred a more dramatic and far-reaching turn toward angry, defiant activism, fueling the emergence of ACT UP.

Street AIDS activist groups that formed in the wake of the *Hardwick* decision (prior to ACT UP) included Citizens for Medical Justice (CMJ), a San Francisco–based group of lesbians and gay men whose first action was to take over California Governor George Deukmejian's office to protest his AIDS policies; the Lavender Hill Mob, a New York lesbian and gay direct action group that focused much of its activism on the AIDS crisis; and the Silence = Death Project, a group of gay activist artists who designed the famous "SILENCE = DEATH" poster and wheatpasted them across lower Manhattan, encouraging lesbians and gay men to "turn anger, fear, and grief into action." These last two groups helped to found ACT UP/NY in March 1987.

Acting Up

ACT UP/NY burst onto the public scene 2 weeks after its founding, with a protest on Wall Street that targeted the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) sluggish drug approval process as well as the profiteering of pharmaceutical companies. Protesters tied up traffic for hours, and 17 were arrested. As a national movement with chapters in over 80 cities and towns across the United States, ACT UP focused on numerous issues and engaged in hundreds of protest actions, including a daylong shutdown of the FDA to demand an expedited drug approval process; a national demonstration in Chicago that focused on the failings of the public health system and demanded national health insurance; a storming of the National Institutes of Health to demand more AIDS research and the inclusion of women and people of color in clinical trials; demonstrations at the Centers for Disease Control to demand that the organization define AIDS to include the infections commonly affecting HIV-positive women and poor people; numerous political funerals; and many other actions focused on issues like safe-sex education, needle exchange programs, housing for people with AIDS, holistic and alternative treatments, increased AIDS funding, safe-sex information and AIDS drugs for

prisoners, social security benefits, media coverage of AIDS, and AIDS drug prices.

Driven by a sense of urgency, ACT UP embraced a model of activism that, rather than demanding ideological unity among all members and chapters, undertook any tactical battle that might help save lives. Committed to democratic practices, ACT UP had a structure of caucuses and committees that maximized input from everyone involved. The movement's adoption of an affinity group model also advanced ACT UP's democratic character. Groups of people who wanted to engage in civil disobedience or direct action together organized themselves into groups that typically were nonhierarchical in nature and operated relatively autonomously from the larger group. This cellular structure engendered creative, exciting, and mediagenic demonstrations. More than that, because affinity groups had great latitude in designing actions and projecting messages, that structure allowed for difference within the movement—in terms of priorities, tactics, and demeanor, for example. Different caucuses and committees within ACT UP initiated many of ACT UP's actions: caucuses of people of color, women, and people with immune system disorders (PISD) and committees like New York's Treatment and Data Committee (which focused on AIDS drugs) and Majority Action Committee (which focused on AIDS issues of concern to people of color).

ACT UP meetings were emotionally intense, filled with heady political discussions about issues with life-and-death stakes. The atmosphere was also erotically charged and frequently playful and fun as well, brimming with flirtation, sexiness, socializing, and campy humor. ACT UP was a space in which people could express their outrage about the AIDS crisis, engage in defiant street activism to fight AIDS, become queer and reclaim queer sexuality, connect with like-minded others, and gain a sense of belonging. Also, it allowed individuals to engage in projects of world making that both challenged the institutions that had allowed AIDS to become a crisis and offered alternative ways of living that drew attention to queer liberation and broader social transformation in society.

ACT UP was a strikingly successful movement. Its victories included forcing the FDA to expedite the drug approval process and to expand access to experimental drugs, obtaining increased government AIDS funding, preventing the passage of many repressive legislative measures, forcing pharmaceutical companies to lower AIDS drug prices, forcing the CDC to expand the definition of AIDS to include infections and diseases commonly occurring in HIV-infected women, and successfully arguing that people with AIDS should be consulted about and their expertise inform AIDS drug trial designs.

The Decline of ACT UP

Although a few individual chapters persisted, ACT UP declined as a national movement in the mid-1990s—before the arrival of a new generation of anti-HIV drugs called *protease inhibitors* that have prolonged the lives of many people with AIDS in the United States. Reasons for ACT UP's decline are multiple, but three of the most important were (1) heightened conflicts and declining feelings of solidarity within ACT UP; (2) a growing despair within ACT UP due to the accumulated losses, the continuing deaths, the lack of effective treatments, and the sense that, victories notwithstanding, ACT UP would not be able to stop AIDS; and (3) political and cultural openings within dominant society that led to waning support for ACT UP from the broader mainstream lesbian and gay community.

ACT UP's legacy persists in that groups like Housing Works and Treatment Action Group (TAG) that grew out of ACT UP continue to do important AIDS work. ACT UP has also been credited with inspiring and helping to shape other movements, including the breast cancer and global justice movements. As well, ACT UP's confrontational style and sex-positive politics persisted as historical memories that informed the next generation of activists fighting for queer and transgender liberation, even in the face of the larger mainstreaming of the lesbian and gay movement.

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See also Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; HIV/AIDS; Queer; Safer Sex; Sexually Transmitted Infections

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ADDAMS, JANE (1860–1935)

Feminist pragmatist, social settlement leader, and Nobel laureate, Jane Addams was a charismatic world leader with an innovative intellectual and political legacy. She is one of the most important women in American history. From 1890 to 1935, she led dozens of women in sociology, although after 1920, most of these women were forced out of sociology and into other fields, especially social work.

Addams was born on September 6, 1860, in Cedarville, Illinois. She was profoundly influenced by her father, John Addams, a Hicksite Quaker and state senator, but her mother, Sarah Weber, died when Addams was 2 years old. In 1877, Addams entered Rockford Female Seminary, in Rockford, Illinois. Graduating in 1881, she entered the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, but she fell ill and returned home. In 1883, she traveled to Europe but remained frustrated until she returned in 1887 with her college friend Ellen Gates Starr. After visiting the social settlement Toynbee Hall in London, they found a direction for their lives, and in 1889, they cofounded their social settlement, Hull House, in Chicago.

Addams became a significant figure in an international social movement organized to bring together all classes; social groups; ages, especially the young and the elderly; and the oppressed to form a democratic community of individuals able to articulate and enact their ideals and needs. She powerfully described life in *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910) and *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (1930). Hull House residents published a groundbreaking sociological text, *Hull House Maps and Papers* in 1895, predating and establishing the interests of Chicago sociologists, especially in urban sociology.

Addams's combined thought and practice is called *feminist pragmatism:* an American theory uniting liberal values and a belief in a rational public with a cooperative, nurturing, and liberating model of the self, the other, and the community. In this view, education and democracy are significant mechanisms to organize and improve society, to learn about one's community, participate in group decisions, and become a "citizen." Women in public life utilize their cooperative worldview to implement democracy. The female world is based on the unity of the female self, the home, the family, and face-to-face interactions with neighbors. Women can lead a new "social consciousness" organized through "social movements in labor, social science, and women," usually in the modern city. Because women are not full members of the male world, they can, ideally, "challenge war, disturb conventions, integrate industry, react to life, and transform the past." The modern woman's family claim is built on a "consumer role" that should critique and change industry. These concepts were discussed in several books, including *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1916), and *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922). Addams's ideas were implemented through social organizing, protests, and legislation, resulting in the feminist pragmatist state.

After World War I started in Europe in 1914, Addams publicly chose nonviolence over other values and was publicly shunned. The culmination of her ostracism occurred in 1919, when she was targeted by the U.S. government as the most dangerous person in America.

Addams gradually resumed her pubic leadership and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. She spoke for many values and policies adopted during the New Deal, especially Social Security and other government programs that altered American capitalism. Upon her death in 1935, she was mourned worldwide as a great leader and interpreter of American thought.

Mary Jo Deegan

See also Balch, Emily Greene; Hull House

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ADULTERY

Adultery, also commonly referred to as infidelity, or "cheating," traditionally involves a person willingly engaging in sexual physical activity with a person other than one's spouse or committed relationship partner. The concept of infidelity has been broadened to include emotional behaviors (i.e., activities that are nonphysical and not overtly sexual). Such behaviors typically involve establishing an emotional connection, falling in love, or extensive self-disclosure with a person other than one's spouse. More recently, online forms of communication, such as chat rooms, instant messaging, and e-mail, have provided new ways to pursue outside relationships that may constitute adultery.

Prevalence

Research on the prevalence of adultery has focused almost exclusively on the rate at which people engage in sexual behavior outside of the primary relationship. Estimates vary from study to study, but the general finding is that approximately 20 percent of women (about 1 in 5) and approximately 30 percent of men (about 1 in 3) have committed sexual infidelity. While the exact rates of infidelity vary, studies consistently show that men report a greater rate of sexual infidelity than do women. However, due to the socialization of men and women, men may be prone to overreport their rates of infidelity (or at least report the actions accurately) in order to appear macho, while women may be prone to underreport their actions in order to appear chaste. Regardless, adultery violates the norm of sexual exclusivity. As a result, it is widely disapproved of in American society and is the most commonly cited reason for divorce in over 150 cultures.

Predictors

Despite strong societal disapproval, people may commit adultery due to social, relationship, situational, and individual factors. At the social level, a study by Judith Treas and Deirdre Giesen in 2000 found that those with less religious involvement and a higher acceptance of cohabitation as an alternative to marriage were more likely to commit adultery. The study also found that at the relationship level, those who were unhappy with their marriages were more likely to commit adultery. Unhappiness in the relationship may result from any number of factors, such as emotional or sexual incompatibility or boredom. Thus, if the primary relationship is not able to fulfill one's needs for excitement or general affection, adultery is more likely. It is unclear, however, whether adultery is the result of a floundering primary relationship heading toward divorce or whether adultery leads a stable relationship toward divorce. Denise Prevati and Paul Amato in 2004 examined data from couples over 17 years as part of a longitudinal design to determine whether adultery was the result of a poor relationship or led to a poor relationship. Their analysis suggested that happiness by itself did not predict adultery but that those who felt divorce was likely were more likely to commit adultery. Further, adultery also decreased existing relationship satisfaction and increased perceived likelihood of divorce. These processes were similar for men and women.

Situational factors may also lead to adultery. On a more malicious level, a person may engage in adultery out of anger or as a means of retribution for the partner's bad behavior or for the emotional pain the partner has caused. While this is a possibility, adultery is also the result of comparatively innocent processes, such as when an attractive person notices or comments on another person in a flattering way. This situation has the potential to lead to thoughts of adultery among people in the most stable, happy, and successful relationships. Similarly, adultery may result from

falling in love with another person. For example, this can occur in the context of a long-term friendship or acquaintance that has evolved into something more substantial for situational reasons (perhaps the dissolution of the other person's relationship). Alternately, a person may fall in love suddenly with a new person. In any of these cases, it may not be that adultery is purely the result of flattery or falling in love, but instead could be the result of one's own desire to end the primary relationship. Thus, due to the widespread disapproval of adultery, engaging in such behavior could be used as a way to expeditiously end a relationship that encourages one's partner to take the initiative to ultimately end the relationship.

Finally, at the individual level, several differences have emerged as predictors of infidelity. One notable line of research by Jeff Simpson and Steve Gangestad in 1991 focused on how comfortable a person was with "casual sex," also referred to as *sociosexuality*. Their findings revealed that those with unrestricted sociosexuality who need less closeness and commitment before engaging in sexual behavior were more likely to commit infidelity. Further, men tend to be more unrestricted in their sociosexuality than women and perhaps as a result have higher rates of adultery. Research also shows that women tend to commit adultery due to dissatisfaction in their relationships whereas men commit adultery regardless of their satisfaction level. Adultery also differs by gender depending on relationship length. Women tend to commit less adultery as the length of their marriage increases. However, men show a U-shaped pattern, such that their adultery rates are higher early and later in marriage but are lower in the middle.

Conclusion

Adultery most commonly involves sexual behavior outside the primary relationship and has been found to occur at different rates. However, men are consistently shown to engage in adultery at higher rates than women. The reasons for adultery include variables at the social, relationship, situational, and individual levels. Regardless of the reasons, adultery still remains a socially unacceptable behavior.

Gary W. Lewandowski, Jr.

See also Cohabitation; Courtship; Marriage; Monogamy; Romance and Relationships

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Advertising, Gender Images in

It is estimated that the average American is exposed to over 40,000 television commercials per year. When the even larger amount of print advertisements are considered, it is easy to understand why so many scholars of gender and media studies are concerned about the omnipresent effect of media advertisements on gender stereotyping. Because of the limited amount of time allocated to television commercials and the short attention span of the audience, advertisers often rely on highly visual and easily recognizable images and situations to promote their products and services. Often, these messages contain gender, class, and racial stereotypes that reinforce social perceptions of already marginalized groups by the use of widely held inaccurate and overly simplified images and conceptions.

Social learning theory best explains the impact of advertisements on audiences and suggests that audiences are more likely to identify with an advertisement's preferred meaning and persuaded to purchase a product or service if the narrative is easily recognizable and often repeated. Gender portrayals in mainstream advertisements therefore tend to reflect hegemonic, unquestioned gender roles that are easily recognizable and widely accepted in society. While stereotypical gender portrayals may help advertisers to sell products, such portrayals also negatively influence self-perceptions of audiences. In fact, *media effects theories* often see a correlation between exposure to gender stereotypes in advertising and female levels of self-consciousness and social anxiety.

How do media messages influence people's self-perceptions? *Direct effects* media scholars suggest

that people copy and adjust their behaviors and thinking according to the volume and content of media messages they encounter on a daily basis. Therefore, for instance, if mass media systematically portray men as physically and emotionally aggressive, audiences may begin to believe that such dominant behavior is gender appropriate. This problem becomes more acute with audience members whose access to information is limited to these advertisement sources. Media critics, however, have noted that direct effects models are rather one-dimensional, discounting various manners and social contexts in which audiences watch and interpret media messages. Direct effects models, they argue, tend to ignore the transforming effects of individuals' agency or institutionalized social inequalities on message-decoding processes. Media effects, then, are not embedded in the messages themselves or even in the medium through which these are spread, but rather in what audiences do with these messages. The ways in which individuals interpret the ideologies embedded in advertisements depends on the social and physical environments in which these are viewed. This interpretation also depends on personal characteristics and social identifications of the audience, as well as the social networks in which the ideologies are discussed.

Whether one believes in direct or indirect media effects, concerns about the effects of sexist media portrayals on self-perceptions of audiences are grounded in the belief that people use media messages and information to construct their social realities and self-perceptions, which helps them understand the world around them and their place in it. When individuals give meaning to the world, they do so through a framework of interpretation. This framework organizes information based on previously held beliefs and shaped patterns of interpretation. The information that people encounter on a daily basis is positioned within such existing frameworks, thereby constructing individuals' social realities.

Gender in Advertising in the 20th Century

Media messages provide a wealth of information about society and the ideologies that are at the base of its structure. In their quest to attract consumers, advertisers tend to stay within the social status quo, so as not to alienate potential buyers. Since advertisements spread cultural values about women, men, consumerism,

and power, it is important to discuss gender representations in mainstream advertisements within historical and social contexts. Noted sociologist Erving Goffman stated in his 1976 study of gender stratification that advertising essentially involves the ritualization of the social world. He suggested that advertisements contribute to a distorted social reality in which women are white, middle-class caregivers and men are dominant, independent, white, middle-class providers. These distortions ignore the social realities that economic and political inequality has created in U.S. society. In the three decades since Goffman's observations, despite increasing variety in gender portrayals in advertisements, most advertisements continue to construct a distorted view of the social world in which women rule the home, are the glue that holds the nuclear family together, and are from a narrowly defined class and racial/ethnic group.

Most studies examining gender portrayals in advertisements use some form of qualitative or quantitative content analysis. *Quantitative content analysis* uses statistical formulas to draw inferences from collected data, for example, by counting the number of women that appear in television commercials. *Qualitative content analysis,* particularly frame analysis, examines the contexts, or frames, in which women or men are represented in advertisements. Such frames are often ideological, such as showing women predominantly in unpaid work environments, but also visual, as in the systematic positioning of women as smaller than men in advertisements.

Not surprisingly, content analysis studies that have looked at mainstream media advertisements starting with the 1940s have found that most advertisements reinforced prevalent gender, class, and racial hierarchies in society, thereby constructing the distorted social realities Goffman wrote about. The print advertisements of the 1940s and 1950s, for instance, overwhelmingly showed women as white, middle-class caregivers in domestic settings, surrounded by household or food products. During this same time period, men in advertisements also tended to be overwhelmingly white and middle class—but were predominantly shown in paid professional work environments. While women were portrayed as dependent and in need of male guidance, men appeared knowledgeable, independent, and dominant, often paired with "masculine" products, such as cars and technical devices or in financial service roles. Despite such media-constructed realities of the nuclear family and

appropriate gender roles, most women in the 1940s and 1950s lived simply on strict budgets, often forced to work outside the home in addition to their roles as caregivers. Unlike the happily smiling women in advertisements, real working-class women often did not have the luxury or the energy of looking well rested and contented while cleaning the house. Furthermore, few advertisements portrayed men in manual labor environments, thus promoting a decidedly middle-class masculinity.

African American women and men faired even worse in 1940s and 1950s advertisements. Due to limited employment opportunities, not only were most working class, but unless portrayed in the stereotypical roles of domestic servants, they were often absent all together from mainstream advertisements. Like women, African Americans were generally portrayed in roles that advertisers felt were appropriate of their social status, thus justifying and reinforcing their marginalization while simultaneously reinforcing whites' perceived sense of superiority. African Americans were seldom used as main characters, but if they were, they tended to be shown in the context of social problems, such as poverty, the family, or while undertaking menial work. However, there were some exceptions to this rule, "Aunt Jemima" and "Uncle Ben" being the most notable. To this day, both are the faces of major mainstream brands. Aunt Jemima has been used to sell breakfast products since the late 19th century, and Uncle Ben has been used to sell rice since the 1940s. Yet, despite their visible and well-respected public profiles, the Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben imageries were very much reflective of the stereotypical perceptions of African Americans as mammies, domestic servants, or agrarian laborers. Their popularity with white Americans rested in large part in the nostalgia these images evoked to past times, yet these were the very times during which African Americans were denied basic civil rights. Since advertisements spread cultural values about women and African Americans, their systematic portrayal as passive, indecisive, and dependent on white middle-class men reinforced their status as socially second- and third-rate citizens.

Stereotypical representations of African American women and men did change in the 1960s, largely due to pressures from the civil rights movement. Similarly, in the 1970s, the women's movement was successful in demanding more diversity in advertisers' portrayals of women. As a result, between the 1960s and 1980s, the occupational level of African Americans in print and television advertisements, particularly for men, became much more diverse. However, while African American men were increasingly shown in paid professional work environments, women continued to be predominantly shown within the context of the home and often as sole head of the family, reinforcing the stereotype of the strong African American woman, the superwoman myth, and the fractured African American family. While relatively more diverse, African Americans seldom appeared in mainstream advertisements for luxury goods and were often portrayed as athletes, entertainers, or laborers. African American women, both in mainstream and African American media advertisements, overwhelmingly reflected mainstream society's European standards of beauty: light eyes and skin, straight hair, narrow nose and lips, and a thin body. In fact, until the 1980s, there were hardly any ethnic minority fashion models shown in mainstream fashion magazines; those who were, often were of mixed-racial descent.

Reflective of their numerical minority status in society at the time, until the late 1980s and 1990s, Latinas and Asian American women (and men) were largely absent from mainstream media advertisements. In the late 20th century and especially the early 21st century, with Americans of Latin descent becoming the largest ethnic minority group in the United States, advertisers started to take notice of their growing market potential, and mainstream advertisements became much more inclusive of Latina and Latino faces. However, like the images of African American women, these faces overwhelmingly were light skinned. Asian Americans, as reflective of their mythical model minority status in society, were less often typecast. Yet, while African Americans and whites were seldom portrayed in black-white interracial relationship contexts, Asian American women were often paired with white men. Asian American men tended to be portrayed as working professionals in technological or academic fields but, like Asian American women, were seldom shown within domestic (all-Asian) family settings.

By the 1970s, the symbolic representation of women and men in print and television advertisements had changed very little. Most advertisements continued to pair women with household products and show them within domestic or other unpaid work settings. Although since the 1950s, the number of women portrayed as housewives had declined, the woman-as-housewife role remained one of the most common ways to portray women in mainstream as well as

women-targeted media advertisements. For most of the 1970s and 1980s, portrayals of men did not change. Advertisers continued portraying them as independent and dominant working professionals whose main roles in society were that of providers, not caregivers. It wasn't until the mid-1990s that the concept of the "new man" was introduced. This new man, unlike his old counterpart, was not afraid to take care of his appearance and show his softer, "feminine" side to the outside world. Cashing in on this trend, particularly for products marketed toward women, advertisers increasingly showed men within non-stereotypical masculine contexts: cooking food or taking care of small children. New-man masculinity juxtaposed men's physical muscularity with an emotional sensibility. Such contrasts deviated significantly from portrayals of men in the past. In earlier advertisements, masculinity had been predominantly defined in middle-class terms, with less emphasis on a working-class physical muscularity or attractiveness and more focus on a man's social and financial responsibility and ambition. However, since new-man imageries in advertisements were targeted largely toward women, their representations seemed more of a marketing ploy rather than reflective of actual changes in hegemonic masculinity.

While the new-man concept in the 1990s focused on men's physical attraction to sell products, women's sexuality had been a consistent element in advertisements for several decades. Up until the 1970s, the image of femininity was largely portrayed as sexually nonthreatening. In the 1970s, in part due to the "sexual revolution," advertisers started to use women's sexuality in a much more blatant manner to promote products. Such advertisements framed women as sexual beings whose main role was to fulfill men's sexual desires. Like the new men imagery of the 1990s, women's bodies in the 1970s became fragmentized, with camera's zooming in on breasts, legs, or buttocks. Though 1970s women had started to make significant advances in the employment market and (relatively successful) attempts to break free from the chains of domesticity, their objectification in popular culture in many ways kept them under men's control. Portraying women as objects rather than human beings reinforced their inferior social status and, by making them absent referents, placed them in positions of powerlessness. Objectification thus permitted men to ultimately consume the female body and to deny women social autonomy.

The sexualization and objectification of the female and male bodies also established standards of beauty that excluded most women and men in society. Because of the power inequalities in society, this exclusion had different consequences for women and men of different racial and social class backgrounds. In U.S. society, men were predominantly judged in terms of their social and financial success and ambition, qualities that are associated with rationality rather than the body. Women, however, have always been judged on their physical appearance. While a curvaceous man may have to conform to the bodily ideal of new-man masculinity, his "mind," social class, and race can still place him close to the top of the gender hierarchy. A woman's inability to live up to hegemonic standards of beauty significantly diminishes her social status, even if she is white or financially successful. According to some media scholars, distorted realities of beauty as constructed by the media have contributed to eating disorders and low self-esteem among women and some men. These portrayals have made female sexuality and beauty reflective of race and class privilege, excluding women of certain racial groups and social classes who historically have not been considered physically attractive by these standards.

Social Consequences

By the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century, significant advances had been made in the ways in which women and men of all races were portrayed in advertisements. Today, in mainstream and women-targeted media advertisements, women are often portrayed as independent and successful in both paid and nonpaid working environments. Men are more often shown in domestic environments. While at face value, such developments are promising, a closer examination shows that gender (and class) stereotypes, rather than disappearing, have become more subtle. For example, men who are portrayed in domestic or caregiving contexts are often shown within "comedic" contexts that tend to reinforce traditional gender roles. Their inability to successfully complete domestic chores, such as cleaning or diaper changing, the "Where is your mother?" formula, reinforces a deterministic notion of domestic work and child rearing. It assumes that, essentially, such caregiving tasks come more naturally to women than to men, rather than these being traits women are

socialized into. Furthermore, the increasing number of women shown in boardrooms, pricing cars, or dealing with financial services is balanced by the many advertisements that continue to frame men in terms of power, ambition, aggression, dominance, and rationality.

How little has changed in terms of stereotypical gender portrayals in advertisements is particularly evident in advertisements targeted at young children. Advertisements for toys, candies, or sugared cereals, for example, show that gender role socialization starts at an early age. Girls are most often shown in commercials for dolls, jewelry making or kitchen toys, while boys are shown playing with science- and math-based toys, action figures, or cars. Girls are framed within intimate interpersonal relationship contexts and shown inside domestic settings, sharing secrets or giggling with their girlfriends, while boys are often seen playing outside, roughhousing with other boys. Boys are seldom framed within caregiving or intimate personal relationship contexts; similarly, girls are not often portrayed in physically active or dominant positions.

Although today's advertisements seem to stay clear from the overt stereotypical representations of women and men of the 1950s, 1960s, or 1970s and are more inclusive of social diversity, the images shown are still biased toward middle-class nuclear family structures. Portrayals of African American women especially continue to revolve around child rearing and the family. While mainstream advertisements have become more racially diverse, inclusive of Asian Americans and Latinas/os, they rarely seem to include (white) working-class women or men. For instance, though the working-class male physique has been co-opted by middle- and upper-middle-class men, physically muscular men in professional, paid working environments (a leftover of the new-man fad), working-class men themselves remain conspicuously absent from representations of masculinity. Also, despite rather one-dimensional, physique-oriented representations of masculinity, this depiction is still much more diverse than media constructions of femininity. Regardless of the environments women are framed in, constructions of femininity continue to be rooted in women's physical attractiveness, with definitions of beauty for women of all cultural backgrounds overwhelmingly being determined by European standards.

Marc Jung-Whan de Jong

See also Art, Gender Images in; Body Image; Body Politics; Caregiving; Dieting; Feminist Magazines; Gender Wage Gap; Hegemonic Masculinity; Media and Gender Socialization; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Men's Magazines; Self-Esteem

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AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The term *affirmative action* refers to an organization's explicit efforts to ensure that people are not discriminated against on the basis of race or gender. Affirmative action policies have led to greater representation of women and minorities across all levels of employment and in higher education. Attitudes toward affirmative action are generally positive, especially when policies are correctly understood. The positive effects of affirmative action include reducing unintended discrimination and increasing diversity. Negative effects are also possible, but can be prevented.

Why Is Affirmative Action Necessary?

Although explicit measures indicate that sexism and racism are in decline, subtle forms of bias continue to persist. These subtle biases may take the form of unintended preferences for white males. Indeed, white

males continue to earn more and are more often promoted compared with women and minorities. One way affirmative action reduces the impact of unintended bias is by implementing monitoring systems within organizations. Monitoring involves examining organizational data (i.e., hiring decisions) on the basis of race and gender as a way to identify inequality before problems arise.

Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action

Attitudes toward affirmative action vary based on individual differences and conceptualizations of the policy. Perhaps not surprisingly, race, gender, and prejudice level affect attitudes toward affirmative action: Whites, males, and those high in racism and sexism tend to oppose affirmative action. Attitudes also vary based on definitions of the policy: People who view affirmative action as unfair preferential treatment of women and minorities are more negative toward the policy, whereas people who have a more accurate understanding of affirmative action generally have more positive attitudes. Overall though, public opinion polls indicate general support for affirmative action programs.

Effects of Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has had its intended effect: More women and minorities are participating in the workforce and higher education, leading to increased diversity in our society's institutions. Empirical evidence suggests diversity benefits all—not just women and minorities. Diversity exposes people to new perspectives and can facilitate creative problem solving. Perhaps most importantly, diverse settings give people practice with intergroup interactions—which can often be anxiety provoking—and consequently increase the likelihood of future intergroup interactions.

There are potential costs to affirmative action, most notably, the potential for others to view beneficiaries of affirmative action as incompetent. Laboratory research suggests that this may occur only when beneficiaries are believed to have been selected solely on their race or gender. In reality, race and gender are considered in conjunction with merit. Perhaps as a reflection of this, surveys conducted in workplace settings suggest coworkers do not view affirmative action hires negatively. Together, research suggests that organizations can diminish potential negative effects by educating their employees and dispelling myths about affirmative action polices.

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See also Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Wage Gap; Glass Ceiling; Sexism

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AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMINIST THOUGHT

See BLACK FEMINIST THOUGHT

AGEISM

The term *ageism* was coined by Robert Butler, a medical doctor, in 1969. It refers to systematic prejudice and discrimination against people based on their age, particularly the elderly. Like other prejudices, ageism is premised on the belief that all older people are essentially alike—though they actually become more diverse as they age. The question of gender is particularly important with respect to ageism. Nonetheless, until recently, those who studied aging ignored gender, while those who studied gender ignored aging. In the last 20 years, people have realized that women and men experience ageism in gendered ways. This entry explores the issues related to ageism and sexism that women experience, the sources of gendered ageism, menopause and ageism, appearance norms and gender, the gendered language of ageism, and how ageism and hegemonic masculinity combine to affect men.

As women get older, they experience the effects of both ageism and sexism. *Double jeopardy* refers to the combination of these two fundamental areas of prejudice and discrimination. The term *triple* or *multiple jeopardy* refers to how women of color or other minority groups, for example, widows, experience

aging. There is some evidence to show that the sense of well-being in older women is not as affected as one might expect by ageism and sexism, perhaps because they have low expectations about their lives and how others should treat them. Women also tend to experience freedom from the need to please others as they advance in years.

The source of this prejudice goes back to Ancient Greece, where both older women and men were seen as "ugly" and "used up." In the Middle Ages, aging women were characterized as witches. As many as 2 million women were executed during this period. The 19th century saw the beginning of the medicalization of old age, and experts began to target women as consumers for products designed to ward off visible signs of aging. The desire to defy aging has accelerated throughout the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. However, although women remain the primary target of youthful-appearance norms, the use of age-concealing products by men is becoming more accepted.

Appearance norms in modern society provide a double standard of aging based on gender. According to these norms, women are more accountable than men when they show their age. On a man, wrinkles or lines may be considered an indication of character or experience. Men may look older without sexual penalty, while for women, every appearance of aging, for example, wrinkles, gray hair, and teeth that are not sparkling white, is a desexualizing stigma. In other words, women are expected to delay signs of ageing for as long as possible. For women, there is only one standard of beauty, the girl, while for men there are two, the boy and the man. That is, for a woman to remain beautiful, she must look like a juvenile, a teenager. In recent years, the standards of looking young have become more stringent. Women in the United States spend more money on cosmetics and personal care merchandise than on any other group of products.

The pressure on men to stay young looking is also increasing, perhaps because the women's market has been saturated. Men have begun to dye their hair and are resorting to cosmetic surgery in much greater numbers than in the past. Nonetheless, whereas a woman may find it complimentary to be told she looks as young as a girl, a man is not likely to feel complimented if told he looks like a boy.

Although women live longer, they are often considered to be old at a younger age than men. For a female actor, "old" may be as young as 35, though menopause usually is considered the entrance to old age for women. Some believe that a postmenopausal woman is no longer a "real woman." This normal process is often treated as a medical problem, and doctors routinely prescribe medication so that women can stay "feminine forever." Many doctors believe that menopause is directly linked to late-life mental illness.

Another indication of ageism is the preponderance of both euphemisms and derogatory terms to refer to older people. Diminutive words such as *cute* or *sweet* are desexualizing and imply that old people are like children. Others tend not to be gendered, for example, *senior*. The pejorative terms, however, are often gender specific. Words that refer to older men tend to imply uselessness or being out-of-date (e.g., *codger, geezer*), while terms for older women connote someone who is repugnant or disgusting (e.g., *crone, hag*). Some women have attempted to rehabilitate such terms, for example, performing "croning rituals" to celebrate the wisdom that comes with age.

Although ageism is more severe for women, older men do find their masculinity to be in question. Some suggest that both men and women become androgynous when they age. Women become more assertive, while men become more nurturing. Whether or not this is the case, older men, particularly when they are retired and/or widowers, do not have a masculinity script to fit their situation. They may resort to representations of masculinity from their youth. Thus, widowers may refer to themselves as "bachelors," describing the freedom associated with youth, because there is no acceptable image of the reality of their stage in life they can claim for themselves.

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See also Gender Stereotypes; Hegemonic Masculinity; Hormones; Menopause; Sexism

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AIDS AND INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S HEALTH

Women's health in the international context exists within a global context of significant inequities between geographic regions that leave some poor countries with a significantly disproportionate burden of disease. According to the 2007 World Health Report, from the World Health Organization (WHO), 1.1 billion people live without access to clean water, and 2.6 billion people live without access to proper sanitation. One measurable impact of these social conditions is a daily death rate of 4,500 children under 5 years old from diseases that are easily preventable. Women in particular experience the impacts of these social deficiencies more than their male counterparts because of the gender inequities that exist in most societies across the world. Nevertheless, globally on average, women's life expectancy at birth is 4.3 years more than that of men. This entry discusses the leading issues in women's health globally, including interpersonal and other violence, mental health, reproductive health, and HIV/AIDS.

Gender and Health

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behavior, activities, and attributes that are assigned to men and women in a society. Biological and social differences between men and women are responsible for differences in health status between the two. Gender affects the health of both men and women, but the discrimination that women experience in almost all cultures has a negative impact on their health that is evidenced by inequities in health status between women and their male peers. Gender norms and values in most cultures result in women having access to less resources and power than men. This gives men more influence in economic, education, and political spheres and also in health care. Women's health therefore receives less resources and attention. The factors that most influence the lower health status of women include poverty, lower rates of education, and unequal power relationships between men and women that favor men, and these factors influence their access and utilization of health care services, which results in barriers to achieving and maintaining health.

Gender Violence

Gender violence is a significant factor in the gender inequities experienced by girls and women. According to the WHO, between 10 percent and 69 percent of women report experiencing violence at the hands of an intimate partner at some point in their lives. Between 6 percent and 47 percent report being sexually assaulted by an intimate partner in their lifetimes, and between 7 percent and 48 percent of girls and young women age 10 to 24 years report that their first sexual encounter was coerced. Female genital mutilation can also be considered to be violence against girls and young women.

Gender Violence and HIV/AIDS

According to WHO, gender violence and HIV/AIDS are two key factors that impact women's health that are not sufficiently addressed by the discourse in women's health. Although globally, of the 40 million people infected with HIV, women and men have approximately equal rates of HIV/AIDS, due to gender inequities and biological factors, women are more susceptible to HIV infection and to the impacts of that infection than are men. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, more than 75 percent of those age 15 to 24 years who are infected by HIV are women. The link between gender violence and HIV/AIDS is both direct and indirect.

In many cultures, men have multiple concurrent sexual partners. This puts women, particularly young women, at high risk of infection, and their lower status presents significant barriers to being successful at asking their male partners to use condoms. The threat of intimate partner violence (physical, sexual, and psychological) also decreases the likelihood that women will ask men to use condoms, especially in the context of having less access than their male partners to the economic resources on which they and their children depend. Other forms of violence against women that put them at higher risk for HIV include trafficking in women and girls, violence against sex

workers, and rape. In the latter case, coercive sex presents a direct biological risk due to vaginal trauma and lacerations. Because of lack of access to education and other resources, many women, especially young women orphaned by AIDS, participate in transactional sex for the basic necessities of life. In this context, they lack the power to demand that their partners use condoms. These women have been shown to have a 50 percent-higher risk of HIV infection than women who do not participate in transactional sex.

Last, women are exposed to violence when they seek or receive HIV-related health care services. Many women are afraid to ask their husbands for money to access testing services and are afraid to report their status once they find out they are HIV-positive. This violence leads to less-than-optimal use of HIV testing and counseling services and HIV/AIDS treatment. Because of the widespread incidence of violence against women and legal and social barriers to equitable distribution of property should women decide to leave, many of the world's women are caught in a web of gender inequity and violence that leaves them vulnerable to situations in which they are at high risk for HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

The recognition that societal and interpersonal violence against women, along with social gender inequities, contributes to the risk of HIV among women has led international health organizations, national governments, and nongovernmental organizations to take steps to address the problem as a public health issue that impacts women's health beyond their experience of HIV. Awareness campaigns, girls'/women's education, entrepreneurial opportunities for women, and legislative changes are some of the strategies being used to address this very significant issue that impacts the lives of women around the globe.

HIV, Breastfeeding, and Opportunistic Infections

The risk of transmission from mother to child during pregnancy and breastfeeding increases the significance of HIV/AIDS in the life of women. Furthermore, as the role of primary caretaker traditionally falls on women, their role as caretaker of family and community members living with HIV/AIDS increases the burden of HIV/AIDS on women across the world. This caretaking role and HIV-positive status also lead to significant barriers to participation in the labor market, which further

reinforces their lower status and lower access to resources.

HIV/AIDS is a viral infection that lowers the immune system, therefore leaving those with the disease open to infections such as tuberculosis. Because nutrition is an integral part of a strong immune system, poverty and low access to nutritious foods leave women and children more susceptible to the opportunistic infections that accompany HIV/AIDS.

Reproductive Health

Reproductive health refers to the reproductive processes at all stages of life. It includes issues of fertility, pregnancy, and the birth of a healthy infant. Maternal health and mortality are key measures of reproductive health, and the differentials across developed and developing countries are a stark reminder of how far there is to go in improving reproductive health in poor countries. According to the WHO, every year approximately 210 million women become pregnant worldwide, and 130 million of them go on to deliver live infants. The remaining 80 million infants end in stillbirth or spontaneous or induced abortion.

Maternal Mortality

According to the Safe Motherhood initiative, a woman dies from pregnancy and childbirth complications every minute of every day, and 99 percent of these deaths occur in developing countries. This equals 1,600 women each day and makes pregnancy-related complications one of the leading causes of death and disability for women age 15 to 49. Major causes of maternal mortality include hemorrhage, infection, hypertensive disorders, unsafe abortion, and obstructed labor. Major causes of maternal morbidity (complications) include anemia, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV, malaria, diabetes, and obstetric fistula. Reducing maternal and infant mortality and morbidity are two United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are often linked with poverty reduction, which is another of the eight MDGs. Although improvement in immunizations and general health care delivery services can lead to an improvement in infant mortality rates, these MDGs have little chance of being achieved even under the most optimistic scenarios due to inadequate human, fiscal, and material resources in many of the developing countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa. For

example, in Africa, less than 50 percent of births are attended by a skilled health worker, and the MDG is for 90 percent of all births to be attended by a skilled health worker by the year 2015.

According to the WHO, the estimated average maternal mortality rate (MMR), or death during child-birth, in developing countries in 2005 was 450 per 100,000 births, and in developed countries the rate was 9 per 100,000 births. Among the developing regions, sub-Saharan Africa had the highest rates in 2005 at 900 per 100,000 births, followed by South Asia at 450 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, with Eastern Asia having the lowest rates among developing countries at 50 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. The variation between individual countries is much more striking, with 14 countries having MMRs of more than 1,000 deaths per 100,000 live births. For example, Sierra Leone had an MMR of 2,100; Afghanistan had an MMR of 1,800; and in contrast, Ireland had an MMR of about 2 per 100,000. In poor countries, the primary reasons for these high rates are low levels of health care personnel, low levels of access to care with regard to locally based centers where safe delivery can occur, disease during pregnancy, and low utilization rates of prenatal care.

The reduction of maternal mortality is an MDG, requiring reduction of 5.5 percent annually in order for the goal of 75 percent reduction from 1990 rates to be reached by 2015. However, MMRs have been decreasing by an average of only 1 percent per annum globally. This means that much more needs to be done to save the lives of pregnant women in poor countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, the rate has been decreasing at only .1 percent per year. It should also be noted that progress on these measures is hampered by unreliable maternal mortality data, especially in locales where most women give birth at home or outside of the formal health care system.

Newborn health is also linked closely to the health of the mother during the prenatal period, labor and birth, and postpartum. The death of a woman impacts families and communities given her caregiving and economic responsibilities, especially in low-resource settings. In the past 10 years, research has shown that small-scale, cost-efficient interventions can significantly reduce the health risks of pregnancy, childbirth, and the postpartum period, with the key ingredients being access to health care during pregnancy, childbirth, and the postnatal period; a skilled birth attendant; and emergency obstetrical services.

Unsafe Abortion

It is estimated by the WHO that 40 percent of pregnancies worldwide (about 80 million women) are unplanned due to nonuse, misuse, or failure of contraception, with an estimated 123 million women worldwide having an unmet need for contraception. Many of these pregnancies end in abortion. Unsafe abortion is a very significant factor in the risk of maternal morbidity and mortality, accounting for 13 percent of maternal deaths and 20 percent of the total mortality and disability burden due to pregnancy and childbirth. Unsafe abortion is mostly a problem in countries with restrictive abortion laws. In most of these countries, there is low access to modern, reversible methods of contraception and high levels of unmet need for contraception.

According to the WHO, in 2003, nearly 20 million unsafe abortions occurred worldwide, 98 percent of them in developing countries with restrictive abortion laws. Sometimes even in countries where abortion is legal, poor, uneducated, and rural women are often unaware that they can have a safe, legal abortion and often seek out more than one unskilled provider to get an abortion. These unsafe abortions are performed in unhygienic conditions or by untrained personnel. Unskilled personnel include traditional birth attendants, homeopaths, herbalists, religious healers, village doctors, and relatives. Approximately one quarter of all women who undergo unsafe abortions are likely to experience serious complications, which can cause death. Many women who seek unsafe abortions have unsuccessful abortions. The implications from both successful and failed attempts in unsafe conditions by unskilled personnel puts a heavy burden on already strained health care systems, and by the time many women access care, it is too late to save their lives.

In countries with legal, safe abortions, the risk of death is very low. For example, in the United States, the death rate from abortion is .6 per 100,000 procedures, whereas the death rate following an unsafe abortion is up to several hundred times that. A recent study estimated that annually 5 million women in developing countries are admitted to hospital due to complications from unsafe abortions. Worldwide estimates of morbidity and mortality due to unsafe abortion show that there are 65,000 to 70,000 deaths and approximately 5 million women with temporary or permanent disability due to unsafe abortion. These 5 million women include 3 million with reproductive

tract infections, and 1.7 million suffer secondary infertility. Currently, there are a total of 24 million women worldwide who experience secondary infertility as a result of unsafe abortions.

Adolescent Pregnancy

In the next decade, 100 million girls will marry before their 18th birthday. Fourteen million adolescent girls become mothers every year, more than 90 percent of them in developing countries. These data have significant implications for maternal health, because early birth brings with it risks to both mother and child. It also means that for most girls, whatever education they were receiving comes to an end and the likelihood of practicing health behaviors that reduce their future risk of maternal morbidity and mortality is significantly decreased. One truism in development is that the more education a woman has achieved, the less children she is likely to have, and this gives her more of an opportunity to maintain income-generating activities that can lift and keep her family out of poverty. She is also more likely to practice reproductive health behaviors, such as child spacing, that reduce her risk of complications.

Cancer

According to the WHO, breast cancer kills approximately a half million women each year, mostly in developed countries. Cervical cancer kills about a quarter of a million women each year, 80 percent of these cases in developing countries, where cervical cancer is the most common cancer in women. Ninety-nine percent of all cervical cancers are caused by the human papilloma virus (HPV), which is the most common infection of the reproductive tract. As with many other reproductive-health-related conditions, women who die of cervical cancer are in the prime of their lives, and the social costs of their loss include families who have to go forward without their primary caretakers. Most women living in developing countries do not have access to cervical cancer screening programs that could save their lives through early diagnosis of precancerous conditions.

Mental Health

Overall, rates of psychiatric illness are similar among men and women, but there are gender-related patterns in mental illness. Because of the differential power between men and women and their different experiences based on gender, there are related differences in their exposure to mental health risks. These risks include gender roles, stressors, and negative life experiences. Gender-specific risk factors that place women at higher risk for some forms of mental illness include sexual violence, economic disparity, low social status, and the burden of being the primary caretaker.

Women are more likely to experience depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and somatic complaints. In particular, women are twice as likely as men to experience unipolar depression, which is predicted to be the second-leading cause of disease burden in 2020. However, there are no marked differences in the rates of severe mental disorders such as schizophrenia and bipolar disorder. Other illnesses, such as alcohol dependence, are much more likely to be experienced by men than by women. Depression can be triggered by severe life events that cause a sense of loss, inferiority, humiliation, or entrapment. With women and children making up 80 percent of the 50 million people affected by civil wars, violent conflicts, disasters, and displacement, it is expected that they will be at high risk for trauma-related mental illnesses, though in these contexts they are not likely to be diagnosed and/or treated.

In the treatment of mental illness, women are more likely to seek help for mental distress and are more likely to receive psychotropic drugs. However, men are more likely to report problems with alcohol. Gender stereotypes and the experience of stigma also influence help-seeking behaviors and treatment related to mental illness.

Respiratory Health

Indoor air pollution is responsible for 1.5 million deaths each year, most of these among women and children who are often exposed to fumes from fires for cooking and heat for longer periods than are men, who are more likely to spend their days outside the confines of the home.

Conclusion

Although generally women outlive men, women's health risks are strongly linked to their secondary social status and the disproportionate social burdens they bear, especially in countries with low social,

health, and economic resources. Much of women's health burden can be relieved not only through more access to health resources, but through social and legal improvements that increase their access to education, money, and social power and will protect them from some of the impacts of poverty, conflict, social dislocation, and illness.

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See also Cancer; Health Disparities; HIV/AIDS; Infant Mortality Rates; Mental Health; Poverty, Feminization of; Women's Health Movements

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Web Sites

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World Health Organization: http://www.who.org

World Health Organization, Department of Gender, Women and Health: http://www.who.int/gender/en

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was a program that provided cash support to single parents, usually mothers, with children under the age of 18 whose assets and income were below a specified level. AFDC originated in the 1935 Social Security Act as the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program, which was intended to provide cash benefits for poor widows with children. The program was renamed AFDC in 1962. Along with the monthly cash benefit, families who received AFDC were also eligible for Medicaid. After the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988, participation in a job opportunities and basic skills training program (JOBS) was mandatory for women with children age 3 years or older. The AFDC program was abolished in 1996 and replaced with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program (TANF).

While AFDC was indeed a vital resource for some women, it has also been criticized on numerous grounds. First, there was debate within society regarding divorced and never-married women staying at home and receiving monthly grants while their married counterparts were active in the labor force. In an attempt to deal with this criticism, limited programs for married couples were created after 1988. Second, the program itself was very bureaucratic and had disincentives to leaving built in. AFDC had very detailed income stipulations regarding unearned income, earned income, and assets. For example, while the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1981 and 1984 and the Family Support Act of 1988 brought about major changes in the earnings disregards, there was still an inherent earnings disincentive to obtaining employment. Third, the benefit levels varied by state and were not indexed to inflation. For example, in 1994, in comparing the highest and lowest grant states in the lower 48, recipients in Connecticut received a monthly grant of $680, while recipients in Mississippi received a monthly grant of $120. Fourth, there was also a child support disincentive built into the program. For women to obtain AFDC, they had to cooperate with welfare officials in establishing the paternity of their children and in obtaining support payments from the fathers. However, the mother would see only the first $50 of each month's child support payment, and for every dollar above that, the state would reduce the mother's AFDC grant by an equal amount.

This deduction by the state provided a disincentive for fathers to pay more than $50 a month in child support, as their children would not see that money. The requirement to establish paternity also made some women who were escaping domestic violence fearful that obtaining child support would result in physical violence against them. It is also important to note that

many women who were eligible for the program chose not to receive it due to the stigmatization of the program and hassles involved with participation.

Melissa Fugiero

See also Child Support; Poverty, Feminization of; Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; Welfare Reform; Workfare

Web Sites

U.S. House of Representatives Green Book 1994: http://aspe.hhs.gov/94gb/sec10.txt

ALL-CHINA WOMEN'S FEDERATION

The All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) (or "Women's Federation," known as *Fulian* in Chinese) is the official state-sponsored organization representing women's interests in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Founded in April 3, 1949, its basic mission is to represent and safeguard the rights and interests of women and promote gender equality. The Women's Federation has advocated policy changes on behalf of women and also played a role in responding to women's issues at a local level. Among its current tasks are to promote and increase literacy rates, technical skills, employment opportunities, and the political participation of women.

The umbrella organization consists of the national and local women's federations, whose administrative structure parallels that of the PRC's political administrative divisions: the national, provincial, prefectural, county, town/township, and village levels. Each tier of the Women's Federation is under the direct supervision of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) committee at its own level. The Women's Federation thus plays a dual role of transmitting and implementing state policy, along with representing women's interests to the state. At present, there are more than 60,000 branches at or above the township level and 980,000 committees at the grassroots level.

The Women's Federation was initially established as a mass organization to support the CCP. Women were mobilized as a force to forward the goals of the CCP and also to further women's interests and rights. While both goals were seen as complementary, the mission of the party took precedence over women's issues. Developments after the post-Mao era, along

with 1980s economic reforms, however, have led to many transformations. These include the emergence of other women's organizations, formation of women's studies as a discipline, introduction of issues of global feminism to the PRC, along with the Women's Federation's changing relationship to the state. One of the key transitional moments came in 1995, when China hosted the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO (nongovernmental organizations) Forum in Beijing. The international stature of the conference brought the Women's Federation funding and publicity, and more attention to women's issues. It also exposed members to global gender issues and international women's NGOs. Around this time, the Women's Federation began referring to itself as an NGO. This gesture can be seen as a measure to acquire legitimacy as a body representing women's rights, to gain international recognition and funding, and to enable ties with other NGOs. As its Web site reads, the Women's Federation "is the largest women's NGO in China promoting women's rights."

The Women's Federation's adoption of NGO status, however, has been widely contested and debated, given its close relationship with the state. Balancing the dual role of the Women's Federation as a state-funded and state-supervised entity with its identity as an organization actively advocating for women's issues still remains a challenge.

Eileen J. Cheng

See also NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Transnational Development, Women and

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ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The All India Women's Conference (AIWC) was created for the purpose of improving women's education in India. Today, it is one of the oldest women's organizations in the country. The AIWC currently has 100,000 members in 500 branches throughout India, engaged in work on a range of issues, including education, development, economic empowerment, and social welfare. The organization also runs 150 educational institutions, and its headquarters are located in New Delhi, India.

Background

In 1926, at the suggestion of the organization's founder, Margaret Cousins, a number of regional conferences were held throughout the country to discuss specific local issues regarding educational reform. In January 1927, delegates from these regional conferences were invited to attend the first official AIWC. Approximately 2,000 people attended this national gathering, which took place in Poona, India. The conference and the participation of women from a range of communities and backgrounds signified an important chapter in the development of the women's movement in India. During this time, a number of resolutions were adopted aimed at enriching the content of primary education, vocational training, and collegiate-level programs. The AIWC was critical in helping to increase societal acceptance of women's education and in working toward increasing women's literacy rates.

During subsequent conferences and following significant debate on the issue, the organization decided to expand the scope of its work beyond its educational focus to include a social reform agenda. The organization became actively involved in legislative advocacy aimed at ending the practice of child marriage and securing women's rights to divorce and inheritance. The group also participated in efforts to improve women's working conditions and to secure women's right to vote. Several members of the AIWC participated in the framing of the constitution following India's independence, and many of the organization's past presidents went on to hold significant political positions. The AIWC also worked to expand its visibility and build connections beyond India. The group participated in several international conferences and serves as a consultant to several international agencies on economic and social issues impacting women.

Contemporary Work

The AIWC's current work involves a range of activities and projects aimed at improving educational opportunities and increasing women's workforce participation. The group utilizes a range of strategies, including public awareness campaigns, protest meetings, leadership training, and legislative advocacy. The organization works on issues such as health and family welfare, women's labor, trafficking, disaster relief, developing rural energy, and microcredit programs. The AIWC has also initiated several projects aimed at training and employing women in fields ranging from computing to textile weaving to hair and skin care.

Sharmila Lodhia

See also Naidu, Sarojini; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Ramabai, Pandita

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ALPHA MALE

An *alpha male* is a high-ranking member of a group or pack. He is aggressive and dominates the other *beta males,* lower-ranking, weaker members of the group, usually through force and intimidation. Members of a group often defer to the alpha male, bestowing upon him authority, decision-making power, and privilege. The alpha male is often larger, stronger, and more intelligent than the other males in the group. As a result, he has the greatest choice of and success with the females. His size, strength, and status are often appealing to the female members of the group, as these characteristics are predictors of desirable genes that may be passed down to their offspring. The alpha male also denies the other males' access to the females. The alpha male is therefore more often reproductively successful, repeatedly spawning and caring for a greater number of offspring than the other beta males. From an evolutionary perspective, this ensures the "survival of the fittest," as the stronger, more

dominant alpha male attempts to guarantee that his genes are passed down to the next generation.

Alpha male is a term that describes a set of characteristics displayed by males within a particular group, characteristics that ensure domination over other males and access to the females' sexuality and reproductive capabilities. It is a term that is most often and more traditionally used to describe hierarchy along the lines of gender within a particular harem of the animal kingdom. However, *alpha male* has more recently been used within popular culture linguistics to describe the characteristics of and relationship between human males. It is increasingly applied as a descriptor to men who exhibit particular characteristics that correspond to a specific idea of *model manhood* in Western society. As a result, there is a pecking order or hierarchy among the males that grants one status and authority over the others. The alpha male man is most known for his strength, intelligence, wealth, and sexual prowess. As a result, the term is popularly used to describe high-ranking competitive bodybuilders, football players, businessmen, and the like. However, it is perhaps the sexual prowess of a man that most notably marks him as an alpha male.

Both animal and human alpha males derive status within their male peer groups from having access to and engaging in sexual intercourse with a number of females. However, whereas sex for the animal alpha male is rooted in reproduction and evolution, the alpha male man is interested in his ability to flirt with and persuade numerous women to have sex with him for recreational purposes. Women often find the alpha male attractive as a partner, and other beta males often do not attempt to challenge him. Sexual promiscuity reinforces his sexual desirability and status as alpha male among other men. These alpha men conform to a particular culturally dependent ideal of masculinity, one that is rooted in sexual promiscuity, female objectification, and emotional removal from intimate encounters and relationships.

Kristen Barber

See also Androcentrism; Courtship; Hegemonic Masculinity; Patriarchy

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American Birth Control League

The American Birth Control League (ABCL) was founded on April 26, 1923, by Margaret Sanger. The ABCL's issues included legalizing birth control in the United States as well as other global issues, such as world population growth, disarmament, and world famine. Sanger gave the American birth control movement a jump start in 1916, when she opened the first birth control clinic in the United States in Brooklyn, New York. Sanger and her collaborators were arrested and indicted under the Comstock law, which defined contraceptive information and materials as being obscene. Sanger's establishment of the ABCL in 1923 led to the opening of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau that same year in New York City. Here, licensed physicians prescribed contraceptives and studied their effects on women's health in hopes of broadening the interpretation of the Comstock law.

Sanger has been quoted as saying, "No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her own body." Upon establishing the ABCL, she also created a set philosophy of principles and goals. The ABCL stated that a woman's right to control her own body is central to her human rights, that every woman should have the right to choose when or whether to have children, that every child should be wanted and loved, and that women are entitled to sexual pleasure and fulfillment.

In 1925, the first manufacturing of diaphragms in the United States occurred when Sanger's second husband, J. Noah Slee, aided in financing the manufacturing of the contraceptive devices. The following year, Sanger, serving as president of the ABCL, joined forces with Sir Bernard Mallet, the Secretary of the International Federation of Birth Control Leagues, to organize the first World Population Conference at Geneva, Switzerland. In 1929, the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau was raided by police due to direct violation of the Comstock law. The bureau's physicians and nurses were arrested, and all confidential medical records and documents were seized by the police. Outrage and protest followed the defendants' discharge from authorities. Sanger fought back and founded the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control in order to overturn the Comstock law.

The ABCL's efforts and influence proved to produce a real successful change in 1936, when a judge liberalized the Comstock laws in New York, Connecticut, and Vermont. The following year, the

American Medical Association recognized birth control as being an integral part of medical practice and education. In 1939, the ABCL came together with the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau to form the Birth Control Federation of America. The Birth Control Federation of America became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942 and today operates more than 850 high-quality medical service establishments nationwide.

Theodora R. Moses

See also Abortion; Contraception; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Sanger, Margaret

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Web Sites

Planned Parenthood Federation of America:
http://www.plannedparenthood.org

American Civil Liberties Union

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization advocating for the individual rights and liberties guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution. It was founded in 1920 by a group of political activists, including Roger Baldwin, Crystal Eastman, and Jane Addams, as a lobbying group against government repression of free speech, and it focused on supporting conscientious objectors from World War I. Since then, in its efforts to protect civil liberties impartially, the organization has represented a diverse clientele, including groups the majority of society has disfavored, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and Communist Party. The ACLU has gained significant recognition as a pivotal force of social change for society's most oppressed groups. It has contributed to developing new legislation and has litigated at both the state and federal levels.

As part of its commitment to defend the rights of traditionally subordinate groups, the ACLU has supported women's reproductive rights since the 1920s, when it was the only public interest group to support sex education in schools. Later, the ACLU played a significant role in the debates over rights to privacy and contraceptive use in *Poe v. Ullman* (1961) and *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965). By the mid-1960s, the organization firmly supported a woman's right to choose abortion. At the state level, the ACLU contributed greatly to the reversal of Georgia's abortion laws in *Doe v. Bolton* (1973). In efforts to ensure the legal precedent of *Doe* and *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the ACLU founded its Reproductive Freedom Project in 1974, which was involved in every Supreme Court abortion case until the early 1990s.

Similar to its targeted activism on abortion, the ACLU was also a leader in the movement for gender equality. Following its legal involvement in several sex discrimination cases, the organization founded a committee on discrimination against women in 1944 that advocated for women's equal pay in the workplace. By the 1970s, the ACLU fully endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would constitutionally guarantee protection against sex discrimination, though in previous decades it rejected such a bill under the belief that it would undo the organization's many gains in protective legislation for women. Amid this fight, Ruth Bader Ginsburg successfully litigated for the ACLU in *Reed v. Reed* (1971) and *Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973), both breakthrough cases for the protection of women's rights. Ginsburg also helped organize the ACLU's Women's Rights Project in 1971, which participated in more gender discrimination cases in the Supreme Court than any other women's rights group until the 1980s.

The ACLU continues to focus on personal freedom and cases where constitutional rights may be at risk. In recent years, the organization has expanded its scope to include contested civil liberties violations resulting from the agenda for national and world security of the administration of President George W. Bush. Since September 11, 2001, the ACLU has challenged measures including the untried detainment of enemy combatants residing both abroad and in the United States and the government's covert wiretapping of private phone conversations.

Kate Viernes

See also Abortion; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Gender Discrimination in Employment

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AMERICAN MEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION

The American Men's Studies Association (AMSA) describes itself as an independent organization of scholars, practitioners, teachers, and students with a common goal of advancing the critical studies of men and masculinities. The organization was formed in 1991 after branching off from the Men's Studies Association in order to expand the scope of their work. AMSA is distinguished from other men's group sites in that it strongly emphasizes the academic perspective of men's studies while also maintaining a personal access point for those affected by such issues. AMSA remains active primarily through an annual conference held on men and masculinities, which addresses issues including professional and personal research topics on how men's studies and masculinity fit into the paradigms of emotional, cultural, and social ideologies. AMSA's early pioneers include Martin Acker, Shepherd Bliss, Harry Brod, Sam Femiano, Martin Fiebert, and Mike Messner. The philosophical roots of AMSA originated in the 1980s and first began as the Men's Studies Task Groups, which was based on a collective organization of people with similar professional and/or personal interests.

AMSA presents a very formal and well-iterated description of the organization through its Web site mission statement. The organization gives a historical and reflective analysis of the evolution of its field of masculinities studies, along with a detailed statement of purpose. This development includes the change in aspects of power, patriarchy, and hierarchy from a more rigid historical definition of these theories to an emphasis on their contemporary application.

AMSA strives to maintain relationships with both an audience of scholarly expertise in the field of men's studies and an audience experiencing men's issues and masculinity in a more personal manner. As AMSA describes the organization based on its purpose, mission, and history, the format changes in the flow from a more academic prose to a more informal and personal prose. This is accomplished through use of explicit language. The Web site displays this academic stance through its mission statement, conferences, and overall description of the organization. The links to resources and related issues reveal a side of AMSA based more on personal experience. To cover the range of men and masculinity, ASMA must ensure an atmosphere of safety in order to cover all issues within the study of gender. This is done to maintain relationships with both the academic and more-personal communities, while also avoiding accusation of antifeminist principles. AMSA repeatedly refers to the relevance of feminism to their mission but asserts that feminism is not the foundation of the organization. AMSA primarily works toward a future of ending the perception that men's studies is a threat to women's studies.

AMSA organization encourages and projects the development of men's studies and masculinities to a broad audience in the academic field as well as those who are affected on a more personal level.

Caroline E. Gates

See also Masculinity Studies; Men's Movements; Women Studies

AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The America Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) was founded in 1869 in Boston, Massachusetts, by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and Josephine Ruffin. The AWSA focused changing legislation in order to give women the right to vote. The AWSA was not alone in fighting for women's right to vote. AWSA as well as the National Women's Suffrage Movement (NWSA) competed as the two main factions fighting for the same cause. The AWSA was concerned only with the issue of women's right to vote, as opposed to NWSA's larger and more liberal platform that also included other issues of the day, such as organizing working women and women's divorce rights and laws.

The AWSA was larger, better-organized, and more conservative than the NWSA. Their chief concern was achieving success for their cause through state-by-state campaigns. The NWSA differed not only in their platform of issues but also in the strategy in achieving success. The organization fought for a federal constitutional amendment rather than a change in individual state legislature to give women the right to vote. After years of struggling against each other in regard to the issues as well as strategy, the AWSA and the NWSA ended their rivalry and organized together to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The leaders of the NAWSA included Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Chapman

Catt, Frances Willard, Mary Church Terrell, and Anna Howard Shaw, among others.

The AWSA came into conflict not only with the NAWSA but also with antisuffragists throughout the United States. The most liberal of males still considered women to be second-class citizens. In addition, an antisuffragist movement of women began to surface. This conservative group of women, called "antis," accused the suffragists of the AWSA of being disloyal to their sex and ignoring the war effort. The antisuffragists' platform was social rather than political, stating that the right to vote was a burden that would cause the end of family life.

Despite harsh criticism from conservative groups, as well as combating the negative press that the Women's Party attracted due to their radical picketing of the White House, in January of 1918, Congress passed the Woman's Suffrage Amendment. In June 1919, the Senate, in turn, passed the bill, which left the question of women's right to vote up to the states. Thirty-six state votes were needed for ratification, and that was achieved with Tennessee's ratification in August 1920. The AWSA was able to achieve its goal of obtaining the right to vote for American women by cooperating with the National Woman Suffrage Association and is still considered one of the foremothers of the women's rights movement in America.

Theodora R. Moses

See also Anthony, Susan B.; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage Movement; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Androcentrism

Androcentrism is a worldview that positions males, male bodies, and male traits and achievements at the center of social, historical, and scientific value, while positioning those of females in the margins, rendering them invisible or deviant from what is considered normal. This occurs when male experiences are considered universal rather than characteristic of the male gender and has serious implications in the lives of women. The term *androcentric* is widely attributed to Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a 19th-century American feminist writer, who first observed that most recorded *human* experience is, in actuality, *male* experience.

Social Structures

In an androcentric worldview, male behaviors and characteristics are considered normal and thus more highly valued, while those of females' are devalued. For example, aggression and competition (strength) are assigned higher value than compromise and cooperation (weakness). Furthermore, male qualities are more socially acceptable if possessed by males. Males and females are taught two differing sets of values along gender lines from a young age, and more emphasis is placed on the importance of male qualities. Young females who aspire to these male qualities may be labeled "tomboys." These transgressions, while acceptable to a certain degree, are ones girls are expected to outgrow during adolescence. Androcentric social order has implications beyond childhood behavior: Adult female behavior or pursuits considered more appropriate for men are regarded as atypical and even deviant, limiting women's social participation, for example, in positions of leadership or scholarship or as initiators in intimate relationships.

The social organization of labor along gender lines also places more value on work done by men. Public work (outside the home) is thought of as more important than private work (labor performed in the home, such as child rearing and cleaning). Although the advent of the women's liberation movement has made varying types of work outside the home more accessible to women, the reverse has not occurred; men are still considered unusual or less masculine if they choose to be homemakers. Similarly, expectations of women in the workforce conform to normative work habits and success patterns traditionally appropriate for males. Habits considered normal and desirable for all employees, such as full-time availability and uninterrupted commitment, have not changed as women enter the workforce. Although women continue to bear the majority of domestic responsibilities, they are still expected to be model employees in a workforce with androcentric values.

Scholarship, Religion, and Language

In androcentric accounts of history, that is, *human* history, male experiences are considered universal and noteworthy. Women as historical figures are depicted as silent onlookers, stereotypical characters, or are simply absent. This approach has rendered women nearly invisible in the annals of history, underscoring the androcentric viewpoint of females and female activity as supplementary or less important. Additionally, due to social limitations placed on the female gender, women were once restricted from participating in scholarship, or knowledge making.

Androcentric cultures throughout the world have social mores (customs) based on patriarchal rule and religion (founded on paternity, or leadership through the lineage of the male parent). Like histories, texts of patriarchal faiths often record the commandments, deeds, and wisdom of prominent male figures, and these texts are revealed to/recorded by males. Despite this, the truths of these texts are assumed to be universal. Men tend to serve as clergy or interpreters of truths, and women are actively encouraged to serve in subordinate positions rather than those of authority. Laws based on religious doctrine either directly or indirectly tend to favor men and more harshly punish women who transgress.

Androcentric language is also assumed to be universal, although it places limits upon social roles and attitudes about women by shaping perceptions of normalcy. For example, vocations traditionally held by men *(fireman, chairman)* may seem closed to women or absurd for women to occupy unless truly universal language is used *(firefighter, chairperson).* Language may also be used to reinforce gender roles that men and women are assumed to occupy exclusively *(female doctor, househusband, Mr. Mom).* Androcentric language is generally applied to women in ways that point out deviation from the male norm and objectify that difference. For example, women are often referred to in terms that describe physical characteristics, such as *blond* or *redhead;* it would be unusual or seemingly inappropriate to refer to males in a similar fashion.

Science and Health

An androcentric approach to studies of nature, notably the body, assumes the male body is the normal standard. From this standpoint, average female bodies appear weaker and less able to perform tasks that androcentric cultures value, such as certain types of athletics that emphasize strength (feats at which men excel) rather than flexibility (feats at which women excel). Medical research may be considered applicable to female bodies though conducted exclusively on male bodies, or health problems that afflict women may be ignored by researchers altogether. For example, recent developments in heart disease research demonstrate that symptoms, treatment, and diagnosis of female heart attacks are not the same as for men and that risk for heart attacks is much higher for women than supposed.

Furthermore, from an androcentric perspective, ordinary functions of the female body seem pathological. Menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth appear to be conditions that are problematic or routinely require treatment.

Feminist scientists have theorized that the basis of science, the claim of objectivity, is itself impossible. For example, they point out that androcentric science has been shown to attribute the gendered social behavior of human males and females to cellular organisms (for example, active sperm, passive egg) in ways that bias research. They have called for new perspectives in the way scientific research is conducted and analyzed.

Tracie Welser

See also Domestic Labor; Gender Identities and Socialization; Health Disparities; Phallocentrism; Religion, Gender Roles in; Research, Gender Bias in

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ANDROGEN INSENSITIVITY SYNDROME

The term *Androgen insensitivity syndrome* (AIS) refers to an X-chromosome-linked recessive mutation resulting in undervirilization of male external

genitalia. The degree to which external genitalia are "feminized" is dependent on the functionality of the androgen receptor. Deletion of its gene results in *complete AIS (*CAIS). In CAIS, an individual's external genitalia appear female. Reduction in androgen receptor functionality results in *partial AIS* (PAIS). PAIS is graded on the extent of feminization of external genitalia, which can be ambiguous at birth. Most individuals with AIS are infertile but face virtually no other morbidity or mortality. Treatment includes extended psychological support and hormone therapy. The overall incidence of AIS is 5 in 100,000 live male births. CAIS is slightly more common than PAIS.

Pathophysiology

Between the 8th and 10th week of gestation, male gonads begin producing testosterone, dihydrotestosterone (DHT), and Müllerian inhibiting factor (MIF), which are hormones critical to male development. In AIS, normal amounts of hormones are produced, but properly functioning androgen receptors for testosterone and DHT are absent. While MIF causes internal male development, unopposed testicular estrogen causes external female genital development.

Presentation

All individuals with AIS lack internal female reproductive organs and do not menstruate, though the conversion of testosterone to estradiol enhances breast development. Only individuals with the mildest forms of PAIS are fertile. Most individuals have sparse armpit and pubic hair.

In CAIS, individuals have labia, a clitoris, and at most, the distal two thirds of the vagina, though sometimes only a dimple is present. Because individuals with CAIS look female, they are rarely diagnosed in childhood unless a mass in the lower abdomen or groin is felt and imaging or surgery reveals an undescended testis. More often, CAIS individuals present to a physician during puberty when they fail to menstruate.

In PAIS, there may be undescended testes, a small penis, placement of the urethal opening on the underside of the penis, an enlarged clitoris or fused labia. Due to ambiguity, PAIS is often diagnosed in childhood. Otherwise, individuals will present to a clinician during puberty. If male identified, they are often concerned about breast development. If female identified, they are often concerned about the lack of menstruation.

Diagnosis and Treatment

Diagnosis is confirmed by the presence of a Y chromosome, male levels of testosterone and DHT, and, on imaging, intra-abdominal testes or an absent uterus.

In addition to long-term counseling for individuals and families, support groups play a significant role in treatment. Gender-appropriate hormone therapy is usually started at puberty. Eventually, testes are surgically removed to prevent intra-abdominal testicular cancer that could be missed on physical examination.

Optional, cosmetic treatments include nonsurgical lengthening of the vagina, vaginal construction, or clitoral reduction. Breast reduction and repositioning of the urethral opening are surgical options in male-identifying AIS patients. It is recommended by clinicians, ethicists, and patient advocates that surgery occur only when a patient can give full and informed consent.

Rishi Rattan

See also Gender Dysphoria; Hormone Therapy; Intersexual, Intersexuality

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ANDROGYNY

Some individuals, known as *androgynous,* exhibit high levels of both masculine and feminine traits. In the last 40 years, research has determined how to define and measure androgyny and whether it has psychological or relational benefits.

History of Masculinity and Femininity

Research on masculinity and femininity has been conducted for decades. In most psychological literature, the most accepted definitions of masculinity and femininity have stemmed from a trait-based perspective on men and women. In other words, *masculinity* is defined as having traits reflecting agency or instrumentality. Agentic, and therefore masculine, individuals easily act upon their environments. They take

control and have power. Other traits commonly associated with masculinity are assertiveness and self-protection. Conversely, *femininity* is associated with communal traits. Communal individuals are other oriented and enjoy group interaction. They are social caretakers who are sensitive and helpful.

Early conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity tagged them as opposite ends of a one-dimensional concept known as *sex role orientation.* Masculinity and femininity were seen as interrelated constructs such that if one were masculine, it would be impossible to be feminine, and vice versa. In 1973, Anne Constantinople published a critique questioning the unidimensionality of masculinity and femininity. In response to this critique, new sex role orientation measures were developed that redefined the way masculinity and femininity were conceptualized.

Definition and Measurement of Androgyny

If masculinity and femininity are separate, unipolar constructs, measures of masculinity and femininity should assess the constructs in this manner. Two popular measures of sex role orientation emerged during the 1970s: the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). The BSRI was initially designed by having undergraduates rate how desirable it is for males and females to have each of 400 attributes. Traits that were rated as more desirable for a male were labeled *masculine,* and those that were labeled as more desirable for a female were labeled *feminine.* The final BSRI consisted of 60 traits: 20 masculine (including aggressive, independent and competitive), 20 feminine (including sympathetic, warm, and nurturing), and 20 neutral traits. To complete this questionnaire, participants indicate how descriptive each trait is of them. Those who score more highly on the masculine traits (compared with the feminine traits) are labeled as *masculine.* Feminine individuals score more highly on the feminine traits than the masculine traits. Androgynous individuals score highly on both masculinity and femininity. Undifferentiated individuals do not score highly on either masculinity or femininity.

Spence and Helmreich's PAQ is similar to the BSRI in that it includes gender-related traits on which participants rate themselves. The PAQ was designed by having participants indicate which, out of a series of traits, were more *likely* to be present in males or

females. This is in contrast to the BSRI's design, which focused upon the *desirability* of the traits for each gender. Though the PAQ is shorter than the BSRI at only 16 items (8 masculine, 8 feminine), the scoring is similar in that participants who align themselves more closely with masculine traits are masculine, participants who align themselves more closely with feminine traits are feminine, and participants who align themselves with both masculine and feminine traits are androgynous. Despite the age of these inventories, the BSRI and PAQ are still the most widely used assessments of sex role orientation.

The Effects of Androgyny

Once the measurement of androgyny was honed, research on the construct exploded. The large-scale assumption guiding this research was that androgynous people are more psychologically adjusted than those who are only masculine or feminine. After all, if androgynous people possess agency and communality-related traits, they should be better able to adapt to diverse types of settings. When in an agency-related situation, a feminine individual cannot draw upon agentic traits, but an androgynous person can. Similarly, that same androgynous individual may appear socially adept in communality-oriented situations. For example, managers must both construct a game plan for their teams (which requires agency) and console upset coworkers (which requires communality); thus, androgynous individuals, because they have both sets of traits, might enjoy a greater breadth of understanding and skill in a managerial role than someone possessing only stereotypically masculine or feminine traits. Though this explanation for why androgyny may be beneficial is intuitive, the research in this area has shown mixed results. In some studies, androgyny is linked to beneficial outcomes, but in others, there is no relationship between androgyny and advantageous psychological and behavioral manifestations.

Androgyny and Psychological Well-Being

To determine the relation between sex role orientation and psychological well-being, Whitley reviewed 35 studies. In this meta-analysis, three models were tested: (1) the *congruence model,* which states that well-being would be most beneficially influenced when sex role orientation matches biological sex;

(2) the *androgyny model,* which states that well-being is maximized when individuals possess both masculine and feminine characteristics, regardless of biological sex; and (3) *masculinity model,* which states that well-being is maximized when individuals possess only masculine traits, regardless of their biological sex. This review of the literature concluded quite convincingly that the masculinity model was the best explanation for the data; when either males or females possess masculine qualities, they have the highest levels of psychological well-being. This review provided initial evidence that androgyny was not clearly linked to psychological well-being. Later studies showed some link between androgyny and psychological adjustment, but upon further investigation, it was determined that the true impetus for this link was the presence of masculine characteristics, thus rendering this research consistent with Whitley's meta-analysis.

Despite the lack of evidence for a conclusive link between androgyny and well-being, research has demonstrated that androgynous individuals are more likely to attribute their successes to internal characteristics (e.g., intellectual ability, effort) and their failures to external characteristics (e.g., unfair exam, boss overly critical), which has, overall, been linked to increased perseverance.

Another aspect of psychological well-being is emotional expression. Individuals who can readily express emotions (instead of repressing them) are consistently happier and healthier. In general, androgynous individuals have been found to be more willing than masculine individuals to express happiness, sadness, love, and hate/anger; and feminine individuals fell in-between these two groups. These findings are readily understandable given that different emotions are associated with femininity (e.g., happiness, sadness, and love) and masculinity (e.g., hate/anger), and androgynous individuals possess characteristics of each gender.

Relational Implications of Androgyny

Research has also examined the extent to which androgynous people enjoy relational benefits. One study examined whether androgynous men help more around the house and found that, indeed, androgyny was linked to the performance of household tasks. In this study, participants were asked (1) who performed domestic tasks in their households and why and (2) the amount of conflict this set-up generated.

Overall, women performed more household tasks than men, but androgynous and feminine participants completed more tasks than masculine participants, regardless of sex. Androgynous participants also reported the least amount of conflict over domestic tasks. In couples where the male was androgynous or feminine, more tasks were completed by both couple members.

In other research that more directly examined the link between androgyny and relationship status, androgynous women reported closer relationships with both parents while growing up. In addition, androgynous women were less likely to be married and more likely to have children than masculine women. Last, research demonstrated that androgynous individuals typically have superior social support networks via an enhancement of same-sex friendships for males and cross-sex friendships for females.

Referring back to the manager/employee relationship mentioned earlier, research indicates that it is not the case that androgynous managers, whom one might expect to be better prepared and better skilled, enjoy more on-the-job success or benefits. Powell and Butterfield have conducted a few studies in this area, all of which have conclusively demonstrated that despite a considerable increase in the proportion of female managers, employees still perceive that the "best" manager is masculine, not androgynous or feminine, in sex role orientation. This appears to be the case despite the finding that androgynous individuals tend to have a more "self-and-other" orientation when dealing with relational dilemmas. Thus, it appears that across relationship type, there are complex interactions among sex role orientation and relational well-being.

Conclusion

In sum, when Sandra Bem proposed the concept of androgyny, many expected that androgynous people would be the most behaviorally flexible and psychologically well-adjusted. However, subsequent research demonstrated at least in part that masculine traits are actually more closely related to well-being and adjustment. More-current research has suggested that one limitation of the study of androgyny to date is that the stereotypic feminine characteristics that have been paired with the masculine characteristics (which then, together, make up androgyny) are not as societally valued. In other words, one would not expect stereotypically feminine characteristics like naiveté to predict positive psychological and behavioral

well-being as readily as stereotypically masculine characteristics like assertiveness. Researchers have called for a restructuring of androgyny such that future conceptualizations include equally positive (and perhaps even negative) stereotypically masculine and feminine traits. Because of this limitation, it has been difficult to fully ascertain the utility that an androgynous sex role orientation can offer an individual.

Natalie Smoak

See also Bem Sex Role Inventory; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Gender Stereotypes; Masculinity Studies; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906)

Susan B. Anthony was born into a Quaker family near Adams, Massachusetts, in 1820. Her formal schooling was cut short by the bankruptcy of her father's cotton mill. Anthony spent years teaching and earning wages, which cemented her belief in the importance of women's economic independence. The efforts of Anthony's family to free slaves through the Underground Railroad allowed her to meet abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass, fueling her antislavery sentiments. Despite several suitors, Anthony never married and did not regret it. Throughout her years as a reformer, she would lament the valuable time that she felt her compatriots wasted on child rearing.

After being barred from speaking at a temperance meeting because of her sex, Anthony met feminist activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the two formed the New York State Woman's Temperance Society. Stanton's radical views convinced Anthony that female equality necessitated suffrage. Anthony's meticulous planning and limitless energy made her a tireless reformer, willing to travel, lecture, and petition for the causes of temperance, abolition, and suffrage. In 1854, Anthony and others gathered thousands of signatures to petition the legislature to expand the Married Woman's Property Act. After personally addressing the Judiciary Committee in Albany in 1860, the act was expanded to allow women to own property, keep their earnings, share custody of their children, and sue in a court of law.

Meanwhile, Anthony had continued to travel and speak against slavery, becoming the New York State agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1856. After the Civil War, feminists were aware that the lack of suffrage placed blacks and women in a position of liminal citizenship, and they decided that universal suffrage was essential for equality. In 1866, Anthony, Stanton, and other feminists formed the American Equal Rights Association to agitate for universal suffrage. After the Fourteenth Amendment passed without giving women the vote, a bitter split occurred between feminists. Those led by Anthony and Stanton refused to wait any longer for full suffrage for black men before women, while others demanded that women must be patient. Many feminists accused Stanton and Anthony of racism. In response, they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869. The NWSA called for woman's suffrage first, as well as fair divorce laws and workers' rights. In 1870 and 1871, Anthony urged hundreds of women to cast ballots illegally. She was arrested for voting and forced to pay a fine.

In 1890, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was formed when the NWSA and its rival group merged, and in 1892, Anthony was named president. She campaigned through Colorado in 1893 at the age of 74, after which the state passed a referendum allowing women the right to vote. Anthony stepped down as president of the NAWSA in 1900 and died in 1906. She is remembered for her never-ceasing activism and resolute leadership during the first wave of the campaign for female suffrage.

Laura Beth Harrison

See also Married Women's Property Acts; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage Movement

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Anti-Miscegenation Laws

Anti-miscegenation laws are legislative acts designed to prohibit sex and marriage between persons whom a given society regards as belonging to different racial groups. Within the United States, few topics have fused issues of sexual inequality with issues of racial inequality as thoroughly or as passionately as has miscegenation.

A Brief History of Anti-Miscegenation Laws in the United States

At the federal level, no law ever banned interracial sex or marriage. However, 37 of the 50 states included anti-miscegenation laws among their statutes at some point in their history. Moreover, anti-miscegenation laws were part of state statutes in the North, South, East, and West.

In *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), the U.S. Supreme Court declared that all existing state anti-miscegenation laws were null and void. By that time, nearly all of the remaining anti-miscegenation laws were confined to former states of the Confederacy. One state, Alabama, held onto its anti-miscegenation law until 2000. Alabama's reluctance to let go of a law that could no longer be enforced stands as a testament to the potency of the miscegenation issue in the United States, especially in the Deep South.

Understanding the Origins of Anti-Miscegenation Laws in the United States

To understand how anti-miscegenation laws arose in the United States, one must acknowledge the impact of slavery and its aftermath on interpersonal and intergroup relations. Until slavery was institutionalized, sexual and marital relations between persons of different races were not typically prohibited in the colonies that eventually formed the United States. In fact, prior to the entrenchment of slavery, the concept of race was not nearly as codified as it is in modern-day America. Once the African slave trade was established, not only did race become central to the American psyche, but miscegenation became outlawed throughout most of the United States.

Soon after the end of slavery, the Reconstruction-era U.S. Congress added the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect the civil rights of all American citizens. Nevertheless, as the post-Reconstruction, Jim Crow era descended upon the United States, some state legislatures rescinded their anti-miscegenation laws, whereas other state legislatures continued to enact anti-miscegenation laws with impunity. It was not until the United States Supreme Court explicitly invoked the Fourteenth Amendment in *Loving v. Virginia* that all state anti-miscegenation laws were officially declared unconstitutional.

The Connection Between Anti-Miscegenation Laws and Gender

In theory, anti-miscegenation laws were supposed to be applied equally, regardless of the specific race/gender pairings in question. However, in practice, anti-miscegenation laws often were enforced more vigorously when the "violators" were black male/white female pairs than when the "violators" were white male/black female pairs. The selective enforcement of anti-miscegenation laws as a function of specific race/gender pairings may help explain why white male/black female marriages outnumbered black male/white female marriages in the United States prior to the 1960s.

Despite the current controversy over the prevalence of black male/white female marriages over white male/black female marriages, it was not until the 1970s—the first full decade after *Loving v. Virginia* was rendered—that black male/white female marriages outnumbered white male/black female marriages in the United States. To the extent that *Loving v. Virginia* paved the way for a dramatic increase in black male/white female marriages, it might seem ironic that Richard Loving and Mildred, the protagonists in *Loving v. Virginia,* were a white male/black female couple. Then again, when one considers the

depth of public resentment that has been directed toward black male/white female sexual unions throughout the history of the United States, it comes as no surprise that a court decision involving a white male/black female pair would lead to the end of all legal barriers against interracial marriages in the United States.

Lingering Support for Anti-Miscegenation Laws in the Post–Civil Rights Era

Loving v. Virginia was one of a series of cases that the U.S. Supreme Court rendered in favor of civil rights for American citizens. Even in the post–civil rights era, though, more than 20 percent of white Americans express support for anti-miscegenation laws, and more than 60 percent of white Americans oppose the idea of their close relatives marrying black Americans. White Americans' opposition to miscegenation contrasts sharply with black Americans' lack of opposition to miscegenation. At no time has a majority of black Americans expressed support for anti-miscegenation laws or opposed the idea of their close relatives marrying white Americans.

As has been the case with so many race-related issues, miscegenation generally has been treated as a black-and-white issue in the United States. Public opinion polls rarely solicit the views of Latinas/os, Asian Americans, or Native Americans on anti-miscegenation laws or on close relatives marrying someone from a different race. Suffice it to say that the most consistently documented support for anti-miscegenation laws, as well as the most consistently documented opposition to close relatives marrying someone from a different race, has been voiced by white Americans.

Rates of Interracial Marriage in the United States

Among Western nations, the United States consistently ranks at or near the bottom in terms of the percentage of marriages that are classified as interracial. Fewer than 5 percent of all marriages in the United States are interracial; this percentage is considerably lower for white persons than for persons of color. In turn, among persons of color, black persons are considerably less likely to marry outside their race than are Native Americans, Asian Americans, or nonwhite, nonblack Latinas/os.

Even though they are no longer part of state statutes, the fact that anti-miscegenation laws ever existed in the United States undoubtedly has helped stigmatize interracial marriage. Although black-white marriages often were targeted, various other interracial marriages were banned by anti-miscegenation laws. Native Americans constitute the only racial group in which outmarriage, rather than inmarriage, is the norm.

Conclusion

Throughout the present entry, the concept of race has not been challenged directly. However, as social scientists across many disciplines have acknowledged, the concept of race is socially constructed and has little basis in biological reality. Not all social scientists have been equally enlightened regarding race: Anthropologists have been relatively willing and psychologists relatively unwilling to renounce the concept of race.

Given that 75 percent of black Americans possess European ancestry and 25 percent of white Americans possess African ancestry, it is obvious that the assumption of racial purity underlying anti-miscegenation laws was flawed. Indeed, the existence of such genetic diversity among so-called racial groups is evidence of the prevalence of miscegenation throughout American history despite laws to the contrary. Anti-miscegenation laws never were consistent with the ideals of romantic love and personal freedom that are part of American mythology. With the nullification of anti-miscegenation laws, Americans gradually have become more accepting and less intolerant of sexual and marital relations across racial lines.

Stanley O. Gaines, Jr.

See also Affirmative Action; Eugenics; Marriage; Mestiza Consciousness; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Same-Sex Marriage

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ANZALDÚA, GLORIA (1942–2004)

Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa is one of the most globally eminent and controversial Chicana writers and theorists of the 20th century. She was born on September 26, 1942, into extreme poverty in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, where she experienced sexism, racism, and classism while growing up as a Mexican American. She died on May 15, 2004, at age 62, in Santa Cruz, California. Gloria Anzaldúa obtained her BA from Pan American University and her MA from the University of Texas at Austin and worked as a teacher prior to receiving her MA in Austin and moving to California to live for the rest of her life.

Anzaldúa worked at universities throughout California as a visiting professor or invited guest speaker during most of her career. She often taught classes at the University of California in Santa Cruz for Women's Studies and other departments. As a Chicana lesbian feminist, she transformed and multiplied subjectivity for women of color, while challenging the way in which race and race relations between women of color and white women should be analyzed through her evolving notion of the "New Mestiza." Her theories and observations about race and ethnicity have impacted many academic fields and led to the evolution of other paradigms and theories. She coedited along with Cherrie Moraga *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* in 1981 (another major Chicana lesbian writer critic and activist).

Anzaldúa wrote the revolutionizing *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), which single-handedly changed the way in which subjectivity and identity are viewed in America and the world at large, particularly underlining issues of classism and gender and controversially highlighting and embracing her American identity. She poetically and philosophically united women of color and white feminists in her discussion about "The New Mestiza," expanding the notion of sisterhood to a new level. She also quite successfully edited one of the most popular anthologies for women of color in 1990, *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color* (1990), and coedited along with Analouise Keating *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation* (2002). She was also a prolific writer of books for children. Her children's books include *Prietita Has a Friend* (1991), *Friends from the Other Side—Amigos del Otro Lado* (1993), and *Prietita y La Llorona* (1996).

Anzaldúa is one of the most renowned and anthologized poets and creative writers in the United States. Her quotes about "the border" are ubiquitous and recognized widely, in particular her discussion about the land between the United States and Mexico being an open wound that continually rubs against the other side. Her use of the Spanish and English languages is both creative and sophisticated, inventing neologisms and Spanish words for nonexistant theoretical notions that define identity, particularly for Chicana women.

Although she was one of the most quoted American intellectuals of the 20th century, Anzaldúa died of complications from her diabetes and without institutional health insurance in 2004, on the verge of receiving her PhD from the University of California in Santa Cruz. After her passing, various Chicano organizations, such as MALCS (Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social), dedicated conferences and altars to her.

Gabriella Gutierrez y Muhs

See also Feminist Activism in Latin America; Mestiza Consciousness

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Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa, in Memory: http://gloria.chicanas.com/keatingobit.html

ARAB FEMINIST UNION

During the 1940s, Arab women organized themselves across various colonial and national boundaries into the Arab Feminist Union (AFU) (also known as the All-Arab Feminist Union, General Arab Feminist Union, and Arab Women's Union), which is an alliance of feminist associations from Arab countries. This organization focuses on achieving social and political gender equality while promoting pan-Arab

nationalism. The Egyptian Feminist Union, and particularly its founder, Huda Shaarawi, played a critical role in founding and organizing the AFU.

History

The seeds of pan-Arab feminism were sown in 1938, during the Eastern Women's Conference for the Defense of Palestine. Egyptian Feminist Union founder Huda Shaarawi was elected president of the organization that came out of this conference, and she suggested that the individual countries establish feminist unions. Shaarawi later traveled to meet with women's organizations in a few Arab countries, and delegates of these organizations met in Lebanon to discuss a feminist conference.

In December 1944, the Egyptian Feminist Union convened the Arab Feminist Congress in Cairo. This progressive conference established the AFU, which brought together diverse women's organizations to promote both feminism and pan-Arab unity. However, from 1950 to 1960, several totalitarian regimes took over many of the newly independent Arab countries and cracked down on feminist organizing. At one point, the organization was forced to change its name to the Arab Women's Union, and many of the country's sections were forced to limit their work to providing social services or alter their focus from feminism to women's status within the ruling political party of the state.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The AFU was headquartered in Egypt, while the Egyptian Feminist Union administered the organization, and Huda Shaarawi was the first president. Initially, two other Egyptian women were elected treasurer and secretary. Each of the other member countries, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, had two representatives on the board. Huda Shaarawi drafted a constitution for the organization in 1945.

This organization brought together feminist unions from Arab countries that were each made up of the various women's organizations within that country. The AFU discussed feminism and women's roles as citizens within the constructs of nationalism and pan-Arab struggles. In addition, these feminists focused on the rights accorded to women under Islam, and they sought to affect the personal status laws of their countries. AFU also addressed issues such as the use of Arab women as prostitutes by Western militaries and the gendered nature of the Arabic language. The AFU also began the first journal focused on Arab women.

Today

The AFU is still in existence today, having been revived during increased feminist activism at the end of the 20th century, and it now includes countries from the Arabian Peninsula. Additionally, the goals of AFU live on in other organizations, like the Arab Women's Solidarity Association.

Lisa Leitz

See also General Union of Palestinian Women; Women and Islam

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Arranged Marriages

Marriages arranged by parents or elders in the family were the worldwide norm until the 18th century. While such marriages have declined in the West concomitant to the ascendancy of individualism and the nuclear family, vestiges are still visible among aristocrats, royalties, and minority religious groups. The practice is prevalent in many countries of Asia, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. For example, until the mid-1990s, nearly 80 percent of all marriages in India were arranged by family elders. Communities that have migrated to the West from these countries have imported the custom with them, thus converting certain pockets of Europe and North America into populations that practice arranged marriage.

Definition and Salient Features

Arranged marriage may be defined as a marital union in which intended spouses are selected by parents or respected elders of the bride and groom. However, the

system is not homogenous and can be complex in its variations and in different social contexts. In the best of circumstances, an arranged marriage meets with the approval of all involved parties, and in the worst, it may be forced on one or both intended spouses. Arranged marriage is ubiquitously contrasted to marriage based on romantic love. As globalization of goods, information, and media affects nations, arranged marriages are transitioning to various forms of quasi-arranged marriages. Therefore, rather than viewing marriage as a dichotomy between arranged marriage and one based on romantic/passionate love, it might be more meaningful to understand it in terms of the degree of control allowed to intended spouses. Accordingly, the marriage system may be categorized as follows: (a) The bride and groom have no say in the matter; (b) the bride and groom have the power to refuse; (c) the bride and groom make the choice, but parents/elders have the power to reject; and (d) parents/elders have no say in the matter.

The evolution of the arranged marriage system may methodically occur in the above order. However, the changes in the process might not be gender symmetric; that is, the control that intended spouses are able to wield over the selection of partners might not be equal for men and women. The intended groom may be allowed to veto his elders' selection and even choose and/or express interest in a particular woman, while the intended bride may be expected to obediently and silently accept the arrangement made by her parents and elders.

Societies that practice arranged marriage believe marriage to be an alliance between families and not an individual enterprise; hence, the intended spouses have little to contribute to the decision. Concurrently, these societies make distinctions between premarital romantic and postmarital conjugal love, and the former is generally derided as selfish and imprudent. Cultures that endorse arranged marriage also emphasize familial and social obligations and collective identities and have strong prohibitions against divorce. In arranged marriages, familial relationship is given higher priority than the conjugal bond, and duties within a marriage are stressed much more than any love that might develop between the couple. For example, a couple's strength of partnership is socially judged not by their love for each other, but by their steadfastness in taking care of elderly family members, financially supporting poorer siblings, and raising children with unwavering devotion.

Cultures that defend arranged marriages believe that such unions are stronger than "love" marriages. The low divorce rate in these societies is usually cited to substantiate the point. Proponents presume that when parents and elders select partners for their children, they are calculative and clear-sighted regarding the compatibility of intended spouses. Various social and economic features, such as caste, class, age, education, income, personality, religion, and family background, are examined and compared in negotiating a match. In addition, some families may appraise horoscopes of the intended partners to get a peek at the level of long-term success of the marriage. These advocates believe that young individuals smitten with someone of the opposite sex are hormone driven and are oblivious to the nuances of decision making, and consequently make mistakes in judgment. Thus, it is best to leave these important decisions to the worldly wise parents and elders in the family.

However, it may not be that arranged marriages endure due to infallible assessments of older decision makers. The cultures that sponsor arranged marriage also stigmatize divorce and make it nearly universally inaccessible. Even when marriages do not work, partners are expected to compromise and cooperate for the sake of the family. However, with the increase in young people's engagement in activities outside the home, such as the job market and entertainment, arranged marriages are dwindling in many traditional cultures, such as Korea and China. Simultaneously, divorces among young couples are mounting at an alarming rate; for example, in China, divorces have increased 500 percent since the late 1980s.

Marital Satisfaction and Conjugality

Individuals in arranged marriage nations tend to begin their lives with little or no expectations of their partners and view this as the key to lasting marital unions. They attest that in premarriage romance, partners have high expectations of each other that often lead to disenchantment after marriage and result in divorce. A common saying is that "in romantic marriages love comes before the marriage, and in arranged marriages it comes after." Studies of marital satisfaction yield ambiguous results as to which is more conducive to contentment and happiness, "love" or arranged marriage. Couples in successful arranged marriages are as delighted with their partners as couples who have fallen in love and then married. In cases in which

satisfaction is mediocre, men do not seem to find any difference between love and arranged marriages, but women in arranged marriages tend to blame their dissatisfaction on the type of marriage. Although arranged marriage is routinely assumed in the West to be an underlying reason for domestic violence, there is no verifiable connection between the two. Despite imbalanced gender dynamics often visible in arranged marriages, such marriages do not seem to cause intimate violence—nor are "love" marriages immune to it.

Historically, arranged marriages occurred within a family's relational networks and through known matchmakers. Pictures of intended spouses and information about families were exchanged and investigated before agreements were authorized. These processes may be continuing in rural regions, but people in urban areas have long been utilizing the print media, professional matchmaking services, video, and the Internet to advertise for their sons' and daughters' matrimonials. Global labor migration has also made it necessary for communities that practice arranged marriage to innovate new and hi-tech ways of reaching pools of potential spouses from afar. In the arranged-marriage enclaves in Western countries, the system continues to undergo modifications in response to ever-greater demands of autonomy from the current generation. In many groups, arranged marriage now takes the form of suggested marriage, in which parents introduce their children to each other, hoping for them to click; short-listing of potential spouses, in which the sons/daughters make the final decision; and community-wide parties, in which youngsters of marriageable age meet each other. Most of these adjustments tend to favor men, while women's choices and conduct are policed more stringently.

Immigration and Marriage Arrangements

In immigrant communities in the West, arranged marriage is often taken as a symbol of traditional values that are at risk of obliteration by the dominant society's encroachment. Thus, many immigrant groups spend serious efforts to instill respect for the custom of arranged marriage in their children. Besides, many find the precursor of "love" marriage—dating—unacceptable. First-generation immigrants who are unfamiliar with dating seem to conflate it with sexual promiscuity and accordingly deter their children from engaging in it. As children of immigrants raised in the West reach

marriageable ages, intergenerational conflicts around dating and marriage become prominent. However, in contrast to their parents' interests, most second-generation youngsters state that romantic love is the most important factor in their deliberation of marriage.

Arranged and forced marriages are closely linked. In countries where arranged marriage is the norm, women and men are frequently coerced to marry according to their families' decisions. In cultures that regard girls and women as parental and paternal property, daughters are routinely compelled to marry according to their fathers' and brothers' wishes. These marriages may be determined by the "bride price" the family would receive, whether a profitable marriage swap could be agreed upon for men in the family, and the exchange of debts and penalties that a girl's family might owe the potential groom's family. In highly patriarchal social structures, girls and women are socialized to obey their parents and men in the family; but they also may be physically and emotionally abused to comply. A rebellious daughter may even be killed to protect the "honor" of the family that has been tarnished by her defiance. However, women are not the only victims of forcible arranged marriages. In cultures and religions that do not recognize same-sex attraction, homosexual men may be forced to marry against their will as a cure or to save face for their families.

Human Survival and Arranged Marriage

During times of war, ethnic massacre, social unrest, and crushing poverty, marriages have been arranged between displaced and refugee women and men who were living in safe and prosperous countries. With the survival of cultures and ethnicities at stake, many marriages were arranged by friends, relatives, and matchmakers and confirmed even before the potential spouses had a chance to meet each other. For example, an aftermath of the Armenian genocide in 1915 to 1923 was the pervasive "picture bride" marriages for Armenian men living in North America. Between 1908 and 1924, 20,000 Japanese and Korean picture brides arrived in Hawaii and the United States to be married to immigrant men who could not take time off to return to their countries to get married. A different version of this practice is continuing today in the practice of "mail-order bride," whereby women who wish to move to developed countries through marriage are listed in catalogs circulated in North America and

Europe by matchmaking/marriage agencies. Both the picture bride and mail-order bride practices have gained notoriety because of the many abuses women have suffered in these unions.

Shamita Das Dasgupta

See also Courtship; Domestic Violence; Immigrant Households and Gender Dynamics; Mail-Order Brides; Marriage; Romance and Relationships

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Art, Gender Images in

It is difficult to imagine visual representations that do not evoke gender: Portrayals of human beings and their interaction would be obvious examples of gender images in art, but landscape and still life also involve gendered positions, as embodied perspectives of gender-specific cultural experience, a gendered way of viewing the world, and possibly, a gendered aesthetic approach to its representation. The analysis of gender images in the visual arts and media has been a major concern in feminist and queer approaches to art history and cultural studies and has shaped the practice of artists whose work is informed by gender politics. The following sections highlight some key moments in the history of gender-inflected discussions of visual representation and examine how these have influenced feminist and queer strategies in the production of images.

Images of Beauty: The Nude and the Naked

Most university courses in art history at least until the 1970s began with a lengthy exposition of classical Greek and Roman art, primarily sculpture, as if art had suddenly sprung into being in the 5th century BC and was limited, at that time at least, to the southern tip of Europe. When acknowledged, non-European artistic traditions were either evoked as terms of comparison for Western aesthetic strands or reconfigured under the guise of "primitivism" as stylistic sources for artistic movements, such as cubism. However, a feminist analysis of the conventional Eurocentric origins of art exposes the ideological assumptions, workings, and silences of "traditional" art.

In his influential study of *The Nude,* Kenneth Clark also limits his scope to Europe, from the classical era to Picasso, because according to his definition, the nude is not merely a subject, that is, the portrayal of the human body unclothed, but a *form of art* that was invented in Greece in 5th century BC. In this new form, the representation of the naked body was merely the pretext for allegorically conveying a series of culturally important ideas, such as harmony, ecstasy, and humility. Although erotic, religious, or mythological images of nakedness can be found across the globe through the ages, only in the European tradition was the naked metaphorized as the nude—namely, nakedness invested with meaning. In the nude, the human body is found in its most overdetermined state, simultaneously containing the ideal of physical beauty and exemplifying the highest aesthetic achievement of its cultural setting. Clark privileges sculpture over Greek vase painting because the naturalism and sexual explicitness of (often male same-sex) sexual encounters that are found in the latter do not support his argument.

Critiquing his position from a feminist perspective, Lynda Nead notes that despite refusing to explicitly gender the nude *as form,* Clark mostly discusses female nudes from the point of view of a male spectator. Nead interprets this implicit gendering as a manifestation of a pervasive sexual division of labor in visual culture, including fine art, which places femininity on the side of the model, the embodiment of ideals and the aesthetic object of contemplation, while masculinity is identified with the artist, connoisseur (expert), and consumer of representations and their pleasures. Furthermore, Nead claims, the process by which the naked is turned into the nude has a special affinity to notions of femininity: The nude represents flesh tamed by culture and reshaped through aesthetic ideals into lithe and contained form. Clark alludes to prehistoric statuettes of corpulent female fertility figures as out of control and undisciplined bodies that were gradually contoured and framed in the idealized

Venuses of classical antiquity and the Renaissance. Women's bodies—in but also beyond their representations—are suited to the nude not because they are naturally predisposed to the aesthetic contours of the genre, but precisely because they are not. The female nude, more than the male, embodies the taming of the naked, nature disciplined into culture, because it requires much more disciplining to become idealized.

If Clark's interpretation reinforced the passive-active division of labor between the maker/consumer and model/object of art, it did so only in a highly sublimated manner, that is, by concentrating on the nude as pure aesthetic form, carefully distancing it from sexuality, albeit with only partial success. According to the *active/passive heterosexual division of labor,* a phrase coined by Laura Mulvey to describe the gender dynamics of vision and desire, men look, women are looked at, and analogically, masculinity is the subject desire, while femininity is confined to being its object. In the latter half of the 20th century, the nude erupts back into the naked: In popular visual culture (film, print advertising, etc.) as well as art, the passive-active division of labor acquires the sexual dimension previously suppressed by aesthetic form, and this newly exposed sexuality throws a new light on the power structures underlying representation.

The Gaze

Mulvey, filmmaker and theorist, pioneered a new feminist approach to visual culture, in which Marxist and psychoanalytic theory were critically combined. Mulvey developed an extremely influential and often misused model of interpretation of patriarchal representations broadly defined, including public spectacles such as the Miss World contest, pop art, and narrative film. In this model, the psychological, aesthetic, and political workings of the objectification of women are carefully interrogated. Mulvey coined the term *scopophilia* to describe the mutual implication of the attraction exercised by images in art, film, and advertising, on one hand, and the pleasure that heterosexual men take in looking at beautiful women, on the other. According to Mulvey, the two are never found wholly distinct within patriarchal visual culture. In narrative film, the beautiful face of an actress fills the screen and arrests the flow of the plot, until it gets replaced by the active bodies of men and the narrative speeds up again. In *Women as Furniture,* by pop artist Allen Jones, life-sized statues of women in S&M outfits are contorted to

the shape of a table, chair, and similar items; while their bodies suggest sexual promise, their function indicates domesticity, thus synthesizing the two extremes of the patriarchal fantasy of femininity: the virgin and the whore. Representations are shaped by the expected mode of their consumption, Mulvey argues: As long as pleasurable looking is the primary mode of consuming art and visual culture, the active/passive heterosexual division of labor will remain unchallenged. Women are so pervasively conditioned to be the passive object of the male active gaze that even when alone, they visualize themselves being looked at from outside, by invisible yet omnipresent desiring (or dismissive) eyes.

However, the passivity imposed on femininity is double-edged: if women in representation are relegated to the position of servitude (providing visual pleasure and being perceived as promising other pleasures as well), then real women spectators are actually not involved in either the propagation nor the consumption of such imagery. Their lack of involvement may be approached in two diametrically opposed ways: Whereas it is virtually annihilating of female agency, it can also have a potentially liberating effect. It may be interpreted as annihilating, because the woman spectator is left with two equally compromising options: to either narcissistically identify with the woman portrayed, this strange "narcissism" refers to one trait only—the ability to attract and satisfy masculine "scopophilia"—or to adopt the male gaze as her own, which would not only be politically problematic but, in a sense, impossible. The scopophilic gaze is not one that simply takes woman as its object, but it does so in a specifically male heterosexual way, which does not accommodate lesbian desire. On the other hand, this lack of involvement can also be liberating, because *real* women are not implicated in this economy of looking and being looked at, even though they do suffer its effects. Mulvey points out that representations of women manipulate but do not exhaust the meanings of lived femininity. Art and visual culture might be a reflection of their cultural and social contexts, not in the realist sense of displaying social realities in visual form, but as virtual sites where desires, fears, and anxieties are expressed and worked through. Finally, since art and visual culture are not merely reflections but also sites of construction of gender identities, they make an apt site for feminist and queer interventions through the production of alternative representations.

Feminist Strategies
in Art Theory and Practice

Although almost no feminists involved in the visual arts explicitly promoted a single type of representation and art practice over others, few chose to sit on the fence in their evaluation of feminist art. The good intentions of artists involved in or sympathetic toward the women's movements were rarely in doubt, but the potential effects of their work were a matter for open and at times fervent debate: The key question was whether and how easily feminist artwork could be misinterpreted and co-opted by established phallocentric perspectives. Many existing classifications of feminist art practice point in the direction of a binary division, between often conceptualist art practice informed by deconstruction and psychoanalytic theory, on one hand, and humanist, celebratory art that is normally figurative and inclusive of wide audiences, on the other. Janet Wolff has argued that this division condenses many disparate differences and antagonisms, including "scriptovisual" work (comprising both visual material and text) versus painting, conceptualism versus figurative representation, deconstruction versus celebration, emphasis on theory versus experience, and elitism versus accessibility and inclusiveness. Wolff concludes that despite the dangers involved in co-opting feminism into a purely academic field, there is a pressing need for intellectual work that does not, however, lose its organic links to art practice and social activism. Although the accuracy of the binary divisions she discusses has been persuasively challenged (e.g., much celebratory work is also theoretically sophisticated), their influence still informs the interpretation and classification of second-wave feminist art.

Best known for leading the team responsible for the installation *The Dinner Party* (1974–1979), Judy Chicago has been a prominent artist, theorist, and educator whose work is considered emblematic of the celebratory strand of feminist art. She targets long-standing taboos of female experience, such as menstruation (for example, in the print *Red Flag,* 1971, she depicts the removal of a used tampon) and explores the form of female genitalia both through explicit imagery and in more-abstract formats. *The Dinner Party* drew on the crafts skills of many female volunteers, while evoking the iconography of the Last Supper. It was an imaginary celebration of women's achievements, with three tables arranged in a triangle, including 39

settings for historical and mythological female personages and additional names inscribed within the triangle. Each setting consisted of a painted and sculpted variation on female anatomy and a dedication. Chicago's work has been dismissed as kitsch or even obscene by conservative commentators but has also been met with criticism from feminist circles: Despite celebrating the female form, it also seems to reduce or at least anchor femininity to biology. Although it inverts the chastity of the female nude, it also comes dangerously close to pornography.

Sylvia Sleigh is a figurative painter who inverted the gendered dynamic between painter/spectator and model/object in a series of beautiful male nudes. *The Turkish Bath* (1973) is a clear reference and commentary on the orientalism of Ingres, replacing the exotic and seductive white slaves of the original with trendy young men who, albeit naked, retain much of their individuality in their expression and comportment. *Philip Golub Reclining* (1971) is a gender-inverted revision of Velasquez's *Rokeby Venus* (c. 1650), in which the reclining nude gazes at herself/himself in a cleverly positioned mirror, thus offering both the front and back view to the spectator. Sleigh uses the device of the mirror to put herself into the picture, upright, caught in the act of painting, in the background of an idle unclothed man. Yet, as Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock have noted, despite its incisive critique of the tradition of depersonalized nudes, Sleigh's inversion almost comes full circle: Having replaced women with men, these paintings still highlight that even when placed on the side of femininity, men fail to assume its passive character in the sexual division of labor within representation by remaining obstinately individual and self-possessed.

Based on a profound awareness of the problematic status of the female body as spectacle and object, some feminist artists chose to elide its representation altogether. In her major installation work *Post-Partum Document* (1973–1978), Mary Kelly attempts to reconcile the culturally opposed roles of mother and artist, procreator and creator. By declining to depict the sacred dyad of mother and child and so participate in long-standing conventional representations of woman as mother/Madonna, the installation consists of a scriptovisual documentation of the evolving mother-child relationship. The work documents the preordained separation of the male child from the mother through a combination of meticulous collection and detailed production of documentation in six

parts, ranging from analyzed fecal stains and feeding charts (I) to the child's first attempts to form letters, accompanied by the mother's diary and exergue (VI). In collecting and manufacturing this material and by, significantly, transforming it into a work of art, Kelly probes the tensions and cultural contradictions between the roles of mother and artist, the occupation of child care and artistic or intellectual endeavors. Interestingly, the great conceptual sophistication of the work has been cited against it as well: Despite its evocation of common female experience, Kelly's approach to her material has been deemed mystifying and alienating for a big part of the audience of feminist art. All the same, not only does the *Post-Partum Document* represent a highly evolved theoretical engagement with gender in art and visual culture but it also exemplifies how intricately involved feminist art theory and practice have been.

Queer Perspectives

As in the case of feminism, the critique of existing representations and the creation of alternatives from queer perspectives are closely linked and inform one another. One of the most prominent targets of queer art history and theory has been the desexualized, sublimated nude. Not only did Kenneth Clark's nude disavow the sexual underpinnings of looking and being looked at, he also suppressed a variety of overtly sexual and quite often homosexual representations, in which the sensual body was far from allegorical, standing for nothing more than its own fleshly lust. Unearthing the sexual and specifically the homosexual aspects of classical antiquity unsettled many of the most fundamental assumptions around the foundations of Western aesthetics, let alone sexual mores. Mythological representations of masculinity were reread against the grain, even in the aesthetically and politically conservative neoclassicism. Art historians such as Whitney Davis point to disjunctions between pro-revolutionary politics and radical sexual politics of representation in 18th-century France. Davis reinterprets Girodet's *Sleep of Endymion* against Marxist readings of the painting that operate on a very narrow definition of politics as a distinct level of culture belonging to the public rather than private sphere and having little if anything to do with sexuality. For Davis, Girodet's passive and decadent Endymion represents not the fall of the old regime, but a moment of doubt and opportunity in the formation of gender

positions and oppositions before they solidify into rigid binaries.

One of most successful and controversial gay artists of the late 20th century was American photographer Robert Mapplethorpe. His glossy and highly stylized black-and-white nudes are in an interesting relationship to Clark's definition of the nude, both evoking it and revising it, although perhaps not very radically. Nead argues that his portraits of female body builder Lisa Lyon do challenge and blur the boundaries between conventional definitions of femininity and masculinity. At the same time, however, Mapplethorpe's portrayal of Lyon reinforces the idea of the unruly female body tamed through and within the genre of the nude, contoured through a strict body-building regime and further contained within the formal parameters of the photographer's signature style. Even more politically problematic is Mapplethorpe's series of *Black Males,* in which the lean bodies of young black men are simultaneously portrayed as erotic and, arguably, depersonalized, with their faces often hidden or left out of the frame. To reduce the black body to form and accentuated sexuality is an extremely controversial act that has been deemed racist by some critics. In Mapplethorpe's defense, Kobena Mercer emphasizes that the white male queer gaze through which black men are framed does not represent a dominant or even powerful position in the cultural context of Western imperialism. Hence, Mapplethorpe's pictures do not impose colonial fantasies on the portrayed black bodies, as has been suggested, because gay masculinity is not endowed with such power; instead, they produce a visual language for same-sex desire within the genre of the nude, chipping away at its repressive sublimations and radically revising its cultural politics.

Alexandra M. Kokoli

See also Deities, Gender Images and; Gender Stereotypes; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Women Artists

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Asaf Ali, Aruna (1909–1996)

Aruna Asaf Ali was an important figure in 20th-century Indian history. As a nationalist who fought against British imperialism, as a socialist and member of the Communist Party of India, and as an ardent feminist, she made significant contributions to Indian political life. This entry presents her biography and assesses her contribution to Indian politics.

Aruna Asaf Ali was born in a Bengali Hindu family on July 16, 1909. Her father, Upendranath Ganguly, was a hotelier, and her mother, Ambalika, a home-maker. Educated in a Catholic boarding school, she fell in love with English literature and wanted to go to college, but her family pressured her to marry. She rejected arranged marriages and instead opted for a "self-arranged" marriage to a Muslim lawyer and anti-colonial nationalist, Asaf Ali, who was 21 years older than Aruna. The couple faced major opposition from their families, but they did marry in September 1928 and gradually won the support of both their families. In her personal life, Aruna Asaf Ali sought to maintain her individuality. Several of her personal choices, including her marriage to a Muslim, her choice not to have children, and her romantic relationship with Edatata Narayanan after her husband's death, all defied Indian middle-class social conventions.

Asaf Ali contributed to Aruna's intellectual development by introducing her to Gandhi and Nehru and their political struggle against the British. He also broadened her reading interests beyond literature to include works on socialism, feminism, and Indian nationalism. Aruna Asaf Ali came to the forefront of politics when she unfurled the Indian flag at a political gathering in Bombay in August 1942, thus inaugurating the "Quit India Movement" in that city. Because that rally was banned by the British and many political leaders had been jailed in anticipation of the rebellion, her defiant act propelled her to the center of Indian politics. She went underground during the movement and challenged Gandhi's creed of nonviolence by supporting necessary acts of violence against British authorities. She exchanged several letters with Gandhi in which she discussed her choice of going underground, which was contrary to Gandhi's principle of openness in the rebellion. She also refused to surrender to British authorities despite Gandhi's suggestion she do so, because she felt surrender was morally weak. Despite their differences, Gandhi and Aruna Asaf Ali respected each other's political philosophies.

Asaf Ali aligned herself with the socialist wing of the Congress Party and was drawn to Nehru's ideas of industrialization as a means to social justice and equity. After independence, she joined the Congress Socialist Party and soon also found them not radical enough. Eventually, she joined the Communist Party of India (CPI). She was invited to Russia to study Communist society and was given full access by the Soviet government. Following her husband's death in 1953, she continued her political activism. She was elected New Delhi's first mayor in 1958 and ran as an independent candidate. That same year, she established *Link,* a socialist weekly that sought to support Nehru's socialist economic agenda.

Asaf Ali also actively supported women's issues. She worked with Sarojini Naidu and Rameshwari Nehru and became secretary of the Delhi Women's League, established by Rameshwari Nehru. She worked to increase women's participation in politics and also to promote social change with regard to women's roles in society. She attended the 1932 All India Women's Conference in Lahore and worked through it until the founding of the Communist-led National Federation of Indian Women in 1954.

Aruna Asaf Ali was an independent thinker. All her life, she was engaged in public life. She questioned Gandhian nationalism, Russian communism, and Western feminism. She emphasized the need for an Indian form of feminism that would not simply emphasize middle-class concerns and rejected simplistic adaptations of Western values in the name of feminism. She dedicated herself to public service and humanitarian causes in India and championed social

justice. After her death, she was awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest award.

Nalini Iyer

See also All India Women's Conference; Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini Nehru; Naidu, Sarojini; Ramabai, Pandita

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Assertiveness Training

Assertiveness includes (a) open expression of thoughts and feelings, (b) expressions uninfluenced by emotion, (c) flexible reactions based on consideration for others and the situation, and (d) independent judgment of behavior. Analysis shows that most assertiveness inventories as well as trainings focus on behavioral aspects.

Assertive behavior is related to healthy self-esteem and is the basis for building stable relationships. It is neither aggressive nor insecure. An assertive person sees interaction partners as equals and feels neither superior nor inferior. Twin studies show that there is a biological component in assertiveness, but other factors such as reliable and supportive relationships are important, too. Problems with assertiveness are attributed to lack of models and lack of opportunities to practice assertiveness.

Assertiveness training uses relaxation exercises to cope with emotional distress. Typical cognitive elements are stopping dysfunctional automatic thoughts, disputing irrational beliefs, and practicing alternative interpretations. Behavioral elements include video feedback, modeling, and role-play. Relevant elements include social skills, including reactions to criticism or rejection, being able to say no, and being able to demand one's right. In some programs, a distinction is made between several types of assertive behavior: (a) asking a favor in situations with strangers; (b) balancing relationships with family, romantic, partners, or friends; and (c) demanding one's right in public and formal interactions.

Assertiveness trainings have been conceptualized for various specific groups, such as children, adolescents, ethnic minorities, women, and people who are at risk of being bullied, abusing drugs, or having problems with anger control or aggression. In other words, the target audience of such trainings may be shy as well as aggressive people. Both shy behavior and aggressive behavior are considered inappropriate. The purpose of assertiveness training is to enable participants to replace these behaviors with assertive acts.

Gender Aspect

More women than men have problems with being assertive. A meta-analysis by Jean Twenge compared assertiveness scores in men and women historically and showed that women's assertiveness covaries with their social status and educational attainment.

What is regarded as appropriate and assertive is also related to gender roles. Behavior that is seen as assertive in men is often regarded as arrogant or aggressive in women. This is true of observer perception as well as self-perception. Assertive behavior is more likely to be seen as inappropriate with females, for it clashes with traditional role expectations. Women in high-status positions often experience a dilemma between appearing likable and being effective.

Societal Aspect

Nonviolent social movements have sometimes been sparked by individual acts of assertiveness, such as civil disobedience. In 1955, Rosa Parks, an African American citizen of Alabama, refused to vacate her seat in a public bus for a white passenger and was arrested. That event sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which is considered one of the starting points of the civil rights movement in the United States.

Astrid Schütz

See also Depression; Mental Health; Self-Esteem

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ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS FOR REFORM NOW (ACORN)

The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) began as a membership-building project of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in 1970, in Little Rock, Arkansas. ACORN developed a model of community organizing that worked one-on-one with people to build large membership organizations directed by their low-income, mainly female membership bases. The group has pursued a holistic view of community organizing and has advocated for living-wage legislation, affordable housing, fair lending, rape prevention, and day care and workfare worker organizing.

ACORN grew rapidly. Today, it boasts more than 220,000 members in more than 100 chapters in 38 states, the District of Columbia, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic. ACORN has developed into both a locally effective advocate for low- and moderate-income communities and a nationally important group that is consulted on legislation dealing with a wide variety of issues that affect the group's low- and moderate-income constituents.

ACORN's efforts to expand the supply of affordable housing have included housing takeovers and squatting campaigns in vacant, government-foreclosed housing in the 1980s. A nonprofit housing development and management organization (ACORN Housing Corporation) to manage housing soon branched off. It also was a leader in efforts to pass national legislation against redlining and has worked against predatory lending in low-income areas.

ACORN has led efforts to organize workers in non-standard labor contracts. In the 1990s, ACORN was among the first groups to organize welfare recipients who were compelled to work outside the home as a condition of receiving welfare grants. Since welfare work requirements meant that mothers on welfare had to find child care, the informal and state-funded family day care sector expanded. ACORN began to organize day care workers and has led campaigns in Los Angeles and New York. ACORN has also worked with the Service Employees International Union to organize health care workers and has several affiliated local chapters. It has thus been at the forefront of putting care work into the spotlight as real work, deserving of respect and fair compensation. It has also been a leader in many local battles to implement living-wage ordinances.

In line with the group's ethos of developing campaigns through the concerns of its members, ACORN has also been a leader in urban education reform, both by leading fights against public school privatization and by opening community-oriented charter schools in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. It has worked to enhance neighborhood safety by getting local governments to provide more recreational opportunities and by pressing police departments to increase patrols and to respond more effectively to rape. ACORN has also set up rape prevention programs in several cities.

ACORN has become one of the principal advocates for the poor residents of New Orleans and has advocated for their inclusion in post–Hurricane Katrina redevelopment plans.

John Krinsky

See also Caregiving; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Poverty, Feminization of; Welfare Reform

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Web Sites

Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now: http://www.acorn.org

B

BACHELORS AND SPINSTERS

The terms *bachelor* and *spinster* refer to the civic status of never being married, though they have more commonly been used to describe those remaining unmarried beyond the conventional marriage age. Representations of bachelors and spinsters are indicative of the important status of marriage as a political, economic, and social institution in most cultures throughout history. Declining marriage rates across industrialized countries might suggest the waning importance of marriage; nevertheless, research indicates that marital status continues to be an important category of "difference" shaping individuals' lives.

The English word *bachelor,* found since the 14th century, comes from the Old French term for a young knight in training. The term *spinster,* literally "one who spins," relates to the expected task of the unmarried women of Anglo-Saxon households, that of spinning yarn. The word came to signify unmarried women in legal documents from the 17th century. In 2004, the use of these terms on marriage certificates was rescinded in the United Kingdom as part of legislation introducing civil partnership.

Stereotypes attached to bachelorhood and spinsterhood vary in relation to particular historical and cultural contexts. The many negative synonyms used historically for spinsters, such as "odd," "redundant," and "old maid," are indicative of the different significance marriage has held for women and men. "Eligible bachelor" typically denotes an attractive man worthy of choice; men who remain unmarried, however, risk being represented as either unwilling or incapable of taking on the responsibilities of a family. Historically, the spinster was depicted as a pitiable victim of circumstance, "on the shelf" due to a shortage of men following war or having to care for parents. The modern spinster is more often depicted as pursuing a career at the expense of marriage and motherhood. Both, however, are represented as ultimately unfulfilled. Nevertheless, there is some indication the term is being reclaimed, exemplified by the phrase "leather spinster."

The proportion of the population that never marries has varied according to time and place and in particular epochs could be a significant minority. In contrast to popular images of spinsterhood as a negative state, historical research identifies the positive roles played by never-married women and their invaluable contributions to wider social change. For example, one third of women in early modern England did not marry; typically living in the households of employers or other family members, their contributions were critical to the maintenance of supposedly self-sufficient nuclear families. In parts of the United States and Europe during the 19th century, remaining never married was a respectable alternative to marriage for women who devoted their lives to the service of others, albeit often within a narrow range of acceptable occupations and behavior. A significant number of never-married women were also active in philanthropic and social reform movements, as well as being the backbone of the first wave of feminism.

Periods of higher rates of spinsterhood have been variously ascribed to demographic factors, such as a relative shortage of men, for example, as a result of the Crusades in the late Middle Ages, or of emigration,

as in 19th-century Britain. Other explanations focus on socioeconomic factors; higher rates of bachelorhood and spinsterhood among African Americans, for example, have been related to persistent racism, alongside increased opportunities for women, impacting on the relative status of black men and women. Declining marriage rates across industrialized nations have been attributed in part to increasing educational and employment opportunities, with more women now having access to the means to live independently. Other explanations analyze these changes in terms of consequent shifts in gender relations. Feminist explanations have interpreted a rise in spinsterhood as a manifestation of female autonomy and relate this to wider societal changes, giving rise to an expansion of female identities beyond marriage and motherhood. Here, remaining unmarried is understood as a positive, chosen status, rather than the outcome of circumstance.

Much research argues that the married are generally healthier, wealthier, and happier. However, the comparison is frequently with "the unmarried," a category including the separated, divorced, and widowed, as well as the never married. Conflating these categories risks overlooking distinctions between these groups as well as overlooking the different characteristics of never-married women and men. Previous research distinguishing the never married shows an association with higher-educational and higher-occupational status for women, compared with both married women and never-married men. The causal relationship is unclear; singleness for women necessitated financial self-sufficiency; however, further research is necessary to elucidate whether this is an outcome or enabler of singleness.

There is an emerging body of empirical research that focuses on individuals' own understandings and experiences, to date mainly looking at women. This research challenges popular understandings of spinsterhood, for example, as associated with isolation and loneliness; rather, it demonstrates that intimacy does not reside exclusively in marriage or with one's own children. Furthermore, this research also indicates contentment with the never-married status that belies representations of spinsterhood as a source of emotional difficulty. However, there is some indication that persistent stigmatizing may impact negatively on individuals' self-perceptions and well-being.

Bachelor and spinster may appear somewhat outmoded concepts in a contemporary context of considerable social transition, including an increase in cohabitation and turnover in relationships, which might suggest a waning of the salience of marital status over time. Nevertheless, marriage remains a materially and culturally privileged status in most societies, a phenomenon academic Bella de Paulo describes as "singleism."

Roona Simpson

See also Boston Marriages; Celibacy; Sexual Rights and Citizenship

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Balch, Emily Greene (1867–1961)

Feminist pragmatist, social settlement leader, and Nobel laureate, Emily Greene Balch was a world leader with an innovative intellectual and political legacy. She is one of the most important female sociologists of the early years of the discipline. From 1897 to 1919, she taught sociology at Wellesley College and devoted the rest of her life to world peace.

Balch was born in 1867, in Boston, a descendant of distinguished American ancestors. Her father, Francis Vernies Balch, was a notable lawyer, and her mother, Ellen Maria Noyes, came from an affectionate, large family. Emily's mother died when she was 17, and she then turned primarily to her father. Balch graduated in

1889 from Bryn Mawr College in its first matriculated class and received its highest academic honor, the Bryn Mawr Fellowship for European Study. Balch began a close friendship with Jane Addams in 1892 at the Summer School of Applied Ethics at Plymouth, Massachusetts. With Helena Dudley, a college classmate, Balch cofounded a social settlement in Boston, Denison House, in 1892.

Balch joined the faculty at Wellesley College in 1897 and taught courses in socialism, statistics, social economics, labor, and sociology. She became a feminist pragmatist, advocating democracy and education to help form an articulate citizenry with equal rights and opportunities for all. Her most significant book was *Our Slavic Fellow Citizen,* the first major sociological analysis of immigration, based on her rigorous field studies. She spent 1905 studying emigration in Austria-Hungary and a year visiting Slavic colonies across the United States. She compared the lives of people in Europe with those of immigrants in the United States. This provided excellent preparation for working with different ethnic groups during and after World War I.

In 1915, Balch, Addams, and Alice Hamilton led a worldwide delegation of women to organize for peace through the International Congress of Women (ICW). Following a wartime meeting with almost 2,000 women, they published *Women at The Hague.* They also met with heads of state, including war nations, to plead for peace.

From 1916 to 1917, Balch took a sabbatical from Wellesley and extended it the following year, while her pacifism and employability were debated at the college. In 1918, she published a pacifist volume, *Approaches to the Great Settlement.* Balch increasingly became the target of virulent attacks after the armistice in November 1918. In 1919, Balch was fired for her radical politics and pacifism: After 20 years of exemplary teaching and scholarship, at 52 years of age, her academic career was over.

A "Red Scare" in 1919 decreed that Addams and Balch were the "two most dangerous people in America," and their names topped a long list of government "conspirators." They were ostracized into the late 1920s, a financially harsh period for Balch.

The ICW met again in 1919 and formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Balch became its international secretary-treasurer and dedicated the rest of her life to its message of peace. She edited the organization's congress

reports for 1919, 1921, and 1924. In 1927, as the leader of a delegation selected by WILPF, she edited and largely wrote *Occupied Haiti.* Its forceful, reasonable arguments led to their adoption by President Herbert Hoover in 1930, including the withdrawal of American military forces from Haiti. Balch was elected cochair of WILPF in 1929.

Balch worked closely with the League of Nations as well as its subsequent organization, the United Nations, as a citizen and WILPF representative. Many of her writings on peace were compiled in *Beyond Nationalism,* but their contextual, organizational networks were never analyzed. Balch lived intermittently in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1920 to 1939, where she labored on behalf of all these organizations. In July 1937, Balch succeeded Addams as honorary international president of WILPF, and her work was recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946. She died peacefully on January 9, 1961, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mary Jo Deegan

See also Addams, Jane; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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Barbie

"Barbie" was created by Ruth Handler, wife of Elliot Handler, one of the cofounders of Mattel. While watching her daughter, Barbara, play with her dolls, Handler realized that other than paper dolls, there were no three-dimensional adult dolls for young girls to play with. Handler thought that producing this type of doll would allow young girls to explore the roles and professions

that would be available to them as adult women. When Handler presented her idea to Mattel executives, it was met with considerable resistance due to the projected production costs and the fact that some were wary of producing a doll for young girls that had such explicit adult features. On a trip to Switzerland in 1956, Ruth Handler saw a doll in a toy shop that mirrored what she envisioned for the doll she pitched to Mattel. The doll in the Switzerland toy shop was named "Lilli" and stood 11½ inches tall, had blond hair, long limbs, and a shapely body. Lilli was targeted for an adult audience and was not intended for children. On her vacation, Handler purchased several different Lilli dolls to bring back to Mattel. Mattel secured the patent and rights for the Barbie doll, and in March 1959, at the American Toy Fair in New York City, the first "Barbie doll" made her debut.

The Evolution of Barbie

Her full name was "Barbie Millicent Roberts," the daughter of Robert and Margaret Roberts, and she was a teenage fashion model. The first Barbie dolls were 11½ inches tall and were available with either blond or brunette hair. The doll was dressed in a black-and-white bathing suit, white sunglasses, black high heels, and gold hoop earrings. She also was packaged with a catalogue showing other models that could be purchased. When she first came on the scene, Barbie was not immediately embraced by the American public; many had never seen a doll with adult features that was designed for young girls. However, in 1959, Mattel sold over 351,000 Barbie dolls.

Since her inception in 1959, Barbie has been transformed and reworked many times to reflect the changes that have occurred in society. Beyond changes in her appearance, Barbie has held over 60 careers, including fashion model, doctor, pilot, athlete, veterinarian, teacher, and fast-food worker. Additionally, Barbie began to reflect other cultures and countries outside of the United States, beginning in 1964 with the introduction of Barbie's and her boyfriend "Ken's" travel costumes. Clothing in this line reflected the dress in Japan, Mexico, Switzerland, and Holland. Beginning in 1980, Mattel marketed a collectors set, Dolls of the World Collection, which contained over 40 different dolls representing countries around the world. Barbie has also been adapted to be more marketable in certain countries. In Japan, for instance, Barbie's expression was toned down, her eyes were brown, her skin pale, and her chest smaller than her

American counterpart. Her feet were molded to fit flat shoes, and her accessories were more domestic—pots, pans, baby bottles, shopping bags, and simple dresses like those worn by Japanese housewives. Likewise, Barbie dolls sold in Middle Eastern countries have also been toned down to reflect the modest dress of Middle Eastern women.

Commentary From Critics and Fans

Despite Barbie's popularity worldwide, many feminists have criticized Barbie as an unattainable ideal for young girls and women and argue that she promotes an unrealistic body image for females. Many of these criticisms focus on Barbie's body measurements. They point out that if Barbie were a "real" woman, her measurements would be 39–21–33, something that only 1 in 100,000 women could actually attain. Likewise, she would lack the necessary 17 to 22 percent body fat needed to menstruate. When confronted with Barbie's unattainable body style, creator Ruth Handler remarked that the doll's clothing would not hang correctly if her measurements were not exaggerated. Feminists also argue that instead of presenting a wide range of careers and interests for girls to pursue, Barbie presents a limited number of stereotypic options. The most outspoken criticism came in 1994, when Mattel produced a "Teen Talk Barbie" who proclaimed, "Math is hard."

Others argue that Barbie can be read as a liberated woman. While she has held numerous careers, she remains self-sufficient and supports herself. Ken entered the scene in 1961 as Barbie's boyfriend, but the two have never married, and in February 2004, a story appeared on CNN and other news networks stating that Barbie and Ken had officially broken up in order to spend quality time apart. Fans use this as evidence of Barbie as a female who does not need a man to be successful or complete.

Still others question whether Barbie is actually female and heterosexual at all. Some scholars argue that Barbie is open to multiple and even conflicting interpretations. One of these alternate interpretations is that Barbie reflects the ultrafeminine persona that drag queens strive to emulate. Others argue that Barbie and her world are also open to nonstraight readings, such as Barbie as lipstick lesbian or closeted lesbian; as bisexual, pursuing a relationship with Ken but breaking it off to pursue other options; or even as asexual. Those who read Barbie in these ways also point to the number of nonnormative occupations that

Barbie has had over the years as evidence of the transgressive properties of Barbie.

Regardless of how she is viewed in society, Barbie is a cultural icon that is a staple in American culture. Her popularity has lasted for 50 years and continues as she is transformed to reflect the culture in which she circulates. As long as she is around, Barbie will continue to attract attention from fans and critics alike.

Carrie L. Cokely

See also Body Image; GI Joe; Media and Gender Socialization; Toys

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BEARS

Bears refers to a subculture of the gay men's community that celebrates being large and hairy, though many of its members suggest that bearness is more a state of mind characterized by friendliness, a down-to-earth attitude, and sex positivity. The idea of a bear as a certain type of gay man was influenced by "chubs" and "chaser" groups, such as Girth and Mirth, and homo-masculine working-class gay icons, such as leather-men, bikers, and cowboys, but also the radical "faerie" subculture that advocated gender ambiguity and a resistance to commodified notions of sex and masculinity.

What began to congeal from these eclectic influences was that a bear man was all or some of the following: bulky, bearded, hirsute, and usually middle-aged. Thus, the more of those qualities any one man had, the more likely it would be that he would be called a bear, but the relationship to masculinity has always been harder to characterize.

Bear has also been defined by what it is not: the idealized gay man put forth in most gay pornography and other gay media, basically a young, fit, and smooth-skinned club-hopping guy who looks like a Calvin Klein model. These types are referred to as "WeHo boys" in Los Angeles and "Chelsea boys" in New York, "twinks" when they are particularly young, and "circuit boys" if they are part of the traveling dance parties known as "circuit parties." *Bear* has always been somewhat of an umbrella term, and the bear scene has been a meeting place for iconic bears and their admirers but also a space where older men, working-class men, large men, hirsute men, bearded men, and their admirers have felt welcome. Admirers have generally been considered part of the community, and the line between bear and admirer is more blurry than the lines between members of other sexual subcultures, such as chubs and their admirers.

Les Wright is generally regarded as the first writer to document the history of the bear scene. He has edited two volumes on bear identity and bear culture, *The Bear Book,* published in 1997, and *The Bear Book II,* published in 2001. He places the origins of bear identity around 1980, when men in San Francisco and a few other U.S. cities began to place little teddy bears in the pockets of their jeans or on their knapsacks. He states that this was in reaction to the practice of placing handkerchiefs in one's pocket to signify sexual roles or fetishes and signified an interest in cuddling.

The bear community started to come together in the mid-1980s as a significant number of self-identified bears and bear admirers began interacting on early computer bulletin boards and having parties. In 1986, *Bear Magazine,* a homemade magazine that would later become more polished, debuted in San Francisco, and a few years later, "The Lone Star Saloon" opened in San Francisco's SOMA (South of Market) district; it not only became a home for bear culture, but attracted many tourists as a sort of bear mecca. Gay bars across the country began to feature "bear nights," and a listserv has continued until the present, the "Bears Mailing List."

By the early 1990s, bear had become not only a way to describe certain gay men, but a vibrant subculture within gay culture. For some, it was primarily a way to meet men, but for others, it had a more political aspect that involved a resistance to the "body fascism" or "lookism" of the gay community. Even those who were less politically inclined would often refer to it as the "bear movement" and say that it had a philosophy of inclusivity, friendliness, and camaraderie. One way this philosophy was put into practice was through the development of bear clubs, which became widespread and popular. Most clubs were organized as nonprofits and raised money for charity, as well as

organizing social activities for their members. During this time, there were bear contests (alternative beauty contests or parodies of beauty contests) and bear "runs" (large gatherings of bears), such as Bear Pride in Chicago, Texas Bear Round-Up in Houston, and International Bear Rendezvous in San Francisco. Several more bear pornographic magazines emerged during the 1990s, and as Internet usage increased, many Web sites appeared where men could meet for dates and friendship. During this time, the community named various subtypes, such as "cubs" (younger or not quite as bearish), "daddy bears" (older men or father figure types), "otters" (hairy but slim), "musclebears" (more muscular than chubby), and "leatherbears" (involved in the "leather scene").

In the last 10 years, the bear community has grown and matured even more, and it continues to be a big part of many men's lives, but some in the community worry that it has changed and lost its vision, becoming somewhat of a marketing niche (e.g., the Internet offers many pay sites that promise pornography involving "hot hairy" masculine men). Ray Kampf's *The Bear Handbook* (2000) affectionately satirizes this in the vein of the 1984 book *The Preppie Handbook,* and discussions about this have occurred online and in *Bears on Bears* (2002), edited by Ron Jackson Suresha.

These discussions tell us much about differences and struggles the bear community has always exhibited. Some criticisms have maintained that it is a subculture mainly about sex and that it has a depoliticized individualist emphasis. It is also criticized for being mostly white, for still being too caught up in hegemonic notions of masculinity, and for romanticizing the working class and therefore failing to connect to struggles against economic, racial, and gender inequalities.

Criticism of the rituals of the community and the individuals that make up the community are that contests have lost their initial purpose (to present an alternative icon of attractiveness) and become beauty contests and that some have come to participate in many of the same behaviors that bears came together to oppose, such as shunning others and creating hierarchies. Many bears are trying to address these issues, while some are claiming "post-bear" identities. Undoubtedly, the bear community provides a fascinating case study of how subcultures work and how the larger culture changes.

Robert Caputi

See also Alpha Male; Butch/Femme; Gender Performance; Hegemonic Masculinity; Lookism

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BEAUTY PAGEANTS

A beauty pageant or contest is a competition manifestly based on an evaluation of contestants' appearance, and contestants are typically, although not invariably, for girls or women. There is an implicit and obvious feminist criticism of the beauty pageant, which is most often a pyramidal contest that pits one woman against another and evaluates all in a series of eliminations. Uneasy at rewarding "superficial" appearance alone, U.S. beauty pageants have claimed to also judge character and achievement, by adding evaluations of qualities or abilities like "personality," "poise," "character," "intelligence," and "talent." Only one individual emerges victorious, but runners-up are commonly named, and sometimes other qualities of achievement, like the ability to get along with other contestants, are valorized but have no formal reward. In the United States, the Miss America Pageant has always been the premier contest. This pageant's origins are found in the first U.S. beauty contest in 1880, in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware, which evolved into the venerable Atlantic City, New Jersey, contest. Atlantic City was the home of the Miss America Pageant from 1921 to 2005. In 2006, the pageant moved to Las Vegas, Nevada.

Such U.S. competitions were first promoted by entrepreneur P. T. Barnum in the mid-19th century. In addition to originating widely advertised contests that judged babies, flowers, and dogs, Barnum promoted "feminine beauty" contests. These contests appealed to the American value of competition, and they gained popularity thanks to the rise of the mass distribution newspaper and the technology of the daguerreotype. Looking back further, the origins of beauty pageantry in general can be found in the widespread European

carnivale and in seasonal celebrations like May Day, when the Queen of the May was crowned.

Nations from Tonga to Guatemala have taken up the practice of pageants, often modeled explicitly on the Miss America Pageant. National or ethnic pageants have been used to build political solidarity through the use of a feminine body as evocative symbol. Pageants have also been used to advertise political plights, as in former Yugoslavia, where contestants held banners saying, "Please don't let us die," or to advertise political victory, as in the contest for Miss Tibet that featured contestants of Chinese origin—in a Chinese-occupied Tibet.

Practices idealizing some women's appearance suggest, by contrast, social categories whose appearance should go unrewarded, or overlooked, or excluded from participation. Therefore, members of some social categories had, and some still have, their own pageants. For example, when African Americans were explicitly excluded from the Miss America Pageant by the infamous "Rule Seven" of the pageant handbook, contests like Miss Bronze, Miss Black America, and Miss Fine Brown Frame arose. The ineligibility of contestants with visible or stigmatizing disabilities merits no written rule. For a long time, even Americans with invisible disabilities were tacitly excluded from Miss America and many other U.S. pageants. For some such aspiring contestants, pageants like Miss Deaf America and Ms. Wheelchair America existed.

Twentieth- and 21st-century beauty queens are the ostensible "queens," "princesses," "courtiers" or the "Miss," "Ms.," or "Mrs." governing and representing very different kinds of realms. Their rule is described as extending over specific events (e.g., a state fair or a race like the Indianapolis 500), geographical regions (e.g., city, region, nation, world, or universe), brands of commercial products (e.g., Miss Budweiser), special constituencies (e.g., Miss Black Deaf America), and farmers' or other workers' associations (e.g., Dairy Queen). No matter what social category is being contested, most beauty contests are expressly for girls and women, and most require of them something that is not required of boys and men who are in the same social category, namely, demonstrable good character and sexual inexperience or, for married contests, at least modesty and concentration on maternity and good works. In this way, it is unsurprising that the rules for entering many contests, like the Miss Black America pageant, specify that not only should a contestant not be married or have children, but she must never have been married or pregnant; while she may have been convicted of a minor traffic violation, she may not have been convicted of any other crime or misdemeanor. Likewise, Miss Deaf America's talent contributions will "help us elevate the image and self-concept of deaf ladies throughout the United States." Contestants thereby uphold the respectable character of the entire social category.

While beauty contests have been analyzed as being based on the performance of "doing gender" for women, pageants are also held for transvestite and transgendered individuals. In these pageants, individuals are also judged on the basis of performative gender, not chromosomal sex. Although men have kindred contests, like the "Mr. Universe" competition, almost invariably such contests center on adjudged success in bodybuilding rather than appearance, poise, personality, or talent. The winner of a beauty contest is termed a "beauty queen." Notably, there is a lack of a comparable term like "beauty king."

Much feminist research has emphasized the beauty pageant's commodification and visual objectification of contestants. Also noted is the election of a feminine body to stand as a symbol of a nation—and a nation's statement of what its citizens are meant to be. In 1945, Bess Myerson, the first Jewish Miss America, embodied postwar equality, or at least religious equality; deaf since she was 18 months old, Heather Whitestone was voted the first Miss America with a disability in 1995. For both, taken and touted as symbols of diversity, their actual diversity distinguished them minimally from other contestants: Myerson willingly worked with the Anti-Defamation League, but she was not religiously observant and took pains to emphasize the lack of all differences between Jews and non-Jews. Whitestone did not use sign language, had been brought up to blend in with the numerical majority of hearing citizens, and chose as her talent dancing to music; reportedly, the judges were impressed with her ability to speak clearly when she replied to their questions. Scholars of the contest suggest that the Miss America Pageant's brand of diversity requires assimilation to the mainstream and minimization of any distinctive attributes the "diverse" could claim.

Also significant is the rigid middle-class morality of many pageants, like that which led to the resignation of the 1983 Miss America, Vanessa Williams. Williams was the first African American Miss America, and her ascension had originally been hailed as the embodiment of U.S. egalitarianism. Some complained that the fair-skinned, light-eyed, straight-haired Williams was also in the tradition of minimally distinctive diversities or that

she was not representative of a more genuine African American beauty. There was little time to complain, for Williams's reign was brief and there were other causes for complaint. Photos of a nude Williams in a lesbian scene with a white woman surfaced in a pornography magazine in 1984. Amid criticism, Williams resigned, yielding the crown to the first runner-up, also an African American woman. Williams was undone by the pageant's emphasis on middle-class respectability and a stated emphasis on "character" that can be considered narrow and unrealistic. In the end, Williams's undeniable talents in singing and acting allowed her to achieve a distinguished professional career.

The age of beauty pageant contestants has sometimes been the cause for indignation, especially in the case of child beauty pageants for little-girl contestants, whose age ranges from a few days old to teenage. U.S. awareness of child beauty pageants was raised by the murder of 6-year-old JonBenet Ramsey, in 1996, in Boulder, Colorado. While apparently unrelated to the child's still unsolved murder, photographs of her success on the child pageant circuit introduced many Americans to a type of beauty pageant that shocked them. Child pageants began to receive attention that took the form of outrage at what is seen as the premature sexualization of small girls in the hands of an allegedly overcontrolling mother, whose motives are suspect, and the suspicion usually is that the mother is living vicariously through her daughter's pageant activities.

Examinations of beauty pageants have been both scholarly, as exemplified by the work of Banet-Weiser (1999) and Craig (2002) and the anthology of Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje (1996), and popular, as evident in U.S. film in documentaries like *Living Dolls* (2001), about child beauty pageants, and satires like *Drop Dead Gorgeous* (1999), an explicit send-up of America's Junior Miss Contest, and *Miss Congeniality* (2000). The latter film has many touches, both broad and subtle, that reflect currently conflicted U.S. attitudes toward beauty pageants. A middlebrow spectacle, pageant "glamour," and competitiveness among women once drew faithful national attention as a television event. In the 21st century, the character of Miss Congeniality says snidely, "If I only had a brain" and wears a stunning dress made from rubber bands. Some lines in *Miss Congeniality* repeat the faux pas of real-life beauty contestants: Asked to name "the perfect date," a contestant responds, "I would have to say April 25th. Because it's not too hot, not too cold, all you need is a light jacket." Those very words were once spoken by a state beauty queen.

Beauty pageants developed as elaborately as the Miss America Pageant have had a relatively short lifetime in the United States. Nonetheless, many other pageants have arisen that similarly perpetuate the ideal embodiment of not only femininity, but of a product, business, or nation. In these idealizations, pageant winners relieve the rest in their social category from having to uphold such inviolable standards.

Carol Brooks Gardner

See also Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Sexism

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Bem Sex Role Inventory

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) is a tool used to measure individuals' femininity and masculinity. Researchers noted in 1973 that the dominant tests measuring masculinity and femininity had artificially constructed masculinity and femininity existing at the ends of one continuum rather than two separate components of personality and/or identity. It is against this backdrop that Sandra L. Bem constructed her Sex Role Inventory in 1974. Bem intended her inventory to represent two fully independent scales of culturally defined masculinity and culturally defined femininity. The BSRI is the most frequently used measure in sex role research and is

used as a standard against which other instruments are compared.

Construction of the BSRI

In 1974, Bem and her students compiled a list of 200 personality characteristics that seemed positively valued and stereotypically masculine or feminine, as well as 200 other characteristics that seemed neither masculine nor feminine. Of those other characteristics, half were positively valued, and half were negatively valued. Bem and her students distributed the list of 400 items to two samples of Stanford University's undergraduates. In each sample, half of the subjects of each sex rated each characteristic in terms of its sex-typed social desirability for a man, and the other half of the subjects rated each characteristic in terms of its desirability for a woman. The rating scale ranged from "Not at all desirable" to "Extremely desirable." Personality characteristics that were judged as more desirable for a man than for a woman or more desirable for a woman than for a man qualified for inclusion in the *masculinity* and *femininity* scales, respectively. Of those eligible items, 20 were selected for each scale. Personality characteristics that were judged as no more desirable for one sex than the other qualified for inclusion in the *social desirability* scale. Of those, 10 positive and 10 negative characteristics were chosen. The final lists of the items included in each of the scales are presented in Table 1.

Table 1   Items on the Masculinity, Femininity, and Social Desirability Scales of the Bem Sex Role Inventory

Masculine items	*Feminine items*	*Neutral items*
Acts as a leader	Affectionate	Adaptable
Aggressive	Cheerful	Conceited
Ambitious	Childlike	Conscientious
Analytical	Compassionate	Conventional
Assertive	Does not use harsh language	Friendly
Athletic	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Happy
Competitive	Feminine	Helpful
Defends own beliefs	Flatterable	Inefficient
Dominant	Gentle	Jealous
Forceful	Gullible	Likeable
Has leadership abilities	Loves children	Moody
Independent	Loyal	Reliable
Individualistic	Sensitive to the needs of others	Secretive
Makes decisions easily	Shy	Sincere
Masculine	Soft spoken	Solemn
Self-reliant	Sympathetic	Tactful
Self-sufficient	Tender	Theatrical
Strong personality	Understanding	Truthful
Willing to take a stand	Warm	Unpredictable
Willing to take risks	Yielding	Unsystematic

The BSRI takes about 15 minutes to complete. Respondents indicate how well each item describes themselves, from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true"). The *masculinity* score is the average of the ratings on the 20 masculine items, and the *femininity* score is the average of the ratings on the 20 feminine items. The scoring of the BSRI by design does not treat the masculine and feminine items as clustering at opposite ends of a linear continuum, but instead as measures of two independent scales. Subsequent analyses by Bem and others have supported the claim that masculinity and femininity are logically and empirically independent.

In addition to noting that some individuals were exclusively feminine or masculine, Bem also found that some individuals have balanced levels of traits from both scales. She termed these individuals *androgynous.* Despite subsequent usage, Bem's original definition of *androgyny* was that androgynous persons possess relatively equal levels of masculinity and femininity as measured by the BSRI, not that they possess high scores on both scales.

Technical Critiques

Although the BSRI is considered the "gold standard" among sex-typed personality instruments, several other researchers have criticized it on technical and theoretical grounds. Specifically, Janet Spence argued that the terms *masculinity* and *femininity* are inappropriate for labeling the scales, as they assess only instrumentality and expressiveness. Masculinity and femininity as concepts are much more complex and include many components not measured by the BSRI, including attitudes toward women and men and actual behaviors.

Further, while Bem intended to measure two distinct factors, Spence argued that in reality, Bem's measures yielded one continuum. In this continuum, those who are strongly sex typed in their self-images and role identification (masculine men and feminine women) are clustered at one extreme. At the other end of the continuum are those who are not sex typed, identifying with neither the masculine nor the feminine characteristics measured by the BSRI. In addition, Spence argued that the use of characteristics "typical" of women and men to construct inventories to measure femininity and masculinity reified perceived differences between women and men, in that the use of the scales masks the fact that few women or men actually exhibit all or most of the characteristics within each of the respective scales.

Uses in Gender Research

Even two decades after its construction and published scholarly critiques, the BSRI continues to be a mainstay in the social psychological literature. Recent literature searches note the use of the BSRI as a predictor of adult mental health, parental behaviors, marital intimacy, marital satisfaction, and division of household behavior, and several studies argue not only for the continued use of the BSRI in research, but for the continued development of research utilizing this scale. Research modeling the extent to which individuals engage in stereotypically feminine and masculine behaviors has also incorporated the BSRI scales as part of the measurement schema. In addition, Bem utilized the BSRI in the construction of her *gender schema theory,* which proposes that sex typing results in part from the adaptation of one's self-concept to the gender schema. The gender schema is the structure of spontaneously sorting people, characteristics, and behaviors into feminine and masculine categories. The BSRI measures the extent to which individuals spontaneously organize information, especially about the self, on the basis of gender and thus is a key component of gender schema theory.

Shannon N. Davis

See also Androgyny; Gender Stereotypes; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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BENEDICT, RUTH (1887–1948)

Ruth Fulton Benedict was one of the best-known American anthropologists of her generation. Her book *Patterns of Culture* (1934) made the ideas of anthropologists available to a wide general audience, and in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), she attempted to explain Japanese culture to Americans after World War II. Ruth was married to chemist Stanley Benedict, but both had affairs, she with other women as well as one man. After their divorce, Benedict's relationships were all with other women. Lesbianism was seen in society as pathological then, but Benedict saw herself and her circle of friends as normal, and she explored this paradox twice in her scholarly work.

In the 1930s, when most social scientists saw homosexuality as an abnormal and dysfunctional innate trait, Benedict pioneered the idea that homosexuality might instead be a cultural trait and that at certain times and in certain places, it had been considered normal.

Benedict's article "Anthropology and the Abnormal," published in *Journal of General Psychology* in 1934, aimed at influencing the ideas of psychologists as a profession. The article invited her readers to rethink what was abnormal and what was normal, through examples of activities like trance, cataleptic states, and homosexuality. She gave examples of societies in which each of these, considered abnormal in Western culture, were part of normal life. Concerning homosexuality, she used as an example Ancient Greek and Native American cultures, which allowed what anthropologists called *berdache,* or cross-gender living. Although scholars have since discovered women among many Native American peoples who had similar roles, Benedict talked of men who assumed the dress and occupations of women and sometimes had relationships with other men.

In modern society, according to Benedict, internal conflict over being perceived as deviant, not homosexuality itself, caused psychological problems for individuals. In places where homosexuality had not been perceived as deviant in the past, homosexuals had lived honorable lives and were accepted by society. Normality, she concluded, was what a culture decided to accept as normal. Since American society had categorized homosexuals as abnormal, she suggested that psychologists be more tolerant with disturbed homosexual patients and help them to resolve their internal conflicts so they could see themselves more positively, not as pathological, but merely as out of step with their cultures in a certain place and time.

A short time after the appearance of this article, Benedict's book *Patterns of Culture* (1934) was published. Written for a general audience, the book again presented homosexuality as a cultural trait rather than innate and as something that historically had been accepted as normal by certain cultures. Benedict suggested the need to educate society to tolerance and to educate homosexuals to self-acceptance through the knowledge that within themselves they were not abnormal though they were perceived so in the culture within which they lived.

Within *Patterns of Culture,* Benedict also suggested that male traits and female traits were cultural rather than biological. Through examples, she showed that male dominance and female subordination were not innate traits. Among the Dobu in the Pacific, she wrote, families lived alternate years with the wife's and husband's clan, and in any given year, that person was considered the head of the family, regardless of gender. Among the Zuni in the American Southwest, women owned the fields and the houses, and their husbands worked the land. By showing that other peoples had expectations of men and women that were different from those in American society, she undermined the idea that American ways were the only ways men and women could relate to each other, stressing the relativity of gender traits across cultures.

Margaret M. Caffrey

See also Berdache (Two-Spirit); Biological Determinism; Boston Marriages; Homosexuality

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BENJAMIN, HARRY (1885–1986)

Harry Benjamin was born in Berlin in 1885. He trained in Germany as an endocrinologist. A disciple of Magnus Hirschfeld, one of the founding fathers of sexology, Benjamin was a staunch advocate of sexual freedom. Relocating to New York to open a private

practice in 1913, his politics brought him into the circle of sexual radicals, including Margaret Sanger and Alfred Kinsey. In the early 1940s, he helped found the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality, an organization still in existence.

The Transsexual Phenomenon

In 1949, Alfred Kinsey recommended a patient to Benjamin. Born male, the patient expressed an acute desire to become a woman. At the time, the recommended treatment for individuals like Benjamin's patient was psychoanalytic therapy aimed at making the mind fit the body. Benjamin, however, was unconvinced of the effectiveness of this approach. Like Hirschfeld, he ascribed to a theory of human bisexuality, which at the time meant that all individuals contain a blend of male and female. Seeing gender identity on a continuum, he believed that some people could be born male but feel female. He ultimately gained a reputation among people seeking to change their sex as a medical expert sympathetic to their plight.

Drawing on his work with clients with a variety of "sexual disorders," Benjamin published his book *The Transsexual Phenomenon* in 1966. He argued that transsexuals were a group distinct from transvestites (heterosexual men who derived sexual pleasure from dressing in women's clothing but who did not wish to become women) and homosexuals. While overlap between groups was certainly possible, he argued against collapsing them into one category of "sexual pathology," as each condition required a different treatment approach.

Benjamin and Psychoanalysis

In *The Transsexual Phenomenon,* Benjamin challenged the dominant psychological treatment of transsexuality. He argued that psychoanalysis did not lessen the desire to change sex; it simply forced patients to go underground with their desires and lead miserable lives. Benjamin instead advocated that transsexuals should be given hormones for the sex they wished to become in an attempt to fit the body with the mind. Benjamin also advocated surgery for patients deemed by medical experts to fit the diagnostic criteria for transsexuals. Benjamin's views positioned him as a maverick in the medical community. However, his treatment approach to transsexuality eventually gained precedence over psychoanalysis.

HBIGDA Lives On

In the 1970s, Benjamin formed what later became the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (HBIGDA). An association of therapists and psychologists, HBIGDA devised a set of "standards of care," largely derived from Benjamin's case studies, that sanctioned the criteria and diagnostic procedure for transsexuality. Though Harry Benjamin died in 1986 at the age of 101, HBIGDA still exists. While HBIGDA's care standards have come under fire in recent years by transgender activists who see them as creating regulatory systems of gender, they continue to be considered the legitimate guidelines for the treatment of *gender identity disorder,* the current psychological diagnosis for transsexuals.

Kristen Schilt

See also Gender Dysphoria; Gender Identity Disorder; Kinsey, Alfred C.; Sanger, Margaret; Transsexual; Transvestite

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Berdache (Two-Spirit)

Early Europeans used the term *berdache* for Native Americans/First Nations peoples who did not conform to Western gender and sexual norms. This term held negative implications for a variety of sexual behavior, gender practices, and various physical sex characteristics. Since then, it has been utilized in anthropology and other disciplines to define Native American/First Nations homosexuality, transgenderism,

and intersexuality. The term *berdache* is considered by many to be offensive, and in 1990, the term "two-spirit" emerged and is now used to distinguish people who embody characteristics of multiple genders, sexes, or sexualities.

Historical Development of the Term *Berdache*

The term *berdache* was first published in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* Volume 59, published between 1667 and 1669. The Jesuits recorded the observations of numerous missionaries and traders who had witnessed men in women's clothing, work roles, and sexual roles. The current English term *berdache* originates from the Arabic word *bardaj* (slave or kept boy). This word spread into Western Europe, as a result of contact with the Muslim world, and became the Spanish term *bardaxa/bardaje* (person engaging in sodomy) and then the French term *bardache* (catamite or a young man/boy who has sex with men). While the Spanish and French originally used the term in referencing men who wore women's clothing and/or had sex with men, anthropologists later adapted the term *berdache* and applied it to Native American/First Nations people who were gender variant, sexually variant, and/or anatomically (sex) variant.

History of *Berdache*

The arrival of Europeans and introduction of Christianity had a marked effect on "berdache" traditions and acceptance. Europeans held the belief that biological sex and gender were dichotomous and "naturally" related: biological sex was male or female; gender was man or woman; and male equated man, while female equated woman. Gender variation outside of this binary was viewed as deviant. Sexuality held a similar dichotomous conception; although the term *homosexual* did not come into existence until 1870, sexual practices or behavior outside of culturally accepted relations between biological men and biological women were also considered deviant. Europeans were not open to the idea of gender roles beyond that of man or woman. In addition, the Christian concept of sodomy ("abnormal" sexual practice) was associated with "uncivilized" cultures.

The term *berdache* was one of judgment, one that damned individuals who occupied these roles, as well as the cultures that accepted them. As colonization continued, "berdache" people and traditions were pushed out. Christianity and the assimilation of Native American/First Nations peoples into Western culture brought homophobia and the enforcement of Western gender roles into communities.

Individuals labeled as "berdache" occupied what the Europeans considered to be sexually deviant roles. There was no distinction between gender and sexuality, as they were viewed as being intertwined and inseparable. Initially, only biological men were labeled as berdache, and they were seen as occupying women's social status, dress, and sexual roles. Although they were viewed as effeminate men, the focus was on sexual acts, which Europeans labeled as deviant and abnormal. Female "berdache" existed; however, they were not acknowledged and were later often overlooked by anthropologists.

The term *berdache* was also applied to individuals who appeared anatomically different, such that their (biological) sex did not fit the European definition of male or female. They were judged as freaks of nature, monsters, and deviants, often sanctioning the Western notion that Natives were "savages" and therefore less than human. This classification of Native Americans/First Nations peoples who were what would now be considered intersexed (previously known as *hermaphrodite*) was continued by anthropologists.

In Native American/First Nations cultures, many nations accepted the practice of multiple sex and gender roles. According to Serena Nanda, Native American/First Nations cultures generally did not use sexuality in their definition of gender roles, unlike the Europeans and, later, anthropologists. Individuals were accepted within their communities and conformed to various culturally accepted roles within their tribes, including warriors, healers, tribal leaders, medicine people, religious ceremonial figures, and visionaries. Acceptance varied from tribe to tribe, however; while some gender-variant individuals were culturally integrated and held roles that contributed to their communities, others were rejected and ostracized by their communities.

Europeans and, later, Euro-Americans (Americans of Western European descent) prohibited and attempted to erase Native American/First Nations cultures, languages, and religious/spiritual beliefs and practices, including gender and sexual variance. With the forced Christian education of Native children, cultural and religious/spiritual believes were enforced as evil and ungodly, including the roles of "two-spirited" peoples.

This "education" resulted in the loss of languages, cultures, and religious/spiritual beliefs. As with the reclaiming of language, culture, and religion in the American Indian Movement (beginning in the late 1960s), two-spirited peoples are beginning to reclaim their history within the context of Native traditions.

With the urbanization and assimilation of Native peoples, individuals began utilizing Western terms, concepts, and identities, such as *gay, lesbian, transgender,* and *intersex.* These terms separated Native cultural identity from sexuality and gender identity, furthering a disconnect felt by many Native Americans/First Nations peoples in negotiating the boundaries of life between two worlds (Native and non-Native/Western). The term *two-spirited* was created to reconnect one's gender or sexual identity with her or his Native identity and culture.

Redefining "Two-Spirit"

In 1990, at the third annual Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, the term *two-spirit* was designated as a replacement for *berdache.* It was specifically chosen to distinguish and distance Native American/First Nations peoples from non-Native peoples. *Two-spirit* serves as a self-identifying term in place of Western concepts and identities such as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer, cross-dresser, and so on.

The term *two-spirit* is translated from the words *niizh manidoowag,* from Ojibwa, a subgroup of the Algonquian language spoken in the Manitoba area. The concept and word *two-spirit* has no traditional cultural significance, and the Ojibwa words were not combined to create the term *niizh manidoowag,* or *two-spirit,* until this conference. Because this term was recently created, it has no linguistic equivalent or meaning in other nations and tribes. It does not serve as a replacement for the historical and traditional terms already in use or available in other nations and tribes.

Criticisms of the Term *Two-Spirit*

Various criticisms have arisen around the use of the term *two-spirit.* The term emphasizes a Western idea that gender, sex, and sexuality are binaries. It implies that the individual is both male and female and that these aspects are intertwined within them. The term moves away from traditional Native American/First Nations cultural identities and meanings of sexuality and gender variance. It does not take into account the

terms and meanings from individual nations and tribes (see Roscoe, 1998, for a list of terms utilized by various nations and tribes).

Nations and tribes used various words to describe various genders, sexes, and sexualities. Many had separate words for the Western constructs of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, intersex individuals, cross-dressers, transgenders, gender-variant individuals or "changing ones," third genders (men who live as women), and fourth genders (women who live as men). Even these categories are limiting, because they are based on Western language and ideas rooted in a dichotomous relationship between gender, sex, and sexuality. This language barrier limits our understanding of the traditional roles within Native American/First Nations cultures. However, the *two-spirit* serves as an umbrella term that encompasses these multiple gender and sexual identities. One criticism of this concept is that its meaning is limited to Western constructs and provides an identity label for those living in urban and rural areas rather than on reservations.

Some Native Americans/First Nations peoples that hold to more traditional religious and cultural values view *two-spirit* as a cultural and social term, rather than one with any religious or spiritual meaning. Although *two-spirit* implies to some a spiritual nature, that one holds the spirit of two, both male and female, traditional Native Americans/First Nations peoples view this as a Western concept. Since historically, many "berdache/two-spirit" individuals held religious or spiritual roles, the term *two-spirit* creates a disconnection from the past. The terms used by other tribes currently and historically do not translate directly into the English form of *two-spirit* or the Ojibwa form of *niizh manidoowag.*

Two-spirit does not acknowledge either the traditional acceptance or the nonacceptance of individuals in various nations and tribes. The idea of gender and sexuality variance being universally accepted among Native American/First Nations peoples has become romanticized. Accordingly, the change from *berdache* to two-spirit is most accurately understood as a non-Native idealization of the social acceptance of gender variance, idealizing a romanticized social acceptance of gender variance.

Conclusion

Berdache is a derogatory term created by Europeans and perpetuated by anthropologists and others to define Native American/First Nations people who varied from

Western norms that perceive gender, sex, and sexuality as binaries and inseparable. The term *two-spirit* was developed and chosen by Native American/First Nations peoples as a replacement for *berdache*. Although some maintain that the term *two-spirit* does not refer to the Western concept of individuals crossing gender roles, as if there were only two, traditionalists point to the duality inherent in the term. It may be beneficial to consider *two-spirit* as an umbrella term with many meanings, referencing multiple genders, sexes, and sexualities, as well as a self-identity label used by Native American/First Nations peoples as a way of reconnecting their gender and sexual variance with Native culture and religion/spirituality.

Kylan Mattias de Vries

See also Gender Transgression; Hijra/Hejira; Homosexuality; Intersectionality; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Queer; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Sex Versus Gender Categorization; Transgender

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BIFURCATED CONSCIOUSNESS

In the 1970s, Dorothy E. Smith wrote about women's "bifurcated consciousness," a distinctive subjectivity produced by women's household or reproductive work and the supporting and applied tasks assigned to them, historically, in the occupational division of labor. She argued that women's everyday activities—as paid or unpaid caregivers, support workers, volunteers, and so on—positioned them to engage with people where and as they actually live and, further, that women's activities often involved "working up" the particularities of individual lives so as to fit them to the more abstract frameworks that organize institutional activity—as when mothers prepare children for attendance at school or nurses prepare patients to be attended by physicians. Women who work in these locations, at the juncture of embodied specificity and ideological abstraction, hold in their consciousness both ways of seeing and thinking; as expert practitioners of these everyday tasks, they move from one to the other framework, usually without conscious thought. The disjuncture between the two modes of knowing provides an opening for analysis of objectified knowledge and its production in people's activities. Working from that disjuncture, Smith argued that "women's perspective" could provide "a radical critique of sociology."

In a series of essays, later collected in *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (1987), Smith developed the implications of this idea. In this book, she sketched an experience and knowledge associated with single motherhood—the experience of sole responsibility for children combined with an awareness that she and her children were seen, institutionally, as a "defective" family. This example provides a basis for discovering how embodied knowing, grounded in people's activities, is set aside in favor of abstracted concepts or ideological codes, such as the "standard North American family." While some critics have read the analysis as being limited because of the reliance on a particular experience of mothering, Smith explains that her aim is not to identify a determinate womanly "experience" with specific content, but rather to direct thought to actual sites of everyday living as "points of entry" for empirical inquiry, with the experiences of single mothers providing just one example.

Dorothy Smith was an immigrant to the United States from Britain and then Canada, where she taught in British Columbia and at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, in Toronto, an important site for feminist scholarship. She was also a lifelong activist, in labor, antiwar, feminist, and environmental movements. Her early sociological writing dealt with the sociology of mental illness, family and class, and the social organization of knowledge. The new scholarly networks and constituencies that grew out of the women's movement of the 1970s provided a rich context for the development of her critique, along with a mode of inquiry designed to produce a "sociology for women" (rather

than about them) that she labeled "institutional ethnography." Since the 1980s, a growing network of scholars in North America and elsewhere has taken up her approach, which Smith now considers "a sociology for people" and which she views as neither method nor theory, but as "an alternative sociology."

Like other North American feminists of her time, Smith was writing against the male-centered foundations of the academic disciplines, considering how one might build knowledge that would be based in women's experiences of social life. At its starting point, in "women's experience," her thinking parallels other socialist feminists of the period, such as Sheila Rowbotham, Sandra Harding, and Donna Haraway, as well as Patricia Hill Collins's account of a "Black feminist thought" tied to a position as "outsider within." Although these writers are often grouped together as "standpoint feminists," Smith resists that categorization and the flattening of differences among these writers it implies. For Smith, it is important to note that a "standpoint" is not a specific perspective whose content can be defined or achieved, but merely a location that provides an anchor for social inquiry.

The idea of a bifurcated consciousness relies on insights from the materialist method of Marx, the social psychology of George Herbert Mead, and the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz. One might also identify related formulations developed earlier around other kinds of oppression, such as the idea of home and school languages of working-class children, W. E. B. DuBois's account of African Americans' "double consciousness," or Frantz Fanon's writing of the "masks" worn by the colonized. Smith was certainly influenced by these works. However, she wanted to insist on the specificities of consciousness associated with distinctive positions in social formations and the ways in which subjugated and dominant consciousnesses are fostered, nurtured, and inhibited in each situation. Indeed, she analyzed the "ruling relations" as a specific historical formation, and she wrote about the particular ways that women's participation in ruling relations was organized in different historical periods.

Marjorie L. DeVault

See also Black Feminist Thought; Feminist Ethnography; Feminist Methodology; Materialist Feminisms

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BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM

A derivative of the philosophical viewpoint, determinism, biological determinism is the perspective that all human behavior can be reduced to biological antecedents. That is, behavior is a direct expression of biological origins above and beyond the influence of social, contextual, or environmental factors. As such, due to the forces of natural law, accurate predictions of human behavior are possible at time 2 based on biological information at time 1. This perspective is often viewed in opposition to social determinism, which contends that human behavior is the outcome of social forces, for example, culture, class, race, and education.

Within the context of gender, biological determinism offers the perspective that sexually dimorphic behaviors, or behaviors believed different in men and women, are the result of innate biological differences between the sexes. Because of the perspective's emphasis on the physical and anatomical differences between the sexes, theoretical and empirical contributions are dominated by a gender binary lens, in that any form of deviation from the natural states of masculinity and femininity in men and women, respectively, is interpreted in terms of the biological mapping of the opposite sex. To elaborate further, femininity is the natural expression of being a woman, and masculinity is the natural expression of being a man because gender is rooted in the biology of men and women. Thus, for example, from a strict biological determinist perspective, a woman whose menstrual cycle is irregular or who does not possess fully developed sexual characteristics would be assumed to possess male-typical or masculine personality traits, like dominance and aggression. Biological determinism gained momentum in the late 1800s, and its

influence is still evident in some contemporary biological theories of gender, sex differences in behavior, sexuality, and sexual orientation.

The Influence of Biological Determinism

Early discussions around gender (mid- to late 1800s) focused on intelligence and the intellectual superiority of men over women. During this period, theories that promoted biological determinist perspectives were widely accepted. Of particular popularity was the study of *craniometry,* or the comparative measurement of the bones of the skull. According to craniometrists, size was directly related to intelligence: A large brain was associated with high intelligence, whereas a small brain was associated with low intelligence. Drawing from this approach, Havelock Ellis, in his book *Man and Woman,* argued that the size differences between men's and women's heads (with men's being larger than women's), was a direct reflection of differences in brain size, which provided support for men's intellectual superiority over women. It should be noted that craniometry was also extended to the study of racial differences in intelligence and was accepted as scientific proof for the intellectual inferiority of African Americans, which eventually fueled the social segregation of races in the United States. Noteworthy are the more contemporary perspectives in this regard: J. Philippe Rushton, in his book *Race, Evolution, and Behavior,* argued that there is a pattern of decreasing brain size across racial groups, from East Asian to European to African. In a similar vein, *The Bell Curve,* written by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, argued that because intelligence is innate, real differences between racial groups on standardized tests of intelligence exist.

The discovery of sex hormones in the 1930s marked a shift in attention away from craniometry to the role of biochemical forces of the endocrine system on sexually dimorphic behavior. A great deal of attention has been directed to investigating the role of prenatal hormones on the development of sex-typical behaviors. Of specific interest has been the role of *androgens* (male sex hormones), primarily testosterone, in masculinizing the brain and nervous system of a developing fetus. Relying on animal studies, researchers have shown that experimentally altered levels of prenatal androgens affect the display of male- and female-typed behaviors in adulthood. For example, prenatal female rats exposed to high levels of androgens show increased probability of masculine-typed behaviors, like sexual mounting (a male sexual position), whereas prenatal male rats who experience a cessation of androgen production show greater probability of lordosis (a female sexual position). Due to the ethical limitations of this type of research on human samples, other researchers have focused on populations of individuals born with hormonal imbalances, for example, women with *congenital adrenal hyperplasia* (CAH). In CAH, the developing fetus is exposed to very high levels of androgens, and as a result, most CAH females display masculinized genitalia, while their internal reproductive organs are female. Due to the higher levels of androgens in the bloodstream, researchers look for differences in personality and behavior between CAH and non-CAH females. Research has found that CAH females tend to be more likely than control groups to engage in masculine-typed activities (e.g., athletic activity) and less interested in feminine-typed activities (e.g., playing with dolls). Furthermore, there is some evidence for CAH females to possess stronger visual spatial ability (male-typed behavior) than non-CAH females.

In an influential study, Richard Udry examined the relationship between prenatal hormones and gender indirectly, by measuring the levels of testosterone in mothers' bloodstreams and their developing fetuses' expressions of masculinity and femininity in later adolescence and adulthood. He found that female children of mothers with higher levels of testosterone were more interested in male-typed behaviors (e.g., rough-and-tumble play) and scored higher on personality indicators of masculinity (e.g., agency and instrumentality) and lower on indicators of femininity (e.g., expressiveness) compared with female children of mothers with lower levels of testosterone.

Of other interest is the relationship between adult levels of sex hormones in the bloodstream and the expression of behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity. To illustrate, researchers point to higher levels of testosterone in prison population samples compared with the general population for both men and women, with individuals charged with more violent crimes exhibiting the highest levels of testosterone. Other research has shown that males with low levels of testosterone show female-typical impairments on tests of visual spatial ability and that females with low levels of estrogen (female sex hormone) show male-typical or enhanced performance on these tests.

Sexual orientation has also been a topic of interest to biological determinists, who endorse the perspective that homosexual orientation is the expression of

hormonal and anatomical correlates. As CAH females are exposed to high levels of prenatal androgens, biological determinists draw attention to the greater incidence of sexual attraction to females in CAH compared with non-CAH female samples. Others point at the relationship between early androgen exposure, physical attributes, and sexual orientation. Drawing from research on finger length and prenatal exposure to androgen, these researchers focus on finger ratios. Finger ratio is the length of the index finger divided by the length of the ring finger. On average, heterosexual men tend to have larger ratios, while heterosexual women tend to have smaller ratios. Research has found that homosexual women tend to have finger ratios more similar to men's finger ratios than to heterosexual women's ratios. For homosexual men, this relationship is more complicated and contingent upon number of male siblings: Homosexual men who have two or more older male siblings tend to have smaller ratios, similar to that of heterosexual women.

Other researchers working from a biological perspective have focused on the relationship between brain anatomy and homosexuality. Focusing on males, Simon LeVay found one node of the hypothalamus smaller in homosexual compared with heterosexual men, although this work has yet to be replicated. More current research trends are interested in behavioral genetics and have found homosexuality is moderately heritable, suggesting both genetic and environmental factors.

Reactions to Biological Determinism

Although research from a biological deterministic perspective suggests a link between biology and certain sex-typed behavior, it remains quite contentious, namely because claims are based on correlations between varying levels of hormones and varying patterns of behavior and thus are not causal in nature. Furthermore, proponents of social learning theories argue that data are confounded with social and environmental factors, like parental and peer influences, and cultural expectations. Thus, for example, even when sex hormonal imbalances are accounted for in the expression of behavior, the unique social and cultural treatment of individuals who appear physically different from the typical male or female cannot be ignored. Finally, sociologists argue that biological determinism overlooks historical cultural influences on the expression of gender within sex, drawing attention to the fact that in various cultures, from time to

time, social trends influence the expression of gender in highly significant ways. For example, during the 1700s in Europe, men of great physical prowess donned makeup, stockings, and high heels, which in present time would be considered a violation of the masculine gender role. Thus, more contemporary biological determinists have drifted from the argument of a direct biological influence on the development of sexually dimorphic behavior, contending that biological influences are subtle and are vulnerable to the effects of culture and the socialization process.

Cherie D. Werhun

See also Gender and the Brain; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Identity Disorder; Hormones; Hormone Therapy; Mate Selection; Media and Gender Socialization; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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Bisexuality

Definitions of *bisexuality* have varied over time, and there is no single widely accepted meaning for the term. At present, it is commonly defined as a sexual preference/orientation or sexual identity in which an individual's sexual, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is not limited to one sex/gender (i.e., categories such as female or male). This entry focuses broadly on bisexuality as a sexual identity or sexual preference as it has developed in the United States and will review differing definitions of bisexuality among scholars and bisexuals themselves. There is limited research on the number of people who behave bisexually and/or identify as bisexual, in part due to varying conceptualizations

of bisexuality as well as the stigma surrounding bisexuality. Since the 1970s, there has been increasing activism by bisexuals who seek to affirm their sexual orientation and dispel negative stereotypes about bisexuals.

Defining Bisexuality

The meaning of bisexuality has developed within various academic disciplines, such as psychology, psychoanalysis, biology, and sexology, as well as within sexual identity politics or identity activism. Bisexual scholar and activist Clare Hemmings has noted three primary usages of the term "bisexuality": (1) bisexuality as synonymous with *hermaphroditism,* the presence of male and female characteristics in one organism; (2) bisexuality as the coexistence in a human individual of both "masculine" and "feminine" psychological dispositions or personal characteristics; (3) and bisexuality as sexual attraction to both men and women.

History of Bisexuality in Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis, and Sexology

Social scientists have used the term *bisexuality* to refer to varying social phenomena involving human biology and sexuality. In the late 19th century, German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing identified "psychosexual hermaphroditism" as the condition of patients in whom he observed desire for both women and men. British sexologist Havelock Ellis initially adopted this same terminology in his own work. Yet Ellis later began to use *bisexuality* to refer to *sexual dimorphism,* the simultaneous presence of female and male sex characteristics in one individual, as well as to sexual desire for both women and men.

Sigmund Freud puzzled over the role and meaning of bisexuality in his psychoanalytic theories of human psychosexual development. Freud continued to develop and redefine his understanding of bisexuality throughout his work on sexuality, which included theories of the origins of homosexuality and the development of masculinity and femininity. Freud initially referred to bisexuality as hermaphroditism but also came to view a bisexual potential in all individuals in terms of the possibility for desire toward females or males.

Freud postulated that before girls and boys experience the *Oedipal conflict,* they do not yet have a solid gender disposition as feminine or masculine. Accordingly, their sexual object-choice, or preference

for female or male sexual partners, has not yet been established. Freud explained that pre-Oedipal females and males experience a bisexual potential before the cementing of a feminine or masculine disposition that directs desire toward one sex/gender. This bisexual potential is supposedly resolved for both girls and boys during the Oedipal conflict, when they cease to desire one or the other parent and repress one side of their bisexual disposition in accord with heterosexual social norms. Freud did not see bisexuality as a stable sexuality in healthy, mature adults.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the research findings of Alfred Kinsey and his collaborators presented a new model of sexuality in the United States. The group of researchers found that most individuals are not exclusively heterosexual or homosexual in their desires or sexual behaviors over the life span. From their national research on sexual behavior, the team of sexologists created the Kinsey Scale, or Continuum of Sexuality. The 7-point scale ranges from 0 to 6, with 0 representing exclusive heterosexuality and 6 representing exclusive homosexuality. Kinsey's research found that the desires and sexual behaviors of most people range between these extremes and often vary throughout the life course. Some bisexuals interpret Kinsey's work as the first scientific recognition of bisexuality as dual attraction for women and men and suggest that bisexuality encompasses all 5 points on the scale between 0 and 6. Kinsey himself sought to clarify understandings of bisexuality and, referencing his training as a biologist, scientifically rejected the notion of bisexuality as an anatomical condition wherein a person has both female and male anatomies. Kinsey also resisted the popular trend of labeling persons according to their sexuality, such as homosexuals, due to his observation of vast fluidity in individuals' sexual behaviors. Yet the team's research findings did recognize bisexuality in humans as desire for both females and males.

Bisexual Identity

In addition to psychological and sexological theories on bisexuality, there are also theories of bisexual identity. As with scholars and researchers of bisexuality, there is a lack of agreement among self-identified bisexual individuals as to what it means to be bisexual. As a sexual identity label, bisexuality is highly contested. Some bisexuals argue that bisexuality is a stable sexual orientation and identity and that bisexuals

do not choose to be bisexual any more than homosexuals or heterosexuals choose to be oriented toward partners of one or the other sex/gender. No matter whether a bisexual chooses monogamy or non-monogamy, or marriage or celibacy, they are still bisexual. Other bisexuals assert that bisexuality is a behavior, not an identity, and in this way claim that bisexuality is much more pervasive than those who identify as bisexual. For example, if a woman who self-identifies as a lesbian has sex with men, some would argue that she is actually bisexual.

There is great variation among those who adopt a bisexual identity. Some individuals identify as bisexual without engaging in relationships or sexual activity with more than one sex/gender, or even without any sexual or relationship experience at all. Some individuals identify as bisexual on the basis of their desires or fantasies, with or without acting upon them. Many self-identified bisexuals have greater preference for partners of one sex/gender. Some bisexuals may continue to identify as bisexual while in long-term monogamous relationships, whereas others in that situation may take on homosexual or heterosexual identities. Some individuals experience their bisexuality as a stage between other sexual identities, such as when changing from a heterosexual identity to a homosexual identity.

In their study on self-identified bisexual, homosexual, and heterosexual adults in San Francisco, Weinberg, Williams, and Pryor observed that bisexuals tend to identify as heterosexual and to recognize heterosexual desires before homosexual desires. Bisexuals tend to take on an identity as bisexual at ages later than individuals who first identify as homosexual or heterosexual. It is difficult for many bisexuals to come out as bisexual and establish a stable sexual identity, since there is a great amount of social stigma and misunderstanding about bisexuality and also because many regions lack bisexual support groups or social networks. Bisexuals also experience great variability in their self-identification over time, a trend that may reflect shifts in greater preference or involvement with partners of one sex/gender. Paula Rodríguez Rust found in her research on lesbians and bisexual women that the women who currently identified as bisexual were much more likely than women who identified as lesbian to have changed their sexual self-identities multiple times.

Identity in the Era of HIV/AIDS

At present, defining sexual identity and sexual practice has become a crucial health concern in the era of HIV/AIDS. A significant amount of research has shown that there are more people who behave bisexually, that is, who engage in sexual activity with multiple sex/genders, than there are individuals who identify as bisexual. This poses a significant stumbling block in attempts to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS, and the early focus on "gay" men has been reconceptualized. HIV/AIDS prevention efforts have begun to target "MSMs," or men who have sex with men, as well as "WSWs," or women who have sex with women. Such terminology seeks to avoid neglecting at-risk individuals by focusing on behaviors rather than identities or types of persons, as sexual behavior and sexual identity do not necessarily correlate.

Biphobia and Stereotyping

Like other nonheterosexuals, bisexuals may face social discrimination and negative stereotyping. Bisexual scholar and activist Robyn Ochs argues that bisexuals experience a unique form of discrimination called *biphobia.* Whereas homosexuals may experience *homophobia,* a fear or aversion of homosexuals by heterosexuals, bisexuals experience double discrimination: homophobia from the heterosexual community and hostility from homosexuals. For example, heterosexuals may stigmatize or devalue bisexuals as homosexuals. However, homosexuals may accuse bisexuals of concealing their same-sex desires and relationships to gain the social privilege of heterosexuals. Additionally, both homosexuals and heterosexuals may deny the existence of bisexuals by arguing, for instance, that bisexuals are just in an experimental phase or are denying their true homosexuality.

Several negative stereotypes about bisexuals reveal the tensions between bisexuals and homosexuals and between bisexuals and heterosexuals. A *stereotype* is a false generalization that is applied to all members of a social group. Bisexuals are stereotyped as "fence-sitters" who cannot make up their minds between homosexuality and heterosexuality. This is particularly argued in the case of previously lesbian-feminist-identified bisexual women who "sleep with the enemy" and take on male partners; lesbians may see them as "traitors" to their movement. Bisexual men, in particular, have also been stereotyped as sexually voracious "disease carriers," indiscriminate in their insatiable sexual desires and spreading HIV/AIDS between the heterosexual and homosexual communities. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the bisexual label for these reasons but also because of the

stigma and misunderstanding that many bisexuals perceive comes along with the identity label. Some use alternative labels for their sexuality, such as *queer, pansexual,* or *open.*

Research on the Prevalence of Bisexuality

Estimates of the prevalence of bisexuality are complicated by the lack of an accepted precise definition of bisexuality and the stigma surrounding same-sex sexual behavior. Who is counted or considered to be bisexual depends on how bisexuality is defined. Also, most research on sexuality does not differentiate bisexuals from homosexuals or does not include bisexuals at all.

Kinsey et al.'s national research on adult sexual behavior reported an unexpected amount of same-sex sexual behavior in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). Bisexual behavior was, according to their data, more common than exclusively homosexual or heterosexual behavior. Kinsey et al. reported that 25 percent to 28 percent of women and 46 percent of men had been erotically responsive to or sexually active with both women and men.

However, Kinsey's research has met with criticism, as the individuals who participated in the research (including volunteers, students, and prisoners) were not representative of the general American population. The 1994 National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) is regarded as a much more scientifically sound study of sexuality in the United States. In this survey, 3.9 percent of males and 4.1 percent of women reported sexual attractions to persons of both genders. This study also reported that 2.0 percent of men identify as gay, 0.9 percent of women identify as lesbian, 0.8 percent of men identify as bisexual, and 0.5 percent of women identify as bisexual.

Bisexual Movement

The modern bisexual movement in the United States originated during the lesbian-feminist, gay, and sexual liberation movements of the 1970s. Bisexuals participated in these movements and also created exclusive bisexual organizations, which were initially social or informal support groups. As bisexuality became increasingly more invisible as well as stigmatized, some social groups became increasingly political. Bisexual activists seek to increase the visibility of bisexuals as a sexual minority identity and to decrease social discrimination and the negative stereotyping of bisexuals.

Bisexual activists do not agree on whether or not to form coalitions and work within existing gay and lesbian activist agendas. Some bisexuals think it is necessary to organize separately from "monosexuals," or heterosexuals and homosexuals, who are attracted to one sex/gender. Propelled by increasing tension between, especially, bisexual women and lesbian feminists, some bisexual activists sought the formation of exclusive bisexual organizations. In 1983, the first political bisexual organization, BiPOL, was formed by bisexual feminists in San Francisco. Other bisexual activists work within and alongside lesbian and gay groups, and efforts began in the 1980s to change the names of many lesbian and gay organizations and events to formally include bisexuals. For example, a 1993 political rally was renamed "March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation," a change toward greater inclusion that many bisexual activists perceived as crucial to success.

Bisexual activism began to spread during the 1980s from the United States to other regions, such as Canada, the United Kingdom, Europe, and New Zealand. The bisexual movement in the United States began to solidify with the start of regional conferences in the mid-1980s, followed by the first national bisexual conference in 1990. The first international conference on bisexuality was held in 1991. Also in the 1990s, some bisexual activists formed coalitions with the transgender movement. There has been increasing inclusion of "B" (bisexual) and "T" (transgender) into "LGBT" (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) activism. Since the 1990s, some bisexuals have been involved in activism under the "queer" umbrella, a movement that seeks to eradicate all sexual identity labels.

Conclusion

The meaning of bisexuality was once contested within the scientific community, and now bisexuality is a controversial sexual identity. Debates about the meaning of bisexuality do not seem likely to be resolved in the near future. There exists only a small body of literature and academic research on bisexuals. Research on bisexuality is complicated by the challenges of acquiring a representative sample of bisexuals from which findings can be applied to a general bisexual population. Yet the bisexual movement is growing,

and the social visibility and representation of bisexuals is increasing over time.

Suzanne Pennington

See also Ellis, Havelock; Freud, Sigmund; Heterosexuality; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Kinsey, Alfred C.; Krafft-Ebing, Richard von; Lesbian Feminism; Queer; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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BLACKBURN, MOLLY (1930–1985)

Born November 12, 1930, in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, Molly Blackburn was introduced at an early age to liberal and progressive ideals by her father, a chairman of the Progressive Party of Port Elizabeth. That early orientation was to become a central focus and driving force of Blackburn's life. In addition to tending to seven children and her husband, Blackburn passionately committed much of her life to relentlessly fighting racial discrimination and injustice toward black individuals in South Africa. She was consistently active

in numerous civil rights campaigns and served as a key member of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Blackburn also served as a member of the provincial legislature for the Progressive Federal Party during the 1980s, among other accomplishments.

Also of note is Blackburn's participation in the Black Sash, a grassroots, nonviolent organization made up of white South African women who shared the purpose of combating apartheid legislation. At one time acting as the Port Elizabeth Black Sash leader, she later rejected the organization when she began to feel the members were becoming sedentary. Blackburn has been referred to as Black Sash's most legendary member. Throughout her life, Blackburn persistently made clear her opposition to the government's perspective and legislation on issues of race and, consequently, was repeatedly arrested for integrating with black individuals, against government regulations. Blackburn's dedication to the movement was further evidenced by her frequent appearances in two controversial and public arenas; she was often the only white individual to attend rallies favoring the rights of black individuals, and she was regularly seen at funerals of black citizens who had died as a result of racial violence.

Blackburn did not limit her fight against injustice solely to civilian civil rights; she also helped investigate corrupt law enforcement occurrences. She was particularly active in investigating a number of police shootings in a black Cape Town township in March 1985. In addition, Blackburn was consistently invited by other black townships to assist in their particular battles toward gaining equal human and civil rights enjoyed by white South African citizens.

On December 28, 1985, at age 55, Blackburn was killed in a head-on car collision. The accident occurred when she was returning from a black township, where she had been assisting parents of children enduring human rights abuses by security forces. Some antiapartheid activists questioned whether white individuals, who considered her a traitor, had planned her death. Blackburn, as well as a number of other anti-apartheid advocates, had, in fact, received numerous death threats. Whether an accident or not, Blackburn's death was viewed as a tremendous loss for the apartheid opposition movement.

Devon Thacker

See also Federation of South African Women

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BLACK FEMINIST THOUGHT

A shared experience of the oppressive forces encountered by black women is the hallmark of Black feminism and, more specifically, Black feminist thought. This entry provides an overview of the origins, evolution, and central themes of Black feminist thought. Throughout much of their existence in the Western Hemisphere, black women have been forced to engage in the day-to-day struggles against myriad social injustices. The pervasive and persistent nature of these social injustices (such as racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism) has inspired a shared consciousness or reality among black women that is grounded in their lived experiences and informed by a worldview that is shaped by their particular sociohistorical location.

Retracing the Roots of Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought is a framework that recognizes that all black women develop a distinct standpoint and strategies that enable their survival as a marginalized and maligned social group in an unjust society—a society, more specifically, that is entrenched in what Black feminist intellectual and cultural critic bell hooks has termed "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy." Even though this framework is informed by black women's distinct yet interrelated standpoints, lived experiences, and day-to-day struggles, Black feminist thought emerged from the writings and discourse of a burgeoning community of Black feminist intellectuals or academics throughout the last quarter of the 20th century. Many of the core assumptions of Black feminist thought date back to the writings, speeches, organizing, and political activism of a "privileged" community of black women associated with the abolitionist, antiracist, woman's suffrage, and black women's club movements.

Early Black feminist consciousness emerged during an era (1830s–1900) in U.S. history that is marked by two sociopolitical movements. On one hand, scholars and activists confronted the "race question" or issues concerning the discriminatory treatment of nonwhite U.S. citizens (primarily [enslaved] blacks) as well as the systemic inequalities that resulted. On the other hand, social activism and critical discourse centered on the "woman question" or issues relating to women's suffrage, equal rights, and sexual freedom.

Black feminists (such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Pauline Hopkins, Maria Stewart, Fannie Barrier Williams, and Mary Church Terrell) were fully committed to both causes but also found themselves torn between these two movements. These early Black feminists recognized and criticized the one-dimensional nature of each movement's political objectives (i.e., race centered or gender centered). The lived experiences of these Black feminist foremothers, like that of all black women, facilitated an awareness or level of sociopolitical consciousness that was perceptive of the interconnectedness or interlocking nature of these oppressions.

For these early Black feminists, any struggle for social justice that ignored or dismissed the interplay between racial and sex oppression was futile. In both their personal and political lives, early Black feminists, and black women in general, were incapable of isolating or separating the oppression they faced as black persons from the oppression they faced as women. As a result of this shared social reality, early Black feminists were the first public intellectuals and social activists to develop and articulate a holistic and humanist approach to combating social injustice in the United States. These relatively well-educated and politically astute black women drew on their perspectives as blacks to forge a sociopolitical consciousness that problematized a one-dimensional response to oppression. Early black feminists were the embodiment of multiple oppressions, and they challenged the movement politics of their day to recognize that the multiple oppressions black women inescapably confront are neither mutually exclusive nor separable. This reality was central to the writings and discourse of these women; it was a guiding principle behind their sociopolitical organizing and activism and it inspired Black feminist thought.

The Evolution of Black Feminist Thought

Although the writings and activism of early Black feminists introduced a black woman's standpoint into the social movements against various oppressions, the formulation of Black feminist thought—as an academic project—evolved throughout the last quarter of the 20th century from the diverse experiences of and critical dialogue between Black feminist academics and social activists. Contemporary Black feminists remain committed to developing a Black feminist consciousness centered around the plight and agency of black women by illuminating the interconnectedness of systems of oppression (for example, race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality/citizenship). This interconnectedness has been variously described as what Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw refers to as "intersectionality," or what Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins coined the "matrix of domination," or what Black feminist sociologist Deborah King characterizes as an "interstructure of oppressions."

Like their foremothers, many Black feminists during the 1960s and 1970s (for example, Angela Davis, June Jordan, bell hooks, Barbara Smith, and Audre Lorde) had to create organizational spaces and discursive communities that acknowledge and resisted the multiple and interlocking systems of oppression that dominated and repressed black women. The often one-dimensional agendas and racist and/or sexist practices of various liberation movements during this era (for example, civil rights movement, Black nationalist movement, and mainstream [white] feminist movement) necessitated that Black feminists for the most part develop a sociopolitical movement organized around empowering and liberating black women. Between 1960 and 1974, Black feminist activists as well as an increasing number of Black feminist scholars were fairly successful in forming Black feminist organizations that were either affiliated with or removed from activist organizations associated with the aforementioned movements: The Black Women's Liberation Group of Mount Vernon/New Rochelle (1960), Third World Women's Alliance (1968), the National Back Feminist Organization (1973), Black Women Organized for Action (1973), Combahee River Collective (1974), and the National Alliance of Black Feminists (1975). While building on a legacy of Black feminist activism and political resistance, the creation of Black feminist organizations helped to nurture the evolution or social construction of Black feminist thought.

The Fundamentals of Black Feminist Thought

For contemporary Black feminists, Black feminist thought represents more than a historical account or sociological description of black women's worldviews and life experiences. Black feminist thought represents a collective, sociopolitical consciousness that emerged from the shared standpoints and collective lived experiences of black women. As a theoretical framework, Black feminist thought provides a black woman's analysis or discourse about black women's oppression in an unjust society. Further, Black feminist thought allows for the development of alternative and distinct knowledge claims that emerge from and are grounded in a tradition of black women struggling against interlocking systems of oppression and their quest for self-determination and self-valuation. The theoretical and epistemological assumptions that characterize Black feminist thought go beyond the key writings of Black feminist intellectuals. The essence of Black feminist thought lies in its ability to empower and equip black women collectively to resist repressive and inhumane social, political, and economic forces in society. Across much of the published scholarship either by Black feminist intellectuals or regarding Black feminism, one may surmise three fundamental or key principles that constitute Black feminist thought: (1) the interdependence of black women's standpoint, lived experience, and collective consciousness; (2) the interlocking nature of systems of oppression; and (3) black women's struggle for empowerment and universal social justice.

The Interdependence of Black Women's Standpoint, Lived Experience, and Collective Consciousness

At the core of Black feminist thought is the standpoint of black women. For Black feminists, this standpoint goes beyond any individualistic assumptions of voice. A black woman's standpoint emerges from a sociopolitical reality that has been transmitted to, or shared among, black women throughout history. The collective experience of black women in an unjust and oppressive society is informed by a historical legacy

of black women's struggle. This experience or standpoint is also constantly developing and transforming based on black women's status within a given social order or hierarchical power relations.

Black women's shared or collective lived experiences are at the center of black women's sociopolitical consciousness. Since black women's daily lived experiences or their level of awareness regarding their oppression within a given social milieu may vary along lines of class, sexuality, and nationality, Black feminist thought acknowledges a myriad of what Patricia Hill Collins labels as core themes in the lived experiences of all black women: exploitation of black women's labor; shifts and trends in black women's labor market status; interrelationship between black women's social roles in the public (e.g., paid labor) and private (i.e., the family) spheres; and the significance of mothering, sisterhood, family, and community in the lives of black women. These core themes represent a thread within Black feminist thought that illustrates the interconnectedness of black women's distinct social standpoint and their shared lived experiences, and they inspire a collective consciousness in most black women.

The Interlocking Nature of Systems of Oppression

Because Black feminist scholars and activists have consistently advanced a critique of social inequalities that is informed by the standpoints and shared lived experiences of black women, Black feminist thought—as a theoretical or ideological framework—is the first to articulate how multiple systems of oppression intersect or interlock to create a matrix of domination for black women in particular, and other oppressed and marginalized social groups. Further, this theoretical framework also highlights how the intersection of systems of oppression creates social privileges for the dominant group(s). In their quest to develop an intellectual understanding of and critical response to black women's peculiar struggles in an unjust society, Black feminists have long identified what Barbara Smith has referred to the "simultaneity of oppression." The holistic approach of Black feminist thought to understanding and addressing systems of oppression, moreover, is in opposition to what bell hooks has noted as a more entrenched and Westernized way of conceptualizing: "either/or dualistic thinking." Such thinking about or conceptualizing of social inequalities results in the perception of

systems of oppression as a series of isolated or detached social phenomenon. This mode of thinking, however, is largely rooted in a Western intellectual tradition that values or privileges linear reductionism or causal analyses—or what Black feminists Deborah King and Patricia Hill Collins have identified as additive approaches to social inequalities.

Black feminist thought recognizes that the interlocking nature of systems of oppression is neither static nor unique to black women's lived experiences. The intersections and links that connect these multiple systems of oppression are constantly shifting and therefore must be assessed and challenged relative to a specific sociohistorical context. For example, assessing black women's labor history, as found in the writings of Jacqueline Jones and Judith Rollins, reveals that the intersections of racist, patriarchal, and capitalist forces have differentially impacted black women's experiences in the paid labor force at distinct historical and economic junctures in the United States. The complexity of the interlocking nature of systems of oppression must also be explored in the context of the different social locations that individuals must exist within and often transition between. While black women's shifting social locations within an unjust society is central to Black feminist thought, any assessment of these interlocking and multiple systems of oppression should go beyond, but not be detached from, the lived experiences of black women to include analyses of other oppressed as well as privileged social locations.

The Struggle for Black Women's Empowerment and Universal Social Justice

The intellectual or scholarly significance of Black feminist thought cannot be isolated from black women's day-to-day struggles against systems of oppression. From these struggles, there has emerged a commonly shared knowledge and core set of life experiences that have sustained black women across time and various social locations.

Black feminist thought—as an epistemology and activist framework—captures black women's agency and provides a guide for black women's empowerment and liberation. While black women's (collective) struggle against multiple systems of oppression is vital to their existence, their survival is also dependent on their resistance to cultural forces and practices that seek to dominate, suppress, and contain black women.

Black feminist thought and Black feminist scholars have given voice to black women's agency by rearticulating and redefining a dominant ideology that devalues and derogates black women's bodies, womanhood, and basic humanity, or what Patricia Hill Collins discusses as "the controlling images of black women." While black women have never been passive or complicit in their oppression and domination, Black feminist thought encourages black women to resist their domination by adopting alternative knowledge claims that promote self-valuation and self-determination.

For black women—as a collectivity—to be empowered, Black feminist thought argues that black women's struggle against or resistance to interlocking systems of oppression must become universal or extended beyond the lived experiences of black women. The interlocking systems of oppression do not only impact the lived experiences and collective consciousness of black women. These multiple and intersecting social forces organize the entire society and shape the material conditions and social interactions of everyone within society. While the elucidation of black women's relationship to these interlocking systems of oppression is central to a Black feminist critique of social inequalities and social privilege, such analyses are not intended to be exclusive to black women; therefore, the empowerment and liberation of black women is inextricably liked to the necessity that all social groups, across diverse social locations within the hierarchical power relations, engage in sociopolitical actions that seek to dismantle or eliminate all oppressive forces. It is this holistic or comprehensive response to systems of oppression that both underlies many of the key tenets of Black feminist thought and connects this specialized body of knowledge to a universal commitment to social justice.

Conclusion

Black feminist thought represents both the day-to-day struggles and acts of resistance by black women within an unjust society. This theoretical, epistemological, and activist framework is underscored by three fundamental themes. First, black women's distinct standpoint, lived experiences, and resulting collective consciousness are interrelated and constructed within a given sociohistorical context. Second, the oppressions faced by black women are interlocking or interconnected, which demands that any response to these oppressive forces employ a more holistic or

humanist approach. Finally, Black feminist thought creates a framework for black women's social resistance and empowerment, hence encouraging a more just and human society.

Gary K. Perry

See also Cooper, Anna Julia; Intersectionality; National Council of Negro Women; Women's Social Movements, History of

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BLOOMSBURY GROUP

The Bloomsbury Group was an informal salon for British intellectuals of diverse disciplines who shared common philosophical and political viewpoints and collaborated on creative and critical projects. It also doubled as a countercultural social circle within the late-Edwardian, World War I, and interwar years. The Bloomsbury Group is of particular interest to students of gender and sexuality because (a) its members wrote literary and nonfiction works that pose diverse

challenges to gender-related hierarchies and other normative standards and (b) the group constituted a social support system for unconventional sexualities and polyamorous (open) relationships. The achievements of Bloomsbury members extend into fields such as literature, biography, art, philosophy, and economics and include the work of luminary figures such as writers Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster, biographer Lytton Strachey, and artist Duncan Grant.

The Bloomsbury Group originated in the association of several of its male members through an unsanctioned intellectual society at the University of Cambridge, though it quickly expanded to include female relatives of some of the male members, including sisters Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell. During the peak years of the group's activity, most members lived and worked in London's Bloomsbury District, the group's namesake. The members shared a modernist sensibility that questioned traditional British cultural mores and idealistically elevated both humanistic and instrumentalist understandings of life, death, time, and reality.

Much Bloomsbury work attacks gender role ideology and social systems such as capitalism, imperialism, and militarism. The work of people loosely associated with the group, such as John Maynard Keynes and G. E. Moore, radically transformed theory in fields such as economics and philosophy and greatly influenced the group's core members. Strachey is renowned for innovating in the writing of biography by incorporating a psychological, inward-looking approach (following the contemporaneous work of Freud, whose earliest publications in English translation came from the Bloomsbury-run Hogarth Press). Grant's postimpressionist, figurative art addressed themes of social relevance, including homosexual desire; likewise, Forster is remembered most for *Maurice* (1971), a gay coming-of-age novel written around 1914 but published only posthumously.

Virginia Woolf was perhaps the most influential Bloomsbury member. Her works, including nonfiction, such as *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and *Three Guineas* (1938), and novels, such as *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), *To the Lighthouse* (1927), and *Orlando: A Biography* (1928), directly challenge gender inequality and other social problems. *Orlando* is widely read as a fictionalization of Vita Sackville-West (one of Woolf's romantic partners) and traces the "biography" of a protagonist who lives across multiple centuries and undergoes a sort of mystical sex change at midlife. In many ways, the novel captures the radical spirit of the Bloomsbury Group, reaching its hopeful climax in an early 20th century free of the pretenses and many of the social and intellectual problems of earlier ages.

Roger A. Adkins

See also Freud, Sigmund; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Polyamory

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BLUESTOCKING SOCIETY

The Bluestocking Society, also referred to as the "Bluestocking Circle" or merely "the bluestockings," was a group of women intellectuals in England during the late 18th and early 19th century. Some of the more well-known members in the first generation of the bluestockings included Elizabeth Montagu, Catherine Talbot, Hester Chapone, and Elizabeth Carter.

The term *bluestocking* was coined by Elizabeth Montagu and originally referred to one who dressed according to lower-class sensibilities. Montagu's "conversation parties," an alternative to the cardplaying popular at the time, often included one bluestocking, Benjamin Stillingfleet, a highly educated man. Due to the attendance of Stillingfleet, the group began to be referred to as the Bluestocking Society. Soon, Montagu and her friends began using it to describe the learned men they knew, and eventually the term was used by the women to describe themselves and not the men they were friends with. The term has a historical reputation for being used as a derogatory term for women who "overstep their bounds" and become "too intelligent."

The bluestockings in England are often discussed in conjunction with the French salons (meetings to discuss art, politics, and other intellectual topics), but the two have as many differences as similarities. For example, the bluestockings published their work, something the *salonnières* (women who hosted the salons) never did. In addition, bluestocking groups were held together by friendship, and they met whenever they had the time, as opposed to the strict weekly

meetings of the French salons. Furthermore, although the bluestockings valued their relationships with men, both romantic and otherwise, they did not share the French need to include men in their groups.

What afforded the bluestockings the social sanction to pursue intellectual interests was a combination of their virtue and the men who were included in their groups. Their virtue was important because it was not uncommon for people to associate education with sexual promiscuity during the time the bluestockings existed. The men they included in their groups served as a support system for the women and furthered their ability to publish their work.

The bluestockings challenged the societal beliefs of their time regarding the education of women. Through their intellectual pursuits, they proved that not only were women capable of learning but that women were capable of being men's intellectual equals. They did not, however, consider themselves feminists. Although they believed in educational equality for women, political and economic equality were not among the social changes they wished to achieve. Their self-identification, however, did not stop feminists in the 1970s from using the group as inspiration to form feminist organizations, such as the Redstockings, a group whose name comes from a Marxist reclaiming of the term *bluestocking.*

Sara Jane Bocciardi Bassett

See also Education: Gender Differences; NGOS and First- and Second-Generation Rights for Women; Wollstonecraft, Mary; Women Artists; Women's Social Movements, History of

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BODYBUILDING

Bodybuilding is the practice of building large, defined muscles, often for competition. When competing, bodybuilders show their bodies to various judges, who award points based on aesthetic appearance. Men are typically associated with this sport, and becoming a male bodybuilder is consistent with ideals of masculinity. Judging focuses on the definition and symmetry of the muscles. Conversely, women who enter this realm contradict traditional ideals of femininity. Traditionally, judges evaluated women less on their musculature and more on their ability to provide a feminine appearance, although these criteria are changing. Therefore, when women do successfully enter this domain, they often encounter much conflict with the feminine ideal both upon their entry and in judging processes.

This entry will focus on female bodybuilding. More specifically, it attends to the historical context of bodybuilding and women's entry into this domain. Also, this entry addresses how women engage in "gender-bending" and discuss the challenges that women have faced in bodybuilding. Last, it will provide some general conclusions and possible future directions of female bodybuilding.

Historical Context and Female Bodybuilding

The sport of bodybuilding has historically been a male domain, where men can build and display their ultra-muscular and ultramasculine bodies. In this regard, bodybuilding has served to reify gender roles of men and women. Highly valued characteristics, such as aggression, domination, and power, are reinforced when men participate in bodybuilding. In contrast, women historically have not been included in this domain. Women were not seen fit for this realm due to their "weak" and "vulnerable" feminine bodies. Nonetheless, women's bodybuilding came to existence in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Any competitions prior to 1980 were typically physique contests that deemphasized musculature and focused on a feminine physique. Women in these contests wore bikinis and high heels. They were not encouraged to flex their muscles like their male counterparts. Women began to challenge popular perceptions regarding gender norms when physique contests became national bodybuilding competitions, such as the prestigious Ms. Olympia Competition, which started in 1980.

Along with the lack of emphasis on muscularity in the early contests devoted to female bodybuilders, women also were not expected to train at an intense level. As the sport grew, training was valued, and women were encouraged to develop more muscular physiques. However,

even today, a female body with "overdeveloped" muscles is seen as a negative characteristic, both in society and within the sport of bodybuilding. There is still emphasis on symmetry, face, healthy appearance, and makeup. Therefore, it is obvious that although the sport has evolved significantly, there are still boundaries of femininity set in place, usually by men.

Gender-Bending and Challenges

Women bodybuilders are seen as *gender-benders,* or female athletes who stretch and/or cross boundaries of "natural" femininity. Traditionally, lifting weights and building muscle was not acceptable for women because of perceptions of the possibility of impairing their reproductive organs and processes. Female bodybuilders have broken gender barriers regarding frailty and "soft" bodies. They have shown that strength and power are not characteristics only for men. Women in this realm have found a sense of empowerment through building their bodies to be strong and muscular. However, they have encountered much resistance and scrutiny as well. Although women bodybuilders are pushing boundaries and disproving traditional notions of "natural" femininity, many people are determined to keep this from happening.

Definitions of femininity are constantly changing. Because of these changing interpretations, it is difficult to find the "right equation" for the "ideal" female bodybuilder. Judges continually have to establish a balance between the criteria of muscularity and femininity. To satisfy these demands, women bodybuilders often wear bikini posing suits in neon colors, have their fingernails and toenails polished, dye their hair blond, and wear earrings and excessive makeup for competitions. In addition, they often shave all their body hair, and some women have plastic surgery performed on their faces and bodies to improve them aesthetically. These practices reinforce their femininity and contradict their muscular development, allowing them to find a balance between femininity and muscularity.

It is obvious that women have broken into the bodybuilding realm and challenged traditional notions of gender roles. They have found success in this domain and have been empowered through the sport of bodybuilding. However, because they often feel compelled to continue to display dominant forms of femininity, female bodybuilders are still faced with constraints regarding traditional definitions and perceptions of how a woman's body should look.

Despite the challenges that women have faced in the bodybuilding subculture, they have paved a path for other women to enter this realm. Also, they have found great sources of personal empowerment through building their bodies to be strong and muscular. Women will continue to challenge these gender roles and create more opportunities for other women through their participation in bodybuilding.

Conclusion

Many women reject the possibility of becoming a bodybuilder due to the contradictions of femininity that female bodybuilders encounter. Much of society is not comfortable seeing women develop their bodies in such a muscular manner. However, as women train and compete in the bodybuilding subculture, they are forcing a reconsideration of traditional definitions of femininity. Although judges still evaluate competitors on certain "feminine" features, they are becoming more aware of the muscular capabilities of women. Women are breaking boundaries and creating empowering experiences for themselves and for generations of women to come—not only by establishing themselves in the highly male-dominated domain of bodybuilding, but in the sports world in general.

Melissa J. Hicks

See also Beauty Pageants; Body Image; Cheerleading; Exercise and Fitness; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Gender Stereotypes; Sports and Homosexuality

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BODY HAIR

In some cultures, the presence or absence of body hair differentiates between men and women and reflects

social codes and expectations to which men and women are expected to adhere. Though biologically hair is important as a part and extension of the skin that covers almost all of the human body, the distinct cultural meanings of body and head hair have become more important than biological functions. Whereas people tend to celebrate and adorn head hair, they more often remove or hide body hair to reflect gender and cultural norms. When people speak of body hair—itself a rare occurrence—they often apply one of four (contradictory) interpretations: body hair as a problematic excess, as a monstrosity (or as evidence of monstrousness), as a trivial matter, or as a form of political protest.

Freud's essay "The Medusa's Head" provides the most famous critical reading of body hair. Freud suggested that the Medusa's snakes symbolize female pubic hair. Much anthropological writing on the subject of hair begins with Freud's essay, although Freud focuses on head hair while ignoring the significance of body hair.

Removal and Modification

Though some may consider the study of hair to be merely trivial, its position in the marketplace suggests otherwise. For instance, it has been estimated that hair removal in Britain alone is annually worth £280 million. The removal of women's body hair has replaced body hair as a fetishistic discourse that must be reiterated; such a reiteration is good news for those who sell hair removal products. Where body hair has a cultural presence, it is almost always concerned with body modification practices, including its removal or alteration. Indeed, until the recent publication of *The Last Taboo: Women and Body Hair,* edited by Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, contemporary writing on body hair has been almost exclusively about its removal.

Sarah Hildebrandt's detailed account of normative body hair practices among North American women builds on the work of Michel Foucault and suggests that for men as well as women, certain parts of the body become available for public display through the modification of body hair. Therefore, body hair is never so much evident as is its removal. When head hair has a historical presence, as in *The History of Hair: The First Five Thousand Years,* by Richard Corson, for instance, this history concerns its modification or a crisis produced by a problem associated with it: Hair in general becomes that which is modified or in need of modification.

As a review of the literature demonstrates, much current writing on body hair focuses on hair modification by women, or rather the production of "woman" and "women's bodies" via body hair modification. In such formulations, the modification of hair somehow defines what a woman might be. Research into the production of the male body challenges notions of that body as somehow stable and assumptions of a simplistic heterosexist dyad. A recent experiment by Michael Boroughs, documented in the paper "Male Body Depilation: Prevalence and Associated Features of Body Hair Removal," further complicates the issue, demonstrating that so-called normative female responses to body hair can also be understood as male behaviors and that depilation itself can be read as that which blurs the boundaries between what is considered male and female. All the same, one can see historically reiterated a trope that seeks to give a presence to certain kinds of male body hair and to make invisible certain kinds of female body hair. Such a trope functions not only to differentiate between men and women but also as a political device.

The Research Literature

It is interesting to draw together some of the writing on women's body hair modification in sociology, anthropology, psychology, and related disciplines as a way of understanding both women's body hair and the study of body hair. One useful place to find a general survey of the meanings attributed to hair is Victoria Sherrow's *An Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History.* Broadly speaking, writing on women's body hair modification generally follows one of two directions. First, *hirsutism* is read as a specifically female condition, in which hair appears in places where its presence is considered masculine. The study of hirsutism is of concern to medics, psychologists, sociologists, and cultural theorists, due to the problematic definition of the pathology of hirsutism itself. There is no agreement on what might be considered a "normal" distribution of visible body hair and therefore no agreement on what might deviate from the norm.

The second kind of writing on women's body hair modification explores *normative modification behaviors.* Whereas some texts deal primarily with the medicalization of so-called superfluous hair and focus on "masculine" body hair on the "female body" and its psychological and pathological implications, other texts discuss the apparent normativity of its removal among

women in particular countries, even though the medical languages applied to hirsutism are also applied to "normative body hair removal." For example, Toerien and Wilkinson's article "Gender and Body Hair: Constructing the Feminine" draws together a variety of studies of body hair removal and analyzes how the feminine woman is produced through a range of practices. Other papers document experiments involving the study of participants' body hair behaviors. They include Susan Basow's work on body hair removal; Joan Ferrante's work on perceptions of abnormality and hirsutism; and Keegan, Liao, and Boyle's report on psychological implications of hirsutism. Marika Tiggemann and Christine Lewis's work on the relationship between body hair and disgust explores how hair relates to Julia Kristeva's work on the abject. Sarah Hildebrandt and Penny Jolly, in independent work, draw together and contextualize the history of women's body hair removal practices in the United States.

One such practice began in America with the marketing of the Gillette safety razor to women. Though this practice began to influence European women, the influence has been slow and uneven. Body hair modification has fluctuated over time and is certainly not universal across cultures. Such evidence can be found in various texts. For instance, Anne Hollander discusses the issue in relation to art history in "Seeing Through Clothes" and draws our attention to a work by John Baptista Porta that contains recipes for depilatory preparations and engravings and paintings by Watteau that show women in the process of modifying their pubic hair.

Politics and the Workplace

Consistently, researchers seem to find it difficult to discuss the issues that arise in a scholarly examination of body hair, perhaps because body hair on women has been understood within some cultures to be a horror. The idea of a hairy woman is for some a contradiction in terms—the one excludes the other. As a result, body hair has also been a political tool to lampoon politicized women. For instance, in a text cited by Naomi Wolf, 19th-century feminists were satirized via an association with hirsutism; and in January 1978, *Spare Rib* magazine described an article in a women's magazine in which a medic maintained that certain women attending his clinic were becoming more masculinized—and therefore more hirsute—the more they went out to work.

When one considers, for instance, that as many as 25 percent of women could exhibit the symptoms of polycystic ovary syndrome (PCOS), one of which is hirsutism, the assertion that men are hairy and women are not becomes difficult to maintain. Gendered perceptions of hair on the body are difficult if they mean that certain bodies will therefore be excluded because they violate what is considered to be the norm. This has a pragmatic implication, too. There is evidence from the courts, for instance, that some women have been fired from their jobs for excess facial hair. Sometimes, in homophobic environments, terms such as *feminist, ugly, hairy,* and *lesbian* are conflated. Within such an environment, it is not easy to have a debate about the meanings of hair as they relate to the gendered body.

Critical conversations about body hair involve more than a debate about whether or not women should or should not remove hair from their underarms and their legs. The debate about body hair also asks us to think about how gender is socially constructed and calls the boundaries of the body into question.

Louise Tondeur

See also Bears; Biological Determinism; Body Image; Body Politics; Gender Identities and Socialization

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BODY IMAGE

The human body is understood as both a physiological creation and a social construct. Individuals experience

their bodies through a web of interconnected meaning and practices defined by the societies in which they live. Bodies are reflections of social norms, cultural practices, identity, and self-expression. The organization of gender within a society (e.g., male, female, transgender, and intersex) and the socialization of individuals into the expected roles and behaviors disparately associated with each gender inform how we manage perceptions of bodies. Individuals follow these norms of gendered behavior because their identities and self-esteem are determined by the extent to which they meet social expectations. There are high social rewards for women and men performing their gender roles according to socially acceptable norms. Social relationships, familial ties, and upward social mobility are all connected to how well individuals perform gender roles. For those that fall outside of the traditional Western cultural binary of male and female—transgender and intersex just to name a few—social consequences are high, including alienation from both formal and informal social and familial networks and discrimination in the public sphere.

Discussions on body image include a close examination of the connection between sex and gender, body ideals and societal standards of beauty, and the perpetuation of a culture of thinness. Cultural and ethnic differentiation also impact how these ideals are negotiated. Individuals, particularly women but increasingly men, fall prey to these ideals, which are promoted through manufactured body images in popular culture. Methods of controlling body weight are used to meet these beauty ideals through eating-disordered behaviors, dieting, and cosmetic surgeries.

Sex and Gender

Sociologists of gender argue that differences between men and women that have historically been thought of as biological or natural are actually produced through social practices that persuade men and women to use their bodies differently. Sex and gender are two social categories that are often intertwined. *Sex* is a category of self-identification and presentation that is assumed to be congruent with biological criteria for classification as female or male. These biological criteria include chromosomes, hormones, genitalia, and procreative organs. *Gender* is a category based on the sex assigned at birth, which produces patterns of social expectations for bodies, behavior, emotions, and family and work roles.

Gender display refers to the ways that individuals manage their presentation of self as a gendered body through the use of symbols, attitudes, and physical activities appropriate to one's sex category. Men are often expected to be confident, rational actors, while women are expected to be nurturing and obedient. Gender also determines social roles, like that of mother and father, and the type of worker one is, like domestic caregiver (female) versus corporate executive (male). Gender behaviors are valued differently and produce different social outcomes for men and women. While women have entered the workforce at varying positions en masse in the latter part of the 20th century, they are still overwhelmingly in positions that earn wages significantly lower than men's wages. Thus, men and women have different relationships with their bodies, which has direct implications on how men and women are situated within the domestic sphere and the labor force.

In terms of body norms, there is a double standard of beauty for men and women. Men and women relate to their bodies differently, and while men are socialized to be concerned with their bodies, physical appearance plays a greater role in societal perceptions and treatment of women. In Western cultures, women have been associated with nature—body, land, childbirth, caregiving—while men have been associated with culture—the mind, abstract reason. Human dominion over nature and the mind's domination over the body are embodied in the male/female dichotomy. Ideas about women and the body shape gender ideologies and reinforce what is called *biological determinism,* or the tendency to see women in terms of their reproductive and biological selves. Gender studies scholars incorporate nuanced analyses of the social construction of gender and the impact of stereotypical roles on both male and female perceptions of body ideals. However, feminist scholars emphasize the disparate relations of power between men and women and that the body and its expression have stronger repercussions for women's lives.

Body and Beauty Ideals

Norms and ideals about standard body shapes are culturally expressed in intentional and unintentional ways. Boys and girls learn these standards from a young age through the types of toys and play activity that is encouraged by adults. Females are represented in the tall, busty image of "Barbie." Although the doll has morphed into many identities that represent women of varying employment status and ethnicities, her basic

body frame remains a constant illustration of the ideal that girls should strive for. Boys learn their place in society through the buff, tanned, militarily trained action figures that symbolize strength, endurance, and courage. They are socialized to be the protector of both society and home. Boys often develop a connected relationship with their bodies because they learn that it is through physical strength and intellectual development that masculinity is defined. Girls often develop a negative association with their bodies because it is through physical beauty and deference to male authority that femininity is defined.

Beauty ideals reflect various relations of power in society. American beauty ideals are connected to the production and consumption of products that enhance body aesthetics and morph phenotype. The industries of fashion, cosmetics, hair, diet and exercise, food, entertainment, advertising, and plastic surgery profit from maintaining the beauty myth. Popular media reinforce the myth by recycling images of tough, virile men juxtaposed with petite, demure women, whose role is to be rescued by the former.

Consumers also internalize these norms and receive positive and negative reinforcement for conforming to or resisting them. People engage in what are called *disciplinary practices,* or the taken-for-granted routinized behaviors that involve social control in that we spend time, money, and effort and instill meaning in the practices. These practices include shaving, applying makeup, and altering hair by using any number of chemical products and electric hardware. For women, these practices are tied to staying thin, petite, and young.

The Culture of Thinness

Western cultural standards of beauty and attractiveness promote an unhealthy body ideal for women to be thin. The physical body has become a measure of value for women. Signs of this "culture of thinness" are visible in popular media, including magazines, television, film, and music. These outlets encourage women to be thin through the use of unhealthy diet and weight control methods in order to feel good about themselves, be successful at work and school, and attract friends and romantic partners. Research suggests that exposure to computer-modified images of young, thin women is linked to depression, a significant decrease in self-esteem, and the development of unhealthy diet practices in women and girls.

Advertising and the fashion industry have been targets of severe scrutiny for maintaining unrealistic standards of beauty. The average model today weighs 23 percent less than the average woman, compared with 20 years ago, when models weighed 8 percent less. Women's high-end fashion brands rarely produce clothing larger than a size 12. The average American woman is a size 14. While the demand for plus-size clothing has significantly increased in recent years, there is still a perception among the fashion elite that smaller sizes are more desirable.

Associated with the positive reinforcement of thinness is the related stigma associated with fat. A survey conducted by the Alliance for Eating Disorders Awareness reports that women age 18 to 25 would rather be hit by a truck than be fat. Two thirds surveyed also reported that they would rather be stupid or mean than be fat. Being overweight is often used to judge a woman's limited worth. Perceived as incapable of living up to society's attractiveness standard, overweight women are subject to increased forms of shame and ridicule, as evidenced by their harsh treatment in film and television. The obsession to be thin leads women to turn to harmful eating-disordered behavior and to develop an unrealistic sense of self.

Eating-Disordered Behavior and Body Dysmorphia

While eating disorders function on an individual level, they are culturally mediated through environmental conditions associated with the politics of gender and sexuality. Scholars think about this behavior in two ways. The first set of behaviors are referred to as *eating disorders,* including anorexia nervosa (self-starvation), bulimia nervosa (binge eating with vomiting and/or laxative use), compulsive eating (uncontrolled eating) and muscle dysmorphia (fear of being not sufficiently muscled). The second set of behaviors are known as *general eating-disordered behaviors* and include occasional binging, fasting, compulsive food habits, obsessive dieting, and overexercising.

Eating-disordered behavior typically stems from individual body *dysmorphia,* or an excessive preoccupation with perceived flaws in appearance. Researchers suggest that this behavior is directly associated with societal pressure, primarily for women to live up to the standards of beauty set by a culture obsessed with being thin. Body manipulation also symbolizes the value of women and girls in society,

which affects self-esteem and the mental and physical health of women.

Eating disorders affect primarily young women. According to the National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Associated Disorders (ANAD), the age of the onset of eating disorders is getting younger; age 11 to 17 is identified as the time of increased vulnerability. For adults, the approximate ratio of eating disorders among men to women is 1:10. About 20 to 30 percent of younger anorexics are male. Up to 20 percent of individuals with serious eating disorders die as a result of the disorder, as a result of complications associated with heart problems and chemical imbalances, and suicide.

Diet Industries and Cosmetic Surgery

Societal pressures to be thin have increased the demand for products and services in the weight control industries. These industries range from diet, fitness, and supplements to cosmetic and bariatric (weight loss) surgery. It is estimated that weight control products and services generate $50 to $100 billion per year. Women are a major target for marketing by weight control industries. According to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, in 2006, women accounted for 92 percent of all cosmetic procedures. Since 1997, surgical procedures (e.g., liposuction, breast augmentation, breast reduction) have increased 123 percent, while nonsurgical procedures (e.g., Botox injection, microdermabrasion, laser hair removal) increased 749 percent.

Surgical procedures have increased as a method of managing weight. One third of American adults are classified as *obese* based on a body mass index of 30 or higher. A study from the University of Michigan Health System found that between 1996 and 2002, the rate of bariatric surgeries performed in the United States increased sevenfold. Women make up 80 percent of all cases. Bariatric surgery comes with severe health risks. Researchers at the University of Washington report that the death rate is 1 in 50 within 30 days after a gastric bypass surgery. However, researchers have also found that the long-term risk of death due to weight-related health conditions is significantly lower among those who had the surgery compared with obese persons who did not. The National Institutes of Health reports that U.S. spending for weight-related conditions and their associated economic losses is at minimum $117 billion per year. Weight-related health conditions include heart disease, diabetes, hypertension, and sleep apnea.

Intersection of Race, Ethnicity, Sexual Orientation, and Gender

The intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation also plays a role in how individuals experience their bodies. Body dissatisfaction is often attributed to societal standards of thinness and an ideal body type that privileges fair skin, light hair, and other European-descended features. Mainstream Western media imagery tends to homogenize female beauty, which becomes the ideal against which women measure and discipline their bodies. Women of color are significantly impacted by this. While their representation in beauty and fashion magazines is increasing, such publications often reinforce prevailing stereotypes of lighter skin and European-descended features.

Research suggests that sociocultural influences, environmental stress, and the process of acculturation impact the development of eating disorders for women of color. Black women and Latinas are on average heavier than white women. While white women and women of higher socioeconomic status tend to suffer from eating disorders at a higher rate, these rates are increasing for women of color. Women of color who are most vulnerable to eating-disordered behavior include those who have been separated from their primary cultural groups for a significant period of time; women who have internalized the dominant, Eurocentric cultural perception of beauty; and those acclimating to a different culture. According to ANAD, eating disorders in the United States appear to be as common among Hispanic as among Caucasian women. Black women are more prone to bulimia nervosa and abuse of laxatives.

Women of color tend to frame the discussion around body image in terms of *body ethics,* a set of values and beliefs regarding care and presentation of the body (as opposed to *body aesthetics ideals*). These include cultural values regarding body care and presentation and personal and political commitments. Women of color also develop strategies of resistance for identifying affirming images of themselves and fostering positive self-image. Scholars acknowledge the importance of culture and ethnicity in shaping how women develop positive ways of experiencing their bodies through cultural norms and practices.

A central theme in multiracial feminist perspectives, including Black feminism, womanism, and Chicana feminism, is the internalization of body image ideals for women of color. The politics of cultural representation as racialized and resistance through cultural affirmation is evidenced in the activism and discourse of feminist women of color of the late 20th century.

Men and Masculinity

While body image and associated stigmas are commonly linked to women, the pressure to achieve a particular body ideal for men has significantly increased in recent decades. The ideal for men is a muscular body type, or the *mesomorphic ideal,* associated with physical strength, power, and dominance. Images of this ideal permeate sports culture as well as film, television, and men's magazines. Men are pressured to build physical prowess as a measure of success, power, dominance, and an ability to protect women. In the past 25 years, the average *Playgirl* magazine centerfold man has decreased in body fat by approximately 12 pounds, while putting on approximately 27 pounds of muscle. Action figures, like "GI Joe," represent this increase in body mass for men. Since 1960, GI Joe has increased in chest size by 10 inches, and his biceps have increased by 3 inches.

Some researchers suggest that increased rates of women in the workforce have amplified the pressure for men to be more physically attractive, since women have a larger dating pool. Changing power dynamics among men and women in society compel men to exert power and dominance through the increase of their physical form.

Male body dissatisfaction has increased as the prevalence of the mesomorphic ideal has increased. Eating-disordered behaviors for men begin as a means of promoting positive health. These behaviors often turn excessive due to an increased perception of competitiveness among men to be more muscular.

Health risks for men include depression, low self-esteem, and excessive weight lifting, as well as those associated with the consumption of performance-enhancing supplements, such as creatine and anabolic steroids. Bulimia nervosa is also an increasingly common form of eating disorder for men. In 2007, researchers at the Harvard University Medical School report that men make up 25 percent of all adults with eating disorders. According to Anorexia Nervosa and Related Eating Disorders, Inc., men are less likely to seek treatment for eating disorders because they are commonly understood as a women's problem.

Gay men face an increased level of pressure to conform to the mesomorphic ideal. Minority stress factors such as internalized homophobia, expected stigma for being gay, and experiences of physical attack are associated with increased body image dissatisfaction and masculine body ideal distress for gay men. In 2007, researchers at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health found that the risk for eating-disordered behavior among gay and bisexual men is 3 times greater than for heterosexual men. The study also found that even with slightly elevated eating disorders among men who were active in gay recreational groups, men who reported having a close connection to the gay community and participated in a range of gay and bisexual organizations did not have higher rates of eating disorders than men who were not as closely affiliated with the community. Rates of eating disorders among lesbian and bisexual women do not differ significantly from gay and bisexual men.

Conclusion

Coupled with the pressure to conform to beauty ideals is the anxiety of performing normative gender roles. These roles are associated with the requisite thinness and fragility linked to femininity for women and the lean, muscular body type symbolizing masculinity for men. Campaigns to promote healthy body images have increased in popularity in recent years. These campaigns include featuring plus-size women in advertising to encouraging exercise and healthy eating habits, particularly among adolescents. In addition, increased representation of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals in popular culture has provided new illustrations of gendered bodies. Bending the rules of gender performance has opened the door for increased representation of different body types and, in turn, for a broader social discussion of gender, sex, sexuality, and difference.

Mako Fitts

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Barbie; Beauty Pageants; Bodybuilding; Body Politics; Breast Implants; Cosmetic Surgery; Dieting; Eating Disorders; Exercise and Fitness; GI Joe; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Men's Magazines

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Body Politics

The term *body politics* refers to academic and social controversies surrounding the significance of the body. Since the 1960s, feminist social scientists and other academics have focused intently on understanding the existing cultural differentiation of male and female bodies and, subsequently, analyzing the real-world ramifications of gendered body norms. Academics engage in examining body politics in a multitude of areas; two important arenas include theorizing the body and analyzing embodied appearance.

Theorizing the Body

Academics have long debated the body's significance. To some theorists, the body is a mere physical, biological being of little social importance; this is largely a perspective taken by many medical researchers. Sociobiologists, in contrast, see the body as a necessary precursor to social relations: They assume that the body shapes social interaction. Sociobiologists have contended that dysfunctional bodies produce deviant behavior; for example, women's dysfunctional bodies have been thought to cause hysteria and hypersexuality.

Many sociologists view the body as affected by social location. Sociologists frequently assert that cultural, economic, and political factors are literally visible on the bodies of society members. On a basic level, social location affects what people do with their bodies: whether they use their bodies for physical labor or leisure and the types of food, shelter, goods, and services they can access. Social location impacts individuals' access to and quality and scope of health care. Sociological research has demonstrated that economically disadvantaged people are more likely to have poor health than the well-to-do.

While positivist sociologists frequently analyze impacts of large-scale social factors, poststructuralists and postmodernists reveal the influence of social norms and values upon individuals' body consciousness. Michel Foucault, the influential French theorist, argued that people and their bodies are continually observed and closely controlled. Individuals' bodies are "disciplined" by social structures, others, and even themselves. Consequently, people engage in body modification practices, such as dieting and exercise programs, to bring their bodies into alignment with dominant social standards.

Feminist poststructural scholars have extended Foucault by arguing that bodily regulation affects women differently and more strongly than men. While both women and men are told how to act, modify, and carry their bodies, men are permitted more freedom, space, and body leniency. Women, in contrast, are especially encouraged to discipline their bodies through feminized comportment and restricted movement and to minimize their bodies' size.

Embodied Appearance

Gender-differentiated body conceptions reflect a popular—and sometimes scholarly—conception of men and women as essentially different. Historical and contemporary social divisions in the United States portray *males* and *females* as the only acceptable sexes and *men* and *women* as the only accepted gender designations. Moreover, Western conceptions of gender and sex assume symmetry between *maleness/ men* and *femaleness/women* categories. This binary system imposes limitations on gender and sex variance and frequently compels people to alter bodies and behaviors that are not perfectly attuned to dominant

gender/sex categories. In actuality, human bodies can vary in many ways that negate the absolutist classifications of dominant sex/gender understandings: Intersexuals complicate the conventional sex binary through containing phenotype and/or genotype characteristics of males and females; transgender and transsexual people disentangle normative assumptions of sex and gender correspondence. Social constructionist feminists have refuted essentialist conceptions by revealing varying definitions of appropriate sex and gender categories throughout history and between geographically disparate locales.

Sociologists have shown that sex and gender classifications at birth set precedents for lifelong behavior. People are expected to tailor their appearance, comportment, and activities to be in alignment with gender category norms. In the mid-20th century, men were thought to be judged more by their actions and intelligence than by their beautified bodies. Although the male body is increasingly commodified and objectified, men's body norms center mainly upon hygienic grooming and athleticism. In contrast, women have been evaluated by their beautified bodies and feminine mannerisms. Women have been instructed to pay special attention to their hairstyles and makeup. They are supposed to act in a "ladylike" fashion, monitor their weight, and engage in weight reduction when needed. Though body ideals have varied according to race, class, social location, and historical period, women's attractiveness is continually portrayed as relevant in judging one's worthiness. Feminist sociologists have noted that women are cast as commodities and objects. Women similarly report feeling pressure—from themselves and/or others—to meet gendered embodiment ideals. Many women engage in bodywork, such as exercise, dieting, or carefully selecting clothing, to feel better about their bodies.

The early 1990s was an important moment for analyzing gendered appearance norms. Feminist academics Susan Bordo and Judith Butler and popular writers Susan Faludi and Naomi Wolf argued for the dilution and transformation of restrictive, gendered body standards. Body expectations promoted by advertising, media, and the beauty industry were discussed as objectifying and oppressive. The objectification of the culturally mediated body applied to all individuals but was thought to be especially significant for women.

Since the early 1990s, both popular and academic feminist works have occasionally assumed that individuals who participate in bodywork are "cultural dopes," who mindlessly engage in the reproduction of oppressive, divisive norms. This critique of social norms is a key component of feminist methodology; feminists look at how normative standards are situated and how they reify repressive social relationships. However, another hallmark of feminist research is respecting the voices and experiences of research respondents—and such respect is contrary to etically evaluating bodywork participants as "dopes." Some feminist sociologists actively refute the opinion that bodywork participants merely enact and reproduce cultural standards. These authors have demonstrated that engagement in bodywork does not equate to being a cultural dope, but rather reflects an intricate negotiation of identity, structural location, and cultural standards.

Patricia Drew

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Body Image; Cosmetic Surgery; Dieting; Eating Disorders; Lookism; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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BOSTON MARRIAGES

The term *Boston marriage* was used in New England in the late 19th century to refer to a long-standing and intimate monogamous relationship between two women who typically were not heterosexually affianced or wed at the time of their relationship, though they may have been so before or after the relationship. Another term for Boston marriage is *Wellesley marriage,* in tribute to both the New England origins and the value of academic achievement attributed to the partners. A Boston marriage may or may not have sexual overtones; if not, *lesbian bed death* is the current evocative term for those nonsexual unions of past years. In considering

whether these lesbian partnerships were "closeted" in the current sense of the term, the answer is unclear. Some seem to have been, but others were undoubtedly open, as autobiographies and memoirs of the time reveal.

The state of Massachusetts made same-sex unions legal in 2004, leading some to believe that the term *Boston marriage* is a new usage. In fact, it dates back at least as far as its first literary appearance in the 19th century.

The literary origin and history of usage for *Boston marriage* begins by citing Henry James's characters Olive and Verena, from the novel *The Bostonians,* written in 1885. James applied the term to those relationships, which he depicted as common in New England, in which two women formed a long-term relationship, shared financial obligations, shared personal regard, might identify themselves as advocates of women's rights in that time ("New Women"), and may or may not have been sexual partners.

A literary contrast is David Mamet's all-woman play *Boston Marriage* (2000). Its title is only an homage to James's usage, and Mamet's play was much criticized when first performed. In Mamet's usage, there is no doubt that sexual intimacy is a feature of the Boston marriage.

Social historians suggest that the Boston marriage is best understood as a regional American phenomenon, and a phenomenon limited by era. Thus, the term is most accurately applied to the New England relationships between women in the Victorian America of the 19th century, reflecting the particularly "Yankee" American values of independent thinking, especially as demonstrated through work motivated by social conscience and resulting from academic or other formal training and achievement; self-reliance, in the sense that the relationship between two women involved in a Boston marriage, and often their circle of similarly involved friends, was completely satisfying; and hard work, indeed, the feeling that work outside the home was a sine qua non.

Other analysts point out the strength of feelings and intimacy of two women involved in a Boston marriage as recalling the bonds of mother and daughter. It is also often mentioned that women involved in Boston marriages had a high regard for scholarship and the intellectual life, so much so that the term also connotes the partners as white women of wealth and social class able to attend the few women's colleges of the day. In examining the memoirs of those involved

in the Boston marriages during the Victorian period, it is clear that such relationships often involved a network of couples who were mutually supportive.

Some social historians and literary analysts argue that Boston marriages, as portrayed in autobiographical and fictional accounts, supplied a discourse contrary to that of an increasingly heteronormative nation. Instead of locating Boston marriages within a discourse that labeled them products of "inversion" and "arrested development," the popular psychological explanations of the time for both female and male homosexuality, this discourse emphasized the serious nature and longevity of Boston marriages and the integrity of the partners.

The commitment and longevity implied in Boston marriages has, for example, been contrasted to the fleeting boarding school "crush," known in its day as a "smash" or "rave." The traditionally romantic smash was said to be typical of young women schooled away from home, and the crush often focused on a teacher who was herself involved in a Boston marriage.

Carol Brooks Gardner

See also Cohabitation; Domestic Partners/Civil Unions; Same-Sex Marriage

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Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women

The Federação Brasileira para o Progresso Feminino (FBPF) (Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women) was a national organization that successfully fought for women's suffrage in Brazil. Due to FBPF efforts, a 1932 civil code extended the vote to women under the same conditions as men, making Brazil the fourth country in the Western Hemisphere to franchise women.

FBPF was founded in 1922 by Bertha Maria Julia Lutz, a biologist and the daughter of European-born parents in the medical profession. Inspired by the English suffrage movement while studying in Europe, Lutz returned to Brazil and founded the Ligação para o Emacipação Intelectual da Mulher (the Organization for the Intellectual Emancipation of Women), which emphasized scientific and rational study as key to women's liberation. In 1922, she served as Brazil's official delegate for the first Pan American Conference of Women, held in Baltimore under sponsorship of the National League of Women Voters. Upon returning to Brazil, Lutz transformed the Ligação into FBPF, which quickly became the largest women's organization in Brazil.

Although mainly founded and run by professional women, FBPF attracted members from various classes. FBPF leaders connected women's political rights with their economic independence, supporting issues such as living wages, equal pay for equal work, and paid maternity leave. However, leaders primarily focused organizational efforts on voting rights, actively challenging the idea that politics was a dishonorable realm for women. Drawing upon the country's desire to be a modern nation, FBPF publicized their voting efforts as within the national interest and drew upon personal political contacts to try to pass a bill for women's suffrage.

FBPF efforts were met with resistance until an economic slump divided the country's elites and led to the 1930 presidency of Getúlio Vargas through a nonviolent coup. Vowing to prevent another monopoly of power, Vargas began drafting a new electoral code. Sensing their opportunity, FBPF leaders stepped up their franchise efforts, and in 1932, a civil code extended the vote to women who were literate, the same requirement as men.

After female franchisement was written into the new Constitution of 1934, FBPF lost its main issue and began fragmenting. Many leaders focused on running female candidates for congressional elections, with Lutz serving in the Chamber of Deputies in 1936. The organization's efforts were shattered with Vargas's formation of the Estado Novo (New State) in 1937, a corporatist state that regarded women as wives and mothers rather than political allies. After the fall of the Estado Novo in 1945, women's right to vote remained intact, although women's roles in Brazil would not be significantly challenged until the new feminist movement of the late 1970s and 1980s.

Christine Shearer

See also Declaration of the Rights of Women; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Sexism; Suffrage Movement; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Breastfeeding

For most of human history, feeding infants at the breast was a fact of life. Although cross-cultural feeding practices varied widely with regard to the timing of weaning and the extent and variety of supplementary foods, infants depended on breast milk (maternal or of a wet nurse) for survival in their first several months, and usually years, of life. With the introduction of safe breast milk alternatives (infant formula) in the 20th century, breastfeeding has become an option framed by access to resources; corporate interests; public policy; competing ideas about science, motherhood, and standards of infant care; and global inequalities. In the process, breastfeeding has also become a matter of political controversies, national and international public health campaigns that target worldwide declining breastfeeding rates, and grassroots activism. Focusing on breastfeeding in Western nations, this entry examines how the practice of breastfeeding is shaped at the intersection of historical-cultural norms and customs, economic disparities, and beliefs about gender, race, and science.

Breastfeeding as a Socially Constructed Practice

The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends that infants be exclusively breastfed without any supplementary foods (including breast milk alternatives) during their first 6 months, followed by a combination of breastfeeding and complementary foods (excluding breast milk alternatives) up to age 2. The recommendations of national medical associations, such as the American Academy of Pediatrics, and international breastfeeding advocacy organizations, such as the World Alliance for Breastfeeding Advocacy (WABA), echo these guidelines. Breastfeeding advocacy rests on the premises that the "breast is best" and that breastfeeding is natural. Social scientists demonstrate that far from being "natural," breastfeeding decisions, practices, and experiences are shaped by historical, cultural, and social norms and customs. These norms and customs govern feeding decisions for infants: breast milk or breast milk alternatives; who may feed the child at the breast, the mother, a paid wet nurse, or another mother involved in a network of mutual child care; where breastfeeding is to occur, in public, at the workplace, in the presence of family members, or in the privacy of one's home; how often breastfeeding should occur, according to a fixed schedule or "on demand," in response to infant cues; how long breastfeeding should last, through early infancy or well into toddlerhood; how breastfeeding is to be learned, within the mother's informal kin and social networks or through specialized professionals; and how breastfeeding is experienced, as pleasurable and empowering or as a burden.

Breastfeeding Trends

When breast milk alternatives were first introduced in the late 1800s, results were disastrous. High mortality and morbidity rates of infants whose diets were supplemented in the early weeks of life spurred breastfeeding campaigns in the United States and in Britain. These campaigns encouraged women to breastfeed longer and to avoid unsafe supplements and alternatives.

When safer alternatives became widely available in the 1920s, breastfeeding rates began to decline worldwide, and by the 1930s, infant feeding methods were viewed as a matter of choice in Western nations. Promoted as more convenient and later as more nutritious than human milk, formula was perceived as an equivalent alternative to breast milk, sometimes even touted as a superior alternative. As part of the process that brought reproduction and parenting under the purview of experts, infant feeding came under scrutiny in the 1950s. Rima Apple, in *Mothers and Medicine,* informs that during this period, American physicians and public health officials began to promote formula as the modern, responsible, scientific, and "American" method to feed one's child. Pam Carter makes a similar observation in the British context. Combined with practices that interfered with lactation mechanisms, such as maternal-infant separation in hospitals following childbirth and the promotion of strict infant feeding schedules (as opposed to breastfeeding infants on demand), many mothers were diagnosed with insufficient milk syndrome and subsequently advised to discontinue breastfeeding. Amidst this culture of scientific motherhood, a group of women in Chicago founded a breastfeeding advocacy and support organization in the 1950s, La Leche League.

By the early 1970s, breastfeeding initiation rates in the United States dropped to an all-time low of 25 percent, coinciding with the large-scale entry of mothers of young children into the workforce. Initially, breastfeeding rates declined most rapidly among privileged mothers, but by the 1970s, all demographic groups exhibited low breastfeeding rates. In a trend that continues into the 21st century, low-income, uneducated, and African American mothers exhibited the sharpest declines in breastfeeding rates, although interventions have partially reversed these trends.

Breastfeeding rates rebounded since the late 1970s, and by the early 2000s, 70 percent of mothers were initiating breastfeeding and about 35 percent of infants were receiving some breast milk at 6 months. Both rates are short of the goals of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and of the WHO.

However, breastfeeding has become stratified. Once associated with poor, immigrant, and unsophisticated mothers, breastfeeding has become a marker of privileged motherhood. In Western nations, higher breastfeeding rates are associated with class privilege: White, middle-class, educated, heterosexually partnered, and older mothers are more likely to initiate breastfeeding, continue breastfeeding beyond the first few days and upon return to paid employment, and breastfeed exclusively.

These disparities are a product of two intersecting processes. First, public policies that privatize child-rearing responsibilities offer little support to mothers

whose short maternity leaves, inflexible schedules, and work environments interfere with breastfeeding routines and are inhospitable to establishing pumping as an alternative. Mothers who take longer maternity leaves, work part-time or on a flexible schedule, and pump their breasts regularly while separated from their infants are able to breastfeed their infants longer. Countries that offer more generous support to new mothers, such as New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, exhibit higher breastfeeding rates across the population and less significant racial and socioeconomic disparities.

These disparities are also a product of racialized and sexualized moralizing public discourses. Linda M. Blum found that the "breast is best" frame creates a standard of good mothering that faults mothers who are not able to comply with this standard or do not wish to comply with it. These mothers are usually poor, uneducated, and minority women. Blum adds that the "breast is best" frame itself is a construction.

The Benefits of Breastfeeding and Public Health Campaigns

Oblivious to breast milk and breastfeeding throughout much of the 20th century, in the mid-1970s, medical and nutrition scientists and practitioners began to investigate breast milk composition, lactation physiology, and the correlation between breast milk and a range of medical and psychological conditions and diseases, including ear infections, asthma, gastrointestinal ailments, diabetes, allergies, intelligence, obesity, autism, and infant death syndrome. The cumulative data suggest that breast milk has a positive effect on various health conditions. This evidence is captured by the now axiomatic notion that "the breast is best" for infants, mothers, families, populations, and the environment. On the heels of this evidence, and in an effort to increase breastfeeding initiation rates, extend the duration of breastfeeding across the population, and reduce instances of nonexclusive breastfeeding before 6 months (when breast milk is to be supplemented but not replaced by other foods), national and international medical associations and public health officials began to promote breastfeeding as the primary infant feeding method in the 1980s. These campaigns that frame breastfeeding as a rational and responsible parenting choice have been supported by grassroots anticorporate activists, advocates of natural parenting methods, and most recently, feminist "lactivists" (lactation activists).

Critics of the science of human lactation caution that the data are not unequivocal, especially with regard to the benefits of breastfeeding beyond the first few months and exclusive breastfeeding. Some scholars argue that when formula feeding is sanitary and breastfeeding rates mirror class disparities, these benefits may be the product of confounding socioeconomic effects. Some critics also caution that the extent, effects, and relative risks of breast milk contamination by infectious hazards such as the AIDS virus and hepatitis and environmental toxicants are little understood.

Critics further charge that contemporary breastfeeding campaigns that are framed by privatized risk, choice, and moralism are divorced from the cultural and institutional realities that structure breastfeeding in Western nations that offer little support to parents and sexualize women's breasts. These critics attribute the failures of these programs to achieve dramatic increases in breastfeeding rates to the fact that they do little to address these realities. Some breastfeeding advocates who find the science of human lactation convincing retort that breastfeeding activism can and should embrace the science of human lactation and address structural barriers to breastfeeding, thus transforming breastfeeding advocacy to a social movement.

The Medicalization and Commercialization of Breastfeeding

The science of human lactation also addresses the production and secretion of breast milk. Attempts to decode the complex physiology of lactation have yielded a barrage of advice to mothers about establishing and maintaining an adequate milk supply and delivering breast milk to their infants. Studies have identified nutrition, hydration, rest, emotional tranquility, and frequent breastfeeding as crucial for achieving and maintaining adequate milk supplies. These requirements shed further light on the socioeconomic disparities noted above and on the constructed nature of breastfeeding.

The commericalization of breastfeeding in Western nations, which has increasingly targeted white, middle-class women, and the increasingly scientific frame through which human reproduction is discussed and experienced have also given rise to a new type of medical professional: the *lactation consultant*. Initially trained informally by La Leche League, in the 1980s, lactation consultation became a formal, certified, and paid profession that operates within a clinical frame. While these professionals support mothers, their

existence further places lactation and breastfeeding under the purview of medical experts.

Breastfeeding is also supported by a vast market of goods and services, including lactation classes and books, nursing clothes, bras, pillows, chairs, and breast pumps and related paraphernalia. Numerous Web sites also provide breastfeeding advice, support, and merchandise. Commercialization and medicalization further underscore that breastfeeding is a socially constructed practice.

Feminist Approaches to Breastfeeding and Lactation Activism

Feminists maintain a strained relationship with the practice of breastfeeding. Jacqueline Wolf notes that although feminists have been at the forefront of women's health reform, they have refrained from scrutinizing the medicalization and commercialization of infant feeding. Linda M. Blum attributes this reluctance to the fact that breastfeeding seems more optional than pregnancy and childbirth. Breast milk alternatives also symbolically sever the ties that bind mothers as primary caretakers, while breastfeeding defies the sensibilities of autonomy, independence, and equality of second-wave feminism.

More recently, some feminists have embraced breastfeeding as an empowering, countercultural, and anticorporate practice and as a women's rights issue. "Lactivists" join forces with the more politically conservative La Leche League to ensure women's right to breastfeed in public places, demand legal protections and workplace accommodations for nursing mothers, provide support and information, and portray breastfeeding as a pleasurable and self-affirming experience and a valid lifestyle choice.

Conclusion

Advocacy narratives, along with scientific, moralizing, and rationalizing discourses, shape cultural ideas about and individual experiences of breastfeeding. In Western nations, these ideas and experiences are shaped by the sexualization of the breast, consumerism, the privatization of child rearing, and the reliance on experts. Examination of these contexts suggests that breastfeeding is not a "natural" parenting or reproductive practice and that the claim that the "breast is best" is not an axiomatic premise.

Orit Avishai

See also Caregiving; Motherhood; Parental Leave; Scientific Motherhood; Stratified Reproduction; Wet-Nursing

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Web Sites

La Leche League: http://www.llli.org

Breast Implants

In 2006, 329,000 women underwent breast augmentation with either silicone or saline breast implants in the United States alone. In the same year, over 42,000 women underwent breast implant surgery after mastectomy in the United States. Despite considerable controversy surrounding the safety of breast implants, particularly silicone-gel-filled implants, breast augmentation is the most common cosmetic surgical procedure among women, increasing more than eightfold between 1992 and 2006. In 1992, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) restricted the use of silicone breast implants to mastectomy patients and a limited number of augmentation patients enrolled in clinical

studies. Although the ban was lifted in 2006, women's health advocacy groups continue to raise questions about the safety of silicone implants. The silicone breast implant controversy has prompted debate among feminist scholars and advocates over issues of choice and informed consent, as well as socio-medico-legal disputes due to the different, often competing, evidentiary standards of safety and risk across scientific, legal, and lay communities.

Types of Breast Implants

Over the past 100 years, various materials have been implanted in patients seeking to augment their breast size and shape, including ivory, glass, rubber, sponges, paraffin, Teflon, and silicone. Most patients receiving breast implants fall into two groups: women seeking augmentation for cosmetic reasons and women seeking reconstruction following mastectomy. Other patients include girls or women with congenital "deformities" and patients seeking male-to-female gender reassignment surgery. Breast implants are soft sacs with a silicone shell, filled with either saline liquid or silicone gel, which are surgically implanted into the breast. Women undergoing breast reconstruction after mastectomy may choose among these manufactured implants or can use their own body tissue to reconstruct a breast via either TRAM flap or free flap methods. In the first technique, skin and fat from the lower abdomen is moved to the chest to create a breast shape. In the latter approach, abdominal tissue is surgically removed and then reattached via microsurgery to create a breast.

A Brief History of Silicone Breast Implants

The use of silicone to enlarge women's breast size originated in Japan, shortly after World War II, when Japanese prostitutes, seeking to meet American servicemen's reputed preference for larger breasts, used injections of liquid silicone (among other substances) to augment their breast size. Women who underwent silicone breast injections experienced serious complications, including scarring, infections, disfigurement, and migration of the injected silicone to other body parts. The first contemporary breast implant was created in 1961 by two plastic surgeons, Frank Gerow and Thomas Cronin, by encasing silicone gel inside a thin silicone envelope, thereby preventing migration and its associated problems. In 1962, Timmie Jean Lindsay became the first woman to receive a silicone-gel-filled implant. Silicone was already used in other medical devices without evidence of serious risks and thus was well received by plastic surgeons. The "Cronin Implant" was patented, albeit without formal clinical trials or safety testing, with rights assigned to the Dow Corning Corporation.

As silicone-filled implants gained popularity among women in the 1970s and 1980s as a way of augmenting breast size, they also came under increasing public scrutiny. In 1976, the Medical Device Amendment (MDA) to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed, giving the FDA authority to regulate medical devices, including implants. Already on the market for 15 years, breast implants were "grandfathered" in under the amendment, such that manufacturers were not required to provide the FDA with scientific evidence of product safety and effectiveness, and the devices remained available to women without restriction. However, the 1980s and early 1990s were marked by increasing concern about potential health risks associated with silicone breast implants. Sidney Wolfe of the Public Citizen's Health Research Group began raising concerns about connections between breast implants and cancer risk and accused Dow Corning Corporation, a leading breast implant manufacturer, of withholding and suppressing information regarding potential leaks and ruptures of their implants. In December 1990, the news show *Face to Face With Connie Chung* aired a program about the possible dangers of silicone breast implants, and by June 1992, a total of 14,259 adverse reactions were reported to the FDA by breast implant recipients. Thousands of lawsuits were filed against Dow Corning, including one by Marcia Stern in 1984 and one by Mariann Hopkins in 1991, both of whom won claims that silicone breast implants cause systemic autoimmune disease. These lawsuits eventually resulted in a $4.3 billon global settlement against implant manufacturers to offer compensation to any woman with diseases or symptoms associated with breast implants. As a result of this settlement, Dow Corning Corporation filed bankruptcy in 1995.

Newer generations of implants were developed over the years to address problems with existing models, but these new designs were rarely subject to formal clinical testing and often created new problems for patients. For example, a polyurethane-foam-coated implant designed to reduce capsular contracture was introduced in the 1970s. It was later found to

disintegrate, causing pain, fluid accumulation, and infection, and it was difficult to remove. An estimated 110,000 women received this type of implant before it was discontinued in 1991. More recently, the soy-bean-oil-filled Trilucent implant, marketed primarily in Europe as a safer, natural alternative to silicone, was removed from the market in 2000, when it was found to break down into genotoxic components. Women receiving this implant were advised to have it removed before childbearing and breastfeeding.

In January 1992, the FDA asked manufacturers and physicians to voluntarily halt the sale of silicone implants, following health and safety concerns including implant ruptures, breast pain, capsular contraction, suicide, and claims that implants were related to connective-tissue diseases, neurological diseases, and cancer. From April 1992 through November 2006, silicone-gel-filled implants were restricted to cancer patients seeking breast reconstruction, women with broken implants, and those participating in clinical trials through a "compassionate need" exemption policy. In 1997, Congress commissioned the Institute of Medicine (IOM) to carry out a comprehensive evaluation of studies examining associations of silicone breast implants with health conditions. The IOM's report, released in 1999, found no evidence that silicone breast implants contribute to an increase in cancer, autoimmune diseases, neurological diseases, or other systemic conditions.

The report also found no evidence of elevated silicone in breast milk and recommended that mothers with implants attempt breastfeeding if they are able to produce an adequate milk supply. Approximately two thirds of women were found to be very satisfied with their implants. Critics of the report argue that the studies included did not have adequate statistical power to draw meaningful conclusions about long-term safety and efficacy based on the lack of extended follow-up data and high drop-out rates in the extant studies. The IOM report highlighted extensive local complications and called for further studies of the physical and chemical characteristics of silicone breast implants, local complications, and impact on mammography screening and recommended accumulation of more data on the safety and efficacy of saline implants.

In November 2006, the FDA lifted its 14-year ban on silicone breast implants, approving their use for breast reconstruction and cosmetic breast augmentation among women over age 22.

Complications and Health Risks

Although the IOM report found no definitive evidence that silicone breast implants are associated with serious disease, a large number of women experience significant complications and side effects. The most common complications include breast pain, changes in or loss of nipple sensation, rupture, migration of silicone gel, and capsular contracture, a hardening of the area around the implant caused when scar tissue tightens and squeezes the implant. Whereas saline implants deflate when ruptured, silicone-gel-filled implant ruptures may go unnoticed. Studies indicate considerable variability in the frequency of rupture in gel-filled implants, ranging from 0.3 to 77 percent, depending on type and model of the implant, groups of women studied, and length of implantation, among other factors. Ruptures may be caused by capsular contracture, compression during mammography screening, and aging, among other factors.

The FDA now recommends that patients undergo an MRI within 3 years of implant surgery and every 2 years thereafter to identify possible ruptures in silicone-gel-filled implants. Rates of reoperations (including removal) due to complications are quite high, with studies finding that approximately 24 percent of women experience complications resulting in reoperation within 5 years of their initial implant surgeries and that reconstruction patients have higher rates of reoperation than do augmentation patients. The FDA warns women that breast implants do not last forever and that the rates of complications increase with subsequent surgeries. In addition, implants may affect a woman's ability to breastfeed, either by reducing or eliminating milk production. More research is needed to determine whether implants may also interfere with mammography screening.

Feminist Debates and Socio-Medico-Legal Concerns

The regulation of silicone breast implants has been a contested issue among feminist scholars, women's health advocates, and bioethicists. Among the most debated are concerns about choice and informed consent. Scholars such as Kathy Davis have argued that the decision to undergo breast augmentation (or other cosmetic procedures) can be a reasonable and reasoned choice for a woman in some circumstances.

Others have questioned the possibility of choice in a culture where "perfect" breasts (i.e., round, large, "perky") are normalized and fetishized, encouraging women, especially small-breasted women, to view their natural breasts as inadequate or defective.

Informed-consent procedures are designed to allow patients to weigh the risk and benefits of a procedure and make health care decisions that are consistent with their own values and preferences. An editorial published in the *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association* argues that in the case of breast augmentation, informed consent does not adequately protect patients. The authors contend that the powerful influence of cosmetic surgery advertisements, which promise results without mention of adverse outcomes, combined with physician's conflict of interest in presenting risks and benefits of a procedure they are essentially "selling" to their patients, undermine informed consent.

In contrast, bioethicist Lisa Parker has contended that overly restricting and regulating access to breast implants demeans women by suggesting that they are incapable of making decisions in their own interest. Parker described the policy that limited access to silicone implants to reconstruction patients as paternalistic, deciding "for their own good" which women really need implants, thereby undermining women's autonomy, ability to exercise control over their own bodies, and capacity to make their own risk-benefit analysis that is consonant with their values, preferences, and subjective experience of their bodies. Her argument is supported by data suggesting that although the IOM report put to rest many of the concerns regarding breast implants, long-term studies of safety and efficacy are still needed. Debates regarding informed consent, both within and beyond the feminist community, will likely evolve as data regarding risk and benefits emerge.

Lisa Rubin

See also Body Politics; Breastfeeding; Cosmetic Surgery; Women's Health Movements

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BRIDAL INDUSTRY

The bridal industry is economically and culturally powerful, as it is a wide-ranging, multibillion-dollar-a-year industry that supports one of the most salient rites of passage. In so doing, it is connected with gendered divisions of labor and gendered family arrangements, while it also serves to sustain cultural ideas supporting these phenomena. The bridal industry is composed of some businesses that cater exclusively to customers planning weddings and many businesses that plan weddings in addition to other events/purposes.

The former category includes bridal consultants (wedding planners), wedding chapels, bridal salons, bridal magazines, advice books, and bridal Web sites and others that provide more specific services and products directed at brides. While other businesses specialize in weddings, their services can be applied more broadly. These include photographers/videographers; florists; clothing designers, manufacturers, and retailers (for bridal gowns, tuxedos, and attire for attendants and family members); beauticians and beauty suppliers; caterers; ceremony, reception, and prewedding party venues; jewelers; musicians and disk jockeys; religious and secular officiants; travel agencies; rental suppliers; paper/invitation suppliers; and various businesses that offer favors for ceremony guests and gifts for attendants.

Bridal consultants are independent professionals who attend to every detail of planning the event, coordinating the services of other vendors from the time of engagement to the honeymoon. The Association of Bridal Consultants is the professional organization for the wedding industry. Started in 1981, it is an international association with several thousand members and offers seminars, conferences, and training materials in addition to local networks. Association membership requirements include successful completion of their professional development program, coursework, and apprentice experience. Bridal professionals may also have taken other independent coursework and be members of event-planning organizations that do not specialize in weddings. These associations are important as networking resources for bridal professionals; referrals are vital in this industry because there is relatively little repeat business.

Because many of the businesses that are part of the bridal industry do not exist exclusively within this realm, it is difficult to estimate its size. Industry associations and census data suggest more than 2.2 million couples wed each year and spend an average of $20,000 to $30,000 on their ceremonies and receptions. This figure, approaching 50 percent of the annual household income of newly married couples, includes an average of $1,000 for a cake and $2,000 each for attire, flowers, photography, and jewelry. The industry is also supported by guests who purchase gifts for the couple and the common practice (99 percent of couples) of taking a honeymoon after the ceremony. These two practices, respectively, contribute an additional $19 billion and $8 billion dollars annually. Although there are significant regional differences in the cost of items and services, these figures combine to create a $70 to $80 billion per year industry.

Recently, several additions to the bridal industry have begun to change its landscape. Lower-end bridal shops, such as the national chain David's Bridal, offer bridal gowns, bridesmaids' dresses, accessories, and tuxedo rental for far lower prices than traditional salons. Another example is the destination wedding, popularized by couples looking for an alternative to the traditional ceremony. All-in-one packages to vacation destinations offered by travel agencies and resorts include an officiant, minimal accessories, and group discounts for wedding guests. Alternatively, in the context of a rising divorce rate and sensational popular press stories of jilted brides and grooms, the industry also offers wedding and divorce insurance.

Perhaps the most notable change to the bridal industry in recent years is the rise of online planning resources, including TheKnot.com and TheWeddingChannel.com. TheKnot.com boasts 3.2 million unique visitors to its site each month, with 3,000 new members every day. It features a wide array of planning resources, virtual shopping, local vendor information, message boards, an online television channel, and wedding registries. These are in addition to its popular personalized Web pages, where couples provide details of their ceremonies for their guests. Internet resources such as these serve to consolidate bridal resources and the industry, making it easier for planners to find the information they are looking for without having to contact and pay for a professional.

Gender, the Bridal Industry, and Wedding Planning

The bridal industry can be said to be gendered in several ways: Most bridal consultants are women, the industry caters to women, and some of the work required by the profession is of a traditionally feminine nature. Weddings are referred to as the "bride's day," as the woman is the one primarily responsible for planning the event (like many other consumer rituals). The bridal industry, as the name suggests, caters to women in this role. Brides spend more time doing more legwork than do grooms, often beginning a year in advance of the wedding date. Women usually investigate possible vendors and venues, call to inquire about availability, and visit the sites before making decisions about the event. They also take action to care for family members and guests during planning

and the days surrounding the event. This work is easily overlooked and underappreciated, similar to other women's labor, such as housework. Men's role in planning is often one of decision making, in which they contribute to or veto the final decisions presented by the bride. When men do participate in planning, their involvement is often overestimated, which might be expected when compared with the hypothetical uninterested and uninvolved groom. Nevertheless, this pattern persists even as couples are more likely than in the past to emphasize equality in their relationships.

Finally, the bridal industry is gendered because of the work required. In addition to organizing, negotiating logistics, and decorating (a broad category that includes many feminine tasks), bridal professionals have to do "emotion work" with their clients. This refers to actions that one takes to maintain appropriate emotions. The importance of emotion work in this case is heightened by the aura of love and romance surrounding the products and services. Brides and their families are invested in the emotions surrounding the event, and establishing a relationship that acknowledges this helps the professional best serve clients. At the same time, professionals often have to mediate between the bride and groom, or the bride and her family or other guests, and must also deal with brides who might be difficult to work with in what can be very stressful situations. It can be a challenge to manage these negative emotions without threatening the romantic and loving emotional overtone of the event.

The Bridal Industry as a Carrier of Culture

Most bridal industry clients are unfamiliar with their role—they do not understand what is expected of them, what options they have, or what their preferences are. Because of this, bridal professionals have great influence over definitions of the situation and their clients. Part of the professional role is to make sure brides understand the wedding ritual: why certain products are necessary, how to use them appropriately, and how to play the bridal role. This serves both the client and the professional, as brides desire this information so that they meet social expectations, and having brides who perform appropriately makes the work of the professional easier. It also serves to maintain wedding culture, as it is passed verbally, through products and encouragement to include rituals in the ceremony that highlight the products.

Conveying bridal ideals reinforces images of romance and childhood feminine dreams of a "fairy-tale wedding." Chrys Ingraham argues that the focus on romance in the bridal industry perpetuates normative heterosexuality. In supporting traditional marriage rituals, the bridal industry prepares people, namely women, for their roles in heterosexual nuclear family relationships. Thus, it has an important role in creating and sustaining the conventional family form. Moreover, the feminine images of romance associated with the transition are widespread in popular culture. Desire for the lavish wedding is evident in the scope of the industry and the fact that it is replicated, to varying degrees, among all classes.

The industry also affects a bride's sense of self, as women undergo an identity transformation when learning the bridal role. The experience of shopping for the bridal gown exemplifies how an item used in the ceremony aids the woman as she takes the role of bride in this rite of passage. Through choosing "the" perfect gown, learning about its features, and how to wear it, the woman begins to identify with her new role and becomes comfortable in it. Each step is aided by bridal professionals, who explain the importance of the gown, imbue it with magical qualities, and teach the woman how to carry herself in it.

Bridal professionals who are involved during the event also maintain wedding culture. Photographers, for instance, often dictate behavior of the wedding party and guests to achieve a desired image. The result, very similar images for most couples, reinforces notions of what a wedding "should" be like. Ironically, images captured in this way might be even more "ideal" than the event was, because it was staged as such.

While it often serves to uphold traditions, the bridal industry also has the power to change them. Industry constituents can devise new "traditions" in order to sell more products, as evidenced in the invention of the diamond engagement ring and the double-ring ceremony. They also have proliferated some conventions due to popular opinion about them, as was the case when the white gown was preferred by women after it was worn by Queen Victoria. Or etiquette can be rewritten in bridal books and magazines to accommodate concerns for efficiency, such as allowing the bride and groom to see each other before the ceremony so that pictures can be taken without guests having to wait. Each of these is common in contemporary weddings, though they were not two centuries ago.

Conclusion

The bridal industry is of interest to scholars of gender and society because it caters to women and supports and provides for marriage celebrations. Not only are these celebrations of a particular family form (legally sanctioned heterosexuality) with implications for gender roles, but many rituals within weddings are gendered, and the work of wedding planning is feminine and done almost entirely by women.

Emily Fairchild

See also Commitment Ceremonies; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Divorce; Emotion Work; Marriage; Romance and Relationships

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Buffy the Vampire Slayer

Buffy the Vampire Slayer (*BtVS*) refers to a 1992 film and also to a television show that ran from March 10, 1997, to May 20, 2003. Creator Joss Whedon sought to create a hero(ine) who subverted gendered expectations. He is often quoted for his aim to have "the blond girl in the dark alley" turn out to be a fighter and hero rather than victim. Although the show was deliberately titled to seem silly and easy to dismiss, it drew a diverse array of devoted fans, including numerous academics who have built up what is now referred to as "Buffy Studies."

Details of the Show

The 1992 movie, starring Kristy Swanson, was alternately criticized and appreciated for its "B-movie" status. Though dismissed by Whedon and many fans of the television show as less exceptional than the series, it set the stage: A blond high school cheerleader in Los Angeles discovers that she is "the Chosen One," The Vampire Slayer. Under the tutelage of her Watcher, an older man qualified to train her in her slayer duties, she first resists, but eventually accepts her duty, learning to recognize and slay vampires, simultaneously alienating her popular friends, and eventually bringing the fight to a high school dance. Along the way, Merrick, her first Watcher, dies.

When the television series begins, Buffy Summers (played by Sarah Michelle Gellar) and her newly divorced mother have relocated to fictional Sunnydale, California, north of Los Angeles. Having been kicked out of school for burning down the gymnasium (the story was changed slightly from the film), Buffy is hoping to leave her slaying behind and return to a "normal" life. However, she discovers in the first episode that Sunnydale is actually situated on a Hellmouth, where demonic energy is high and regularly interferes with the everyday lives of its inhabitants. Aided by her new Watcher, Rupert Giles, and a mysterious stranger named Angel, she is reabsorbed into her slayer life, particularly when her potential friends Willow and Xander become endangered. As the season unfolds, Buffy again finds herself labeled a "freak" by the popular students, but this time she has her band of outsiders, the self-proclaimed "Scoobies" (referring to the animated television show, *Scooby-Doo*), including Giles, Willow, and Xander.

In establishing this group, a supportive community that aids her calling, Buffy breaks from the traditions of both the slayer and the cinematic lone hero. As we later learn from slayers Kendra and Faith, the slayer is expected to fight alone. Buffy is at first still a young girl under the direction of the patriarchal Watcher's Council; they expect her to die young but maintain the line. She resists the council and succeeds where previous slayers failed. *BtVS* challenges hero genre conventions through similar means, using her nontraditional, communitarian methods. Over the course of seven seasons (144 episodes), Buffy graduates from high school; goes to college; loses her mother to a natural death; acquires a younger sister, Dawn, via mystical means; and saves the world many times.

Buffy has a series of genre-busting relationships, defying the usual depiction of teenage girls as romantic, mature, and/or purely sexual. Her first and perhaps most significant relationship is with Angel, the

240-year-old "vampire with a soul." Theirs is the storybook, star-crossed romance: He may keep his soul unless he experiences one moment where he ceases to be plagued by the horrible acts he committed as the soul-less Angelus. In Season 2, after he and Buffy consummate their relationship, his soul is mystically torn from his body, setting the stage for a demonically dramatized version of the "boyfriend-turned-jerk-after-sex." He wreaks havoc before getting his soul back, 1 minute too late, forcing Buffy to slay him in order to save the world. Thus, their relationship is typical of the hero romances, where they often must sacrifice love for duty and the safety of those around them. Throughout her adventures, Buffy breaks with hero genre traditions by relying on the Scoobies, a cast of additional members, and eventually an entire "army" of slayers. This hero is not alone, and this is where her greatest strength lies—even saving her from death and keeping her committed as the slayer.

"Buffy Studies"

Academics weigh in with a variety of perspectives on how progressive or complicit *BtVS* is in relation to feminism and patriarchy. One view is that it pushes the boundaries in some ways but as popular culture it also necessarily exists within these boundaries. Thus, the show is sometimes disappointing in its maintenance of the status quo. The very premise of the show is defined by Whedon as feminist—as a subversion of our expectations of victimhood. When Buffy has sexual relations, the traditional consequences are problematized, and she ultimately is "allowed" a range of sexual behavior. Willow eventually comes out as a lesbian and enjoys some of the more explicit representations of queer sexuality portrayed network television (though her first female partner, Tara, is killed in Season 6, following a long cinematic tradition of gay romance being doomed or tragic). With important female characters (Willow and Faith), the show depicts women "behaving badly," but they are ultimately redeemed. Furthermore, through the male characters—Giles, Xander, Angel, and Spike—the show presents a complex masculinity, problematizing traditional "masculine" behavior and attitudes (the eventual spin-off, *Angel,* continued to explore this theme).

BtVS nonetheless often caters to traditional ideals of femininity, even with its lesbian characters. The show has been heavily criticized for its limited inclusion of people of color and the almost inevitable deaths of those who do appear. Although it is not a perfect show, *BtVS* presents more challenging and complex portrayals of gender and sexuality than had previously been evident on network television.

Joanna R. Davis

See also Gender Roles on Television Shows; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Primetime Comedies; Primetime Drama

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Buffy News: http://www.slayage.com

BUTCH/FEMME

Sex and love between masculine and feminine women has occurred for centuries. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s, however, that the term *butch/femme* was popularized among lesbians as a way to describe such relationships. During this period, *butch/femme* not only described masculine/feminine lesbian couples but also commonly referred to some lesbians' choices to adopt traditional masculine or feminine gender roles, including clothing styles, romantic and sexual scripts, and a gendered division of labor (e.g., mowing the lawn versus washing the dishes). Though some still adhere to these roles, conceptualizations of butch/femme have evolved and expanded in the last 50 years, especially in relation to feminist, queer, and transgender political developments. For some lesbians, *butch* and *femme* are no longer useful categories; for others, they are simply aesthetic distinctions that are unrelated to one another or to traditional gender roles. And some have suggested that at the political level, the "butch/femme dynamic" represents a campy critique and reworking of heterosexual masculinity and femininity. Though the concept of butch/femme is still widely observed among lesbians,

its meaning has become increasingly complex and contested since its emergence.

It is important to note that lesbians are not the only group to take up the concept of butch/femme. Some gay men use the term *butch* to describe masculine men; however, gay men have not drawn upon the term *femme,* or the notion of butch/femme relationships, to nearly the same extent as has occurred within lesbian subculture.

History of Butch/Femme

Over the past several decades, butch/femme has fallen in and out of favor in response to sociopolitical currents affecting lesbian communities. In the 1950s, butch/femme was popular among lesbians, especially among lesbians of color and working-class lesbians, for whom gay bars and clubs were an important site for "coming out" and establishing social ties. Just as the performance of gender roles has been a defining feature of heterosexual courtship and public culture, butch/femme roles offered lesbians a system of social organization and a means of public recognition. Butch/femme subculture included clear "rules" about how to dress, behave, speak, and have sex in ways appropriate for either butches or femmes. Some lesbian bars went so far as to reinforce the butch/femme binary by designating different restrooms for butches and femmes. Many lesbians enjoyed what they understood to be a unique and playful gender dynamic between butches and femmes in the 1950s; however, others felt pressured to conform to butch/femme subculture even when they found these roles ill-fitting and uncomfortably similar to heterosexual gender roles. Yet the rejection of butch/femme was a privilege often available only to upper-middle-class lesbians who found the butch aesthetic "mannish" and unattractive, opting instead for a "classic" or "elegant" androgyny that had broader appeal in mainstream culture.

In the 1970s, at the height of the second-wave feminist movement, greater numbers of lesbians began to reject butch/femme on the grounds that it was modeled after heterosexuality. Lesbian feminists embraced a more androgynous and ostensibly "natural" aesthetic and advocated for the importance of being "woman identified" and creating "women-only" space. Though this trend infused lesbian subculture with vital feminist politics, it also alienated many butches and femmes who saw both personal and political value in challenging essentialist notions of womanhood and in bending

gender and sexual rules. As a result, at the same time that a widespread backlash against the feminist movement occurred in the broader culture in the 1980s, lesbians also reacted against the rigidity of lesbian feminism. The 1980s and 1990s were witness to the emergence of lesbian S/M (sadomasochism) groups, the rise of a new and "raunchy" lesbian sex radicalism (characterized by the lesbian sex magazine *On Our Backs*), growing public interest in "lipstick lesbianism," and the revitalization of butch/femme.

Many of the early conflicts over butch/femme—including socioeconomic class and age divisions, feminist debates regarding sex and gender, differing opinions about whether butch/femme is heterosexist or uniquely lesbian—have continued into the present. However, these conflicts have also taken on new form in response to the development of queer and transgender politics in the 1990s and 2000s. By emphasizing the social construction of gender and sexuality, the queer movement promoted the idea that no particular gender expression (either femininity, masculinity, or androgyny) is more natural or liberated than another. Building upon this logic, many transgender and genderqueer activists in the 2000s advocated for people's rights to change their genders, embody multiple genders, or live "in between" genders.

On one hand, these developments gave new legitimacy to butch and femme as simply two of the options in a rich and multiplying menu of genders and sexualities. On the other hand, in some circles, the visibility of transgender politics also rendered butch/femme—and even lesbian identity itself—seemingly outmoded and conventional. In recent years, many previously butch-identified lesbians have "come out" as transgendered men, while others have defended butch femaleness as an important, albeit "endangered," identity option. In the midst of these debates about butch and transgender masculinity, femme identity and experience has taken a backstage role. Yet, as the last 60 years suggest, it is likely that debates over masculinity and femininity with lesbian subculture will continue to evolve, producing more gender and sexual identity options.

Butch/Femme Subculture

Remarkably little has been written about butch/femme, though a handful of classic texts provide a foundation for understanding the meaning and diversity of butch and femme subcultures. For instance,

Leslie Feinberg's 1993 novel *Stone Butch Blues* traces the life of a white, working-class butch lesbian and is one of the most well-known works of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) fiction. The novel helped to depathologize butch sexuality by pointing to the sexist underpinnings of 1950s culture and its discomfort with masculine and sexually aggressive women, including "stone butches," or butch lesbians who refuse sexual penetration. Numerous accounts of discrimination against butch lesbians illustrate the ways in which masculine women pose challenges to the binary gender system, as well as to men's ownership of masculinity and the norms regulating women's behavior. For example, as a result of the expectation that all women should appear feminine, butch lesbians are frequently perceived as men and therefore harassed while attempting to use women's bathrooms.

Academic writing on female masculinity also has pointed to the diverse and multiple ways that women, particularly lesbians, produce masculinity. While the terms *stone butch* or *butch dyke* have currency within white lesbian subculture, lesbians of color have used other terms, such as *aggressive* or *macha,* to describe masculine women. The visual cues that signify masculinity or femininity, such as hair length and style of dress, also vary across socioeconomic and racial/ethnic groups, as well as across time and place. In the 1998 book *Female Masculinity,* queer theorist Judith Halberstam cataloged different butch "types" that fall within a continuum of female masculinity. Rather than viewing "butch" as one of two relatively narrow options available only to lesbians, recent queer theorizing suggests that butchness—or female masculinity more broadly—has a significant presence in the lives of all women, even if only as a symbol of what women are taught to avoid (by shaving, having long hair, etc.).

Femme lesbians face a different set of gender-related challenges than those encountered by butches. Femmes are frequently presumed to be heterosexual (by both LGBT and straight people alike) and are subjected to the stereotype that they are less radical or transgressive than butch lesbians or are attempting to disguise their lesbianism by "passing" as straight. As a result, influential anthologies on femme identity, such as the 1997 book *Femme* and the 2002 book *Brazen Femme,* have placed particular emphasis on the contributions femmes have made to queer and feminist politics. While heterosexual women often view their femininity as a "natural" consequence of being female, many femmes assert that they are feminine by "choice" or by social construction. By embracing racial diversity, fat bodies, punk styles, sex work, S/M, disability, and aging, many femme activists have defied the rules associated with traditional femininity.

In addition, femmes have actively resisted sexist currents within butch/femme culture itself, including the ways in which femmes have been called upon to affirm the masculinity of butches by amplifying their feminine appearance or embodying idealized feminine archetypes (e.g., the maternal caretaker, the seductress, etc.). While femininity carries many privileges in the broader culture, it is often assigned less overall social value than masculinity—a disparity that is present within butch/femme culture as well. For instance, in response to the explosion of books, films, performances, and clubs focused on female masculinity in the late 1990s and 2000s, femme activists in the mid-2000s began to organize conferences and other events designed to explore the previously unexamined theoretical and political implications of "queering femininity."

Conclusion

Although early butch/femme may have manifested as a fairly rigid and interdependent system of masculine and feminine gender roles, butch and femme identities—and their relationship to one another—are continually evolving in response to changes in the political environment and internal challenges to lesbian culture. As gender theorist and activist Kate Bornstein has argued, butch and femme can be reconceptualized as more than a reference to lesbian "role-play"; they can also be used to symbolize a continuum of gender identity options available to all women and men.

Jane Ward

See also Lesbian; Lesbian Feminism; Lesbian Stereotypes; Queer; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing

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C

CALL OFF YOUR OLD TIRED ETHICS (COYOTE)

Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE) is a prostitutes' rights organization founded in 1973 by ex-prostitute Margo St. James. During the early 1970s, second-wave feminism was a strong movement in the United States, but no organization dedicated itself solely to prostitutes' issues. Indeed, feminists were increasingly divided over matters of sex and sexuality. Some feminists were uncomfortable with lesbians (the so-called lavender menace), and others believed that pornography, prostitution, and indeed any sex with men perpetuated women's sexual subordination. Sex-positive feminists advocated women's choice in sexual partners, believing that all women deserved free access to sexual pleasure with whomever, whenever they desired. They further believed that consenting adults should be free to exchange sex for money. Sex-positive feminists worked against negative perceptions of prostitution, referring to it instead as "sex work" and to its practitioners as "sex workers," and advocating for decriminalization and even regulation of the sex trade.

As part of this shift in thinking about sex work, organizations such as COYOTE formed to advocate for prostitutes' rights and to give voice to the prostitute's point of view. From its founding, COYOTE has worked to repeal prostitution laws and to end the stigma associated with sex work. COYOTE calls for complete abolition of laws against sex workers of all genders and persuasions, including strippers, phone sex operators, prostitutes, and porn actresses. They advocate abolishing laws against pimps and panderers but argue that the state must regulate the prostitute-pimp relationship as it does any other contractual labor agreement. Prostitutes' rights advocates clearly distinguish between voluntary and forced prostitution, and they adamantly decry the use of children or unwilling individuals in sex work. However, they argue, adult women who choose to sell sex for money should be accorded the same rights as other service workers, including health and safety regulations and the right to organize. COYOTE believes that mandatory health checkups are a violation of prostitutes' rights but also urges local, state, and federal governments to provide prostitutes free or inexpensive access to health care and insurance.

Some cities have had very active chapters of COYOTE, especially San Francisco, where the organization was founded, and Atlanta. But many chapters folded within a couple years of their establishment when founding members, usually one or two outspoken prostitutes or ex-prostitutes, turned to other work or another cause. Lack of consistent and substantial funding for the work blocked prostitutes' rights organizations from either longevity or success, as did the danger inherent in coming out in public as a prostitute. Also problematic in prostitutes' rights groups has been the ongoing hierarchy among supporters and founding members, who are often educated and/or come from the upper echelon of sex workers. This stratification has decreased organizers' abilities to communicate with prostitutes of lower status.

COYOTE published a newsletter from 1974 to 1979. The Hooker's Ball became a popular event, attracting

as many as 20,000 people in 1978. By the mid-1980s, COYOTE had hosted a hooker's convention and drafted a bill of rights. This statement underpinned the International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights, which St. James and Gail Peterson founded in 1985, and served as a model for the World Whores' Charter. Despite the strong conservative turn in both mainstream and feminist politics since the 1990s, COYOTE has found many supporters around the world.

Heather Lee Miller

See also Sex Work (Prostitution)

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CAMP

Camp refers to styles, attitudes, and behaviors that are exaggerated, overstated, and ironic. Originally used in relation to the behavior of homosexual men, the term now refers to self-conscious acts of subversion and parody in the context of society's gender norms. The significance of camp to the study of gender surrounds the ways in which it can undermine social structures of domination and power. Camp performances in social spaces can often destabilize norms and beliefs surrounding the regulations that govern masculinity and femininity. To the extent that they have increasingly been associated with acts and performances that have questioned the sociocultural constructions of sexuality and gender, camp constitutes both a personal and political act. Explanations of the key definitions and contexts of camp draw on theories and illustrations to show how its complexities point to the social and political dimensions in which gender and sexuality are performed.

Disco; art nouveau; television shows *Dynasty* (U.S.), *Prisoner Cell Block H* (Australia), and *The Avengers* (U.K.); dramatist Oscar Wilde; the films of John Waters and Hollywood musicals of the 1930s; singers Diana Ross and Barry Manilow; entertainers Divine, Bette Midler, Grace Jones, and Barbra Streisand; actors Dirk Bogard, Mae West, and Judy Garland; the work of Andy Warhol and David Hockney; and productions such as *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and the music and lyrics of Cole Porter all share one thing in common: They have all been defined or discussed in relation to camp style and aesthetics.

First cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1909, the term *camp* refers to behavior thought to be characteristic of male homosexuals. From the early 20th century, words such as *affected, inauthentic, exaggerated, ostentatious,* and *theatrical* have also been used to define camp, meaning that homosexuality is not the only context in which the word is used. Throughout the 20th century, camp has taken its many meanings from both high and popular culture. Historically, one aspect of camp is its relation to gender and sexuality via drag, in which male impersonators of women exaggerate the culture's construction of female behavior. In addition, the cultural domains of ballet, opera, and literature, on one hand, and those of soap opera, drag shows, and film melodramas, on the other, have all contributed to the ways in which camp has been articulated and defined.

At once a performance and a style, a way of acting and a mode of seeing, camp continues to inflect how culture is both produced and consumed today, though taking its meanings from the cultural contingencies and conditions that have shaped gender behavior in different historical periods. In the 1890s, for example, Oscar Wilde's inflection of camp, in his plays and his own life, was performed during a period in which certain gender behavior was considered unacceptable. Conversely, the camp style associated with the life and work of dramatist Joe Orton was self-consciously enacted in the 1960s to provoke moral outrage and unease.

These aforementioned listings are not intended as a definitive chronicle of camp genres or people. Rather, the list reflects the uneven and disparate features associated with camp stylizations. Camp does not privilege one style over another so much as it enables a multiplicity of unrelated aesthetic forms to intervene in and subvert the dominant culture. Today, the popular band *The Scissor Sisters,* for example, is self-consciously camp in ways that previous musical figures were not. Their work assimilates yet at the same time mocks earlier moments of popular camp seen in the performances of Elton John and David Bowie in the 1970s.

Drawing on Susan Sontag's seminal essay of 1964, camp can also be defined as a specific mode of aestheticism as well as a way of perceiving the world in aesthetic terms. There is no one object, performance, or style that is essentially camp; it is more concerned with moments of stylization and excess and a way of reconfiguring the meanings attached to genre or performance, one that relishes irony, parody, and satire. In that sense, camp is almost always intentional, premeditated, and deliberately overstated, and the trappings of style are additionally marked by exaggeration, artifice, and outrageousness. Since Sontag's essay, camp has been cited as a manner of stylization and, more recently in light of Judith Butler's work (1990), as a mode of performance.

Camp, then, refers to a specific if rather diffuse aesthetic. It can be used to refer to a way of looking as well as performing or to an aspect of a subject's personality. Making the camp aspects of marginal subjectivities visible to the wider society has also been one way in which those excluded from the mainstream have been able to give voice to forms of oppression and marginalization. Camp aesthetics rely on the existence of, yet subsequent challenge to, the cultural mainstream. As a consequence, a camp aesthetic is intentionally short-lived, coming to an end once it has exposed the socially contrived status of that which appears normal. Camp exposes the seams and fissures of a culture that attempts to conceal its very own lack of authenticity. Camp style thus affords excluded subjects a space and voice in which to act and speak. The Stonewall riots of 1969, for instance, illustrate the extent to which butch women, effeminate men, and transgendered people used camp as a political intervention to confront a culture that refused to recognize its own prejudices surrounding gender, sexuality, and civil rights.

The Stonewall riots make clear that camp, while it refers to styles and codes, is also associated with moments of social displacement. Camp performances, through dress, mannerism, or comportment, are connected to the construction of a sensibility that, while it appropriates mainstream styles and identities, nonetheless seeks to dislocate these identities and expose their very own constructed, unnatural status.

In the instances outlined so far, it can be seen that camp style is both attitudinal and relational, pointing to those social contexts and intersubjective moments when the cultural norms that serve to structure and determine gender behavior are self-consciously resisted. Such resistance does not take place through direct political engagement or along party-political alliances, but via the appurtenances of style, manner, and modes of bodily performance.

Cultural theory of the last 20 years observes how camp invades and subverts other sensibilities, working through pastiche, parody, and exaggeration. While some have suggested that camp typifies a male homosexual ontology, recent work in queer theory concludes that camp extends far beyond the remit of some imagined gay sensibility. Judith Butler has suggested that all gender behavior is constructed in relation to a copy for which there is no original. Thus, gay or straight men who define themselves in relation to hypermacho, straight-acting, metrosexual paradigms are as camp as gay men who self-consciously copy femininity and lesbians who enact masculinity. Judith Halberstam's work, for instance, has shown how not all drag is a parody of women and not all drag is necessarily undertaken in camp ways or with the aim of undermining heteronormativity. Camp, therefore, is paradoxically serious and playful, vulgar and refined, silent and outspoken, and always in the shadow of a melancholic search for the lost subject to take the place of the other object.

Camp is a behavioral and textual response, then, to a set of circumstances in which some groups—originally homosexual men—faced hostility. Camp in this mode is attitudinal, a reaction that is attentive to cultural convention but seeks to be free of its restrictions. Yet camp has to do with the style that governs the specific response. The stress on style is one that also has the effect of undermining essence. Parody and mimicry operate to challenge that which is constructed as original and thus authentic. In particular, as Butler has shown, drag and cross-dressing have served to question forms of heterosexual essentialism. Camp style appropriates the imagined essence (of heterosexuality or femininity, for example) and performs it to excess.

While camp aesthetics are undoubtedly associated with transgressive or subversive acts, there are no guarantees that they will always be used in ways that challenge gender and sexual norms. For instance, the transgression of the norm actually requires the norm. In addition, the transgression of one norm makes way for the construction of new ones. Camp aesthetics on their own, therefore, can only ever be one element in a much wider gender politics, one that is attentive to the economic and social conditions in which gender is constructed. However, there is little doubt that camp aesthetics have proved a valuable resource that has

enabled many marginal groups to find a stage on which to exercise agency and a voice that can be heard.

Tony Purvis and Gareth Longstaff

See also Cross-Dressing; Drag King; Drag Queen; Gender Performance; Homosexuality; Transvestite

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Cancer

Cancer is the second-leading cause of death among both men and women in the United States. It is estimated that over 1.4 million U.S. men and women are diagnosed with cancer and over 550,000 die from it annually since 2000. According to the American Cancer Society, over 10.7 million Americans are currently living with or have survived cancer, and cancer survivorship continues to increase. While the term *cancer* describes a biomedical disease process—namely, the uncontrolled growth and spread of abnormal cells—it also conjures a set of social and culturally embedded meanings. Like all illnesses, cancer emerges within a larger social and cultural milieu, and its meanings are culture bound. A great deal has been written about the meanings and metaphors ascribed to cancer in Western culture, including ways cancer has been construed as a "gendered" illness. Throughout much of history, cancer was associated with women and the female body. While biomedical advances since the 19th century have challenged this association in the public

imagination—overall, men are actually more likely to both develop and to die from cancer—gender continues to be an important lens through which cancer is understood and treated. We review how gender (among other cultural factors) shapes lay and professional understandings of cancer and, in turn, affects cancer risk and prevention, detection, treatment, and psychological adjustment among affected individuals.

Gender and Ethnicity in Cancer Incidence and Mortality

Although cancer is a leading cause of death and disability for both men and women, important gender differences exist. Whereas women are more likely than men to develop cancer younger (before age 60), men are overall more likely to develop and die from cancer over the course of their lifetimes. In the United States, men have approximately a 1 in 2 lifetime risk of developing cancer; for women, the risk is 1 in 3. Overall, African Americans are more likely to develop and die from cancer than any other U.S. racial/ethnic group. Across ethnic groups, prostate, lung, and colorectal cancers are the most prevalent cancers among men. Breast, lung, and colorectal cancers are most prevalent among women. Lung cancer is the leading cause of death for both genders, followed by colorectal and prostate cancer among men and breast and colorectal cancer among women. Specific ethnic groups are at higher risk for certain cancers. For example, Asian Americans have a markedly higher incidence of stomach cancer, cervical cancer rates are highest among Latina women, and breast cancers rates are highest among white women.

Sex, Gender, and Cancer Risk

Sex and gender are important determinants of cancer risk and mortality, operating separately and interactively to produce differential risk for men and women. Sex-linked factors are those related to biological differences between men and women, including hormonal and genetic differences. In contrast, gender-linked factors are socioculturally determined, including lifestyle and behavioral factors (e.g., diet, smoking), exposure to carcinogens in the home or workplace, access to medical and support services, and psychological and social responses to cancer risk, diagnosis, and treatment.

Men and Cancer

Men have higher cancer-related morbidity and mortality. However, relatively little is known about the contribution of gender-related social factors to men's risk of or experience with cancer. There is considerable evidence suggesting that men are more likely to engage in behaviors associated with increased cancer risk (e.g., alcohol use, poor diet, tobacco use) and less likely to take part in regular health screenings and preventive care, including routine skin inspections and testicular self-examination. This often results in delayed diagnosis and treatment and sometimes disability or fatality that could have been prevented. For instance, on average, men delay medical evaluation for symptoms of testicular cancer 26 weeks after experiencing symptoms including pain, swelling, and detection of a mass. There is increasing theoretical and empirical evidence to suggest that gender socialization and norms regarding the masculine gender role likely account for some of these gender-related differences and influence men's behaviors associated with cancer risk, medical care utilization, and psychological adjustment.

In relation to cancer, the male gender role has been largely examined as a constellation of gender-based attributes, such as strength, control, independence, risk taking, and emotional inhibition. This approach has led to a focus primarily on the potentially harmful aspects of the male gender role by parsing out negative traits such as hostility, self-absorption, and cynicism from perhaps more positive traits such as independence and autonomy. As an example, researchers such as Helgeson and Fritz have found that *unmitigated agency,* or the focus on oneself to the exclusion of others, has been found to be associated with physical and psychological difficulties associated with cancer, including impaired coping, constrained social support, and poorer physician-patient communication. From this perspective, gender socialization encourages men to maintain behaviors less consistent with cancer prevention, screening, and higher quality of life following diagnosis or risk interpersonal or intrapersonal sanction when norms are breached.

Traditional male gender schemas have been associated with a general reluctance to seek medical care and expectations to be self-reliant. Perceived stigmatization of help seeking and fear of negative social evaluation may explain low utilization of services. For men, cancer has been associated with perceived threats to one's masculine identity, such as feared loss of virility, role fulfillment, and even castration. In addition, many men believe that seeking help for mental and physical conditions might signify weakness to others and oneself and instead should be able to be handled independently. Such beliefs often result in disengagement from physical symptoms through mechanisms such as avoidance, denial, and rationalization, thus encouraging men to distance themselves from their bodies and abandon self-care practices.

Such dynamics may be particularly detrimental immediately following a cancer diagnosis, when emotions such as sadness, fear, uncertainty, diminished control, and vulnerability may be normative. At the same time, men often attribute psychological distress associated with their cancer experience to losses in physical function or lack of information and, as a result, overrely on action-oriented or avoidant coping strategies, rendering a potential mismatch between effective coping efforts and masculine gender norms. Other researchers have posited that because of strong expectations regarding restrictive emotionality, many men have become grossly out of touch with their own emotions, impairing their ability to identify an emotional crisis or leaving them overwhelmed and unable to effectively cope with a health threat. Regardless, men have been grossly underrepresented in research studies on the effectiveness of psychosocial coping interventions, and outcomes from studies that adequately represent men have been less consistent compared with those observed with women.

More recent efforts that attempt to address methodological shortcomings in this literature seek to identify who is most and least likely to benefit from such interventions. For example, research with prostate cancer patients suggests that men with lower self-esteem, lower prostate-specific self-efficacy, and higher depressive symptoms may be particularly likely to benefit from intervention. Also, social support may be of particular importance to psychological adjustment for men with cancer. Konski and colleagues found a significant disadvantage for men who were unpartnered and living alone, even after controlling for disease and other demographic variables. It is also likely that the experience of cancer influences interpersonal functioning and relationships, often changing the manner in which one accesses and receives social support. Attributes associated with the male gender role, such as those of unmitigated agency, may ultimately result in constriction or constraints in utilizing interpersonal resources. Interpersonal environments receptive to men expressing

difficult cancer-related emotions are associated with salutary psychological outcomes for men with cancer.

Women and Cancer

Gender can be understood as a set of roles, norms, and expectations that boys and girls and men and women are socialized toward in terms of identity and behavior. As reviewed above, examining gender from this perspective provides insight into men's increased cancer morbidity and mortality, as well as their psychological and social adjustment to cancer. Gender can also be construed as a set of power relations that structure social institutions within which men and women operate, including the medical establishment where cancer is treated and researched. From this perspective, gender operates as a social structure that affects the quality of health care that men and women receive, both independently and as it intersects with other social structures, such as race, class, and sexuality. Both perspectives are relevant to understanding gender influences on women and cancer.

Female gender role norms may contribute to women's somewhat lower cancer morbidity and mortality, as many positive health beliefs and behaviors, including eating a healthy diet and seeking regular health care, cohere with dominant constructions of femininity. However, such broad assessments of gender norms can also be misleading, obscuring the tremendous diversity among women. Gender-based norms and values may vary among women of different ethnic groups, leading to differential cancer risk. For example, African American women are more likely to be classified as overweight or obese, perhaps reflecting their general preference for a larger body ideal, as well as socioeconomic factors that are linked with obesity. Overweight and obesity are risk factors for colorectal cancers, of which African American women evidence higher morbidity and mortality. Thus, the influence of gender norms on cancer-related dietary risk may vary across women of different ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Similarly, women's adherence to cancer screening recommendations may be influenced by cultural, educational, and economic factors as well as gender norms. For example, overall, women generally adhere to Pap test guidelines. However, Latinas have relatively low rates of Pap testing, despite relatively high rates of cervical cancer. Studies suggest that Latinas may hold different causal models of cervical cancer than white women, emphasizing physical traumas or sexual practices over

biomedical explanations. Studies linking culture-specific beliefs and acculturation to screening adherence have produced inconsistent results. Other factors, such as lack of insurance or lack of physician referral, are also important predictors of Pap test use.

Gender/power relations between and among men and women can affect the quality and accessibility of women's cancer care. Several studies have found that male physicians are less likely than female physicians to make referrals for mammograms and Pap smears. Moreover, African American and Latina women are less likely than white women to receive such recommendations, and bias has been identified as a likely contributor to lower rates of screening for breast and gynecologic cancer among lesbians and bisexual women as well. These findings are especially important, because across studies, physician recommendation has been identified as the most important determinant of cancer screening for women. Gender biases are also evident in the treatment of women's cancer, with male physicians more likely than female physicians to treat breast cancer patients with mastectomy rather than lumpectomy and less likely to refer patients for breast reconstruction following mastectomy.

In addition to physician biases in clinical care, there is increasing evidence that gender-based assumptions have limited research on women's cancers. Meyerowitz and Hart's review of medical and psychological literatures found that studies of breast and reproductive organ cancers are overrepresented relative to the proportion of women affected, whereas studies examining gender-nonspecific cancers were underrepresented. Notably, men's reproductive organ cancers were underrepresented relative to the proportion of men affected. Psychological studies more often focus on women, especially breast cancer, examining topics such as body image, emotions, and relationships. In contrast, studies of men more often examine functional and occupational capacities. These findings suggest that oncology research among women focuses on breast and genital issues, perhaps reflecting society's views of women's bodies as sexual objects.

According to the American Cancer Society, increased awareness of breast cancer combined with improvements in screening, detection, and treatment have significantly improved breast cancer survival for women, with overall 5-year survival rates at 88%, up from 75% in 1974 to 1976. However, the underrepresentation of gender-nonspecific cancers relative to breast cancer in both research and the media may affect women's perceptions of their actual cancer risk

and their cancer screening behavior. Studies suggest that a majority of women significantly overestimate their risk of developing breast cancer and may underestimate their risk for other cancers. In a recent national survey, two thirds of women inaccurately described breast cancer as the leading cause of cancer death among women, with only 30% correctly indicating lung cancer. Similarly, studies suggest that women may view colorectal cancer as a male disease and thus feel less vulnerable to it despite it being the third most common cancer in incidence and mortality among women. Several feminist health advocates argue that the recent proliferation of breast cancer awareness campaigns, such as the countless opportunities for women to "Shop for the Cure," may be misguided, with corporate sponsors exploiting breast cancer to boost profits, obscuring important political issues such as potential environmental causes and unequal access to health care.

Conclusion

Gender is a powerful lens through which meaning about cancer and the cancer experience is created. Socially determined gender roles and gendered beliefs about cancer appear to affect the scientific research agenda, clinical intervention, interpersonal dynamics, and psychosocial adjustment related to cancer. Although such constructions and beliefs clearly impact both women and men, their consequences may be somewhat varied by gender.

Lisa Rubin

See also Body Image; Body Politics; Breast Implants; Cervical Cancer Vaccination; Health Disparities; Hysterectomy; Mastectomy

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CAREGIVING

Caregiving is gendered, and gendered caregiving contributes to gender inequality. In this entry, *caregiving* is defined as affect and actions that are responsive to an individual's needs and well-being within a face-to-face relationship. Issues treated here are the emergence of modern ideas of caring; how caregiving is gendered; the relationship between unpaid and paid care work, including why caregiving jobs are underpaid and whether payment undermines care; and how affluent democracies support caregiving.

In the past few decades, philosophers, historians, social scientists, and scholars of "social politics" and "social care" have theorized and researched caregiving in relation to gender inequality. This literature frequently uses the term *care work* to describe the time-consuming, effortful labor that caregivers invest in relations of care. The definition in this entry does not include the sustaining activities of economic provision and other feelings and actions that Nell Noddings labels "caring about" though not "caring for" those in need of care, which is how men have more traditionally cared for dependent others. This division of taking care by earning or authorizing the giving of care service originated in 19th-century changes in gendered divisions of labor and identities.

Care and the Emergence of Private Life

The association of women with caregiving as an affective individual-oriented relationship is a historically recent idea. In most preindustrial societies, the demands of work and the communal, rather than individual, orientation of family economies constrained sentimental and attentive care. After infancy, children, especially boys, were under the daily supervision of their fathers, so the basic care of children was not a sharply gendered activity. In the 19th century, when the rise of market economies created "separate spheres" of home and work, new ideas about men and women associated their natures with the spheres of responsibility to which they were assigned. Women became "angels of the hearth," whose newly conceived pure and tender natures made them caring and nurturant mothers and consoling partners for husbands who sought refuge from the cold and competitive world of work.

The organizations and institutions of the modern Western world built in the transition to urban industrial society institutionalized the "separate spheres" attribution of care to women. The concept of *worker* that became embedded in the modern workplace involved an individual who was freed of care during a long work day because his private needs and family were in the care of a domestic wife and mother. Correspondingly, only women who did not have to contribute wages to their families could be recognized as good, caring mothers. The concept of *citizen* centered on independence through paid work or property; the citizen's children were socialized for adult citizenship (and either work or care) by a domestic caregiver. Worker and citizen were formally gender-neutral concepts, but the roles were accessible only to providers whose partners were caregivers. In the 19th-century foundations of modern organizations and institutions, the association of women with attentive and nurturing care was sturdily and restrictively built.

A Caring Sex?

Are women naturally more caring? In societies in which infants can be fed only by breast or in which agricultural labor requires large numbers of children's and men's greater physical strength can be put to great economic advantage, the division of labor by sex appears natural. Nevertheless, wide historical and cross-cultural variation in women's roles in divisions of labor and ideas about women's dispositions are evidence that biology has very limited effects on care.

Psychologists who study sex differences often claim that if gender differences are not biological, then they are taught so early and so well that they become lifelong personality traits. But Hyde's 2005 meta-analysis (a systematic synthesis of findings in the best research) of psychological trait studies show few sex differences in traits relevant to caregiving, excluding care orientation in moral reasoning among adolescents and adults, helping behavior, affiliative (relational) speech, aggression under provocation, and various job orientations. Social psychological research suggests personalities and identities are not as permanently established as psychologists once thought; rather, they change over the life cycle and are shaped by influential experiences. A pattern that emerges across qualitative studies in sociology is that practices of caregiving generate feelings of and dispositions and orientations to care. For example, men who become custodial single fathers or primary parents because of unemployment often develop the habits, feelings, and orientations of "mothering."

The Gender Gap in Caregiving

As divorce and childbearing outside of marriage have grown, the gender gap in child care has widened in terms of the amount of time men spend on caregiving. Over time, fathers who do not live with their children see them less and less; only a small percentage see their children weekly or more often. On the other hand, in two-parent households, father involvement in

care has increased. This increase in father involvement suggests a narrowing of the gender gap in child care in two-parent households, although mothers on average devote twice as much time to child care as fathers do. As women's participation in the workforce has increased and women's work hours and interruptions become more similar to men's, the gender gap in child care has closed substantially. Fathers who live with their children have increased their time in child care (including routine care, not just playing or teaching). Nonetheless, although the gender gap in child care has narrowed, women's time in child care, including employed mothers' time, also has increased— less dramatically than men's.

Gender differences in time spent in child care are greater for care of infants and become less as children age. The reasons for men's increases in child care have not been definitively identified, but the late 20th century was characterized by changes in women's economic and educational resources, increasing their bargaining power vis à vis their partners'; emerging ideals of fatherhood that emphasize nurturing involvement; and ideals of nurturing mothering that intensified at the same time that the employment of mothers became a dominant family pattern. The impact of cultural ideas about fatherhood may be seen by comparing changes in men's housework and child care in the period of women's increasing employment and education: Although men's participation in child care has increased steadily over the past 30 years, after a 10-year increase, men's participation in housework leveled out and has remained constant for the past 20 years, with the result that men are much more likely to participate in child care than in housework.

Regarding care for adults, including elders, women are twice as likely as men to give care. The majority of primary caregivers for frail elders are women. The broader the definition of caring (to include helping tasks, like shopping) and the older the caregivers, the more gender similarity researchers find. Broader definitions, however, tend to tap caregiving that is likely to be reciprocated, rather than performed for someone who is dependent. When care is defined narrowly to asymmetric giving, gender differences persist even when men and women are employed full-time and are similar in other structural characteristics that constrain one's time for care.

Gender differences are less when caregiving is for spouses and greater when care is for other adults, especially those living outside one's home. Since a growing number of adults live alone in middle- and old age, gender differences in adult caregiving potentially could increase over time even as women and men become more similar in employment patterns. Despite gender differences in the likelihood of caring for adults, among those who are caregivers, men and women spend similar amounts of time. Once one is a caregiver, the care receiver's needs, rather the caregiver's dispositions, become important. Nonetheless, women begin contributing to care many years before men do, which means that over the life course, women's child care and adult care careers begin earlier than men's, consuming more time and displacing more alternate choices over the long run.

A variety of social explanations can account for the persistence of gendered patterns of unpaid care, despite increasing similarities in men's and women's education, employment patterns, wages, and life course transitions. As mentioned above, some emphasize internalized dispositions formed by the incorporation of an outside gendered culture in an individual's personality traits, identity, cognitive schema, or habitus. Others posit less deeply entrenched cultural learning or socialization models, emphasizing childhood training, role-modeling, and adult socialization. Interactional social psychologists show how gender stereotypes are cued by interactions to produce gender-differentiated behaviors. Structural explanations emphasize women's and men's different positions in social structures, like the economy or the legal system. Structural theorists would expect that change in caregiving would respond to changes in incentives for and constraints on care. For example, relative wages should affect couples' bargaining over care for aging parents, and paid work hours should limit one's availability for child care. Structures constrain and enable cultural conformity, as when one's densely knitted social network enforces gender norms among its members or when the number of nearby daughters or adult children of the same sex as the elder parent affect who gives care.

Studies designed to gauge the contribution of structural and dispositional factors in gendered care usually find evidence of both dynamics. For example, Scott Coltrane shows that flexible jobs and unemployment lead to involved fathering, as do men's less rigidly gendered identities. While studies sometimes find culture and socialization forces sufficient to account for patterns of care, they less often find that structural constraints outweigh socialization. The opposite is true for

gender patterns in helping or housework, where men's and women's structural resources matter more.

Why Are Caregiving Jobs Paid Less?

The naturalization and devaluation of unpaid care fostered both the entry of educated women into paid work and the devaluation of paid care work. The 19th-century "separate spheres" idea that women were naturally suited for care in the home, which justified the exclusion of women from the work world, was also used by women to justify their suitability for paid care work as nurses. Women's presumed natural mothering inclinations, rather than expert skill, justified the formation of the nursing profession. Ideals of "natural nurturing" also serve as justification for the idea that nurses should be supervised by doctors as subordinate assistants, rather than be considered interdependent practitioners, like general physicians and specialists. Correspondingly, claims of professional expertise by nurses enabled them to draw boundaries between their jobs and those of lower-tier female caregivers, thereby protecting nurses from competition for jobs and wages. For the most part, jobs identified as centered on caregiving, like elementary school teacher, nurse assistant, or child care provider, are paid significantly less than their required skills would predict. The low wages of care work have created labor shortages and a transnational labor market of women who leave caregiving employment or leave their children in others' care in their home countries to provide paid care in the richer nations of the world.

There are a few possible explanations for the wage penalty on care work. One focuses on the devaluation of women's domestic work and the way paid care work is viewed as an extension of unpaid women's work. The devaluation of women's unpaid labor applies to care jobs generally and also applies specifically to the job performances on which care workers are evaluated. For example, certified nursing assistants (CNAs) provide most of the hands-on care in nursing homes and so are frequently able to see early signs of changes in residents' health. Yet CNA training does not include this kind of attentiveness. CNAs chart only tasks like feeding and toileting, and few nursing homes have systems for CNAs to report their observations of residents' health to nurse supervisors. The standards of performance ignore the skills CNA work cultivates and on which good care depends.

Paula England and Nancy Folbre identify two other theories of the care wage penalty. The "compensating differentials" explanation used by economists attributes the lower wages of care workers to the gratifications of caregiving and the ways its personal rewards attract large enough labor pools to care work to suppress the wage levels required to recruit and retain workers. A second theory, also from economics, is that caregiving produces "public goods," that is, benefits to a much wider group than the care receivers. For example, children in child care and adult women freed of elder care become productive adults who boost the gross national product (GNP) and refill Social Security coffers. Public goods may benefit society, but they do not figure in employers' decisions, so wages do not reflect the full worth of the work. There is little evidence of which, if any, of these explanations are more important in explaining the wage penalty for care work. All of them can explain why women as well as male care workers may incur a wage penalty.

Moral Issues in Paying for Care

Some people explain the persistent low wages of paid care workers as the result of a society's commitment to preserving the altruistic character of caregiving. Selfless motives are seen as enriching caregiving and helping to sustain it as a moral good in society. In this view, paying for care crowds out and corrupts the altruistic motives, moral meanings, and responsiveness of caregiving by appealing to self-interest in payment. Arguments about altruistic care lie behind program rules against paying low-income family members to provide care that home health aides can be paid for and for providing foster parents more than token reimbursement. A parallel argument cautions that the feelings of attachment in a relationship of care threaten the rationality, efficiency, and fairness of workplace operations.

Economic sociologists have addressed this concern about mixing love and money by showing that economic and intimate transactions intertwine in private life and that social relationships also underlie supposedly impersonal market processes. This perspective suggests that rigid moral oppositions of private and public, sentiment and rationality, and love and money are not a useful way to resolve issues of public and workplace caregiving or conserve the social value of unpaid care. Viviana Zelizer acknowledges that giving up these dualisms still leaves moral issues in resolving how to best support caregiving. Her answer is to discover how different kinds of valuation, economic and otherwise, affect care relationships and the availability

of caregiving, taking account of the setting and context of care, as well as how people negotiate the meanings and boundaries of different kinds of care. The difficulty of capturing this approach in brief description here indicates the challenge of translating it into a public discussion.

Unpaid Care, Paid Work, and Polity

Women's disproportionate responsibility for unpaid care at home has been linked to a number of disequalizing gender patterns in paid work. Research in the past decade has shown the gender gap in wages to be largely a "mommy gap." Mothers of young children are especially likely to work part-time, while the same is not true of fathers. Taking leave from work to rear children and working part-time are important sources of unequal employment experience that disadvantages mothers in pay and promotion. Still, these experience factors explain only a part of the "mommy gap." Though male and female workers do not differ in measured work commitment, mothers and others may differ in productivity, and consequently pay, because of energy consumed by care, though no research has shown this. Or the gap may be widened by employers' prejudices and practices that discriminate against mothers because of beliefs about their commitment and productivity.

The devaluation of gendered unpaid work has also shaped gendered polities. Citizenship in the United States has been defined in terms of independence and paid work, which marginalizes the productivity and social good created by unpaid care and the forms of economic dependence incurred through responsibility for the care of dependent others. Thus, in the United States, Social Security benefits pass through breadwinners to spouses who were caregivers, rather than directly to former caregivers in recognition of how caregiving, as well as breadwinning, improves society. Those who withdraw from the labor force to give care to children or elders cannot receive unemployment insurance. Single mothers raising children in poverty are mandated to find employment in order to claim safety-net support as productive poor citizens rather than as people rearing good citizens.

In Europe, though workers have citizen rights and benefits as workers, people who care rather than earn are also entitled to citizen supports, for example, through government-created and subsidized day care, child allowances, job retraining subsidy, and old-age benefits (including an array of paid home care programs). Even more significant to the goal of gender equality, European nations also provide supports for workers who are simultaneously caregivers. Far more women and men in Europe than in the United States care full-time for infants or elders at home because governments mandate and subsidize parental leave (a large majority of Norwegian men now use "daddy leave"), sick care leave, rights to resume jobs after care ends, and expanded day care benefits for workers. These citizen supports have made it possible for women and men to be workers and caregivers. Even so, European family-friendly regimes have not encouraged fathers to take caregiving roles comparable to those of mothers.

Social recognition of the productivity and value of caregiving, citizen supports for caregiving, the expansion of social care, and efforts to improve the wages of caregivers will improve the lives of caregivers and lessen gender inequality. Recognition and rewards can recruit and sustain care commitment. At best, they provide incentives to men as well as women. Yet as long as care work, whether paid or unpaid, remains primarily women's work, caregiving will remain an ingredient of gender inequality. To the extent that a society values intensive care of dependents and that we believe that communal bonds create the most continuous and deepest commitments to provide care, large quantities of care will be unpaid. This is because unpaid and selfless caregiving will remain a value in itself and also because state fiscal capacity will limit the extent of subsidized care. In general, the fiscal rewards of unpaid care work will not, and probably should not, equal those of paid work. In that context, social support for care can lessen, without removing, the cultural polarities of gender and gendered economic advantage. Even if moderated, gendered conceptions of care work and women's labor market disadvantage are likely to re-create a gendered balance of unpaid care and perpetuate beliefs about women's disposition to care, and both of these will sustain gendered market disadvantage for caregivers.

In sum, social strategies that preserve a gendered sphere of care will not produce gender equality as long as caregiving in families and close communities retains its social value. That value might be undermined by continuing market pressures that squeeze time for care out of private life, and in that context, the gender gap could close as women's lives become more similar to men's and less care is given. That model is increasingly being pressed on poor single mothers by policies that mandate work. If that distopic vision sparks a political and cultural focus on time for

care in families and close communities, then "un-gendering" care depends on a wide range of strategies, well beyond care politics, that augment women's social power and individual women's bargaining power in couples. Aside from this broad and indirect route to fair divisions of informal caregiving, policies that limit work hours and those that in some way sanction the choice of freedom from caregiving (for example, in child support and custody law) may be another route to "un-gendering" and expanding care.

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See also Domestic Labor; Family, Organization of; Global Care Chain Work; Maternity Leave; Parental Leave

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CASTE

Caste is a form of social organization that is unique to India and is based on Hindu religious belief. This essay defines the meaning of the caste system and describes the ways in which it has been used to control sexuality, marital status, and economic and social life among women in India.

Definition

Sociologists have found the caste system a very difficult and complex phenomenon to describe because the idea of caste has evolved over time and functions differently in various parts of India. However, there are some common features to caste that are easily identified. These include the concepts of *purity* and *pollution* that govern interpersonal relationships, including occupation, food, kinship, marriage, and religious rituals. Certain castes are considered more pure than others, and Hindus are obligated to confine their relationships, especially those pertaining to marriage and food, to their particular caste groups. Although the caste system derives from Hinduism, it also informs the social organization of other religious groups in India, including Jains, Christians, and Muslims.

Indians use two terms, *varna* (color) and *jati* (kind), to describe the caste system. *Varna* refers to the ancient textual system of classifying individuals according to four groups: *Brahmin* (priests and scholars), *Kshatriyas* (warriors and soldiers), *Vaisyas* (traders), and *Sudras* (servants of the other three castes). Of these varnas, the first three are referred to as "twice-born" because the men undergo an initiation ceremony that grants them membership to their group. The *jati* system divides humans into different groups and enforces rules of endogamy, food, and occupation (although in contemporary India, people experience occupational mobility and are not always circumscribed by jati). While there are just four varnas, there are thousands of jatis in India.

History and Origins

Historians believe that the caste system came with the Aryans in the second millennium before Christ. The Aryans had three social groupings, the military, the priests, and the commoners, and struggles between the Aryans and the non-Aryans led to the latter being designated as belonging to the lowest *(Shudra)* caste or to the untouchable/Dalit *(Ati-Shudra)* castes. The rules of endogamy helped preserve distinctions between the social groups. At first, the military held the highest rank, but the growth of priestly power through ritual and knowledge changed the caste hierarchies. About 550 BC, the emergence of Buddhism challenged Brahmanical supremacy because Buddha preached that it was virtue, not birth, that determined one's place in society. The Brahmins struggled with the Buddhists for 12 centuries and regained their power only after the Kshatriyas were depleted by war and the Brahmins had accepted Buddhist principles into their philosophy.

The *Rig Veda,* an oral text of the Aryans considered sacred to all Hindus, created a myth of origin that helped script Brahminical supremacy. According to

the *Rig Veda,* Brahmins came from the mouth of *Purusa* (cosmic man) and held authority for teaching, receiving alms, and performing sacrifices; the Kshatriyas came from the arms and had the duty to protect others; the Vaisyas came from the thighs and were to be engaged in trading and cultivation; and the Shudras emerged from the feet and were to serve all other castes. This mythical, textual description created a theory of social organization that in practice was much more complicated, with over a thousand jatis, each of which had its own rules.

During the period of British imperialism in India, the British took advantage of the caste system to consolidate their position in India. Their policies favored the upper castes, and they did very little to reform the caste system. Bureaucratic tools such as the census helped reify the caste system and clustered certain jatis under one label. In addition, because of the economic and social advantages of caste, several lower castes adopted norms of the upper castes (a process referred to as *Sanskritization*), which led to many shifts in regional perceptions and practices of caste.

Although the Indian nationalists pursued social reform and intellectuals like Gandhi actively sought to abolish the discriminatory practices against the Dalits (whom Gandhi called *harijan,* or "children of God"), the caste system persists in India. Also during the nationalist period, Dalit reformers like Dr. Ambedkar, Jotiba Phule, and E. V. R. Periyar fought against both English imperialism and Hindu hegemony in nationalist politics. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism, and Periyar espoused atheism as an alternative to the problems of Hinduism.

Gender and Caste

Although there have been numerous studies of gender in India and also of the caste system, only in recent years have scholars begun to study the interrelationship between the two. Uma Chakravarti argues that the most important factor in the subordination of upper-caste women was sexual control. This control maintained both caste purity and patrilineal succession and was achieved among the upper castes through practices that included prepubertal marriage of girls and closely negotiated endogamous marriages, and rejected widow remarriage. The *Manusmriti* (Laws of Manu), which codified Hindu cultural practice around 1500 BC, prescribed that women were dependent on their fathers before marriage, their husbands during marriage, and their sons in widowhood.

Because fathers and other males negotiated a woman's marriage and controlled her sexuality, the purity of caste lines could be maintained.

Women are not allowed to have sexual relationships with men of a lower caste, as this is viewed as contaminating the purity of castes. Men, however, are allowed relationships with lower-caste women, as this supposedly elevates women's caste status. Although Brahmins, particularly in Southern India, had very rigid rules of purity and pollution, lived in exclusively Brahmin streets, and prevented even the shadow of a Dalit from falling on them, they still maintained sexual liaisons with women of lower castes. When a woman engaged in a cross-caste sexual liaison, she was considered internally and permanently polluted, but a man's cross-caste sexual liaison was considered external and temporary pollution that could be fixed with cleansing baths and changing of the sacred thread.

Women's work plays an important part in maintaining occupational continuity for castes. Because households are often units of production, women and children in potters' households may support the work of the men by cultivating clients in the marketplace, or women in barbers' families may cater to the personal needs of women in upper-caste homes. Food is also an important factor in caste identity, as rules of food preparation and preservation articulate the caste's idea of purity and pollution. Women are in charge of not only cooking in households but also preparing ritual foods. For example, Brahmin women in Southern India follow certain rules regarding cleanliness and food preparation in order to provide meals for the men and also for rituals in temples and home worship spaces. These Brahmins often will not eat food prepared by members of other castes, nor will they offer food at temples not prepared in a ritually clean manner.

Resistance to the Caste System

Such a rigid and coercive social system historically experienced serious challenges. The rise of Buddhism mentioned above was one such challenge to Brahminical authority. Similarly, the Bhakti movement in the medieval period allowed people to break caste rules in the pursuit of salvation through music and poetry. Salvation did not require the intervention of Brahmins, and the Bhaktas attacked ritualism and used vernacular (instead of Sanskrit) as the language of devotion, and thus the movement opened up spaces for women. Such women included Meerabai in Rajasthan, Andal in Tamil Nadu, and Akka Mahadevi in Karnataka.

The emergence of the Dalit movement for caste reform in the 20th century is also very important. Hindu social reform of the 19th century focused on issues such as age of consent in marriage, widow rehabilitation, and the abolishment of *sati* (widow burning), all of which were problems faced by upper-caste women. Dalit reformers focused on abolishing caste issues, but it was the work of Dalit feminists that focused on the multiple forms of discrimination Dalit women faced. For Dalit women, oppression came from the caste system, from patriarchy within their own castes, and also from economic disempowerment. Dalit feminists changed the landscape of both social reform and feminism in India. Dalit women have fought for land reform to better their economic condition and for greater control of their sexuality, and they have also produced numerous autobiographical works (such as Bama's *Karukku* or the narrative of Viramma), which function as testimonials and seek to record Dalit women's experiences and to raise consciousness about their struggles for autonomy.

Although India today is a secular democratic republic that has constitutionally abolished untouchability, the caste system has not been eradicated. Since independence from the British in 1947, the Indian government has pursued affirmative action (referred to as the "reservation system") to enable members of economically underprivileged castes to have better access to education and government jobs. The reservation system has been attacked by upper castes as propagating reverse discrimination. Although the caste system has evolved over time and continues to change, it still holds enormous power in daily social life, politics (caste-based parties, voting blocs), and economics in contemporary India.

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See also Asaf Ali, Aruna; Ramabai, Pandita; Religion, Gender Roles in

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Castration

The term *castration* refers to any surgical or chemical procedure resulting in the loss or severe impairment of testicular function in men or ovarian function in women. The practice of castration on humans predates recorded history and has had a wide variety of cultural significations, moral justifications, and social functions, including punitive; religious; administrative/bureaucratic, such as the use of eunuchs as harem guards; and even artistic, as in the case of *castrati* opera singers, whose testes were removed before puberty to ensure a higher vocal range. In recent years, chemical castration is often employed as part of the rehabilitation of sexual offenders.

In terms of psychoanalysis, it is more accurate to refer to the *castration complex,* as in this context, castration should not be mistaken for a description of real events or situations, but refers to fantasies that do have a distinct and shaping impact on reality. Fantasy and reality are not as diametrically opposed in psychoanalysis as in other systems of thought. The castration complex is simultaneously one of the most significant, conceptually problematic and politically contested breakthroughs in Freudian psychoanalysis. It guides the transition from the pleasurable lawlessness of infancy and childhood to full participation in society and ushers in the voluntary subjection of the individual to the moral rules and restrictions of her or his culture. Moreover, the castration complex throws into relief Freud's understanding of sexual difference and highlights the constitutional asymmetries between femininity and masculinity. Feminist theorists have criticized psychoanalysis as being a product of its patriarchal cultural context, consistently reproducing gender inequalities in its elaborately theoretical models. Yet although this might render some of its conclusions outdated, it also means that psychoanalysis can be interpreted at the very least as a historically valuable analysis of the social and personal vicissitudes of gender and sexuality for the European middle classes at the dawn of the 20th century.

Freud first articulated his theory of the castration complex in *The Sexual Theories of Children* (1908), proposing that infants hold the belief that every human being has a penis and that, crucially, the penis is disproportionately invested with the idea of completeness and self-validation (primary narcissism). The discovery that not all humans possess a penis

throws the child into crisis (Oedipus complex), which is handled differently by boys and girls. Boys interpret girls' lack of a penis as the result of a punitive castration perpetrated by the father and fear such punishment themselves; they reinterpret their premature sexual activity and longing for the mother as a transgression against the father and all that he symbolically represents (the law, morality, social norms) and decide to renounce their desires by internalizing paternal authority (formation of the superego).

Conversely, girls are faced with the devastating reality that they are already "castrated" and are left with three options, all disappointing in their own way: the mentally unhealthy (neurotic) choice, which is to despise the feminine body and reject femininity as a social position; the sexually deviant choice, which is to refuse to give up their investment in the clitoris, as a mini–feminine penis, and remain entrenched in the pre-Oedipal position, before proper gender differentiation; and, finally, the only "healthy" resolution, which requires girls to acknowledge their "castration," shift their desire from mother to father, and adopt the feminine position of wanting and accepting the phallus from a man, in lovemaking, by having a baby, but also in terms of social status always through their association with and in reference to men.

In addition to its blatant phallocentrism, Freud's theory of the castration complex is guilty of a continuous slippage between the penis and the phallus, namely, the symbolic power wielded by masculinity and embodied by men in patriarchal cultures. Soon after its original formulation, its flaws were noted even by Freud's followers, who attempted to address them in different ways, most of which aimed to metaphorize castration by shifting the focus away from the threat of genital mutilation. August Stärke proposed the separation from the mother's breast during weaning as the primary model of traumatic loss, while Otto Rank suggested that the infant's tumultuous parting from the maternal body during birth constituted the original trauma in the image of which all future anxieties would be shaped.

One of the most influential reformulations of the castration complex was offered by French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, who redefined the phallus by further removing it from its underlying associations with anatomy and penis envy. The Lacanian phallus is not an object, but an organizing principle, the "master signifier" representing the function of signification on which language and culture rely. For Lacan, each person acquires her or his position in the sexual economy within the sphere of the symbolic, that is, in language broadly defined as all systems of signification, cultural codes, and the law. Sexual difference is not already inscribed on the body, but is produced through a constitutional alienation in language, to which the subject gains access only by giving up her or his infantile intimacy with the mother.

Castration thus permeates all prohibition, separation, and loss for both men and women: No one is in possession of the phallus; all are subject to language and culture—not in mastery of them, as thinkers of the Enlightenment proffered, but ruled by them. Nevertheless, the Lacanian version of castration is not free from drawing gender hierarchies either, since masculinity and femininity are in a revealingly disparate relation to the phallus. While the male child is enticed to accept prohibition in exchange for the promise of future reparation (e.g., the benefits of hegemonic masculinity), the female child will have to give it up only in the hope of receiving it in the future from a man, normally in the shape of a child of her own.

Lacan painstakingly detaches sexual difference from biological essentialism yet in the end replicates Freud's gender asymmetry in reference to castration. The crucial difference between the two models lies in Lacan's recognition that lack is constitutive of all subjects in culture, whether male or female, and that gender is a wholly cultural construct and hence, in theory at least, open to change.

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See also Freud, Sigmund; Oedipal Conflict; Patriarchy; Phallocentrism; Psychoanalytic Feminism

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CELIBACY

Celibacy is abstinence from marriage and sexual relations. Most common in religion, celibacy is the gateway to sacred roles in Buddhism and Roman Catholicism. In a religious context, a person embracing celibacy often takes a vow.

Understandings and experiences of celibacy are evolving. Until relatively recently in Western societies, celibacy was equated with the unmarried state. But with sexual activity no longer confined solely to marriage, unmarried people are often sexually active. Perhaps viewing celibacy as less interesting than the widening range of sexual activities available for study, social scientists have rarely examined the topic.

In the ancient world, celibacy was often advocated or sex recommended only sparingly because loss of seminal fluids was thought detrimental to (men's) health. For many today, celibacy requires total abstention from genital pleasure, but others see masturbation as acceptable. Although many consider celibacy synonymous with sexual abstinence and chastity, there are differences. Celibacy has more-positive, volitional, and long-term connotations than abstinence.

Contemporary sexual abstinence movements, like True Love Waits, persuade young people to save sex for marriage. Some young people who pledge to abstain embrace celibacy as a positive stage in their lives. Others struggle to adhere to their celibate ideal: Researchers studying abstinence movements have found that although pledging abstinence delays the age of first sex, pledges are frequently broken. Celibacy as an ideal and celibacy as a practice are often different.

In institutions like prisons and hospitals, where there is limited contact with outsiders and limited opportunities to engage in a sexual relationship, celibacy is often enforced. Even in contexts that are integrated with general social life, there are people who wish to find sexual partners but cannot. They are sometimes called "involuntary celibates."

Chastity, another term associated with celibacy, does not necessarily mean sexual abstinence. Its original meaning was "moral purity," and this was interpreted as conserving sexual activity to monogamous heterosexual marriage. A married, sexually active person could thus be chaste but could not be celibate or abstinent. Virginity is not required for celibacy, although some celibates have never engaged in sex. Celibacy is normally a subcategory of singleness.

However, married or partnered people sometimes become celibate while remaining with their partners, perhaps for a defined period.

Motivations for Celibacy

People choose celibacy for different reasons. The religious dimension is uppermost. Altruism is another motivation: Celibacy enables people to devote themselves to caring for others. In the absence of adequate state welfare provision, an adult may remain celibate to look after aging parents. The Indian political and spiritual leader Mahatma Gandhi thought procreation a distraction from the needs of the community and recommended celibacy to aid self-discovery and public service. Some, like those with anorexia, rarely desire sex. Celibacy can also improve employment opportunities, for example, for religious professionals economically supported by their communities. The (female) Albanian "sworn virgins" who adopt male attire are able to access better-paid male occupations. People may espouse celibacy to enhance autonomy or personal growth or foster non-kin communities. Ideological commitments are another motivating reason for celibacy. Some feminists have rejected sexual activity to promote female friendship; as will be argued, the gender dimension of celibacy is, along with religion, its other most significant feature.

Religion

Celibacy is a feature of Buddhism, Christianity, and to a lesser extent Hinduism but is disdained by Jews and Muslims, for whom marriage and family life are central. Celibacy is practiced in some of the smaller religious groups, most of them newer offshoots from the major religions. These include the Jains and the neo-Hindu movement, the Brahma Kumaris. The Brahma Kumaris advocate celibacy within marriage, with sexual activity engaged in only for procreation and without undue pleasure.

Within Buddhism, sexual self-control through celibacy is normally required only of clergy (generally men), not of laity. Celibacy is adopted by a minority of Buddhists in the East and West, although in certain strands (notably Theravada Buddhism), most adherents are advised to take vows for short periods. Some commit to becoming nuns and monks. The code Buddhist monks and nuns follow, the Vinaya, prohibits sexual activity, including masturbation, and

sexual desire is seen as an obstacle to liberation. Celibacy has always been valued more highly for monks, for it is seen as being more compatible with masculinity, and monks have a higher status than their female counterparts.

The Roman Catholic branch of Christianity continues the tradition of celibacy first expressed in the New Testament. Jesus remained single and advocated that those who are called by God to do so renounce marriage for the kingdom of heaven, while St. Paul regarded singleness as a divine gift to be accepted if possible. Celibacy would enable believers to serve God with undivided attention and would act as a symbol of the life to come, where marriage would not exist, Paul argued. Celibacy grew in popularity through the early Christian centuries. By the third century, groups like the Syrians saw celibacy as a precondition for baptism. Theologians including Augustine, Jerome, and Benedict advocated communal celibacy. Monasteries and convents developed. By the 4th century, celibacy was increasingly required of priests and bishops, even those already married, particularly in the Western church, whose strict views on clerical celibacy were at odds with the Eastern churches. From the 8th to the 10th centuries, attempts to Christianize marriage largely replaced efforts to impose celibacy on priests, until the reform movement in the 11th century revived the call for clerical celibacy. Roman Catholicism has continued to require celibacy of its priests.

During the 16th-century Reformation, the celibate tradition was fiercely challenged. Protestants instead advocated marriage and childbearing, and celibate communities were closed, with many former inhabitants marrying. Academic theologian and former celibate monk Martin Luther married a former nun. Luther estimated that the sexual desire of women was so intense that only 1 in 1,000 (later revised to 1 in a 100,000) would be able to lead a pure celibate life; for him, celibacy was unnatural, threatening, and impure. While women gained affirmation as wives and mothers in the transition from woman-as-nun to woman-as-wife, many lost the status the convent had given them as spiritual leaders, workers, and members of a sisterhood. Today, Protestants usually favor marriage but have begun to accept celibate singleness as a viable alternative.

A series of sex abuse scandals has rocked contemporary Catholicism, leading onlookers to ask whether celibacy inclines priests to abuse children. Although some in the church were reluctant to take the issue seriously, the church dismissed some priests for misconduct. Defense of celibacy has continued. Many Catholics argue that celibacy does not cause abuse, since most priests do not abuse, but the celibate priesthood's hierarchies, rituals, and lack of openness about sex may provide a hiding place for men harboring desires toward children.

In Hinduism, *brahmacharya,* often translated as "celibacy," is practiced alongside diet and meditation by ascetics seeking spiritual liberation. Celibacy is less prominent in Hinduism than in Christianity and Buddhism. Although it has been more common among (higher-caste) men, brahmacharya is also practiced by women. The meanings of celibacy can differ between the sexes. While men fear that losing semen risks polluting them and impairing their spiritual capabilities, for women, celibacy is more a temporary and involuntary abstinence before and after marriage. While the ideal, the four-stage life cycle for high-caste men, as traditionally understood, has a significant place for celibacy (abstinence is necessary in three out of the four stages), celibacy is considered powerful in only one of women's (less-codified) three life stages, her premarital girlhood. A minority of women, however, take a vow to become a *sannyasini* (female renouncer). Those who do, concentrate on developing emotional detachment through brahmacharya.

Celibacy and Gender

Celibacy is a gendered phenomenon and does not always benefit women. Some feminists think it signifies rejection of the female sexual body; celibacy, they argue, is a front for misogyny. Most scholarly attention goes to male celibates, who have attained higher status roles than females. Celibate women are often subject to patriarchy. Buddhist nuns are subordinate to Buddhist monks, Catholic nuns to male priests. Religious donors tend to give more to male celibate communities than female communities, so celibate women are more likely to face poverty. While financial security enables monks to travel to study holy texts, nuns often forego study for menial labor to sustain themselves. The notion prevalent in religion that celibate communities must be single sex has been criticized, especially by feminists. They point out that the single-sex requirement often comes from fear that women's sexuality will lead men astray and that women would gain from sharing opportunities for study and conversation with monks.

On balance, celibacy aids more than hinders gender equality. In enabling women to step outside roles as wives and mothers, celibacy challenges gender norms. Early Christian teachings on celibacy contrasted with the Jewish preference for family and with prevailing household structures that saw women only through their relationships to male family members, and enabled women to join the traveling company of disciples. Contemporary Asian Buddhist nuns testify that celibacy brings relief from looking after husbands, pleasureless sex, and bearing many children. South Asian female renouncers can sidestep cultural hierarchies of gender and caste that often disadvantage them. Those who live as wandering ascetics visiting holy places of pilgrimage have more mobility in public than most women. For the female-majority movement the Brahma Kumaris, there is a connection between sex, the fall of humanity, and the oppression of women, and one purpose of celibacy is to promote the equality of women.

Perhaps because of its positive effects on gender equality, some regard celibacy as a feminist position. Unmarried women formed the backbone of the feminist movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Feminist Sally Cline argues that women are pressurized into feeling that they must engage in sexual activity. Celibacy enables them to reject this myth and brings a new freedom and autonomy.

In destabilizing gender roles, celibacy undermines the gendered, partnered, and childbearing foundation of most societies. This is a key argument advanced by Sally Kitch, whose study of three religious celibate communities in late-19th-century America (the Shakers, the Koreshans, and the Sanctificationists) demonstrates how celibacy promotes the unity and spiritual equality of men and women. She argues that celibacy eliminates the need for opposition of the sexes. The opposition of the sexual bond is replaced by a brother-sister relationship and shared, ungendered characteristics. Instead of the pattern of male worker and female domestic, the sexes work together in the household. The blood family and religious community no longer conflict, as the celibate community becomes a spiritual family. These findings are consistent with those of other anthropologists who have noted that societies who support celibacy tend to be more egalitarian than those that do not.

Conclusion

In sum, celibacy involves abstaining from sexual relations. In its prototypical form, it is voluntarily chosen, often for spiritual reasons, and lasts for a significant length of time. It may also be involuntary, and it is not always possible to differentiate between voluntary and involuntary celibacy. Celibacy has important gendered dimensions. While female celibates often endure more difficulties than males, celibacy remains key to the promotion of gender equality and women's freedom. Thus, it is worthy of further scholarly examination.

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See also Bachelors and Spinsters; Chastity; Nuns; Religion, Gender Roles in; Virginity

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Cervical Cancer Vaccination

Cervical cancer is an aggressive and often deadly cancer caused by cell dysplasia (mutation) of the cervix. Recent studies have linked cervical cancer to HPV (human papillomavirus), a sexually transmitted infection. Two vaccines were developed in 2006 to prevent some types of HPV, but controversy has erupted over suggestions that the vaccine be made mandatory for preadolescent girls.

Cervical Cancer

An estimated 4,000 women die annually in the United States from cervical cancer, where it is the eighth leading cause of cancer deaths among women. Hispanic and African American women are affected in higher numbers than whites. Worldwide, cervical cancer ranks

fifth in the cause of cancer deaths, a difference attributed to better preventative testing and treatment in the United States. While smoking, use of oral contraceptives, and family history of cancer are among additional risks factors, HPV has been linked to cervical cancer as the factor of highest risk. In some studies, statistics of HPV presence in DNA testing of cervical cancers is as high as 99%. HPV can also affect men's health, and it has been linked to penile, throat, and anal cancer.

Human Papillomavirus (HPV)

HPV is the most common STI (sexually transmitted infection) in the United States. It is not a single virus, but a family of over 100 viruses that result in a host of symptoms, from common warts to genital warts (low risk) to the types that cause cancer (high risk). The viruses are spread by skin-to-skin contact that cannot always be prevented by the use of barrier contraceptives. Some of these types are harmless, and many patients have reported that symptoms clear up on their own with no medical intervention. Removal treatments for noncancerous types include medicated creams, liquid nitrogen, and laser removal. Statistics on the prevalence of genital HPV infection vary widely, with studies indicating that as few as 30% to as many as 80% of the adult population of the United States are infected with at least one type of genital HPV. Routine Pap testing is recommended for women to detect abnormal cells in the cervix that may develop into cancer if left untreated. There are currently no federally approved tests for HPV in men.

Vaccines

In 2006, the FDA approved Gardasil, a vaccine for four types of HPV, including types 16 and 18, which are known to cause cervical cancer. As of 2007, another vaccine, Cervarix, is under consideration. While Gardasil protects against two additional types of HPV known to cause genital warts, Cervarix is designed to vaccinate against types 16 and 18 only. Merck & Co., the developer of Gardasil, recommends its three-dose vaccination for females age 9 to 26. Gardasil's recommendations have received CDC (Centers for Disease Control) endorsement. Gardasil studies have suggested that the vaccine protects against the four HPV strains for up to 5 years. Studies to determine the vaccine's effectiveness beyond 5 years and for male subjects are ongoing. The current cost of the vaccination series is $360.

Controversy

After FDA approval in 2006, Merck & Co. launched a vigorous marketing campaign, urging state lawmakers to require the vaccinations for girls as part of routine vaccine series administered to school-age children. Several states considered or approved such a measure. Some states considering the measure sought to include parental objection options, or "opt out." This was due in part to an immediate outcry from parent and conservative groups who felt that such a measure would encourage premarital sexual activity. Controversy also arose about the use of public funding for mandated vaccinations and the aggressiveness of Merck's lobbying tactics. Others objected to the short length of medical studies and questioned the safety of the vaccines. At the time of this publication, the debate has yet to be resolved.

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See also Safer Sex; Sexually Transmitted Infections

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CHASTITY

Chastity is a virtue in which purity is maintained by abstaining from sexual activity outside of marriage. In its religious connotations, it is distinct from the concept of virginity in that married partners are considered chaste as long as they remain faithful to one another. Whereas virginity might be considered a temporary identity, something to be lost, gifted, or exchanged with another person, chastity is a moral state of being historically linked to other virtues such as temperance and thrift. While the doctrine of chastity in most

Western religions applies to both men and women, in practice, expectations of chastity have been unevenly applied throughout modern history. With the advent of abstinence-only sex education as the national standard for sex education in the United States, discussions of chastity have a new contemporary relevance.

Chastity in U.S. History

While our understandings of sexuality and sexual behavior have changed over time, sexuality has always had a major role in the maintenance of social hierarchies. In particular, behavioral norms and standards historically have been stratified by gender, social class, and race. Ideals of chastity functioned as an important regulatory device in directly managing women's sexuality and indirectly to control male sexual behavior through expectations of female restraint.

According to D'Emilio and Freedman's provocative history of sexuality in America, it was not until the postcolonial period that women were thought to possess the innate qualities of purity and chastity. During this period, female chastity was linked with the absence of sexual desire. Prior to this, chastity had been seen as a form of self-control and not as biologically female.

While young women were expected to abstain from sexual behavior due to a lack of desire, expectations were different for young men, for whom concerns centered around excessive masturbation. Masturbation among males was not only said to lead to disease and insanity but it was also thought that the loss of sperm depleted the energy system, leaving them less economically productive. Masturbation was also linked to intellectual inferiority, a particular concern among the middle classes. Writing at the turn of the 20th century, G. Stanley Hall, the psychologist credited with the identification of adolescence as a developmental stage, contended that *adolescent chastity* (meaning the maintenance of chastity between the time of puberty and marriage) separated the civilized from the savage. He and other experts recognized that for men, abstinence from sexual activity, including masturbation, was a struggle—a tacit acknowledgment of the perceived differences in sexual interest between men and women. According to Hall, this period of prolonged chastity both marked and created the distance between whites and other races.

In a movement led largely by women to battle prostitution and other urban vices, the sexual virtue of women was increasingly pressed into service as a

moral reform device for men. Women reformers called for a single standard of morality for both men and women, to be based on sexual chastity outside of marriage. Rather than changing standards of male purity, the early decades of the 20th century witnessed shifting notions of appropriate female sexuality. Formal courtship rituals gave way to a more peer-directed system of social organization between the sexes. Dating sometimes led to premarital sexuality, but this typically was limited to likely marital partners, and if pregnancy resulted, marriage was quick to follow. Chastity remained the ideal for young women, but there was a less rigorous social infrastructure to enforce female chastity. Beginning in the 1950s, the ideological underpinnings that supported ideals of extramarital chastity were breaking down as sex educators, other social scientists, and adolescents began to question what they saw as an outdated moral order. There was no longer a clear moral consensus on form and function of sexual activity.

As romantic notions of marriage emphasized intimacy through sexual expression and connectivity, the procreative definition of sex and marriage was displaced. By the late 1960s, the "pleasure principal" was becoming normative, particularly as birth control gained wider acceptance and was made available to single, unmarried adults. This effectively separated sex from reproduction. Rather than expectations of chastity, concerns regarding premarital sex shifted to the pragmatics of pregnancy and disease prevention in efforts led by professional sex educators and family planning clinics.

Chastity in the Contemporary United States

Social conservatives have long agreed that parents should control the sexual education of children, arguing that sex educators' emphasis on contraceptive education violates the personal beliefs of many. Beginning in the late 1970s, various conservative groups (known collectively as the "Religious Right" or the "New Right") challenged the professional co-optation of sex education. However, it proved impossible to recork the sex education bottle, a notion that was publicly unpopular as well (most Americans support sex education in public schools). Conservatives instead championed a new model of public sex education known as the "abstinence-only-until-married" model. Beginning in 1981, the U.S. federal government began funding abstinence-only sex education programs both in and out of public schools

through the Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA). This program was explicit in its purpose to promote "chastity and self-discipline" among adolescents. AFLA was relatively small, both in terms of its funding and scope, and abstinence-only education remained under the public radar. This changed in 1996, when the federal government included significant funding for abstinence-only education in a landmark welfare reform bill. Programs funded under this legislation are held to a strict eight-point set of guidelines, stating among other things that sexual activity outside of marriage is likely to cause physical and psychological harms and that abstinence from sex outside of marriage is the expected standard of human behavior. Funding for abstinence-only education has increased from approximately $13 million in 1995 to over $170 million in 2007. A third stream of abstinence-only funding, Community Based Abstinence Education (CBAE), was introduced in 2001.

The ideal of chastity is being repackaged for new generations through movements such as the Silver Ring Thing, which popularized the virginity pledge. In this subset of abstinence-only education programs, young people vow chastity until marriage and wear a "purity ring" to demonstrate a commitment to sexual abstinence. Also known as "character education," abstinence proponents see sexual purity as essential to moral character and link it to a host of other values, such as respect, honesty, and patriotism. In addition to fears of the general inefficacy of these programs, opponents of abstinence-only sex education argue that this new brand of chastity targeted at adolescents has particularly deleterious effects on young women. A report prepared for Congress in 2004 found several examples of gender stereotyping among the most widely used abstinence-only curricula. Other research has found that like the purity movements of the early 20th century, abstinence programs feminize sexual responsibility.

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See also Sexual Activity: Age at First Intercourse; Teen Pregnancy; Virginity

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Cheerleading

Cheerleading has long been considered an iconic American activity symbolizing school spirit, leadership, popularity, youthfulness, and sex appeal. Practiced primarily by girls and young women of the white middle class, it has also represented mainstream notions of "ideal" femininity in the United States. Societal proscriptions about gender are not static, however, and neither is cheerleading. Once an exclusively sideline activity geared toward supporting school sports, cheerleading is now gaining recognition as a sport in its own right, often operating outside the school context altogether. This entry charts the growth and changes in cheerleading over time and explores the gender politics at play in the various types of cheerleading that currently exist. It suggests that cheerleading is best understood not simply as an instance of popular culture but also as an important barometer of popular ideas about gender and gender difference in U.S. society.

History and Background

Despite the association of cheerleading with femininity, the original cheerleaders were men. Cheerleading was connected to the emergence of college football in the Ivy Leagues in the mid-1800s, and the growth and formalization of cheerleading paralleled that of football. Over the latter half of the 19th century, as attendance at college games grew, large stadiums were constructed, and spectators were distanced from the playing field. Cheerleaders—or "yell leaders," as they were then called—led cheers from the sidelines to both encourage and control crowd involvement. By the 1920s, cheerleading was a formal, extracurricular activity for boys of the middle and upper classes in high schools, colleges, and communities across the country, related to but distinct from other spirit programs such as marching bands, drum corps, and drill teams. As high-profile ambassadors for their schools and communities, cheerleaders were associated with

such character-building traits as discipline, cooperation, leadership, and sportsmanship.

White women and women and men of color were initially excluded from the private, all-male academies where student-led athletics first developed, but many state-supported institutions shifted to coed enrollment at the turn of the century, and white women began joining cheer squads during the 1920s and 1930s as collegiate sports proliferated and men and women began socializing more in public. A separate cheerleading tradition evolved within black educational institutions during the same period, with a similar emphasis on character building and leadership. Overall, however, cheerleading remained an overwhelmingly white enterprise, and evidence suggests that it became even "whiter" after desegregation because the total number of black schools diminished and black students were rarely elected as cheerleaders in the newly integrated, predominantly white schools. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, well after scholastic athletic programs had diversified, that cheer squads began to reflect the ethnic and racial composition of schools. This shift was in part the result of protest activity on the part of black and Latino students. Regardless of these demographics, cheerleading is still largely associated with whiteness, both because of its representation in mainstream media and because the "bubbly enthusiasm" so fundamental to its expression since feminization is linked to a white middle-class aesthetic.

The 1960s and 1970s was the period in which the shift toward "feminization" was more or less complete, with girls constituting roughly 95% of cheerleaders at this time. World War II played a significant role in this transition because the wartime mobilization of men opened up new opportunities for women in sports and cheerleading, just as it did for women in the labor force. Female involvement changed the nature of cheerleading, spurring greater emphasis on physical attractiveness and sex appeal, which, in turn, led to the trivialization and devaluation of cheerleading. Their status as icons of popularity notwithstanding, female cheerleaders have long been stereotyped as dumb and/or sexually promiscuous, while male cheerleaders are generally assumed to be gay—also a response to the feminine character of cheerleading insofar as homosexuality is largely perceived as a form of gender nonconformity.

Not surprisingly, cheerleading experienced a decline in the late 1970s and 1980s in the wake of second-wave feminism and the passage of Title IX, when traditional ideas about gender underwent significant challenge and girls' access to sports in public schools dramatically increased. Since that time, cheerleading has been criticized for its supportive, auxiliary role, which is said to perpetuate gender inequality: In cheerleading, as in life, men occupy center stage while women support their endeavors from the sidelines. The emergence of professional cheerleading (the Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders, the Laker Girls, etc.), although technically closer to dance than cheerleading per se, has only fueled the criticism.

The Cheerleading Renaissance

The decline was short-lived, however, for cheerleading is currently undergoing a renaissance and is now more popular and profitable than ever before, with an estimated 4 million participants nationwide. Although still predominantly female, the activity is attracting increasing numbers of men to coed teams, particularly at the college level. The southern United States (including Texas) is considered the heart of modern cheerleading, although the activity is well established throughout the United States and even abroad, having gained a foothold in countries such as Taiwan, Japan, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Australia, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. The reasons for the renaissance are multiple and interrelated. Most important is the increased athleticism of cheerleading today and the adoption of sportlike elements such as competitions, summer training camps, and rigorous practice schedules. Most cheer squads no longer simply lead cheers or dance on the sidelines. They also throw stunts and basket tosses, build pyramids, and execute elaborate tumbling passes, whether on the sidelines or the competition mat.

These changes serve both to "remasculinize" cheerleading for men and to maintain its market appeal for a new generation of girls and women who have more options for athletic involvement than they did in the past. The 1980s is generally recognized as the decade in which stunts and pyramids grew more complex and advanced gymnastics skills began figuring more prominently; along with these changes came more elaborate judging criteria and more rigorous safety guidelines. The first college cheer championship was televised in 1978, with several more following in the early 1980s. Since then, cable networks have broadcast a wide range of cheer championships to national and international audiences, and competitive cheerleading has been the focus of Hollywood films, reality TV

shows, and news reports. Cheerleaders now call themselves "cheer athletes," the term *team* is used interchangeably with *squad,* and some schools offer partial athletic scholarships for cheerleaders. According to the National Center for Catastrophic Sport Injury Research, cheerleading is the leading cause of serious sports injuries to women, ahead of gymnastics and track. In 2003, the University of Maryland was the first school to use its all-female competition cheer team for the purpose of demonstrating Title IX compliance. Other university teams have since followed suit.

None of this could have happened without the growth and involvement of the modern cheerleading industry. In all parts of the country, squads are affiliated with different cheerleading companies, or associations, which run competitions, summer camps, coaching clinics, safety certification seminars, and their own product lines for uniforms and apparel. The "founding father" of this industry, Lawrence Herkimer, was himself a cheerleader at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. In 1948, Herkimer started the National Cheerleading Association (NCA), which is headquartered in Dallas, while the younger but larger Universal Cheerleading Association (UCA) is based in Memphis. The same parent corporation, Varsity Brands, owns both companies as well as the United Spirit Association (USA), which has a substantial presence in California and the Southwest. A multimillion dollar corporation, Varsity Brands now controls 90% of the cheer-wear market as well as the largest camps and most prestigious competitions for both scholastic and all-star cheerleading. Because the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) does not recognize cheerleading as an official sport and only half of the nation's high school athletic associations do, cheerleading companies cultivate and maintain close working relationships with school coaches and administrators. These companies by and large oppose the official classification of cheerleading as a sport, for both financial and ideological reasons.

Although the notion of competition is itself not new—interscholastic high school contests were organized as early as 1944—the last two decades have witnessed an increasing emphasis on competition relative to other dimensions of the cheerleading experience. The rapid rise of all-star gyms in the late 1990s is both a cause and consequence of this development. All-star clubs are private, for-profit programs where children as young as 6 years old receive intensive instruction in cheerleading, including gymnastics. They exist solely to compete with other all-star cheer clubs within their own extensive network of competitions. As a nonscholastic site for learning cheerleading skills, all-star programs initially served as a training ground for high school and college cheer programs but are now popular in their own right.

All-star participants have a more singular identity compared with competitive school cheerleaders, who support athletic competition and engage in competition themselves—a duality reflected in the competition setting when school teams are required to incorporate a sideline ("spirit") component into their routines, judged according to its own subset of criteria. (A competition routine typically lasts 2 1/2 minutes; set to popular music, it is a choreographed blend of stunting, pyramid building, tumbling, dancing, and/or cheering.) The ideological tension between the sideline and competitive facets of cheerleading is heightened by the rise of the all-star phenomenon, with proponents of one side laying claim to authenticity and tradition and proponents of the other side laying claim to innovation and change. Currently, all-star cheer is the fastest-growing segment of the industry and, because of its exclusive focus on competition, is more likely than school cheerleading to be considered a "real" sport.

The Gender Politics of Contemporary Cheerleading

The athleticism of modern cheerleading has given the activity new status. The sport classification is attractive to participants more for the respect and recognition that goes with the label than for the official designation per se. Indeed, at the college level, there are benefits to being exempt from NCAA guidelines and eligibility rules, as collegiate cheerleaders currently are. Historically, sports have been a male preserve, and they command respect because they are associated with "masculine" ideals of strength, skill, competitiveness, and aggression. Women—particularly white, middle-class women—are often channeled into "gender-appropriate" sports such as gymnastics or figure skating, which are trivialized by the sports establishment. When women participate in traditionally masculine sports, they risk being branded "mannish" and "unfeminine" (implying "lesbian"). In the case of cheerleading, the sportlike elements have combined with, not replaced, the stereotypically feminine elements, making the gender politics of the activity complex, particularly in the coed context.

Cheerleading remains "feminine" not only in terms of its supportive, sideline function, but also in the performance and appearance demands placed on women: short skirts, hair ribbons, and makeup and the expectation to smile constantly and express enthusiasm. Competitive cheer is even more highly feminized than sideline cheer insofar as there is a heightened emphasis on showmanship and performativity for both male and female participants. Although there are stylistic variations among the cheerleading companies that oversee competitions, competition routines are typically loud, fast, and energetic. They exude glitz, glamour, and glitter, particularly in the all-star context: Bows are extra large, makeup is extra sparkly, and dance moves are brash and sexy. For males, too, the performance demands are heightened; depending on the company sponsoring the competition, they might be expected to dance, smile, and "work the audience" right along with their female counterparts, in addition to tumbling and throwing impressive stunts. Some all-star competitions even permit men to "fly"—be thrown in the air or held aloft in a stunt—which in scholastic cheerleading is a role restricted to female cheerleaders. Generally speaking, scholastic cheerleading takes a more conservative approach to the male role than all-star cheerleading, and within the college scene, the UCA is more conservative than the NCA.

In the larger culture, the feminine elements of cheerleading undermine its status as a sport and expose male participants to homophobia, because these elements are at odds with conventional notions of heterosexual masculinity. Cheerleading deals with the tension between performativity and masculinity by having clearly differentiated male and female uniforms and a gendered division of labor on coed teams: Men base, women fly; in sideline contexts, men wield flags and megaphones, and women wield smiles and pom-poms. Cheerleading also muddies gender distinctions when, in certain competition settings, boys/men are permitted to dance and "fly" and be as spirited as girls/women. Moreover, regardless of their specific actions, by becoming cheerleaders, men are participating in a traditionally "feminine" arena.

Cheerleading appears less iconoclastic when it comes to female participants, since this arena is largely consistent with mainstream ideas about heterosexual femininity. In a postfeminist era, it is permissible, even expected, for women to be tough and physically fit as well as sexy. Like figure skating, cheerleading affords women the status of "athlete" but in a relatively "safe" context, because the question of sexuality is seemingly resolved in the "right" direction. This is true even for female bases on all-female teams, since they are subject to the same feminine performance and appearance demands as flyers. In this way, cheerleading is not more or less progressive or conservative than other forms of popular culture in the United States, but rather serves as an important barometer of the gender politics at play in society at large.

For this reason, "alternative" forms of cheerleading have emerged in recent years alongside the mainstream variants discussed above. An extensive national network of adult LBGTI (lesbian, bisexual, gay, transsexual, and intersexed) teams (modeled after Cheer San Francisco, the oldest and largest) perform at community and gay pride events; and "radical cheerleaders," groups of young feminist activists, use cheerleading as a vehicle for protesting social injustice. Instead of performing traditional cheers on the sidelines of a sporting event, radical cheerleaders attend rallies and marches armed with their own cheers opposing poverty, racism, gender discrimination, and environmental degradation. Although less popular and less visible than mainstream cheerleading, these alternative groups similarly use the energy, spirit, and performativity of cheerleading to communicate with and influence audiences. If scholastic and all-star cheerleading by and large sustain and reproduce conventional gender arrangements, "alternative" forms of cheerleading help make the conventions visible and therefore more amenable to change.

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See also Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Hegemonic Masculinity; Sports and Homosexuality; Title IX

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, GENDER IMAGES IN

As an adult enterprise, children's literature socializes the child to accept the values and symbolic structures of society. Through the power of story, the young reader is allowed to explore but always for the purpose of accepting or rejecting social communities that adults desire or fear. European settlers brought to North America a long tradition of European book culture, including the Bible, but they neglected or rejected the oral traditions of Native Americans or enslaved Africans. A specifically American children's literature developed very gradually in the colonies and through the first half century of the republic. "The golden age of children's literature" began to flourish only after the Civil War. Continuity and change in social expectations and values marked each stage. Even in the taboo-breaking narratives of the 1960s and 1970s, we find themes and motifs of earlier stories. Because the child continually moves toward becoming an adult, depictions of gender socializations are considered especially formative in children's literature. As historical contexts and social needs change, so do gender roles; and therefore definitions of *childhood, children's literature,* and *gender identity* are fluid and indeterminate.

Early Settlers and Colonists

Two contrasting traditions shaped early American perceptions of children and their reading material: the Calvinist Puritan tradition and rationalist Lockean psychology. Puritans perceived the child as being born sinful. Childhood gender socialization was not important to Calvinist Protestants; instead, all children were to be literate in order to be able to read the Bible and safeguard their immortal souls. Titles such as John Cotton's *Milk for Babes, Drawn Out of the Breasts of Both Testaments* (1646) and *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes in Either England* (1656) and Cotton Mather's *A Token for the Children of New England. Or Some Examples of Children to Whom the Fear of God Was Remarkably*

Budding Before They Dyed (1700) were gender inclusive and implied that hortatory religious instruction, the state of grace, and an early death might guarantee salvation.

In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), the English philosopher John Locke claimed that the child's mind at birth is a blank slate and that the right sensations and thoughts inscribed upon it would shape an adult with rational behavior patterns and moral character. Stories could teach boys and girls through precept and example to be reasonable and civil human beings who could distinguish right from wrong.

John Newbery, an English publisher, greatly influenced early childhood reading in England and North America. Newbery combined Lockean philosophy with a modicum of fantasy and clever marketing skills by publishing *A Little Pretty Pocketbook* (1744), a miscellany of rhymes and fables for boys and girls. Its fictional preface, a letter from "Jack the Giant Killer," addressed the child as "Master Tommy" or "Miss Polly," assuming that both genders would be loving and kind to their playfellows, keep clean, do their reading, and apologize when they had committed a wrong. Newbery's advertising ploy marks the first recorded gender differentiation in children's literature. Today, Newbery's influence extends to the annual Newbery Award given by the American Library Association to the best narrative for children.

The New Republic, 1790–1860

Protestant Christianity continued its influence on 19th century American children's literature but was tempered by the Enlightenment. By the time the colonies became the United States, gender differentiations had become part of childhood reading and prepared the young to accept the "two spheres": Boys were to become men engaged in matters of public life, and girls were taught to be republican wives and mothers who taught virtue and morality to the next generation in the safe harbor of the home.

There was no surge of creativity in children's literature as the young republic constituted itself; instead, Noah Webster devised a "Federal Catechism," and for inspiration, Parson Mason Locke Weems offered *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (1800) and *The Life of Washington the Great* (1806), which included the cherry tree story and foreshadowed the divinely ordained destiny of the republic's secular saint. Christianity affirmed itself through "The Great Awakening" and through the Sunday school

movement, so influential for stories about good girls and good boys.

The abolitionist movement had a significant moral impact on childhood reading. Boys saw themselves as agents of change, but girls had the power of pathos, especially when near death, as in Anna Richardson's *Little Laura: The Kentucky Abolitionist* (1859). The girl as teacher and redeemer reaches an apotheosis in the death of Little Eva in Harriet Beecher Stowe's immensely influential *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Considered family reading by the author, the story sold 1.5 million copies the first year before it became a global best seller. Little Eva is the golden-haired "savior" and Tom is "her faithful bearer," who knew her best. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is crossover literature between generations and genders; it is against the institution of slavery but does not advocate racial equality.

The Golden Age of Children's Literature, 1868–1914

Commissioned as a novel for girls, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) survived its predecessors because of its literary qualities and psychological realism. The education of the young March girls still involves Christian and republican values, but the four sisters assert their individuality and question conventional gender roles with their author's progressive ideas on women's education, career desires, and civil rights. As women of their time, however, they must compromise and learn to accept conventional roles. Critics have observed that young women's aspirations are often subtly undermined by rituals of humiliation, for pride in achievements would not make them acceptant of their destined roles. Nowhere is this more evident than in the gender ambivalence of Jo March. High spirited, intelligent, and attractive, the budding author has her long hair cut for money to provide for her father's comfort. She eventually avoids becoming a "literary spinster, with a pen for a spouse" by marrying a widowed German professor. In *Jo's Boys* (1886), she and her husband open a boarding school for boys, where she can fulfill her roles as wife and teacher.

Freed of sentimental pieties, postbellum boys enjoyed a more adventurous life and made their fortunes, as did Raggedy Dick in Horatio Alger's stories (1867–1870). The mischievous but good-natured all-American boy made his debut in Samuel Clemens's (a.k.a. Mark Twain) *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and was superseded by the more complex and problematical *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884),

whose orphaned adolescent male narrator is a prototype of unattached adolescents in the American experience. Huck says of himself, "I felt so lonesome I most wished I was dead." The boy believes that he has broken the law by helping Jim escape from slavery and does not care if he goes to hell for lying to the slave hunters. Yet his youthful quest does not enable him to mature. By the end of the story, he still refuses to be civilized and will "light out for the territory ahead," unencumbered by kin or possessions. He is a lost boy who fails to acknowledge the pain of the past through self-reflection and remains the perpetually uncommitted male adolescent or young adult who continues to haunt much of adult and juvenile American literature, including Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* (1951).

Unlike the boys and girls contextualized in the abolitionist movement, Huck cannot imagine a society without slaves. He can only escape the violent oppression of the patriarchal society, though his author is well aware that slaves have been emancipated and the Western destiny has been manifested. Clemens seemingly could not bring himself to raise Huck's problematical self into self-awareness and instead had him resort to pranks and slapstick humor to avoid insight and maturation. Inadvertently perhaps, Clemens contributed to our understanding of a fundamental problem of the socialization of the American male.

That same year, Frances Hodgson Burnett published her very successful *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1884), the antithesis of *Huckleberry Finn*. With his cascading curls, velvet suit, and lace collar, Cedric seems a feminized boy child. His image was so desirable that it inspired a fashion trend, to the delight of American mothers and the resentment of their sons. Emphasizing the traditional connectedness of England and United States, Burnett had Cedric inherit the name and wealth of a British aristocratic line. Cedric is still "little" and can afford his feminized appearance. His self-confident persona barely conceals a democrat and future leader who believes in equality and rights. Scholars have offered various interpretations of Burnett's "gender-blending," including the argument that the feminization of the little boy at a time of very empowered "masculinity" is actually a respite from the pressures of the patriarchal cultures in the United States and Britain.

Modern American Children's and Young Adult Literature

The forms, contents, and themes in children's literature proliferated in the 20th century and continue to do so

today. Taboos were overcome as young readers sought answers to personal and social problems that family and school refused to address. The pressures of censorship became intense, teachers and librarians were dismissed, and some books such as Alice Childress's *A Hero Ain't Nothin but a Sandwich* even reached U.S. Supreme Court. The young can turn to depictions of the human "heart of darkness" or empower themselves with the magic of J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter.* Gender issues have continued to occupy readers, publishers, social scientists, and critics.

Gender socialization made it easier for girls to read boys' stories than the other way around. One constant remained in that children's literature was primarily a middle-class product for the socialization of young readers and maintained the separation between genders.

After 1910, when the Stratemeyer publishing syndicate launched the "Automobile Girl" series, it became evident that the automobile would emancipate the American girl. The successful mystery series of the *Hardy Boys* (1927) prompted the syndicate to combine automobile stories with the mystery genre in 1930 in the series "Nancy Drew Girl Detective." *The Secret of the Old Clock* introduced Nancy Drew as "an attractive girl of eighteen . . . driving home along a country road in her new, dark blue convertible. She had just delivered some legal papers for her father." By 1934, the series had outsold every other children's book. American girls may have conformed to gender expectations, but to be free like Nancy Drew became a secret desire of young female readers. Author Mildred Wirt Benson went on to write the first 23 books of the series, under the pseudonym Carolyn Keene.

Laura Ingalls Wilder's fictional memoirs, "The Little House Books" (1932–1943), were written in collaboration with her daughter Rose Wilder Lane and followed the theme of growing up on the frontier. From *Little House in the Woods* to *These Happy Golden Years,* youngsters learned much about Western expansion; recent scholarship, however, not only has focused on Laura Ingalls's development as a child and young woman but has also explored the sociopolitical subtext of the books. Laura's mother and sisters are conventional in their gender socialization, but Laura is her father's daughter in that she absorbs and accepts the patriarchal order of things, especially her father's belief that self-reliance and self-sufficiency is the American way and that it is wrong for the government to interfere with the settlers. Charles Ingalls, Laura's father, easily uproots the family and moves to "the territory ahead." The girls and their mother struggle throughout the series with gender issues, primarily with the tension between the freedom of rugged individualism and the need for relations in a settled community. As author and character, Laura is feminine in her appearance and masculine in accepting her father's rugged individualism.

Because its characters are prepubescent, E. B. White's pastoral *Charlotte's Web* (1952) appeals to both sexes. Gender socialization is gradual and natural as Fern Arable rehearses for motherhood by caring for Wilbur, the runt pig, while her brother displays himself as a coltish boy with wooden sword. Fern is a daydreamy silent observer of the barnyard fantasy of talking animals. Wilbur is the self-indulgent, insecure, and tantrum-prone boy pig. As she matures, Fern loses interest in the barnyard, joins Henry Fussy for a Ferris wheel ride, and experiences the cycle of the seasons. It is Charlotte, the spider, good friend, and writer, who supervises Wilbur's growing emancipation.

Judy Blume's *Are You There, God? It's Me, Margaret* (1970) and *Forever* (1975) were guides for young boys and girls to learn about menstruation, first sexual experiences, and birth control. Though not a feminist writer, Blume liberated young heterosexuality—as long as it was unambiguous. In *Forever,* the character of Artie is unsure of his sexuality. He is interested in drama, attempts suicide, and is institutionalized, all reminiscent of the punitive tradition in sexual nonconformity.

Since the 1880s, girls have been consistently defined as readers. They read books about both genders and therefore generally are much more informed about boys than boys are about girls. While girls play a range of role models in fictional narratives that sometimes sound like case studies, stories for boys have a more limited range. Cultural pressures, argues critic Yoshida Junko in her discussion of Cormier's *The Chocolate War* (1974), force boys to conceal their anxiety and emotion for the sake of appearing cool and in control. Whatever the needs of growing boys may be, cultural norms discourage the young, white, middle-class, heterosexual male from reading about girls. *The Chocolate War* presents the dark side of the masculine order that its antagonist and victim, Jerry Renault, dares to challenge. He pays a high price through ostracism and physical and psychological injury. The adolescent as isolate, foreshadowed by Huck Finn, is here defined as the abject who has values unacceptable to a difference-intolerant male gang culture. Cormier shows that this dehumanization of the male victim and the male perpetrator limits our understanding of the relation between genders and generations.

Gender socialization in contemporary literature for young readers presents the problems of modern life, where traditional definitions of family and personal individuation have been decentered. The two-spheres narratives encouraged in the new republic persist, though the goals of that gender socialization have changed. The divide between boys' stories and girls' stories is both deeper and wider today because of the emphasis on peer culture over integration of the youngster with adult relations, public or private. The privileging of the first-person narrative point of view has encouraged an additional divide, a generational divide between the adult project of children's literature and its young consumers.

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See also Art, Gender Images in; Barbie; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Toys

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CHILD SUPPORT

Child support is a financial obligation that noncustodial parents must uphold for their dependent children. Support payments reinforce the biological connection between parent and child, regardless of residence or the existence of a social tie. The enforcement and calculation of child support varies from state to state, but all states agree that noncustodial parents, regardless of their gender, have an individual responsibility to provide for their children.

Brief History of Child Support

The obligation of child support is not a new policy initiative. Centuries ago, the first child support enforcement began in England in an effort to hold unwed parents accountable for their careless behavior. English taxpayers did not see supporting children born out of wedlock as their responsibility; thus, mothers were pressured to name the fathers of their children. Fathers, in turn, were expected to marry the mother, pay child support, or serve time in prison. The preferred option was for couples to marry.

Throughout the history of child support, the emphasis placed on individual responsibility for children has remained consistent. At the beginning of the 20th century, most U.S. states made financial support available for dependent children, but for the most part, children born outside of marriage were not eligible for this assistance, and mothers who claimed abandonment were often not believed. The solution to this problem was to make fathers accountable for supporting their children. As a result, 46 states passed laws criminalizing desertion and nonsupport. Unfortunately, these laws were ineffective, and a number of children became wards of the state.

In 1935, Aid to Dependent Families, which later became Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), was developed to support families whose fathers had died. By the 1960s, the agency responsible for administering this program made aid eligible to virtually all children who did not have fathers present in the home. While the government assisted these children financially, the ultimate goal was to locate absent fathers and hold them accountable for support. This goal of personal responsibility was reminiscent of early Anglo-American law.

These early measures were important for establishing a precedent that encouraged parental responsibility, but these efforts were not always effective. Fathers often could not be located and when located, still failed to pay support. It was not until the 1980s that mothers' groups and New Right conservatives joined forces to reiterate the need for noncustodial fathers to provide financial support for their children. Specific legislation was passed during this time that stipulated how support awards were determined and allocated. The Family Support Act of 1988 required states to develop

guidelines that determined the amount of support a noncustodial parent had to pay, implement automatic deduction of support payments from wages, and create and operate a computerized system that tracked and monitored support payments. These changes were made to ensure that custodial parents (usually mothers) would receive an adequate amount of money to support their children and that delinquent noncustodial parents would be held accountable. These modifications made in the 1980s were directly related to the high level of arrearages in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Throughout the history of child support policy, it has been assumed that mothers receive custody of children and that fathers are responsible for payment of child support. Today, this is not always the case. The number of custodial fathers has more than doubled since the 1980s. This increase is due in part to the emphasis placed on gender neutrality in the family courts. Both mothers and fathers are seen as viable candidates for custody until proven otherwise. Regardless of who has custody of children, some form of financial support is expected, and often mandated, from the noncustodial parent. Scholars are divided as to whether the receipt and payment of support is connected to the gender of the noncustodial parent or if this is a gender-neutral issue.

Demographics of Receipt and Payment of Support

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, an estimated 14 million parents had custody of 21.6 million children under the age of 21 in 2004; 83% of these parents were mothers, and 16% were fathers. Of this 14 million, 60% (8.4 million) had a court-mandated child support order, yet 83% of these individuals had not received the full amount of support ordered. On average, custodial mothers were less likely than custodial fathers to receive support. More specifically, statistics indicated that 9 out of 10 parents not receiving support were mothers. This has been the trend since early in the history of child support.

Child support orders may be drafted through formal or informal channels. Generally speaking, parents utilize family court services to create formal agreements that stipulate visitation and financial support of children. Statistics indicate that custodial mothers are more likely to receive formal support awards than custodial fathers and when support is paid, mothers tend to receive higher amounts of money than do fathers.

Previous marital status, race, education, and number of children are other factors that affect child support orders. More specifically, custodial parents who never marry or are separated, are black or Hispanic, have less than a high school education, or have only one child are less likely to have a formal child support order in place. Even when a formal order exists, support payment is influenced by custody arrangement as well as the relationship between the parents.

Gender and Child Support

Given the large number of custodial mothers in the United States, fathers typically are the parents held responsible for providing child support. Despite governmental attempts to hold fathers accountable for paying support, some fathers are still able to slip under the radar and avoid payment. In fact, when children are born outside of marriage, fathers are less likely to have formal child support orders and if mandated to pay support generally do not follow through with this financial responsibility.

When this happens, both women and children suffer, as they are often in financially precarious positions. Previously married mothers may have spent most of their married lives as stay-at-home moms, compromising their ability to find gainful employment after divorce. Even mothers who were employed during their marriages suffer hardships as they transition from dual-earner to single-earner homes. This is especially true when mothers earned significantly less than their husbands. Never-married mothers face the same dilemmas: a labor market that does not provide equitable job opportunities for mothers with dependent children. Thus, mothers rely on child support as supplemental income to meet children's needs.

Children of single mothers are much more likely to be poor than children in other living arrangements. An increase in mothers' income through child support payments leads to better life chances for children and for ameliorating delinquency, poor health, and low educational attainment. In addition to alleviating these negative affects, evidence also indicates that fathers who pay child support are more likely to visit their children. Thus, children's financial and socioemotional lives are much improved when child support is paid.

Given the lower numbers of noncustodial mothers in our society, research on this population is scant. The little research that does exist indicates that support orders for noncustodial mothers are lower than

those for noncustodial fathers and that they also fail to pay support. These findings have led scholars to question whether lack of payment is a gender issue or a noncustodial-parent issue.

Some scholars point to the gendered nature of noncustodial mothers' experiences with paying support. On average, men earn more money than women. When calculating child support payments, men's higher earnings lead to higher support amounts. In contrast, the lower earnings of noncustodial mothers result in lower support orders. Their lower standards of living also contribute to the likelihood that mothers may not be able to simultaneously support themselves while paying child support. Higher levels of income for custodial fathers has led some to argue that receipt of child support is not as vital for the support of children in these cases as it is for custodial mothers.

Contrary to this position, other scholars have argued that child support is important for children's well-being, regardless of which parent is making the payments. These individuals do not see nonpayment of support as a gender issue. Although mothers may earn less than fathers, child support is partially calculated using the income of the parent. Thus, theoretically, a parent will pay only what he or she can afford when all other financial obligations are taken into consideration. These scholars argue that it is not the gender of the parent that leads to nonpayment of support; it is the structure of noncustodial parenting. Some gender-neutral factors cited as contributing to nonpayment include inability to visit children, not having control over how support payments are used, and general animosity between parents.

Conclusion

Historical shifts have brought interesting changes to the landscape of child custody and support. Today, mothers and fathers are viewed as equals in custody cases, but primary custody of children is still most often awarded to mothers, and fathers generally are ordered to pay child support. Policy advocates and some scholars argue that payment of support is important for children's well-being regardless of the gender of the noncustodial parent. Given the poor financial circumstances of single custodial mothers when compared with custodial fathers, it becomes apparent that payment of support is of particular importance to children in these homes, as it ameliorates poor living conditions. To date, policies continue to be restructured in attempts

to encourage noncustodial parents to financially support their children. What is missing from our understanding of child support is an in-depth examination of payment of support by noncustodial mothers. Research of this nature would inform the current gender versus noncustodial parent debate.

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See also Deadbeat Dads; Divorce; Family, Organization of; Family Law; Single-Parent Households

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CHIVALRY

In the Middle Ages, *chivalry* was a synonym of *knighthood,* describing either the reality of being a knight or the virtues associated with idealized portrayals of knights in medieval literature and culture. Thus, the degree of a man's chivalry was measured by his adherence to codes of behavior that might vary with time and place but would always include skill and bravery in battle ("prowess"), personal responsibility and dignity ("honor"), and a reverent and protective stance toward women, translated into direct action to help a woman in need or in danger ("service"). This last aspect of chivalry, which is most commonly referenced today when a man is called "chivalrous," usually consists of a man's willingness to inconvenience himself for the benefit of a woman, for example, by opening a door for a female companion or by stopping on the highway to assist a stranded motorist. Such chivalry continues to be perceived as a masculine quality: A woman performing these same actions

might be praised as "considerate" or even as "courteous," but not as "chivalrous."

The cultural resonances of the term *chivalry* have changed repeatedly since its medieval origins, but chivalry as a collective ideal has been closely associated with issues of gender and power. Originally denoting an entirely masculine sphere of operations, *chivalry* later became a word associated with particular dysfunctions in male-female relationships, then an ideal designed to remedy those dysfunctions by promoting a masculine identity centered on devotion to women. More recently, in the often-quoted phrase "Chivalry is dead," this ideal is preserved in a nostalgic reference to positive aspects of male-female relations that the speaker believes to have been extinguished by transformative modern forces such as democratization, industrialization, and the feminist movement.

Chivalry in the Middle Ages

The English word *chivalry* was derived directly from the French word *chevalerie,* meaning literally "exploits on horseback." When French first became a written language (10th and 11th centuries), the connotations of this word were military: It emphasized the great difference in status between low-ranking members of the infantry and men from the nobility, who alone were trained to ride into battle on costly warhorses. In French texts from this early period, one already finds the superlative description of a few noble warriors as "flowers of chivalry," a metaphor suggesting their fully developed embodiment of collective ideals: Those ideals were entirely military, however, having to do with how a mounted warrior interacted with men rather than with women.

Just as a man called a *chevalier* was being distinguished from a warrior who fought on foot, this term also distinguished him from other members of the nobility, those who had become priests or whose primary occupation was the governing of their families' ancestral lands. Landowners did go to war on horseback, but a man whose primary title was chevalier was likely to be a younger son from a noble family, someone who fought to defend his family's claim to a certain piece of land but who could not expect to inherit or govern that piece of land and thus whose access to wealth and power would always be limited. In a time when many legal matters were decided by combat or by a judge, rather than by written laws and contracts, ambitious younger sons could acquire their own territories by military conquest, especially if they could kidnap and/or marry by force a woman for whom such territories had been designated as a marriage dowry. During this period, therefore, apprehension arose about the tendency among some younger sons to leave their families' lands and move about the countryside alone or in bands of mounted warriors, seeking opportunities for such unauthorized plunder and for the social climbing that could result from it.

Beginning in the 12th century, it became a deliberate strategy of the dominant culture to promote a new definition of chivalry that went beyond military strength to encompass ethical personal conduct, especially toward women. Yet the gradual development of certain prominent feudal lands into nations during this same period (12th and 13th centuries) meant that a young knight without land could gain great wealth and influence through loyal service to a king: That is, he could do so if he were able to prove his own trustworthiness. Therefore, what the new, idealized chivalry offered to the young knight was a new measure of dignity and a new and easier path toward worldly success.

The new phenomenon of written literature in languages other than Latin (particularly Old French, which was the language of the dominant culture in both France and England from the 11th to the 14th centuries) provided an appropriate arena in which to promote this redefinition of chivalry. Texts recounting the legends of King Arthur, in particular, lent themselves well to this project. For instance, Arthur was represented as a powerful but wise king reigning over a vast territory by delegating power to a select group of younger knights whose military strength would allow them to excel at the king's missions and eventually be rewarded with wealth and power of their own. The drive toward personal excellence among the sympathetic knights in these stories was explicitly shown to have replaced the drive toward simple dominance by any means necessary or available, which continued to motivate the villains of Arthurian literature. Because noble women were important patrons of such chivalric literature, they helped to set its agenda and also made up a significant proportion of its audience, which ensured that romantic episodes and those promoting ethical conduct toward women would receive consistent attention in literary dramatizations of the new chivalry. Since this was a competitive model in which the goal for each knight was to be perceived as the best man in every respect, a tendency toward inflation was built into it: The most successful of the

resulting literary texts thus featured knights such as Lancelot, who were simultaneously the best fighters and the most passionate and respectful lovers that the world had ever known.

Chivalry as a collective ideal continued to dominate the literary and social culture of the late Middle Ages and beyond (14th to 16th centuries) and took on some new forms: guidebooks for chivalrous conduct proliferated, debates were held about how a virtuous knight might resolve various ethical dilemmas, and new orders of knighthood were founded to garner the support of noble men for particular beliefs, virtues, or military projects. Literary texts also adopted new attitudes toward chivalry: Alongside new versions of traditional legends, now sometimes adapted for wider, nonnoble audiences, texts appeared featuring parodies of chivalric conduct, the best of which served as perceptive social commentaries and thus remain classics of world literature (such as Cervantes's *Don Quixote* or Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*).

Chivalry in the Modern Era

In the16th through 18th centuries, political and economic changes made knighthood obsolete as a primary occupation, but chivalry remained a significant cultural ideal, and some noble men continued to belong to chivalric orders as a way of enhancing their political or social affiliations. Beginning in the late 18th century, as democracy became the new cultural ideal of many, chivalry was increasingly associated with political and cultural conservatism or even nostalgia. It was in this context that Edmund Burke, in a 1790 commentary on the French Revolution, wrote a famous passage on the demise of chivalry, which is believed to be the source of today's expression "Chivalry is dead," even though those precise words appear nowhere in it.

Burke's formulation is simple: Manliness is the heart of chivalry, and chivalry underpins aristocratic hegemony, which, in turn, is the source and essence of European "glory." Burke's statement was a harbinger of a nostalgia for chivalry which found its fullest expression in the "Arthurian revival" in European literature of the early 19th century. In particular, novels by Sir Walter Scott, such as *Ivanhoe* (1819), fostered among members of the ruling elite a longing to live by an idealized chivalric code. Toward the end of the century, Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1885) and the paintings of the pre-Raphaelite artists reframed the Arthurian legend for Victorian audiences. Literary and film versions of the Arthurian and other chivalric legends continue to proliferate to this day and may seek to express a variety of ideological viewpoints, usually with an emphasis on masculine identity and/or gender relations (e.g., the films *The Fisher King,* 1991, or *First Knight,* 1995).

Leading up to the American Civil War, the dominant classes of the southern states defended the legitimacy of a social order based on what they insisted were chivalric principles. This conception of social order found support in European literature of preceding decades. Its romantic viewpoint was opposed to the perceived soullessness of the republican egalitarianism and common sense of the North. In *Life on the Mississippi,* Mark Twain claimed that Sir Walter Scott should be held responsible for the Civil War, since his novels had so influenced the ideals and behavior of generations of Southern men and women. Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) was an Arthurian novel with both comic and political twists, serving as a defense of republican common sense against what he saw as a willful return to medieval backwardness. Twain notwithstanding, chivalric romanticism survived the Civil War in the South. As an ideology, it was openly propagated in the notorious classic film *Birth of a Nation.* The Ku Klux Klan, especially in its second (20th-century) manifestation, draped itself in outward symbols of knighthood. This pseudo-chivalry was not fully discredited as a viable political course at a mainstream level until the time of the civil rights movement. Until that time, hate crimes were committed with some frequency against blacks by whites, including members of the Ku Klux Klan, ostensibly in defense of (white) womanly virtue. An ideology that originated in part as a means of limiting violence against women had thus become a justification for terrorizing a subordinate population.

Two Sides to Chivalry

On one hand, chivalry originated as a code of the ruling class and has been used in various ways to justify privilege and oppression since. In particular, it has served the institutions of aristocracy, gender-exclusive suffrage, and slavery. On the other hand, chivalry also originated as a means of establishing social order and protecting the vulnerable, especially women, and in its long history, it has undeniably been useful in this way on many occasions. For example, until 1998, the Geneva Conventions treated rape as a "crime against

honor," alluding to a code of chivalry in providing some limited protection against rape during wartime. Now rape is considered by international law as a form of torture and an issue of universal human rights rather than one of personal honor. Undoubtedly, this change is for the better, but its recent date is a reminder of the previously crucial role of chivalry in preventing some abuses of power.

Margaret Burland and Daniel Burland

See also Courtly Love; Masculinity Studies; Romance Fiction

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CHRISTIAN COALITION

The Christian Coalition (CC) is a conservative, Protestant, grassroots movement, heavily dependent upon the financial backing and time of thousands of supporters. It differs from its predecessor, the Moral Majority, because it seeks to effect local and state politics as well as national politics. By taking on local and school board elections, education systems have been significantly affected in many states, particularly in regard to sex education, homosexuality, "humanist" values, and creationism in the classroom. The CC was formed in 1989 by Pat Robertson, a Pentecostal minister. Despite a failed presidential run, Robertson found huge pockets of support for the organization through his television show, *The 700 Club,* and his creation, The Family Channel. At the height of the organization's power, it took center stage in the Christian Right. The CC believes that America has backslid from its Christian values and that issues such as abortion, feminism, and gay rights further detract from the nation's potential to reclaim its Christian heritage. The organization also takes a strong stance in support of Israel and lower taxes. The mission of the CC is as follows:

> Represent the pro-family point of view before local councils, school boards, state legislatures and Congress; Speak out in the public arena and in the media; Train leaders for effective social and political action; Inform pro-family voters about timely issues and legislation; Protest anti-Christianity bigotry and defend the rights of people of faith. (http://www.cc.org/about.cfm)

During the organization's high point, it claimed 2.8 million members and 2,000 local chapters nationwide. As of 2006, the organization boasted 2 million members, though critics say the number is, in fact, far less. To date, each election year, the CC mounts major campaigns to promote traditional family values platforms. In 2004, the group distributed approximately 30 million voter guides in targeted states and congressional districts deemed politically competitive.

The organization has faced slumping membership and some controversy since 1997, when Ralph Reed, a key political strategist, left the CC. Pat Robertson resigned in December 2001, and Roberta Combs assumed the presidency of the organization. In 2002, the CC settled a lawsuit with African American staff, who charged that the organization discriminated against them, making them use back entrances while white staff utilized front entrances. In the last 5 years, the CC has faced increasing debt and numerous lawsuits from creditors. To date, only seven states hold chapters of the CC. In 2006, Joel Hunter was elected president of the organization. Hunter resigned his spot soon after, noting that his desire that the CC focus on issues such as AIDS, poverty, and the environment conflicted with priorities of the board of the CC.

Stacia Creek

See also Abortion; Christianity, Status of Women in; Christianity and Homosexuality; Concerned Women for America; Promise Keepers

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CHRISTIANITY, STATUS OF WOMEN IN

With more than 2 billion adherents, Christianity has become one of the largest religions in recorded human history. Christianity exerts considerable sociopolitical influence in many societies, especially the specific roles that have been prescribed for women.

Constructing the Christian Woman

From Mary Magdalene to Mother Theresa, women have maintained prominent positions both in the New Testament and subsequent Christian movements. The vast majority of biblical and religious scholars agree that Jesus treated women as equals and had intimate friendships with them. Likewise, in Paul's epistle to the Romans, he positively addresses a colleague named Phoebe and identifies her as a minister from Cenchrea. In Galatians 3:28, according to the *New Revised Standard Version of the New Testament,* Paul writes, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus." Although it was long believed that Paul penned the texts prohibiting women from a variety of leadership positions in the early church, including Ephesians and 1 Timothy, most experts now believe these letters were not written by Paul. Rather, these books of the New Testament were created after Paul's execution and during a time when early Christianity was debating the role and place of women. Jesus's message of gender equality often fell upon deaf ears, including his disciples.' Indeed, the patriarchal culture from which Christianity emerged and grew championed scriptural references to the inferior status of women and minorities over themes of equality and social justice.

The consequences of male domination for Christian women have been felt since the first years after the death of Jesus. Images and stories of Mary Magdalene morphed from a vocal leader of early Christian communities to a passively repentant prostitute. For the vast majority of the past two millennia, Christian women have been forbidden from joining the priesthood and from becoming high-ranking clergy officials within the hierarchy of denominational administrations. In addition to scriptural interpretation, the church has argued that since Jesus was a man, it is impossible for a woman to fully emulate his intellect, authority, and spirituality. Only recently, in light of feminist theologies and the historic discovery of the Gospel of Mary, have scholars begun to reassess the role of women during and immediately after the ministry of Jesus. This has had profound implications for shattering the "stain-glassed ceiling" that kept women from becoming clergy.

Consecrating the Christian Woman

A clear measure of women's status in contemporary Christianity is whether they are permitted to become ordained leaders of faith communities. Beginning with Roman Catholicism and its 1 billion members, women are barred from the priesthood. Although they can enter holy orders and take vows as nuns, women are forbidden from performing the sacraments, including the Eucharist, confession/reconciliation, and baptism. The Eastern Orthodox churches are very much like Roman Catholicism. For Protestants, many denominations and congregations continue to deny women the right to become priests, pastors, and ministers. They include but are not limited to the Southern Baptist Convention, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and most conservative evangelical and fundamentalist congregations. To be sure, change has occurred slowly, and the likelihood of policy changes in the near future is slim at best.

Mainstream Protestant denominations, for the most part, have been ordaining women for at least the past three decades. The Evangelical Lutheran Church, Presbyterian Church, Anglican/Episcopal Church, United Methodist Church, United Church of Christ, and American Baptist churches are among these traditions. Women are now serving as bishops and heading pastoral religious organizations. This is especially true of North America and Western Europe. There are segments of the Protestant population across the globe, however, mostly in the third world, that do not ordain women and have threatened to remove themselves

from communion with any denomination that does. In general, religious groups having strong conservative and fundamentalist leanings are most likely to hold restrictive views on women's participation in running the church regardless of geographic or economic locations. In short, where patriarchal cultures persist, women endure subordinate positions in both the public and private sectors of religious existence.

Theologians, philosophers, and social scientists alike expect that as gender discrimination education and awareness continues to proliferate around the world, women will increasingly be included in all aspects of Christianity. Even for entities in Christianity that welcome women into leadership positions, progress has been sluggish, and women have often felt rejected, overlooked, and at times assaulted for aspiring to become religious leaders. This varies by race, socioeconomic status, age, sexual orientation, and so forth. These inequities are considered by many to be the growing pains in the body of Christ as Christianity enters its third millennium. As progress is made toward full inclusion of women and other oppressed groups, the global church is a more effective witness to the vision of social equality once promoted by its founder.

Joshua Grove

See also Divine Feminine Spirituality; Theology, Feminist

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CHRISTIANITY AND HOMOSEXUALITY

The latter part of the 20th century has seen an increasing awareness of the intersection between gender identity and matters of religion and spirituality. As the social-scientific awareness of sexual "orientation" has increased, particularly among Western industrialized nations, the ambivalence with which Christian institutions approach homosexual persons and same-gendered relationships has also increased. In fact, it is virtually impossible to articulate a single Christian position on homosexuality at any point in history. Currently, however, in the first decade of the 21st century, the religious, moral, and social tensions between Christianity and homosexual persons have never been greater. Yet the complexity of the issue is often over-simplified either because of an inadequate appreciation for the diversity of positions promulgated about homosexuality among Christian denominations today or because of long-held cultural taboos and religious biases about the root "causes" of homosexuality. However, historical-critical interpretations of the Christian Bible are beginning to affect a paradigm shift in Christianity's approach to homosexuality, and many homosexual Christians who have often felt alienated by their respective traditions are discovering new ways to interpret the Bible and reclaim their faith. This essay traces some of these historically complex discussions.

A Diversity of Christian Perspectives

Some Christian institutions regard the mere fact of being homosexual as antithetical to authentic Christian life because acknowledging one's homosexual identity is misunderstood as a conscious choice against a presumed "natural" heterosexual orientation. Thus, more often than not, the conservative Christian debate on homosexuality is limited to questions of morals and ethics focused on homosexual "acts," rather than evaluating the broader context of interpersonal relationships. By contrast, more intellectually astute Christian denominations broaden the discussion beyond mere "acts" to include the nature and quality of the relationships in which sexual intimacy takes place. These more theologically progressive churches advocate for a contextually nuanced understanding of homosexuality, one that recognizes, first, that sexual orientation is not chosen, but "discovered" in an individual and, second, that there can be no meaningful discussion of moral culpability apart from the mitigating relational context in which such sexual activity takes place.

Not surprisingly, the spectrum of positions argued among Christians on homosexual relations is rooted in varying interpretive approaches to the Bible.

Primarily, two major distinctions can be observed: those churches that take a more *literalist* approach and those that have embraced *historical-critical* methods of interpretation. Literalist approaches have the benefit of appealing to the masses. A given passage is taken to mean precisely what it says, without questioning the historical context in which it was said, the original language in which it was written, the original audience to whom it was addressed, or the limitations of the author who originally wrote it. From this perspective, any biblical verse can be dislocated from its literary and historical context and used as a proof text to argue virtually any given ethical position. By contrast, the historical-critical approach to interpreting the Bible employs interpretive methods that necessarily take into account the historical development of each book within the Bible and do so in an analytical (i.e., "critical") manner. Questions about oral tradition, authorship, audience, history, linguistics, literary genre, translation, and transmission, among others, are systematically addressed in order to accurately determine the meaning of a biblical text. This approach is therefore far less accessible to the masses and has the disadvantage of requiring highly specialized historical, linguistic, and theological skills.

The Impact of Historical Criticism

The implications for interpreting the Bible from a historical-critical perspective can be illustrated through a brief examination of the first biblical reference to homosexuality, found in Genesis 19:1–11, the passage from which the term *sodomy* derived. The central importance of this passage revolves around the text of Genesis 19:5: "And they [the townsmen of Sodom] called to Lot, 'Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, so that we may *know* them'" *(New Revised Standard Version).*

When this narrative is situated in its proper cultural and historical context, two significant questions immediately present themselves. First, what precisely is the sin of Sodom? What did the townsmen of Sodom intend to do with Lot's visitors, and what was their motivation? Second, if Lot is being rescued from the destruction of Sodom because of his "righteousness" before God (Genesis 19:29), how is that reconciled with the fact the he was willing to offer up his own two daughters to the townsmen (Genesis 19:8)? If these women had been raped and survived the brutality, they would have forever remained social outcasts and

unmarriageable for having lost their virginity beforehand (cf. Judges 19). How then is Lot's behavior excusable, much less exemplary? Contemporary Christian ethics could hardly condone his willingness to hand over his daughters to such a fate.

Historical-Critical Assessment

A historical-critical reading of the text will afford some answers. Of the 943 times that the Hebrew phrase *to know* appears in the Old Testament, the present context represents 1 of only 10 occasions in which the term carries a clear sexual implication, meaning "to have intercourse with." However, the story of Sodom is not about sexual ethics (as Lot's willingness to give up his daughters makes clear), but rather inhospitality to strangers, intensified by a most reprehensible form of sexually abusive behavior: gang rape. An examination of the social inequality between men and women reveals that the townsmen's motivation for wanting to "sodomize" the three male visitors was to humiliate them by treating them like women, whose social status in the ancient Near East was limited to that of being merely the "property" of men. Often, defeated soldiers were similarly raped by their victors, not merely to denigrate them but also to demonstrate that they were now the "property" of their aggressors, reduced to the subservient social status of a woman. In marriage, a woman was redeemed (literally "purchased") by her husband, whose property she then became. In view of this pervasive cultural perception, ancient Israelite society maintained a covenantal code of "sacred hospitality" that was extended to strangers, widows, and orphans because of the fact that these three classes of people were the most vulnerable to poverty, abuse, and harm (cf. Isaiah 1:10–11, 16–17). It is for this reason that in the narrative presently under consideration, Lot is regarded as righteous. He honors the sacred covenantal code of hospitality with the strangers whom he encounters, unaware that he was entertaining angels (cf. Hebrews 13:2).

Thus, Genesis 19:1–11, interpreted in its original historical context, cannot be so clearly cited as providing a sanction against homosexuality. It is certainly a clear and unequivocal condemnation of abusive and denigrating behavior toward another human person, which in this case takes the form of attempted gang rape. As such, from a historical-critical perspective, the Genesis 19 narrative condemns that which

amounts to a grave breach of the covenantal code in which Israel came to understand its relationship with God and humanity.

Transcending Biblical Cultural Trappings

Even this brief historical-critical analysis of Genesis 19 suggests that although contemporary Christian ethics are at once rooted in Scripture, those ethics must also transcend that which is contained in the biblical texts themselves. If this were not so, Christians would still by and large regard Lot's willingness to offer his daughters to the mob as morally acceptable. As this is clearly not the case, the Genesis 19 narrative represents a case in point, whereby Christianity ultimately transcended the historical limitations of its own biblical canon, demanding that the contemporary reader acquire a higher ethical standard than the biblical characters themselves possess. The same development has occurred frequently within the past century, whereby, for example, despite biblical support for slavery (cf. Ephesians 6:5–9; Colossians 3:22–4:1; 1 Timothy 6:1–2; 1 Peter 2:18), no Christian church today would argue the ethical merits of possessing slaves.

Thus, with similar historical-critical arguments proposed for respective biblical passages, more churches today than ever before are beginning to conclude that the Bible offers no condemnation of homosexuality expressed within committed unions. In reaction, equally as many churches are entrenching themselves deeper into a rejection of homosexuals and same-gendered relationships altogether. Ironically, many churches that have enthusiastically embraced historical-critical methods of interpreting the Bible are nevertheless slow to accept the subsequent conclusions to which these methodologies invariable point. That is, the Bible is virtually silent about the issue of homosexuality as it is understood psychologically, sociologically, and biologically today. The authors of these texts never knew of a "homosexual orientation," nor does the Bible offer condemnation of intimacy between two people expressing a bond of mutual love. To the contrary, many scriptural books attest to the value of loving relationships, mutual fidelity, and emotional intimacy, all of which speak to the ideal sought after among Christians in homosexual unions (cf. 1 Samuel 18:1–4; 20:41–42; 2 Samuel 1:23–26; Ruth 1:16–17). One does find, however, condemnation of rape, sexual abuse and exploitation, and hypocrisy and oppression, all of which are clearly contrary to the Christian gospel and none of which have any relation to same-gendered relationships. Homosexual Christians would caution their respective churches that it is not *sex* that most centrally defines their relationships, but *love.*

Queering Christianity

In recognition of this expressed love, some Christian denominations have begun to condone, bless, and celebrate same-gendered relationships. Moreover, in reaction to what has been traditionally a condemnatory attitude, many specifically gay-friendly churches have been founded in large part by gay men and lesbians in response to the alienation they have experienced from their communities of origin.

Indeed, it is this general experience of alienation among homosexual Christians that has helped pave the way for what has become a specifically gay Christian spirituality. As such, it is not uncommon to hear of such endeavors as "queering the Bible" or "queering Christ" as the means by which gay Christians do not merely attempt to defend themselves against a presumed biblical condemnation (as we saw in our historical-critical analysis of Genesis 19), but to reevaluate the liberating and affirming senses of Scripture that emerge in and through gay Christian experience. One such interpretation emphasizes a theology of liberation whereby the biblical character of Moses is endowed with archetypal significance, serving as a paradigm for the gay community as a whole. From this hermeneutical perspective, the Exodus narrative becomes a powerful witness for understanding alienation as an opportunity for prophetic witness.

Moses, born a Hebrew, had been secretly raised in the court of Pharaoh, but through an altercation with Egyptian authorities, he was eventually forced into exile. For a time, he accepts his fate, until a mysterious encounter with God, manifested through a perpetually burning bush (Exodus 3), empowers him to return to Egypt as a prophetic voice demanding the liberation of his people from the oppression imposed by Pharaoh. Thus, exile, as it is experienced by the gay and lesbian community, is reinterpreted as a place of divine encounter, whereby gay Christians might discover their collective prophetic voice and, like Moses, find themselves empowered by God to return to their communities of faith demanding liberation from what is experienced as oppressive and erroneous interpretations of Scripture and tradition.

Such "queer" perspectives on the Bible indicate that there is a paradigm shift taking place among homosexual Christians whereby many are reclaiming their Christian faith by approaching entrenched authority, long-standing precritical tradition, and literalist biblical interpretations not simply from a defensive posture, but with a prophetic voice of urgency that presumes a context of faith. While media sound bytes may continue to give the impression that the homosexual and Christian communities are forcefully opposed, a closer look will readily demonstrate that this apparent opposition masks the truth that there has never been a time when homosexual men and women did not count themselves among the Christian community.

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See also Christian Coalition; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Queer Studies; Religion, Gender Roles in; Same-Sex Marriage

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Chromosome Disorders

We are often taught that what makes us male or female is our genetics, particularly our chromosomes. Typically, a person has 23 pairs of chromosomes; one half comes from the egg, and the other half from the sperm. The sex chromosomes are the 23rd pair, and they direct the development of the genitalia. That is, what sex chromosomes our body contains determines our sex. Although other aspects of prenatal development, such as hormones, also influence the development of our genitalia, the sex chromosomes often guide that development. The 23rd pair contains an X from the egg, and the sperm provides either an X or Y chromosome. A typical female has the pattern XX. A typical male has the pattern XY. Though most individuals have either the XX or XY pattern, occasionally individuals are born with different sex chromosome patterns. Sometimes, there are extra or missing sex chromosomes; over 70 types of sex chromosome variants have been discovered. Errors are rare but revealing. Atypical development demonstrates the complexities of defining man and woman.

Turner's (Turner) Syndrome

Turner's syndrome (also called *Turner syndrome*) occurs when there is only one X chromosome, and the pattern is designated X0, with a zero standing in for the missing chromosome. At least one X chromosome is necessary for an embryo to be viable. An embryo with only one Y for the sex chromosome will not survive. Turner's syndrome is estimated to occur in about one of every 2,500 to 4,000 female births, with the infant appearing female at birth. The average age of diagnosis is 6.6 years, although it may not be diagnosed until much later in life. The ovaries do not fully develop and thus do not produce a normal level of estrogen. This lack of estrogen means that the individual will not go through puberty and menstruate. A female with Turner's syndrome is short, usually less than 5 feet tall, and has immature breasts. She is also likely to suffer some degree of mental retardation and be hyperactive. The person with Turner's syndrome often experiences social isolation because of her body image and poor self-concept. She may receive estrogen and progesterone during puberty to enhance sex characteristics. and this can produce a menstrual flow, as the uterus is fully formed. Androgens may also be given at this time to promote height. The earlier Turner's syndrome is detected, the more likely treatments will be effective. The Turner's syndrome female usually has a strong feminine gender identity and a strong interest in motherhood. Although she is infertile due to the lack of functioning ovaries, she can become pregnant through in vitro fertilization and deliver via cesarean section.

Klinefelter's Syndrome

The most common sex chromosome disorder is *Klinefelter's syndrome,* in which the male has an extra X chromosome and is designated XXY. It is estimated to occur in 1 out of every 500 to 1,000 male births. While the Y triggers the development of male genitalia, the extra X prevents full development. Internally, the genitalia of individuals are like a normal male's, though the testes and penis are small. They cannot produce sperm and are sterile. Individuals also have low testosterone levels and low sexual desire. They may have gynecomastia (abnormal breast development in a male), a feminized body shape, be tall, and lack fully developed secondary sex characteristics, such as facial and body hair. Testosterone therapy can help develop the secondary sex characteristics, especially during puberty. With Klinefelter's syndrome, there is an increased chance of developmental disabilities and mental retardation, particularly speech and language difficulties. As with Turner's syndrome, treatment is usually most successful when started early. The individual with Klinefelter's syndrome typically has a male gender identity.

Other Sex-Chromosomal Abnormalities

A female with an extra X chromosome, designated XXX, occurs in about one of every 1,000 female births. This individual will appear female at birth, may or may not have menstrual irregularities, and may be fertile or sterile. She may also be of average intelligence or have developmental disabilities and some mental retardation. This individual may grow up as a normal female with no outward signs of having an extra chromosome. There is no treatment for this condition.

When there is an extra Y chromosome, the individual is designated XYY. This occurs in about one in every 1,000 male births. They may grow up as a normal male. They are tall and may be fertile or may have reproductive abnormalities and fertility problems. They are marked by impulsive behavior and lower intelligence. These characteristics cause them to be more likely to be convicted and imprisoned for nonviolent crimes, as they are identifiable and often inept criminals. They are not more aggressive or violent than the average population. There is no treatment for this condition.

Some individuals may have several X chromosomes, such as XXXX, XXXXX, XXXY, and XXXXY conditions. Some may also have an extra Y, such as XXYY. These patterns tend to be accompanied by more severe developmental disabilities and physical irregularities, such as skeletal problems. In general, as the number of sex chromosomes increases, the severity of mental retardation and reproductive difficulties also increases. Individuals with these sex chromosome patterns are likely to be sterile. Diagnosis of any of these chromosome disorders will be most reliable with karyotype testing.

Alishia Huntoon

See also Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome; Biological Determinism; Eugenics; Gender Identities and Socialization; Genetic Prenatal Testing; Hormones; Hormone Therapy; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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Clergy Sex Scandals

Clergy sex abuse scandals within the Catholic Church in the United States have involved decades of internally reported and documented sexual abuse perpetrated by Catholic priests and deacons against minors. The Catholic Church as an institution and the bishops as its agents have been viewed as avoiding their responsibility in handling these disclosures, both with the offending clergy and traumatized victims. These incidents were known to those immediately impacted and involved throughout the United States, and collective societal anger and outrage reached a tipping point in early 2002, when demands for review and action were widespread. In addition, given this history, there

was skepticism from within and outside the Catholic Church regarding the capability of the all-male governance structure, which insulated itself from lay influence and contemporary scientific advancements in the field of sexual abuse and treatment of offenders that would have promoted an accurate and informed assessment of the scope of the problem and meaningful reforms to tackle this issue effectively.

The perpetration of sexual abuse and the clear and persistent failure of the Catholic Church as an organization to address clergy abuse in a systematic manner is significant in the context of gender and society for several reasons. First, Catholic priests and their bishop superiors live, work, and participate in a community that is closed and cultivates internally loyalty. Catholic clergy are all male and take a vow of celibacy. Thus, their primary experience of family and familyhood is constructed in the context of their own families of origin and the community of "brother" priests or clerical culture within which they live. It is allegiance to this latter family that is thought to have overridden the needs of victims of sex abuse.

Second, the Catholic Church, and within that the priests and orders of religious men, has its own legal process and procedures defined by canon law that ultimately are heard and acted upon by the Pope in Rome. Most state statutes regarding the mandatory reporting of child sexual abuse exempts clergy, thus allowing clergy to operate outside of common societal laws.

Third, the pervasive absence of nonreligious persons and, in particular, women's voices and involvement within Catholic Church governance created a climate that was disconnected from best practices of organizational policy, procedures, and treatment protocols regarding preventing, reporting, and handling incidents of sexual exploitation. In its totality, these variables based on gender and separation from contemporary society contributed to an insensitivity toward responding to allegations, a lack of accountability, and a proclivity to protect fellow priests despite their actions being against the law. The inherent power and privilege afforded priests based on gender and their stature as spiritual leaders created a climate impenetrable for victims and their families, a culture that operated in secrecy and seemingly above the law.

Finally, and perhaps most significant, is the resilient role that victims, survivors, faith communities, and the larger society played in successfully exercising pressure and collectively advocating for organizational change and reform within the institution of the Catholic Church.

Definition

Sexual abuse is defined as any sexual contact with minors (children/youth under the age of 18 years of age). Sexual exploitation is initiated and maintained for adult sexual gratification. Sexual abuse is most often perpetuated by an adult known to the victim and her or his family. A process of *grooming* typically characterizes the abuse. This is the deliberate sexualization of a relationship over time, while simultaneously cultivating an atmosphere of secrecy, indebtedness, and mutuality with the victim. The feelings of entrapment often coerce the minor to comply with demands and not disclose abuse. The perpetrator will position herself or himself in authority over the minor to ensure compliance and at times cultivates a persona inconsistent with that of harming children so as to go undetected and undermine the credibility of a potential report. Until recently, most abuse was not disclosed, and if it was, the disclosure was delayed, sometimes many years.

Prevalence

The prevalence of sexual abuse in the general population has been difficult to assess due to vast underreporting. A national survey (1990) found that 27% of women and 16% of men experienced sexual abuse by the age of 18. The incidence of sexual abuse as defined by substantiated reports to child protective services has declined annually, leading researchers to believe that the sexual abuse of children has decreased. Advancements in educational prevention efforts, diagnosis and treatment of adult mental disorders, successful prosecution, aggressive sentencing, and increased incarceration of offenders have been suggested as factors that have lowered incidents of sexual abuse.

In an attempt to gain information on the scope of abuse by clergy, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) commissioned the John Jay College of Criminal Justice to conduct a study, which would survey dioceses around the country about reported abuse. Ninety-three percent of the dioceses and 60% of the religious orders participated. Church archival records submitted for the John Jay report totaled 10,667 reported minor victims of clergy abuse between 1950 and 2002. While these data are helpful to further the understanding of the incidence of abuse, it represents only the number of children who came forward and that the diocese recorded; thus, the actual number of victims may be higher. Incidence of

priest-perpetrated abuse peaked in the late 1970s and has declined since then.

In examining the incidence of clergy sexual abuse as reported by dioceses, there are similarities and differences from the general population. For example, clergy victimized parish members and others connected by their faith and were therefore known to the priests. As distinct from victimization by clergy, in the general population, most perpetrators are male and their victims female. Clergy perpetrated sexual abuse was approximately 81% committed against boys and thus male to male.

Of the approximately 75,694 diocesan priests working between 1950 and 2002, allegations were made against 3,265, or 4.3%, similar to the prevalence in the general population. The types of abuse included fondling as well as very "grave" abuse (i.e., acts of oral sex, 27%, and intercourse, 25%). During the span of time the abuse was recorded and its frequency peaked, a significant number of priests were found to have entered the priesthood as older adolescents or young adults. It is hypothesized that by entering early in their lives, they may have truncated normative sexual development and were therefore ill-prepared and not adequately supported to live under the requirement of celibacy. In addition, men with personality problems may have sought out the protected confines of the priesthood at a time when there was not adequate screening.

Impact on Victims

It is known that sexual abuse impacts people differently based on several factors, including the type of abuse, length of time exposed to abuse, frequency of abuse, relationship to the offender, length of time the victim lives with the secret of abuse unassisted, and families' beliefs and support of disclosure. Revealing abuse or disclosure is often inhibited due to the grooming process, relationship to the perpetrator, societal taboos and discomfort about talking about sexual matters, limited language to describe the sexual abuse, and added stigma if male-to-male abuse.

Sexual abuse committed by clergy and religious leaders is particularly devastating given their moral authority and spiritual roles in people's lives. Victims and their families who came forward and reported abuse but were not believed or ignored felt abandoned by an unresponsive church. As in families when incest is disclosed, members can be discounted, discredited, ostracized, and pressured to recant the abuse. Clergy

abuse victims additionally report having a crisis of faith that is long-lasting, with reverberating repercussions. Often, victims have come forward only as adults, meaning they have lived with the secret of being abused for years without therapeutic support or legal assistance. Secondary difficulties, including depression, relational problems, substance abuse, and a sense of being "damaged goods," often occur. In addition, given that most victims were boys entering or during puberty, the added stigma and impact on their evolving sexual identities of involuntary sexual exploitation cannot be underestimated.

Historical Institutional Response

A climate of avoidance, secrecy, and denial and a culture of arrogant infallibility prevailed within the Catholic Church's handling of the sex abuse scandals for decades. Very few cases of clergy abuse have been criminally prosecuted. While every state in the country has had existing laws that mandate professionals (e.g., teachers, nurses, doctors, day care providers, etc.) to report suspected sexual abuse of minors, clergy have remained exempt. Catholic clergy and bishops in most instances were not compelled and therefore did not report disclosed and known sex abuse to the civil authorities, opting to handle cases internally. Further complicating matters, there is a legally defined window of time, the *statue of limitations,* in which sexual abuse may be criminally prosecuted, and in numerous cases of clergy abuse, this time had expired, leaving only the option of a suit in civil court. Compounding the issue, "problem" priests were transferred to unknowing dioceses, only to reoffend. If action was taken, the behavior was approached from a repentance stance or ill-conceived treatment approaches, resulting in dioceses allowing priests to be placed again in churches and have access to children.

Confronting Institutional Denial

Jason Berry's landmark book *Lead Us Not Into Temptation,* published in 1992, chronicles known and reported occurrences of priest-perpetrated sexual abuse of minors, which had spanned several decades. Berry's work is often credited with breaking open this institutionally known but unspoken secret. However, it was approximately another decade before enough disclosures, requests for justice, and finally litigation would created a watershed moment that forced the Catholic Church governance structure, via the

USCCB, to meaningfully examine and address the issue as an institution. As adult survivors increasingly gained strength to come forward to tell, or in many instances retell, their stories of past abuse and their dioceses' handling of such disclosures (which rarely included notifying the civil authorities to report the abuse and in the most basic sense believing the victim), dioceses across the country were confronted with the reality of the damage done, mounting scandal, and increasing civil suits for negligence as an institution in their oversight of priests. For many persons of faith, the spiritual damage by this profound betrayal of trust was unfathomable. In response to the church's stance of denial and minimizing alleged abuse, many survivors gained strength and a voice through connecting with each other via mutual aid and advocacy groups, as organized in the Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests (SNAP).

At the June 2002 Annual Conference of Catholic Bishops in Dallas, Texas, the bishops for the first time addressed the issue directly by inviting and receiving numerous impact statements and testimonials from abuse survivors, therapists, and researchers, among others. An outcome of the conference was the creation and adoption of the Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People, which was reviewed and reaffirmed by the bishops in 2005.

The charter defines a comprehensive compilation of policies and procedures for dioceses to address the handling of allegations, accountability, and prevention. It also created the Office of Child and Youth Protection within the USCCB and the National Review Board, made up of lay experts in the field. The 17 articles of the charter include mandates for dioceses to reach out to victims and their families, employ a competent person to provide victim assistance; report abuse and cooperate with civil authorities investigations; and create a local review board made up primarily of lay persons not employed by the diocese, who consult with the bishop regarding cases of abuse. The charter specifically restates a quote from Pope John Paul II: "There is no place in the priesthood or religious life for those who would harm the young." Thus, what is known as the "zero tolerance" policy for priest abuse was established, meaning any priest found to have abused a child would be permanently barred from ministry and potentially dismissed from the clerical state.

The responsibility of the Office of Child and Youth Protection is to provide leadership and direction for the ongoing efforts within the church to protect minors. The organization also performs compliance audits and supports dioceses in their charge to comply with the charter. The audit is published annually in a public report.

The National Review Board was charged with commissioning reports to study sexual abuse, and the John Jay College of Criminal Justice was asked to examine the nature and scope of abuse from 1950 through 2002. All dioceses were asked to cooperate by submitting several surveys designed to gather descriptive information from their records of disclosed abuse. While the review process depended on individual dioceses records and reporting, it yielded significant information to gain a greater understanding of this issue. The National Review Board also published a report, *A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States,* summarizing its findings to date and making recommendations.

Conclusion

Clergy sex abuse within the Catholic Church in the United States is significant to the discussion of gender and society. The perpetration of sexual abuse of minors by priests and the resulting response to victims and offending priests by the governance structure of the Catholic Church highlight the traumatic and catastrophic results when power is afforded, distributed, and unchecked based on gender and is insulated from societal input and laws. This tragic episode does, however, speak to the fierce resilience and determination of survivors and the power of collective advocacy to challenge injustice and influence structures for change for the common societal good.

Mary Kay Brennan

See also Institution, Gender as; Nuns; Patriarchy; Privilege, Male; Religion, Gender Roles in

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Web Sites

Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests (SNAP): http://www.snapnetwork.org/index.html

COALITION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (KENYA)

The Coalition on Violence Against Women (COVAW), Kenya, is a women's human rights organization established in 1995. Committed to the "eradication of all forms of violence against women and the promotion of women's human rights," COVAW believes all women have the right to freedom from violence and the right to self-defense, and the organization develops its programs and interventions around the faith that people have the capacity to learn and change.

Domestic violence is a serious and hidden issue in Kenya, women and children being the main victims. The organization focuses energy on raising public awareness to this hidden issue, providing safe and friendly spaces for women, enabling counseling services to survivors, working to protect and acknowledge the reproductive rights of women, and lobbying on behalf of survivors. Originally established as a membership group, COVAW relied on volunteerism for operationalizing its three working groups: counseling, outreach, and advocacy. Today, COVAW enjoys a managing board and full-time staff members who work alongside volunteers and interns. In accordance with this framework, there are several programs managed by COVAW to reach their desired outcomes.

The Outreach and Training Program delivers training workshops, produces easy-to-read handbooks about violence against women, enacts drama performances depicting gender-based violence, and encourages participation of youth through contests for essays and posters.

The Counseling Program provides professional counseling in both one-on-one and group settings. Information and materials are made available to women, as are referrals. In the case of underprivileged women, emergency funds are available to supplement or extend support of survivors, and COVAW manages a hotline for reporting violence against women. The overall goal of this program is to ensure that women feel safe and can come to a place knowing they can share their experiences.

The Advocacy Program works at both the local and national levels to advance public debate and policy development and to provide access to justice for women. Public Interest Litigation and Legal Aid work with women to advise on legal and human rights and use mobile clinics to reach outliers, ensuring accessibility to all women and selecting cases for litigation that promote women's rights movements. COVAW's Advocacy Program has been recognized as achieving considerable success by virtue of the Kenyan government, recently passing the Children's Act, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, and the Domestic Violence (Family Protection) Bill.

Several annual activities are coordinated to remind the community about violence against women and the continuing need to maintain open dialogue about this violation of human rights:

- International Women's Day: March 8
- St. Kizito Commemoration: July 13
- Sixteen Days of Violence Against Women: November 25 to December 10.

A variety of publications are available from COVAW, the most recent being *Breaking the Cycle of Violence.* Local partners include ABANTU for Development and the Association of Media Women of Kenya, and Amnesty International serves as a partner on a global scale.

Jennifer Jaffer

See also ABANTU for Development; Domestic Violence; Women Against Violence Against Women; Women's Social Movements, History of

Web Sites

Coalition on Violence Against Women: http://www.covaw.or.ke

Human Rights House Network: http://www.humanrights house.org

COHABITATION

Once unheard of, cohabitation has become an increasingly popular living arrangement for romantically involved couples as a precursor or alternative to marriage. While cohabitation can also refer to the living arrangements of married and same-sex couples, the term commonly refers to an unmarried heterosexual couple who shares a household.

In the past, cohabitation was rarely seen except among some low-income families who had no strong economic incentives to marry. Often viewed as "living in sin," cohabitation was not an accepted option for most couples. However, the sexual revolution and feminist movement provided increasing acceptance of cohabiting unions in the United States. In the mid-1960s though the mid-1970s, approximately 11% of never-married couples cohabitated prior to marriage. During the 1980s, this rate increased dramatically to approximately 44% of couples before first marriages. The 1990s brought a slight increase to this figure, placing the cohabitation rate at 50%, where it has remained since. Today, over half of marriages start as cohabiting unions in both the United States and in most European nations.

Types of Cohabiters

Sociologists have noted that couples choose to cohabit for a variety of reasons, which shape their relationships in unique ways. Among these, couples may choose to cohabit as a precursor to marriage or as an alternative to marriage. Many young couples hesitate to marry because they feel they are "too young" or that they would like to reach certain life goals prior to marrying, which makes cohabitation a popular choice. It allows a serious continuation of the relationship without having the connotations of marriage attached to it. For most couples, cohabitation is a short-term union. Couples who cohabit generally marry or separate within the first 5 years.

Cohabitation as Precursor to Marriage

For many young couples, cohabitation is a part of the marriage process. Many couples who decide to move in together have talked about becoming engaged, and many have definite plans to marry each other. Many individuals in this group, particularly women, want their partners to be committed to the future of the relationship before living together and often view their cohabitation as a step toward engagement and marriage. These couples tend to cohabit for the shortest periods of time, generally 1 to 2 years before they transition into marriage.

Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage

Couples who cohabit as an alternative to marriage appear to do so for two distinct reasons. Among low-income couples, socioeconomic considerations cause many to postpone marriage. These couples do not reject marriage. Many of them cohabit, start having families, and desire marriage, but they want to wait to marry until they have achieved certain financial goals, such as having steady employment, a home, or money to host a proper wedding. Some low-income women choose to cohabit instead of rushing into marriage to make sure their partners are committed to the relationships, and raising children if that is the case, for the long term. They view cohabitation as an important way of testing the durability of the relationship and want to avoid the legal ties marriage involves until they are certain of it.

The second group of couples rejects marriage and chooses to cohabit instead. Little research has been done examining long-term cohabiting unions like these in the United States, but it appears to be more prominent among couples who have political and/or feminist objections to marriage as an institution. For example, some couples may not marry because they do not approve of the government's stance banning same-sex unions.

Currently, it appears that only a small percentage of couples cohabit for long periods of time, such as would be the case for couples cohabiting as an alternative to marriage. After 5 years, only 10% of couples remain in a cohabiting relationship. Part of this may be related to the fact that long-term cohabiters have less institutional support for their unions, since marriage, at least in the United States, is for the most part still seen as the most ideal and only legal form of union.

Economic situations play a major factor in whether or not a couple cohabits or transitions into marriage. For some, their economic situations may interplay with their age and school or work histories, creating a desire to delay marriage until they have accomplished certain goals in life, such as finishing school or finding stable employment. As a result, those who are economically

unstable but do not want to delay building more permanent relationships may cohabit prior to marrying, until their economic situations improve. In addition, the drop in real-wage levels for men and the increased participation of women in the workforce may be influencing many couples to work together (through cohabitation) to build a financially secure relationship instead of depending on a male-breadwinner model.

Cohabitation and Gender

Many differences have been noted between men and women in cohabiting relationships versus marital unions. Cohabitation tends to be more egalitarian; research shows that women in cohabiting unions perform less housework, are more involved in the paid labor force, and have more economic equality in the relationship. Couples who premaritally cohabit tend to have more-egalitarian marriages on several measures compared with couples who do not premaritally cohabit. This is partly related to the fact that couples with more-liberal ideologies concerning marriage and gender are more likely to cohabit and have more egalitarian relationships compared with those who have more-conservative ideologies.

Erica Hunter

See also Courtship; Divorce; Domestic Labor; Marriage; Marriage Promotion Act

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COLORISM

The term *colorism* refers to the biased treatment of individuals based on their skin color and can occur interracially (similar to race bias) or intraracially (with members of the same race expressing bias against fellow members based on skin color). Colorism also refers to other identifiable racial features, such as hair texture, lip shape, nose shape, eye shape, and eye color. Like gender, skin color and related phenotypical features are readily visible traits that designate minority or majority status. Other minority statuses are not necessarily visible and thus not immediately identifiable: ableism, lesbianism, religious affiliation, social class, criminal status, and so on. The visibility of a minority trait, racial identity in this case, is key since it almost automatically invites a public response that can be experienced as bias. This entry explores the compounded effects of colorism and sexism.

Colorism: Past and Present

Historically, colorism derives from notions of supremacy, with white Northern European standards being the "ideal" against which all others are measured. For the most part, white Northern European features have been and are favored over "colored" (e.g., African, Asian, Indian) features. In short bursts, as in the 1960s and 1970s, darker skin color was revered among some progressive Americans in movements celebrating ethnic identity, as seen in the "Black is Beautiful" and "la Raza" movements. This cohesiveness, evident in prideful movements, served to unify ethnic groups, sometimes to the degree that light-skinned coethnics were viewed by some as inferior, their skin color being evidence of mixed-race ancestry. This type of intraracial colorism, as with interracial colorism, is also a form of racial bias.

With regard to women of color specifically and the effects of intraracial colorism, Margaret Hunter examines the advantages and disadvantages of light skin. Although light skin is considered a social advantage, Hunter explains the obscure disadvantages of light skin among colored peoples, with such skin tones representing a suspected absence of racial consciousness. Lighter-colored African Americans and Mexican Americans are often rejected by their own ethnic communities. Valid or not, a judgment of ethnic inauthenticity prevails, resulting in attitudes that the lighter-colored ethnic members are not "Chicano enough" or "black enough."

In some respects, colorism in the United States may be seen as having "come a long way" and in some ways not. In the early 20th century, the United

States experienced a eugenics movement that sought to eliminate people of color largely by denying them reproduction. Prejudicial strategies such as eugenics have been replaced by subtler forms of colorism. For example, for as long as it has existed, the Miss America beauty pageant has been viewed by some as principally having to do with race, gender, and the U.S. national culture as a "commodity culture." More recently, overtones of objectification and exploitation of women, racism, and reactionary nationalism represented in the pageant have become complicated by the participation of increasing numbers of nonwhite contestants. In an increasingly multiethnic and multiracial society such as the United States, beauty pageants may be seen as enforcing dominant, universal norms of beauty, juxtaposing white women against "the other" (nonwhite) women. African American women did not participate in the pageant until 1970 and did not win until 1984. In the meantime, they straightened their hair and tried to "pass" for white. Some critical observers have suggested that the inclusion of women of color into beauty pageants creates an idea of tolerance while simultaneously underscoring white beauty standards. In other words, by allowing participants of color, the contest appears to observe equal opportunity; nonetheless, minority participants are most likely to qualify if they have European facial features and "good hair" (meaning straight and smooth).

Colorism and Social Prospects: The Impact of Color on Social Opportunity

Marriage is one means, in addition to employment, of advancing oneself socially and gaining access to social power. As will be discussed, Asian women, more than men, undergo leg-lengthening and eyelid surgeries to be taller and more Caucasian looking. Women of color are more likely to lighten their skin to attract a financially secure marriage and a good job. Iranian, African American, Jewish, and Asian women have their noses reshaped to land better jobs and marriage partners. African American women have their lips reshaped for greater acceptability.

Marriage Market

Color is a stronger predictor of social placement than is parental socioeconomic status. In other words, gradations in skin color affect the socioeconomic status of African Americans as strongly as does race itself. Several studies show that, as a way of advancing oneself via the marriage market, lighter-skinned African Americans are more likely than darker-skinned African Americans to marry and to marry higher-earning, better financially endowed spouses. In terms of gender and skin tone, skin color influences the attractiveness ratings assigned to African American men far less than it does the attractiveness rating for African American women. The same is true for Asian Indians, who are found to use skin color as a marriage (and employment) preference criterion and to show bias against darker-skinned Indians.

Education and Employment Markets

Herring, Keith, and Horton conclude that skin color is a strong predictor of educational attainment, occupational status, and income, with lighter skin color consistently influencing opportunities for higher social and economic status among African Americans. For example, darker-skinned African American men are 52 percent less likely to be employed than their lighter-skinned counterparts.

More broadly, Herring et al.'s studies of job discrimination found that Hispanics and Asians with darker skin are also more likely to face job discrimination. In Latin American societies, natives with darker skin and more-indigenous native Indian features are more severely socially disadvantaged than those with lighter complexions and more-European features. Regarding income, Mexican Americans and First Nation Peoples (Native Americans) with darker complexions and nonwhite phenotypic characteristics earn significantly lower earnings than those with lighter color and more-European features. The lighter-colored Mexican Americans and those with more-European features receive more education than do their darker and more "Indian-looking" counterparts.

Nancy Etcoff, a writer on the topic of beauty, notes that light skin is universally preferred by men in African, Japanese, and other societies. In response to this cultural preference, as discussed below, Japanese women use light-colored makeup, and African women bleach their skin. Light skin for women grants privileges and rights. White skin represents power. Etcoff echoes many other authors when she observes that those who "pass" or look most like members of the group in power are more likely to be considered attractive by that society's standards and therefore have more social power.

However, she noted a change in the willingness of African American women to appear white, dependent upon their social mobility. African American women and men continued to straighten their hair during the 1960s, and 75% of African American women still process their hair with straightening combs and chemical relaxers. But upper-middle-class African American women with long hair are more likely to wear their hair in ethnic styles (dreadlocks, twists, and Afros), suggesting that with increased economic power, African American women are more likely to display their ethnicity and reject pressures to appear white. Those who are less advantaged economically and who hope to rise to the middle class, however, still succumb to social pressure to conform and thus straighten their hair.

Race-Denying Changes and Altering Looks for Social Advancement

Most people engage to some extent in physical alterations to make themselves socially acceptable or desirable. Such changes are made in order to gain access to beneficial employment opportunities, marriage arrangements, club memberships, and educational entry. Some of them are meant purely for beautification (such as hair coloring, dieting, and plastic surgery), while other alterations (such as hair straightening, skin bleaching, and leg lengthening) frequently are for the combined purpose of beautification as well as adopting a more Caucasian appearance. The now-defunct practice of footbinding and the current practice of leg-lengthening surgery are specific almost exclusively to a particular race and gender, Chinese women, undertaken to gain advantageous marriages as well as better employment. On the whole, these procedures are expected to bring upward mobility.

Feminists for the most part, but not entirely, adopt the attitude that women should not endanger their health by engaging in looks-altering procedures, such as dieting and surgery, and they should not support a male-dominated system of forcing women to appear sexually attractive to men. Looks alterations have also been criticized for preoccupying women with frivolities instead of more meaningful political pursuits demanding equality regardless of our appearance. On the other hand, empirical research suggests that it is still the case that to be socially powerful and economically competitive, women must appear a certain way.

Women of color have undergone and still do undergo race-denying changes. The leg-lengthening surgery mentioned above involves a gruesome procedure of breaking the long bones in the legs, then placing the legs in "fixator devices" until the space between the bones knits to create longer bones, thus adding a few inches of height. As racially "wrong" as this may seem, Chinese women do this to be competitive in the marriage and employment market.

Worldwide, there has been a phenomenal growth in the availability and number of skin-lightening products used in India, Africa, Asia, and the United States, the result of a social pairing of fairer complexions with beauty and success. For example, until recently an advertisement appeared in India that pictured a young, dark-skinned woman whose father lamented that he had no son to provide for him and his daughter was not earning enough salary. The daughter, it was suggested, could not get a better job or marry unless she lightened her dark skin. She used the skin lightener and secured a well-paying position as a flight attendant, which made her father very happy. The ad met with considerable social protest, leading to its removal.

Kenya provides similar examples of both acceptance and resistance to the idea that lighter skin means greater beauty. Skin lighteners are robustly marketed to African women as part of their beauty routine. In response, African social critics state that skin lighteners are a negative legacy of white colonialism. Unfortunately, there is plenty of evidence that light skin does indeed lead to greater chances of success. In addition to the racism involved in the pressure to be white, skin-lightening products, which often contain mercury, pose risks of disfigurement and skin cancer. Yet despite these problems (racism, disfigurement, and illness), African women remain economically dependent on men, meaning that they need to "marry well," due to the same gender-dependent economic disparity that many cultures face.

Virginia Blum observes that Jewish girls often undergo nose reduction surgery in order to marry successful Jewish men. In this intriguing case of colorism, Jewish men prefer to marry Jewish women with small, WASP-like noses. In other words, Jewish women who alter their looks this way are redesigning themselves in the conventional WASP image—not for a gentile market of prospective husbands, but rather to please men of their own ethnicity. Asian Americans report a similar cultural schism. Asian American

teenage girls undergo surgery on the epicanthal fold to gain the effect of the "Caucasian double lid" so prized among the Asian community as the preeminent sign of beautiful eyes. It is noteworthy that this surgery is intended to appeal to the aesthetic taste of young Asian men, who presumably share the same racial traits Asian women want to change.

Sander Gilman addresses surgery to "correct" ethnic features, such as "ethnic noses" (the Irish pug nose, the African nose, the Asian nose, the Jewish nose), "bat" or "jug" ears thought to be common to the Irish, and "Asian eyelids." Disguising the nose through rhinoplasty and thinning the lips through plastic surgery, for instance, along with skin lightening and hair straightening, became a massive concern among African Americans in the past century. The intent was not to "pass" or to be "invisible." Rather, the intent was to not be too visibly black or too visibly ethnic, however these are defined. Even in cultures such as Iran and Turkey, where the bodies of women, including faces, are mostly covered, there are growing numbers of Westernizing nose jobs.

Gilman notes that body imagery reflects the preferences of those with cultural and political power. For example, during the Vietnam War, Vietnamese women underwent Westernizing surgeries (breast implants, eyelid surgeries). After the war, there was a backlash against such surgeries. As time passed and the war faded from memory, Vietnamese women returned to Europeanizing surgeries: increasing the size of the nose and rounding out the eyes. In the People's Republic of China, after Mao Tse-tung's death and the liberalization that followed, eyelid surgery boomed as a sign of the increasing affluence of the general population. The reason for these Westernizing cosmetic surgical procedures was and is the ability to increase one's income or marriageability. Overall, skin lightening, nose lengthening, and eye reshaping in present-day Asia (predominantly Japan and Vietnam) reflect the globalization of beauty standards rooted in European American stereotypes. People of color continue to be pressured to not be "too Asian," "too African," or otherwise "too nonwhite."

The feminist argument that women should not alter their physical appearance in order to accommodate an antiegalitarian patriarchal and white supremacist system is very similar to the argument against ethnic cosmetic surgery. Some see such surgery as denying one's identity and see those who engage in it as race traitors. Women of minority ethnic status, however, engage in looks alteration for the same reasons most others do: to advance socially and to be accepted. Since the turn of the 20th century, people in the United States and Europe have used cosmetic surgery to reduce or alter physical signs that they believe mark them as nonwhite or "Other."

Conclusion

Colorism continues to be a significant social phenomenon. It affects access to social power and denies equality to those who are nonwhite. Because of the visibility of racial and ethnic markers, people of color are pressured to appear as members of the powerful group, which then encourages a continuation of colorism.

Bonnie Berry

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Beauty Pageants; Body Image; Breast Implants; Cosmetic Surgery; Lookism; Media and Gender Socialization; Passing; Sexism

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COMFORT WOMEN

Comfort women, or *military comfort women,* is a euphemistic term (translated from *jugun ianfu* in Japanese) used to describe females who were forced into sexual slavery to provide "comfort" in the form of sexual services to Japanese Imperial Army troops during World War II. Estimates of the number of women

involved range from 80,000 to 200,000, with the majority being from Korea. Women from Japan, Taiwan, and other Asian countries were also used as comfort women. The Japanese government has not offered an official apology or compensation, though surviving comfort women and their supporters have mobilized in a quest for justice.

From 1932 until the end of the war, comfort women were held in "comfort stations" established by the Japanese military. Women were lured by false promises of employment or were kidnapped by the Japanese. They were subjected to continual rapes and were beaten or murdered if they resisted. At the end of World War II, many were executed.

In anticipation of soldiers committing random sexual assaults, government officials set up the comfort stations to enhance the morale of Japanese soldiers. The government also had an interest in keeping soldiers healthy and wanted sexual services under controlled conditions. The women serving as sexual slaves were regularly tested for sexually transmitted diseases and infections.

The women who survived suffered physical maladies, psychological illnesses, and rejection from their families and communities. The Korean government set up the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan after initial Japanese denial of responsibility. The council asked for an admittance, an apology, a memorial, and financial compensation and that Japanese textbooks be appropriately altered to reflect the realities of the sexual slavery. The Japanese government denied evidence of coercing comfort women and rejected calls for compensation, saying that the 1965 treaty between Japan and South Korea settled all outstanding matters.

The issue of comfort women gained international awareness in 1991, when the surviving women filed a class action lawsuit against the Japanese government. The women and their supporters sued for compensation on the grounds of human rights violations. The lawsuit is not yet resolved.

In 1993, the Japanese government unofficially admitted to deception in the recruitment of comfort women. While to date, the Japanese government denies any legal responsibility for the sexual assaults and other crimes it perpetrated against these women and refuses to compensate the survivors, it set up the Asian Women's Fund as an attempt at resolution. This fund, however, is sustained from donations from private citizens, not government monies. Today, comfort women continue to gain support and fight for compensation and an official apology from the Japanese government.

Ami Lynch

See also Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Military, Women in Relation to; Military Masculinity; Rape; Sexual Slavery; United Nations Commission on the Status of Women

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COMMITMENT CEREMONIES

A commitment ceremony, also known as a union ceremony, is an intimate or romantic couple's public or private declaration of their intimate union. In the contemporary United States, commitment ceremonies are most often performed for same-sex or same-gender couples, who cannot legally marry under state or federal law. Such ceremonies are performed in a ritualized way and function to consecrate or celebrate the union of two individuals. Commitment ceremonies can be performed in a public fashion with other couples, family, and friends present or more privately in a ceremony with a chosen officiator.

Although commitment ceremonies in the United States are often conceptualized as symbolically similar to legal marriage ceremonies, gay and lesbian unions are not legally binding. Scholars and activists have argued that denying same-gender couples the right to legal marriage is illegal discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation and thus should be outlawed. For over 10 years, numerous states, including Hawai'i and Massachusetts, have been in hotly contested legal battles over same-sex marriage. Currently, Massachusetts and California (as of May 2008) are the only states where same-sex marriage is legal. Regardless of legal standing, commitment ceremonies have important consequence and meaning for the couples, families, and friends who participate in them. The need and use for nonlegal union ceremonies highlights the historical legacy of inequality

faced by gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) individuals in same-sex relationships.

Historical Background

Accounts of same-sex or same-gender ceremonies in the contemporary United States are found as early as the 1970s. However, it was not until the mid-1990s that such ceremonies became overtly visible in the media and in GLBT communities. Since their increased popularity, a large number of couples have participated in union ceremonies. However, same-sex unions may have roots prior to the 20th century. For example, scholars have documented that same-sex unions took place among early Christians in medieval Europe. Further, researcher Evelyn Blackwood reports that among some Native Americans, cross-gender females—women who take on the role of men in social, communal, and familial settings—had sanctioned relationships with other biological women. Similar accounts of same-sex relationships, often characterized by the union of a transgender male or female and a traditionally gendered male or female, have been documented throughout the world.

There is no national data that report how many individuals have participated in commitment ceremonies in the United States. This is primarily because there are no national registries or regulations, as there are with legal marriage or civil partnerships. However, there is considerable evidence that female same-sex couples are more likely than male couples to participate in such ceremonies. For example, research shows that women outnumber men in obtaining marriage licenses in Massachusetts. Similarly, more same-gender female couples have participated in civil unions in Vermont.

Meanings of Commitment Ceremonies

Marriagelike Commitment

Ceremonies are viewed differently by gay and lesbian individuals and couples, GLBT activists, and academic scholars. For couples, ceremonies are often seen as a way to express long-term commitment to their intimate relationships. This is typified by a marriagelike union that is celebrated in a highly ritualistic way. The symbolism of marriage is evoked in order to convey lifelong commitment. For many, this type of ceremony is tied to religious affiliation and beliefs, and while some religious organizations staunchly oppose same-gender unions, other organizations support same-gender couples and perform ceremonies.

Celebration of Union

For some couples, commitment ceremonies are a way to affirm their already committed relationships. Because ceremonies have only recently become popular, many same-sex couples who have been together before the recognition of such ceremonies may not participate in one in order to form a union. Instead, long-term couples often have ceremonies to celebrate anniversaries or the longevity of their unions.

Subversive Act of Rebellion

Some scholars, activists, and same-gender couples see ceremonies as subversive acts of rebellion that challenge social norms. Because same-gender couples cannot participate in legal marriages, producing a ceremony that is similar to a marriage but is creatively different can be a powerfully moving protest. Others argue that the visibility of GLBT individuals in the media may act to normalize GLBT individuals and therefore eradicate stigma associated with a non-heterosexual identity.

Assimilation

Because commitment ceremonies are often conceptualized as "marriagelike," many members of the GLBT community criticize such ceremonies as conforming to the mainstream and heterosexual model of relationships. Others suggest that gaining legal rights, such as marriage, will not bring about full equality, since discrimination against GLBT individuals is culturally pervasive. The debate of assimilation versus protest continues to be played out in personal relationships, as well as in political and activist communities.

Conclusion

Commitment ceremonies, dependent on social, economic, and ethnic context, contain a variety of complicated meanings. The use of commitment ceremonies in lieu of access to marriage highlights the inequality same-gender couples continue to face in the United States today. Same-gender couples continue to

use alternative forms of commitment making, such as union ceremonies, but the lack of legal rights and benefits associated with legal marriage is widely contested and protested among the GLBT community.

Corinne Reczek

See also Defense of Marriage Act; Domestic Partners/Civil Unions; Marriage; Monogamy; Same-Sex Families; Same-Sex Marriage; Uniform Marital Property Act

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COMMITTEE ON WOMEN, POPULATION, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The Committee on Women, Population, and Environment (CWPE) is an organization that provides an umbrella for scholars, policymakers, and activists who work toward eliminating poverty, racism, inequality, and environmental degradation and promote the economic and social empowerment of women.

Central Issues

CWPE maintains a central concern with the ways in which race and class intersect with gender in terms of population and environmental issues. As such, it is positioned quite differently than more-mainstream population control or environmental organizations, which have been criticized for their inability or reluctance to

connect dynamics associated with racism and economic exploitation to environmental and population issues. CWPE challenges the notion that "overpopulation" can be causally linked to environmental degradation, poverty, and political instability. Instead, CWPE argues that the relationship between these factors is far more complex.

CWPE keeps race and economic exploitation front and center in their mission and agenda by highlighting concerns about the militarism that upholds global inequalities and patriarchal relations. Through this mission, CWPE not only diverges from the concerns of traditional population control or environmental organizations but also supports the work of a wide range of scholars and community activists—work that, at first glance, may seem to be unrelated to population or environmental concerns. For example, CWPE supports the work of "Critical Resistance," a campaign that opposes the prison industrial complex in the United States. The scholars and community activists involved in the organizations that do their work in relation to the central issues that concern the CWPE address these issues in a manner that retains a concern for the ways in which global economic and racial inequalities provide a context for environmental and population policies and issues.

Actions and Activities

While CWPE operates as a central location where feminist scholars and community activists can find support and information regarding relevant and parallel work being done by other scholars and activists, it also taps into various policy-making processes. As a nongovernmental organization (NGO), CWPE has been involved in policy-making processes that take place under the auspices of the United Nations, such as the Fourth World Conference on Women, which took place in 1995 in Beijing, China. After its inception in 1992, CWPE organized much of its work around responding to the development and environment linkages that were being made through the UN conferences that shaped international policy-making in the 1990s. A large degree of this work involved advocating for women's fertility choices and opposing population control policies. While these are still key issues for the organization, CWPE has in the 21st century begun to more centrally include the concerns of immigration rights activists. Some current (2007) programs and campaigns in which the CWPE is engaging

include campaigns in opposition to the ways in which environmental movements have coalesced with anti-immigration movements in the United States. CWPE refers to this dynamic as "the greening of hate," whereby environmental and anti-immigrant organizations see their larger interests, in terms of monitoring and controlling the population of the United States, as being aligned. Likewise, while they support the ability of women everywhere to freely make their own fertility decisions, CWPE is actively working against population control policies that target particular communities or that provide cash (and other incentives) for sterilization. Again, as with CWPE's critique of the coalition of environmental and anti-immigration organizations, CWPE makes the argument that such population control policies are, in effect, racist and, more specifically, that they serve to exaggerate the exploitation and oppression of poor women and women of color.

Lauren E. Eastwood

Web Sites

Committee on Women, Population, and the Environment: http://www.cwpe.org

COMPARABLE WORTH

Comparable worth is a social and legal issue attempting to right past wrongs of gender discrimination in the labor market. Prior to the 1963 Equal Rights Act, women historically were paid less than men. Now this practice is illegal, although it still occurs today. Female-dominated jobs are paid at lower rates than male-dominated jobs of comparable worth or value. Often called *pay equity,* comparable worth is "comparable pay for comparable work." This is not to be confused with "equal pay for equal work." The latter assumes that men and women are working the exact same jobs. The former is attempting to make comparisons between different jobs that have comparable levels of seniority, education, tasks, and so on. This is important because men and women are distributed in different occupations. An example of gender discrimination in pay that comparable worth policies attempted to ameliorate took place in Denver, Colorado. Nurses

in Denver were paid considerably less than janitors, despite the education required to become a nurse. The local courts ruled that the pay of nurses must be raised due to the human capital involved. Major debate surrounds the idea of comparable worth. Opponents claim that women choose their jobs or that the market, not discrimination, fixes the wages. Advocates state that women historically have been devalued and that to compensate for the devaluation, comparable worth should be instituted. This entry examines different theoretical perspectives on comparable worth.

Theoretical Explanations

Neoclassical Economic Views

In *neoclassical economics,* the definition of the "worth" of a job reflects individual values that are expressed in the market. The concept of worth comes from the market price itself. Therefore, endowments and tastes are assumed to be exogenous from the model. This means that biology or a person's interests are not taken into consideration when determining the "value" of the job. The market is meant to erode any discrimination, particularly a competitive market. Employers are assumed to pay the market wage, so discrimination in the market is seen as an anomaly. Accordingly, the value of labor is determined at the intersection of the supply-and-demand curves of the market. Neoclassical perspectives have become the dominant argument against comparable worth policies.

Human Capital and Comparable Worth

Human capital theory posits that the difference between male and female wages relate to varying levels of education, training, experience, and so on. From the neoclassical perspective, for comparable worth to be operating, economists must ensure that the wage differences between jobs are not explained by human capital differences. The problem is that economists believe that not all human capital is measurable; therefore, it is assumed that some of the wage differences are due to unmeasured human capital and discrimination is not the main reason for such differences in compensation between women and men. This would render comparable worth policies useless in repairing the gender wage gap.

Compensating Differentials and Comparable Worth

Some jobs have disamenities that others do not. These jobs may be dangerous or unfavorable to the majority of the population. Consequently, according to this theory, these jobs are paid at a higher wage than other jobs. For example, construction and secretarial work may take similar amounts of education and training, but construction is viewed as a dangerous job, and according to compensating differentials, wages should be higher for that type of work. From this perspective, male-dominated careers are more likely to have disamenities, which is why they result in higher wages than female-dominated jobs. Human capital economists claim that the gender wage gap reflects real differences in types of jobs rather than direct discrimination; hence, comparable worth would not solve the gap.

Effects of Comparable Worth Policies From a Neoclassical Perspective

Some economists are weary of comparable worth policies because they believe that raising the wages in female jobs will cause disemployment. From an economic standpoint, the number of workers employed in a job is negatively related to the wage the employer must pay. Economists postulate that if employers are forced to pay higher wages to women, employers will either lay off workers or hire fewer workers than they otherwise would have. Men might also start to move into these jobs, further decreasing the demand for workers in female-dominated occupations. This would result in an imbalance between the amount of labor demanded and the amount of female labor in supply.

Other economists worry that comparable worth policies will lower some women's wages while increasing others. This would occur if comparable worth policies covered some firms but not all, for instance, if they covered only public organizations and not private ones or if they covered large organizations but not smaller ones.

Sociological Perspectives

The sociological perspectives discussed below support different aspects of comparable worth. While the perspectives differ due to their main tenets, they each help explain different aspects of why comparable worth is necessary. No one perspective below completely explains why male-dominated jobs command higher pay than female-dominated jobs, but they all acknowledge a certain level of discrimination.

Functionalism

Functionalism, derived from Émile Durkheim, argues that societies should give higher rewards to jobs that are more important to that particular society. Higher rewards are necessary so that people will fill these jobs. When Durkheim discussed jobs that are important for a society, he meant jobs that will help society function better, not those that increase profit margins. According to Paula England, a top researcher on comparable worth, job evaluation shares certain assumptions with functionalism. The *value* of a job to a particular society is important, and value is used to assess the worth of a job by its particular aspects, such as experience, education, and so on. If two jobs are considered to have comparable value, then according to comparable worth, the two should be compensated by a comparable wage. The use of job evaluations by firms often result in lower wages for jobs performed by females, since the type of skills necessary to perform the jobs are often seen as less relevant.

Institutionalist Economics

Institutionalist economics emphasizes consensual cultural values. This perspective ascribes greater values to the instrumental parts of society over the ceremonial. The instrumental includes knowledge, skills, and technology and is considered as the economic side of life. Jobs involving instrumentality are more valued, and jobs that are considered ceremonial are less valued. Female-dominated jobs tend more toward the ceremonial/expressive aspects of life, including secretarial work, child care labor, and counseling. Ceremonial jobs are less likely to create profits in the economy, which is why they do not pay wages comparable to those for male-dominated jobs.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is in direct opposition to functionalism. Its basic tenets are that there is no consensus in society and that different social groups are constantly in conflict with each other. The values to which individuals prescribe are those of the elites in power. Accordingly, since women are not the ones in power,

female-dominated jobs are devalued and hence pay less than male-dominated jobs. England suggests using Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital*. She suggests that since cultural capital is transmitted through the class and gender systems, men's cultural capital is arbitrarily rewarded more highly in the labor market. Again, the skills and interests of women are devalued.

Structuralism

Structuralists examine the structural positions within labor markets and how these positions affect rewards. Women's lower wages are due in part to women's concentration in marginal/devalued jobs. Therefore, structuralists focus on the differential placement of women and men across industries. Structuralists understand that men and women are not working in the same jobs and that comparable worth may be necessary due to the devaluation of women's jobs.

Conclusion

Comparable worth policies attempt to quantify the inherent worth of distinct jobs in an attempt to decrease income inequality between men and women. The income inequality is largely a result of occupational segregation among the sexes. Men and women work in different jobs, industries, and occupations. Women's work becomes devalued simply because it is women's work. Supporters of comparable worth claim that each job has inherent worth independent of market forces. Therefore, comparable worth would be a form of labor market regulation because evidence supports the notion that female-dominated jobs are paid less not because of their intrinsic value, but because women dominate them.

Opponents of comparable worth policies suggest that the market sets the wage and the wage gap is not due to gender discrimination. Concerns over the actual measurement of the value of a job are under considerable debate as well. Experiments have demonstrated that evaluators of job worth do not rank jobs the same way, leaving questions as to the objectivity in defining job worth. If job worth is something that is measured, it must be objective and quantifiable. Opponents argue that inherent job worth is not easily definable and the outcome of any attempt of comparable worth will depend on who the evaluators are.

While comparable worth has been an issue for over 20 years, very few attempts to implement it have occurred, with the exception of Washington State in the early 1980s and a few others. The debate continues, but it appears unlikely that a uniform comparable worth policy will be implemented in the United States anytime soon. In a country of laissez-faire economics, the wage gap is often explained by choice or taste for particular jobs, and inherent worth is measured by profit within the economy. Though discrimination exists in female-dominated jobs, the extent to which employers and legislators are willing to go to repair this problem is questionable at best.

Wendy M. Paulson

See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Wage Gap; Glass Ceiling; Occupational Segregation

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COMPULSORY HETEROSEXUALITY

First coined by Adrienne Rich (1980), the term *compulsory heterosexuality* refers to the idea that heterosexuality is constructed, institutionalized, and

reinforced as not only a universal, but the only "normal" and "acceptable" form of sexuality. One idea behind compulsory heterosexuality is that heterosexuality is not a freely made choice for most people and for women in particular: Heterosexuality is not simply one option among many. Rather, it is a pervasive, powerful, and coercive social and political institution that depends on other powerful social institutions to maintain its dominance. From this perspective, heterosexuality is imposed upon people as natural and inevitable by peers, parents, schools, media, and other social institutions such as law and religion.

Rich originally conceived of compulsory heterosexuality as an institution forced upon women in the service of patriarchy and male dominance. Heterosexuality thus ultimately devalues all women. Women, she argues, have been both "forcibly" and "subliminally" coerced into heterosexual unions to survive economically, in order to have children and to provide for those children. Compliance with compulsory heterosexuality is also necessary to avoid social ostracism and in more extreme cases, imprisonment, torture, or psychosurgery. Rich argues that through the idealization of heterosexual romance and the invisibility of other forms of sexual expression, such as lesbianism, as well as through pervasive societal antigay attitudes and behaviors, compulsory heterosexuality thus forces male sexuality upon women and denies women their own sexuality.

Rich argues that because heterosexuality is imposed and forced upon women, women's true sexuality cannot be identified. Women have a fundamental attraction to other women, according to Rich, because like all individuals, their first bonding experience is with their mothers. Lesbianism, then, is a real possibility for many women, and heterosexuality is neither necessarily natural nor inevitable. Yet because of the compulsory nature of heterosexuality, many possibilities for a lesbian existence, including social and political ties and alliances with other women, are closed off, as they are seen as unnatural, immoral, and sometimes illegal. Instead, women are forced into traditional family lives.

Since Rich's original work, other scholars have looked to ways in which heterosexuality is not only compulsory for women, but for men as well. Deborah L. Tolman and her coauthors, for example, show how the sexual expression of adolescent boys is constrained by compulsory heterosexuality. Boys recognize that homosexuality is met with social ostracism

and violence and are thus coerced into entering into heterosexual relationships characterized by male dominance and sexual aggression.

Many lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transsexual (LGBT) activists have found the concept of compulsory heterosexuality useful in advancing their cause of eliminating institutional heterosexism and homophobia, as it draws attention to the ways in which heterosexuality is socially constructed as the only normal form of sexual expression and the ways in which it reinforces traditional gender roles. Thus, through an articulation of compulsory heterosexuality, some LGBT groups are able to gain allies in the straight community by showing how the institutionalization of heterosexuality creates a power imbalance not only between homosexuals and heterosexuals but also between men and women.

Mary Nell Trautner

See also Heterosexuality; Homophobia; Sexual Identities and
  Socialization

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Concerned Women for America

Concerned Women for America (CWA) is a right-wing Christian women's public policy organization, founded in 1979 by Beverly LaHaye, in San Diego, California. It is one of the largest and most influential Christian Right organizations, alongside the Christian Coalition and the Family Research Council. CWA, currently led by President Wendy Wright, has since

grown to 500,000 members and is headquartered in Washington, D.C. Although primarily a women's organization, CWA welcomes support from men who share the organization's values. CWA's Web site states that its mission is "to protect and promote Biblical values among all citizens—first through prayer, then education, and finally by influencing our society—thereby reversing the decline in moral values in our nation." To this end, CWA focuses upon six core issues that they consider to be of high significance to American citizens: family, sanctity of human life, education, pornography, religious liberty, and national sovereignty.

These core issues are reflected in CWA's campaigns and lobbying. CWA advocates the heterosexual nuclear family as the ideal environment in which to raise children and is therefore strongly opposed to gay marriage. Consequently, CWA has placed great emphasis upon upholding the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). CWA believes that men and women are naturally destined to adopt different roles in the family, and they express concern about attempts that have been made to challenge these natural roles. Because of these views, CWA is concerned about the threat that radical feminism poses to traditional family values, and they oppose the promotion of radical feminist perspectives, particularly among young women. CWA campaigns against any attempts to intervene with natural human life and is therefore opposed to abortion and euthanasia. CWA also campaigns against representations of sex and violence on television and promotes the rights of parents to determine what kind of education their children receive, particularly with respect to their exposure to sex education. CWA especially condemns organizations such as Planned Parenthood that provide safer-sex advice and make contraception accessible to teenagers. Instead, they advocate abstinence-only sex education programs.

CWA produces the magazine *Family Voice* for its members, in addition to hosting a daily radio show called *Concerned Women Today.* Through these media, members of CWA and those who share similar values are urged to lobby senators. The high rates of response that these calls for action receive mean that CWA's influence should not be underestimated when it comes to its capacity to influence law and policy.

Rebecca Barnes

See also Christian Coalition; Christianity, Status of Women in; Christianity and Homosexuality; Defense of Marriage Act

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Web Site

Concerned Women for America: http://www.cwfa.org

Consciousness-Raising

Consciousness-raising is the term used by second-wave feminists for their efforts to develop a heightened understanding of the difficulties facing them as women. Their primary method was to meet as a group—in the absence of men and with various ground rules (e.g., no interrupting). In these groups, they discussed jobs, parenthood, and other topics relevant to their lives. The goal was to produce new knowledge about women's lives as a basis for activism. This knowledge was to be based on their personal experiences. Consciousness-raising techniques became very specialized and methodical, and the knowledge generated has been very influential on feminist thought, research, and practice. Although one does not hear about consciousness-raising groups as much today, they had a profound influence upon radical feminist theorizing at the time, and many of the works produced by group participants (e.g., *The Dialectic of Sex,* by Shulamith Firestone) are still very well-known.

Origins

At one point in the film *Malcolm X,* Malcolm is in prison, reading a dictionary with a fellow inmate. The inmate points out to Malcolm that the dictionary associates positive ideas with the word *white* but negative ideas with the word *black.* Malcolm notes that the dictionary was written by white people, and this is an important incident in his move toward a Black nationalist ideology. Many advocates of oppressed groups have held the idea that people in these groups (and other groups) are unconscious, or falsely conscious, about social reality and the need to gain a true consciousness.

This notion of "false consciousness" is most famous among Marxists, who believe that the working classes exist in this state. Georg Lukács was concerned about the class consciousness of the proletariat and the effects of bourgeois ideology on this class of individuals. According to Lukács, bourgeois ideology was a form of false consciousness inasmuch as it concealed the "true" nature of social relations for the proletariat, and true consciousness would come to the proletariat as this class moved through history. Louis Althusser proposed that society was composed of "Ideological State Apparatus" and the "Repressive State Apparatus." The Ideological State Apparatuses included institutions such as religion, education, and government, which promoted beliefs and ideas supportive of the status quo and even dictated people's very identities to an extent. For Althusser, science was an alternative to ideology. Finally, Paulo Freire believed that oppressed persons are often subjected to ideas that cause them to see their oppression through the eyes of the oppressors— or as something ordained by God. Many second-wave feminists developed their own political consciousness through participation in these debates over ideology and false consciousness.

Practice and Method

According to Kathie Sarachild, consciousness-raising began among radical feminist women who wanted to develop a greater understanding of the social status and oppression of women. However, they did not want to depend on formal research and literature because they believed better information could come from the everyday lives and experiences of women themselves. This information could then be applied to their activism and political activity as had been done in other movements. This is similar to the Marxist idea of *praxis:* an interplay of theory and practice in everyday life. Some women felt that men's objections to consciousness-raising activities were indicative of their political potential. Men often dismissed the choice of discussion topics as "personal" and "not political." These groups formed the basis for much theory and activism for second-wave radical feminists.

The consciousness-raising method was based upon the idea of women meeting to discuss issues relevant to their everyday lives, and the practice was connected with the common belief that "the personal is political."

That is, women's personal experiences are often intricately connected with the political fact of men's societal power over women. The actual groups often had a number of rules and guidelines to promote consciousness-raising groups and make them places where women felt safe and free to speak. A leaflet by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union advises holding informal weekly meetings with more than 12 women and discussing a different topic each week, with the aim of later building them into action projects. Another set of guidelines suggests that group size should generally be limited to 8 women and suggests a number of ideas, including but not limited to the following: no men present, no women excluded, nonhierarchical, open discussion, and a positive attitude toward other women in the group. At the same time, it is stressed that these are guidelines and not rules, so they may be "bent" or changed if the situation demands, although the general spirit is meant to be maintained. Marge Piercy and Jane Freeman have stressed the importance of maintaining the group as a safe, trustworthy, and nonthreatening space, so that participants will feel comfortable and unrestrained.

Importance

Consciousness-raising was an explicit and central practice within second-wave radical feminism, and although one does not hear about consciousness-raising groups as much today, the phrase is recognizable and the practice is within memory. Much of radical feminist theory has been attributed to this practice. Catharine MacKinnon argues that radical feminist analyses of the position of women in society are formed by elaborating on women's experiences— comparing the experiences and fostering connection between women themselves. Even small or personal issues are up for analysis, and consciousness becomes directly related to women's everyday lives such that it becomes possible to analyze patriarchal power relations in all forms, both overt and hidden/subtle. Consciousness-raising activities have contributed substantially to a unique radical feminist paradigm that identifies sexism and patriarchy in all areas of life and offers possibilities for radical change.

Christopher J. Kelly

See also Feminist Methodology; Lesbian Feminism; "Personal Is Political"

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CONTRACEPTION

Contraception (sometimes known as *birth control*) is an umbrella term that refers to any attempt to reduce the possibility of conception as the result of heterosexual intercourse. It may be carried out by chemical, surgical, mechanical, or behavioral methods, including but not limited to synthetic hormones, sterilization, physical barriers (impeding the movement of sperm), and nonpenetrative sex. Contraception is part of the practice of *family planning,* which is the deliberate control of population growth by various means to reduce the birthrate, either on an individual level (to plan the timing and spacing of births) or a societal level. As with any issue linked to women's sexuality, the family, or population growth or decline, the availability and use of contraception inspires a great deal of discussion, debate, and controversy.

Contraceptive Methods

With the exception of the male condom, male sterilization (vasectomy), and withdrawal *(coitus interruptus),* contraceptive methods rely primarily upon the female partner's high motivation, and women generally assume most of the responsibility for their successful use. Contraceptive methods available for women vary widely and range in terms of ease of access and availability, reliability, and level of medical intervention. They consist of behavioral methods such as *abstinence, fertility awareness* (practices that revolve around ovulation cycles, including periodic abstinence, calendar charting, cervical mucus monitoring, basal body temperature reading, and cervical observation), and the *lactational amenorrhea method* (used solely by women who have recently given birth and are breastfeeding); *surgical methods* such as female sterilization (involving surgery in the form of either tubal libation or the considerably more invasive hysterectomy); and *mechanical and chemical methods,* such as vaginal barriers (diaphragm, cervical cap, sponge) inserted prior to intercourse and requiring the use of a spermicide (a chemical that kills or immobilizes sperm), intrauterine devices (IUDs) (variously shaped objects medically inserted into the uterus to alter its lining and prevent conception), and hormonal methods (the contraceptive patch or implant, oral contraception, and the vaginal ring), which work through the addition of synthetic hormones to interrupt the process of ovulation.

The female condom, a barrier contraceptive controlled by women created as an alternative to the male condom, exists as the only female-initiated means to prevent both pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Lauded as a method that would provide women with greater control over their own sexuality, health, and fertility, the female condom developed from a broader understanding of gender-based inequalities that often make it difficult for women to negotiate (much less insist on) male condom use. Approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in the United States in 1993 (and revamped to a "new and improved" version in 2005), worldwide adoption of this barrier method has been slow in part because of its higher learning curve and elevated cost.

Introduced in North America in the 1960s, the oral contraceptive pill (commonly known as simply "the Pill") had enormous social impact. Utilizing a combination of one or two hormones (both estrogen and progesterone together or in the case of the "mini-pill" progesterone alone), it prevented ovulation and was considered to be 95% to 99% effective if used correctly. Initially made (legally) available to married women only, it was considered to be the most effective method of contraception to date, and it was promoted as a "worry-free" way for couples to determine the size and spacing of their offspring and to help them preserve (or improve) their standards of living. For women, it provided unprecedented control over their fertility, and its management was separate from sexual activity, effectively eliminating the difficulties

of negotiation with a male partner and allowing for spontaneity. However, its most significant impact lay in the public understanding of a contraceptive method that successfully divorced reproduction from sexual activity. The Pill's enormous popularity and rapid adoption in the Western world amplified debates surrounding women's sexuality, promiscuity, and the moral ramifications of premarital sex.

Conclusion

Contraception likely dates to the moment humanity first understood the link between fertilization and pregnancy, and evidence of the use of contraceptive methods date back to antiquity. By the mid-20th century, however, scientific and medical advancements led to a more widespread public acceptance of their use. Despite the remarkable progress in contraceptive technologies in recent years, there is no single method considered to be simple, easy to use, comfortable, and problem-free. Contraception is not only an individual matter: Social institutions such as the church (in particular Roman Catholicism) and the state have intervened at various times, inciting debates regarding the proper role of sexuality and its relationship to procreation as well as its role in the provision or prohibition of contraceptive methods. Women's right to contraception has been a central concern for women's movements since the turn of the 20th century and remains at the forefront of feminist platforms for gender equity in the home, at work, and in heterosexual relations. Despite technological and medical advances, contraceptive use is not equally distributed, and in many instances, choice is limited and access is difficult, resulting in an unmet need for contraception throughout the world.

Candis Steenbergen

See also Abortion; American Birth Control League; Eugenics; Fertility Rates; Marriage; Morning-After Pill; New Reproductive Technologies; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Population Control; Sanger, Margaret; Sex Education

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Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is the principal human rights treaty derived from the United Nations to define discrimination against women. Adopted in 1979, the treaty consists of 30 articles and includes an Optional Protocol (OP). The purpose of the OP is to provide an alternative mechanism to hold governments accountable to a respective treaty or to further elaborate on any substantive topic within the treaty itself. In the case of CEDAW, the OP consists of the Communications Procedure, which enables people to complain directly to the CEDAW monitoring committee, and the Inquiry Procedure, which empowers the CEDAW monitoring committee to investigate systematic forms of discrimination against women. Known as the International Bill of Rights for Women, CEDAW had been ratified by 84 countries as of August 2006. As of this date, the United States was the only industrialized country not to have ratified the treaty. Furthermore, the United States has inserted more reservations to CEDAW than to any other major human rights treaty. Reservations curtail the legal obligation to the treaty.

Once governments ratify the convention, they are obligated to report to the CEDAW monitoring committee regarding their compliance. The initial report is due 1 year following ratification and 4 years thereafter. This reporting process then essentially requires states to adopt concrete actions to eradicate gender-based discrimination. Failure to do so results in noncompliance and a violation of international law.

Article 1 defines discrimination against women as follows:

> Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

This definition provides the basis for the remainder of the treaty. CEDAW proposes the incorporation of affirmative action policies and the reenvisioning of education for women and girls to move beyond educational access, and it is the only international treaty to protect reproductive rights. Other topics discussed in CEDAW include sex trafficking and exploitation; political and civil rights, such as the right to vote; health, employment, and marriage; and specific issues impacting rural women, such as access to agricultural credit and loans. Criticisms of CEDAW include its failure to integrate discrimination based on sexual orientation and race/ethnicity.

Sylvanna M. Falcón

See also United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; United Nations Decade for Women; United Nations Development Fund for Women

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COOPER, ANNA JULIA (1858–1964)

Author, community leader, and educator Anna Julia Haywood Cooper was the daughter of Hannah Stanley, a slave, and a male slave owner. Her mother's sacrifices inspired her throughout her life. Anna tutored other students beginning in 1867, when she was only 9 years old, at St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate Institute, and remained there until 1881. Thus, her interests in black women, democracy, and education started early.

On June 21, 1877, Hannah married George A. G. Cooper, from Nassau, British West Indies. He was a minister in the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina, but he soon died, on September 27, 1879. Cooper entered Oberlin College, in Ohio, where she studied with Mary Church Terrell and Ida A. Gibbs (Hunt), who also became community leaders. Cooper completed both a BA and an MA at Oberlin and was recruited shortly thereafter in 1887 to teach at the Washington High School (later M Street School), where for many years she was the only African American on the faculty of the all-black school.

In 1892, Cooper published her most important book, *A Voice From the South.* These compiled speeches and papers, starting in 1884, discussed race, womanhood, education, and community activism. In this era, most African Americans lived in the South, with little participation in American politics and civil society. Women's voices were particularly absent, and Cooper displayed their unique contributions. Cooper's idea that only black women can announce "when and where I enter" with dignity and nonviolence and represent the "whole Negro race" that "enters with me" is a rallying call for black women today. Cooper defended higher education for black women, a cause to which she devoted much of her life. She called for a free womanhood for all women and a literature that reflected the life and times of everyone.

The following year, Cooper discussed the groundbreaking paper of Fannie Barrier Williams presented at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. Frederick Douglass was so moved by the black woman's eloquence at this session that he claimed it was a higher achievement than he had hoped to see in his lifetime.

Cooper taught math and science at M Street Colored High School (renamed "Paul Laurence Dunbar") in Washington, D.C., from 1887 to 1901. From 1901 to 1906, she became the school's principal. In 1904 and 1905, a political controversy waged over her leadership, and she was criticized for her "radical" teaching philosophy that black students should be held to the same high standards as white students. Her contract was not renewed in 1906. For the next 4 years, she taught at Lincoln University, in Jefferson City, Missouri.

Cooper was the only woman in the American Negro Academy, founded in 1897 by Alexander Crummell, and was a member of the Southern Sociological Congress in 1913. She cofounded the Colored Women's League in 1894, served as a trustee of the Colored Settlement House, and addressed the first pan-African conference in London in 1900.

Over the course of her life, Cooper adopted seven children, including five great-nieces and great-nephews, ranging from 6 months to 12 years. As they matured, Cooper periodically continued her graduate studies, and in 1923, she began full-time studies at the Sorbonne University, in Paris. In 1925, she completed her doctoral dissertation on "The Attitude of France Toward Slavery During the Revolution" and earned her PhD in literature. Cooper was the fourth African American women to receive a PhD.

In 1930, during the Great Depression, Cooper was appointed the second president of Frelinghuysen University, in Washington, D.C. Founded in 1907 to educate the neglected "colored working people," the university offered many night classes and established a law school. Severe financial difficulties developed during Cooper's administration, and the university lost the law school and its charter in 1937.

Cooper's great-niece, whom she had hoped would continue her work for many years, died in 1939. In 1951, Cooper privately published *Personal Recollections of the Grimke Family and the Life and Writings of Charlotte Forten Grimke,* in honor of her lengthy friendship and intellectual alliance with the Grimkes.

Cooper died peacefully at the age of 105, having achieved many of her goals as a community leader, educator, activist, wife, mother, and scholar.

Mary Jo Deegan

See also Black Feminist Thought

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COSMETIC SURGERY

Cosmetic, or aesthetic, surgery is a medical procedure that a person undergoes with the objective of altering her or his appearance. Cosmetic surgery differs from rehabilitative or reconstructive surgery, in which the surgeon seeks to repair a damaged feature of the body. With regard to function, the body, which is to be manipulated through cosmetic surgery, is not usually impaired. Cosmetic surgery, which falls under the larger category of *plastic surgery,* is usually an elective procedure that patients seek to undertake, and therefore health insurance providers infrequently cover its costs. However, some countries' basic health insurance plans (such as the Netherlands) will recompense the costs of aesthetic surgery if a physician deems it to be necessary.

Although the origins of cosmetic surgery reach back over 100 years, the growth in its popularity in the past two decades has been phenomenal. As technologies progress, negative health implications are reduced, surgical options expand, and the number of surgeons who perform these procedures increase, cosmetic surgery has become an expansive, lucrative industry. While no official comprehensive governmental statistics are collected on cosmetic surgery patients, the dramatic increase in the number of procedures has been documented by formal cosmetic surgery organizations. Whereas in the early 1980s, only a few hundred thousand cosmetic procedures had been completed, the number of surgeries has risen substantially to over 11 million in 2005, according to the National Clearinghouse of Plastic Surgery Statistics by the American Society of Plastic Surgeons (ASPS).

Even though cosmetic surgery is still a costly endeavor, with fees ranging from a few hundred dollars for less invasive surgery to several thousands of dollars for extensive surgeries, decreasing costs across the board have led to a democratization of cosmetic surgery, as it has become a more realistic option for people of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. According to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, Americans spent over $12 billion on

cosmetic procedures in 2005. Women have accounted for the vast majority of cosmetic surgery patients (approximately 90%), and the distribution of women and men within specific kinds of surgical procedures is evident as well. Additionally, racial minorities obtained approximately 20% of all cosmetic procedures, which is a recent development. An overview of the history of cosmetic surgery and the cultural ideologies of appearance suggests that cosmetic surgery both reflects and perpetuates gender ideals about what is considered normal and attractive.

History of Cosmetic Surgery

The origins of cosmetic surgery demonstrate the collusion that once existed between reconstructive and aesthetic procedures. The earliest forms of plastic surgery date back to the 14th century in Italy and reemerged in India in the late 1700s, where doctors were able to successfully graph skin for the purpose of reconstructing facial deformities due to congenital defects and disfiguring diseases. In fact, the syphilis epidemic of late 16th century has been named as sparking the rise in aesthetic surgeries. Likewise, the necessity of repairing soldiers' injuries in World War I is attributed as the true beginning of modern plastic surgery. With the help of surgeons, diseased and wounded faces could pass as healthy and normal. Additionally, people of marginalized backgrounds (racial, ethnic, and religious minorities) were able to utilize plastic surgery in some cases to alleviate discrimination. In particular, some found relief in altering easily recognizable racial features (particularly the nose) for the purpose of "passing" as a member of the dominant group. The ability of surgeons to help patients join social groups from which they were previously excluded due to physical reasons became apparent and demanded.

Surgical alteration of the body became a way for people to transcend categories of sex, race, and age, although the larger population did not greet this transformation so readily, as it was thought to be devious to hide the signs of illness or low status. From reconstruction, it was only a small step to offer cosmetic procedures to those who judged their physical appearance to be substandard. While plastic surgery saw its roots in the restoration of health, its usefulness spread to encompass a larger group of consumers, including those who were simply unsatisfied with their levels of attractiveness. In effect, unattractiveness became

pathologized, and aesthetic surgeries could still be viewed through a medicalized lens.

Cosmetic procedures were still considered to be controversial because for many people, the permanent alteration of the body remained a religious and moral question not to be handled by doctors. Cosmetic surgeons, or "beauty doctors," as they were sometimes referred to, were criticized and demeaned for their practice. They were accused of quackery because their certification system was not formalized, the procedures were experimental, and they were operating on physically healthy people, which was unheard of at the time. However, the goal of surgeons was a utilitarian form of happiness for their patients by giving them the ability to transform into more accepted members of the community. Still, the aesthetic and reconstructive fields began to separate from one another as cosmetic surgery became popularly associated with a wider assortment of (needless) customers, advertisement of a product, excessive fees, and lower levels of professionalism than in the reconstructive field. Even so, the field of cosmetic surgery was too vast and further divided among itself into specialties that were overseen by many emerging governing bodies. These organizations served to standardize training and requirements across the field. The first organization, the American Association of Plastic Surgeons, was developed in 1921, the same year that the first beauty pageant, Miss America, was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The evolution of cosmetic surgery has not been without tribulations. Over the years, recipients of cosmetic surgery have endured a variety of adverse side effects. In addition to the standard risks (infection, blood clots, aspiration, and low blood pressure) and consequences (pain, bruising, and nausea) associated with general surgery and anesthesia, errors in technique or choice of materials have occurred. Notably, the injection of paraffin into wrinkles, cheeks, and women's breasts proved to have poor health implications, as the substance tended to migrate to other areas of the body, causing *paraffinomas,* or wax cancers. Likewise, the use of silicone or sponges in breast implants (first procedure done in 1963) resulted in hematomas, migration, leakage, and rupture. Although these instances did not improve the status of cosmetic surgeons, failures such as these are not average.

Doctors in the aesthetic surgery field have regained much respect and have, in effect, become experts in beauty standards. Cosmetic surgeons have great authority in their interactions with patients, particularly in

deciding which patients/features are worthy of cosmetic surgery (what is considered a "defect" or "unattractive"). In screening patients, they seek patients with the "correct" motivations and expectations. In most cases, the surgeon has the ability to deny patients the procedures that they seek or persuade patients into additional or alterative procedures. The resulting power dynamic between surgeon and patient may be quite imbalanced.

In recent years, cosmetic procedures have become routine and normalized. Ironically, the natural process of aging has become pathologized and treated as a medical defect, while doctors refer to plastic surgery as if it were the normal and natural thing to do to prevent aging. Surgery has become a form of self-care or upkeep.

Changing Beauty Ideals

Beauty in the 19th century referred primarily to internal traits, such as purity, piety, and self-denial. Toward the end of the century, the idea of beauty also began to include some outward characteristics, such as clothing. Changes in the 20th-century social climate, such as the invention of print media and the growth of commercial industries, put an emphasis on external characteristics, leading many people to begin to judge beauty by these features. New behaviors such as exposing previously covered parts of the body, bleaching and dying hair, and shaping bodies into the fashionable curvatures of the time came into popularity, as well as the invention of numerous products that aided consumers in improving their appearance. Dr. Charles C. Miller, known as the father of modern cosmetic surgery, recognized the value that would be placed on appearance in modern society. He understood that the process of aging could be very detrimental for women's social positions and mental states. This stood particularly for women whose marriageability was necessary for their livelihood, as appearance became recognized as an important asset to earning a living.

Although the 1980s and 1990s placed an increasing emphasis on transforming bodily physique through activity (exercise and diet), approval of cosmetic surgery to enhance the appearance continued to climb steadily. The advent of print media in the early 1900s has been attributed with the commercializing of beauty and the popularizing of cosmetic surgery, and this continues today. Analyses of female-targeted magazines (and a growing proportion of male-oriented magazines as well) have shown particular emphasis on the body and ideal appearances that many scholars regard as a homogenization of appearance standards. These scholars claim that an ideal appearance (thin, young, soft featured, Caucasian) is largely recognizable as ideal and pursued by members of the society as an image that they would like to achieve. Magazines, in addition to other forms of media that promote a culture of celebrity, have been implicated in the creation of unobtainable ideal appearances for men and women. Those who wish to emulate these attractive appearances may endlessly find themselves with perceptions of bodily imperfections, which may drive them toward cosmetic surgery. However, it should be noted that several scholars who have researched cosmetic surgery hopefuls have recognized that many women who seek surgery for their looks do not wish to obtain the ideal beauty, but instead they desire to be normal. The question of what a "normal appearance" is in a society where the ideal is atypical has yet to be defined.

Popular Types of Cosmetic Surgery

The list of popular cosmetic surgeries is ever expanding as medical technologies improve. They range from noninvasive to extremely invasive procedures. Some less invasive, nonsurgical procedures include *botulinum toxin (Botox) injections* (a substance injected in areas of deep wrinkles to relax the contraction of muscles), *laser hair removal* (elimination of unwanted hair on the body by causing thermal and/or mechanical damage to the follicle), *hyaluronic acids* (a "derma filler" such as Restylane injected into wrinkles and folds), *microdermabrasion* (resurfacing of the skin with an exfoliant for the purpose of rejuvenation), *chemical peels* (chemicals applied to the skin to promote peeling of old skin so new skin can be exposed), *collagen and fat injections* (inserted into skin to smooth wrinkles), and *sclerotherapy* (treatment for varicose veins). Nonsurgical procedures account for the vast majority of cosmetic surgeries.

More invasive surgical procedures include *lipectomy* (or liposuction, the removal of unwanted fat from various parts of the body), *mammoplasty* (or breast augmentation, the enlargement, reduction, or other reshaping of the breasts), *blepharoplasty* (removal of excess fat and skin from the eyelid), *rhinoplasty* (or nose job, the increase, decrease, or reshaping of the nose), *abdominoplasty* (or the

"tummy tuck," the reshaping and firming of the abdomen), and *rhytidectomy* (or face-lift, the removal of excess facial skin). As of 2005, the most popular surgical procedures among women were lipoplasty, breast augmentation, blepharoplasty, abdominoplasty, and breast-lift. For men, the top five procedures were lipoplasty, rhinoplasty, blepharoplasty, male breast reduction and face-lift.

While noting that racial minorities have seen rapid increases in the number of those who elect for cosmetic procedures, there is also a variation in types of cosmetic surgeries chosen by different racial and ethnic groups. On the top of the list for Caucasian women are liposuction, breast augmentation, and wrinkle reduction. Hispanic Americans find nose reshaping, breast augmentation, and liposuction to be most desirable. For Asian Americans, the most popular surgeries are double-eyelid creation and rhinoplasty. Liposuction, tummy tucks, breast augmentation, lip augmentation, and rhinoplasty are among the most common surgical procedures for African Americans. Surgeries that are recently increasing in popularity include labiaplasty (reducing or reshaping female external genitalia), penile augmentation (penis enlargement) and implants of the calf, pectoral, bicep, buttocks, and cheeks.

Cosmetic Surgery as an Accomplishment of Gender

In an appearance-centered culture, cosmetic surgery can be advantageous to those who wish to climb the social and economic ladder. In fact, studies have documented that being attractive awards one with many social benefits, including higher pay, better grades, and better outcomes in the courtroom and the job and dating markets. Often, an attractive appearance has a halo effect; that is, people with attractive appearances are thought to have better social characteristics than those deemed unattractive. A further examination of the underlying and embedded ideology regarding gender, attractiveness, and success suggests that appearance matters more for women; that is, women are expected and promoted to maintain a high level of attractiveness to succeed as women in society. In this way, the use of cosmetic surgery has also been acknowledged as an accomplishment of gender.

Cosmetic surgery is primarily viewed as a women's issue to such a degree that it is thought to be natural or normal for women to pursue it. This is not the case for men, who are perceived as more instrumental than ornamental in their characteristics. Thus, women's intrinsic quest for beauty (or narcissism) is popularly believed to be the motivation for cosmetic surgery. Because the beauty ideals are not as strict for men, surgery is less necessary, as they are able to "get away with" more abnormal features. When men do decide to undergo cosmetic surgery, their motivations are more likely to be rooted in moving up the corporate ladder. Through the gender lens, we can see the differential way in which male and female surgery-goers are perceived.

Naomi Wolf, author of the book titled *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women,* addresses the oppressive nature of beauty expectations largely targeted at women. Just as Betty Freidan referred to the *feminine mystique* as a method to keep "women in their place" by reducing them to domestic servitude, Wolf asserts that the "beauty myth" is undermining women's advancement by reducing them to beauties instead of serious competitors in the social arena. Even in the face of economic and professional advancement, women's self-worth may be wrapped up in their appearances, and thus they are compelled to purchase and use cosmetics, visit beauty salons, restrict their caloric intake, and perhaps undergo cosmetic surgery. Wolf argues that some cosmetic surgeries, such as breast augmentation, are forms of sexual control of women and that the pain and danger women endure is often for the sake of male approval. She makes a case that choosing to undergo cosmetic surgery is not actually a choice: When the options are perishing in a society where one's appearance is not valued or surviving by altering the body through cosmetic surgery, it is a false choice. Women make the choice for surgery under duress because they wish to keep their jobs and continue to be accepted members of the community. Furthermore, Wolf describes women's obsession with appearance as a backlash against the women's movement and claims that nothing short of a third-wave feminist movement will remedy the ills caused by this objectification of women.

Conclusion

Many social researchers on the topic of cosmetic surgery have addressed the degree to which women are agents in their pursuit of aesthetic procedures. However, interpretations of how active women are in decision making are quite different from one another. Some scholars look at those who partake in cosmetic

seen by many feminist critics as objectifying in the extreme. Many contemporary critics point out that the lady in courtly love texts is either present only as an addressee or object to be worshipped or she exists as a stern and capricious mistress—demanding that her lover perform superhuman feats in order to win as little as a glance from her eyes.

Courtly love is characterized in remarkably similar ways across texts and cultures in the Middle Ages. Most notable is the male lover's physical suffering in response to his love for his lady. Though many of the descriptions of such somatic longing have become clichés today (images of burning hearts, being pierced by the arrows of love, withering away when love is denied), many of the texts from the 12th through the 15th centuries depict male lovers whose suffering quite literally showed on their bodies. Paradoxically, the courtly lady is both the cause of such suffering (the piercing arrows are often described as coming from her eyes) and the healing balm for her constricted admirers. Capellanus outlines many of the "rules" of proper courtly love in his text: To be counted as true courtly love, the love must remain secret; exist outside of marriage; inspire the male lover to act more nobly, valorously, and bravely; cause both lovers to become jealous (jealously increases love); and never be consummated. The interdiction against sex helps us to realize the presence of idealized values in courtly love texts. In fact, it is a prohibition that is not followed in many romance texts from the period. However, even in those texts in which the lovers do enjoy a physical relationship, the woman continues to occupy her elevated or spiritualized position.

Because of its very specific resonance with court culture in the Middle Ages, courtly love is often difficult to separate from the discourse of *chivalry.* Specifically, the male lover is expected to pledge himself to his lady using terms borrowed from chivalric practices and texts: He "becomes her man"; he pledges loyalty to her alone; he kneels before her, head bowed; he fights for her in jousts and tournaments; and he promises to protect her reputation and good name from any detractors. The love of a lady was said to inspire more noble actions from male lovers, making them better knights. However, there were those in the period who argued that the love of a lady distracted a knight from his chivalric responsibilities. Equally, there were those who argued that a knight should be chaste—because he was a representative of Christian values—and so earthly love was considered a temptation to be avoided. Interestingly, there are many devotional texts from the period that praise the Virgin Mary in the language of courtly love, suggesting that the knight devote himself to her (beautiful, pure, capable of providing the healing balm of salvation to her devotees) as opposed to the women he might encounter in medieval court culture.

Despite its contradictions and complexities, the idea of courtly love (the idea of a heterosexual relationship based on idealization and suffering) has been noted by many scholars as being deeply entwined in our current understanding of love and of gender relations. The figure of the "damsel in distress" or the beautiful woman who must be rescued by a knight in shining armor finds current articulation not only in Disney films, but in romantic comedies, sitcoms, and musical lyrics, to name only a few. Some scholars argue that the courtly love relationship gives power to the woman (she can both harm and save the male lover), but such power remains in the service of patriarchal ends (the making of "better" men).

Katherine Koppelman

See also Chivalry; Christianity, Status of Women in; Courtship; Gender Stereotypes; Heterosexuality; Marriage; Patriarchy; Romance and Relationships; Romance Fiction

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Courtship

Courtship, or the ritualistic ways in which individuals seek partners, has changed much over the course of American history. Changes in marriage, gender relations, and intimacy over time have impacted the ways individuals find partners and spouses. In the United States, courtship can be understood as moving

through three distinct phases: *courting/keeping company, traditional dating,* and *contemporary dating culture.* Within each of these periods, gender has played an important role in both how individuals meet partners and who is in charge of different aspects of courtship. These periods are also reflective of and overlap with changing attitudes about love and marriage in American culture.

Courting and Keeping Company

Courting was the predominate way in which middle- and upper-class men and women sought partners during the middle to late 1800s. The goal of courting was to find a partner for marriage. During this period, ideologies of spiritual love were common. The ideal marriage partner was seen as a partner and companion who could help provide for the other as a stable, reliable spouse. Sex was desexualized and seen as appropriate only within spiritual/marital unions. Relationships based in lust or pleasure were seen as troublesome in that these characteristics were not legitimate measures of the appropriateness of a union.

During this period, women met potential partners at social events, church, or through friends and relatives. Young women invited different male suitors to call on them or to visit them at their homes during pre-arranged hours. The couple then sat and visited with one another, often in the company of the woman's mother. Once invited to visit, men were free to visit the home during calling hours. If a woman was not interested in visiting him, her mother or other relative would inform him that she was unavailable. After visiting a woman who was "unavailable" a few times, men were expected to understand that she was no longer interested in seeing him. After courting several young men over a period of time, a woman found a man she was interested in marrying. At this point, the young couple stopped courting and started "keeping company," or visiting each other exclusively in hopes that they would be good marriage partners. The couple was given more privacy when they visited so that they could get to know each other better.

There were three key features of courtship at this time. First, it was controlled by women. Young women and their mothers often invited men over to visit and controlled many aspects of courtship, such as what the couple did while visiting and who was allowed to visit. While a bold young man could ask whether he may visit, it was not a commonly accepted practice. In addition, courting and keeping company was done predominantly in private. Couples did not go out into public in order to engage in activities as a couple, but instead generally courted within the women's home or visited at community social events. Finally, ideologies of spiritual love promoted marriage as a rational institution, in which being compatible partners was favored over sexual attractions.

Dating Culture

Courtship shifted to dating, when couples would go out together to public places to have fun, during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Changes in women's gender expectations and industrialization provided a bulk of the movement behind this shift. Higher education, service sector work, and other opportunities allowed women to develop identities apart from being wives and mothers. In addition, the shift to a consumer and paid-work-based culture provided young adults with new opportunities to spend money, such as restaurants, dance halls, movies, and theaters. Different institutions were becoming more prominent in the lives of young men and women, such as school, college, and workplaces, which exposed them to a large pool of potential dating partners. As a result, the purpose of dating was primarily to have fun, not to find a marriage partner. However, couples would form after several dates if they were interested in having more-exclusive relationships.

Dating was based primarily on couples going out together and engaging in public activities that generally involved spending money. The availability of disposable income and increased leisure time allowed both men and woman to invest money in dating. However, the way money was used to obtain dates varied for men and women. Men were in control of dates and were expected to ask women out. In addition, men were also mostly responsible for planning and paying for the date. In exchange, men were granted increased status among their peers. Providing a date with flowers and an exciting evening made men attractive partners for women to go on dates with, since dating was generally understood as a form of leisure.

Women were also expected to spend money on dates, but in a dramatically different way. Since having many dates with different men provided women with increased status, women spent time and money to make themselves attractive to men. They spent money on clothing, cosmetics, and other personal care items

that would help increase their sex appeal to men. In exchange for the money they spent to be attractive and secure dates, women experienced an increase in status from being popular but also enjoyed participating with men in activities that they were not expected to pay for.

These highly differentiated gender roles constructed dating as an activity that actively reproduced gender differences between men and women. Dating culture was essentially male controlled; while women may provide some input into what would happen on a date, men were ultimately responsible for putting the date into place. This, in addition to how men and women used money to secure dates, helped support a gender ideology whereby men were financially responsible for women, who, in turn, would be sexually attractive to men and provide entertainment and comfort for them. This dichotomization of gender in dating helped maintain an ideology of separate spheres, such that men's lives were based in the public working world and women's lives were based in the private home-based world. This separation of gender roles went as far as some couples needing to project these images on dates. For instance, if a man was unable to pay for a date, many felt that he should not ask a woman out. However, if his date was sympathetic and willing to help pay, it was considered proper etiquette for her to give him the money privately prior to the date so that it would appear as if he were paying for her. This maintained a public image of the gendered roles on which dating culture relied.

Contemporary Dating Culture

During the 1960s and 1970s, courtship patterns started to shift toward being less ritualized and more gender balanced. The women's movement challenged previously taken-for-granted assumptions about the socially constructed nature of male/female relationships and encouraged women to take more active roles in both the public world and in terms of owning their sexuality. In addition, ethnic and gay/lesbian rights movements challenged dominant ideologies of how people's lives were structured, including private life. These two movements have led to an increase over time in the visibility of both interracial and same-sex relationships.

Economic transitions have also helped facilitate the shift to a less formal dating culture. Young adults have increased their attendance of higher education, which caused an increase in the age of first marriage and an

extension of the time people have to look for partners. These changes have led to dramatic increases in the number of couples who premaritally cohabit; couples are able to form semiformal unions as they continue to learn about their potential marriage partners. The final outcome of the weakening of previous courtship patterns is a shift toward more loosely defined gender roles. While this trend still has not produced egalitarian gender relations in courtship, both men and women today are able to take active roles in seeking partners and starting relationships.

One trend that is appearing among younger adults is "hooking up," in which a couple engages in some kind of sexual activity, usually outside of a romantic relationship and without necessarily having had a formal date first. Couples who hook up generally meet up with each other at a social event, such as a party, bar, or gathering of friends. However, for some, a series of hookups provides a basis for the couple to seek to establish a more exclusive relationship with one another. As with dating culture, hooking up is not necessarily oriented toward finding a long-term romantic partner. Instead, it is the outcome of people who do not wish to postpone sexual gratification but are not seeking to marry. The loosening of sexual norms has especially benefited women, who are allowed to explore their sexuality without the social stigma that was once attached to sexually active, unmarried women.

Today, technology such as the Internet continues to transform the way people seek partners; Web sites and telephone hotlines are dedicated to help match up singles. These technologies provide links to individuals who may be separated geographically and those who want to find partners outside of traditional networks. In addition, these services can help facilitate the courtship process by providing individuals specific information about potential matches, such as marital status, religion, and education, that can help individuals narrow down potential partners to those who have characteristics they desire.

While social changes have affected courtship, there remain many similarities over time in how individuals find partners. Family, friends, and social events have always provided young adults with opportunities to meet potential romantic partners. Dating culture continues to provide individuals opportunities to meet others for fun, friendship, and long-term relationships.

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See also Cohabitation; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Online Dating; Romance and Relationships

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CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE, GENDER AND

Gender is associated with crime in the eye of the public primarily to the extent that it is viewed as a male-dominated activity. It is well documented throughout history and cross-culturally, whether from victim surveys or police reports, that men commit the majority of crimes and that women experience crime much more in the victim role. Until recently, both theory and policy in crime and criminal justice have been driven by the near monopoly men hold on criminal activity. However, in the last 20 years, the rate of female offenders has grown more rapidly than the rate of male offenders. Data from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports show an overall increase in crime rates for women of 15% and a decrease of 2% for men from 1992 to 2001. In addition, even though crime rates have been on the decline in the last few years, the rate of decline for female offenders is substantially less than that for male offenders. Thus, renewed attention to the female experience as criminal and victim has fueled significant theory and research related to the ongoing debate about gender distinctions and crime. This entry examines gender differences in crime and the criminal justice system—specifically, gender differences in past and present crime trends, gendered crime theory, developments in feminine crime theory, and gendered variations experienced by offenders and workers in the police, courts, corrections, and broader criminal justice systems.

Crime Trends

Trends in crime rates as they relate to women can largely be linked to their social and economic status. According to the FBI, women accounted for only 21.4% of all arrests in 2002. Overwhelmingly, when women are arrested and prosecuted, it involves a narrow area of petty criminal activity, namely, larceny and drug offenses. As discussed below, marginalization is key to understanding women's crime trends.

Historical Trends in Women as Criminal Offenders

Race, class, and sexuality play an integral role in female crime trends. Over time, crime trends come to represent not only the particular type and status of the women who commit these crimes but also what type of person and behavior society has deemed criminal. For instance, if society views prostitution as being especially egregious, crime rates will reflect a high number of arrests of women engaged in sex work. Throughout history, crime rates among women indicate that simply being poor was enough to be considered a criminal. Overwhelmingly, women in 14th-century England who were arrested held marginal jobs such as servants and laundresses. They were consistently arrested or accused of crimes like stealing.

Five hundred years later, in 19th-century United States, again the majority of women arrested were poor black and poor white women. Furthermore, women who deviated from the gendered norms of the day were more likely to be sanctioned. For example, the first three people charged in the Salem witchcraft trials were women of low economic and low racial status; some women breached gendered norms by marrying inappropriately or not attending church. As the country became increasingly urbanized, crimes like drunkenness and vagrancy joined theft and shoplifting as those most commonly attributed to women offenders. Finally, marginalized women who violated sexual mores by having children out of wedlock (whether as a result of consensual sex or rape), engaging in prostitution, or having lesbian relationships found themselves severely sanctioned. Such criminalization was part of a broad, ongoing attempt to control women's sexuality.

Throughout history, violent crime has made up a small percentage of female criminal activity. On the relatively rare occasions that women have engaged in violent crime, such as murder or infanticide, their actions reflect the limited options available to them in society. For example, worldwide, many women who engage in infanticide have done so because of the extreme social and economic costs of having a child produced by a rape or forced marriage. When a woman commits murder, the victim is most often a male with whom she has a domestic relationship. Brutality experienced at the hands of husbands, partners, and fathers is the leading motivation for women's violence.

Current Trends in Women Criminal Offenders

While gender-related crimes are more likely to be committed by one sex over another, males and females alike can commit gender-neutral crimes. However, the criminal justice system does not enforce even gender-neutral crimes in a neutral manner, making it difficult to distinguish whether changes in crime trends reflect changes in behavior or changes in enforcement. For example, prostitution, though formally a gender-neutral crime, is the one crime in which women consistently outpace men, outnumbering men almost 2 to 1 in number of arrests. In 2002, women accounted for 63.2% of prostitution arrests, in large part because of the double sexual standards for women and men. In addition, economic marginalization of women on a global scale leaves many women few options for survival other then sex work.

Social and economic marginalization of women is also reflected in the increased arrests of women on alcohol and drug and charges. Drug arrests now surpass fraud and larceny as the most common type of arrest for women. Indeed, the war on drugs has been assessed by some as largely a war against women, as reflected in the greater increase in arrests for women than for men. While women and men are just as likely to engage in initial drug use out of curiosity, women stay involved for a different range of reasons. Research shows that women are more likely than men to respond to strain with self-directed emotions and more likely to self-medicate as a way to treat depression or respond to a crisis. In addition, women with limited skills and opportunities often engage in drug selling as one of the few ways to earn the money necessary to meet their economic needs. Finally, women are pressured to engage in drug marketing by male partners who threaten their well-being. Women make more frequent sales for smaller amounts of illicit substances, thus exposing themselves to greater risk of arrest.

Closely connected with drug use are arrest trends for women driving under the influence (DUI) of alcohol. This is another area in which there appears to be gender bias in arrest and enforcement. The FBI found in 2002 that 10% of all female arrests were for DUI, a 2% increase from 10 years earlier, compared with an 18% decrease for men. Analysts have suggested that arrest trends for this crime have increased for women as a result of greater political outrage about women's consumption of alcohol, not necessarily a result of an actual increase in the women's abuse of alcohol. As in the case of drug use, women's motivation for and ways of drinking also reflect their social class, with lower-social-class behaviors placing women at greater risk for arrest.

Overwhelmingly, women engage in minor, nonviolent crimes, whether drug or property offenses. Property crimes like theft, shoplifting, and fraud make up 20% of female arrests, compared with 8% for men. The concentration of property crime as largely a female offense is associated with their gendered occupations in the workplace. For example, embezzlement has increased significantly for women, but the nature of the crime reflects the disparate positions women and men hold, even as white-collar workers. Female embezzlers are represented in 60% of bank teller positions, compared with 50% of male embezzlers who are represented in professional or managerial positions. Furthermore, men garnered 10 times more financial resources than women through this crime. Finally, consistent with prior observations, men tend to embezzle for personal gain and do so in networks, whereas women are more likely to embezzle alone, to meet family needs. Both gendered behavior and enforcement may explain arrest rates. As women have moved into occupations in the financial world, some have also taken advantage of the opportunity to embezzle. However, because occupational structures tend to be gendered, with women working under greater oversight, it is easier to enforce embezzlement laws against them. Likewise, women are more likely to engage in forgery than burglary, for example, because their employment in retail stores provides them with the information needed to carry out such crimes.

Shoplifting represents yet another area where a gender-neutral crime is enforced along gender lines. While studies dispute whether men shoplift as much or more than women, there is some consensus that women steal

more items of lesser value than do men. As in drug transactions, women's increased engagement in visible illicit activity means greater opportunity for arrest. Similarly, motivations for shoplifting differ according to gender. Men tend to shoplift larger-ticket items as a part of larger commercial enterprises, while women shoplift more personal products to meet the needs or perceived needs of their families. Again, economic and social status permeate gendered differences in shoplifting trends. As women are expected to shop as part of their overall managerial domestic duties, stores also expect them to shoplift. Overall, the roles and economic marginality of women inform the motivations and types of crimes they engage in, more often rendering women the targets of inventory control.

Trends in violent crime arrest rates appear relatively stable for women. They consistently make up a small percentage, 17%, of the total number of arrests for violent crimes like murder, assault, robbery, and forcible rape. While research suggests little gendered difference in the motives for robbery, women who commit murder and assault seem to act in response to the victims' aggression. Women more often find themselves in threatening situations and respond in a more aggressive manner. Overall, research shows that the increases in female assault arrest rates reflect the same circumstances that motivate male assault rates: the devolution of inner-city neighborhood social structures combined with economic disruption, drug trade, and peer pressure.

Likewise, of the small percentage of women arrested for homicide, a greater proportion of these murders involve intimate partners. Domestic violence and self-defense are key factors in female-perpetrated murder: When they kill, women are more likely to be defending themselves against a batterer, and most often, they use firearms that their partners previously used to threaten them. In these cases, too, economic marginality is related to female trends in violent crime. Female homicides and assaults are disproportionately located in areas with high concentrations of poverty and economic inequality.

Female homicides are also more likely than male homicides to include a child or stepchild as a victim. In addition, the motivations for these murders differ according to gender. Cross-culturally, female-dominated parental killings occur primarily because the child was unwanted or the mother believes the killing to be in the child's best interest. On the other hand, fathers are more likely to kill out of discipline, jealousy, rejection, or retaliation. Women's economic marginality remains an issue in violent crime: Female homicides and assaults are disproportionately located in areas characterized by poverty.

Crime Theories and Gender

Women and girls have largely been ignored in the field of criminology because female crime has not been defined as a broad social problem. In addition, research on female offenders has been met with obstacles as women and girl offenders are devalued or analyzed through a stereotypical lens. In this section, we examine male-oriented criminological thought and end with feminist theories. Feminist theorists have worked to challenge the dominant, male-oriented theories of crime.

Structural Strain and Subcultures Theories

In the late 1930s, ideas on the etiology of crime moved away from physiological explanations to structural ones. Theory and research focusing on *structural strain* examined the effect of blocked economic opportunities and the strain to find legitimate ways of achieving the "American dream." Researchers failed to explore the application of this theory to girls. When finally applied to girls, the theory found its limits. In every part of the world, girls experience poverty more acutely than boys, but they do not commit crimes at nearly the same rate. More recent research testing strain theory with girls and women has led to inconsistent results. By focusing on strain caused by blocked economic opportunities, traditional models have excluded the strain caused by abuse, racism, sexism, and acute poverty.

Differential Association

Differential association theory approaches criminal behavior as learned behavior. While girls were initially ignored in the research testing differential association, more recent work suggests that it offers valid explanations for gender differences in crime. First, girls commit less crime because they are socialized and sanctioned differently than boys. Thus, gender expectations limit girls' opportunities to learn crime from their peers. Second, as girls have been given more freedom in society, they have more time to experience delinquent behaviors, and this has led to an increase in female juvenile delinquency. Research shows that a girl is likely to engage in crime if she perceives her female peers as supporting such behavior.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory examines the consequences of labeling individuals as deviant. According to labeling theorists, certain characteristics—for example, race, sex, gender, and sexual orientation—make people more likely to be labeled as deviant. Once a label has been applied, some individuals take on the deviant identity and commit more crimes. In this theory, the focus is on the type of individual who is labeled. Once again, initial research in this area ignored women or treated them as peripheral concerns. At times, labeling theory has seemed to celebrate the deviant behavior of men and boys. Contemporary research examining gender differences in how labels are applied shows inconsistent results. Nonetheless, labeling theorists have observed that women over time tend to have their behaviors labeled as deviant or a result of mental illness, while male behaviors are labeled as purely bad. Others argue that informal social controls are so effective on women that formal criminal labels are not needed as means of social control.

Social Control Theory

In the 1990s, *social control theory* turned prior theoretical assumptions on their heads by asking why people do not engage in deviant behavior. In early work, boys' behavior appears to have been celebrated again—this time for their lack of deviance—while girls' conforming behavior was disregarded. Social control research shows remarkable consistency in explaining not only the causes for delinquency for both boys and girls but also the factors that explain different rates of crime among boys and girls. However, it doesn't go far enough in illuminating crime rate differences between boys and girls.

By examining social relationships, social control theory can explain why certain individuals do not commit crimes. Furthermore, by looking at the key social relationship, the family, social control theory asserts that it can explain why girls commit less crimes than boys. Within the family, socialization serves to control girls more so than boys. Boys, not girls, are rewarded for being risk takers.

Marxist/Radical Theories

Critical criminology is based on the tenets of Karl Marx's work on class struggle within the capitalist economic structure. Within this school of thought, crime is analyzed not from the behavior of the offender, but from the behavior of the power elite, which creates and enforces laws that reinforce their interests at the expense of the powerless. Regrettably, critical criminologists also routinely ignore women's crime, despite what some believe is the great potential of sexual stratification in explaining gender differences in crime, victimization, and justice production.

Biosocial and Psychological Evolutionary Theories

Efforts to explain male aggression though biology have proved futile, and some have argued dangerous. Instead, studies in the last decade propose that disparities in aggression are informed by biology in a limited way, if at all. Playing a much more significant role are situational characteristics like prior experience and attitudes toward aggression, culturally gendered scripts, and social learning.

Feminist and Pro-Feminist Theories

In response to established crime theories that either ignored, stereotyped, or inadequately addressed women and crime, a number of theories have emerged to give voice to female victimization and to account for gendered differences in the causes and rates of crime and judicial processing. Feminist theory found its way into criminology during the second and third waves of feminism. Liberal feminism explained differences in crime by examining gender socialization and limited opportunities to commit crime, while radical feminism focused on paternalism and oppression of women in society to explore women's victimization and their transition to offender status. Marxist feminists saw the limited economic opportunities available to women and the feminization of poverty as the main reasons women and girls engage in property crimes.

Women's Liberation/Emancipation Theory

The first theory to expressly speak to women's crime trends emerged in the mid-1970s. Theorists in this arena predicted that the gender equality that the feminist movement brought about would open up women's opportunities for crime and increase female crime rates. Research testing these hypotheses has led to stern criticism of the "liberation theory"; indeed,

many argue that it has done more harm than good in understanding feminine crime. The rate of female violent crime has remained stable since the women's movement of the 1970s. Many researchers argue that rates of female property crimes have increased despite the women's movement, not because of it, since the feminist movement primarily benefited white middle-class women and not poor minority women. Specifically, the absence of economic prospects and the "feminization" of poverty have led to the increase in property crimes; and the increased rates of arrest for prostitution and overall increasing rates of incarceration of women and girls suggest that women's liberation did not benefit all equally.

Social Power Theory

Social power theory builds on social control theory and incorporates work and family gender power relations as a way of explaining gender differences in crime rates. Social power theorists assert that as women gain more positions of power in the workplace, they will hold more power in family relationships. Therefore, girls raised in households where mothers hold more power than they do in patriarchal households are more likely to be risk takers. As risk-taking behavior is associated with delinquency, these girls' rates of delinquency would likely be greater than those of girls raised in less egalitarian families. Unfortunately, research has not supported this explanation with any reliability, particularly as applied to women, largely because social ties alone cannot explain gender differences in delinquency rates.

Masculinities Theory

More recently, researchers have moved toward *intersectional analyses* (incorporating race, class, and sexuality in theoretical models) and away from *essentialism* (viewing all women as the same). *Theories of masculinities* are just one product of this third-wave shift in feminist thought. Exploring the gendered division of labor, relations of power, and sexuality as they intersect with structures of race, class, and gender has generated effective explanations of gender disparities in the causes of crime, crime rates, and processing. For example, according to masculinities studies of crime, men have a greater need than do women to express power as part of the social definitions of

masculinity. Indeed, white men have access to economic social structures like the job market and education in which to express power. African American men, on the other hand, do not have equal access to these resources and are more likely to use violence to articulate their power and, in turn, their masculinity.

Feminist criminological theories look at the effects of inequality as it relates to crime, not just through a gendered lens but also through other social locations of oppression. Toward that end, feminist criminologists argue that research requires at least a mixed-methodological approach that employs both quantitative and qualitative tools. Qualitative methodologies supplement more conventional quantitative strategies by giving greater voice to offenders and offering insight into experiences of marginalized social locations.

Recent Research Contributions to Gender and Crime

Pathways or whole-life models of research examine the increasingly clear link between childhood victimization and later criminal activity—a trajectory to which socially marginalized individuals are particularly vulnerable. In addition, abuse, neglect, victimization, family disruption, and homelessness lead to increased risk of drug and alcohol abuse, violent and property crime, and prostitution. With low self-esteem and limited cognitive abilities with which to cope with crises, offenders hold few survival skills to successfully manage the transition to adulthood. Drug use becomes a way to cope, and prostitution and property crimes are ways to survive and support addictions. Educational structures that ignore the signs of abuse and victimhood also reinforce the belief of many female offenders that the future has little to offer them. Neglect at school means that they often drop out with limited skills, further restricting legitimate opportunities for economic security.

The combination of childhood abuse and limited education puts many vulnerable women in abusive and/or exploitative relationships as adults. Often single parents, some women resort to crime as a way of caretaking; others act under duress from their abusive partners to protect their well-being as well as their children's. Women who have been victimized suffer violence at the hands of abusers, as well as gender, class, and racial oppression, which only exacerbates feelings of powerlessness.

Gender and Crime Processing

Three hypotheses of crime processing have emerged to explain women's experiences: "evil women," "chivalrous or paternalistic," and "equal treatment." All three models reflect the power that men hold in the criminal justice system. While historically, most laws have been gender neutral (with the remaining few revised in the 1970s), their enforcement has not. Each of these crime-processing models shows up at varying stages in the criminal justice system; and each model is informed by an offender's class, race, and sexuality. In general, women who are poor and are members of racial minority groups and those who breach gender norms receive harsher treatment.

The "evil-women model" reveals itself during police decision making. Women and girls are sanctioned more harshly than boys and men for not only breaking the law but also violating gender roles. Police interrogate women and girls in non-sex-related crimes about their sexual behavior and add nonconforming behavior to the list of offenses. This is particularly true for female juvenile runaways. The "equal-treatment model" is evident in the pretrial and trial decision-making stages, in which decisions to allow for bail, plea bargains, dismissing a case, and convictions seem to allow for equal treatment among the sexes, with a few exceptions. The *chivalry model* is most common in the sentencing phase. For example, women who are married, caring for dependents, and homemakers receive lighter sentences. Men who are employed and supporting their families also receive lighter sentences. Overall, cross-culturally, women are more likely to be the primary caretakers and thus receive the lightest sentences.

Gender and Criminal Processing Employment

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and affirmative action laws led to an increase in women attending law school and becoming police and correction officers. However, women still make up only 10% of police and corrections employees. Women in law have achieved considerably better inroads: As many as 37% of lawyers are women, and 26% of judges are female. Despite these numbers, women in all aspects of the criminal justice system report experiencing a culture of resistance to their entry in a male-dominated field. They face exclusion and sometimes hostility from male coworkers and supervisors, sexist assignments,

gender-segregated duties, stress associated with their tokenism, and lack of support and recognition for family responsibilities. These factors have led to higher turnover rates, particularly for women police officers, and lower pay for women lawyers.

Conclusion

Women's experiences in crime reflect the status they hold in society. For the most part, their motivations and rates of crime differ from those of men because of gender expectations. While theory and research have long ignored female offenders and victims, in the last decade, researchers have made significant progress toward developing intersectionalist models of crime that explain both male and female offending patterns. Finally, both female offenders and female employees in the criminal justice system experience the hostility of a male-dominated culture that devalues women and resists their entrance into the field. Policy experts assert that until movement toward economic equality occurs, little improvement will be seen for women in the criminal justice system.

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See also Death Penalty, Gender and the; Poverty, Feminization of; Prison and Parenting; Prison Culture and Demographics; Rehabilitation; Sex Work (Prostitution)

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CROSS-DRESSING

When men wear women's clothes and/or attempt to impersonate what the culture considers to be a woman, and vice versa, this action is often referred to as *cross-dressing.* Acts of cross-dressing stress the nature of gender more than sexual pleasure or sexuality. Although the boundaries between sex and gender are never clear, cross-dressing can also pertain to gender performances associated with transvestites, transsexuals, and drag kings and drag queens. While male-to-female cross-dressers were common in Shakespearean theater, music hall, and melodrama, today, drag kings and queens are increasingly visible in urban bar subcultures in the United States and Britain, as well as Asia, Australasia, South Africa, and South America. Cross-dressers and cross-dressing are broad, encompassing terms. Cross-dressers are to be differentiated from transgendered persons whose actions and intentions much of the time run counter to those who cross-dress. No specific gender identity or identification is privileged in the process of cross-dressing, which is not the case with regard to transgender and transsexual practices. The psychic and social dimensions of gender identity are exposed in acts of cross-dressing, though such acts are to be understood more in relation to parody and satire than a desire to be or become a man or a woman.

Cross-dressing, however, may also be differentiated from drag and transvestite performances, something

that is aptly exemplified in Sarah Waters's novel (1998) and subsequent primetime drama *Tipping the Velvet* (BBC, U.K., 2002). The two women protagonists, Kitty Butler and Nan Astley, both cross-dress as men. Kitty, a popular male impersonator in 19th-century London, poses as a man on the music hall stage and convinces audiences of both her masculinity and her femininity. Nan, an oyster girl who arrives in London and needs to earn a living, cross-dresses as a man to make money by having sex with men. Nan's and Kitty's performances as men are convincing because of the persuasive appeal of their clothes and stylization. Nan desires Kitty because of what she imagines to be male and female. Nan is desired by other men because of her "girlish" boy qualities. Cross-dressing, then, allows for a number of identities and identifications to function at the same time. This is because it is often difficult to distinguish between authentic femininity and femininity as masquerade.

As early as 1929, Joan Rivière, the feminist psychoanalyst, contended, in her ground-breaking "Womanliness As Masquerade" that notions of femininity were little more than a succession of masks donned by women in order to endure patriarchy. The core of Rivière's arguments has been reiterated by key feminists since that time and endorses claims that point to the constructed, mediated, and culturally specific nature of gender categories. Recent theory in gender and sexuality studies, as well as activist campaigns from the 1960s onward, suggest that there are uneven yet nonetheless politically significant relationships between gender appearance and clothing and the negotiation of identity in the social sphere. The fact that women can dress as men and can convincingly appear as men, and vice versa, suggests that there is no essential gendered self prior to the construction of masculine or feminine identities via the agency of representation or the trappings of apparel. Subjects come to know the other gendered subject on the basis of an encounter whose dimensions include voice, behavior, look, and dress.

Male and female acts of cross-dressing expose the ways in which gender identities are externalized, constructed via the culture's norms. One norm concerns fashion and clothing, so that men and women are expected to dress differently. Cross-dressing brings into relief the extent to which bodies are made to wear certain clothes and not others. Clothes adorn the body and signal to the observer a specific gender identity. When men wear women's clothes, the act of

cross-dressing underlines the ways in which clothes function as masks: They can be assumed and then disavowed. However, because clothes are culturally contingent, gender can be understood as something that one does or that one wears. The doing of gender, through the requirement to wear gendered clothes, serves to stress performative over constative or fixed notions of identity. One of the upshots of such performances (which are also requirements) is that they expose how gender is shaped partly on the basis of dress and on particular ways of stylizing the body. If women wear what are thought to be men's clothes, or vice versa, then women are not only able to provide the illusion of a male gender. They are also able to generate the impression that a gendered sense of self-hood is not as stable as some (essentialist) theories of gender might suggest.

Cross-dressing, regardless of the intention that motivates the act, implies that gender and sexual identities are provisional. If the reality of gender comes about on the basis of a repeated and sustained performance, of which clothes form a necessary performative element, then the notion of an enduring sense of masculinity or femininity is only as permanent as the culture's encodings of gender via clothes and fashion.

Judith Butler's work on parody and gender performance and Judith Halberstam's research into drag kings show how the apparent facticity of gender is not only susceptible to the threat of dissolution, but is problematically positioned in relation to the recovery of prior gendered acts. The cross-dressing subject, in Butler's argument, while its constitutivity ensures that it is open to scrutiny, also means that it is potentially fragmented. The political potential of such fragmentation is not automatic. Perhaps, as Butler proposes, it might establish that the political takes place via the very acts of cross-dressing through which identity is articulated. By focusing on the reiterative status of gender, Butler also points to the regulations, norms, and divisions within which the subject is constituted. Cross-dressing thus shows how gender performances point to the very regulatory regimes that imply and compel gendered enactments in the first instance.

Tony Purvis and Gareth Longstaff

See also Camp; Drag King; Drag Queen; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Transgender; Transsexual; Transvestite

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CYBERSEX

Cybersex (also known as *computer sex, Internet sex, mudsex, net sex,* and *cybering*) refers to a sexual encounter in which two or more participants who are connected via a computer network engage in sexual activity. In its most common form, participants exchange sexually explicit messages describing physical acts through Internet chat rooms or on instant messaging systems. Usually, the participants are describing acts they are performing or wish to perform with the other individual(s) involved. One of the precursors to the popularity of cybersex is *phone sex,* or *teledildonics,* although the latter is usually commercially driven and does not offer the degree of anonymity or the ease of access that cybersex possesses. Cybersex has traditionally been text based, with participants using the written word to describe the sexual activity, whether in chat rooms or through exchanging sexually explicit email or SMS (short message service). Cybersexual encounters have adapted to the technological innovations available as the Internet has evolved. Cybersex can now involve a webcam, allowing individuals to expose themselves visually to their online partners. There are a number of commercial sites that cater to this activity, allowing individuals to masturbate on camera for an audience. The most recent incarnation of cybersex takes place using avatars in multiuser software environments.

The nature of the cybersexual encounter depends on the ability of the participants to be able to describe convincingly and erotically sexual activity for those involved in the exchange. One way of understanding cybersex is as a form of largely synchronous role-playing in which the participants pretend that they are having sexual relations with one another. The only physical sexual activity that takes place, however, is

masturbation, whether on the part of those reading/ watching the sexual activity or on the part of individuals who use webcams to film themselves masturbating for the viewing pleasure of others. While cybersex can occur within the context of existing off-line relationships or within the plotlines of online role-playing games, its most common enactment is as the sole contact between individuals who meet only in cyberspace and who often remain anonymous. Opinion is divided as to the impact of the emotional repercussions of cybersex. One view is that cybersex is an insignificant act that possesses no emotional impact in the real world. Another is that it is merely an instance of masturbation assisted by interactive pornography. Yet another is that the emotional feeling contained in a cybersexual encounter is just as significant as that which occurs during face-to-face sexual intercourse.

What is crucial to cybersex and people's attitudes to it is how the relationship between the body, embodiment, and cyberspace is understood. If one is playing a character in an online MMPORG (massive multiplayer online role-playing game) and it is part of the plot that two characters have sex, for example, then is this cybersexual encounter the same as meeting someone in the real world and engaging in sexual activity? Is meeting a stranger in a chat room for a (prearranged or spontaneous) cybersexual encounter the same as picking up someone in a bar for sex? In short, is the body that is enacted (textually or through an avatar) the same as the body that is sitting in front of the computer striking keys? Questions of *cyberembodiment* are key to these debates. To change one's identity online is only a question of editing one's description—or multiple identities. Is that identity, then, the same as the identity we possess in real life? These are the sorts of questions at the heart of debates about cybersex. More generally, cybersex is often understood as an act of infidelity and has served as the grounds for divorce. This implies that many understand the body that takes part in cybersex as being the same as the body at the keyboard.

It is difficult to identify precisely how cybersexual encounters take place, how often they lead to real-life relationships, and how participants in cybersexual encounters understand the physical and emotional implications of the act. This is because there is a lack of statistical data about cybersex and an unwillingness among participants to discuss their cybersexual encounters. What is undeniable is that cybersex allows for sexual desire to be acted upon without the risk of sexually transmitted disease or pregnancy. It also allows real-life partners who are geographically separated to continue their sex lives. Cybersexual engagement has also been used in some therapy circles to help those who have difficulties with face-to-face sexual intimacy. What some fear is that the relative anonymity of Internet communication allows for children to engage in cybersexual activity, possibly leading to real-life sexual experiences with adults. This has resulted in some citizens' groups patrolling chat rooms, seeking to protect children. Cybersex has received some attention from those working in cybertheory, but the majority of scholarly work on the field comes from those working on Internet and sexual addictions. Technological developments will enable new forms of cybersex to take place, and it is indisputable that cybersex will remain an important component of cybercommunication.

Stacy Jane Gillis

See also Cyborg Manifesto; Gender and the Internet; Masturbation; Online Dating; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream

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CYBORG MANIFESTO

In 1985, the *Socialist Review* published the "Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s," an article authored by feminist theorist Donna Haraway. A fundamental contribution to the technoscientific turn in feminist theories, Haraway's watershed essay has been reprinted in at least 16 journals and anthologies around the globe. Often referred to simply as the "Cyborg Manifesto," its impact on the feminist study of gender is profound. Following its publication, the *cyborg,* a fusion of machine and organism, has become the center of a number of approaches to the study of gender relations. Indeed, an entire body of "cyborg feminism" has consequently emerged as an interdisciplinary project that focuses on how technological and scientific (technoscientific) transformations are restructuring gendered power relations in contemporary societies. This entry describes the cyborg and examines the theoretical and political project of the Manifesto.

Haraway draws the image of the cyborg creature from contemporary science fiction. The cyborg, a "cybernetic organism," is a hybrid entity, or a fusion of machine and organism. It is an intermediary entity made possible by transformations in science and technology. As an intermediary, it disrupts the purity of previous separations between machines and humans, fact and fiction, natural and artificial, and pure and impure. It is, therefore, always a partial being with a dual nature. Paradoxically, the cyborg is always simultaneously two seemingly opposite things. It is in this disruption of polarized binaries and in its partial state of being that Haraway sees possibility and revolutionary potential. Therefore, the cyborg's duality and disruption of dualisms is centered in the Manifesto as a metaphor that if applied to socialist feminism can allow for a re-visioning of a feminist socialist politics.

The Cyborg Manifesto constitutes a theoretical intervention and attempt at reinvigorating socialist, materialist feminist approaches to understanding gender in contemporary society. Haraway argues that existing feminist socialist paradigms do not take into account the emerging technoscientific era, an era that she calls the "informatics of domination." The "informatics of domination" is described as the late phase of capitalist expansion that follows the white, capitalist, patriarchal domination of the previous era. In this new era, Haraway argues that patriarchy is equally as pervasive and problematic; however, it is more deeply embedded and covert and therefore more dangerous. Technoscience plays a key role in reconfiguring the way in which the intersecting dimensions of race, class, and gender operate in this late capitalist era. The Manifesto seeks to conceptualize how gender and other relations of power operate in light of this contextual shift. In other words, Haraway argues that the rising centrality of science and technology in everyday life is also changing the way in which patriarchal (and racist, classist, heterosexist) power relationships play out.

Haraway's goal is not merely to describe these changes but also to construct possibilities for dismantling patriarchy and other modes of domination in the emerging technoscientific era. Yet Haraway finds feminist political practice unsuited for this task. She argues that feminist scholarship has either tended to ignore the different experiences of women across various dimensions of power and difference, particularly race and class, or it has fallen into the trap of essentialism. That is, she contends with perspectives that focus too much on the differences between people and argue that coalition can come only through similar biological, racial, and class identities. The contradictory positionality of the cyborg serves as a metaphor for feminist unity in the informatics of domination. It is the common goal of maneuvering in oppositional ways through the new social order that can bring people together, not necessarily identity. In other words, coalition need not be based upon one's race, class, sexuality, gender, or any other natural identification. The goal of opposition to the informatics of domination, not essential sameness, should serve as the basis for coalition. The cyborg, like Haraway's vision of coalition, is filled with difference. This need to push beyond unification based on identity is urgent in the informatics of domination because oppression extends (although differentially) to all women and men regardless of one's gender, race, and class identity.

In a discussion of the global economy, Haraway describes this democratization of oppression. She offers several examples of how, in the global economy of the informatics of domination, capitalism is being restructured through new technologies and how these processes are impacting multiple groups of people globally. For example, in advanced industrial societies, blue-collar working men are increasingly vulnerable to the loss of privileged, unionized jobs as their labor is replaced by machine technology. Additionally, many of these jobs are undergoing rapid feminization and are being outsourced largely to third-world countries to be performed under exploitative conditions by third-world

women. Through this global, gendered division of labor, both first- and third-world women and men across racial divides are grappling with the loss of the male wage and global male unemployment. In conjunction with the international, gendered division of labor is the loss of the welfare state in advanced industrial societies, which further exacerbates the poverty produced by structural unemployment of blue-collar working men. Haraway argues that as technology and the economy continue to restructure, many more men and women will face the negative consequences of these transformations.

In light of this, the need for cross-gender and interracial alliances is necessary and urgent for addressing basic issues of survival. In this era, all oppressions are connected to the global capitalist economy, and the reconfigurations of power will increasingly affect even the more privileged (white middle-class men and women) as well. Despite the contradictory and differentially privileged locations, more groups of people have stakes in these new power arrangements. Thus, it is affinity, not identity, that should be the basis of political coalition. The cyborg, argues Haraway, provides a metaphor for this new socialist feminist politics of science and technology—a science that constructs resistance through contradictory hybridic fusions.

While the new economy is producing new forms of exploitation and the democratization of poverty and exploitation, it is also making possible a context in which new collectivities can emerge across the boundaries of gender and race. The image of the cyborg serves as a metaphor for how this boundary breaking can occur. Duality, contradiction, partiality, and difference can and must be transcended through unity around a common goal of resistance in the emerging technoscientific era of global capitalism. Like the cyborg, individuals can also be brought together despite their contradictions and differences. This is the fundamental project of the "Cyborg Manifesto."

Nazneen Kane

See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Feminization of Labor; Materialist Feminism; Postmodern Feminism

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D

Daughters of Bilitis

Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), founded in San Francisco in 1955, was one of the first lesbian organizations to be established worldwide. The organization began as a small, secret social club for lesbians, starting with just eight members. During the late 1950s, other DOB chapters were founded across America and in Australia too, although membership numbers remained relatively small. When DOB was established, there were few opportunities for lesbians to meet, and lesbians were subject to much discrimination and public hostility. The organization took its name from a poem written by Pierre Louÿs called "Songs of Bilitis," where Bilitis was a female character who was romantically associated with Sappho. Among the founding members of DOB were long-standing couple Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. Martin and Lyon have been key speakers for lesbian rights and authored *Lesbian/Woman,* the first book to be published by lesbians about life as a lesbian.

Early in the development of DOB, its role and membership criteria came under scrutiny, especially with respect to whether or not heterosexual women should be allowed to join. Conflicting views led some of the original founding members to leave DOB. These changes contributed to redefining DOB as a political organization focused on lesbian rights, rather than as a purely social organization. This was a radical development, given the social stigma of homosexuality at the time.

In October 1956, DOB published the first issue of *The Ladder,* edited by Lyon, initially under the pen name of Ann Ferguson. *The Ladder* is usually regarded as the first lesbian serial in America, although an earlier short-lived publication titled *Vice Versa* had existed in the late 1940s. DOB ceased publication of *The Ladder* in 1972, following the secret takeover of the magazine by a separatist feminist DOB chapter. This event reflects one of the core tensions that surrounded DOB: *whether* it should align itself with male-dominated gay rights groups such as its ally, the Mattachine Society, or whether it should identify itself with lesbian separatist feminists. These conflicting perspectives led to DOB's dissolution in the 1970s.

Although plagued by tensions that reflect the difficult and politically loaded social climate, DOB can boast numerous achievements. Socially, DOB facilitated one of the first opportunities for lesbians to meet and share their everyday struggles. Politically, DOB began the long quest to achieve visibility and acceptance for lesbians and to place lesbian rights on the civil rights agenda.

Rebecca Barnes

See also Lesbian; Lesbian Separatism; Mattachine Society; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Sexual Rights and Citizenship

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DAWES ACT

See INDIAN GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT

DAY, DOROTHY (1897–1981)

Dorothy Day, cofounder of the Catholic Worker movement, was born in Brooklyn, New York, on November 8, 1897. The Catholic Worker movement centers on the idea of providing hospitality for the homeless and needy while remaining committed to the values of poverty, prayer, fighting injustice, and most importantly, nonviolence.

Day was baptized into the Episcopalian Church, but was not heavily involved in the church during her younger years. She received a scholarship to attend the University of Illinois and studied there for 2 years where she became extremely interested in issues of social justice and grew disenfranchised with organized religions. She explained her disenfranchisement with the Church by stating, "Where were the saints to try to change the social order, not just to minister to the slaves but to do away with slavery?" Day was concerned with ministering to the poor, but she also was tremendously involved with writing and speaking about the need to change society and the social order so that the issue of poverty could be eradicated. After Day left college, she moved to New York and began reporting for *The Call,* which was New York City's socialist newspaper, though throughout her life she never claimed any particular political party.

An important turning point in her life was the birth of her daughter, Tamar, in 1927. Day decided to baptize Tamar into the Catholic Church because "if belonging to a Church would give her so inestimable a grace as faith in God, and the companionable love of the Saints, then the thing to do was to have her baptized a Catholic." Day felt that her pregnancy with Tamar was a miracle because she had experienced an abortion in the past, which left her unsure if she would be able to conceive a child again. Following Tamar's baptism, Day was also baptized into the Catholic Church.

On December 9, 1932, Day met Peter Maurin, who was a former Christian Brother. Maurin convinced Day to begin a newspaper that would help others see how society could be transformed through nonviolence. On May 1, 1933, the first issue of *The Catholic Worker,* which numbered 2,500 copies, was distributed in Union Square. Shortly thereafter, Catholic Worker communities began in various cities. The goal of a Catholic Worker house is to promote nonviolence and to provide the poor with shelter, food, and a community. Once, when asked how long individuals were able to stay at a Catholic Worker house, Day responded, "Once they are taken in, they become members of the family. Or rather they always were members of the family. They are our brothers and sisters in Christ" and therefore there is no limit to how long they can stay. This helps illustrate the never-ending hospitality and Christian values present in the Catholic Worker philosophy. More than 180 Catholic Worker communities thrive today.

Day passed away in 1981. Her autobiography, *The Long Loneliness,* and numerous other works on her life have been published and widely read. Her impact on society through the Catholic Worker movement and the numerous individual lives that she touched through her speeches, writings, and encounters is extraordinary.

Rebecca L. Weiler

See also Theology, Feminist

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DEADBEAT DADS

Deadbeat dads refers to men who contribute to the birth of a child, but neglect to pay child support despite being ordered to do so by a court of law. Another expression sometimes used is *deadbeat moms,* an equivalent term that refers to mothers who do not provide child support. These terms have most recently been replaced by the phrase *deadbeat parents,* a gender-neutral term that refers to any parent who is obligated to provide child support but fails to fulfill that obligation.

Children's well-being may be harmed when fathers fail to contribute financially to their offspring. As a result, there are often vigorous campaigns to track

down alleged deadbeat dads and compel them to pay child support. For instance, legislators have enacted tighter laws, police departments have conducted large-scale "round-ups," and citizen activists have formed community groups; these efforts, and many others like them, have recently been aimed at bringing deadbeat dads to justice. Alleged deadbeat dads confront many penalties in the legal system, including possible prison sentences and salary deductions to recoup the child support. In addition, they face intense public shame and prejudice from highly public attempts to collect financial assistance for their children. For example, their identities may be splashed across a newspaper page, publicized on a highway billboard, revealed in a television show, or highlighted on an Internet Web page. Indeed, deadbeat dads are the targets of negative treatment in current society.

This intense negative attention has likely further reinforced people's negative views of deadbeat dads, which are also probably supported and strengthened by widespread negative stereotypes of men in society. For instance, one common stereotype—that men are less nurturing than women—may reinforce the image of deadbeat dads as uncaring and ignores the possibility that men may be financially unable to pay child support to the extent required by a legal order.

Recently, some men's rights groups have responded fiercely to this negative societal treatment. Arguing that women have more options than men when an unintended pregnancy occurs, these activists have suggested that men should also be afforded additional legal options. Indeed, they are currently engaged in legal battles to provide men with such options, including the right to opt out of financial responsibility for an unplanned child.

Deadbeat dads are fathers who do not pay child support. However, many mothers today also do not pay the required child support. Regardless of their gender, these deadbeat parents face intense negative prejudice and stereotypes from society.

Austin Lee Nichols and Catherine A. Cottrell

See also Child Support; Gender Stereotypes

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Death Penalty, Gender and the

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 38 states and the federal government currently hold statutes allowing for capital punishment. At the end of fiscal year 2005, there were 3,254 prisoners under the sentence of death, 66 fewer prisoners than at the end of fiscal 2004. This entry discusses the crimes that could warrant the death penalty, the current statistics surrounding the death penalty, and the demographics of those who are under the sentence of death. Special attention is paid to the historical background of capital punishment, the characteristics of those on death row, and the plight of women on death row.

Crimes That Could Warrant the Death Penalty

The 38 states that allow capital punishment sentences have some similarities and difference about which crimes could warrant the death penalty. Most states require that the crime be a homicide committed in the first degree. However, some state statues do indicate that a death sentence could be pursued against a person who has committed, for example, treason, sexual assault, and aircraft hijacking. Each state differs in the number of aggravating factors that are required for a prosecutor to seek a death sentence. For instance, some states require that one of eighteen aggravating factors be present for a death sentence to be considered. Other states may require that one of only eight aggravating factors be considered when the death sentence is sought. Examples of aggravating factors include solicitation of murder, murder for hire, murder of more than one victim, victim was a police officer or another public official such as a judge, victim was a reporter, and the murder was committed in the course of another crime. When prosecutors are deciding whether to pursue a death sentence, they will also examine mitigating factors. Examples of mitigating factors include no significant prior record of the defendant, the defendant possesses an extreme mental or emotional deficit, or the defendant was a minor participant in the crime. Thus, even if a defendant meets one of the aggravating criteria for capital punishment in her or his state, that prosecutor may decide not to pursue a death sentence against the defendant because of one or more mitigating factors.

Current Statistics

The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported in 2005 that 16 states executed 60 prisoners, and those executed in 2005 spent an average of 12 years on death row before the capital punishment sentence was imposed. In 2005, Texas executed the most prisoners at 19; Indiana, Missouri, and North Carolina were the next most prevalent states to execute prisoners, at 5 each. Currently, California has the most prisoners under the sentence of death (646) with Texas being the state with the next highest number of prisoners on death row (411). The five methods of execution allowed in the United States are lethal injection, electrocution, lethal gas, hanging, and the firing squad. Of those states that allow capital punishment, most authorized only lethal injection in their statutes. In 2005, all 60 executions were carried out by lethal injection.

In 2005, the minimum age for capital punishment varied by state with some states allowing 14 as the minimum age and other states requiring 18. During fiscal year 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court abolished capital punishment for juveniles, stating that the use of the death penalty for minors is cruel and unusual.

Of those with death sentences in 2005, the racial composition was as follows: 56 percent were Caucasian, 42 percent were African American, and 2 percent were of other races. Forty-one Caucasians and 19 African Americans were put to death in 2005. African Americans represent approximately 12 percent of the U.S. population; however, this racial group represents almost half of those sentenced to death. In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Furman v. Georgia* that the death penalty violated the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The Supreme Court stated that the death penalty was cruel and unusual because of the arbitrary manner in which it was applied to African Americans and abolished it. In 1976, however, the U.S. Supreme Court reinstated the use of the death penalty in the ruling *Gregg v. Georgia.*

Women on Death Row

Historically, women have not received death sentences or been executed at the same rate as have men. From 1632 to 2005, 568 women were executed. During the past 100 years, 40 women have been executed, 11 of them since 1976. Thus, executions of females are rare, representing only approximately 0.6 percent of all executions between 1900 and 2005. The first woman executed in the United States was Jane Champion in 1632 in Virginia. She was hanged for an unknown offense. More recently, Frances Newton was executed by lethal injection in Texas in 2005 for killing her husband and two children in 1987. She was the first African American female to be executed in Texas since executions resumed in that state in 1982.

Overall, women are executed at lower rates than are their male counterparts on death row. Additionally, women are underrepresented on death row compared with their actual arrests for murder. Researchers have reported that women account for approximately 13 percent of those arrested for murder; however, women received only 1.9 percent of death sentences for the murders. Researchers have offered two explanations to address this phenomenon. The first hypothesis is referred to as the chivalry hypothesis. According to this theory, authorities and the public are reluctant to take actions against a woman because of the general benevolent attitudes that exist toward women in U.S. culture. For instance, police may be less apt to arrest females, juries may be less likely to convict a female or sentence her to death, and judges may be less likely to incarcerate or sentence a female to death. The opposing hypothesis, the evil woman hypothesis, contends that women who violate gender-role expectations and norms such as committing murder are punished harshly for stepping outside of both cultural and gender norms. Based on the current statistics, more support appears for the chivalry hypothesis for female commission of homicide.

Facts

Those sentenced to death in 2005 were predominately male with only 52 of the 3,254 prisoners under the sentence of death being female. As of 2007, there are 35 Caucasian and 14 African American females on death row, and female African Americans are overrepresented on death row compared with their representation in U.S. society. California has the largest number of women on death row with 14, followed by Texas, which has 9 women sentenced to death. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that the average time that a female spends on death row before her execution is 7 years and 9 months. In comparison, males sentenced to death row spend 10 years and 9 months on death row before their execution. Of those 60 persons executed in 2005, only 1 was female.

Compared with their male counterparts on death row, female offenders who are sentenced to capital

punishment are more likely to have committed murders intra-racially (i.e., between the same race) and are more likely to have murdered significant others such as family members or close intimates. Approximately 50 percent of women on death row have killed significant others such as their husbands or boyfriends. Some researchers have stated that the murdering of close intimates by females is the result of suffering from battered women's syndrome. In fact, roughly 50 percent of those on death row have stated that they had been victims of childhood abuse, partner abuse, or both. Another 25 percent of those on death row had killed their children. Many female offenders on death row stated that they were addicted to drugs or alcohol or both at the time of their offenses. Researchers have found that women on death row typically do not have extensive criminal histories. Finally, researchers have reported that approximately 50 percent of women on death row committed the crime with another person, typically a male, and the co-defendant received a sentence other than death. This difference in sentencing occurred in cases where both defendants appeared to be equally guilty.

Adaptation to Death Row

Similarly to male offenders on death row, female offenders can experience difficulty in adjusting to life on death row. Female offenders who are sentenced to death are housed in one correctional facility in separate cells. They are often part of an existing operating correctional facility for other female offenders with the exception that they are housed in a separate unit from other female offenders at that institution. Being housed in single cells, and apart from the general inmate population, results in many female offenders experiencing isolation. This isolation is further exacerbated because female correctional institutions are often located far from family and friends, and inmates may not receive the emotional support they need to adapt to life on death row. Additionally, prison policies regarding phone calls and visitation are even more restrictive for women on death row than for women prisoners generally. Because 75 percent of all women who are on death row are mothers, the failure to be able to connect with their children further fosters their isolation. The isolation that women experience on death row is a risk factor for developing a mental illness or further exacerbating an existing mental condition.

Conclusion

Even with the increasing number of women receiving capital punishment sentences in the United States, scant attention has been paid to this group by researchers. Thus, much research is still needed on the intellectual, educational, and psychological histories of these women. Policymakers need to continue to examine how the death penalty is being applied to the genders and those of different races and develop policies to ensure that one gender or racial group is not receiving this sentence in greater abundance than another. Additionally, policies must be implemented at the correctional level to assist these offenders in adapting to life on death row.

Elaine Gunnison

See also Chivalry; Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Domestic Violence; Prison and Parenting; Prison Culture and Demographics; Sentencing, Gender Differences

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DE BEAUVOIR, SIMONE (1908–1986)

Simone de Beauvoir was born in Paris, France, on January 9, 1908. De Beauvoir was educated at the Cours Désir, a private Catholic school; the Institut Sainte-Marie, a well-respected women's school to prepare her for her university entrance exams; and the prestigious Sorbonne where she studied philosophy. She excelled in her studies starting as a young girl and continued to excel during her days at the Sorbonne by accelerating through her program of study, achieving high marks, and passing her

examinations with the highest honors. Through a natural intellect and thirst for knowledge, she became one of the most important philosophers of the 20th century and a central participant of the French Existentialist movement, along with Jean-Paul Sartre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

At the Sorbonne, she first met Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, developing life-long, intellectual friendships with them both, as well as a romantic relationship with Sartre. Her relationship with Sartre is noted to be one of much complexity, partly because they were intellectual equals. In fact, Sartre finished first in the program of philosophy, and de Beauvoir finished second. Some believe that de Beauvoir would have finished first had she been a man, rather than a woman. Her complex relationship with Sartre and her ideas about her so-called egalitarian relationships with him and other intellectual men, prompted her to write about these experiences.

De Beauvoir wrote many books, including *The Coming of Age,* published in 1970; *A Very Easy Death,* published in 1964; and *All Men Are Mortal,* published in 1946, among many others. Perhaps one of her best-known works, particularly among feminists, is *Le Deuxième Sexe* or *The Second Sex,* published in France in 1949. In *The Second Sex,* de Beauvoir took an existentialist approach to defining and describing the plight of women. Based on her own experiences of being an intellectual equal among Sartre and other great men, she questioned her role within this circle. Further, in researching women's roles in history, she found that they were notably absent. Through the writing of *The Second Sex,* she began to formulate the ideas that women were seen as not being equal to men. She formulated the concept of the woman as Other; man is the norm, the primary reference, whereas woman is abnormal, secondary to man. Thus, women are seen only as in relation to men, rather than as autonomous beings, while being subjugated into secondary, inferior roles.

The significance of de Beauvoir's concept of woman as Other contributed to women challenging their positions within a patriarchal society, and she spearheaded the creation of feminist studies and feminist movements around the world. Through her writings and participation in feminist causes, de Beauvoir was unquestionably one of the major contributors to the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

De Beauvoir died April 14, 1986, at the age of 78, leaving behind a legacy and reputation as a great philosopher and as a major contributor to feminist studies and movements.

Marcella C. Gemelli

See also Feminine Mystique; Feminist Sex Wars

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DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

The Declaration of Sentiments is a document that emerged from the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Three days before the convention, Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock met to assemble the agenda for the meeting along with the speeches that would be made. During this meeting, the women, outraged at the lack of equal rights for women, began to draft a document outlining the rights that women should be entitled to as citizens. The women based this document, the Declaration of Sentiments, on the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of Sentiments begins by stating that "all men and women are created equal" and "that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It continues, arguing that women are being oppressed by the government and the patriarchal society of which they are a part: "The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." Following this statement are sixteen facts submitted to illustrate the extent to which women were oppressed by men in the society. Included were the following: Women were not permitted to vote and therefore could not participate in the government and were not represented in the government, women did not have property rights of their own in marriage, a woman gives up her own rights and promises obedience to her husband, and in the case of divorce a woman is subjected to the laws and decisions of men. Single, propertied women paid taxes on their property

to the government, but were not allowed to participate otherwise in that same government. Also, women had avenues of wealth closed to them because educational institutions were closed to women and those jobs that were open to them paid low wages. The last fact listed is the heart of the entire document: "He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life."

Following the listing of facts, the document insists that women be viewed as full citizens of the United States and as such be granted all the same rights and privileges that were granted to men. The women also acknowledge in the document that they will be ridiculed for making this declaration and that obtaining these rights will be difficult. Finally, the Declaration of Sentiments concludes with a statement of action, "We shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press on our behalf."

The Declaration of Sentiments was read by Stanton at the Seneca Falls Convention, and following the reading, 12 resolutions related to the rights that should be granted to women were passed. Interestingly, the only resolution that did not pass unanimously was the ninth resolution that called for giving women the right to vote. After the passage of the resolutions, 100 men and women who were in attendance at the convention signed the Declaration of Sentiments. Once the Declaration was made public, it faced ridicule in the press, and among Church and government officials. In the face of these events, many of the original signers withdrew their names from the document.

Carrie L. Cokely

See also Anthony, Susan B.; Declaration of the Rights of Women; Seneca Falls Convention; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage Movement; *Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A*

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DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

The Declaration of the Rights of Women was written in France in 1791 by Olympe de Gouges. Modeled on the 1789 document, the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the Declaration of the Rights of Women stated that women were equal to men in society and as such were entitled to the same citizenship rights. The preamble emphasized that the women need to be included among those considered part of the national assembly. It continues in stating that women, like their male counterparts, have natural, inalienable, and sacred rights. These rights, as well as the related duties and responsibilities to the society are outlined in the remainder of the document. Following the preamble, de Gouges included 17 articles that outlined the basic rights that should be extended to women. These rights included the right to liberty, property, and security; the right to participate fully in the making of laws that they were to abide by; the right to participate at all levels of government; and the right to voice opinions in public. More radically, Article XI gives a woman the right to publicly name the father of her children and to be entitled to pass along property to these children. This was one of the controversial elements of this document because it proclaims that men who father children outside of marriage should be held accountable for those children in the same ways that they would be accountable to children fathered within marriage. Article XV gives women, who were for tax purposes counted as part of a male headed household, the right to ask public officials about the finances of the household, and Article XVII extends property rights to both men and women regardless of whether they are married or not. Following the articles, the document contains a postscript that calls women to recognize the unequal ways that they are treated in society and to take action to remedy these injustices. The document also includes a Form for a Social Contract Between Man and Woman. In this contract, a man and a woman agree to unite in an equal partnership. Within this partnership, wealth is communal, belonging to both parties, and, as such, can be divided among all children belonging to either member of the partnership. Furthermore, according to the contract, in the event of a separation of the two parties, that wealth will be set aside for any and all children of either

party. Finally, the Declaration outlines measures that should be taken to provide for widows and young girls who were deceived by false promises. Two years after the publication of the Declaration of the Rights of Women, de Gouges was tried for and found guilty of treason and was executed in November of 1793.

Carrie L. Cokely

See also Anthony, Susan B.; Declaration of the Rights of Women; Seneca Falls Convention; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage Movement; *Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A*

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DEFENSE OF MARRIAGE ACT

The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) is the informal name of U.S. Public Law 104–199. Similar to other federal policies such as welfare reform and the Marriage Promotion Act, DOMA privileges and encourages some relationships and families while stigmatizing and constraining others, in this case based on sexual orientation. Although representative of the political attention paid to marriage as well as gay and lesbian rights in the United States, DOMA is at odds with trends in other parts of the world.

DOMA mandates that states do not have to recognize same-sex marriages from other states and that for the purposes of federal law, marriage occurs only between one man and one woman. DOMA was introduced with overwhelming support in Congress amid speculation suggesting Hawai'i would soon legalize same-sex marriage, thereby forcing other states to recognize Hawai'i's interpretation of marriage. President Bill Clinton signed DOMA into law on September 21, 1996. Since then, approximately 40 states have enacted explicit bans on same-sex marriage. Only six states recognize same-sex marriages or civil unions.

Under DOMA, gay and lesbian couples are denied more than 1,000 federal protections and privileges available to heterosexual married couples such as legal recognition of relationships, access to a partner's employment benefits, rights of inheritance, joint tax returns and tax exemptions, immigration or residency for noncitizen partners, next-of-kin status, protection from domestic violence, and the right to live together in military or college housing. In many states, a parent in a same-sex couple cannot establish a legal relationship with her or his children unless he or she is the biological parent; take family medical leave to care for such nonbiological children or same-sex partners; adopt children; or petition the court for child support, visitation, or custody if the relationship ends.

Proponents of DOMA see heterosexual marriage as the appropriate context for procreation and family formation. According to this view, same-sex marriage would validate alternative family formations, destabilize heterosexual marriage and monogamy, and encourage incestuous relationships and polygamous marriage. Opponents argue such narrow definitions of marriage and family devalue all other types of relationships and families, discriminate on the basis of sex, and conflate homosexuality with incest and polygamy. DOMA stands in stark contrast with policies in other parts of the world, including the European Union, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and parts of Latin America, South Africa, and Eastern Europe, which decriminalized sexual contact between same-sex persons much earlier than the United States did and prohibit sexual orientation discrimination. Most notable is the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights guaranteeing marriage and family rights to gays and lesbians.

Kimberly Carter Kelly

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Marriage Promotion Act; Same-Sex Families; Same-Sex Marriage

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DEITIES, GENDER IMAGES AND

Most human societies make a distinction between the sacred and the ordinary. The notion of sacredness expresses a sense that the deepest levels of reality—the

core and origin of existence—are mysterious and unknown. In many spiritual traditions, deity, or god, is a term for sacred reality. People's beliefs concerning the nature of deity constitute one aspect of a complex sociocultural system referred to as *religion.* Images, as a form of material expression, are evocative visual metaphors that convey ideas about the sacred. Images of the sacred explain, illustrate, and embody beliefs, worldviews, and cultural visions. Thus, scholars across a wide range of disciplines study religious thought and culture to gain insight into human social behavior. Because gender is such an intrinsic part of being human, religions are an important source of ideas about what is male and what is female, including expectations of how men and women should behave and their roles in society. Images of deities reflect and shape understandings of sexual difference and the cultural meanings attached to biological sex. This entry describes views of world religions toward deities and images, issues of deities and gender, and religious feminism.

Deities and Images in World Religions

Anthropomorphic myths and images provide a way for people to think of and talk about the sacred, which is viewed as ineffable and beyond human understanding. Deities are conceived of in myriad ways. Social location and experience also determine how one envisions the concept of deity. In general, a deity, or god, is the conceptualization of the sacred as a powerful, divine, and supernatural being that is highly regarded and venerated. In polytheistic religions, multiple deities are worshipped and are often imaged as human-like or as personifications of cosmic and natural forces. In monotheistic religions, deity is imaged as a singular transcendent and Supreme Being who created the universe. In atheistic religions, such as Buddhism, the sacred is not conceived as a deity but, rather, as an abstract principle or as a state of heightened consciousness and enlightenment. Deities may be imaged in human or animal form or in symbolic and iconic forms. Deities have various symbolic associations that, through iconic images, visually describe their qualities. For example, in the Christian trinity, a dove signifies the Holy Spirit, one of three aspects of a singular God. The dove also signifies breath, wind, and ascent—all visual metaphors that express the nature of deity as transcendent and enlivening.

Deities often serve as guideposts for acting and relating in the world. In some traditions, deities are imaged with human qualities and personalities possessing consciousness, emotions, and desires. Some deities are thought to be distant and inaccessible to humans, but others are believed to be invisible but omnipresent. Some believe that deities reveal themselves to people or manifest in human form. In many religions, people feel obligated to deities and believe that the purpose of life is to serve them. Deities can be peaceful and auspicious or menacing and wrathful, and they are often portrayed as engaged in a battle for supremacy. The battle between deities is a metaphor for the human inner struggle to conquer ego and selfish desire. However deities are envisaged, gender is an integral part of the way people construct sacred reality and identities.

Deities and Gender

Images of deities and social structure go together and reinforce cultural values. Therefore, images and myths have important social purposes. Sacred imagery functions as socially constructed and instructive illustrations of expected gender roles and behaviors. In an androcentric culture, conceptions of deities will reflect men's power, experience, and position in society. For example, in patriarchal monotheistic religions, traditions that are part of a male-dominated society and conceive of deity as a singular male God, the divine is often imaged as king and ruler. This image of God as a male monarch legitimates male domination and the subordination of women and helps sustain a hierarchal society based on domination and subjection. In this model, images of deities as male and the exclusion of female images of the divine elevate men both spiritually and socially and justify the subordinate position of women in both church and society. Imaging deity as a male king god is important for maintaining a male-ruled society. Men and masculinity are privileged and women and femininity devalued. In both monotheistic and polytheistic religions, gender inequality is reflected in the relationship between male and female deities or in the absence of a female deity altogether.

In polytheistic religions, deities are imaged in both male and female forms but reflect a clear sexual division in the divine world. Where multiple deities of both sexes are worshipped, there is usually a preeminent male figure and female deities are the subordinate partners of the lesser gods. Images of deities are based

on and reinforce patriarchal gender constructions, and the gender characteristics and roles of deities will mirror those of men and women. Female deities will act the way that society expects women to behave, and they will possess ideal feminine qualities that women should emulate. Further, female deities are typically worshipped as life-givers and sustainers and revered for their regenerative power. In this view of gender, women are associated with fertility, matter, embodiment, and feeling, whereas men are connected with the spirit, action, mind, and reason. Images of deities reflect a gender ideology based on sexual difference that views male-female as mutually exclusive polarities where men are associated with the sacred realm and women with the world of nature—women are closer to earth and men are closer to God.

Images of deities teach social lessons about what it means to be a man or a woman, and in a powerful way, people learn what is sacred and, hence, what is valued. In traditions where deities are imaged in female form, they are usually not role models that women devise themselves, but are patriarchal constructions designed to reinforce the belief that men are closer to the sacred and have authority over women. This also suggests that to truly experience the divine, femaleness is something to overcome. In religions where female deities are venerated, women often turn to goddesses as role models for their own lives and derive a sense of pride and empowerment in the celebration of women as mothers and homemakers. In patriarchal monotheistic religions where there is no female image of the sacred, women draw from cultural and spiritual traditions throughout the world in search of female deities whose images can serve as a source of personal and social transformation.

Religious Feminism and Re-Imaging the Sacred

Just as sacred images are used to reinforce patriarchal gender constructions, they are also reconfigured and used to challenge them. Feminist theologians and religious scholars have written extensively on the consequences of exclusively male God language, as well as the cultural impact of patriarchal monotheism that legitimate systems of oppression and the subjugation of women. These scholars have demonstrated that the conceptualization of deity as male-only has significant effects on women's self-esteem and sense of self-worth. Images of God have also been implicated in arguments

about gender roles and women's exclusion from religious activities. Spiritual feminists have resisted religious hegemony by creating woman-centered counter-imagery and are demanding gender-sensitive or gender-neutral God-language.

Women continue to create new spiritualities that re-imagine the divine as complementary male-female partners or as principally female in an effort to restore a female aspect of deity to their spirituality—one that places women's experiences at the center. For spiritual feminists, goddess imagery is a source of alternative values and ethics grounded in a relational worldview and a notion of power as *with* and not *over*. The female deity, as goddess, is an important symbol that revalues women and femininity. Through the process of re-imaging the sacred, the concept of gender is transformed. Feminist re-imaginings include redefining what are typically viewed as "masculine" attributes as "feminine," thus creating more options for women's spiritual identities. Other sacred images draw from existing gender constructions and affirm masculinity and femininity as two complementary, equivalent essences of the human person. This conception is based on the belief that each aspect completes the other in human and sacred fullness and wholeness and on a perception of society as dangerously unbalanced and overtaken by masculine energy without the feminine to temper it. Both conceptions celebrate and sanctify women and femininity and attempt to shift the image of the sacred from hierarchal to relational.

Feminist theology, which has become a part of Western religious heritage, is an approach to challenging and revising androcentric theology. In practice, liturgy and text are revised and adapted to be more gender-inclusive. However, many spiritual feminists resist the idea that gender-neutral language is an effective or desirable means of addressing gender inequality in church and society. Efforts to use inclusive language in liturgy have been met with resistance, and feminist theologians note that the reluctance of clergy to include feminine imagery and language indicates a resistance to women's spiritual emancipation. Most monotheistic religions assert that God transcends gender or is genderless. This de-gendering is viewed by feminist theologians as an attempt to mask sexism and dismiss gender as irrelevant. They argue that if gender is not important or not an essential part of God's nature, then it should be acceptable to refer to God as female, which is still not allowed in most religions, even the most progressive. The ambivalence is the

result of re-imagining deity as both sexes fundamentally revise the image of God and, for Christians, of Jesus. A gender-inclusive image of God disrupts the cosmic and social order and threatens male supremacy because the image of God as male has upheld men's authority and justified the subordination of women.

Denise R. Letendre

See also Divine Feminine Spirituality; Religion, Gender Roles in; Theology, Feminist; Wicca

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DEPRESSION

Depression is an emotionally crippling disorder that can be a gateway for a host of medical problems. Each year, more than 25 million people in the United States are diagnosed with depression, and almost 10 percent of those diagnosed commit suicide. Moreover, people experience depression across ethnic groups, socioeconomic levels, marital status, and education levels. Nonetheless, two to three times as many women and girls compared with men and boys experience depression. Not to be confused with being in a sad mood or having a few blue days, depression can be long-lasting, severely impairing a person's day-to-day functioning and resulting in unrelenting mental and emotional anguish. This entry describes types, variations, causes, prevention, and treatment of depression.

Types of Depression

Major depressive disorder and bipolar disorder are two types of clinically recognized depression.

Major Depressive Disorder

Persons with major depressive disorder (MDD) present at least five of the following symptoms for 2 weeks or more: dysphoria (feeling unwell or unhappy), anhedonia (inability to experience pleasure), sleep disturbances, appetite changes, excessive or unreasonable guilt, irritability, concentration difficulties, low energy, and suicidal ideation. These symptoms must not be attributable to substance dependence or abuse, other concurrent diseases or disorders, or normal grief.

Bipolar Disorder

Bipolar disorder is characterized by severe depression and by periods of elevated or irritable moods. Approximately 2.6 percent of U.S. adults have bipolar disorder. Previously known as manic-depressive illness, bipolar I is characterized by recurrent manic and depressive episodes.

Manic episodes in bipolar I are characterized by elevated or irritable moods with three or more of the following symptoms most of the day, nearly every day for at least one week: increased energy, racing thoughts, concentration difficulties, decreased need for sleep, irritability, increased sex drive, unrealistic beliefs in one's abilities, poor judgment, aggression, spending sprees, substance abuse, and denial of the illness. Alternating with mania, bipolar I depression is characterized by five or more of the same symptoms as MDD for nearly every day for 2 or more weeks.

Characterized by fewer severe manic symptoms, bipolar II involves recurrent hypomania (mild to moderate mania) alternating with depression. Although bipolar I occurs equally in men and women, women are more likely to suffer from bipolar II. Additionally, women report more depressive lifetime episodes, but men report more manic lifetime episodes. Moreover, women report more mixed episodes (simultaneous mania and depression) and more rapid cycling.

Variability of Depression

Across numerous cultures and ethnic groups, women are twice as likely to develop major depression as males are. One explanation for this difference may be that women are more likely to report their symptoms and seek treatment, artificially inflating their depression rates. Conversely, men tend to mask their symptoms with alcohol or drug abuse rather than seeking help. However, community-based epidemiological

and clinical studies using self-reports and informant reports consistently reveal a greater prevalence of major depression among women, indicating the gender gap is not an artifact of self-reporting symptoms.

The experience of depression is also different for women and men. Women report higher levels of anxiety, sleep troubles, and physical problems; additionally, they develop the disorder earlier, experience more chronic and recurrent depression, and suffer greater severity and increased functional impairment than men do. Contrastingly, men are more likely to ignore depressive symptoms, engage in more enjoyable activities, suppress depressive moods and thoughts, or abuse substances to escape depression. Although women attempt suicide three times more frequently, men are more likely to complete the act.

Whereas depression exists in all countries and cultures investigated to date, research shows a wide cultural dissimilarity of depressive symptoms, experiences, likelihood of reporting, and treatment responses. One difference relates to symptoms. For example, Middle Eastern populations describe depression as heart problems, whereas Asian and Chinese populations report feeling unbalanced. Latinos and Mediterraneans present symptoms of nervousness, whereas Hopi populations complain of being heartbroken.

Moreover, frequency reports also vary across cultures. Feeling guilty is the most reported symptom of depression in northern Switzerland (68 percent) contrasted with Iran (32 percent). Suicidal ideation also fluctuates depending on culture: Tokyo has 41 percent reported occurrence but Nagasaki and Montreal report 70 percent of people who suffer from depression. Incidence rates also vary; for example, less than 1 percent in Taiwan compared with 6 percent in Christchurch, New Zealand. Divergence in lifetime depression rates is also evident: 3 percent in Japan contrasts with 17 percent in the United States.

Furthermore, dissimilarities are exhibited among cultural subgroups. For example, African Americans have lower depression rates than do Caucasian or Asian Americans, whereas U.S. immigrants from Mexico tend to be more depression prone than do Mexicans of Indian descent. In the United Kingdom, Punjabi immigrants have higher depression incidence levels than the British do; contrastingly, South Asian immigrants in the United Kingdom report lower depression levels than do UK citizens.

Causes of Depression

Although depression is quite prevalent, its causes remain largely unknown. Various factors trigger depression, including stressors, substance abuse, and biological components. The diathesis-stress model, also known as the biopsychosocial model, emphasizes an interplay between social, cognitive, and biological components that increase a person's vulnerability to depression.

The interaction of social, cognitive, and biological factors that cause depression can increase negative cognition and poor coping strategies that in turn exacerbate depressive symptoms. Low self-esteem and poor-quality social support are two of many social factors predicting depression. Furthermore, the link between predictors and outcomes appears to be bidirectional. Indeed, depressed adolescents often experience future adjustment problems—for example, unemployment, substance abuse, and suicide.

During late adolescence, gender differences emerge. Poor eating, lack of energy, and feeling sad and worthless are predictive of boys' depression, but sleeping problems best predict girls' depression. Depressed adolescent girls also demonstrate differences in social interactions by engaging in less eye contact and gazing when interacting than do nondepressed girls. For both boys and girls, depressive symptoms increase as they mature.

Gender differences also inform people's experiences of rumination. Compared with boys, girls are more likely to overanalyze pessimistically as a coping mechanism. Moreover, at 9 years old, girls are more likely to experience anxiety, a precursor to depression. Genetics research has also found that recurrent depression in girls occurs three times as often if they had a parent with recurring depression, but this pattern does not hold true for boys. Interestingly, depressed mothers respond with more anxiety, fear, and petulance when interacting with daughters (but not sons) compared with nondepressed mothers. These episodes of negative interactions between mothers and daughters may breed negative affect in daughters, making them more susceptible to depression than sons are.

Depression can also stem from brain neurotransmitter dysfunction, medications, and substance use. Specifically, depression is associated with reuptake and absorption problems of norepinephrine, serotonin, and dopamine and, in turn, cerebral dysfunction. After the onset of pubescence, psychosocial and

neuroendocrine differences emerge. Moreover, monthly fluctuations of estrogen and progesterone in females may directly change neurotransmitter functioning linked to depression.

Most theories suggest that bipolar disorder has a biological cause, specifically problems in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis, protein malfunctions, calcium level abnormalities, and inability to maintain homeostasis. Evidence points to a genetic link for both bipolar and major depressive disorders. Specifically, individuals with first-degree biological relatives with MDD are 1.5 to 3 times more likely to have MDD themselves than is the general population. This is especially true of women in their childbearing years.

Preventions and Treatments of Depression

One prevention method for childhood depression is training young people how to handle affective problems. Limited evidence suggests that equipping youth with effective coping techniques and a strong, high-quality support network may reduce the risk of depressive disorders developing later. Some investigators posit that the sexes should receive distinctive treatments because of differences in their symptomology, comorbidity, and experience of depression. For example, pregnancy, menstrual cycle, and menopause often initiate or exacerbate female depression vulnerability, presenting unique challenges in treatment options for some women.

Not all individuals suffering with depression are aware that they are experiencing this disorder; as a result, some persons never pursue or receive professional care. In the United States, only one in three people experiencing major depression for a short period seek treatment; however, 80 percent of those treated find relief. Antidepressants, the primary strategy for treating depression worldwide, have helped millions of depressed individuals lead satisfying lives. Psychiatrists most often prescribe selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) for MDD and lithium for bipolar disorder. For individuals who do not recover with pharmaceutical treatment alone, professionals in many countries, including the United States, combine psychotherapy with pharmacotherapy, resulting in successful outcomes. In some cultures, however, being treated with psychotherapeutic medication is unacceptable. For example, Southeastern Asians in U.S.

clinics often refuse to take medications, perhaps because of the stigma of drug dependency.

Another leading treatment for depression is cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), which targets maladaptive cognitions and poor coping strategies to alleviate depressive symptoms. After identifying distorted and unrealistic perceptions affecting specific behaviors, therapists work with patients to evaluate these cognitions and adjust them to better reflect reality. In addition, maladaptive coping behaviors are replaced with more effective coping strategies. Therapists give patients homework assignments that reinforce thoughts and behaviors learned during sessions. Often effectively used in combination with medication, CBT focuses on the current situation rather than past thoughts and behaviors and is equally effective in men and women. One challenge, though, for CBT is the lack of validation of measures for minority groups, especially given the link between language and perception. For example, Cantonese terms for dysphoric affect are not only different than English terms, but may evoke entirely different perceptions.

Interpersonal psychotherapy (IPT) is another approach in treating depression. Using this methodology, clients deal with depression via an "interpersonal inventory" in which they describe past and present relationships and then relate depression to current situations. After identifying areas to change, therapists assist clients in outlining strategies and treatments unique to their immediate social contexts. Efficacious in the United States, IPT has also been successfully adapted to other cultures, including Uganda.

In Buddhist-based cultures, specifically India, mindfulness training is preferred. Mindfulness is a cognitive retraining method based on Buddhist principles of living in the present, empowering patients to decrease negative thoughts about the past and focus on the "now." Additional treatments that have successfully reduced depression include exercise, electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), light therapy, repetitive vagus nerve stimulation, and transcranial magnetic stimulation. As a last resort, depressed individuals may choose psycho-surgery.

Conclusion

Depression is the second most debilitating mental disorder worldwide. Although a "cure" has not been found, individuals experiencing depression have

various treatment options. Furthermore, researchers are adapting pharmacological and psychotherapeutic treatments to compliment gender and cultural differences. These treatments promise to be successful among diverse populations, enabling depressed individuals to lead satisfying, productive lives.

Colette Jacquot and Jennifer M. Knack

See also Mental Health; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder; Premenstrual Syndrome; Self-Esteem; Suicide

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Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era

Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era (DAWN) is a global network of scholars, activists, and policymakers dedicated to improving the lives of poor women in countries collectively known as the economic South (Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Pacific). DAWN formed in 1984 amid a startling decline in poor women's standard of living. Initially, the network focused on understanding why poor women were getting poorer and why their basic survival needs were neglected in global development policy and practice. Currently, DAWN continues its commitment to ending poverty, violence, and inequalities based on class, gender, and race by advancing gender justice, economic justice, and democracy.

DAWN undertakes feminist research and analysis across four interrelated areas: political economy of globalization, sexual reproductive health and rights, political restructuring and social transformation, and sustainable livelihoods. DAWN integrates all areas of women's lives into development policy. Women's daily lives will be improved, DAWN argues, only if they have equal access to decision making and control over resources and their own bodies, and therefore, the starting point for development policy must be the interests of poor women, who are responsible for the reproduction and care of families. DAWN advocates for redistribution of resources toward improving women's lives because gender subordination has disadvantaged women within existing political, economic, and social structures. DAWN also collaborates with other networks to monitor and make recommendations for restructuring global development institutions toward these ends.

DAWN rejects the idea that women's health and welfare can be secondary to the needs of the global economic interests of developed countries and links sexual reproductive health and rights to economic development on the belief that without these rights, sexual violence can deny women access to land, resources, and public spaces, which further constrains women's ability to work for wages, attend school, or obtain basic health services. DAWN's analysis in the area of political restructuring and social transformation shows how new changes to the global economy, which necessitate a reduced role for the state in distributing resources for development, are tied into the struggle for gender justice. For example, DAWN argues that development must be sustainable to ensure women's continued access to resources, especially water, public lands, and sanitation. Destruction of these resources places additional burdens on women because they supply the family's food, water, and firewood.

DAWN's holistic approach has shifted development policy toward women's empowerment in all facets of their lives. Similarly, DAWN's training activities assist and encourage young activists, who engage in global advocacy work for social, economic, and gender justice, to design alternative development frameworks. DAWN conducts advocacy training programs at its Training Institute and regional training centers to prepare young feminists for the challenge of working toward gender justice. In so doing, DAWN

continues to broaden the network of women working to empower poor women across the globe.

Wendy Theodore

See also Household Livelihood Strategies; Postcolonial/
   Subaltern Feminism; Transnational Development, Women
   and; United Nations Decade for Women

Web Sites

Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era:
   http://www.dawnnet.org

DIARIES

The diary is a literary genre that reports and chronicles the experiences and events of a particular day in the life of one individual. The account is usually written in the form of a first-person narrative and provides subjective reflections covering a wide range of topics. The diary, which can be distinguished from the genre of autobiography, usually refers to a given period in the diarist's life. The account can be highly subjective and is often written in direct response to events that highlight some of the conflicts of living public and private lives. In relation to gender and society, the diary is an important genre, and although men have been central to its construction and history, women have been significant contributors in the shaping and evolution of diary writing.

It is useful to situate the diary genre in relation to notions of history, on the one hand, and literary form, on the other. If official, dominant versions of social and economic history have traditionally been written by men, then diaries, as unofficial histories, provide a way of interpreting the past in terms of femininity as well as a dialogic perspective built around, and in response to, gender construction. If official history serves as a grand narrative, often written from a male viewpoint, then the diary functions as a micro narrative, emphasizing its complementary status as a form in which women have been able to situate their sense of subjectivity. Genealogies of the kind represented by the diary constitute a version of the past written from the point of view of the marginal other, particularly women, gay men, and people of color. Illustrations of this genealogical response begin with those written by Japanese women. More recently, women's diary writing reflects

the diverse situations in which women have found themselves in the last 150 years. Diaries written by figures such as Marie Bashkirtseff, Anne Frank, Sylvia Plath, Frida Kahlo, Alice Walker, and Virginia Woolf highlight ways in which the diary form can be manipulated according to social and cultural context.

The important links between diaries and gender can be traced back to those written by Japanese women in the 10th century. The diaries recount everyday changes in women's relations with each other as well as with men. Additionally, these diaries document the transitions, anxieties, and desires of women whose accounts might otherwise have been ignored by the wider society and its official history. These insights into the history of Japanese culture might otherwise have gone unnoticed had it not been for the memoirs that the diaries contain. More contemporary examples illustrate women's relationships to struggles faced in the public sphere. From age 13, for example, the journal written by Russian painter Marie Bashkirtseff, *I Am the Most Interesting Book of All,* chronicled the personal struggles faced by women, and women painters in particular, in pre-revolutionary Russia. In contrast, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf* allows later readers to understand something of the dimensions of Woolf's psychological pain, which is partly constructed around the cultural requirement to perform gender identity in one way rather than not another.

Diaries, then, can be read as records that recount details of subjective histories and hidden subcultures. To the extent that the dominant culture traditionally legitimizes versions of the nation, politics, and the economy, in the name of men, so diaries written by women and other excluded groups provide insights into relationships constructed in the context of the family, domesticity, and desire. Official history often neglects the subjective and personal dimensions of the past and effectively marginalizes those narratives articulated by groups excluded from the dominant discourse. The diary, as a discourse about subjectivity and selfhood, exposes the ways in which the self, rather than being pre-packaged at birth, is something constructed in narrative, literary form, performance, and the psychological. The diary additionally reveals the extent to which the self is a social rather than simply an individual construct, in that the diary always has a public context in which readers can make sense of the narrated, first-person account around which the genre is shaped.

In Michel Foucault's work, the act of writing—or the entry into discourse—is an important step in the

construction of a sense of subjectivity. However, discourse is double-edged. The diary appears to provide a space in which the self can exercise degrees of autonomy and agency. Yet the subject is limited by the self that the diary form appears to construct in that it is a way of disciplining the self and regulating desire. Diaries, then, are as much a facility for the self as they are a form that forecloses and structures it. Women in the 19th century, and particularly girls, were encouraged to write diaries. The effects of this moment in the history of diary writing support Foucault's theory of the genealogical, disciplinary nature of discourse in that diaries have the paradoxical effect of encouraging conformity as much as resistance.

Since the 1990s, individuals and groups have mobilized around public acts of resistance by taking advantage of the technologies afforded by the Internet and e-mail. The emergence of online diaries suggests that diary writing is being be reshaped by computers, mobile telephones, and digital tools. Online diaries are not simply spaces in which to construct a personal record of events and experiences. They are also forms, because of the Internet, that are immediately public, available to a virtual as much as an actual community of users. Today, online diaries and blogs serve as immediate, rapid social commentaries on popular culture, media celebrities, world conflict, poverty, and international relations. Diaries from 10th-century Japan reflect the individual and subjective nature of the self, whereas more recent, online diaries indicate the extent to which the genre is also intersubjective, global, and dialogic.

Tony Purvis and Gareth Longstaff

See also Discursive Theories of Gender; Gender Identities and Socialization; Patriarchy; Private/Public Spheres

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DIETING

Dieting is the practice of intentionally limiting food intake. Although some diets are undertaken for increased athletic performance or routine religious observance, dieting is primarily thought of as a mechanism for weight loss. Dieting has increased in popularity in the United States throughout the 20th century, as food has become routinely available and aesthetic body preferences have privileged slenderness. Sociological analyses have frequently examined the relationship between dieting and gender, which is a highly gendered phenomenon: most dieters are women and the majority of women report high levels of body dissatisfaction. More recently, as described in this entry, sociologists have begun to examine connections between dieting culture and the multibillion-dollar dieting industry.

The Development of Dieting

Dieting is conventionally understood as either an aesthetic activity aimed at reducing body weight or as a health activity aimed at improving physiological health conditions. In the earliest reports of dieting that date back to Greek Antiquity and early Christianity, however, the practice was portrayed as a moral task. The philosopher Aristotle claimed that unrestrained eating interfered with the search for an honorable, truth-seeking life. Early Christianity similarly portrayed dieting and fasting as body purification rituals: deeply religious individuals could avoid the sins of greed or gluttony through restraining their food consumption and, consequently, become closer to God. Dieting was an atypical action during these times. The few people who were likely to engage in dieting as part of larger religious or philosophical crusades were also likely to be members of elite groups. Further, they were likely to be in the enviable and rare position of having excess food to turn away from.

For most human history and in most places, the average person has not had sufficient access to food. Rather than facing the moral burden of debating the merits of large meals versus piety or enlightenment, most people have had to continually struggle to alleviate their body's hunger. People frequently and successfully met their daily calorie needs through farming and animal care; such success has been mitigated, though, by the appearance of famines, natural

disasters, and food-tainting epidemics. Governments, religious authorities, property owner/managers, and other powerful groups have also been able to effectively control food dispersal.

In countries and in periods where food has been scarce, groups that have had dependable access to food have also had access to social power. Regular access to inadequate foodstuffs has indicated high social status; highly ranked people have been better able to acquire food and their bodies are, frequently, taller and heavier than are those of their lower-class counterparts. During these times, fatness has been positively lauded as a robust and attractive demonstration of wealth. Alternately, fatness has been occasionally decried as a symbol of overindulgence and greed during times of food shortages; however, it is rare for people with insufficient food resources to engage in willful dieting.

Food supplies grew tremendously during the 19th and 20th centuries, especially within North America and Western Europe, because of a number of factors: the industrialization and mechanization of agriculture, improvements in refrigeration and food preservation, and improvements in food transportation and disbursement. Each of these innovations has helped to make food widely and routinely available. As the food supply has grown sharply, people have been able to meet their food needs easily and affordably. Furthermore, the transition to industrial and postindustrial work has lessened bodies' calorie needs. The average person's body size has grown as a consequence of these social changes. The large body size that had been a symbol of rare wealth became increasingly common, and the high status of large bodies soon faded. This changing conception of socially preferred body types was exemplified by the 1863 publication of England's first popular diet book, William Banting's *A Letter on Corpulence.*

Aesthetic Body and Health Ideals

The relatively new preference for trim bodies has not been a universal goal of all Westerners. Indeed, although trim bodies have been increasingly socially desirable in the past 150 years, this body type has been especially embraced as a beauty ideal both by and for white, middle-class, heterosexual women. Beauty norms aimed at—and often embraced by—these women conflate thinness with physical attractiveness. Such aesthetic standards are frequently internalized as personal goals that require regular dieting to attain an ever-thinner cultural ideal. In the last decades of the 20th-century, athletic fitness joined slenderness as a body goal for white women—social ideals assert that women should be both strong and slim.

Throughout the 20th century, alternate body weight ideals and goals have existed for other groups of women. However, recent evidence indicates that slimmer, trimmer body ideals are increasingly dominant regardless of race, gender, and sexuality status. For instance, Chicana/Latina and African American women typically have lower rates of dieting than do white women and profess higher levels of body satisfaction. The embrace of a large posterior ("booty") is further evidence of alternate body size norms. However, some recent studies have indicated that Chicana/Latina and African American women are under increased pressure to become slim. Similarly, lesbian and bisexual women in the United States report less pressure to meet beauty standards; they are more likely to decry fat stigmatization and disavow less extreme ideal weights. However, many lesbian and bisexual women still find extremely high weights problematic.

Feminist sociologists have regularly noted that the media idealizes the weight standards and bodywork practices of white, heterosexual women. Furthermore, the media depicts whiteness, heterosexuality, and slenderness as beauty goals for all women. Women who do not meet this cultural ideal are often held in lower esteem than are their counterparts. Most women differ from the archetype; more than 60 percent of U.S. women are classified as overweight. Regardless of women's actual appearance, more than 75 percent of women habitually report personal body dissatisfaction and more than 84 percent report having dieted at some point in their lives.

Men have been largely exempted from the social demand for slim bodies. Instead, men's body ideals center on the goals of increased musculature, strength, and fitness. Men diet less frequently than women, and when men do start an organized diet, they are typically much heavier than their female counterparts. Heterosexual men who diet primarily cite health-improvement motives rather than slimness for the sake of beauty; this is seen among men of varying racial groups. Homosexual men are more likely to additionally cite aesthetics a motivational factor for weight loss. Although, on average, men are less likely than women to feel pressure to be slim, more than 30 percent of men report body dissatisfaction and 58 percent report having previously dieted.

Regardless of social location, the thin body is often assumed to be a healthy body. Whether thin bodies are athletic or sedentary, slenderness is frequently conflated with good health. This attitude is exemplified through the extensive use of the weight-based body mass index (BMI). Individuals who are "overweight" according to BMI are frequently advised by physicians and diet programs to lose weight to improve health. As a result, the heavy body is often depicted as unhealthy, unvalued, unattractive, and, sometimes, diseased. The portrayal of fatness as a medical and aesthetic failure helps to both create and reinforce fat stigmatization. This, in turn, influences many people to watch their bodies continually and diet persistently. There are, however, pro-fat social movement organizations, such as the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance, that function as a small countertrend to obesity prejudice.

Diets and the Diet Industry

In conjunction with the heightened importance of the slim body and increased body dissatisfaction, dieting has become increasingly common. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control found that 34 percent of men and 48 percent of women reported dieting in 2001 and 2002. A wide variety of diets—both homespun and corporate—have risen in response to individuals' desire to slim the body. And, like other culinary and social trends, different diets have grown and receded in popularity. For instance, in the 1930s, the Hollywood Diet, also known as the Grapefruit Diet, recommended eating half of a grapefruit with each meal. This diet declined in use during the mid-century and reappeared in the 1970s. Other noteworthy diets fads include the Scarsdale Diet in the 1970s, the Cabbage Soup Diet in 1996, and the Blood Type Diet and Zone Diet in the 1990s. The South Beach Diet and the Atkins Diet, which advocate a low-carbohydrate, high protein intake, enjoyed widespread success in the early 2000s; even fast-food restaurants joined the craze by selling bun-less, low-carbohydrate burgers.

In addition to personal diet plans, a number of for-profit dieting programs arose during the 20th century, including Weight Watchers, Slim-Fast, and Jenny Craig. These companies assert that dieters should follow a corporate program to lose weight most effectively. And, if all of that does not work, a variety of prescription and nonprescription diet pills have cropped up since the 1950s to "aid" dieters. These pills have sometimes contained amphetamines or have been associated with extreme side effects: the popular drug Fen-Phen was discontinued in 1997 for its association with increased occurrences of heart disease and hypertension, and the dietary supplement Ephedra was prohibited in 2003 for raising blood pressure and stressing the circulatory system. Although these pills have been taken off the market, new diet medications, such as Meridia and TRIMSPA, have taken their place. Collectively, the diet industry is worth more than $40 billion. This wealth is particularly interesting when contrasted with the long-term success of diets: between just 5 percent and 20 percent of dieters are able to successfully reach their goals and keep their newly slender physiques.

Sociological Examinations of Dieting

Sociological examinations of dieting have frequently looked at the extent to which girls and women, compared with boys and men, become anxious about their body weight and engage in dieting behavior. More recently, sociologists and other social scientists have debated dieting meanings and asked if dieting can ever be a feminist activity. At the root of many sociological examinations is the question of whether dieting, as a primarily female activity, reinforces unattainable ideals of women's slenderness. Finally, sociologists have begun examining the connection between the for-profit weight loss industry and individuals' dieting behavior.

Patricia Drew

See also Body Image; Cosmetic Surgery; Eating Disorders; Exercise and Fitness

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DISABILITY

Disability touches everyone. People encounter disability through personal connections with relatives, friends, and family members or as our own bodies encounter pain and restriction, limiting the ability to be independent and autonomous. Despite this common experience, people with disabilities commonly report feeling marginalized, a group set apart, the "other." They encounter a world designed by and for those without disabilities with a presumption of able-bodiedness at its core. Laws, policies, beliefs, and practices contour the daily lives of women, but when disability enters the frame, these processes become increasingly complicated, as described in this entry. More women than men experience disability, so any analysis of disability needs to consider the significance of gendered difference in disabled women's lives.

Gender and Disability as Social Experiences

Three famous Canadian examples illustrate how disability and gender intersect to create a distinct social experience: activist mothers, Tracy Latimer, and Leilani Muir.

During the 1970s, grassroots groups of disability activists formed coalitions and founded legal advocacy centers to advance important changes in disability policy that established rights of access to education, employment, health services, transportation, and public space. These activists found allies in parent-led disability organizations, including the March of Dimes and Associations for Community Living and Mental Health. The reference to "parent" obscures the gendered nature of the role: mothers led the way when advocacy for their own disabled children brought them into a broader political struggle for social justice and equality. Activist mothers were not feminists seeking equality with men or a challenge to patriarchy; they acted out of a sense of gendered obligation as wives and mothers. In trying to raise their children, they encountered a cultural ethos of ableism and discrimination, and their sense of powerlessness politicized them.

In 1993, Robert Latimer, a farmer in Wilkie, Saskatchewan, put his young daughter Tracy in a truck and piped poisonous carbon monoxide from the vehicle's exhaust into the cab. Tracy died. Because she had a physical and mental disability, her father defended his actions as a mercy killing, an act of kindness committed out of love. Latimer received a conviction of murder and was imprisoned, but thousands of people signed a petition urging leniency and calling for a reduced sentence. As discussed later, Tracy's death at the hands of a family member who believed he was being merciful reflects broader experiences of gender, violence, and disability.

In 1996, a Canadian legal decision on the sterilization of Leilani Muir brought to light the damaging legacy of the Sexual Sterilization Act of the Alberta Government. Muir discovered in 1989 at the age of 25 that she could never have children because she had been sexually sterilized at 14 on the orders of the Alberta Eugenics Board. The doctors kept the nature of the surgery from Muir; they told her only that her appendix was removed. After years of futile attempts to correct the surgery, she began legal action that culminated in a court awarding her $740,000 for wrongful sterilization. The medicalizing and intrusive response to Muir's disability is emblematic of a long history of eugenic sterilization.

Beliefs of biological inferiority have long been applied to devalued groups, including women. Like gender, disability is not a biological given but is instead socially constructed from a biological reality. Just as the second-wave feminists in the 1970s differentiated gender from sex (the social from the biological) to counter the arguments that women are essentially weak and inferior, so too have disability theorists separated disability from impairment (the social from the biological) to counter assumptions that biology is destiny. Central to this argument are explanations about difference that take as their starting point ideas of social construction—rather than the essential nature—of socially significant difference.

Disability is a form of social oppression experienced by people with perceived impairments and manifested in discriminatory practices. This framing of disability, generally referred to as the "social model," finds its roots in the 1960s and 1970s. Influenced by the civil rights movement and the women's movement, disabled people began to recognize themselves as a legitimately entitled minority group. In so doing, they laid the groundwork for a dramatic revision of the way disability is understood. Disabled academics and activists began to place disability in a social, political, and

cultural context to examine the structural dimensions of the experience. This shifted the focus away from the more traditional emphasis on individual deviancy and pathology and toward an exploration of the socially constructed barriers (inaccessible architecture, exclusionary policies and practices, prejudice) as the "real" or sociological problems of disability. These activists interpreted impairment not as an individual experience, but as a socially structured pattern of exclusion. Thus, the social model is distinct from the more traditional emphasis on biological impairment. This conventional "medical model" of disability individualizes and pathologizes the disability as a deficit residing within the person.

One impact of this paradigm shift has been to frame an understanding of disability as a dynamic rather than static condition. The social model conceptualizes disabilities as social and transitional phenomena, instead of traditional diagnostic categories. This dynamic is evident as growing numbers of elderly people encounter a range of disabling conditions and illnesses in later life; as familiar conditions gain prominence in new forms of disability, such as autism; and as improved medical interventions result in more individuals surviving conditions such as spinal cord injuries. As this more fluid approach gains credence, it is unlikely that clear definitions of disability will ever be solidified, despite popular demands for consensual definitions.

An overemphasis on the medical model has detracted from full citizenship for disabled people. Historically, medical science has dominated the study of disability by enacting and imposing definitions, categorizing differences, and allocating resources to alter biological conditions. Rehabilitation science, with its focus on increasing functional skills to approach a normative able-bodied standard, is rooted in the same biomedical model. When intervention is medical and rehabilitative, the impact of environmental and structural factors is often overlooked. The process of redefining the social "problem" of disability has been as potent for disability theorists and activists as it has been for other minority groups; confusing illness with disability has been likened to confusing gynecology with the study of women and dermatology with the study of racism.

Although disabled feminist researchers and activists acknowledge the significance of social model analysis, many have contested the "maleness" of this approach. Especially inadequate is the social model's tendency to deny the personal experiences of disability. Feminist activists have argued it initially made good political sense to marginalize the "embodied" experiences of disability because biological arguments have traditionally been used to legitimate social exclusion. But they have urged disability researchers and activists to learn from feminist methodology, to locate movement politics in the famous feminist principle that "the personal is political," to give voice to the subjective experiences of disability ("what it feels like here") rather than exclusively in objective barriers and structures. Disability scholars have in turn enriched feminist theory. Claiming disability, they have strengthened and transformed feminist analysis of embodiment and bodily variations, discovered the relationship between bodies and environments, and exposed the inherent instability of the embodied self.

Scientific Rationalism and Eugenics

Scientific rationalism is the bedrock on which disabled feminists and researchers have analyzed social and embodied experiences of disability. The adoption of science as truth in the 18th century stimulated the development of various forms of measurements. Notably, the distinction between subjects (who do) from objects (who are done to) led to a proliferation of means to quantify the objects to be studied. Such objects included women who were characterized often by professional men, as "the other." Women came to be equated with nature on which basis they were assumed to be less evolved and less intellectual. They were equated with emotionality and therefore viewed as being prone to promiscuity and irrationality. They were presumed to be lacking in morals and, as such, regarded as a social danger. In short, women, by their very nature, were perceived as being of lesser value, hence, defective.

The enthusiasm for scientific classification spawned theatrical exhibitions of exotic forms of nature perceived to deviate from an accepted norm. Humans and animals were combined in various performance genres, giving rise to the "freak show," a powerful cultural phenomenon that has endured in media, literature, and film reinforcing prejudice against disabled people. Scientific evolutionary theory in the late 1800s assigned more categories of people to the status of "other." Eugenicists were medical scientists who believed it was possible to improve the quality of the human race by preventing the births of disabled infants.

These scientists were convinced that survival of the fittest meant the unfit were to be bred out of existence. Eugenicists found scales measuring intelligence quotient (IQ) encouraging because they established disability as a scientific category. Though originally intended to positively identify students needing extra attention, ultimately IQ tests were administered to categorize more and more people as "feebleminded" and to legitimate the social Darwinist response of sterilization.

Feebleminded became a widely used term in the 19th and 20th centuries to describe those with perceived social, mental, or physical disabilities. Involuntary sterilization, legalized in 1920 by 16 U.S. states and performed in western Canada between 1929 and 1972, was used to control the presumed proliferation of those presumed to be unfit. Many more women than men were sterilized.

Legislative changes suggest this practice has been abolished, yet real-life situations appear that suggest otherwise. In January 2007, news of a 9-year-old Seattle child named Ashley made headlines. Ashley has significant physical and intellectual impairment as a result of a brain injury. When she was 6, her parents sought a medical procedure, a growth attenuation treatment that would keep their daughter an infant forever making it easier to care for her. With the approval of the hospital medical ethics committee, Ashley underwent a hysterectomy to remove her uterus and ovaries, a radical mastectomy to remove her breast buds, and an appendectomy. She was also infused with high doses of estrogen to stop her bones from growing. Ashley's parents maintain they undertook these treatments for the sole purpose of improving Ashley's quality of life. The publication of the procedure—a case that hearkens to the dark days of eugenic sterilization—in a medical journal triggered serious ethical questions about the controversial use of a technological response to a social concern. Ashley is believed to be the first child in the world to receive this treatment. Growth attenuation therapy by high-dose estrogen treatment, however, had been performed on teenage girls in the 1960s and 1970s when it was considered undesirable for girls to be tall.

Women's Experiences of Disability

In communities around the world, disabled people are among the poorest and most vulnerable of all groups; globally, 300 million women and girls live with disabilities. In Canada, 3.6 million people or an eighth of the population report living with a disability. Among Canadians, the disability rate is higher for women (13.3 percent) than men (11.5 percent), except among children between 0 and 14 years where boys have a higher rate of "activity limitations" (4.0 percent) compared with girls (2.5 percent). The overall higher percentage among women increases with age and can be explained partly by women's longer life expectancy and their tendency to report disability more frequently.

Despite the dramatic changes in women's work and family roles during the past decades, disabled women have not participated because they have been disadvantaged in a number of ways. Living with a disability makes it difficult to complete secondary and postsecondary education yet having an academic credential is key to securing employment. More disabled women than men are unemployed, and disabled women are less likely to have access to health care. When they are employed, they are more likely to work on an intermittent basis. Earning less income, they are more likely to receive fewer and less generous benefits that are often correlated to earnings.

Personal assistance services are widely regarded as the most critical individualized support necessary for disabled women and men to enjoy a meaningful engagement in society. Yet within the disability rights movement, the demand for flexible and transportable support has split along gendered lines; assistance for employment and supports outside the home have been emphasized, but women's domestic and familial responsibility inside the home have not.

Disabled women are extremely vulnerable to violence and sexual abuse. Because they are socially isolated, the ordinary checks and balances that detect abuse are often absent. Stereotypes that suggest disabled women would not be harmed by abuse or would not be found attractive makes them easy targets. Their unequal social and economic position and their reliance on others for intimate, personal care places them at greater risk. Incident reporting is low because the abuser is often known to the victim. The abuser is also more likely to be a family member, friend, caregiver, or service provider than a stranger, as the Latimer case reveals. Many are simply unable to leave an abusive situation.

Though disabled feminists have long called for an integration of the women's movement with the disability rights movement, little progress is evident. This may be explained partly by the debates about two key issues: reproductive rights and community-based care.

For feminists, reproductive rights has meant liberating women from traditional roles as wives and mothers and enabling them to make choices about having children; it means having access to birth control. Disabled women's sexuality is often questioned as is their capacity to be wives and mothers in a dominantly able-bodied culture. Thus, their reproductive rights often entail asserting their rights to bear children and having access to practical child-rearing supports. More controversial is the matter of screening for disability with a view toward termination through abortion. Feminists argue that women have the right to an abortion because it is a decision about their bodies and how they will live their lives and that this includes the right to abort a fetus when it appears through prenatal screening to have an "abnormality." Disabled women activists protest when screening is permitted on the basis of impairment; that practice, they suggest, represents an unspoken judgment about whose lives are worth living.

Questions of independence and dependency emerge in discussions of community-based care in which disabled women are often the recipients of care from others. Disability activists have long advocated the closure of large congregate-care institutional facilities and their replacement with new opportunities for social and communal participation. Nondisabled feminists, sensitive to the burden that such policy shifts place on women's unpaid caregiving in the home, have been more critical. Determined both to challenge the stereotypical portrayal of disabled people as having status only as passive and dependent recipients of care by others and to offer an alternative to the pervasive cultural obsession with independence, disabled feminists have embraced an ethics of care based on a model of reciprocity. This, they argue, opens the door for disabled women and those who support them to ask for and receive help from one another.

Resistance and Activism

The development of disability activism that is based on the social model and characterized by the identification of disabling barriers and creation of enabling environments allows for an analysis of, on the one hand, structural factors and, on the other hand, the agency of disabled people and their allies in changing those structures. In the 1950s, telethons featuring disabled children were devised by charity organizations to inspire donations. Most famous of these were Easter Seals' annual Timmy and Tammy. When these "poster children" grew into adulthood, many began to criticize the pity approach to fundraising because it stigmatized disabled people and negatively influenced public attitudes. As other social movements have shown, stereotypes, when they are embraced, can generate resistance and self-affirmation. Disability activism takes many creative forms: protests against charity telethons, archives collecting the artifacts and experiences of psychiatric survivors, university courses taught from the perspective of people labeled "mad," and festivals celebrating disability culture. Disability activism has also stimulated interest in the academic field of disability studies, as demonstrated by the surge of courses, programs of study, research, and scholarship in universities throughout the world.

Sophisticated forms of exclusion represent new threats to the lives of disabled people. Scientists and physicians in the Genome Project, an international research initiative launched in the 1990s, are developing the capacity to detect disability and disease prenatally. Genetic research can lead to preventing disability and disease and ease its impact on individuals and families. However, it raises important moral and ethical dilemmas by reinforcing a belief that disabled individuals are undesirable and should be prevented from coming into the world. Disabled people and their allies are alarmed at renewed assumptions about human perfection, normality, and abnormality; at the deepening medicalization of disability; and at the massive resources dedicated to new technologies at the expense of investments in health, nutrition, environment, and education that could extend and improve lives.

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See also Abortion; Biological Determinism; Eugenics; Feminist Disability Theory

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DISCURSIVE THEORIES OF GENDER

Discursive theories of gender see gender as something that is enacted on a daily basis through discourse. This understanding is in contrast to seeing gender as a property of persons or a set of adjectives associated with a person. Discursive theories of gender are part of wider approaches that see gender as a social construction, and they are thus central to understanding gender and society. What is unique about discursive approaches to gender is that discourses are seen as producing certain gendered subjects.

Discourse is a contested term, and many approaches lay claim to the term. The term *discourse* comes from the Latin word *discurrere,* which literally means to run to or through without objective. *Discourse* can refer to a poststructural definition often linked to Foucauldian theories and to a more linguistic understanding of language in use. In the Foucauldian understanding, *discourse* refers to the regulatory system that creates the order of things in a society through distinctions such as right/wrong, masculine/feminine, and so on. Discourse is here seen as a large sum of statements that regulate what is accepted as knowledge in a given society. Discourse can also be seen in a more linguistic version as language in use. This

means that spoken and written texts can be subjected to an analysis of what is said when and how. Through this analysis, it is possible to analyze how the societal order is re-established through the use of language. Discursive theories of gender draw on Foucauldian as well as linguistic definitions of discourse to theorize gender as something that is performed.

Judith Butler is one of the most prominent thinkers who uses Foucauldian approaches to theorize gender. For Butler, *gender* is something that is done. This is in contrast to other understandings of gender where gender is seen as a property of persons or a set of adjectives. Drawing on Foucault, Butler argues that discourses, as large sums of statements, make certain subject positions available. Subject positions are the basis on which gender identities are formed. Discourse is thus powerful in defining what one understands to be gender and what it means to be a man or a woman in a given society. Gendered subjects are created through responding to or enacting these discourses. Although there are multitudes of discourses, certain discourses are more dominant than others, which makes them hegemonic. These hegemonic discourses determine how the ideal man or woman is supposed to be and oppresses other ways of enacting gender.

Another approach to gender as discourse is to understand discourses as the spoken word and as embedded in conversations. Various researchers have explored how gender is enacted through talk. For instance, Deborah Tannen believes that men and women have different talking styles and that this becomes evident in everyday life, with women more often using "we," and men using "I" more often. Other researchers have studied micro-interactions to explore how gender is created in a situation. Don Zimmerman and Candace West found that patients are more likely to interrupt female medical doctors than male medical doctors. This study highlights how societal gender assumptions are embedded in and perpetuated through spoken discourse. Such studies are based on the insight that gender is created through everyday interactions and that talk can be easily accessed to study these mechanisms and show how gender is enacted.

Although Butler regards discursive theories of gender as large sums of statements, other discursive theories have focused more on the fine detail of talk. Some researchers have recognized that wider and smaller discourses also interact to produce gender. Wendy Hollway analyzes how gender-differentiated meaning is (re)produced in unconscious dynamics between people. She shows how gender splitting works in the

relationship between "Will" and "Beverly" to position Beverly as the one who does the "feeling" and Will as the one who does the "coping." This splitting of characteristics functions as a way to construct Will's masculine gender subjectivity and Beverly's feminine gender subjectivity. Other research has explored how young women made sense of their class and gender position in society and how young men position themselves in relation to such discourses as feminism and fatherhood. Studies in this vein show that discourses open subject positions that individuals adopt and that this often but not exclusively happens through talk.

Discursive approaches to gender are a useful approach for exploring the social construction of gender. The micro analysis of talk provides insight into how gender is produced in specific interactions. An awareness of large discourses is useful for showing which subjects can be formed based on these discourses. Discursive theories of gender can either refer to large discourses or more micro discourses, and some research has combined both views of discourse. By adopting discursive theories of gender, it is possible to show how the availability and desirability of discourses in society is linked to the subject positions people adopt in talk. The strength of discursive theories of gender is that they are useful for learning how gender is created through talk and the availability of subject positions. Through discursive theories of gender, it is thus possible to show how gender is performed in society through discourse.

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See also Gender Performance; Language, Gender Differences

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Divine Feminine Spirituality

Divine Feminine spirituality refers broadly to a socio-spiritual movement centered on re-imagining the sacred as female or as a male-female dyad and on the veneration of the Divine Feminine. The term *Divine Feminine* generally refers to the archetypal feminine symbolized by or embodied in a female deity often but not always called *goddess*. The concept suggests that some qualities or essences are characteristically feminine and some are masculine. When the Divine Feminine is pictured as one aspect of a male-female pair, these qualities complement and balance each other. Divine Feminine spirituality emerged in resistance to patriarchal, male-centered religions, as well as from women's spiritual experience and from the work of feminist religious scholars. Divine Feminine spirituality is also concerned with the historical recovery of women's spiritual history and heritage.

In the United States, Divine Feminine spirituality took form during the women's spirituality movement, an offshoot of the women's movement's second wave. In the 1970s, Jewish and Christian women were challenging patriarchal religious structures and chauvinistic theology. Others were demonstrating the psychological and social consequences of male-only God language and imagery. Spiritual feminists were creating new women-centered religions and imagining female symbols of power to counter the symbol of God as male. Because of its radical approach, neo-pagan goddess worship and feminist witchcraft are usually thought of as the primary forms of Divine Feminine spirituality. However, multiple expressions cut across spiritual traditions. Feminist reformers within the Jewish and Christian traditions, for example, have been mining these traditions for liberating and affirming sources and integrating Divine Feminine imagery into their religions. Divine Feminine spirituality continues to evolve. Various groups disagree about how the goals of the movement should be realized, and bonds are being forged across religious lines with efforts toward a spirituality that reflects their values and vision.

Women of all spiritual backgrounds are creating new woman-centered sacred imagery and ritual traditions rooted in women's experience and the sacred feminine—a process of awakening the Divine Feminine in human consciousness and raising awareness of her presence in the world. In a male-dominated

society, this process has become a source of affirmation and empowerment for women. Divine Feminine consciousness is believed to be necessary to heal and strengthen male-female relationships that have been damaged because of the devaluation and oppression of women. Only as equal partners can men and women work together in the image of God/dess and usher in a new age of peace and harmony. Thus, Divine Feminine spirituality is as much a social movement as a spiritual one. It challenges gender inequality both in religion and society at large and demands radical social change.

The concept of the Divine Feminine has provided a common language by which to challenge dominant ideologies and systems of oppression and to discuss potential solutions to pressing social problems. The Divine Feminine also functions as symbol and metaphor for peaceful and harmonious relationships and a vision for a better world. By re-imagining the divine, power and human purpose are also re-imagined. The Divine Feminine can be viewed as a wellspring of new ways of living and relating. Many see the Divine Feminine movement as a feminist project, and from its beginnings, pioneering spiritual feminists have been at the forefront. Misconceptions about feminism have led many to resist a feminist label on their spirituality. However, the aims of gender equality and social justice are based on feminist principles, so many see Divine Feminine spirituality as *feminist* spirituality.

The Divine Feminine is clearly a complex multivalent symbol that is culturally specific and is expressed and experienced in symbolic, metaphoric, and iconic forms. In general, Divine Feminine spirituality involves re-envisioning God as both male and female or emphasizes divinity as principally female. The meanings given to the Divine Feminine reflect each person's unique experience and relationship with the sacred. For some, she may represent creative potential and the life-generating power of Mother Nature. For others, she may be revealed in a saintly and enlightened woman such as Teresa of Avila who experienced the ecstasy of spiritual union. Still others may recognize the Divine Feminine in male-God traditions, such as the grace-filled presence of the Virgin Mary. Some are inspired by ancient goddess religions or discover her in other world spiritual traditions like the Dark Mother, Kali, of Hinduism. However the Divine Feminine is imagined, she is seen as a powerful and empowering force—one that endures despite negative patriarchal manipulation and active suppression.

Spiritual practice is oriented toward re-imaginings of the sacred that include women and the Divine Feminine. Spiritual activities foster transformational embodied experiences of goddess consciousness and an inner awakening of sacred female power. The metaphor of "awakening" is a common conceptual expression used to describe experiences of the Divine Feminine, and these experiences are the catalyst for personal and planetary healing. Practices are directed toward uncovering the Divine Feminine presence in the individual and in the world and include ritual, group engagement, personal exploration, storytelling, myth, poetry, and art, as well as techniques such as meditation, sacred dance, music, and chant.

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See also Deities, Gender Images and; Religion, Gender Roles in; Wicca

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Divorce

Divorce represents the official end or dissolution of a legally recognized marriage. It is widely cited that 50 percent of present marriages will eventually end in divorce and that the chances of a second marriage ending in divorce are even more likely. During World War II, divorce rates were elevated, but stabilized during the 1950s and early 1960s. Divorce rates increased through the late 1960s and 1970s in the United States and cross-culturally. In the United States, divorce reached its all-time high in 1980. The rate has leveled off since that time but remains high compared with the 1950s. The divorce rate in the United States is high in

historical terms and is significantly higher than in other industrialized countries such as Mexico, Japan, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Although the divorce rate is high for married couples, the rate at which other romantic relationships dissolve, such as those who cohabitate, is even greater. This is likely the result of the less committed nature of cohabitation. This entry describes predictors, research on outcomes, and the influence on children of divorce.

Several social factors within the United States account for the high divorce rate. One of the primary changes has been in the economics of marriage. Traditional households in the 1950s used a division of labor such that the husband was the primary breadwinner, while the wife stayed at home to manage the house and children. During the past several decades, women have increasingly pursued careers of their own, and as a result, many households now rely on salaries from both partners. This shift has influenced divorce rates, especially from the perspective of women. In the past, traditional division of labor forced women to be financially dependent on their husbands, resulting in a barrier to divorce. Stacy Rogers examined the impact of wives' financial contributions on divorce in a 2004 study that used data from a 17-year longitudinal study. Wives' financial contributions were measured by dollars contributed, as well as by percentage of family income. Results indicated a positive correlation between wives' dollars earned and divorce such that as income increased, likelihood of divorce increased. However, when percentage of the wife's contribution was examined, an inverted U pattern emerged such that divorce was most likely when the husband and wife each contributed approximately 50 percent of the family income. According to Rogers, this situation represents equal economic dependence in which neither partner depends on the marriage for financial stability. Rogers also reports that women, and to a lesser extent men, are more likely to initiate divorce under these circumstances.

Perhaps as a result of less financial dependence, expectations have increased concerning the qualities a good marriage and good marriage partner should provide. Some of the increased expectations are the result of a more transient lifestyle. That is, people move more frequently and are less likely to become engaged in their community. As a result, social support structures are not as strong and lead people to rely more on their marriage for support. Marriage is also viewed as more of a choice than a requirement. For this reason, people expect more than minimal effort from their partners. Whereas in the past it may have been sufficient for the husband to provide financial security, expectations now include emotional support and an equal sharing of household responsibilities. According to a 2003 study based on national survey data from Paul Amato and colleagues, wives' increasing job demands and hours of work were associated with decreased marital quality, whereas nontraditional gender attitudes and increased economic resources increased marital quality. Further, sharing in household tasks increased wives' marital quality, but decreased husbands' marital quality. As partners' expectations in these areas increase, marital quality is ultimately affected. These shifts in marital quality inevitably influence the likelihood of divorce. As a result of these factors, the range of possible reasons for divorce has been greatly expanded. Thus, the stigma that had been formerly attached to divorce and divorcees has faded substantially. The decrease in negative attitudes toward divorce, paired with streamlined legal procedures, has made divorce an easier remedy to an undesirable marriage.

Predictors

Most previous research on divorce focused on identifying factors within a marriage that help determine the marriages that are likely to end in divorce. The range of possible predictors is vast, but generally falls into two main categories: preexisting factors and relationship factors. Preexisting factors include such things as social conditions and previous experiences. Terri Orbuch, Joseph Veroff, and colleagues examined several factors that lead to divorce as part of a large-scale longitudinal study called the Early Years of Marriage Project. In a 2002 study, they focused specifically on identifying who would divorce during a 14-year period. Their results show that two key social factors, race and education, predicted divorce such that African American couples and those with less education were more likely to divorce. Income does not significantly predict divorce when controlling for other variables such as race and education. Interestingly, other research finds that socioeconomic status does not predict who will divorce, but does relate to the reasons divorcees give for the divorce. Those with a lower socioeconomic status mention substance abuse and concerns about money, whereas those with a higher socioeconomic status mention incompatibility and problems with the relationship. Other preexisting

conditions such as previous experiences are predictive of divorce as well. Each of the following have been identified as predictors of divorce in previous research: having a previous marriage, having divorced parents, having a child before marriage, cohabitating before marriage, having low religiosity, and getting married before age 25.

Not surprisingly, dynamics within the relationship itself can also predict divorce. At the most basic level, the likelihood of divorce increases as the length of the relationship increases. However, a longitudinal study by Ted Huston and colleagues known as the Processes of Adaptation in Intimate Relationships (PAIR) project shows that the first few years are crucial. By following more than 150 couples since 1981, Huston and colleagues were able to look at three competing models for why marriages ended. Models included enduring dynamics (i.e., problems that couples bring with them to the marriage), emergent distress (i.e., stresses and strains the couple experiences while married), and disillusionment (i.e., couples start out idealizing marriage, but realize it is not as perfect as they thought). The data show that disillusionment predicted divorce best. Couples who experienced the greatest declines in satisfaction, love, and affection over the first year were more likely to divorce.

Other research has identified several additional relationship factors that predict divorce. Each of the following has been identified as a predictor of divorce in previous research: having low relationship satisfaction, having low sexual satisfaction, having dissimilar attitudes, having negative interactions, spending little amounts of time together, having high amounts of conflict, and using negative communication strategies. Also, research shows that divorce is more likely if one partner has high levels of neuroticism, or is uncomfortable with intimacy.

Because of the large number of divorce predictors, it is useful to have an overarching framework to help understand how the various factors relate to each other. In 1995, Benjamin Karney and Thomas Bradbury proposed the vulnerability-stress-adaptation model to account for many of the factors that predict divorce. In this model, marital stability is determined by marital quality, which is the result of the interaction of several factors. First, the model states that people bring preexisting factors to their marriage (e.g., demographic variables, previous experiences, personality), known as enduring vulnerabilities. The second factor involves the experiences the couple has together (e.g., unemployment, loss of a family member, parenting, health problems), known as stressful events. Enduring vulnerabilities and stressful events influence how couples cope with issues (e.g., how problems are assessed, quality of communication, quality of support) known as adaptive processes. If the adaptive processes are sufficient, the impact of stressful events and enduring vulnerabilities are minimized and result in marital quality and stability. However, if adaptive processes are insufficient, marital quality suffers and divorce is more likely.

Outcomes

Research on divorce outcomes has largely focused on the negative consequences of divorce. Compared with married individuals, those who experience divorce have lower well-being, more health problems, greater mortality risk, smaller social networks, and lower standards of living. Women, however, are worse off economically, whereas men's economic condition improves slightly. Despite the disadvantaged financial state, women generally experience better adjustment to divorce compared with men. Women's successful adjustment is the result of their more developed social support networks and to their propensity for initiating the divorce. Because women are aware of the relationship problems and can begin thinking about divorce earlier, they are better prepared for life after divorce. In contrast, men are less prepared and more likely to cope ineffectively (e.g., engage in substance abuse) upon divorce. Finally, because of the typical unfair distribution of labor in households, divorce brings new desirable roles to women (e.g., head of household) and less desirable roles to men (e.g., household chores).

Influence on Children

Divorce influences children as well as the former spouses. In a 2000 review of thousands of divorce studies conducted in the 1990s, Amato identified the main ways divorce influences children. Generally, divorce has a small negative effect on children such that children of divorce have worse school performance, more behavioral problems, and lower well-being. Some positives, such as increased closeness between mother and daughter, have also been noted. Some research also notes that divorce is a more desirable alternative to a child experiencing a high conflict

intact marriage. High levels of conflict pre- or post-divorce have been associated with children's poor school performance, poor relationships with peers, aggression, and emotional insecurity. Divorce may also influence children's subsequent romantic relationships. Compared with children from intact marriages, children of divorce are more wary about commitment, more likely to view divorce as a viable option, more emotionally involved in their romantic relationships, more likely to have earlier sexual experiences, and have less idealistic views of marriage.

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See also Cohabitation; Courtship; Marriage; Sexuality and Reproduction

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DOMESTIC LABOR

Domestic labor refers to all of the work that is done to keep people healthy and productive. People need to be fed, clothed, cleaned up after, and cared for to remain productive members of our society. Economists estimate that as a society we spend as much time doing domestic labor as we spend in the paid labor force. Despite the importance of this labor to our economy and survival, it is typically overlooked and undervalued because most of it is done outside of the paid labor force and primarily by women.

The division of domestic labor within families remains deeply gendered. Even as women have made gains toward equality in the political realm and in the labor market, they continue to be responsible for most domestic labor. There is, however, significant variation in how families divide domestic labor, and scholars have developed competing theories to explain the allocation of domestic labor within families, as described in this entry.

The Gendered Division of Domestic Labor

On average, married women today spend approximately 19 hours per week doing domestic labor, compared with 10 hours done on average by married men. This division is in some ways an improvement since 1965, when married women averaged 34 hours and men averaged 5 hours per week. In the intervening years, when record numbers of married women entered the paid labor force, the primary change was a reduction in women's time in domestic labor, accompanied by a somewhat less drastic increase in men's domestic labor. Men's reluctance to do more work inside the home, despite women's increasing hours in paid labor, has helped stall equality inside and outside the home for women because the demands of domestic labor can impede women's ability to participate and excel in the paid labor market.

The overall decrease in the number of hours spent on domestic labor certainly reflects some amount of work that is not getting done and is often considered a part of a crisis for family care that rises from increased paid work hours for both men and women. Some affluent families, however, have the resources to buy domestic labor on the market, in the forms of housecleaning services, prepared foods, and restaurant meals. Even when buying domestic labor, the gendered division remains, with women primarily responsible for the purchasing, supervision, and management of these services. Furthermore, those who do paid housework are predominantly women of color who receive low pay and meager benefits, leading scholars to note that the freedom from housework for affluent women is often gained on the backs of less privileged women.

Aside from differences in the hours of domestic labor, men and women also tend to do different types of tasks. Core domestic labor tasks, those that are the most time consuming and frequently done, such as cooking meals, meal cleanup, housecleaning, and laundry, make up about two-thirds of hours spent in domestic labor, and women do the overwhelming amount of this work. Men invest most of their housework hours doing tasks that are more discretionary and less time consuming, including outdoor chores, repairs, gardening, pet care, and bill paying.

Variation in Allocation of Domestic Labor

Although the strongest predictor of time in domestic labor is gender, other characteristics are related to variation in housework and the gendered division of housework. Women's hours in paid employment is the strongest predictor; as women work more outside the home, they do fewer hours of unpaid domestic labor. Women with higher levels of education also do fewer hours of domestic labor on average. Employment hours have a weaker effect on men's housework time, although more work hours for men are related to a higher concentration of time in noncore housework tasks.

The division of labor is also influenced by family characteristics. Marriage has been found to increase women's hours in domestic labor, and decrease men's hours. Having children increases housework hours for both women and men, but much more so for women.

Researchers have also investigated the effect of social position on time spent in domestic labor. Despite stereotypes about traditional gender attitudes among the working class, there is little evidence that socioeconomic class has a significant effect on husbands' domestic labor.

African American men have been found to spend more time doing domestic labor than have other men, but still only about half as much as African American women. Researchers have found mixed results regarding Latinos, with some studies finding that Latino men do less housework than Latinas do and some finding that men do more than women.

The division of domestic labor has also been found to be shaped by attitudes about gender and housework, although not as strongly as one might expect. Women who believe strongly that housework should be shared have more equal divisions of domestic labor. Men who say that housework should be shared equally do perform more housework, but still perform much less housework than their wives do. The strongest effects are seen among spouses who have similar attitudes, when both husband and wife believe in an equal division of domestic labor.

The importance of gender in the division of domestic labor has prompted scholars to investigate the phenomenon among same-sex couples. Although some scholars have found more egalitarian divisions of labor among gay and lesbian couples, others have found patterns of inequality similar to those of heterosexual couples. In these couples, often the partner who works fewer hours or has a lower income takes on more domestic labor.

Competing Explanations for Gender Inequality in Domestic Labor

Scholars have used three major theories to attempt to explain gender inequalities in domestic labor: time availability, relative resources, and gender role theory. Each of these theories shows some strengths and weakness in explaining the division of domestic labor.

Time availability theories suggest that couples divide domestic labor rationally based on the amount of time they are spending in the paid labor market. This theory is supported by the strong correlation between women's employment hours and their housework time. However, others point out that this relationship is less consistent among men. Furthermore, some women change their hours in the paid labor force to accommodate their responsibility for domestic work.

The relative resources approach suggests that those with more power in a household will do less domestic labor. Power is often equated with status, position in the labor market, and income. According to this theory, men do less housework because they typically make more money than their spouses do. Furthermore, relative resources theorists argue that individuals within a household choose to specialize in either paid work or domestic work to maximize efficiency. In other words, the spouse who is "better" at paid labor (has higher occupational status and income) will specialize in market work, and the spouse who is "better" at domestic labor will specialize in that. Relative resources theory has been criticized for justifying inequalities that may disadvantage women in the workforce. In addition, it has been inadequate to explain persistent inequality even among couples where women are out-earning their husbands.

Critics of these first two perspectives often suggest that domestic labor is influenced as much by ideology about gender and appropriate responsibilities as it is by more structural concerns. They suggest that women and men use domestic labor (or the avoidance of it) as a way to display or perform masculinity or femininity. The successful performance of gender may ease marital interactions and provide feelings of satisfaction for the individuals.

Conclusion

The critical importance of unpaid domestic labor makes the allocation of this labor a vital issue for study. Most individuals, however, minimize the importance of this work and the division of it within their families. Even though most women do the majority of the housework, only about one-third of them rate their housework division as "unfair." Some suggest that traditional ideas about gender shape this evaluation, and others suggest that women will only rate the division as unfair when they have more power and alternatives available to them.

Even if individual women do not perceive inequality in housework as a problem, research has documented negative outcomes related to this division. High amounts of repetitive housework are associated with depression for both women and men. Furthermore, when men perform a greater share of the housework, their wives are less depressed and report higher marital satisfaction. The centrality of this labor for our society, families, and individual well-being challenges us to explore ways to share this labor fairly.

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See also Gender Performance; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Private/Public Spheres

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DOMESTIC PARTNERS/CIVIL UNIONS

During the last decade, several state governments and local municipalities within the United States have passed laws and enacted policies that provide protections for gay and lesbian couples, including domestic partnership, civil union, and most recently in the state of Massachusetts, same-sex marriage. Although domestic partnership and civil union often provide comparable rights and benefits to same-sex couples, significant variation exists from one context to the next, making it difficult to distinguish the terms precisely. One key difference is that *domestic partnership* is open to opposite-sex individuals and involves a contractual agreement that applies to specific statutes, whereas *civil union,* at least in the United States, is limited to same-sex couples, and represents a separate but parallel institution to that of (heterosexual) marriage. In contrast, *same-sex marriage* entails the removal of gender-exclusive language in the legal definition of marriage, broadening the institution of marriage to include both same and opposite-sex couples. This entry describes domestic partnership and civil unions in the United States, especially as they relate to family and gender.

Considering the controversy that surrounds same-sex marriage and the range of political contexts in which official recognition of homosexual relationships is pursued, it is not surprising that governmental action has proceeded in such different directions. Many existing domestic partnership and civil union laws are the result of attempts to achieve same-sex marriage. By January 2007, some form of legal recognition for same-sex couples had been implemented in the states of California, New Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, Hawai'i, and Maine and in the District of Columbia. Efforts in these states proceeded through the courts or the legislature. Although organized opposition to domestic partnership, civil

union, and same-sex marriage has often been pronounced—and even legally enforced, as in the case of Defense of Marriage Amendment (DOMA) legislation—legal recognition lends legitimacy to untraditional families, thus contributing to the transformation of gender and family politics.

Domestic Partnership and Civil Unions in the United States

The earliest form of legal recognition available to same-sex partners in the United States, domestic partnership, was created to provide some of the basic contractual entitlements of marriage, such as those involving property rights and support obligations. Although the first domestic partner policy was created in 1983 and 1984 in Berkeley, California, by the city's Human Relations and Welfare Commission, a domestic partnership registry, allowing couples to formally record their relationships within the municipality, was not implemented until 1991. In September 2003, a statewide domestic partnership bill was drafted and passed by the California legislature. One year later, in April 2004, Maine's legislature followed suit, implementing its own domestic partnership law (effective July 2004). These bills are more comprehensive in scope than the earlier domestic partnership registries, conferring nearly all of the rights and responsibilities associated with marriage. However, because domestic partnership is not federally recognized, the jurisprudence of individual states applies, meaning that couples' rights are not recognized or upheld beyond state lines.

In the early 1990s, the state of Hawai'i became one of the first battlegrounds in the United States where the issue of same-sex marriage was taken up by courts. Although a similarly timed injunction in Washington, D.C., gained some public attention, litigation efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, and the Hawai'i case, which generated widespread national attention, witnessed affirmative outcomes for gay and lesbian couples handed down from the state's supreme court. In May 1991, three couples filed a complaint with Hawai'i's first circuit court alleging discriminatory treatment and violation of the state's equal rights amendment by the Department of Health, which refused to grant marriage licenses to same-sex couples. The case of *Baher v. Lewin* was taken up by the Hawai'i supreme court shortly thereafter, and in 1993, the court ruled that denying same-sex couples marriage licenses constituted gender discrimination, a

breech of Hawai'i's constitutional rights protections. The state government was subsequently challenged to provide evidence to the contrary in the form of a "compelling interest" why the ban on same-sex marriage should stand.

As a result of the *Baher v. Lewin* ruling, a same-sex marriage bill was debated during the 1994 legislative session, but the issue was met with overall opposition from Hawai'i's House and Senate judiciary committees, which halted its progression with the passage of an amendment defining marriage as a union between one man and one woman. In an attempt at compromise, members of the Senate proposed a domestic partnership bill, but it failed to move beyond the judiciary committee. Although the debate over same-sex marriage in Hawai'i is perhaps less notable for its legal outcomes and more for the wave of national reaction it generated, it stands as a major milestone in the legal recognition of same-sex relationships.

The first civil union law in the United States was enacted in 2000 in Vermont. As with the Hawai'i case, efforts were initially organized around same-sex marriage and were similarly channeled through the courts. In the case of *Baker v. State of Vermont* (1999), three couples sued the state of Vermont for denying them marriage licenses. In court, arguments made on behalf of the state denounced same-sex marriage on the grounds that it did not support a civil interest in procreation and child rearing. However, the supreme court justices, headed by Chief Justice Jeffrey Amestoy, disagreed with this reasoning, and in 1999, Vermont's supreme court deemed the exclusion of same-sex couples from the institution of marriage unconstitutional and mandated that the legislature consider same-sex marriage, or an alternative, domestic partnership. In contrast to Hawai'i, the Vermont legislature, which maintained a tradition of progressive politics, responded more favorably to the court's decision, proposing civil union as a middle ground between domestic partnership and full marriage rights. Vermont was the first U.S. state to pass a civil union law. In 2006, New Jersey followed a similar path. The New Jersey supreme court ordered lawmakers to broaden the definition of marriage to include same-sex couples, or to propose and draft a comparable alternative. On December 14, the legislature passed a civil union bill, effective February 2007.

The state of Connecticut also has a civil union law on the books, but the path to this form of recognition shares similarities with, and diverges from that of

Hawai'i, Vermont, and New Jersey. As in other cases where civil union has been implemented, hope of achieving same-sex marriage was an impetus for pursuing legal action. In contrast to Hawai'i, Vermont, and New Jersey, however, Connecticut's struggle over the recognition of same-sex couples did not proceed through the state's courts but directly through its legislature. Although a same-sex marriage bill was drafted and debated during Connecticut's 2005 legislative session, it failed to garner majority vote. Judiciary committee members hastily drafted a civil union bill, which proved to be a palatable alternative for lawmakers, who quickly passed it through the House and Senate. The bill was signed by Republican Governor Jodi Rell, and in October 2006, the town clerk's office opened its doors to same-sex couples.

Family and Gender

Organized objection to the legal recognition of same-sex couples, often referred to as the "pro-family" movement, has arisen everywhere that domestic partnership, civil union, and same-sex marriage have been debated, demonstrating the power of traditionally held beliefs and attitudes about appropriate gender behavior. In numerous instances, these efforts have focused on the passage of state-level DOMAs, which redefine marriage as a union between one man and one woman. Primarily in response to the prospect of same-sex marriage in Hawai'i, a federal-level DOMA was touted by conservative groups and ultimately signed into law by President Bill Clinton in 1996. Thus, even as Massachusetts became the first state in the United States to extend full marriage rights to same-sex couples, the resulting unions are not recognized by the federal government and are therefore not protected beyond state lines, an issue referred to as "transferability." Currently, more than half of the United States, including most midwestern and southern states, has passed constitutional amendments banning same-sex union.

On the other hand, for many supporters of same-sex marriage, official recognition stands as a marker of equality under the law and holds the promise of more egalitarian familial arrangements, fluidity of gender roles in interpersonal relationships, and generally represents a move toward greater gender equality. In particular, families headed by same-sex couples disrupt the traditional nuclear family model comprising a male "breadwinner," a female "homemaker," and their dependent children. Opponents of same-sex

unions often defend the link between gender and procreation, arguing that only heterosexual couples can procreate, or should rear children. Yet the formation of families headed by same-sex couples challenges taken-for-granted assumptions about gender, biological reproduction, and family organization. Legal recognition of these unions provides protections for an already existing family form. At the same time, laws that acknowledge and protect same-sex families help to legitimate their existence.

Conclusion

Although the notion of same-sex marriage is not new to the United States, the country has witnessed a flurry of legal activity surrounding the recognition of same-sex couples in recent years. Taking stock of the range of laws passed in the United States alone reveals considerable differentiation in the types of strategies that are used, the role of the courts and legislatures, and the level and type of opposition that is encountered. The outcomes are even more diverse. Generally, protections and benefits become more comprehensive moving from domestic partnership to civil union to marriage. Often, activists view domestic partnership and civil union as stepping-stones toward marriage. Although opposition to these laws has often been pronounced, the ways that families are recognized is changing. As the recognition of same-sex relationships becomes an increasingly international issue among industrialized nations as diverse as Germany, France, Portugal, Hungary, the United Kingdom, Mexico, and Switzerland, the debate over how, when, and under what conditions to legalize same-sex relationships is an issue that will become even more salient.

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See also Cohabitation; Commitment Ceremonies; Same-Sex Families; Same-Sex Marriage

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Domestic Technology

Domestic technology encompasses a wide range of home appliances and household techniques and practices related to cleaning, cooking, and child care. The development and use of modern domestic technologies was spurred by urbanization and the rise of science. Their proliferation in Western households has significantly affected the organization of the home with implications for race, class, gender, and global stratification.

In the early 1800s, more than 90 percent of the U.S. population lived in rural areas. The preindustrial home was the center of production for daily life. Family members helped with the production of vegetables, bread, clothing, soap, candles, and even medicines. The industrial revolution and urbanization shifted many types of production outside the home. The vacuum in home production generated debate about expectations for home life and women's responsibilities to private and public life. The debates were driven partly by the development of the domestic science movement. A stream of advice manuals and books such as Lydia Maria Child's *American Frugal Housewife* (1828) and Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *The American Woman's Home* (1869) became household manuals.

Given the elimination of many home production activities, such feminists as Oliver Schreiner and Charlotte Perkins Gilman advocated that women join men in the public sphere. Yet theirs was radical thought amid the fledgling, yet clearly patriarchal, institutions of postcolonial America. Precolonial and postcolonial America witnessed a growing emphasis on public education and literacy unmatched elsewhere in the world. Yet women's education was legitimized by emphasizing their responsibility in training their sons for entrance into civil society.

The lifework of Ellen Swallow Richards and her commitment to domestic science were a more palatable match for the given systems of patriarchy. In 1871, Richards became the first female student and then faculty member at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Having trained at Vassar in laboratory techniques then in their infancy, Richards found that her love for science found greater acceptance among men and women when directed toward the female domain of home. Ironically, Richards's focus on the home was more of a concession than a driving vision. She trained secondary education teachers to make a place for herself and other women in science and the academy.

Richards applied laboratory techniques, epidemiology, and germ theory to social problems connected with the home. The American city of the late 1800s was rife with health and safety issues driven by growing urbanization and overcrowding. Richards engineered systemic and home sanitation standards, product testing, food science, ventilation, and hygienic cleaning techniques.

Richards believed that domestic science provided an opportunity to elevate women's status. The care of family and home were not just a vocation, but now a profession based on specialized training. Proper homemaking required formal education in domestic science. As with the rationale for women's literacy in earlier times, the rationale for women's training in the principles of science was legitimized through their responsibility to home life. Cleaning and sanitation became a moral responsibility of every good homemaker.

Although key scientific contributions such as water sanitation, waste management, and immunizations improved public health, many other elements of the domestic science movement contributed to greater social stratification. Domestic education applied "Taylorism," the scientific management techniques used in factories to increase efficiency and production, to home life. Rather than freeing women for leisure or paid work, time "saved" was used to prepare more elaborate meals and scrub floors and walls on a regular basis. The focus on in-home production also created economic opportunity for technological innovation. Yet, many appliances labeled "time saving" actually increased the amount of time that women spent on household labor. "Wash day" became every day, instead of once a month as when laundry was done by hand.

Domestic science home visits became a method for assimilating urban poor families into middle-class American desires, if not luxuries of life. A new sense of order for family was conveyed: family schedules, cleanliness standards, food choice, and food preparation were

framed in the vision of "right living." Poor women still labored in factories or did piece work in their homes. Material and time resources restricted their ability to conform to middle-class standards. Rising expectations for the ideal home further challenged the moral and feminine identities of the working poor.

Test kitchens such as the "Good Housekeeping Experiment Station," established in 1900, put the science of food chemistry into corporate practice. Yet, the influence of these kitchens was as much about marketing and sales, with the "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval," as it was about science. Photos of female home economists dressed in lab coats in kitchens gave scientific credibility to products such as Corning Ware and helped convince homemakers to use them in their own kitchens.

The influence of the domestic science movement reached beyond women's in-home labor: it also affected changes in women's participation in the public sphere. For example, domestic science provided a discourse that allowed women to retain their femininity and accept the new scientific training requirements infused into the field of nursing in the late 19th century.

The foundations of domestic science are retained in home and work organization of modern Western societies. Although men are now more likely to participate in child care responsibilities, women still perform about twice as much routine housework as men do. In all wealthy nations such as the United States, women now represent almost half the paid labor force. Yet middle- and upper-class men and women's labor force participation is often supported by the home labor of poor and working-class women. Many of these women are immigrants who tend to the housekeeping and child care needs of a family. The home and markers of proper living today exist at the intersections of racial, gender, social class, and global stratification.

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See also Domestic Labor; Education: Gender Differences; Scientific Motherhood

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence—also known as "interpersonal violence," "battering" and "family violence"—is a widespread and serious public health problem, in the United States and internationally. The United Nations Development Fund for Women estimates that one in three women around the world will be beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her own lifetime. This entry looks at definitions of domestic violence, historical perspectives, domestic violence statistics, causes of batter, effects of domestic violence, children of battered women, and response and prevention.

Definitions

The notion of a "battered woman" derives from the criminal violation known as "battery" or the willful or intentional touching of a person against that person's will by another person, or by an object or substance put in motion by that other person. The notion of "battered women," with its emphasis on physical violence, fails to entirely capture the various ways in which intimate partners of either gender can be manipulated and abused and as a consequence, the term has been largely replaced by *domestic violence* (DV), *intimate partner violence* (IPV), and the more generic *family violence.*

During the past 15 years, there has been a growing recognition that IPV is a highly prevalent public health problem with devastating effects on individuals, families, and communities. The term *family violence* has been used to describe acts of violence between family members, including adult and adolescent partners, between a parent and a child (including adult children), between caretakers or partners against elders, and between siblings. Although sometimes used interchangeably, the term *domestic violence* is generally seen as a subset of family violence between intimates so that the term *intimate partner violence* appears to be replacing *domestic violence* for the sake of definitional clarity.

The Family Violence Prevention Fund defines IPV as a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviors that

may include inflicted physical injury; psychological abuse; sexual assault; progressive social, physical, or financial isolation; stalking; deprivation; extreme jealousy and possessiveness; and intimidation and threats perpetrated by someone who is, was, or wishes to be involved in an intimate or dating relationship with an adult or adolescent, and are aimed at establishing control by one partner over the other. Threats may be directed at the partner, her or his friends, family members, pets, or property. This term also includes children who are used by the perpetrator to intimidate and abuse the adult victim, as well as those who are forced by the perpetrator to participate in the abuse of an adult victim.

Legal definitions and remedies of IPV vary from state to state but generally refer specifically to threats or acts of physical or sexual violence including forced rape, stalking, harassment, certain types of psychological abuse, and other crimes where civil or criminal justice remedies apply. Violence between intimates is notoriously difficult to measure largely because it usually occurs in private, and victims are often reluctant to report incidents to anyone because of shame, guilt, or fear of reprisal.

Historical Perspectives

The battering of women is best understood within a sociopolitical context that explores the status of women's rights throughout time. Women in the United States did not acquire significant legal rights until the mid- to late-19th century and could not even vote until 1920. Before women achieved suffrage, married women were largely considered to be a form of marital property, and separated and divorced women were even more vulnerable to the whims of male authority figures. The battering of women, when publicly noticed, was largely attributed to the vagaries of unusually violent men or the pathology of the women involved.

Until the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, DV was attributed to individual pathology, rather than as an extremely common and significantly destructive social problem. As a result of the women's liberation movement, battered women came to be understood as the most extreme victims of a universal and systematic oppression of women that extends far back into recorded history. In 1979, psychologist Lenore Walker interviewed 1,500 women who were victims of abuse perpetrated by their spouse and noticed that they all described a similar pattern that she called *battered woman syndrome,* in which the severity of the abuse escalates over time while both partners deny the severity of the abuse and are both convinced that each episode is a separate and isolated event. In such cases, as the abuse escalates, the husband stops apologizing for the behavior and becomes increasingly violent while his partner becomes increasingly depressed, fatalistic, self-blaming, helpless, and hopeless, developing a sense of personal entrapment and rejecting help from others. It became clear that the victim's preexisting personality was not a major factor in the development of battered woman syndrome and was not dissimilar to the adaptation that hostages make to their captors, also known as the Stockholm syndrome.

The first responses to victims of battering originated as the grassroots efforts of women to help and support each other through the development of DV shelters and other services, including political and social advocacy. The criminal justice responses to battering, although far from perfect, have included model police protocols, significant changes in prosecution and legal defense, and judicial education. Efforts to train health care professionals, mental health care professionals, child care workers, child protective services, and other social services are still in their formative stages.

Domestic Violence: The Statistics

DV is the leading cause of injury to women. U.S. government surveys on violence against women show that at some point in their lifetimes, more than a quarter of women in the United States are physically assaulted, stalked, or undergo one or more attempted or actual rapes by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner or date and one-third of all murdered women are killed by intimate partners. Around the world, studies have shown that 10 percent to 69 percent of women reported being physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lives; intimate partners commit 40 percent to 70 percent of homicides of women; and one in three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime. Most often, the abuser is a family member.

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) gathers data about crimes using an ongoing, nationally representative sample of households in the United States. NCVS data include information about crime

victims (age, gender, race, ethnicity, marital status, income, and educational level), criminal offenders (gender, race, approximate age, and victim-offender relationships), and the nature of the crime (for example, time and place of occurrence, use of weapons, and nature of injury). NCVS victimization data include incidents reported and not reported to police. The experiences and estimates of IPV reflect those of the individuals residing in households but do not capture the experiences of homeless individuals or those living in institutional settings such as shelters for homeless or battered persons. In 2005, 77,200 households and 134,000 individuals age 12 and older were interviewed. Between 1993 and 2005, response rates varied between 91 percent and 96 percent of eligible households and between 84 percent and 93 percent of eligible individuals. According to this survey, nonfatal IPV has declined since 1993. The rate of nonfatal IPV victimization for females was about 4 victimizations per 1,000 persons age 12 or older in 2005, down from about 10 in 1993. For females of most age categories, nonfatal IPV victimization declined over time.

Research has shown that victimized females are 2.5 times more costly to the health care system than are women who have never been the victims of abuse. Three-quarters of employed battered women were harassed at work, and DV is estimated to cost companies at least $73 million a year in lost productivity.

Gender as a Factor

According to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, nonfatal IPV is most frequently committed by individuals of opposite genders. Females are more likely than are males to experience nonfatal IPV. Most victims of IPV are women. On average from 2001 to 2005, about 96 percent of females experiencing nonfatal IPV were victimized by a male, and about 3 percent reported that the offender was another female, whereas about 82 percent of males experiencing nonfatal IPV were victimized by a female and about 16 percent of males reported that the offender was another male. For homicides, intimate partners committed 30 percent of homicides of females, 5 percent of homicides of males. One of 14 men has been physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, boyfriend, girlfriend, or date at some time in their lives, and 86 percent of adult men who were physically assaulted were physically assaulted by a man and in only 56 percent of the times were these assaults by a stranger.

Sexual Orientation as a Factor

In a report describing incidents of DV against people of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) experience that were reported during the year 2006 to community-based anti-violence organizations in 12 regions throughout the United States, approximately 50 percent of the lesbian population had experienced or will experience DV in their lifetimes. In one year, 44 percent of victims in LGBT DV cases identified as men and 36 percent identified as women, and 78 percent of lesbians report that they have either defended themselves or fought back against an abusive partner. Gay and bisexual men experience abuse in intimate partner relationships at a rate of 2 in 5, which is comparable to the amount of DV experienced by heterosexual women; 40 percent of gay and bisexual men will experience abuse at the hands of an intimate partner.

Age as a Factor

In general, males ages 12 to 15 and age 65 or older experienced the lowest rates of nonfatal IPV. Although in general, females ages 12 to 15 and age 50 or older were at the lowest risk of nonfatal IPV, battering may start when women are still quite young. Recent surveys show that 20 percent of teenagers and young women have already been exposed to some form of dating violence defined as controlling, abusive, and aggressive behavior in a romantic relationship. Females ages 20 to 24 were at the greatest risk of nonfatal IPV.

Ethnicity as a Factor

Battering appears to occur within every culture, and every religious orientation and all races are equally vulnerable. Similar to other types of nonfatal violent victimization, nonfatal IPV is primarily intra-racial in nature. About 84 percent of white victims are victimized by white offenders and about 93 percent of black victims are victimized by black offenders. Between 1993 and 2005, rates of nonfatal IPV decreased for white females, white males, and black females. During the same period, intimate homicide rate fell for blacks in every relationship category, whereas the rate for whites remained unchanged for all categories. The average annual rate of nonfatal IPV from 2001 to 2005 was generally higher for American Indian and Alaskan Native females and similar for black females and white females. Between 1993 and 2005, the rate of nonfatal

IPV victimizations declined for Hispanic females by two-thirds.

Pregnancy as a Factor

Twenty-three percent of pregnant women seeking prenatal care are battered. In a survey of pregnant low-income women, 65 percent of the women had experienced either verbal abuse or physical violence during their pregnancies.

Income as a Factor

From 2001 to 2005, females living in households with lower annual incomes experienced the highest average annual rates of nonfatal IPV. Females remained at greater risk than males within each income level.

Children's Exposure

On average between 2001 and 2005, children were residents of the households experiencing IPV in 38 percent of the incidents involving female victims and 21 percent of the incidents involving male victims.

Where and When

Males and females living in urban areas reported the highest levels of nonfatal IPV, and males and females residing in rural and suburban areas were equally likely to experience nonfatal IPV. Nonfatal IPV is more likely to occur between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Females and males experienced nonfatal IPV at similar times during the day and night. On average between 2001 and 2005, the majority of nonfatal IPV victimizations occurred at home; approximately two-thirds of females and males were victimized at home, and about 11 percent of female and 10 percent of male victims of nonfatal IPV were victimized at a friend's or neighbor's home.

Substance Use

On average between 2001 and 2005, victims reported the presence of any alcohol or drugs in about 42 percent of all nonfatal IPV, and victims reported that approximately 8 percent of all nonfatal IPV victimizations occurred when a perpetrator was under the influence of both alcohol and drugs. Female and male victims of nonfatal IPV were equally likely to report the presence of alcohol during their victimization. Female

and male victims of nonfatal IPV both reported their attacker was under the influence of drugs in about 6 percent of all victimizations.

Weapons

On average between 2001 and 2005, for nonfatal IPV male victims were more likely than female victims were to face an offender armed with a weapon, but female victims were more likely than were male victims to face an offender armed with a firearm. About 6 percent of female and 10 percent of male victims faced an offender armed with a sharp weapon, such as a knife. The number of female and male IPV victims killed with guns has fallen. For females, the number of IPV victims killed by other weapons has remained stable.

Injuries

Thirty-two percent of all women who seek emergency room care for violence-related injuries were injured by an intimate partner. On average between 2001 and 2005, half of all females experiencing nonfatal IPV suffered an injury from their victimization; about 5 percent of female victims and 4 percent of male victims were seriously injured. Less than one-fifth of victims reporting an injury seek treatment following the injury. Females experiencing an injury are more likely than are their male counterparts to seek treatment at a hospital.

Reporting to Police

Between 1994 and 2005, reporting to police of nonfatal IPV increased for female victims. For 2001 to 2005, the percentage of nonfatal intimate partner victimizations reported to the police was higher for black females than for white females, higher for black females than for black males, and about the same for black and white males. Private or personal matter was the most frequent reason given for not reporting nonfatal IPV to police. On average between 2001 and 2005, almost 40 percent of male and 22 percent of female victims gave this reason. The reasons stated for not notifying police about the nonfatal IPV were fear of reprisal for 12 percent of female victims, to protect the offender for 14 percent of female and 16 percent of male victims, and because the police would not do anything for 8 percent of female victims.

Causes of Battering

As is the case for all complex social phenomena, there is no single cause of battering. The first—and perhaps the most important influence—is learning. The vast preponderance of violent acts in our culture are perpetrated by males and acted out against women, children, and other men. In about 95 percent of the cases of DV, the perpetrator is male, and even in situations where women are violent, the violence tends to be less damaging and far less lethal than when men are violent.

The dominant influence on male behavior is social expectation. Children learn the basics about how to relate to other people within the context of their own families. When they witness violence being used as a method for resolving problems, they learn violence as a fundamental intervention with other people. Boys are expected to both give and take physical violence as part of routine male conditioning. As adults, men are expected to control their violence; the amount of control that is expected has varied by time and historical period, but nonviolence has never been the social norm.

In the large Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) study, the greater the likelihood that children were exposed to IPV, the greater the likelihood that they were also physically, sexually, or emotionally abused. Among women, the ACEs study found a strong graded relationship between the number of adverse experiences they had survived as children and the risk of becoming a battering victim. Similarly, among men, the study found a strong graded relationship between the number of these types of experiences as children and the risk of subsequently becoming a batterer.

It has been repeatedly substantiated that children who are exposed to violence are far more likely to become violent themselves. Exposure to violence in childhood is a serious risk factor for adolescent and adult violent and criminal behavior. Over many studies, the most consistent risk factor for men becoming abusive to their own female partners is growing up in a home where their mother was beaten by their father.

Although substance abuse does not cause DV, it can play a role in exacerbating battering incidents. Reportedly, one-fourth to one-half of men who commit acts of DV also have substance abuse problems. Women who abuse alcohol or drugs are more likely to be victims of battering, and victims of DV are more likely to receive prescriptions for and become dependent on tranquilizers, sedatives, stimulants, and painkillers and are more likely to abuse alcohol.

Poverty, homelessness, and racism are all stressors that in and of themselves do not cause violence but alone and in combination, they put enormous stress on families. Families that are stressed, isolated, and socially unsupported are more likely to be violent. Many women and children are made homeless as a result of DV when they flee the perpetrator. The system of DV shelters and services was initially created largely by and for white, middle-class women. As a result, the issue of systematic oppression based not just on gender but also on race and class has not necessarily informed services for battered women. Women from lower socioeconomic classes have far fewer opportunities to leave abusive partners because they have less available resources to support themselves and their children.

Effects of Domestic Violence

There are immediate, short-term, and long-term effects of being battered, and many studies connect a wide variety of physical, psychological, social, and existential problems with DV. Typically, a woman who is battered lives with constant terror and anxiety with fears of imminent doom. To others, she may appear passive and lacking in energy, seemingly helpless to take charge of her own life. She may suffer from chronic depression, exhibit suicidal behavior, and develop overt post-traumatic stress disorder. She may turn to the use of drugs and alcohol to afford herself some relief, thus compounding existing problems. She is likely to feel hopeless and powerless to make any significant changes, fearing that anything she does will lead to something worse. She may be unable to relax and have difficulty sleeping. Her sleep may be interrupted by violent nightmares.

The manner in which a battered woman will be individually affected by battering will be determined by a number of interactive factors, including her previous exposure to violence as a child and adolescent; genetic, constitutional, and psychobiological factors; the presence of coexisting physical, psychological, or social problems; the presence of substance abuse; her belief systems as well as the belief system(s) of her family, ethnic group, religious affiliation; and the supports that exist within the community.

The Children of Battered Women

Children exposed to DV show many different responses that negatively affect their physical and

mental health, their social adjustment, and their school performance. For children, the more severe the violence, the more severe their problems are likely to be. Childhood exposure to violence also has serious consequences for adult physical health as well as mental health and social adjustment. When compared with people who had safe and secure childhoods, people who had experienced four or more categories of childhood adversity—including witnessing DV—had 4- to 12-fold increased health risks for alcoholism, drug abuse, depression, and suicide attempts; 2- to 4-fold increases in smoking, poor self-rated health, sexual promiscuity, and sexually transmitted disease; and 1.4- to 1.6-fold increases in physical inactivity and severe obesity. The number of categories of adverse childhood exposures showed a graded relationship to the presence of adult diseases including ischemic heart disease, cancer, chronic lung disease, skeletal fractures, and liver disease. The seven categories of adverse childhood experiences were strongly interrelated, and persons with multiple categories of childhood exposure were likely to have multiple health risk factors later in life.

Response and Prevention

A problem cannot be solved until it is properly recognized. During the last 30 years, public awareness of battering as a significant social problem has radically increased. Nonetheless, a great deal of work is yet to be done in educating health care and mental health care providers, social service workers, educators, criminal justice officials, and the general public about the reality of DV, including the costs to society of failing to adequately address the problem. Adequate responses require that the community provide sufficient legal, health, mental health, and other community resources to protect victims and ensure that they receive the services that lead to healing and recovery. This includes sufficient resources to treat the physical, emotional, and social consequences of battering in the victim, the child witnesses, and the perpetrators. To efficiently deliver these resources, research is needed to discover those interventions that are the most effective. Ultimately, although individual suffering must be addressed, the solution to the problem of battering resides in cultural transformation so that intimate violence and all forms of interpersonal violence are no longer considered acceptable.

Sandra L. Bloom

See also Access to Justice; Mentors in Violence Prevention Model; Rape; Sexual Harassment; Sexual Slavery; Torture

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"Don't Ask, Don't Tell"

The military policy "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass" was established by Congress in 1993. The Department of Defense policy is the result of President Bill Clinton's campaign promise to eliminate the ban on homosexual and bisexual personnel in the U.S. military. The policy states that members of the military can no longer be asked to divulge their sexual orientation and that the military cannot actively seek out homosexual or bisexual members.

Before this policy was adopted, people seeking to join the military were asked to report any homosexual behavior, and anyone who was in the Armed Forces who was discovered to be engaged in same-sex acts was discharged from the service. Policy does not always match practice. Studies have documented that in times of great need, gay and lesbian personnel were often allowed to enlist or serve but most of these people were dishonorably discharged once the military felt they were no longer needed.

Clinton's proposal represented a cultural shift in the United States, where same-sex relationships were gaining widespread acceptance. His initial proposal garnered intense opposition by some members in Congress. The "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy is the result of a compromise between forces on both sides. The goal of the policy is to provide an opportunity for gays and lesbians to serve, but they can only do so if they do not reveal their sexual orientation. Additionally, it was believed that the history of "witch hunts" that previously occurred would be reduced. In 2005, the Government Accounting Office (GAO) reported that approximately 9,500 members had been discharged between 1993 and 2003. Because of the costs involved with training, discharging, and replacing these service members, the government estimates this cost to be almost $95 million. The report also documented a steady increase in discharges since the policy took effect.

Supporters of the policy often focus on two areas. The first is on the basis of civil rights, stating that whoever wants to serve and meets the basic requirements, should be allowed to serve. Supporters refute arguments about lack of morale and cohesiveness as being grounded in homophobia, myths, and stereotypes. If all conduct themselves in a professional and appropriate manner, then one's sexuality does not affect the effectiveness of the unit. Another position is based on defining homosexuality or bisexuality as a

sexual orientation and defining sexuality as inherent to an individual's identity. Therefore, people are being discriminated against not because of certain assumed behaviors but instead because of their identities.

Those opposing establishment of the policy use more traditional arguments of exclusion. Although some cite objections based on religious beliefs, most believe that having homosexuals or bisexuals serving reduces the morale of a military unit. This is because heterosexual members are uncomfortable because of the physical closeness of living and training conditions. The basis for most of these arguments run along behavioral lines, that homosexuals choose to live a particular lifestyle that is contrary to the lifestyle of the military. Interestingly, heterosexuals are not presumed to be living a particular "heterosexual lifestyle." Another basis is tied into beliefs surrounding sexuality, masculinity, and femininity. For example, some argue that homosexual men are more feminine and therefore weaker, which makes them poor soldiers. Others oppose the policy with the argument that the military should return to its original position of banning all homosexuals and bisexuals. Often the foundation for each of these points rests in religious beliefs. A new oppositional argument has recently emerged, one that opposes the policy in favor of allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly.

Another area of debate resides in the safety of homosexual and bisexual service members. Some argue that the policy has increased sexual harassment, assault, and murder. Cases have been cited where supervisors were aware of anti-gay harassment but they chose to ignore rather than stop the behavior. Others speak of a general culture of homophobia that exists within the military structure, which fuels anti-gay behavior and attitudes. Beginning in the late 1980s, a series of incidents brought increased attention to sexual harassment and assault that many women face by males, but only recently have studies been conducted focusing on documenting current incidents of anti-homosexual or bisexual bias and violence. Many incidents of anti-gay behavior are based on a perception of homosexuality, which is largely shaped by myths and stereotypes. Some countries, such as Britain, have eliminated their ban on gays and lesbians and have found a dramatic decrease in anti-gay violence.

One unanticipated result of this policy is that after the events of September 11, 2001, there was an increased need for personnel who were fluent in a host of languages, such as Arabic, Farsi, and Korean. While the government appealed for people with these

language skills to join the military, more than 300 service members with these skills were discharged because of issues related to homosexuality or bisexuality. Debates continue surrounding the effectiveness and need for the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy.

Kristina B. Wolff

See also Homosexuality; Homophobia; Military, Women Serving in; Military Masculinity

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"Down Low," The

The *down low,* or DL, is a term used to refer primarily to black men who are secretly having sex with other men while maintaining heterosexual relationships or marriages. Included within this concept is a racialized depiction of men who have sex with men (MSM), as well as an understanding of masculinity because these men are assumed to not be effeminate and may perhaps be portraying hyper-masculine depictions such as the "homothug." Another significant aspect of the DL is that these men do not construct themselves as gay or bisexual, but as heterosexual men. In recent times, there has been increasing research about black MSM who are on the DL, particularly regarding high-risk sexual behavior and sexually transmitted diseases

(STDs). The research regarding STD transmission has been of particular concern because DL men are not likely to inform their female sex partners that they are sexually active with men and may not be employing safer sex practices.

Although the DL is being constructed as a new phenomenon within the media, MSM behavior has always existed. The term *down low* has been part of black vernacular since at least the early 1990s, with the initial meaning of secrecy or discretion. Initially, the DL was tied to sexuality by men who were having sex with women other than their girlfriends or wives, but over time, it has evolved to refer primarily to sex with men. The current connection of the DL to MSM emerged in the early 2000s with the publication of books addressing the "new" phenomenon. Socially, the DL has often been framed as the immoral behavior of black men and the implications this behavior has for "innocent" black women.

Although men on the DL are not likely to identify as homosexual or bisexual, this does not dismiss the possibility of long-term relationships or connections between men. Many men who are on the DL may seek to establish long-term quasi-monogamous relationships with a male partner with the expectation of it being safer. However, many men on the DL may also seek sex with men in situations that may ensure anonymity, such as pornographic theaters, cruising parks, public restrooms, and most recently, via the Internet.

In one survey, when contrasting DL-identified MSM with gay or bisexual identified men, DL men are approximately 8 to 10 times more likely to report having a female sexual partner in the past 6 months. Among all men surveyed, the median number of male sexual partners in the prior 6 months was seven. Significant numbers of men surveyed had had sex with men whose HIV status was unknown, with more than one-third of the men reporting unprotected receptive anal intercourse. Among the DL men, one in four reported unprotected vaginal sex during the last 6 months. Thus, among DL men, there is a significant level of unprotected sexual behavior occurring with both male and female sexual partners. One author suggests this may occur because the use of condoms, particularly while having sex with men, would demonstrate forethought and intent to have sex with men and reduce the ability for these men to argue that "it just happened" or "it was the alcohol," thus forcing these men to recognize their same-sex desire. DL men demonstrate significantly higher levels of internalized homophobia than do gay or bisexual identified men.

In the United States, blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately affected by HIV and AIDS. The degree to which DL behavior affects this is unclear. Among HIV positive men, 77 percent of whites and 49 percent of blacks acquired HIV via MSM behavior. Further affiliated with the risks of HIV, black men are less likely to be tested or know their serostatus. Among HIV positive women, 67 percent of whites and 80 percent of blacks acquired HIV via heterosexual sex. In general, black women have 23 times greater risk of contracting HIV than do white women. White men who have sex with men are far more likely to identify as homosexual or bisexual than are Black men. The social privilege of race may be functioning in the ability to identify as nonheterosexual and may enable greater access to HIV testing. The connections of the DL to HIV have often disregarded the issues of poverty that many racial minority groups face.

Although the DL has most commonly been affiliated with black men, men of other racial groups and women also participate in secretive sex with same-sex partners. In recent years, high-profile politicians such as Governor James McGreevy of New Jersey and Congressman Michael Huffington of California have brought increasing attention to the DL behavior of white men. Women on the DL have been understudied partly because of the current eroticization of pseudo-lesbians, as well as sexism placing attention on male sexual behavior.

Environments such as the military also encourage MSM to be on the DL. If same-sexual behavior or identities are discovered, individuals may face significant levels of discrimination, as well as dismissal from service.

A significant level of MSM occurs in prisons; however, most of these men do not identify as homosexual or bisexual and may construct their behavior as "doing what they have to do." It has been suggested that MSM (both forced and consensual) along with drug use in prisons may be significantly affecting HIV rates among black men. However, condoms are currently regarded as contraband in nearly all prisons, disallowing safer sex practices.

Daniel Farr

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; HIV/AIDS; Homosexuality; Safer Sex

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DOWRY/DAAJ

The dowry system is most notably recognized as particular to India, although it has existed in some forms in various other countries, including some related practices noted by anthropologists in Europe and Africa. However, giving and receiving dowry appears to be a complex system in its variations in meanings and practices among families in various parts of India. The system has been undergoing numerous changes and legal reforms although some of its practices still exist even among affluent and educated people.

A dowry (called *daaj* in Panjabi and *dahej* in Hindi) is a form of a "gift" given by the bride's family to the groom's family (usually to his father) at the time of marriage but may be given even after the marriage on various occasions. Dowry is generally found to be an involuntary system and an established tradition, expected, and sometimes even demanded as a right or a claim made by the groom's family. The amount of dowry expected and given generally depends on the relative economic as well as the caste status of the bride's family among, for example, Hindus and Sikhs. Generally though, it consists of cash amounts and items such as jewelry, clothing, furnishings, appliances, or a car for bride and groom and his family members. Among the Muslims in India, Pakistan, and in several parts of the Middle East, however, the custom of dowry is almost the reverse. In this case, dowry (called "Mehr") is fixed at the time of marriage by the family of the bride in terms of a cash amount that

would be socially sanctioned as a claim to be made by her in case she is divorced by her husband. The amount is usually higher if the bride belongs to an above-average social class and is a virgin or had not previously been married and divorced.

Although the dowry system has been outlawed since the enactment of the 1961 Dowry Prohibition Act in India's Penal Code (amended in 1984 and 1986), it is still socially and informally sanctioned, particularly in business castes and in rural communities. Raj argues that the dowry system has had both advantages and disadvantages for people. Its supporters claim that it used to be fair practice in the past because a woman could not inherit parents' land and other property. In that case, the dowry financially compensated her and her husband's family. Some even argue that by giving an attractive amount of dowry, the parents could find a suitable match for unattractive and uneducated daughters. Also, the dowry system has been an essential part of hypergamy (upward status mobility through marriage), particularly among relatively higher-status families who generally tend to use arranged marriages to consolidate or enhance their social status.

The dowry system in India has become a major problem and a hotly debated topic, however, particularly among many educated people as well as among Indian feminists. Jane Rudd demonstrates that the inability of a prospective bride and her family to meet the increasingly difficult dowry demands of the groom and his family is responsible for much of the domestic violence, including the neglect of daughters, female infanticide, sex-selective abortion, and harassment. Thousands of dowry-related murders and suicides, known as "dowry deaths" or "bride burning," have been reported. Incidents of this type of violence against women generated a great deal of media publicity during the 1980s. Many reports indicated that a woman's value or worth is judged at her husband's home by the dowry she brings. Sometimes the husband's family is not satisfied with the amount of dowry his wife brings in as a marriage payment. As a result, soon after the marriage, the husband and his parents start demanding additional money or property. If the woman and her parents resist the additional demands, she may be beaten, psychologically tortured, murdered, or burnt to death by the so-called mysterious "kitchen fires." There is evidence of women being set alight in kitchens often with their husbands and their in-laws (usually mothers-in-law)

actively participating in the crime. So dowry, a cultural practice, is coming to be recognized as a criminal offense and strict penalties have been enacted for such offenses by the government of India.

The dowry system in general demonstrates the socially lower and financially dependent status of women. For example, families that consider male children as economic assets and female children as liabilities demonstrate a cultural mentality that produces a secondary status for women. In many parts of India, women are virtually denied their legal inheritance rights because their brothers often manipulate the system in their own favor and sisters do not claim their rights because "they had received dowry." Overall, a father "giving away" his daughter in an "arranged" marriage implies that a woman is a sort of commodity that can be traded off.

Originally perhaps, the dowry system was designed as a safety net for the woman. The money, gifts, property, and other belongings given to the woman by her parents at the time of marriage were meant to exclusively remain with the woman. Under the spell of greed, however, the original intention of the dowry has been abused to the extent that it has become a price tag for the groom and a possible death sentence for the bride. Depending on the qualifications, profession, education, and income of the groom, the price tag skyrockets. With higher education (doctors, engineers, etc.), some consider it their divine right to receive a large dowry. High expectations of dowry have led to abortions of female fetuses and many poor families resorting to female infanticide for the fear of not being able to provide dowry.

Present in all levels of Indian society, the dowry system has exacerbated the historically lower status of women. In addition to the inequities of the dowry system, women in India have been systematically downgraded in other ways for centuries. For example, they have been deprived of education (secular and spiritual) and have been subjected to the limitations of the caste system. The dowry system is likely to finally go away. Many in the new generation of Indians seem to be moving away from the parental controls in the arranged marriage system. During the past few years, mass media have been reporting incidents when grooms and their accomplices are beaten up and police had to arrest them for demanding dowry during marriage ceremonies. In a recent study, however, Mary Shenk concludes, "Attempts to deal with dowry

problems have resulted in virtually no diminution of either dowry or violence against women." The rate of education and employment among girls has been steadily increasing during the past few decades, and attitudes toward dowry are becoming more negative. For example, studies are increasingly showing a highly negative perception of the dowry system among high school and college students in India.

Raghu N. Singh and J. Douglas Dailey

See also Arranged Marriages; Sati

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DOWRY PROHIBITION ACT

The Dowry Prohibition Act enacted on July 1, 1961, in India prohibits the giving or receiving of a dowry. The law defines a dowry as property or valuable security given by either party to the marriage, or by the parents of either party, or by anyone else, in connection with the marriage. The original text of the Dowry Prohibition Act was found to be ineffective in curbing the practice of dowry. In addition specific forms of violence against women, linked to a failure to meet dowry demands, created a need for more stringent prohibitions than those available under existing law. As a result, legislative advocacy changes were made to the language of the Dowry Prohibition Act and other important sections of the Indian Penal Code to protect female victims of dowry-related violence. Despite these laws, the practice of dowry persists in India today and can be found in varying degrees within several communities and socioeconomic groups.

The Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 applies to people of all religions in India. Under the law, a distinction is made between *dowry,* which refers to property that is obtained by force or coercion as part of a marital agreement, and *stridhan,* or property that a woman's family gives her voluntarily at the time of her marriage. Stridhan can also include the separate property a woman brings to a marriage. A 1984 amendment to the act specifies that presents given to a bride or groom at the time of a wedding are allowed but the law requires that a list be maintained describing each gift, its value, the identity of the person giving it, and the person's relation to either party to the marriage. The original language of the act prohibited only dowry given "in consideration of marriage," which was limited in scope and left unregulated a range of dowry-related transactions. In 1984, the language was amended to prohibit dowry given "in connection with the marriage," with the hope that the change would encompass a broader range of agreements. Revisions of the original act also established minimum and maximum punishments for giving and receiving dowry and created a penalty for demanding dowry or advertising offers of money or property in connection with a marriage. The Indian Penal Code was also modified in 1983 to establish specific crimes of dowry-related cruelty, dowry death, and abetment of suicide. These enactments punish violence against women by their husbands or their relatives when proof of dowry demands or dowry harassment can be shown.

Sharmila Lodhia

See also Arranged Marriages; Domestic Violence; Dowry/Daaj; Femicide

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DRAG KING

Drag kings are (usually) female performers who parody masculinity in a variety of theatrical acts. Drag kings and their performances are mostly found in venues within the gay and lesbian subculture because these spaces provide safe environments for gender play and have maintained historical traditions of queer

and culturally subversive performance. Drag kings further emerged through the engagement of women in gender workshops and in response to the introduction of gender studies in academia during the 1980s and 1990s. However, drag kings have more recently transcended their subcultural roots and can be found performing in popular theatrical sites such as in Shakespearean productions, musicals, opera, and film and television productions. Drag kings and their performances contribute to gender and social discourses, including Judith Butler's theory on the performativity of gender, as well as sexual, queer, cultural, and feminist discourses.

Exactly when and where drag kings first emerged is unknown. Rumors have described the first introduction of the term *drag king* originating as a response to their male counterpart, the drag queen (men performing femininity), and drag queen's influence on popular culture. Another rumor is that the word was coined by Diane Torr, a self-proclaimed performance artist who runs drag king workshops internationally. However the name was created, drag kings have emerged as interesting and prolific queer performers during the last 2 decades.

Many kings emerged, flourished, and influenced future performers by attending masculinity and women-only workshops. These gender workshops were some of the first safe spaces in which women could experiment with masculinity: to slip behind a male façade made up of spirit gum and moustaches to play with hegemonic social structures. These workshops became popular as women from all walks of life strutted their stuff in public; they were literally walking in men's shoes and donning the accoutrements of masculinity completely undetected. From many accounts, however, these workshops seemed to have served as more of a social experiment than as a performance site because the emphasis of the experience was placed on teaching women to "pass" (being perceived as the opposite sex) as men rather than to theatrically "perform" as men, removing the essential elements of drag from the gender play. Some of the participants, however, appropriated masculinity as a site for performance and continued to develop their newly acquired social performance of masculinity into drag acts that became the hallmark of the drag king.

A drag king is a drag artist. A performance convention, *drag* is essentially the hyper-performance of the socially prescribed performance of gender within cultural axioms. A drag king's purpose is to enact masculine axioms and highlight their absurdity. Drag performance is immersed in gender and predicated upon an assumption of a "fixed" sexed body and its prescriptive social attributions wherein sex and gender performance are normative and congruent; that is, men are masculine, women feminine and heteronormative. Drag interrogates this assumption by revealing the performance as a performance through an absurd theatrical enactment that re-renders gender, sex, and sexuality beyond prescriptive terms.

A drag king is not, as the misconception usually is, a cross-dressed, transgendered, or transsexual person. Drag uses cross-dressing within its acts, but this is fundamentally different. Also, a transgendered or transsexual performer may be a drag king, but it must not be assumed that if a woman wears male attire, she is a drag king. If she wears male attire in a performance highlighting the absurd modes of masculinity set against the backdrop of a "revealed" or "perceived" female body, then she is a woman performing masculinity and, thus, a drag king. This is not to say that only biological women can be drag kings. Some drag king performers are men, men identified as women, and women identified as men who also use masculinity in performance.

Drag kings have many theatrical varieties: from the simply costumed male parody to the full super-performer using many engaging forms of theatricality to costume the king. Another important aspect of drag king performances is the relationship between the king and her audience. For the most part, drag kings emerged as a form of entertainment within the lesbian and gay subculture primarily because the community creates a safe and supportive environment for these types of performances to be staged and received. Within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender audience, queer erotic discourse set against heteronormative hegemonies in performance are celebrated. Yet even within their own community, drag kings still lack notoriety and popularity compared with their drag queen sisters.

Drag kings and their communities can be found in most large cities. Each city has different drag king standards and aesthetics, which can be made especially apparent when comparing performances or attending drag king contests. In some cities, "believability" and "passing" is key to a drag king's talent, whereas theatricality and entertainment are idealized in other communities. And although drag kings are found predominately in the West and in larger populations, their

influence is spreading as new venues and communities arrive on the scene globally and locally. Drag kings are found on the world's stages, reciting Shakespeare, emceeing the Tony awards, appearing in episodes of *Sex and the City,* in *The L Word,* and in classic and modern films. Although seemingly a new performance art, drag kings have historical roots that can be traced back to the male impersonators of vaudeville and the music hall era, to Panto and Italian commedia, and to the breeches roles of the Victorian era, among others.

Terri Power

See also Camp; Drag Queen; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Outlaw; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Gender Transgression; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Patriarchy

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Drag Queen

The drag queen, who is a fundamentally theatrical figure, relishes the prospect of playing the woman. Drag shows (typically staged in nightclubs and Gay Pride festivals) are largely a subcultural phenomenon. Though drag has never enjoyed mainstream appeal, *drag queen* is a common enough term in popular culture, partly because of recording-artist RuPaul, who hit the charts with her hit-song "Super Model (You Better Work)" in 1992. Such hit films as *The Birdcage* (1996), and the recent popularity of movie-musicals such as *Rent* and *Hairspray* have also made the image of the drag queen a familiar cultural icon.

By definition, a drag queen is distinct from a cross-dresser (sometimes called a transvestite) because the motivation of dragging is typically not sexual. Although the two are often conflated in popular cultural representation, cross-dressing commonly involves a high degree of secrecy and is associated with sexual or gender-related fetishes. Both drag queens and cross-dressers have experienced a history of persecution, as has the drag queen's antonym (the drag king), which refers to a

woman in man's clothing, or a male impersonator. Unlike the secrecy of cross-dressing, in which the attempt is often to pass as a woman, dragging involves outlandish performance whereby the intent is an undoing of gender norms through doing (or dressing) the part of the opposite sex. However entertaining it might be, this flamboyance can also be difficult to accomplish in a culture of homophobia. In 1810, for example, members of the White Swan (a house of ill repute in London's West End) wound up in the pillory, where they were then pummeled with rocks and excrement. The group's performances included an athletic bargeman posing as "Fanny Murray," a brawny coal-heaver as "Lucy Cooper," a butcher as "Pretty Harriet," a waiter as "Lady Godiva," a country grocer as "Miss Sweet Lips," even a police officer as "Miss Selina." Most Londoners were outraged by the apparent mismatch between the men's private and public selves. One pamphleteer (who excoriated the White Swan's patrons as "reptiles" and "wretches") gives us a glimpse into drag queen culture in early 19th-century England: living in fear of police raids and state surveillance, men in drag shut themselves in the closet.

There is a rich literary tradition of men taking stage in women's clothing. In this sense, drag is as old as Shakespeare's romantic comedy *As You Like It,* in which Rosalind disguises herself as Ganymede to woo Orlando, and by doing so, she gets to know him "man" to man. One can draw a "straight" line from Shakespeare's gender-swapping to the 1959 hit comedy *Some Like It Hot,* in which Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis disguise themselves as "Daphne" and "Josephine" and join a traveling, all-girl jazz band to escape the mob. The film also features, as the band's singer, Marilyn Monroe, an icon of femininity whom many drag queens emulate, alongside Cher, Madonna, Aretha, Dolly, Bette, and other show-biz queens. That Lemmon and Curtis did drag on-screen hardly makes them drag queens, though the effect is the same: gender norms are radically undone when drag takes place. As with *Tootsie* (1982), one Hollywood theme that allowed for the popularization of drag queens is the idea that dudes only dress like ladies to get the girl. In contrast, a film like Hitchcock's *Dial M for Murder* (1954) reminds us that drag remains, in many circles, no laughing matter. The chief inspector in that film sends his underling out of Grace Kelly's apartment with a piece of evidence (her handbag), only after warning that the underling will be arrested if he walks out in the open looking like that.

There are three components of doing drag. First, every drag queen has to assume a stage-name. A 1996 guide, *The Drag Queens of New York: An Illustrated Field Guide,* likens the cult-followings of Manhattan drag queens to bird-watching, and lists such mainstays as Hedda Lettuce, Miss Understood, Mighty Afrodite, Mona Foot (a.k.a. Glamazon), and Perfidia ("The Sultan of Switch"). Most drag queens will tell you that their alter-egos were born at some point during childhood (in an early raid, for example, on mother's closet). One drag queen, for example, at the 801 Cabaret in Key West describes dressing in his mother's clothes as a young boy, even donning her slippers, necklaces, and ostrich feather plumes. In a metropolitan milieu, the stage-name guarantees the drag queen the status of a minor celebrity. This reinvention of one's identity through naming (or renaming) relates to the second part of doing drag: taking stage. The drag queen again owes something to *As You Like It* in terms of Jaques' famous declaration, "All the world's a stage." Hedda Lettuce, for example, cites wigs, garish dresses, and perfect makeup as prerequisites for drag. Not known for understatement, the drag queen strives for overkill through the use of heavy makeup, "falsies," and a gender-bending technique known as "tucking." The authenticity of femininity is always undermined by a drag queen's roughness, which often includes a vulgar stage presence and desire to shock. The third aspect of drag is premised on the belief in gender fluidity. Dragging is intended to make this fluidity visible through performance.

Historically, gay men in the United States have expressed prejudice against drag queens for appearing "too gay," or for giving gays a "bad name." Yet, it is also widely accepted that gay and lesbian social movements in the United States can be traced to the night of June 28, 1969, when the Stonewall Riots in the Greenwich Village section of Manhattan began when a group of drag queens actively resisted arrest. Arrests of drag queens were common pre-Stonewall. Tired of routine harassment and police surveillance, these original "village people" were drag queens, and they are credited with being on the front lines fighting for gay and lesbian liberation.

Drag queen performances highlight the social construction of sex and gender. The drag queen may use conventional gender and sexual categories in a performance, but the drag queen also problematizes these categories and identities through performance. Consequently, drag queen performances are a cultural entity that mocks the rigidities inherent in modern notions of sexual difference.

Colin Edward Carman

See also Drag King; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Outlaw; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Gender Transgression; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Patriarchy

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E

EARHART, AMELIA MARY (1897–C. 1937)

Amelia Earhart was the world's most famous woman pilot. During her life, Earhart broke numerous aviation records and was actively involved in the advancement of women aviators. She was known for courage and determination. While attempting to circumnavigate the globe, Earhart and her navigator Fred Noonan disappeared when they were unable to spot their landing site because of poor weather conditions. What happened to Earhart and Noonan is unknown, but her achievements in aviation will not be forgotten.

Amelia Earhart was born July 24, 1897, to Stanley "Edwin" Earhart and Amy Otis Earhart in Atchison, Kansas. Amelia's childhood was not a stable one because her father's job as a lawyer for the railroad company was an unsteady one and her family shifted between wealth and poverty. In 1907, her family moved to Des Moines, Iowa, where her father was offered a job with a steady salary. The family was happy in Des Moines, until Edwin started drinking. Eventually, he lost his job because of alcoholism. Following another botched job attempt, the family was forced to split up. Edwin moved back to Kansas, and Amy and the girls moved to Chicago where they lived with an old family friend. After Amelia graduated from high school, she went to Ogontz College and then to Columbia University, where she was a pre-medicine major. It wasn't long before Amelia realized that medicine wasn't for her, and she joined her parents who had reconnected and moved to California.

Shortly after arriving in California, Amelia and her father went to Daugherty Field in Long Beach to see an aerial meet. At that aerial meet, Amelia developed a desire to fly, and she inquired about taking flying lessons. The next morning, Edwin accompanied Amelia to Rogers Field where he paid ten dollars for a ten-minute flight. Amelia fell in love with flying and was determined to take flying lessons even though they were expensive. Amelia got a job so that she could pay for the lessons.

When her father saw his daughter's dedication, he helped Amelia pay for the lessons, but was leery about his daughter spending a lot of time with a male instructor. Fortunately, Amelia found a female pilot, Miss Anita "Neta" Snook, who offered flying lessons and gave Amelia her first lesson on January 3, 1921. During the next 2 months, Amelia learned the principles of flying while logging four hours of flight. Amelia soon purchased her first plane, then broke the female altitude record by reaching 14,000 feet on October 22, 1922. Her record only stood for a few weeks before it was broken, but this feat gave Amelia confidence. On May 16, 1923, Amelia applied for and became the first woman to receive a flying certificate from the Fédération Aéronautique Internationale.

In 1924, Earhart took a break from flying when her parents divorced and she moved with her mother to Boston. Earhart's break from flying was short-lived, however, as she joined the Boston chapter of the National Aeronautic Association and invested in Harold T. Dennison's new airport near Quincy, Massachusetts. In April 1928, she got a call on behalf of New York publisher George Palmer Putnam about being on a flight across the Atlantic

Ocean. Following an interview, Earhart was chosen for the flight and was the first woman to be flown across the Atlantic.

After that flight, Earhart wanted to break a record on her own. She started competitive flying, and in 1931, flying a Pitcairn PCA-2 autogiro, Earhart set a world altitude record of 18,415 feet. Amelia also became associated with and was eventually the president of the Ninety Nines, an organization of female pilots who advanced the cause of women in aviation.

During this time, Earhart and Putnam started spending a lot of time together. George divorced his wife and started to pursue Earhart. Though initially reluctant to enter a relationship with Putnam, Earhart eventually changed her mind, and the two were married February 7, 1931.

Earhart and Putnam planned her flight across the Atlantic Ocean, and on May 20, 1932, she succeeded in becoming the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic. For this feat, she received a gold medal from the National Geographic Society and the Distinguished Flying Cross from Congress, making her the first woman to receive this award. In the following years, Earhart continued to break records. She was the first woman to fly nonstop coast to coast; the first person to fly the 2,408-mile distance across the Pacific Ocean on January 11, 1935; the first person to fly solo from Los Angeles to Mexico City on April l9–20, 1935; and the first person to fly from Mexico City to Newark, New Jersey, on May 8, 1935.

In 1937, Earhart decided that she wanted to be the first woman to fly around the world. Her first attempt in March was unsuccessful because of plane damage. Before attempting this flight for the second time, Earhart said that she felt that she only had one good flight left in her and hoped that this is the one. Determined to fly across the world, she had her plane rebuilt, and on June 1, Earhart and navigator Fred Noonan departed from Miami to begin the 29,000-mile flight. By June 29, Earhart and Noonan were in New Guinea and only 7,000 miles away from completing her task. Her next flight to Howland Island required that she and Noonan remove all the equipment from the plane besides the essentials to give the plane approximately 274 extra miles of fuel. On July 2, 1937, Earhart and Noonan flew into bad weather. Earhart couldn't see her landing spot and constantly radioed the coast guard ship *Itasca,* which was near the island to help her find the island. Amelia had problems with her radio and was last heard from when she only had two hours left of fuel and could not see the island. Earhart and Noonan were never heard from again. The government spent $4 million and searched 250,000 square miles of ocean before calling off the search in 1938. Though what happened to Amelia Earhart is not known, her advancements in flights will not be forgotten.

Deborah Santiago-Cintron

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EATING DISORDERS

Eating disorders (EDs) are unhealthy fixations on food that are potentially life threatening. Common behaviors include the cessation of caloric intake until one starves, the ingestion of food that is well beyond what is considered normal for one person, and eating vast amounts of food and then vomiting. Many individuals diagnosed with an ED experience extremes in their emotions, attitudes, and behaviors, feeling distressed and concerned about their body shape or weight. On the other hand, most mental health professionals state that the problem is not food; rather, the "real" issue is an acute insecurity about one's self, and the fixation upon food is a means of compensating for feelings or emotions that are overwhelming. Specifically, some individuals may begin dieting, bingeing, and purging as a means of coping with life, but eventually, the ED grows deadly. This entry discusses the causes, patterns and prevalence, types, health consequences, and treatment of EDs.

EDs affect women and girls more than men and boys. Statistically, 90 to 95 percent of anorexia nervosa patients are female, as are 80 percent of bulimia nervosa sufferers. A related issue is body image. In the United States, many women accept the thesis that the only

attractive body shape is "thin"; likewise, thin is also considered to be more feminine and more attractive in men's eyes. Body ideals have consequences for eating habits: to achieve the ideal shape, women think eating less is better, whereas men hold that eating more is better. In addition, women are more likely to feel the need to fit certain expectations, such as commanding respect from their peers and wanting an attractive appearance for men. According to the feminist literature, EDs are a sign of power loss: (a) women lose power when their bodies become thinner, and (b), an ED helps women gain power by moving their body shapes toward more constrained potential. Men with EDs follow different trajectories to the disorder. Male patients are more likely to have a history of obesity with their ED commencing at an older age, and their ED occurs with a comorbid problem such as alcoholism or drug abuse. Gay men are more likely to suffer EDs than are their heterosexual counterparts because of an emphasis in the gay community that "thin" is beautiful.

Causes

An ED is combination of behavioral, biological, emotional, psychological, interpersonal, and social factors—there is no single reason regarding why someone develops an ED. Strong self-criticism coupled with negative opinions about one's weight and body shape are typical. Researchers have identified several contributory factors, almost all falling within the purview of genetics and environment. Psychological issues such as low self-esteem, feeling a lack of control of one's life, depression, and an inability to handle life's daily stress and anxieties are possible causations. Interpersonal factors—for example, difficulties with family, friends, and employment—also play a role in developing an ED.

Compared with others, people with EDs eagerly seek approval to gain self-affirmation in their personal relationships; that is, they feel "good" if a friend is supportive. They also tend to have a history of physical or sexual abuse compared with the general population. Social factors also contribute to EDs. For example, some cultures glorify thinness and place great value on attaining a perfect body, and thus, the idea that one must have a specific body shape to be beautiful is prevalent. Biological factors also play a role: A small percentage of people lack the neurotransmitters that control hunger, digestion, and appetite. Another culprit may be genetics because it is common

in some families for the members, especially females, to be obese. Some research indicates that genetics contributes significantly to the contraction of EDs.

Patterns and Prevalence

In the United States, approximately 80 percent of American women are dissatisfied with their appearance, primarily with their weight and shape. As many as 10 million females and 1 million males fight daily with anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa. Furthermore, roughly 25 million more struggle with binge eating disorder. EDs, in comparison with other mental illnesses, are more likely to be underreported because of the shame and secretiveness associated with them. Some researchers state that EDs occurs in approximately 1 percent (anorexia nervosa) and 3 percent (bulimia nervosa) of women at some point during their lives, whereas men have one-tenth the prevalence that women have.

Though EDs occurs across the lifespan, they usually begin in puberty and continue into adulthood. Teenagers, after puberty, experience dramatic biological changes that, combined with social expectations of how one should look, leave adolescents with a strong incentive to begin dieting. A study published in 2001 revealed that 35 percent of third-grade girls and 26 percent of third-grade boys want to be thinner, with 24 percent of girls and 17 percent of boys dieting. Half of 9- and 10-year-old girls feel better about themselves if they are on diet, and half are "sometimes" or "very often" on diets. On any given day, half of U.S. girls and a quarter of U.S. boys are on a diet.

Gender, diagnosis, and treatment are entangled in EDs. EDs are often perceived as a problem that affects women alone, primarily because males are less likely to seek treatment. However, the rough estimate of male ED patients ranges between 5 and 15 percent of all people diagnosed with anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa. The basic ED systems for diagnosis are the same for males as for females. Most ED patients receive inadequate mental health care, and only one-third of anorexics and 6 percent of bulimics receive proper psychotherapy. Among female anorexia nervosa patients aged 15 to 24, the mortality rate is 12 times higher than the all other causes of death. Moreover, less research money is spent treating ED patients than treating any other mental illness. For instance, on average, $159.00 is spent for each schizophrenia client, but only $1.2 dollars is spent per each ED client.

Eating Disorder Types

According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, Fourth Edition, Text Revision* (*DSM-IV-TR*), the two primary diagnoses of ED are anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa. A third ED—binge eating disorder—has not yet been approved as a formal diagnosis. Anorexia nervosa is a serious, potentially life-threatening ED characterized by a refusal to maintain a minimally normal body weight, with self-starvation being the central maladaptive eating behavior causing the excessive weight loss. Anorexics starve themselves to fit their idea of "thin." To attain this goal, patients restrict either food intake, or they vomit the already ingested food. They experience excessive weight loss; when the individual's weight is 15 percent below normal for one's height and age, the anorexia nervosa diagnosis is applicable.

Several symptoms of anorexia nervosa include intense fear of gaining weight or being seen as "fat"; showing extreme concern about weight and shape; refusing to maintain body weight at or above a minimal normal weight for height, body type, age, and activity level; cessation of menstrual periods; feeling fat or overweight even after dramatic weight loss; preferring to eat alone; continual dieting although thin; a preoccupation with food, calories, or nutrition; and a compulsion to exercise strenuously. Additional significant warning signs include denial of hunger, withdrawal from social life and activities, frequent comments about gaining weight, and avoiding mealtimes or events involving food.

Between 5 percent and 20 percent of anorexics die as a result of anorexia. Compared with other mental health conditions, anorexia has *the* highest death rate, with the probability of death depending on the length of time one has it. In the United States, approximately 0.5 to 1 percent of American women are anorexic, and approximately 90 to 95 percent of anorexia nervosa patients are female. Individuals are more likely to be diagnosed with it during early to mid-adolescence.

Anorexics starve themselves until their bodies are forced to slow down all processes to conserve energy, with the heightened possibility of incurring serious medical consequences, including slow heart rate, low blood pressure, reduction of bone density, muscle loss, weakness, fainting, fatigue, dry hair and skin, hair loss, and severe dehydration. In addition to the physical symptoms, anorexics also exhibit emotional and mental difficulties such as social isolation, a strong need for control, low self-esteem, an obsession for perfection, and depression.

The psychiatric community first recognized bulimia nervosa as a disorder in 1979. Bulimia is characterized by a cycle of bingeing and compensatory eating behaviors, such as self-induced vomiting with the intention to compensate for the food intake. Bulimia nervosa has three primary symptoms: (1) the regular intake of large amounts of food accompanied by sense of loss of control over eating behavior; (2) the regular use of inappropriate compensatory behaviors such as self-induced vomiting, laxative or diuretic abuse, or compulsive exercise, all with the same purpose of avoiding weight gain from the binge behavior; and (3) extreme concern with body weight and shape. The classical process involves binge eating, vomiting, and then eating again, and because the entire process can be repeated over several hours, it is not uncommon for a bulimics to engage in this process repeatedly—as many as 24 times per day.

The binge-purge process is conducted in secret, and patients usually feel guilty, shame, self-disgust, and little to no self-control. Patients often cannot remember the taste of food, which provides a sedation that helps them relieve stress. Unlike those with anorexia nervosa, bulimics tend to remain close to or maintain normal weight for their age and height, and often appear perfectly healthy. Thus, it is essential for a patient's family to pay attention and observe the patient's behavior to detect any signs of ED.

To prevent bulimia, family members should be on the lookout for telltale signs. These include (a) evidence of binge eating, such as large amounts of food disappearing in a short period of time; (b) evidence of purging behaviors, such as making frequent trips to bathroom during or after meals or signs of vomiting (stains on clothes, bad breath, etc.); (c) withdrawal from usual social activities; (d) great concern about dieting, weight loss and control food consumption; (e) excessive exercise, often despite bad weather or illness; and (f) physical or emotional problems such as swelling of the cheeks, dental problems, or mood swings. In addition, patients frequently evidenced symptoms of depression and social life changes. Approximately 80 percent of bulimics are female, and it affects 1 to 2 percent of adolescents and young adult women. Unlike other types of EDs, bulimics acknowledge that their behavior is dysfunctional and may have a potentially lethal effect on their health.

Binge eating disorder, the third type of ED, is also known as compulsive overeating. Although not yet recognized by the most recent diagnostic manual, the

DSM-IV-TR, research indicates that binging eating disorder is associated with obesity and other major health conditions. Patients with this type of disorder tend to experience periods of uncontrolled, impulsive, or continuous eating behavior. In addition, they often secretly consume large amounts of food over a short period, regardless of whether they are hungry or full. The major difference between binge eaters and bulimics is that the former do not purge to restrict food ingestion, nor do they exercise heavily to burn off the extra calories. Although they do not purge, they might conduct sporadic fasts or diet repetition. Psychologically, their compulsive overeating behavior often results in great anxiety, depression, loneliness, and shame. Their body weight varies from normal to mild, moderate, and up to severely obese. The National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Disease (NIDDK) revealed that approximately 4 million (2 percent) people in the United States suffer from binge eating disorder. This research also revealed that women are more likely to experience this disorder.

Health Consequences

The more prevalent physical consequences of EDs include osteoporosis (thinning of the bones), heart problems from an electrolyte imbalance, kidney problems (resulting from repeated dehydration from starvation or purge behavior), and brain abnormalities (enlarged spaces in the brain). Gastrointestinal problems such as constipation, diarrhea, acid reflux, nausea, and heartburn are also common. Despite the wide array of physical symptoms and mental illness associated with EDs, patients often experience great pain and discomfort related to dental complications—one of the first symptoms causing patients or their families to consult mental health professionals. Research has shown that as many as 89 percent of bulimics have tooth erosion. ED patients also exhibit other mental illnesses; for example, obsessive-compulsive disorder, anxiety, depression, social phobias, trauma, and chemical dependencies.

Treatment

Although males with EDs suffer the same symptoms and mental disorders as females do, they are less likely to seek professional help. One potential explanation this phenomenon is that men might perceive an EDs as "female diseases." There is no difference, however, regarding one specific treatment that works better with males than with females. The most effective ED treatment should combine psychotherapy with careful attention to medical and nutritional needs. In addition, the treatment needs to be individualized to meet each patient's particular problems and needs. Before the implementation of treatment, however, a complete assessment should be obtained so that any mental health or physical problems can be appropriately diagnosed. A complete assessment includes (a) a careful medical evaluation to rule out any symptoms that could arise from other physical problems, (b) the impact the illness has caused, and (c) the determination whether the patient needs an immediate medical intervention.

Psychological Treatment

Psychotherapy has the greatest influence in successfully treating EDs. Patients can choose from three primary types of therapeutic options: individual psychotherapy, family therapy, and group therapy. Individual therapy consists of one-on-one individual counseling sessions, with the therapist and patient meeting at least once a week (depending upon the treatment program). The therapist may choose from a number of theoretical orientations. To uphold ethical standards, the therapist should use an approach that is based on empirical study results because the client's behavior is potentially life threatening.

Two commonly used approaches are cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), and psychoanalysis. CBT has been widely used as the key ED treatment since the 1970s, and a substantial body of scientific evidence supports its therapeutic effectiveness. CBT therapists believe patients' irrational beliefs cause their unhealthy emotions and behavior; thus, therapists focus on challenging irrational beliefs to develop a more healthy coping strategy for dealing with daily demands of life. In other words, CBT therapists help their patients identify their irrational beliefs, such as "I am too fat" or "I am ugly because of my weight," so their behavior will change. For example, patients may begin to eat healthily, instead of self-starving, binging, or purging.

Family therapy has proven to be highly effective, especially in treatment of adolescents. The typical family therapy session involves the patient and her or his family. The overall goals of family therapy are similar to

other counseling therapies, involving the change of any behavior patterns that could potentially play a role in causing or maintaining an ED. Another unique goal of family therapy involves opening the communication between the teenager and her or his family members. This is accomplished by teaching each family member strategies with which to cope with the ED. Because the family is the vital component of the treatment, the therapist helps reduce the conflict between family members, thus improving empathy and strengthening family bonds. Gender should be an integral part of family therapy. For instance, family members of the other gender should help the ED sufferer change the way he or she perceives their body image, as well as amending what is, or is not, physically attractive.

One relatively new technique for treating EDs is called the Maudsley Method, which specifically aims at treating adolescents diagnosed with an ED. This specific system is quite different from others because it focuses on addressing eating problems and behavioral change instead of delving into the psychological reasons behind EDs. Likewise, the method emphasizes family participation as the imperative factor; otherwise, the treatment will fail. This approach focuses on two areas—the first is aimed at weight restoration, which is achieved by having patients transfer their eating behavior into their parents' hands. During this treatment phase, the family will have a meal during the session, with the therapist asking questions such as who prepared the food, who bought the groceries, and so on. At the end of the session, the therapist provides feedback regarding the family's communication style, their level of socialization with each other, and any other related issues concerning food and behavior. The purpose is to help parents understand their adolescent child better. During the second part of the treatment, therapy focuses on both individual and family concerns. The therapist teaches problem-solving skills to the patients and their families to prevent any ED from reoccurring.

Group therapy, another common therapeutic approach, is the therapy of choice in many intensive treatment centers. Group therapy allows patients to share their feelings with people experiencing the same problems and facilitates members supporting one another in the daily trials of fighting EDs. During group therapy, each member is encouraged to discuss topics related to body image, social problems, the importance of food, or other ED-related issues. A lack of empirical evidence supports the effectiveness of group therapy; thus, it is primarily a support treatment, rather than a primary therapy.

Medication

During the past few decades, researchers started paying more attention to gender-related and gender bias issues regarding medication. For instance, researchers found that female and male patients do not receive the same treatment in both quality and quantity. As a result, women are less satisfied with their health care. Physicians are more likely to prescribe medication to their female patients than they would for male patients.

Among the most common medications prescribed for ED patients are antidepressants (including Prozac, selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors [SSRIs], Anafranil, and Elavil). Antidepressants are often effective because most ED patients exhibit other psychological conditions, such as depression and anxiety, as well as EDs. In addition, scientific evidence exists that indicates antidepressants help bulimics control their binge eating and purging behavior. Although there is not enough evidence to make a clear statement regarding which medication is the most effective, in general, SSRIs have the fewest side effects. However, some researchers believe the effectiveness of antidepressants depends upon the patient's weight; that is, the lighter the patient's weight, the less effective the drug is, especially for anorexics.

Atypical antipsychotic drugs are also used to treat acute anorexia because of their association with weight gain. Some studies have shown improvement of anorexia when the client used olanzapine (Zyprexa). Overall, many of the medications need more studies before they are prescribed to adolescents because of the uncertain pharmacological reactions their still-maturing minds and bodies might have. Thus, it is imperative for parents to monitor their children' behavior after taking medication.

Cary Stacy Smith and Li-Ching Hung

See also Body Image; Exercise and Fitness; Self-Esteem

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National Eating Disorder Association: http://www. NationalEatingDisorders.org

National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Disease (NIDDK): http://www.niddk.nih.gov/health/nutrit/nutrit.htm

ECONOMY: HISTORY OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Women have always participated in economic activity, across time and space, albeit to varying degrees. However, if one defines participation in the economy as participation in a labor market, where labor is traded for pay, then one of the most striking social changes during the past century has been the large increase in women's participation in the economy.

Figure 1 shows U.S. male and female labor force participation rates spanning the past 205 years, as well as the percentage female for the labor force as a whole. Three distinct periods in female labor force participation and percentage female can be seen: a period of gradual rise during the 19th century, followed by a plateau or even a slight drop in the early 20th century (1910 to 1940), followed by a sharp rise since World War II. Male participation rose until 1910 (with a dip following the Civil War), dipped during the Depression years, rose in the mid-20th century, and has been declining since 1950. The proportion of women in the labor force has risen from 4 percent of workers in 1800 to 46 percent in 2005.

Most other societies have experienced a rise in women's participation similar to that seen in the United States during the 20th century. And thus it is instructive to consider the U.S. case in some detail, keeping in mind that it is broadly indicative of the phases that women have gone through in participation in other countries, but not identical in the details.

The remainder of this entry characterizes women's economic participation in the economy for seven periods in U.S. history, divided roughly by stage of industrialization: (a) the preindustrial period, from precolonial and colonial times until 1820; (b) the introduction of industrialization, 1820 to 1860; (c) the transitional period, 1860 to 1890; (d) the period of full-fledged industrialization, 1890 to 1939; (e) the World War II years, 1939 to 1945; (f) the postwar period, 1946 to 1975; and (g) the postindustrial era, 1975 to the present.

Preindustrialization: Precolonial and Colonial Times to 1820

Largely because of its heavy reliance on quantitative data, economic history only comes into being as an industrial—or, at least, a market—economy emerges. Understanding of the precolonial period suffers from a general lack of written documentation and hard data, though historians and anthropologists have much to say regarding the gender division of labor in Native American societies. And much of the economic history of colonial women and men before industrialization concerns the discussion and description of their roles in an agricultural economy. Although earlier writers extolled the colonial period as a "Golden Age" for women, stressing their economic importance to a farm-based economy both as agricultural labor and in maintaining the household through a wide array of nonmarket activities, this characterization has been increasingly debunked. The newer view is that women's economic contribution was not sufficient to guarantee them equal political and social status.

Few data exist from the 17th century concerning such factors as earnings and the occupational composition of those women who did do market-oriented work. Quantitative data from the 18th century are also rare, although some evidence exists on occupations of widows and their late husbands from the late-18th century that implies that widows often took over their husbands' occupations, such as various retail and craft occupations. Other countries register a similar lack of
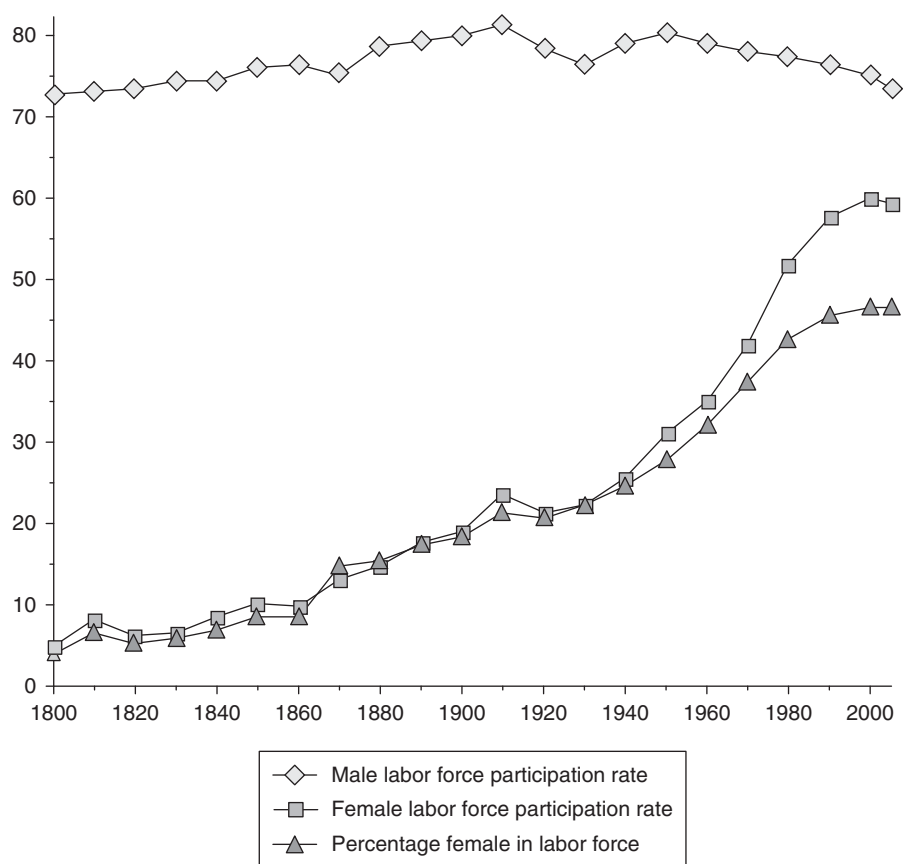
Figure 1   Labor Force Participation Rates by Sex and Percentage of Labor Force That Is Female, 1800 to 2005

Sources: T. Weiss. (1986). Revised estimates of the United States workforce, 1800–1860. In S. L. Engerman & R. E. Gallman (Eds.), *Long-term factors in American economic growth.* Chicago: University of Chicago, Tables 12.A.1, 12.A.2; U.S. Census Bureau. (1976). *Historical statistics of the United States.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office: Series D13; *Economic report of the president 2006:* Tables B-36, B-39.

historical quantitative economic data. The 1841 and 1851 British censuses record occupation, age, and gender, but no prior comprehensive data exist.

Introduction of Industrialization: 1820 to 1860

The period from 1820 to 1860 marked the U.S. evolution toward an industrial economy. In 1820, 28 percent of the workforce was in manufacturing; by 1860, 41 percent was in manufacturing. Women were increasingly drawn into manufacturing industries, reflecting the increased value of their labor in these enterprises, and they quickly developed a wide occupational representation. While visiting the

United States in 1836, writer Harriet Martineau supposedly remarked that there were only seven occupations open to women: teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, work in cotton mills, typesetting, bookbinding, and domestic service. In response to this remark, economist Edith Abbott has shown that women were represented in more than 100 different industrial occupations before 1837 (using data back to 1822), citing long lists of occupations from New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts documents. Shoemaking was an important industry for female employment, as was hatmaking.

The textile industry, which also marked the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England, was the major manufacturing industry in early-19th-century

America. In the early 1800s, the textile factories in Lowell, Waltham, and other New England towns located on rivers were staffed primarily by women. Young women poured off New England farms into boarding houses in these towns, where they lived in close quarters with each other, worked 12- to 14-hour days 6 days a week, and saved their wages to generate a dowry or to pay for a male family member's college education. Their pattern was to stay a few years before returning home and marrying. Rising worker militancy, along with the increased availability of immigrants of both sexes, led to a shift in the 1840s by factory owners toward using immigrant labor to run the mills. Working conditions and wages deteriorated, and the New England farm girls left the mills. A study of one Lowell mill found that whereas in July 1836, 97 percent of the employed women were native-born, by August 1850, 41 percent of the women were immigrants.

Prostitution in cities, particularly New York City, appears to have risen substantially during this period. As the number of young women drawn to cities in search of jobs increased, they were drawn into this activity largely because of economic causes, including the low wages for female labor in other activities. Both nondomestic and domestic labor in cities were low-paying, and some young women worked part-time as prostitutes to supplement their meager earnings as servants or seamstresses.

Transition: 1860 to 1890

During the transition from initial industrial development to full-fledged capitalism, several major social shifts occurred: the westward push, the Civil War, and changing antebellum roles, particularly in the South, as regions that had lagged in industrialization began to catch up.

The pronounced depression following the Civil War pushed many westward in search of economic opportunities. Migrants being primarily male—at least, in the early phase—caused gender ratios to be skewed, particularly in frontier areas. Still, there was a relative shortage of young women in both the East and West—because of high maternal mortality rates, for one thing. Young women in both the East and West had relatively little time before marriage to work in paid labor and seek higher education.

Civil War casualties increased women's employment participation by reducing both the supply of men

for the labor force and the male source of income for women. The war's aftermath also increased the number of black women and men available for industrial labor as freed slaves moved northward.

After the Civil War, there was a notable rise in the size of the urban working class in Northern cities such as Pittsburgh, as industrialization continued in such industries as steel. Unionism rose during this period, but did not prove particularly helpful to women in getting higher wages, and the male-dominated unions generally viewed women as low-wage competition. In 1867, the Cigarmakers Union made history by becoming the first national union to allow women to become members on an equal basis with men. Still unable to get into most unions, women began to form their own, including the Collarmakers and Laundry Workers Union, and the Daughters of St. Crispin, a shoemakers' union.

The demand for teachers accelerated in the 1880s and 1890s, increasing the demand for female labor, as the benefits of formal education for individual and social economic progress increased and became more obvious. However, most nonagricultural jobs for women (and men) were still found in the manufacturing sector.

In the early 20th century, University of Chicago–educated economist Edith Abbott churned out articles on female earnings and employment in different industries. She concentrated on the 19th-century industries in which women were found in the greatest numbers: cotton, boots and shoes, cigarmaking, clothing, and printing. Her discussions of shoemaking and cigarmaking considered whether the introduction of machinery in particular industries displaced male/skilled labor, while proving complementary to female and unskilled labor. In shoemaking, sewing and stitching machines proved to be critical innovations. Shoe production switched from an at-home to a factory system. However, women did not enter the male jobs in the manufacturing process; it remained a male-dominated, native-dominated industry. The cigarmaking industry provides a contrast to this tale of industry evolution: here, women constituted 9 percent of employees in 1860, but 40 percent in 1900, with an even greater proportion of women in large factories. However, no gain in weekly median wages for women appears; rather, the reverse: In 1890, men earned $11.00 and women $6.00, but in 1900, men earned $11.50 and women $5.50.

This period also marks the beginning of improved status for women under the law, a process that continued through emancipation in 1920 and through the passage of the equal pay initiatives in the 1960s. Of particular significance during this period was the expansion of married women's rights to their own earnings and estates. None of the 27 states allowed these rights in 1840, but by 1880, 36 of 38 states allowed separate estates for married women, and 31 of 38 states granted women control of their own earnings.

Full-Fledged Industrialization: 1890 to 1939

Starting at the beginning of the 20th century, the United States embarked on a period of continued industrialization, punctuated by business upturns and downturns, World War I, and waves of immigrants. Along with a general rise in literacy and affluence, concern about social differences—including gender differences—became widespread. This era marked the development of more concern about fair labor practices and a greatly increased number of labor regulations, leading to the use of the term *Progressive Era.*

Although discussion of economic gender issues—for example, the "Woman Question"—is found in the writings of earlier authors such as John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau (in the early 19th century), this period witnessed increased discussion of such issues by economists and other commentators, both in England and the United States. Debates about equal pay for equal work started in 1890 and continued into the early 1920s. Extensive occupational gender segregation hindered the development of equal work comparisons. Writing in 1891, Sidney Webb surveyed a variety of data on men and women workers in Great Britain and the United States and noted the difficulty of making "equal work" comparisons because of the rarity of occupations that contained both sexes, but he found women workers making less anyway. Progressive Era writers had many of the same explanations for low female wages still used: an oversupply of women to some occupations; geographical and other immobilities, leading to relatively inelastic labor supply; gender discrimination; a lack of skill and education; intermittent work experience; lack of physical strength; relative youth and inexperience; and low unionism rates.

The era also marked the beginning of the phenomenon of populist feminist writers on economic issues, of which Charlotte Perkins Gilman is the best known today. These writers were concerned that the middle-class phenomenon of constraining women to the domestic sphere was both harmful to their mental and physical health and wasteful of their potential public contributions.

The service sector became an increasingly important employer of women workers during this period, and by the 1920s, a larger percentage of employed women were in service-sector jobs than in manufacturing. Prostitution became a less attractive earnings option for many women as female wages and working conditions improved in both manufacturing and the service sector.

World War II: 1939 to 1945

The scale of World War II and the extent of U.S. involvement led to a large shift in employment patterns during the war. As men were conscripted and production of war-related goods increased, women entered manufacturing in large numbers, both to fill the slack in labor supply left by the men and as a response to both reduced income and reduced nonmarket work responsibilities. War industries hired 1.3 million women of the 2.5 million who entered the labor force for the first time, as well as hiring about 700,000 from other industries. Nonfamily child care became available for the first time on a widespread basis, as factories producing war-related products set up 24-hour child care centers so that women could work full time, including swing shifts. Female wages rose relative to male wages, and gender segregation diminished temporarily as women took on higher-paid manufacturing jobs. Women also found increased work opportunity in the increased number of military support positions.

Feminist commentators were concerned by both the example of gender relations set by Hitler's Germany and the possibility of reversion in the gains made by women after the war ended. The end of the war did lead to wholesale reduction of female industrial employment, both voluntary and involuntary, as men returned from their wartime roles, but in states with greater mobilization of men, women continued to work more after the war than they had before.

The Postwar Period: 1946 to 1975

Although the late 1940s and early 1950s marked social reversion in some measures, such as the drop in

age at first marriage and rise in fertility, other trends that had been present before the war's onset continued and even accelerated, including the rises in divorce and married women's employment. Although most wartime labor force entrants exited between 1944 and 1950, half of all married women who were working in 1950 had also been working in 1940, and half of the 1940s married women labor force entrants joined after the war. Thus, the view of this period as a watershed in gender relations has been challenged, with other commentators contending that the rise in women's labor supply after World War II is primarily the result of longer-run factors, including increased clerical employment and female education.

Since 1946, the labor force participation rates for women and men have been converging as the male rate declined and the female rate rose steadily, although the male rate is remained substantially higher than the female rate (see Figure 1). Women's representation increased in practically all occupations and industries and they were well represented in the government sector. Although women were particularly concentrated in clerical occupations, their biggest percentage rise during this period was in the managerial occupations.

Women continued to enter the workforce, in part attracted by an increase in the number of part-time positions. Women were much more likely than men to work part-time (defined here as averaging less than 35 hours per week): about a quarter of all employed women worked part-time, but only slightly more than 10 percent of men. However, they still often left the workforce for prolonged periods after marrying and having children, even as they often reentered later following divorce or children's becoming school age. A drop in the age at first marriage and a rise in childbirth made this period a notable standout from the long-term trend of rising age at first marriage and dropping birthrates. Thus, women's attachment to the labor force remained low relative to men, and few women attained positions with high pay or power.

Postindustrialization: 1975 to the Present

The mid-1970s recession marked the true end of a long peacetime expansion and signaled the beginning of a new era of increased equality between women and men in the labor force. Structural trends in the U.S. economy that began in the mid-1970s have tended to favor women relative to men. Manufacturing went into a prolonged downsizing that continues, and the economy has shed many of the high-paid male-dominated unionized jobs that had led to higher rates of employment and pay for men relative to women. Simultaneously, employment opportunities expanded in the female-dominated clerical and service occupations. One result has been that during the most recent three decades, male and female unemployment patterns have converged, whereas before the early 1980s, women experienced a higher unemployment rate than men did.

In the mid-1970s, elite colleges and universities began increasing entry opportunities for women, and graduate schools in law, business, medicine, and other fields expanded their admissions of women as well. Other social trends, including rising divorce rates, dropping birthrates, and postponement of marriage, increased both the attachment of women to the labor force (leading to increases in average years of work experience relative to men) and the number of women in the labor force. Thus, women have made increasing inroads into the high-education, high-work-attachment jobs, such as managerial and professional occupations, and the female-to-male earnings ratio has risen substantially, starting in the early 1980s. Although recently there has been concern that the female labor force participation rate is leveling off or even declining slightly, it is highly unlikely that there will be a wholesale retreat of women from the labor market.

Conclusion

Although women have always participated in economic activity, they are increasingly participating in the paid labor market and have expanded their range of occupations, with many more occupations having substantial representation rather than token membership of women. These trends appear unlikely to reverse, although women continue to exhibit lower lifetime attachment to the labor force than do men, thus making it unlikely that full gender equality will be reached in the labor market in either relative employment or earnings.

Joyce P. Jacobsen

See also Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Wage Gap; Gilman, Charlotte Perkins; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Mommy Track;

Occupational Segregation; Sex Work (Prostitution); Women's Social Movements, History of

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EDUCATION: CHILLY CLIMATE IN THE CLASSROOM

In 1982, the Association of American Colleges studied the status of women in higher education and released the report, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* The book defined the chilly environment as one inhospitable to women in higher education classrooms resulting from both deliberate and unconscious discrimination by professors, fellow students, and by past socialization in K–12 education. Instructors' chilling behaviors include ignoring of the contributions of women to the discipline, use of male-specific pronouns and language, sexist humor, and stereotypical examples of women's and men's roles. More subtle forms of chilling behavior include preferential treatment of male students, such as calling on them more often, making eye contact more frequently with them, praising their comments, and elaborating more on their comments than on comments made by female students. The "chilly" environment is linked with unpleasant experiences for women in college and prevents them from fully participating in classes.

The instructor's gender has not been found to influence students' perceptions of learning or willingness to participate in class. Rather, the instructor's verbal and nonverbal indicators of availability for communication solicit participation from students. Instructor gender does influence teaching style and availability for communication. On average, female instructors tend to lecture less and ask more questions than male instructors do, resulting in a more interactive and comfortable environment for students. However, male instructors concerned with gender equity in the classroom were more likely to have classes that are interactive and discussion-based. Discipline also plays a role in class design. Classes in the natural sciences tend to be lecture format, whereas arts and humanities tend toward more interaction, with social sciences incorporating the two styles.

Students perceive male instructors as sexist more often than female instructors. Students slightly prefer same-gendered instructors, and female students generally perceive male instructors as less encouraging and view their classes less positively. However, observations in college classrooms have not evidenced that either male or female instructors call on male students more frequently. Both male and female students evaluated professors similarly, and the specific behaviors of the instructor that may contribute to the chilly climate were not reported.

Structural elements such as class size and proportion of female students strongly influence on students' perceptions of their instructors and of the class environment. More than the instructor's gender, large class size inhibits student participation across genders. The ratio of men to women in a class is the strongest predictor of a negative classroom experience. For both male and female students, a higher proportion of female students in class results in higher comfort levels, greater participation, and a more positive experience. Females tend to participate less, and they report negative experiences in classes with a disproportionate number of male students. Although they participate at equal levels in coeducational classes, in single-gender classrooms, women tend to initiate the participation more often, whereas in coeducational classes, the professor usually must initiate the discussion.

Although female students report having experienced sexist behavior by professors and other students, they rate their overall experiences in college higher than do male students. Women reported more frequent

interactions with faculty and higher participation rates in class as well as gaining more personally and intellectually from their overall experience, but they did not report gaining as much as men in the specific fields of science, technology, and quantitative skills.

At the graduate level, women are less satisfied with their overall experiences and more conscious of sexist behaviors and discrimination. Women's emotional response to perceived sexism was greater than was men's. Those for whom gender is a salient issue felt distracted by sexist behavior of professors, but their class performance did not suffer nor did perceived sexism inhibit their class participation. Men doctoral students were more satisfied with their faculty supervision than were women.

In secondary schools, ongoing discrimination against female students takes the form of gender reinforcement, embedded discrimination, gender-role stereotypes, gender domination, and active discrimination. Instructors in coeducational schools exhibited active discrimination against females, particularly in chemistry classes. Males received preferential treatment and praise, and unlike in college classrooms, they participated more in class discussions. Though they avoid active discrimination and gender domination, single-gender schools are not free of sexism. All-male schools reinforce gender roles by creating an environment of competition. Sexual objectification of women frequently occurs in all-male schools. All-female schools have embedded discrimination because the curriculum is made less rigorous, and students are not encouraged to be competitive. Overall, coeducational classrooms that have an equal distribution of males and females have the least frequency of sexist behaviors by students and professors.

Since the publication of the original Chilly Climate report, the college environment has improved for women. Scholars attribute this change to intense efforts by universities to rectify the problems revealed in the 1982 report. Chilling practices still occur in K–12 education and some graduate programs. Sexism in K–12 schools advantages males and prepares them to be more interactive and aggressive in college. Professors are more likely to respond to students who appear eager to participate rather than based on the gender of the student.

William E. Wagner III and Andrea Dassopoulos

See also Education: Gender Differences

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EDUCATION: GENDER DIFFERENCES

Since the publication of the 1992 American Association of University Women (AAUW) landmark report, *How Schools Shortchange Girls,* researchers, educators, and policymakers have paid more attention to the effects of gender on education in the United States. The AAUW produced a follow-up report in 1998, *Gender Gaps: Where Schools Still Fail Our Children,* which revisited issues addressed in the 1992 study and highlighted new challenges to gender and equity in K–12 education. Each report analyzed and synthesized more than 1,000 research articles and highlighted key factors in the area including educational standards and assessments; the unequal attention given to girls, especially in science and math classes; a chilly climate in the classroom that contributes to girls' lower self-esteem; increasing levels of sexual harassment of girls by boys in schools; inequalities of race and class as factors that have detrimental consequences for girl's education; the rise of technology; and an "evaded" curriculum that ignores the contribution of women and provides inadequate education on sexuality and health. In addition to these central factors, more recent attention has focused on higher education and extracurricular activities. This entry

provides an overview of these issues, contributing factors, and extracurricular activities.

Overview

Test performance is an important component of the education process because it often serves as an indication of scholastic and intellectual capabilities. In addition, strong performance on high-stakes tests may affect college and career prospects. Given that test performance is heavily weighted as a predictor of academic value and future success, parity between the test scores of boys and girls is important. Nevertheless, research indicates that gender disparities in test achievement put girls at a disadvantage.

One of the most troubling trends is that girls' scores on standardized tests in math and science seem to confirm the stereotype that these fields are reserved for boys. For example, *Gender Gaps* maintains that boys consistently outperformed girls on the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) exam in the areas of math and science in the 4th, 8th, and 12th grades. These findings also suggest that the gender gap in math and science achievement scores increases with age. Further research has alleged that the achievement gap in math and science scores at the high school has been shrinking over time, but that the disparity is far from being eradicated.

Some studies have demonstrated that the type of test administered may influence the gender gap in test performance. More specifically, the way that the test format presents the material may influence gendered patterns in achievement. Boys are expected to do better on standardized tests in general, especially those that include multiple-choice items. Conversely, girls are expected to outperform boys on curriculum-based tests and tests that include essays. Boys' higher scores on standardized math tests may be more a function of testing format than a result of outstanding math skills relative to girls.

The test performance gap is especially pronounced in SAT scores. Boys tend to outperform girls on both the verbal and math portions of this exam. The gap in achievement becomes particularly consequential when SAT scores become a basis for allocating "merit-based" rewards. For example, girls, who have lower combined scores on average, may be less likely to qualify for scholarship money or admission into more exclusive colleges. The conflation of SAT scores with overall student potential is risky, especially given that performance on the SAT does not accurately predict women's performance in college.

Race and class divisions may represent an exception to the advantage boys have in the testing arena. For example, African American girls tend to outscore African American boys at almost every assessment point in math and science. Also, though high-income boys usually outperform high-income girls, evidence indicates that low-income girls outperform low-income boys in the lower grades. The field of the test (for example, math, science, or language arts) may also complicate these outcomes.

Gender-segregated enrollment and performance in subject-specific areas are major concerns in the gender equity agenda for education reform. For example, math and science have traditionally been considered male-dominated fields in which girls have difficulty competing. However, recent evidence suggests that the gap between girls' and boys' math achievement is declining. Equity in girls' and boys' enrollment in basic math and science courses has also improved, although girls are still less likely than boys are to enroll in higher level and Advanced Placement (AP) math and science courses. Boys are also more likely to have preexisting scientific knowledge that they gained outside the classroom. Overall, even when girls are as successful as boys in math and science, they are still less likely than boys to pursue science and technology careers. Gender difference in subject-specific performance also varies according to grade level. For example, at the elementary level, there is little difference between boys' and girls' overall math and science performance. Differences tend to emerge as girls progress through school and lose confidence in their abilities.

According to some researchers, the concern with how girls are being shortchanged has obscured the unique academic challenges that boys face. For instance, boys exhibit markedly lower achievement in the language arts, especially in the areas of reading and writing, beginning at the elementary level and continuing into high school. Boys are more likely than girls are to end up in remedial English courses, whereas girls are overrepresented in AP English courses. Girls also characterize a majority in other subject-specific areas such as sociology, psychology, fine arts, AP biology, and AP foreign language courses. Given this evidence, it appears that both boys and girls face disadvantages at some point during their academic careers. Race and class distinctions likely further influence these outcomes.

Examining the gender differences in advanced courses further highlights the gender gaps in course-work. Overall, gender differences exist in the kind of courses that girls and boys take. A 1998 study identified the following findings on gender and advanced courses in K–12 education: Girls' enrollment in AP and honors classes had increased, making girls' and boys' enrollment in AP and honors courses comparable in every area other than physics; the gender gap narrowed in math and science, but girls still lagged behind in advanced courses in science and computer sciences. The report demonstrated that although girls were similar to boys in taking advanced courses, there is was still a significant gap in traditionally male-dominated disciplines.

Gender Gaps explored a growing area of concern in relation to gender and equity in education: technology. In a synthesis of research articles, the author identified several trends in relation to technology: Girls represented a small percentage of computer science students; computer usage outside of school was lower for girls than boys, and overall, boys expressed a more positive attitude about computers than did girls.

Numerous studies have addressed gender differences in usage, perception, and knowledge of computer technology. Boys have an advantage over girls when learning about computers or learning about other things while using computers. The problem stems from computer anxiety, which has its roots in the stereotype of computers as toys for boys and gender socialization that encourages and provides positive feedback for males' knowledge and usage of computers rather than for females.

Another more recent area of concern and research is gender and higher education. Experiences of higher education have particular consequences for career choice. *How Schools Shortchange Girls* cited a study of high school seniors in which 64 percent of the boys who had taken physics and calculus were planning to major in science and engineering in college, compared with only 19 percent of the girls who had taken the same subjects. In 2005, however, the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) produced a report that found some promising findings on gender and higher education. From a study examining two cohorts of students in 1982 and 1992, researchers found that the number of women enrolled in post-secondary education increased faster than the number of men did. In addition, women have narrowed the gender gap in academic preparation. Among students most prepared for college in the second cohort, women were more likely than men were to attain a bachelor's degree. The NCES study highlights that, although women have surpassed men in aspects of academic preparation and college achievement, as of 2001, full-time wages of women remained lower than men's earnings. Research also demonstrates that even though women constitute more than half the students in colleges and universities, they are overrepresented in the humanities and social sciences and sparsely represented in the natural sciences. Also, significant gender inequalities remain in salary, rank, and tenure between female and male faculty.

Contributing Factors to Differential Performance

A variety of variables shape the gender gaps present in K–12 and higher education, including early socialization, curriculum content, race and class, sexual harassment of girls and women, teacher-student interactions, teacher training, and gendered attitudes and perceptions of education.

Research consistently demonstrates that the contributions and experiences of girls and women are marginalized in textbooks. Furthermore, race and class only exacerbate this problem. One study observed that with each additional year of education, women and African Americans have decreased test score improvement. The sources of these disparities are unclear, but past research suggests that the "hidden curriculum" plays a major role in continued educational disparities found along lines of race, class, gender, and sexuality. For example, African American girls have fewer interactions with teachers than do white girls, despite the frequency with which all girls initiate such interactions. Black girls and women must contend with sexism and with experiences of "otherness" and discrimination in institutions that frequently marginalize and discriminate against black students. Similarly, girls and women from low-income families struggle with the dual problems and realities associated with gender and class, including poverty, pregnancy, and substance abuse. Overall, girls from low-income families and minority girls face severe obstacles to equitable education.

Students develop gender-segregated perceptions and attitudes about their academic experiences at an early age. At the elementary level, girls appear to

blend comfortably into the school setting, whereas boys often tend to suffer more academically and behaviorally. These differences, however, tend to change during the academic career. The literature suggests that girls increasingly lose self-confidence as they move into adolescence, which may interfere with academic performance. Boys may also withdraw from academics because of the perception of an unsupportive learning environment.

Gendered differences in academic self-confidence in particular may affect school performance. For example, gifted white girls are more likely to underestimate their academic abilities than are gifted white boys, which may explain the decline in girl's self-confidence over time relative to that of boys. It is unclear how race and class influence these attitudes. Girls tend to exhibit more math anxiety than boys do, and boys often have a lower verbal self-concept than girls. Poor academic self-concept may lead to avoidant behavior toward a particular subject that further polarizes boys and girls into gender-segregated fields. For example, girls may experience a decline in math and science self-concept in the early years, which may ultimately prevent them from seeking careers in nontraditional fields in the future.

A lack of gender equity in teacher training may provide a partial explanation for the maintenance of the gender gap in education. Educators must learn to be aware of the subtle ways that gender-bias manifests itself in the classroom as a preliminary step to solving gender inequities in education. For instance, teachers often unknowingly cater to boys by selecting subject material that appeals to boys' interests, especially in math and science.

Another serious problem for girls and women in educational settings is sexual harassment. The AAUW found that sexual harassment of girls by boys was increasing in U.S. schools. In an AAUW poll, 4 out of 5 girls reported that they had experienced sexual harassment. Overall, the realities of sexual harassment undermine the value of girls and women in education.

Extracurricular Activities

Extracurricular activity participation in K–12 education is anything but "extra." For example, the extracurriculum stands as an important consideration in college admissions decisions. Although these programs remain an integral component of suburban and private schooling, high schools in large urban districts must increasingly rely on the goodwill of their teachers, lose activities, or rely on external and private funding to support this component of schooling. Moreover, school social life, shaping of identity, and development of interpersonal skills—all addressed in extracurricular activities—are critical components of the high school experience. Numerous studies on the relationship between adolescents' participation in activities and their social and academic development point to the importance of the role that activities play in girls' and boys' experiences of school.

Early-20th-century goals for the implementation of school-sponsored activities included integrating and assimilating heterogeneous populations of students, socializing students for participation in a democratic society, fostering both cooperation and competition, teaching students self-direction in social and academic responsibilities, and instilling a commitment to the concept of equality of opportunity. Contemporary justifications remain much the same with the added purpose of focusing attention on the relations between participation and individual student academic achievement.

Student choices in activity participation reflect a variety of factors, including family background, social class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. For instance, parents who have a history of extracurricular activity participation will be more likely to encourage and assist their children in participation in school-sponsored activities. Their own participation experiences help these parents foster in their children an appreciation of the value of the perceived social development gained through participation. Such parents may also help their children recognize the link between participation and college admissions and therefore regard extracurricular activities as an important part of the schooling experience.

All extracurricular activities are not equal. *Core* activities are those activities that have become institutionalized within the high school and that receive support from the local school community, student population, or even the state; examples of core activities include certain sports, yearbook, newspaper, and drama. Attempts to eliminate these activities often spark resistance from any or all of the supporting constituencies that consider the activities necessary component to the high school experience. For instance, schools that compete interscholastically or athletically with other schools can produce rivalries that pull communities into the experience.

Therefore, each year the school produces athletes, student government leaders, cheerleaders, and band members who become loyal supporters of the extracurricular activity.

Peripheral activities are temporal in nature, often subject to fluctuations in funding, sponsorship, or student interest. These activities are tied to particular fads or trends and include, for example, the Rollerblading Club or the "Dr. Who" Club. Such peripheral activities may appear intermittently in the extracurriculum as interest waxes and wanes because of student, staff, or school needs and interest. Peripheral activities tend to lack widespread or sustained organizational and community support, are typically smaller in membership, and seldom receive school funding.

Research suggests that students who were unpopular in middle school were able to change social statuses in high school by participating in school-sponsored activities. Extracurricular activity participation in high school can be a tool for enhancing identity. Girls are more involved in non-sports activities, whereas boys more often engage in sports activities. Students participating in sport activities (particularly core sports) have a higher likelihood of exhibiting homophobic behavior, and students participating in non-sports activities tend to exhibit less homophobic attitudes than does the general student population. Students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and students of color are as a whole less involved in activity participation. Race and ethnicity play a role in extracurricular activity participation, as do socioeconomic status and academic abilities.

William E. Wagner III Janet Armentor-Cota,
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See also Sex Education; Title IX

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ELDERCARE

During the past 20 years, research on eldercare has come to dominate the study of intergenerational family relations. When the term *eldercare* was first used, it referred specifically to helping people suffering from Alzheimer's disease and other types of dementia. Over time, *eldercare* has come to refer to almost any help that adult children give to their parents. As with any

activity that takes place within families, the nature of eldercare varies depending on the gender of both the providers and receivers of assistance. As with widowhood, gender stereotyping has led to women's ways of caring being seen as the standard against which the caring that men give is measured.

This entry discusses the type of research that has been done, explores the gender makeup of those giving and receiving care, discusses the differences in care provided by women and men, summarizes the limited research on the experience of receiving care, discusses the differences in the way women and men experience providing care, and provides a gender analysis of policies related to caregiving.

Until 20 years ago, research on caregiving was almost nonexistent. More recently, there has been an explosion of such literature that encourages an image of old people as infirm care recipients who are dependent. This literature often examines eldercare in situations where the recipient suffers from Alzheimer's disease or other kinds of dementia, emphasizes the stress and burden of caregiving rather than the satisfaction derived from the task, and focuses only on a primary caregiver rather than on the web of carers that may include a spouse, children, friends, and paid home-care workers.

Most literature on eldercare discusses the experience of women carers. It usually ignores the reciprocity involved in family relationships and often sees the care recipient as a passive object rather than an active participant in her or his own life. This literature also often uses the term *caregiver* to refer to people who do not refer to or think of themselves using that term. Rather, they see their actions as an extension of their roles as family members.

Although the term *eldercare* may imply that taking care of an older person and child care are similar, there are important differences between the two. Child care has a predictable trajectory, but there are likely to be unpredictable crises as well as improvements in helping older relatives. As well, that someone is old does not tell us much about whether that person needs assistance, whereas we have a good idea, enacted in law, about how much care children need at a particular age. In addition, we do not expect children to be able to make decisions about their own care. Older people, on the other hand, have the right to make decisions about care.

The early literature on caregiving sounded an alarm about the burdens of the "sandwich generation" or "generation in the middle." This warning envisioned that many women would need to take care of their aging parents at the same time that they were caring for their own small children. Although some women may be in this situation, it is more likely that their children will be grown before their own parents might need care. Therefore, the concept of serial caregiving is more appropriate. As well, many older parents do not require care. Thus, those who have the structural potential to become caregivers, that is who have parents who are old, do not necessarily need to provide care for them.

Those involved in the provision of care or assistance as well as those who receive that care are predominantly women. The categories of people involved in the caregiving triangle are the person who needs help; the "informal" helper who is unpaid and most often a family member, usually a spouse or a daughter; and the "formal" caregiver who is paid. Women are likely to occupy all the roles of the triangle.

Women are likely to be recipients of care because they live longer than men, are more likely to suffer from chronic ailments, and are less likely to have a spouse with whom to share complementary tasks of everyday life. Because women often marry men who are older than them, they are less likely to have a spouse available than men have.

Unpaid carers provide about 90 percent of the total assistance, and about 75 percent of these helpers are women. Spouses are equally likely to care for each other when needed and spend similar amounts of time caring. When husbands care for wives, this can mark a definite shift in their activity. These husbands may need to learn skills that challenge traditional views of masculinity.

Daughters are far more likely to assist a parent or parents than are sons. When children are caring for parents, their assistance reflects a gendered division of labor. Daughters and daughters-in-law are more likely to provide personal care, known as activities of daily living (ADLs), which include feeding, dressing, and bathing; perform a wider range of activities; and spend more time providing care than sons do. This work tends to be daily and inflexible.

Sons, however, are more likely to provide care management and to be involved with instrumental tasks, referred to as instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs). IADLs, which include—among other things, providing transportation, yard work, and household repairs—are less likely to require daily

work and are more easily planned. Sons are more likely to receive help from their wives when they provide care than daughters receive from their husbands.

Daughters and sons are likely to take different approaches to addressing their parents' needs. Daughters monitor their parents' needs and volunteer their help, but sons often wait until their parents ask for help. Sons are more likely to see their helping in terms of promoting their parents' independence, whereas daughters are apt to accept their parents' dependence. Finally, sons are likely to think about their help in terms of being an adult child as distinct from being a sibling, whereas daughters are more likely to think in terms of a network of siblings.

When men provide care for either their wives or their parents, they are taking on tasks that are unusual, highly visible, and seen as heroic. They experience a sense of accomplishment, the admiration of others, and, for husbands, grateful spouses. As well, men are offered assistance from formal services (i.e., those that involve paid workers) more often than are women.

Men tend to organize their caring to resemble work roles; they use the language of occupations and carry out the work in a systematic manner. Some research has found that men often set up offices or filing systems to manage their wife's or parents' care.

Daughters are more likely than are sons to adjust their work and family commitments to provide assistance. Daughters may cut back on hours of paid employment. Women see caregiving as more stressful and burdensome than men do. Men, however, report feeling a sense of accomplishment in carrying out the tasks of caring, whereas women focus more on their inability to maintain the marriage or intergenerational relationship especially if their husband or parent suffers from some form of dementia.

Although little research has explored what it is like to be a care receiver, evidence indicates that the experience of receiving care is gendered. Wife-receivers tend to feel guilty when their husbands carry out traditionally female household tasks, whereas husband-receivers see household tasks and personal care as part of the marital relationship. When mothers receive care, they may attempt to retain their identities as mothers by protecting their (usually) daughters by minimizing their requests, doing some cooking, or babysitting to help their child, and by not complaining.

Recent work has shown that when spouses care for one another, they make efforts to maintain the care receiver's gender identity. Women focus on masculine aspects of their husband's identity. For example, they may ensure that their husband keeps his driver's license, feels he is still in charge of finances, and has money or a wallet on him all the time. Men, on the other hand, may work to maintain their wife's gendered appearance by learning to apply her make up and ensuring she is wearing cleaned and pressed clothing.

The third point on the eldercare triangle is formal or paid home care. These services include personal care, housekeeping, case management, and respite for family carers. The typical paid carer is female, a member of a racial or ethnic minority (especially in urban centers), middle-aged, poorly educated, and the primary wager-earner in her household. Many policymakers believe that if homecare were provided by the state, family and friends would withdraw from providing assistance. There is, however, no evidence that this is the case.

The salary for home care workers reflects a societal belief that women are naturally suited to carry out care work, which is, therefore, seen as unskilled. As a result, many home care workers experience low wages, poor working conditions, and high turnover.

The arrangements of eldercare that exist today reflect an underestimate of the skills involved in providing care, particularly personal care, the low value of older people, and the belief that caring for an older person is intrinsically burdensome. Hospitals today are discharging patients "quicker and sicker" than in the past. Therefore, care provided at home, by both paid and unpaid caregivers, now often includes work formerly carried out by trained health care professionals. Such work may include changing dressings after surgery and administering complicated drug regimes. Even so, the old who need help are often active participants in their lives and contributing members of their family and community.

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See also Ageism; Caregiving; Domestic Labor; Marriage

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Ellis, Havelock (1859–1939)

Henry Havelock Ellis, known as Havelock Ellis, was a British doctor, sexual psychologist, and social reformer. He was born February 2, 1859, in Croydon, England. Ellis's family had strong connections to the sea. His mother Susannah Wheatley Ellis's father was a sea captain, as was his father, Edward Peppen Ellis. After being educated in England, Ellis moved to Sydney, Australia, in 1875. He worked at a variety of private schools, but found this life to be isolating and unfulfilling. Ellis returned to England in 1879 for medical training at St. Thomas' Hospital. Since the age of 16, he had wanted to study sex and obtaining a medical degree was the best means to pursue this goal. Ellis married writer Edith Lees in 1891. They had an unusual marriage for the period; although intellectually and emotionally close, both had romantic partners outside of the marriage partially because of Ellis's difficulties with physical intimacy and because Lees was a lesbian.

Ellis's early writings primarily consist of essays in arts, literature, and philosophy. After completing his medical training, Ellis devoted his life to the study of sex. His exploration of sexuality centered on studying the biological, intellectual, and emotional components of men and women. He believed that sexuality was natural for men and woman and that both sexes were capable of having fulfilling sexual lives. Ellis's approach to studying sex signified a cultural shift in how society understood sexuality and sexual behavior. He approached the subject scientifically, without moral judgment. Part of his intellectual circle included reformers Edward Carpenter and Margaret Sanger, John Addington Symonds, and Sigmund Freud. Ellis was a proponent of Freud's theories and was instrumental in popularizing Freud's work. Ellis was also a strong advocate of eugenics.

Ellis differed from early sexologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing, who believed that sexual behavior was acquired. Ellis believed that one's sexuality was part of someone's biology, a congenital condition. One of his first medical studies, *Sexual Inversion,* was written in collaboration with Symonds. They theorized that homosexuality or "sexual inversion" is simply an inborn abnormality that turns a person's sexual instinct toward members of the same sex. Ellis believed this condition naturally occurs in all species. Any attempt at finding a cure is futile because it goes against the nature of the invert. Eventually this piece became part of a larger collection of research, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* published in 1910, where Ellis also introduced research on autoeroticism, narcissism, and connections of pain with sexual behavior and concepts of love.

Ellis died July 8, 1939. He is widely recognized as a pioneer in the development of modern conceptions of sexuality. Although he faced challenges in having his work published, Ellis is widely studied today, providing a foundation for contemporary research on sexuality and gender.

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See also Homosexuality; Sexuality and Reproduction

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Emotion Work

Emotion work, or *emotion management* as it is often called, means that each encounter with others receives its expected and appropriate amount of feeling.

According to Arlie Russell Hochschild, emotions are managed based on an individual's or individuals' understanding of situational and cultural feeling rules (normative ideas about how one should or should not feel in a given situation). For example, one might say, "I tried hard to cry and feel sad when my father died," or "I just don't think I can feel any sympathy for her even though I should."

As emphasized by Hochschild, emotion work is the *intrapersonal* management of one's emotions in both private and public contexts. Consequently, the personal use value of emotion work lies in the efforts of an individual to evoke, transform, or suppress one's feelings through surface acting (purposeful management or alignment of behavioral expression with social expectations or feeling rules) and deep acting (purposeful alignment of one's "genuine" or "natural" emotion with the behavioral expressions; a cognitive strategy). In a paid work context, this emotion work (emotional labor) may be an expected aspect of one's labor power or has exchange value. In other words, in a paid work context, one might be evaluated (get paid, earn tips) according to her or his ability to smile for the customers even if the feeling typically attached to smiling is not felt or remain calm in the face of an angry client even if anger is justified as a response. Emotional labor can be thought of as emotion work with market value or as a commodity. Other researchers have noted that besides being intrapersonal, emotion work may also include the management of others' emotions, which is the *interpersonal* management of emotions. Consequently, emotion work includes the management of self-feeling and others' feelings in a variety of situations.

Of particular interest to the study of emotion work and gender is the point that emotional labor is a critical component of the service economy and that this economy has been deeply entrenched in the cultural beliefs that suggest women are more naturally suited to this emotion work than are men. Given U.S. cultural assumptions about women's emotionality, women have historically shouldered the burden of emotion work in the work force as well as in the household. Consequently, as deep-acting (a significant aspect of emotional labor) has the greatest potential of being alienating in that it is as much about deceiving self as deceiving others, women may disproportionately face the costs of emotional inauthenticity. A great deal of research is seeking to understand whether and to what extent women are disadvantaged in this sense in the service economy and to what extent emotion work in all of its complexity is gendered—experienced differently by males or females, or for those perceived to be feminine or masculine.

Current research on emotion work can be organized into the following categories: (a) a particular emotion (i.e., anger, ambivalence, anxiety, envy, guilt, jealousy, remorse, shame, or sympathy) and its management in given situations (i.e., during an illness or the illness of others, as an aspect of or response to terrorism, or during trials and jury deliberation); (b) women, men, and emotions; (c) emotion work within many widely varying paid work situations (i.e., among paralegals, lawyers, paramedics and firefighters, midwives, medical residents, models, academics, and Wal-Mart greeters) and social movement activism (i.e., animal rights, among hate groups, environmental rights, self-help groups, and in recruitment efforts for activists); and (d) emotion work in families or in close relational partnerships. This entry provides a brief discussion of these combined areas as they particularly relate to gender in society.

A Particular Emotion, its Management and Gender

In U.S. culture, it is commonly accepted that women are more emotional than men, are more emotionally expressive than men, experience different emotions, and experience those emotions differently than men do. Research, though, has challenged the validity of these assumptions. Researchers have found, for example, that women report greater intensity of anger than do males, but that there is little difference in the reported frequency of feeling angry or feeling emotional at all. Regarding anger, women do differ in that they are more likely to manage their anger verbally—do emotion work—by talking with others or seeking social support, whereas men are more likely to manage anger behaviorally by taking a pill or a drink. Men and women do seem to differ in their reporting of positive and negative emotions. Women report more negative emotions, and men report more positive. Research suggests that this difference is likely caused by social positions rather than by any inherent or innate differences. In other words, being in a position of less power, authority, and autonomy is likely to produce more negativity among females—and males, for that matter—than what is produced in higher social positions.

Affect control theory further supports the relationship between social position and emotion work because it postulates that occupying a social position that is devalued or thought to be deviant gives rise to negative emotions. These negative emotions may then set in motion emotion work to reassert self-worth or change how self is characterized. Of particular relevance here is the emotion work within self-help movements, which through solidarity creates joy and pride instead of shame, anger, or depression. Feminist self-help groups such as those constructed in response to obesity, sexual orientation, and postpartum depression in which women and men do caring for others, may also serve as ways to organize against gendered oppression and to cultivate the legitimacy of open displays of emotion and empathy.

Doing Emotional Labor

In the workplaces of the 1980s and 1990s, feminists, among others, continued to challenge the long-held assumption that the way to the top for women was through displaying shyness and doing deference emotional labor in reference to those above them. Shyness gave way to assertiveness and empathetic listening. Doing emotion work through empathetic listening was thought to equally benefit men and women, but this equality was not realized. As long as empathy was assumed to be a feminine quality and one closely tied to caregiving, women gained less than men did from doing empathetic listening and were more harshly judged when doing it poorly. Similarly, Jennifer Pierce's study of paralegals demonstrated how a profession characterized by deference and caretaking was feminized not so much because women were doing the emotion work, but because caretaking is constructed as something women do well. Further emotion work is then required to manage the feelings of injustice.

Doing Emotion Work and Doing Gender

Emotional experience and expression are integral aspects of close relationships. Hence, interpersonal emotion work is also integral, particularly to family relations. Researchers of the family have found that biological sex is the most important predictor of the division of labor within these relations, but that people's construction of gender is the most important predictor of the performance of interpersonal emotion work. And men's performance of emotion work is a critical component of women's perceptions of marital quality. Males who construct gender in more feminine-expressive terms are more likely to do emotion work, but women are more likely to do emotion work whether they construct gender in more feminine or masculine-instrumental terms. Further, studies have also shown that when couples agree on a more traditional gender approach, men do more emotion work and women are happier about the marital quality. But if women are dissatisfied with the division of labor, they are also more critical of men's emotion work and less happy with the marital quality. These studies demonstrate the importance of including an examination of gender constructions and of emotion work to understanding the creation and maintenance of families and marriages.

Researching Emotion Work

As emotion work is primarily an interactive process, most research is qualitative in nature, including participant observation, ethnography, narrative, in-depth interviewing, or focus groups. However, a significant body of research based in affect control theory draws on survey research and mathematical models to predict emotions called forth in particular situations and hence, an examination of the likelihood and extent of emotion work.

A great deal of research on emotions and emotion work has been conducted during the past 30 years that indicate their significance in understanding social interaction, relationships, and structure. Particularly important is the impact of gender or the expectations concerning masculinity and femininity in this understanding. One final note is that the empirical study of gender and emotion work is continuing to expand into the examination of other social positions such as sexual orientation and race, emphasizing human agency rather than a model of cultural norms. In the final analysis, people's constructions about what is feminine and what is masculine affect emotion work more than does biological sex. Women, as they are more likely characterized as feminine, do more and are expected to do more emotion work, and hence, women are held to a different standard of caring

(particularly in reference to emotional labor) than are men.

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See also Depression; Global Care Chain Work; Language, Gender Differences; Private/Public Spheres

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EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963

Legislation calling for equal pay for equal work was first proposed in Congress in 1945. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA) was finally signed into law on June 10, 1963, by President John F. Kennedy—18 years after the National War Labor Board mandated equal pay for equal work in 1942. However, the act was controversial because of the objections of numerous members of the business community.

Numerous reasons were given during congressional testimony about why women should be paid less than men. First, employers cited the higher turnover rates of working women because of family obligations as a valid reason for paying women lower hourly wages. Employers also cited state laws that prohibited women from working at night, laws that limited the actual number of hours worked and the amount of weight a woman could lift. There was also the historical bias in the system of compensation in the United States during that period; in the 1950s, two-thirds of families had a bread-winning husband and a stay-at-home wife. Many women workers at this time were viewed as working for "pin money"—income not vital to the survival of the household. Through the combination of these reasons, many in the business community as well as in society stood against equal pay for equal work.

The EPA requires, as a general rule, that men and women who work in jobs that are substantively equal in terms of skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions shall receive the same pay. The original bill that was proposed required equal pay for "comparable work." However, this stipulation was changed before the passage of the bill to "equal work." The EPA permits differences in wages based on seniority, merit, quality, or quantity of production, or other differentials not based on gender. In EPA cases, plaintiffs have the burden of proof to show that women were paid less than men and that the work involved was "substantively equal." Also, until the passage of the Educational Amendments in 1972, those employed in an executive, administrative, or professional capacities were excluded from the protection of the EPA as a consequence of the EPA being bundled into the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The EPA was enacted as an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which regulates minimum wages, overtime, and child labor, because it was politically expedient to have the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor oversee the enforcement of the EPA rather than push for the development of a new administrative body. As a result of the Reorganization Act of 1977, the enforcement of the EPA shifted to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1979, where it remains.

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See also Comparable Worth; Gender Wage Gap; Occupational Segregation

Further Readings

Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as Amended.

Web Sites

Equal Pay Act of 1963: http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/epa.html

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA)

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would prevent the denial or abridgement of legal protection on the basis of gender. The ERA was passed by Congress in 1972, but failed to achieve full ratification. The controversy that arose surrounding the ERA exemplified contemporary debates regarding the equality of the sexes and became a major focal point of the woman's movement of the late 20th century. The ERA was most recently introduced before Congress on March 27, 2007, as S.J. Res. 10 (Sen. Edward M. Kennedy) and H.J. Res. 40 (Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney). Renamed the "Women's Equality Amendment," these resolutions adopt similar language to the ERA, but fail to specify a deadline for ratification. This entry describes the history of the ERA, as well as the controversies surrounding it.

History

Drafted by suffragette Alice Paul, founder of the National Woman's Party, the ERA was first put before Congress in 1923. Paul envisioned a bill that would extend women's rights following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. But early opponents of the legislation, including Florence Kelly and the League of Women Voters, feared that it would end protective labor laws. Following endorsement by both Republican and Democratic parties in the 1940s, the ERA was modified to include a rider that exempted women's labor protection laws. But addition of the rider failed to resolve debates surrounding the amendment, and the ERA remained stymied in Congressional committee sessions for another two decades. In 1972, Congress approved a rider-free version of the ERA submitted by Representative Martha Griffith (D-MI). With the 1967 endorsement of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the rise of the second wave of the women's movement following the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique,* ERA proponents were confident the legislation would be fully ratified. The political climate of the early 1970s was less amenable then perceived, however, and conservative activists, led by Phyllis Schlafly, raised powerful opposition to the amendment. Schlafly's "STOP the ERA" movement argued that the bill would end the legal privileges and protections granted to women and lead to a host of unanticipated outcomes, from women's participation in the military draft to unisex public bathrooms.

In the face of a unified opposition movement, the ratification process slowed and Indiana became the 35th, and final, state to ratify the ERA in 1977. Between 1973 and 1979, five states rescinded ratification (or let it lapse), raising important questions about the amendment process and the legality of state rescission bills. Despite a 3-year extension of the 7-year deadline for ratification, the ERA failed to secure further endorsement and was defeated in 1982. Although the ERA has been reintroduced to every Congress since 1983, support for the bill waned as it became increasingly associated with debates regarding abortion rights and funding.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, ERA proponents pursued the "three-state strategy," which argues that the 1982 ratification deadline should be nullified and the ERA passed once three more states approve ratification. The "three-state strategy" was adopted following the 1992 passage of the Twenty-seventh Amendment (the "Madison Amendment"), after a ratification period of 203 years. ERA supporters argue that the Madison Amendment establishes precedent for Congress to amend previously established legislative deadlines. Following this interpretation, Congress could validate the 35 existing ERA ratifications and add the amendment to the Constitution following its approval by three more states. Opponents argue that the Madison Amendment fails to establish precedent because it was proposed in 1789 without a deadline, and that the ERA only secured the approval of 30 states, following its rescission by five ratifying states in the 1970s. In 2007, ERA proponents pursued this strategy by introducing ratification bills in legislative sessions of eight unratified states. To date, no further ratifications have been secured. The 2007 Women's Equality Amendment adopts the language of the ERA without specifying a deadline for its ratification. The Women's Equality Amendment would need to need to secure independent ratification by 38 states for congressional approval and enactment. With more than 200 congressional co-sponsors, the Women's Equality Amendment is supported by both the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the League of Women Voters.

Controversy

The concise and broad language of the ERA has prompted heated debate and speculation about its purpose, goals, and possible outcomes. Debates surrounding the ERA have generally paralleled those regarding gender equality throughout the 20th century. Early supporters of the amendment included radical feminists who demanded an end to legal sexual discrimination practices that lent women inferior property, contract, and guardianship rights. Opponents included conservative feminists who tied the ERA to social issues of women's family role and argued that the amendment's provision of equal legal protection would strip women of labor restrictions. Where proponents of the bill felt that sexual equality should be secured regardless of social status, opponents argued that equality needed to be tempered by women's need for legal protection as second-class citizens. These debates were tied to contemporary disputes regarding participation of women in the workforce and the role of men as household breadwinners.

By the time the ERA came before Congress in 1972, women played an active role in the workforce and concerns regarding the protection of women's labor were no longer prominent. At that time, the Amendment was associated with contentious gender-related issues including reproductive rights and women's participation in military combat. Schlafly's STOP the ERA movement mobilized significant opposition that drew upon fear that passage of the amendment would legalize public funding of abortion. This group found influential collaborators among conservative religious and pro-life groups, including the National Right to Life Committee, which lobbied heavily at the state level against passage of the amendment. Schlafly and other anti-ERA enthusiasts maintain their active opposition to the latest version of the amendment, arguing that its passage will lead to the loss of women's right to alimony, spousal support, and social security benefits, as well as the legalization of same-sex marriage. Despite substantial opposition, amendment sponsors maintain hope that Congress will fully ratify the ERA and guarantee equal legal protection to women.

Sya Buryn Kedzior

See also Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; National Organization for Women (NOW); National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Women's Equity Action League

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ERICKSON, REED (1917–1992)

Reed Erickson was an influential wealthy transsexual man who contributed to funding early research on transsexual issues and increasing the visibility of transsexuality in the United States. Erickson was born October 13, 1917, as Rita Erickson in El Paso, Texas. Shortly after taking over his father's prosperous lead smelting business after his father's death in 1962, Erickson began the process of masculinization under the supervision of Dr. Harry Benjamin. Erickson was crucial for the growth of transsexual medical services and education because of his extensive philanthropic endeavors.

In 1964, Erickson founded the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF), an organization through which he funneled philanthropic personal donations. The EEF donations proclaimed that goals included support for controversial and cutting-edge research that was currently unfunded. Through EEF, Erickson supported significant early research on transsexualism by scholars and doctors such as Dr. Harry Benjamin, an endocrinologist who created the first medical standard of care for transsexuals, and many researchers at the Johns Hopkins and Stanford University Gender Clinics. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the EEF donated more than $250,000 to the study of and improvement of medical services for transsexuals. The EEF also promoted education on transsexuality through coordinating medical referrals among transsexuals, sponsoring public educational opportunities, and financially supporting early books about transsexuality. The most significant contribution of the EEF was supporting the growth and development of the Harry Benjamin International Dysphoria Association through both

general financial support and sponsorship of the first three international symposia on gender identity in 1969, 1971, and 1973.

Other activities funded by Erickson included the financial support of the Los Angeles homophile organization ONE Inc., which is one of the oldest gay organizations in the United States. ONE Inc. has operated as a central historical archive and educational facility since 1952 and has received more than $2 million dollars worth of support from EEF. This funding was used to purchase a community center, which was critical for gay activist organizing during this period before the gay and lesbian rights movement (sometimes referred to as the "pre-Stonewall period"). Erickson's substantial funding for ONE Inc. gave him significant influence over ONE Inc. educational and business endeavors. Erickson also funded New Age exploratory research on dolphin communications, acupuncture, and dream research. After transitioning, Erickson married three different women and fathered two children. Erickson died in 1992 in Mexico, a fugitive from United States drug indictments because of his addiction to illegal drugs.

Amy L. Stone

See also Benjamin, Harry; Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing; Transsexual

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ETHICS AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT, GENDER DIFFERENCES IN

The history of reflection on ethics and moral development is inseparable from the history of speculation about gender differences. This entry will outline some of the most historically influential accounts of the nature of ethics and of the presumed differences between women's and men's ethical development and then turn to more contemporary debates on the topic.

Historical Views of Gender and Moral Development

Questions about the nature of moral decision making have been addressed in religious, philosophical, and scientific traditions. In each of these traditions, it has often been claimed that compared with men, women are inferior in respect to their moral characters, reasoning abilities, and capacity for self-control. The explanations for this presumed inferiority have varied, and although claims that women are morally inferior have predominated in the Western intellectual tradition, voices critical of the dominant account may also be found throughout this history. In Plato's *Republic,* for example, Socrates (469–399 BCE) described the just man as one whose reason directs his spirit or passions as well as his appetites. Those who are best able to exercise rational self-control, whether they are men or women, are best suited to become members of the state's guardian or ruling group. By arguing that some women were capable of rational self-control and that they could become rulers, Plato (c. 427–347 BCE) ran counter to prevailing Greek views. However, he qualifies this view by having Socrates argue that within the guardian class, the women's abilities would be inferior to those of the men. Plato presents a further account of the differences between men and women in a mythological story in the *Timaeus.* In this dialogue, Timaeus, describing a cycle of the birth and rebirth of souls, says that men who failed to control their passions and physical sensations would, after death, be reborn as women.

Plato's view of the relationship of gender to moral development is thus a complex one. Although he is the earliest major Western philosopher to challenge the belief that women as a group are incapable of rational self-control, and though he promoted education for capable women, he nevertheless reserved to men the highest level of rational and moral ability.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) had a more pronounced view of the moral differences between men and women than did Plato. Parallel to his belief that female bodies produced less heat than male bodies and were therefore less perfect, Aristotle viewed women as lacking in the capacity to exercise practical reason and the other moral virtues such as courage and temperance. Because of this defect, women's

excellence or virtue, for Aristotle, was to be ruled by men. Aristotle's view of women largely dominated medieval Christian, Islamic, and Jewish philosophy. St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) adopted Aristotle's view that in the natural realm, women ought to accept the rule of men because of women's weaker rational powers. However, he believed that women, as much as men, could achieve perfection in the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity by means of a gift of divine grace. An exception to the general medieval adoption of Aristotle's position was Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), an author and teacher who in her writings questioned the passive moral role generally assigned to women and who attributed to women both self-control and intelligence.

In the late medieval and early Renaissance period, exaggerated satirical accounts of women's vices became popular in Europe. These included the *Malleus maleficarum* (Witches' Hammer), a 15th-century work that portrayed women as susceptible to profound spiritual corruption because of their inherent moral weakness. Although women were popularly satirized and even demonized during this period, there were also authors who challenged the inherited Aristotelian view of women's characters. Christine de Pizan (c. 1363–1430), a prolific Venetian author, disputed the prevailing view that women were defective in virtue. In *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405), Pizan described the building of a city of virtuous women guided by Lady Reason, Lady Rectitude, and Lady Justice. Through examples and arguments, Pizan challenged the view that women were weak, inconstant, jealous, deceitful, and so on. In addition to Pizan, other thinkers during the Renaissance period questioned Aristotelian science and philosophy, opening the door to questions regarding women's virtue and women's education.

Enlightenment and 19th-Century Views of Gender and Moral Development

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) argued that men and women were equally perfect and saw their abilities as complementary to one another. He promoted women's education but claimed that it ought to focus on developing those attributes that enabled women to please and inspire men. Women, for Rousseau, would find their proper role within the private or familial sphere. Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) criticized

Rousseau's educational program, claiming that to educate women to please men corrupted women's characters and rendered them idle and frivolous. Viewing women as potentially independent of men and as possessing reason in their own right would lead, according to Wollstonecraft, to women developing a greater range of virtues.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) developed a powerful ethical theory whose influence extends to the present day. Kant represents a movement away from traditional virtue ethics, which emphasized the development of excellent character, toward an account of what makes particular decisions ethical or unethical. Kant's ethical theory is *deontological* or duty-based rather than *consequentialist* or based on the outcomes of actions. For Kant, moral rules should be acknowledged as applying universally; thus, a person who behaves unethically is one who applies one set of rules to herself or himself while applying another set of rules to others. The person who behaves ethically is rationally consistent because that person follows only those rules of behavior that he or she would be able to consistently wish others to follow as well. Kant's ethics places fundamental importance on human dignity and on the principle that human beings should be seen as ends in themselves, never merely as instruments to be used.

Kant's view of women's moral capacity shows the influence of Rousseau. Kant described men as having a noble nature and a deep understanding, whereas women had a beautiful nature as well as a beautiful understanding. Men, according to Kant, should develop their intellectual capacities and moral reasoning but women should develop their feelings of appreciation for the beautiful. In the realm of ethics, women would learn to recognize unethical actions because of their ugliness rather than because such actions violated rules of rational consistency. They would be guided in ethical decision making by their husbands' understanding, and they would guide their husbands in matters of taste. Whereas Kant did not deny that women have rational capacities, he considered it inappropriate for women to develop those capacities fully, either in the sciences or in the study of ethics because to do so might compromise women's ability to be charming to men and thus to fulfill the purpose of procreation. As Nancy Tuana has pointed out in *Woman and the History of Philosophy,* Kant's belief that women should forgo the development of their rational capacities for the sake of social ends is in tension with his belief that rational beings have an imperfect duty of self-development as

well as with his fundamental principle that human beings should be treated as ends and not as mere means to the ends either of others or of themselves.

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was one of the founders of the utilitarian philosophy that, like Kantian ethics, still exercises a profound influence on moral philosophy today. Like Kantian deontology, utilitarianism develops criteria for determining whether an action can be considered ethically permitted or even ethically required. Unlike Kant, utilitarians look to the consequences of an action to make such judgments. Actions are judged right to the extent that they produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, with each person's interests counting no more than anyone else's. Although it may seem that, according to utilitarian reasoning, individual rights and freedoms could be sacrificed to the interests of a social majority, Mill himself was a strong defender of the principle that a society that fails to protect individual freedom would be unable to promote the well-being of any of its citizens.

In 19th-century Britain, utilitarians championed a number of social reforms on the grounds that existing social arrangements failed to set a priority on human happiness, which was often sacrificed to tradition and to class interests. Mill, along with his wife Harriet Taylor (1807–1858), publicly advocated the enfranchisement of women and the abolishment of the practice of *couverture* whereby women lost their rights to hold property if they married. In 1869, he published *The Subjection of Women,* which made a case for women's political and social equality. In this work, Mill argued that, although it is often claimed that women are naturally inferior to men, the true nature of women will never be known until they are given equal opportunities and the freedom to develop their capabilities. Regarding the moral development of men and women, Mill made a number of claims. He argued that the family is the first school of justice and virtue and that when the family has at its heart a relationship of inequality between the sexes, children learn to be unjust rather than just. He pointed out that, though it is commonly claimed that women are a refining or civilizing influence and are in that sense better than men, it is inconsistent to believe that women therefore should be men's subordinates. Under the present system of social inequality, he argued, women were poorly educated and as a result they tended to corrupt their husbands by espousing common beliefs and stifling original and critical thought. Finally, Mill argued

that men who were raised from childhood in the belief that they were inherently superior to all women became morally corrupted as a result. To educate both men and women to their fullest intellectual and moral capacities could transform the moral character of the family and make available the talents and intellect of women in the public sphere.

The views of Mill and Taylor constituted a minority compared with the prevailing 19th-century view of women. Scientists in this period contributed to the dominant view by offering biological justifications for the presumed fact that women's moral choices were made under the influence of sympathy and emotion (as opposed to the choices made by men, who were more rational and dispassionate). In this view, women's sympathetic nature was an evolutionary adaptation that fitted them for their nurturing role; in addition, it was argued that the physical energy required for pregnancy and childbirth ought not to be diverted into women's own intellectual or moral development.

Freud and Women's Moral Development

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) developed a profoundly influential account of human psychological development that further reinforced the view that women's moral capacities were inferior to those of men. For Freud, the human psyche has three parts: the ego (the "I" or conscious self), the id (the "it" or instinctual self), and the superego (the "over-I" or conscience). In early childhood, according to Freud, boys and girls took different paths to develop the superego and thus different paths to moral maturity. Boys, according to Freud, experience an Oedipal complex consisting of sexual desire for their mothers. They abandon this desire because of fear of castration, and their psyches develop an internal, powerful father figure (the superego) to keep them from straying again into forbidden desires or actions. Girls experience the Oedipal stage differently. They experience envy of boys' penises and wish they had one. They abandon their initial attachment to their mothers because the mother is, like the girl, lacking a penis. They develop an attachment to their fathers because a father can give them a baby to substitute for the penis. Eventually, girls abandon the Oedipal stage, but because they cannot be threatened with castration, their growth beyond the Oedipal stage and the formation of their superegos is incomplete and

their superegos lack the intense motivating power of those of boys. As a result, women possess a weaker sense of justice than do men and are more influenced by their emotions.

Carol Gilligan: *In a Different Voice*

The 20th century saw the development of a number of feminist responses to the historical views of women's moral development. The best-known and most influential work in this area is Carol Gilligan's 1982 book, *In a Different Voice.* Gilligan's work on moral development arose as a response to the work of psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg (1927–1987). Kohlberg, inspired by the work of cognitive development theorist Jean Piaget (1896–1980), argued that there were six stages of moral development, divided into three levels (preconventional, conventional, and postconventional). At the first stage, actions are judged right or wrong according to whether or not they are punished; at the second, they are judged according to the self-interest of the subject. At the third stage, actions are judged by whether they fulfill interpersonal expectations; at the fourth, actions are expected to conform to laws. At the postconventional fifth stage, a social contract or a set of human rights is believed to determine what is ethical, and at the sixth stage, actions are judged right or wrong in light of universal principles of justice (e.g., using Kantian reasoning).

Gilligan pointed out that although Kohlberg's conclusions were assumed to apply to everyone, all 84 of the subjects in his initial study were male. She noted that in several studies using Kohlberg's methods, the women subjects failed to advance beyond his stage three. In response to these findings, Gilligan undertook her own research into the moral reasoning of both males and females. She found that a significant number of subjects, particularly women, articulated an ethical approach characterized by concern for interpersonal relationships and responsibility toward others. Gilligan came to call this approach a *care perspective,* which she distinguished from Kohlberg's *justice perspective.* Rather than accept the view that a care perspective was a stage along the way to full moral maturity, Gilligan proposed the voice of care as a viable alternative to the voice of justice. Rather than beginning with human rights or universal principles, the care perspective arose from a sense of human connection, responsibility, and interdependence. Gilligan

outlined a set of stages of development within the care perspective: first, a preconventional focus on individual survival that is transcended by a concern not to be selfish. This stage is followed by a conventional stage focused first on pleasing others and then on questioning the demand to care only for others at the expense of caring for oneself. At the postconventional level, the ideal of self-sacrifice is replaced by recognition of the mutuality of relationships, and eventually care is extended to encompass a universal rejection of harm to self or others.

Responses to Gilligan

Responses to Gilligan's work have been wide ranging. A number of studies were undertaken to substantiate or disprove the existence of a care orientation in ethics as well as to test the association of the care approach with women. On the basis of such studies, Kohlberg and others have argued that the care orientation is associated, not with women, but with subjects having less extensive education than others and with those (such as housewives) without experience of participation in the workplace. Some feminist thinkers have responded to this suggestion by developing theories of ethics centered on the virtues that arise from the practice of nurturing children and caring for the dependent. A number of feminists have been wary of the care approach, seeing in it a potential return of historically dominant stereotypes of women, with their claims that women were dominated by emotion and incapable of understanding principles of justice. Along these lines, some have argued that the primary task of feminist ethics is not to develop a critique of principles of justice but, rather, to use those principles of justice to address the moral wrongs that have been done to women.

Moral philosophers have sometimes assimilated the care approach to existing positions within philosophical ethics. Thus, the ethics of care has been understood variously as a theory of supererogatory actions (actions that go beyond the strict demands of obligation), a theory of imperfect duties (those duties that are generally required but not in every case, such as the duty to assist the less fortunate), a theory of moral sentiments, a kind of virtue ethics, or an account of ethical principles to be used among loved ones and in the private sphere of the family. Others have viewed the care approach as a way to criticize the limits of abstract principles in ethics,

seeing care as a salutary balance to the strict impartiality of both deontological and consequentialist ethical systems. In addition, care ethics has provided a basis on which to criticize the assumption, prevalent within social contract theories, that the subject of ethics is a rational, independent adult rather than being, for example, a dependent, vulnerable child, an elderly person, or someone suffering from a developmental disability.

Conclusion

Notions about differences in the ethical development of women and men have long played a central, if often hidden, role in the development of moral theories. Although it is impossible to say where this history will lead, the active participation of feminist theorists, and the attention paid to actual women who make ethical choices, is likely to have a profound effect on the future of ethical thought.

Paulette Kidder

See also Caregiving; Education: Gender Differences; Feminist Bioethics; Gender Identities and Socialization; Nature/Nurture Debate; V*indication of the Rights of Woman, A;* Wollstonecraft, Mary

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Ethnic Cleansing

The term *ethnic cleansing* was introduced into the lexicon of public discourse on war and international law during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia) in the early 1990s. Although there is no general agreement on a precise definition for *ethnic cleansing,* the broad outlines include an ideologically driven state policy designed to forcibly remove a group from a given territory. This entry will focus on the historical changes to the targets of cleansing and how rape became a tool for ethnic cleansing in Bosnia.

Ethnic Cleaning: A Historical Overview

Ethnic cleansing has been a feature of social and state relations since antiquity. In practice, though, it is difficult to distinguish ethnic cleansing from other types of removal that were not attempts to remove a clearly defined group from a specific territory. Further, when cleansing has been accompanied by extensive massacres, it often crosses the threshold from cleansing to genocide, which is the attempt to destroy in whole or in part a group of people based on the group's racial, ethnic, or national identity. Thus, the lines between cleansing and genocide, even though analytically discrete, blur in practice because both events can include degrees of violence and massacre accompanying forced removals.

Forced deportations and enslavement characterized ethnic cleansing until the Middle Ages. The target groups were the conquered peoples of wars. In the Middle Ages, the targets of ethnic cleansing were religious minorities. For example, Christians were deported from Muslim territories and vice versa. By the 19th century, the ideological motivation for ethnic

cleansing shifted again. This time, in addition to religious groups, racial and ethnic minorities also became the targets of cleansing. One example is the U.S. Federal Removal Act of 1830, which forced the removal of various groups of Indian people from their ancestral lands.

Ethnic Cleaning in the 20th Century

In the 20th century, ethnic cleansing continued to be related to military operations, planned, and directed by political leaders of states. The campaigns for ethnic cleansing included nonviolent and violent measures. Nonviolent measures, which were more or less administrative, included policies such as dismissal from work, removal of medical care, or forced labor or other measures that incited violence such as racist propaganda, death threats, or publication of citizens according to ethnic origins intended to marginalize and isolate target groups.

More violent tactics were either part of the lead up to cleansing campaigns or accompanied ethnic cleansing. These tactics were carried out by citizens, paramilitary, and military personnel, working together or separately, although military personnel usually were responsible for summary executions, the blocking of humanitarian aid, targeting citizens for bombing, taking and exchanging hostages, running detention centers, using civilians as human shields, attacking refugee camps, and so forth. Unlike some administrative measures, military measures, as well as violent tactics and policies that incited violence, violate international law. These tactics and policies included robbery, physical intimidation, shootings, destruction of homes and other personal property, leading to mass displacement and mass deportations. Ethnic cleansing was extended beyond the physical removal of bodies to removing all traces of an ethnic group's existence by destroying places of worship, changing of street names, and the like.

In the 20th century, ethnic cleansing increasingly combined group removal with escalating levels of violence: Cleansing became synonymous with the removal *and* extermination of groups. Some examples include the Armenians (also victims of genocide), Christian Lebanese, and Kurds from the Ottoman empire during World War I; the cleansing of groups accompanying the consolidation of the Soviet Union and its satellite territories in the Balkans between 1929 and 1945; and the forced removal of Germans from former Nazi German occupied territories at the end of World War II.

Since World War II, ethnic cleansing has become associated with regions of the Global South (Africa, Asia, Caribbean, Latin America, and the Pacific). Specifically, the process of ending colonization engendered attempts by dominant groups within the new states to expel groups from within newly drawn state boundaries. Thus, in places like Nigeria and the Sudan, attempts were made to remove groups perceived as threats to the integrity of newly emerging political states. The linking of ethnic cleansing to postcolonial states was attributed, incorrectly in many cases, to the eruption of age-old ethnic hatreds. By the late 20th century, it was apparent that ethnic cleansing was not always associated with primordial tensions, not was it fair or accurate to link ethnic cleansing exclusively to states in the Global South.

Regardless of where it has occurred, post–World War II ethnic cleansing has occurred in contravention of international humanitarian law and international human rights. The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the 1977 Additional Protocols, constructed to provide laws for war fighting, to make it a war crime to target civilians for violence or to remove them from their homes by force, and to make ethnic cleansing a crime against humanity because civilian populations cannot be murdered, tortured, raped, exterminated, enslaved, or imprisoned on the basis of political, religious, or racial grounds. In the United Nations General Assembly in 1992, ethnic cleansing was identified as a form of genocide. And in the case of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, systematic rape was elevated to a genocidal act.

Systematic Rape: The Bosnian Case

Until Bosnia, rape was largely ignored as a war crime—an invisible crime thought to be related to the excesses of war. The Geneva Conventions considered rape a form of torture. Yet it remained unpunished because the prosecution had to rely on physical evidence to prove that the rape had occurred. And, although women were protected against forced prostitution and indecent assault in the Geneva Conventions, which protected both women and men equally, rape continued to be ignored. In 2001, however, the International Criminal Tribunal for the

Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) convicted three Bosnian Serb soldiers of crimes against humanity for rape and sexual enslavement of Muslim women. This was the first time that a UN criminal tribunal focused solely on sexual assault and rape as war crimes. The ICTY argued that rape and torture are separate: Rape is a crime in its own right because of the way it violates our humanity. Therefore, and again for the first time, women in particular needed protection against rape *and* indecent assault with special protection for their young children also.

The ICTY decision was in response to the situation in Bosnia in the early 1990s when the Bosnian Serbs targeted mainly Muslim women and girls for systematic rape in advance of and as part of a military plan to cleanse the former Yugoslavia of Muslims from what Serb political leaders saw as their rightful territory. Their plan to rape Muslim women and girls went beyond the physical act and the terror and shame it instilled. Serb political leaders marked women's bodies as symbols of the honor of the Muslim community more generally. An attack on Muslim women was designed, by implication, to weaken and attack Muslim men because any attack would show that Muslim men had failed to protect their own women and girls, and subsequently the Muslim community. Moreover, Serbs considered Muslim women and girls, in their reproductive role, as the bearers of future generations and therefore sought to destroy women's reproductive power and the threat of Muslim expansion within their bodies. Thus, in some senses, the Serb political leader's policy of systematic rape was a demented form of nation building. It should be noted that the mass rape strategy included men and boys, who were raped and, in some cases, forced to rape each other.

The Serbs, in targeting Muslim women and girls, introduced a tactic unique to 20th-century cleansing campaigns because women's bodies were used as tools for ethnic destruction. Rape was used in at least four ways for ethnic cleansing. First, women and girls were raped, often in front of their families, to force families and communities to leave. In this case, civilians or paramilitary forces would arrive in a town, rape and pillage—in other words, terrorize a community—then leave, only to be followed a few days later by the arrival of military forces who offered safe passage, sometimes after extorting Muslims' personal property. Second was the random rape of women and girls in concentration camps and in refugee collection camps. Third was the systematic rape of women and girls over extended periods in rape camps located in abandoned buildings, schools, and the like. Torture and death often accompanied the rapes. Fourth was the use of women in bordello-type camps, where women were forced to engage in sexual relations with soldiers returning from the front. Most were murdered afterward.

Rape, however, was also part of a larger strategy aimed at impregnating Muslim women and girls—to literally cleanse them of their Muslim faith and produce Serbian babies. Women, who were held in rape camps until impregnated, were not permitted to leave until after such time that their pregnancies could no longer be aborted.

Conclusion

Ethnic cleansing is an historical feature of state actions that seeks to remove a group from a defined territory on the basis of the group's race, ethnicity, or national origin. The targets have changed over time, but the specific targeting of women and girls as a tool of ethnic cleansing is unique to the 20th century. In the Bosnian genocide, the systematic rape of women and girls for the purpose of forced removal resulted in the international community's recognition of rape and sexual assault as a crime against humanity.

Wendy Theodore

See also Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Household Livelihood Strategies; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism; Transnational Development, Women and; United Nations Decade for Women

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EUGENICS

Eugenics, a term derived from "eugenes," Greek for "well-born," was coined in 1883 by Charles Darwin's first cousin Francis Galton to provide a succinct way of characterizing the science of "improving the stock." This entry will discuss the social and theoretical applications, the main problems, and the resurgence of eugenics.

Social and Theoretical Applications of Eugenics

Drawing upon recent discoveries that showed that Mendel's laws of inheritance could be applied to such human physical traits as eye color, scientists sought to apply Mendelian principles more broadly. If human traits could be sorted into eugenic (good) and bad (dysgenic) ones, then "eugenic science" could be used to frame social policy. The proportion of individuals with good traits could be increased by encouraging "fit" individuals to have more children (so-called positive eugenics) and discouraging "unfit" people to have fewer children ("negative eugenics"). Eugenic thinking was widely embraced, and quickly enshrined both in public policy and in academia in the United States. "Fitter family competitions" were held to encourage the "right people" to reproduce, and sterilization laws were enacted to prevent the "wrong people" from reproducing. By the early 1930s, more than half the states had implemented sterilization laws. More than 30,000 "eugenic sterilizations" had been performed in California.

Scientists were interested in more than merely social applications. Eugenics also had theoretical attractions. It seemed to allow the extension of mechanistic and reductionist principles to even broader swaths of human life. The transformations wrought by industrialization and increased scientific knowledge both fostered eugenicists' confidence in humans' capacity to control "nature" and seemed to vindicate the belief that scientifically based social policy was the best way to achieve progress. If social problems were not relevantly different from more obviously biologically based human diseases and dysfunctions, then they could be addressed in similar ways. Pervasive interference with people's freedom could be justified, and such restrictions could be touted as rational and disinterested. Though eugenicists in the United States had often been the impetus for eugenic policies that were reckless, scientifically flawed, and repressive, it took revelation of the horrors of Nazi eugenics to deflate public support for eugenics in the United States, England, and Germany. (Eugenic sterilization laws remained on the books for more than three decades after the end of World War II.)

Main Problems of Eugenics

As many commentators have pointed out, eugenics has serious internal flaws, not merely politically unpalatable consequences. Three families of problems are especially noteworthy. First, the hereditarian views that early-20th-century eugenicists drew upon were unsound. Patterns of inheritance do not exhibit the simple Mendelian logic that early eugenicists conjectured they did. Most inherited conditions are recessive rather than dominant, so individuals who did not manifest an allegedly dysgenic trait could nevertheless pass it on to their offspring. Because they misconstrued the relationship between an observed trait (or an individual's phenotype) and the individual's potential hereditary legacy (or an individual's genotype), eugenicists' observations and predictions were seriously inaccurate. Second, many of the traits that were taken to be genetic or narrowly biological in origin were not. Often—as was the case with such allegedly dysgenic traits as "feeblemindedness," pauperism, alcoholism, and "drapetomania" (the mental defect allegedly exhibited by slaves who sought to escape)—the traits were not really traits, or biologically based at all, as much as ad hoc inventions or reifications of racial, ethnic, or gender bias. In the early 20th century, many WASP nativists sought to cloak their anti-immigration views in scientifically respectable garb by alleging that there was scientific evidence that supported their claims that the "races" of Eastern and Southern Europe were biologically inferior. But what was adduced was neither scientific nor evidence: Allegations of the inherent "weakness of mind" of non-English-speaking immigrants were often based on such things as poor performance on culturally biased intelligence tests. Similarly flawed reasoning was used to justify

claims that African Americans were intellectually inferior or otherwise "defective," and that sexually active nonmarried women were "morons."

Resurgence of Eugenics

Neither popular awareness of the outrages perpetrated by the Nazi racial hygienists nor revelation of the dark history of American eugenics has brought a permanent end to people's enthusiasm for eugenics. Within the past 25 years, eugenic views have experienced a renaissance. This has been facilitated by dehistoricization, distraction, and repackaging: by the dearth of general awareness of the extensive connections between American and British eugenicists and the Nazi scientists who embraced doctrines of "racial hygiene," and because the racism and classism of Progressive Era reformers such as Margaret Sanger have often been deemphasized in favor of scripts that emphasized her feminism. In addition, the rise of genomic medicine and the implementation of profound legal and regulatory changes converged to foster the emergence of what is sometimes characterized as "the new eugenics" or—in Edwin Black's felicitous phrase—"newgenics." (It has also been called "free-market eugenics" and "liberal eugenics.") On the heels of the development of recombinant DNA techniques, in the *Diamond v. Chakrabarty* decision of 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court allowed for the patenting of forms of life. This paved the way for greater commercialization of biomedical technology. The passage of Bayh-Dole Act in the same year expanded the scope of biotechnology companies' proprietary reach and greatly enhanced their economic and political influence by actively fostering "partnerships" between universities and corporations.

What has emerged in the wake of *Chakrabarty* and Bayh-Dole is what might be called the "biomedical technology-industrial complex": a deep and far-reaching collaboration between genomic medicine, biotechnology, nanotechnology, industry, finance, and marketing. The scientific implications of the exponential increase in the scope of knowledge are both broad and deep, and the economic implications of the forging of new super-institutions that combine medical, biotechnical, and corporate concerns have been staggering. There has been unprecedented capital investment in research and development, and investors, shareholders, and biomedical researchers (who have morphed into "bioentrepreneurs") have reaped huge profits from the applications of their research. Nor have the conceptual and moral implications of these changes been simpler or more easily comprehensible: There has been widespread blurring of categories in ethics, policy, and law. Both the pace of change and the potential irrevocability of policies that focus on genomic control raise ethical and epistemological questions that are difficult to the point of intractability. Nevertheless, despite unease in the face of increasingly complex regulation and intellectual property laws, increased ambiguities of application and assessment, and uncertainty about further consequences of the implementation of new biotechnologies, eugenics has emerged as a subtext, and eugenic "human improvement" is again being cast as an icon of progress.

Scientists have come to need ever-greater amounts of money to pursue their research. As commentators have pointed out, this has generated serious and systematic conflicts of interest. Scientists have been eager to communicate information about the multitude of new instruments, procedures, and tests they have developed and about their enormous potential to facilitate the prediction and prevention of an increasing range of ills. But the ethos of the market often shapes and sometimes dominates researchers' communiqués. Without always realizing that they have been doing so, many biomedical researchers have silently begun to shade the communication of information into aggressive marketing of their discoveries. The more money they can generate through licensing and patenting fees and collaborations with private industry, the more likely researchers are to be able to secure continued funding. In such a context, the temptation to increase "consumer demand" by making representations that are both hyperbolic and frankly eugenic has often been irresistible: People should avail themselves of the new biomedical techniques, tests, and procedures because, by using them, they can identify their own genetic vulnerabilities and forestall "genetic defects" in their children. Screening and testing are touted as empowering people and enabling them to prevent at least some suffering that would otherwise have been unavoidable. These procedures have thus been represented as progressive and noble. Would-be parents have been subject to enormous pressure to embrace the new technologies as reliable ways to reduce the likelihood that their children will be born with "genetic defects," a notion that rapidly shed its Mendelian past and morphed into the broader

and more ill-formed notion of "genetic disease." Increasingly, among the things that parents were urged to test for are slender possibilities of slightly augmented risk of not being healthy in later life, and "defects" that are cosmetic rather than health-related.

Because "newgenics" does not involve centralized state control or overt coercion, many commentators have supposed it to be largely morally unproblematic, if not morally splendid. Many scholars have argued that these commentators have failed to recognize either that this new eugenics embodies much of the scientific naiveté of the old eugenics, or that the uncritical embrace of the rhetoric of progress involves the same hubris: Those who endorse the newgenics have been overconfident in the assessment of the soundness of current knowledge and reckless in their efforts to try to control nature by orchestrating the biological details of human life. Like the old eugenics, newgenics is essentially deterministic, and it paints biology as destiny: The role of environmental factors in trait-formation and disease etiology is deemphasized, and the complexities of gene/gene and gene/environment interactions in human development—things that remain true mysteries—are largely overlooked. Because newgenics has often been defended as consonant with and expressive of individualism and consistent with liberal political ideology, advocates have touted it as expanding the realm of informed individual choice. Eugenic decisions have thus been treated as paradigm cases of prudence and beneficence, and the market has been invoked both as model and metaphor. Newgenics is thus thought by defenders to have escaped the evils of the old eugenics, and its morality has been taken to be self-evident.

Conclusion

Importantly, neither the absence of centralized state control nor the absence of overtly coercive policies of implementation provides grounds for thinking that the new eugenics can evade the charges of coercion and bias that were made against early-20th-century eugenics. As disability scholars and activists have made especially clear, people who embrace eugenic policies cannot finesse profound and pivotal questions about justice, value, and the human good. Once it becomes possible to screen for condition x, x is likely to come to be viewed as a liability, and as a preventable disability. The temptations to devalue the lives of those who have condition x may thus be insurmountable.

It is thus reasonable to worry that individuals who have condition x—because their mothers chose not to screen for x or could not afford to screen for it, because the test was inaccurate, or because the etiology of x proved to be far more complex than people supposed—may become pariahs. It is reasonable to worry whether they will be denied access to medical resources and insurance coverage and that they will have their access to the world of "normal" people and employment impeded. As was true of the old eugenics, economics always looms as subtext. Because the argument can be made that it will be cheaper for "us" to reduce suffering by preventing the birth of those who will suffer impairment or hereditary disease, the allocation of resources to prevention rather than treatment can thus be touted as prudent, progressive, and morally defensible. But, as many scholars and activists have argued, there are good reasons to doubt these claims. What can be learned from studying the "old eugenics" is both that human beings are vulnerable to vicious racial, gender, ableist, and class prejudices, and that they are strongly tempted to cloak such prejudices in the rhetoric of science and progress. Hence, it appears that the differences between the old and the new eugenics are more a matter of style than substance.

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See also Biological Determinism; Chromosome Disorders; Disability; Feminist Disability Theory; Sanger, Margaret; Sterilization

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Exercise and Fitness

Exercise and fitness are integral components of health for both men and women. The benefits of exercise are well documented. Regular participation reduces the risk of premature death, coronary heart disease, diabetes, and high blood pressure and is important for building and maintaining healthy bones, muscles, and joints. Regular exercise is tied to mental health, including improved symptoms associated with depression and anxiety and overall improved mood. Among adolescents, participation in physical activities and sports even promotes social well-being. Youths who participate in sports are less likely to smoke and use drugs and are more likely to stay in school, have good conduct, and high academic achievement. Physical activity programs also teach, among other valued characteristics, teamwork, self-discipline, and leadership.

Lack of exercise or physical activity, combined with a poor diet, contributes to the conditions of being overweight and obese. Today the federal government estimates, using the body mass index (BMI), that two-thirds of Americans are overweight and a third are obese. These conditions account for more than 100,000 annual premature deaths in the United States. Increasing rates of obesity are observed in all U.S. states, in both sexes, and across all age groups, races, and educational levels. Although rates of overweight persons are higher for men (57 percent vs. 43 percent women), rates of obesity are significantly higher for women (54 percent vs. 46 percent men).

The surgeon general's report on physical activity and health lays out exercise guidelines for the public. It recommends that children and adolescents engage in at least 60 minutes of moderate physical activity on most days of the week, preferably daily, and adults engage in at least 30 minutes. Examples of moderate physical activity include walking, hiking, and yoga. Examples of vigorous physical activity include jogging, bicycling, and most competitive sports. Although greater health benefits can be achieved with longer duration and more vigorous activity, even moderate activity levels can lead to improved health and quality of life.

Despite common knowledge that exercise is good for one's health, most Americans do not regularly exercise. More than 60 percent of American adults are not physically active on a regular basis, and 25 percent of all adults are not active at all. Physical inactivity is more prevalent among women (compared with men), blacks and Hispanics (compared with whites), and individuals of lower socioeconomic status (SES) (compared with those of higher SES). Physical activity also declines with age, declining dramatically during adolescence. Similar levels of inactivity are observed in American youths. Only about 50 percent of U.S. young people, ages 12 to 21, regularly participate in vigorous physical activity, while 14 percent report no recent vigorous or light-to-moderate physical activity. Inactivity is higher among females (compared with males) and among black and Hispanic females (compared with white females). Positive experience with physical activity at a young age is important because it instills the foundation for regular exercise habits throughout life. Physical activity in childhood is a strong predictor of adult lifestyle.

Social structural factors, individual-level variables, and gender socialization can account for varying levels of exercise participation. Social environments play a key role in encouraging or discouraging exercise. Community design centered around the automobile discourages walking and bicycling. Many communities do not adequately provide safe, accessible, and affordable public facilities such as recreation centers and parks. These safety issues notably affect women and young children. Additionally, societal changes in technology—such as the widespread accessibility of television, computer games, and the Internet—promote sedentary lifestyles. Larger institutional decisions also affect exercise opportunities. Across America, states and school districts are reducing the amount of time students spend in physical education (PE) classes—an irony because some report cards are now indicating students' BMI.

Individual-level variables affecting participation include, among others, self-efficacy beliefs, physical illness or ailment, economic constraints, physical tiredness, and lack of time. However, these individual level explanations are sometimes gendered. For example, although exercise benefits everyone, including pregnant and working women, the effects of marriage,

parenthood, and employment affect women more profoundly. Research on heterosexual couples indicates that women's second shift takes a more significant toll on her exercise time than it does on her husband's exercise time.

This is closely tied to gender ideology and gender socialization. Traditional gender socialization equates strength and athleticism with men, defining exercise and sport as unfeminine. Sports and physical activities are constructed as manly and are associated with masculinity. Historically, sport and exercise were also thought to exert undue strain on women's bodies and their yet-to-be born children. The implicit assumption is that women's place is in the home as child bearers and nurturers. Today, women's bodies continue to be subject to ongoing surveillance and the hegemonic male gaze.

Gender socialization encourages girls and women to avoid exercise because it is seen as unfeminine. Socialization agents such as parents, teachers, and peers play an important role in reinforcing participation or nonparticipation based on gender views. Given that athleticism is often considered masculine behavior, girls may be deterred from participation because they fear being labeled "dykes." Today, despite the dismantling of traditional gender roles, the opening of doors through Title IX, and the increasing number of popular female athletes such as Kathy Smith (aerobics), Venus and Serena Williams (tennis), and Annika Sorenstam (golf), remarkable gender differences in exercise participation still remain.

Finally, exercise motivation as well as participation is gendered. In a culture that places extraordinary value on women's appearance, girls and women often feel pressure to be thin. Thus, unlike men who exercise for health and fitness purposes, girls and women often exercise to control weight. So exercise and fitness are less about health and enjoyment than they are about changing body shape, weight control, and toning. Anxiety about social physique is a key correlate of exercise for many women. Given the health benefits and improved quality of life associated with exercise, it should be encouraged for all, in an enjoyable manner, regardless of gender, race, or age.

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See also Body Image; Dieting; Health Disparities; Lookism; Women's Health Movements

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EXTENDED FAMILIES

The shape, purpose, and form of the family continues to be documented and debated, informing social policy, whether that be in policies that legitimize "new" family formations through, for example, the rights of lesbians and gay men to marry, adopt, and access new reproductive technologies, or in measures that supposedly alleviate the dual and gendered burden of combining employment and care. The family is variously represented as a state in crisis, a pessimistic portrayal that often points to the decline of somewhat mythical and romanticized familial ties, duties and obligations, as against the rise of individualism, single-hood, and childless, career-oriented women. In contrast, others view familial changes more optimistically, contesting notions of crisis, replacing such with a sense of positive agency, choice, and transformation as family formations disrupt traditional and endorsed nuclear family ideals. Many researchers have charted the changes to seemingly coherent and completed family

units: members can enter and exit post-divorce and individuals may get a sense of who counts as family by combining and explaining across households, time and place, and their own life courses.

The term *extended families* highlights the changes and challenges to the often still promoted nuclear family ideal, as a difference between rhetoric and reality. Feminist theorists have long problematized the family as a site of gender inequality and exploitation, rather than as a site of social transformation. However, changes in family compositions and practices have resulted in some commentators viewing the extended, indeed ever-extending, family as a potential site of equality and change. Nonetheless, it is important to consider the historically and culturally specific nature of the family compared with supposedly new alterations; the nuclear family unit was created and consolidated via industrialization, as a site of securing labor. Actually, the idealized nuclear family has had a relatively short history.

Demographic figures collected by official bodies such as governments provide an administrative gauge on what families are and the ways that they are changing. Data often reflect, for example, the number of dependent children as well as other dependents, such as grandparents who increasingly and enduringly feature in everyday conceptualizations, even residences, of immediate family as a result of increased life expectancy. Parental separation and repartnering may mean that siblings do not live with their full, biological siblings and may instead co-reside with, for example, step-siblings and stepparents. Such technical facts and demographic possibilities, however, do not in themselves answer the social issues of family formation, the socially constructed nature of families beyond biological facts. The traditional view that blood is thicker than water, that family ties are obvious, inherent, genetic, and more binding than friendship ties is contested by many studies that highlight social bases underpinning relationships. Rosalind Edwards's account explores family transformations and reconstitutions through the eyes of children, revealing the ways in which understandings of the reality, worth, and validity of their family relations differed by degrees of certainty and uncertainty, as informed by social affirmation and denigration of specific family types. Specifically, children still referenced "proper" families—compared with seemingly depleted single-parent families, or excessive, disproportionate extended families, which were both classed

and radicalized. An increasingly common phrase that points to more fluid family compositions is that of "families of choice," used by Kath Weston and Jeffrey Weeks, Brian Heaphy, and Catherine Donovan.

Sociological depictions of lives filled with choices, of actors choosing to live the way they want to live outside of traditional nuclear family units, choosing to create autonomous, equal, "pure relationships," are widespread. Studies document the changing expectations of personal and family life, across generations, relationships, households, and the life course. Anthony Giddens's "pure relationship" conveys an optimistic portrayal of family reconstitutions, viewing changes as indicative of the ways that relationships are entered into and exited from for their own sake, free of the constraint of obligation and traditional ties. The pure relationship can be terminated at will, by any participant at any point, and in such circumstances family may be seen to mirror friendship, blurring the lines between the two. Various studies of lesbian relationships have suggested that this group most typically achieves the pure relationship exemplifying new forms of intimacy whereby intimacy is not sought through couple relationships alone but rather through their "family of friends." There may be painful as well as creative reasons why this is so, with familial rejection necessitating the formation of alternative support structures. Replacing biological family with chosen friends may be seen as an extension or an erasure of the family.

Weeks and colleagues explored narratives and experiences of alternative families, using in-depth interviews with 96 self-identified nonheterosexuals in the United Kingdom and suggested that a transformation is underway signified by new families of choice based on democratic, egalitarian relationships. The argument of multiplicity and fluidity in intimate and familial relationships put forward by Giddens and Weeks takes as evidence liberal discourses of greater tolerance and recognition for lesbians and gay men. Many have documented a reorientation of lesbian and gay politics away from issues of sexual liberation and community building toward creating and protecting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) families, which arguably reinvokes borders and boundaries; a protective, even if extended, "privatized" sphere. Much feminist research contends that intimate relationships still do not transcend structural inequalities and, as such, cannot be thought of as undergoing radical alterations. In reviewing academic research on

personal relationships across Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand, Lynn Jamieson's account suggests a more complex and contradictory tale of transformations in intimacy. A major criticism of Giddens's work is that much feminist scholarship on gender inequalities within intimate relations and family structures, as relating to wider societal inequalities, is sidelined. Although Giddens talks about sharing thoughts and feelings, a "mutual disclosure" of talking and listening within intimate relationships, Jamieson contends that intimacy can only take on this character if participants can remove social barriers and transcend structural inequalities. Though noting that stories of equality and "disclosing intimacy" may be popular, Jamieson suggests that these are matched by more conventional tales based on gender inequality and conventional heterosexual practices. Thus, reports of transformations in intimacy and increasing queer tendencies may be contrasted with the perpetual dominance of heterosexuality as a disguised and neutral identity and practice, yet one that potentially consolidates gender inequalities and structures other outsider sexualities by their distance from its normative position.

Discourses of resistance and self-invention in contemporary stories of intimacy identified by Weeks may be linked with new reproductive technologies as a form of family-making available to lesbians and gay men. Yet the controversies aroused here demonstrate the gap between creating, even extending, families and choices, as against criticisms of "selling out" to nuclear family norms or, conversely, making a mockery of such "proper," socially legitimated, families. Although such technologies exist on the marketplace, their (unequal) availability raises questions about the commodification of bodies, their component, reproductive parts, and the continued dichotomy between supposedly real, authentic families, heterosexually created, versus "fake" and "bought" families. Practices such as adoption also complicate and clarify the biological and social nature of families and lesbians and gay men's access to such services underscores continued linkages between the family and the marketplace, a relation that exists, but is often disguised and naturalized, in conventional family formations.

Actual family formations may well be changing and extending, encompassing, for example, immediate biological family, grandparents, friends, and stepsiblings, diversified by sexuality, class, and "race." However, extensions in the definitions, practices, and

realities of families can still coexist with the promotion of a particular familial ideal. Much research has focused on the demographics and employment patterns of lone mothers. In the United States, there is increasing concern about teen moms, given the country's high standing in Western teenage pregnancy rates: Young women's material and affective locations are often solely examined through this lens. Often the actuality of lone motherhood is seen a problematic one, something to be challenged and added to, whether this be via education, by employment, or in the reinsertion of missing fathers. The absence of gender-binary, supposedly complimentary, role models is often viewed negatively in single-parent and lesbian and gay households, whereby the transmission of resources, responsibilities, and behaviors via the family is viewed as under threat. Families act as important transmitters of resources and values; women in particular are positioned as responsible for caring in as well as providing for the family, given the widespread displacement of the male breadwinner father figure. As families extend across generations, their shifting compositions and memberships may work as an extended burden for women with continued demarcations between good and bad forms of motherhood.

According to Frank Furedi, the current anxieties in child rearing are shaped by changing societal expectations; no longer is a child simply raised, parents are also educators, even chauffeurs, as children are invested in and resourced. Youth is increasingly being extended as young people rely on their families to facilitate transitions to and existence within post-compulsory education. Similarly, dependency may be extended through residing in or purchasing property. Sue Heath and Elizabeth Cleaver explored solo living and social networks among young people, noting eventual long-term desires to settle down and conform to normative expectations of property buying and family building. Alongside developing notions of extended families, families are simultaneously seen as individual autonomous units, which is a major theme of "good parenting"; a form of "individualism-in-action" whereby family responsibilities are prioritized over any public ones. The possibility of being and becoming a "better parent" though seemingly open to all is a classed discourse and strategy. Middle-class parents may give their children as many social and educational experiences as possible for the benefit of later life, framing these as private, family, individual

concerns. Those dependent on benefits fall under the gaze of the state. Different family formations are not equally validated and the notions of choice and transformation, suggested by Giddens and Weeks perhaps sit uncomfortably with the classing of choice and forms of delegitimation applicable to certain families. The valued model of self-hood in Western societies, as economically and emotionally autonomous, even efficient and self-disciplined, is culturally specific and profoundly classed. Family extensions and even transformations also require considerations of dual and opposing processes of individualization.

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See also Family, Organization of; Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays; Same-Sex Families; Single-Parent Households

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F

FAMILY, ORGANIZATION OF

American families have undergone tremendous changes since the 1960s. Recent demographic trends—such as increases in cohabitation, divorce, and women's (especially mothers') labor force participation, and a growing cultural emphasis on self-fulfillment—have combined to create a wide variety of family forms. The households and daily lives of contemporary women, men, and children differ considerably from those of previous eras, as a result. This entry describes family formation changes and how they affect work and family life.

Union Formation and Dissolution

Families form in a myriad of ways. The traditional concept of a two-parent home with two children is no longer the most common family structure in the United States. Rather, it is quite common for two unmarried adults to live together (cohabitate) and consider each other a part of the same family. Also, households that consist of a single parent with children, stepfamilies, and gay and lesbian families are in some ways becoming the norm. These changes in family structures and union formation also lead to new complications when it comes to union dissolution. The following section details these changes.

Cohabitation

Cohabitation, where couples live together without being married, used to be quite uncommon and mainly reserved for the poor. Today, most couples who marry for the first time have cohabited before doing so. Cohabitation is even more common before remarriage. Especially for the middle class, cohabitation has become an acceptable state of trial marriage, where couples live together and share financial duties in preparation for married life. Cohabitation is also done in place of marriage. The marriage rate has declined in recent decades, especially among the poor, and the remarriage rate has dropped. The increase in cohabitation largely accounts for these decreases.

Many reasons have been cited for the momentous increase in cohabitation. For those who have never married, cohabitation offers the economic and emotional benefits of household-sharing without the risks of long-term commitment. With the later age at first marriage comes more time to experiment with different options before marrying. Americans are also more accepting of premarital sex than in the past, and this can lower the incentive to marry. Both those who have never married and those who have been divorced are less confident about marital stability, and cohabitation allows them to be coupled without being married.

Divorce

Divorce is also more common than in previous eras. The divorce rate rose particularly from the early 1960s through the 1970s. It has since leveled off, with recent data showing approximately 18 of 1,000 married women divorcing in a year, resulting in a 50 percent lifetime probability of divorce for those marrying today. The increase in divorce has caused a lot of concern and controversy, both in its causes and its consequences.

In reference to causes, the concomitant rise in women's employment is commonly stated. Before the 1960s, women were a distinct numerical minority in the paid labor force. As their numbers grew, so did the likelihood of their financial independence. This removed a previous impediment to leaving unhappy marriages. During this time, the employment opportunities for men without college educations have been declining since the early 1970s. A husband's unemployment is also a risk factor for divorce, so this further contributes to the higher rate (and the greater likelihood of divorce among the poor). In addition, beginning in California in 1970 and since spreading to every other state, divorce legislation became more lenient. Couples can divorce because of "irreconcilable differences," rather than having to blame a spouse for adultery, desertion, violence, or some other allowable "fault."

How Marriage Has Changed

Another likely reason for the higher divorce rate is that marriage itself has changed. In previous eras, marriage was more of a duty to be fulfilled. People married for more practical reasons than in contemporary times and were largely discouraged from divorcing. Male authority largely went unquestioned. The community and the state were united in their support of this normative system.

Marriage today, though largely expected, is not the obligation it once was. Marriages have undergone a shift toward egalitarianism, where people embrace greater flexibility of roles and more open communication about thoughts and feelings. People also feel entitled to be personally fulfilled throughout the course of their marriage. This has increased the expectations of the spousal role. Spouses are expected to be emotionally connected, and to support each other's self-development, to share financial responsibilities, and to remain open to change. Contemporary Americans are likely to have fewer close friends than in previous eras, and increasingly expect their spouses to fulfill that role for them.

Single-Parent Families and Stepfamilies

With the increased expectations of marriage and the relatively high probability of divorce have come increases in both single-parent families and stepfamilies, so that most children spend some part of their childhoods outside of a married-parent family structure.

Single parents are much more likely to be mothers than fathers, although the latter are increasing in proportion. Single parenthood occurs both through divorce and through births to unmarried women. In 2005, 4 of every 10 births were to women unmarried at the time of birth, an all-time high. Many of these women were in relationships, some cohabiting, and some will eventually marry. Change in household and family structure is common, after all, perhaps especially among the poor, who are more likely to give birth out-of-wedlock than other social classes.

Compared with other racial-ethnic groups, African Americans have a higher percentage of households headed by one parent, their rate of marriage is lower, and their likelihood of having children out-of-wedlock is higher. Evidence suggests that African Americans consider their economic situations more than other groups do when determining whether and when they should marry. And African American men in particular have been negatively affected by recent changes in the economy. The movement of manufacturing jobs out of the central city (and out of the United States), combined with an increase in minimum educational requirements for work, have lowered many black men's job opportunities. Black women therefore have less economic incentive to marry in comparison with women in other racial or ethnic groups.

In an effort to increase the marriage rates of the poor, the U.S. government has included marriage promotion funding as part of its ongoing welfare reform package. Major welfare changes began in 1996 with the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). This law eliminated the former cash welfare system, referred to as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), replacing it with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Whereas AFDC was an entitlement program, meaning that as long as people met the criteria they would be guaranteed benefits, under TANF, the federal government pays states a fixed amount of money in block grants. As long as families continued to qualify under AFDC, they could receive funds for an unlimited amount of time. There is now a lifetime limit of 60 months, and some states have shorter limits. Also, adult cash welfare recipients are now required to find work within 24 months of receiving assistance.

In addition to encouraging the poor to find jobs, U.S. welfare policy is trying to persuade the poor to marry. In 2006, Congress allocated as much as $100 million a year to activities that promote marriage. Funding

recipients include organizations, researchers, and individual states, with allowable activities such as premarital education, marriage skills training, and public advertising campaigns. Supporters of this legislation believe that marriage is good for children and good for society, and that marriage is one path out of poverty. Detractors emphasize structural causes of poverty, such as limited job opportunities, and worry about the potential promotion of unhealthy or violent marriages.

Much research has compared the children of single parents to those living with two married parents, most of it cross-sectional. Single-parent households are likely to have a lower standard of living than are two-parent households; this is related to a higher probability of behavioral and psychological problems in children, as well as lower academic achievement. However, this does not account for all of the difference between the children in these family structures. Parental absence appears to be detrimental: two stable adults in children's lives are better than one. This is why practitioners recommend joint physical custody after divorce, if the ex-spouses get along. Conflict between parents is damaging to children and may be worse than divorce. Major changes are common following divorce, but to the extent that divorcing parents can minimize disruptions in their children's lives, such as moving or the swift introduction of another adult into the household, their children benefit.

Only recently has divorce replaced death as the cause of a marriage ending. Remarriage after divorce, rather than remarriage after widowhood, adds (at least) a third adult into the mix, further complicating the family structure. Though it has been commonly predicted that children in stepfamilies would fare better than those in single-parent families, research findings have shown there to be no significant difference. It appears as though the potential benefits of added income and increased availability of supervision are offset by the challenges of adjusting to having a new parent in the household. The role of stepparent has not yet been institutionalized in U.S. culture, leaving individuals to define it for themselves. As a result, stepparents vary widely in the roles they play for children, with some being much like a parent, others acting more as friends, and still others remaining more distant.

Gay and Lesbian Families

Although most Americans do marry at some point in their lives, gays and lesbians do not have that option. In 2007, one state—Massachusetts—allowed same-sex marriage. However, as of May 2008 the California Supreme Court voted (4–3) to ban marriage discrimination against gays and lesbians. Thus, as this encyclopedia goes to press, California becomes the second state (along with Massachusetts) in the United States to legitimate same-sex marriages through the courts. Three other states—Connecticut, Vermont, and New Jersey—offer civil unions, granting the rights and responsibilities of marriage to same-sex couples without the term marriage. Most states have laws that restrict marriage to those of the opposite sex, and more than half have amended their state constitutions to say so. The Defense of Marriage Act, signed into law in 1996, asserts that the federal government as well as individual states need not recognize a same-sex marriage authorized by another state. Therefore, same-sex couples married in Massachusetts are not necessarily entitled to the benefits of marriage offered by the federal government, or by another state, if they go outside the state boundaries. This also leads to much legal wrangling in the case of union dissolution.

In addition to public commitments between same-sex partners, an increasing number of gay and lesbian couples are raising children, although lesbians are more likely than gay men to do so. This can occur through a number of routes. Some children are born to married parents who then divorce after the mother comes out as gay, with the mother gaining custody. Others are conceived through donor insemination or surrogate motherhood, and still others are adopted, often through the foster care system. Those partners who are biologically related to their children have a legal advantage, in that not all states allow second-parent or stepparent adoption by same-sex partners. Biological parents have the custody edge, for example, when same-sex couples with children want to end their relationships.

Paid Work, Unpaid Work, and Family Life

A major change in family life since the 1960s has been the increase in women's—especially married women's and mothers'—labor force participation. The causes and consequences of this change are numerous. Men have also had to adjust to these changes, which has affected the general makeup of families. The rearing of children has also been affected by changes in labor force participation by both men and women.

Women's Employment

Many economic factors encourage women into paid employment. For one, men's real wages began a sharp decline in 1973. This has encouraged wives to help rescue families financially. There has also been a major shift in U.S. economy from one based on manufacturing to one focused more on services. This means that the kinds of jobs that tend to be more appealing to men have been decreasing in number, whereas the kinds of jobs that appeal to women have become more prevalent. Women have therefore experienced both "push" and "pull" factors in this regard. The second wave of the women's movement also helped increase opportunities for women in the workplace, particularly in more professional arenas. As a result, women are now more entitled to the kind of personal fulfillment that comes with rewarding employment.

Men and Workplaces, in Response

Though the majority of mothers are currently employed, there has not been a commensurate change in men and workplaces in response. Women do spend less time doing housework than in previous eras, but men have only slightly increased their contributions in this regard. It appears as though women have become more efficient at housework, doing more multitasking than before, and have lowered their standards over time. In addition, women continue to be much more likely to shoulder the *responsibility* for domestic tasks. Much of this work is invisible—planning meals, coordinating schedules, corresponding with family and friends—and therefore, largely unacknowledged. As gender ideologies grow more egalitarian over time, men's contributions will likely continue to increase. However, the management of the household has been seen as "women's work" since the dawn of the industrial era; it is so entrenched in U.S. culture that it will likely be much more difficult to change.

Evidence indicates that fathers are spending significantly more time with their children than in the past, and that men generally want to have an even greater opportunity to do so. But though women do share the breadwinning responsibility with men, most fathers are in the paid labor force. The substantial growth of dual-earner households has not led to such major changes in the workplace, however, as limited parental leave, job flexibility, and child care availability.

The United States is one of a few industrialized countries that does not mandate paid parental leave for its employees. The Family Medical Leave Act, passed in 1993, requires all public employers, and private employers with 50 or more employees, to offer 12 weeks unpaid, job-protected leave for those workers who have worked for an employer for 1250 hours during the last year, and who are ill or need to care for a direct family member (including a newborn child). A significant minority of employees are not covered by even this legislation, however, because they work for private companies with fewer than 50 employees. Evidence shows that even when this leave is offered, it is not frequently taken, most likely because it is unpaid. And though more employers are offering flex-time and the option to do work from home, these options are still relatively rare. The assumption of workers as single earners with homemaker partners remains well established in American workplaces.

Child Care and Parenting

This means that families with children are largely on their own in managing their household and breadwinning responsibilities. Increasing numbers of couples use the option of split schedules, so that one parent is always home with the children. Though this saves money on child care and allows the children the benefits of time with their parents, it can be hard on marriages because of the shortage of time available for communication. Most families use a patchwork of care for their children, combining family care with institutional care, with frequent changes over time. This is true of both preschool-aged children and school-aged ones. The school day and school year do not coincide with the typical worker's schedule, leaving parents to fill in the gaps.

In another contemporary phenomenon, declines in mortality have resulted in more time for grandparent-hood. Grandparents range in the amount of interaction they have with their children and grandchildren. An increasing, though still small, proportion of children live with their grandparents, whether there is a parent present or not. This is more common among the poor, but also occurs after divorce for some middle-class mothers. For the middle class, there is a greater tendency for parents and children to live at a geographical distance from grandparents, resulting in less frequent contact. Grandparents and parents of adult children are likely to provide financial and other assistance regardless.

Styles of parenting are also influenced by social factors. Children in working-class and poor families are likely to be encouraged to fill their leisure time

themselves, but more affluent children's time is frequently scheduled in costly structured activities. And whereas middle-class parents promote wordplay and other educational games, working-class and poor parents are less likely to do so. In addition, the latter tend to feel less comfortable with people in positions of authority and model constraint in such interactions, whereas middle-class parents demonstrate comfort, and a feeling of equality with other professionals. This has been said to perpetuate the reproduction of inequality, in that middle class children learn to navigate institutions to their advantage, and generate a sense of entitlement as a result. This adds to the economic resource limitations already experienced by less affluent parents and children.

Conclusion

Family formation, dissolution, and division of work in the United States has always been, and continues to be, profoundly influenced by larger social processes. Contemporary women, men, and children weave their ways through different household types, work, and leisure arrangements throughout their lives, in their ongoing efforts to find balance and fulfillment.

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See also Child Support; Commitment Ceremonies; Divorce; Monogamy

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FAMILY LAW

Family law is the body of law that governs the relationships between individuals involved in long-term, intimate relationships. The central relationships of concern are those of parent and child and spouse and partner. Although the law does not create these relationships, legal recognition of some relationships and the corresponding nonrecognition of others have enormous consequences. For example, a woman may give birth to a child and, by virtue of having given birth, she may be recognized as the legal mother of that child. Through specified actions, her legal rights can be terminated and another person may be assigned those rights. This is what happens in adoption. After the adoption is completed, the law recognizes the adoptive parent or parents as the legal parents of the child. The original mother's legal relationship with the child is no longer recognized.

People may establish relationships that closely resemble legally significant relationships, but the law may not recognize those relationships. For example, a person may raise a child and be, for all social purposes, the parent of that child. But the person may not have the legal status of a parent and is therefore, in the eyes of the law, a stranger to the child. In other words, legal status does not necessarily follow from social status.

In any given society, family law reflects both the reality of the human relationships common in that place and time and the ideal relationships the society wants to promote. Thus, current law typically recognizes the status of unmarried fathers as parents (a reflection of reality) but also privileges marital parenthood (a reflection of the ideal marital family). Family law is thus both pragmatic and idealistic and, accordingly, is both influenced by and influences gender relationships. This entry provides an overview of the structure of family law, its connection to primary relations including intimate couples and parents and children, and current trends in family law.

The Structure of Family Law

Historically, U.S. family law has exclusively been a creature of the states. Each state, whether through legislative action or judicial decisions, has developed its own body of law governing the formation, recognition, and dissolution of families. It has been seen as "local" law, with variation among the states deemed to be desirable.

State Versus Federal Law

As the current discussions around access to marriage for lesbian and gay couples demonstrate, family law can vary significantly from state to state. Laws governing entrance into and exit from marriage, the existence of parent-child relationships, entitlement to custody, the treatment of unmarried couples, and so on differ from state to state. The variations in state treatment create complex problems for families who move during family relationships. This variation among the states is not a modern phenomenon. The variation in state law regarding interracial marriages was equally, if not more, profound and endured for a hundred years.

Application of federal law frequently requires assessment of family status. For example, a surviving spouse may be entitled to receive Social Security benefits. For the most part, where family status is relevant to some federal law, family status is determined by reference to state law. Thus, one is a surviving spouse if one would be deemed a surviving spouse by the law of the state in which the couple lived. There is, generally speaking, no federal family law.

One exception to this general rule deserves discussion. As a part of the recent controversy about access to marriage for those of the same gender, the U.S. Congress enacted legislation, the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), that specifies that a marriage between individuals of the same gender will not be recognized under federal law. Thus, although a lesbian couple may be lawfully married under Massachusetts law, federal law prohibits recognition of the marriage and, hence, for the purposes of federal law, the couple is considered unmarried.

Constitutionalization

Within the past 40 years, courts have recognized rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution that establish boundaries for state family law. For example, in 1965, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Connecticut statute that restricted the right of a married couple to use birth control (*Griswold v. Connecticut*). In doing so, the Court recognized a right to marital privacy. Although the right has a long and well-documented history in family law generally, locating the right within the U.S. Constitution represented a significant development. States cannot easily enact laws that diminish constitutional rights.

That 1967 opinion represented the beginning of a new era in family law. Since then, other rights have been constitutionalized. The courts have considered and limited the ability of states to restrict abortion (e.g., *Roe v. Wade,* 1973). A separate line of cases has considered the constitutional rights of unmarried fathers. The Court has affirmed the existence of constitutional protections for parental rights, leading to an extensive overhaul of statutes providing for third-party or grandparent visitation. And most recently, many cases around the country have challenged the constitutionality of restrictions on access to marriage.

A distinct body of constitutional law regulates discrimination based on gender. Historically, family law both recognized and cemented specific gender roles within the family. Thus, husbands were responsible for providing economic support and wives were responsible for keeping the home. But changes wrought by modern feminism are reflected in the law. Courts now view gender specific statutes with some suspicion. This does not always advantage women because many aspects of family life, most significantly care of children, are still organized in gendered patterns.

Primary Relationships

Family law is organized around two sets of relationships—those between adults and those between adults and children. The former is primarily characterized by marriage and the latter by the parent-child relationship.

Dyadic Couples

Although subject to feminist critique, marriage can be described as the central organizing principle of modern family law. When a couple enters into a legal marriage, the parties become subject to an extensive web of legal regulations.

Recognition of Relationship

Some of these legal regulations confer benefits on the parties, and others impose obligations. Some of the regulations are optional, and the marrying couple can, at its election, "opt out" of the prescribed arrangement. But other regulations are mandatory and cannot be altered. For example, a married couple must file taxes as a married couple (though the parties can file jointly or separately). Similarly, a surviving spouse receives social security benefits that the parties cannot direct to

anyone else. By contrast, in the absence of a will, a surviving spouse typically inherits from the estate, but the parties to a marriage may be able to write wills that direct the resources to others.

Typically, legislatures determine the range of obligations and benefits bundled together in marriage. Inclusion of various provisions is variously thought to encourage marriage, to promote equity, or to reflect social norms regarding how married couples should behave. Often individuals entering into marriage are unaware of the benefits and obligations they will acquire by marrying.

Treatment of unmarried couples in family law has become increasingly important because the incidence of unmarried cohabitation has risen dramatically. Here again, the states are widely divergent. Historically, unmarried couples that were in long-term and seemingly stable relationships were sometimes deemed to be married, via the doctrine of common law marriage. However, since the middle of the 19th century, common law marriage has become increasingly unpopular and is now recognized by a dwindling number of states.

Generally speaking, states profess an interest in encouraging unmarried couples to wed. Marriage is seen as having a stabilizing influence, and it simplifies administrative matters. It is also a bright line rule, at least in the absence of common law marriage. It is not difficult to tell who is married and who is not and therefore on whom to bestow all of the benefits and obligations of marriage.

Legal response to these relationships most frequently occurs at the relationship's end. Where one party to the relationship dies or where the relationship dissolves, a court may be called upon to adjudicate rights to property accumulated during the relationship. This can be particularly important to women at the end of long-term heterosexual relationships because property is often accumulated in the name of the male partner.

Curiously, the desire to encourage marriage may lead courts to treat unmarried couples in dramatically different ways. Thus, one state may completely deny any relief to a party seeking an award of property after the end of a nonmarital relationship, on the theory that in the future, similarly situated parties will be encouraged to marry lest they meet a similar fate. Another state might extend some of the benefits or obligations of marriage to an unmarried couple, on the theory that this might diminish the resistance of the obliged party to marriage because the obligation will arise anyway.

Although states use a great range of approaches, the major divide is between those that treat unmarried couples as though they were in some form of special relationship, therefore entitled to special rules of decision, and those that treat the unmarried couple as though they were no different from any other two people entering into a business relationship. The latter approach relies on the ability of the parties to protect themselves to ensure just results, and the former represents a more paternalistic approach.

Debate About Same-Gender Marriage

Perhaps the most prominent debate in family law today is that over access to marriage for lesbian and gay male couples. Historically, access to marriage has been restricted to opposite gender couples. In the 1970s, the 1990s, and recently, lesbians and gay men have initiated lawsuits aimed at securing access to the right to marry. This marriage movement has been controversial, both within and outside the lesbian and gay community.

Although the earlier efforts were unsuccessful, the current effort has had a more complex result. Notably, in 2004, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court determined that the restriction of marriage to different sex couples violated the Massachusetts Constitution. Beginning in May 2005, same-sex couples in Massachusetts were permitted to marry. In May 2008, the California Supreme Court voted (4–3) to ban marriage discrimination against gays and lesbians. Thus, as this encyclopedia went to press, California became the second state (along with Massachusetts) in the United States to legitimate same-sex marriages through the courts.

In reaction to the Massachusetts court decision, however, a number of states have enacted statutes or constitutional provisions that explicitly limit marriage to between one man and one woman. A smaller number of states have enacted statutory schemes creating new forms of recognized relationships—typically called "civil unions"—that provide some or all of the benefits of marriage under state law to same-gender couples. In general, civil unions are only available to same-gender couples. Different-gender couples are prohibited from entering into civil unions.

Federal law does not recognize marriages or civil unions of same-gender couples. This is important because more than a thousand federal benefits and obligations are formally tied to marriage. Thus, in the event of a death, the surviving spouse may be eligible

for a federal pension or social security. This will not be the case for the survivor of a civil union or for the surviving spouse of a Massachusetts same-sex marriage.

The treatment of these Massachusetts marriages is unusual. Overall, the extent to which states are obliged to recognize family relationships created, recognized, or dissolved by other states or choose to recognize them varies. The full faith and credit clause of the U.S. Constitution requires states to give effect to judicial decrees of the sister states. For this reason, a divorce obtained in one state will typically be given effect by all other states. Similarly, an adoption completed in New York will be recognized in all other states, including states that would not themselves finalize the adoption.

Marriage, however, does not involve a judicial decree in the same way, even though a judge may perform a wedding. Thus, many scholars believe that states are not constitutionally *required* to recognize out-of-state marriages. Actually, states do typically recognize out-of-state marriages as a matter of comity. The notable current exception is marriage that involves individuals of the same gender. Massachusetts alone permits these marriages, but other states will not recognize them. Indeed, recognition is often explicitly prohibited, sometimes by statute and sometimes by the state constitution. Additionally, federal regulation (DOMA) purports to excuse states from any obligation to recognize same-gender marriages validly concluded in other states.

Although this situation creates many practical problems, some of them serious, for same-gender couples married in Massachusetts, it is not unprecedented. For nearly a century, some states permitted interracial couples to marry, but others prohibited interracial marriage and still others criminalized it. As interracial couples traveled within the United States their legal status as married, single, or criminal varied. Although statutes prohibiting private, consensual same-gender sexual conduct have been deemed unconstitutional, it still seems highly likely that for an extended period the status of same-gender couples traveling interstate will vary depending on the state they are in and perhaps on the nature of the rights at issue.

As an outgrowth of the debate about access to marriage, a number of states (including California, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Vermont) recognize a marriage-like relationship, typically called "domestic partnership" or "civil unions." Parties to these relationships receive all or nearly all of the legal rights and obligations imposed by the state on married couples without acquiring the status of being married. The distinction is important for at least three reasons.

First, marriage is a uniquely privileged social institution. Thus, for both proponents and opponents of lesbian and gay rights, the label affixed to the relationship is extremely important. *Marriage* retains its unique social, cultural, and religious status. For many advocates of access to marriage, civil unions and domestic partnerships are distinct markers of second-class citizenship. Second, the law governing intra-state recognition of marriage is well-developed. The law governing intra-state recognition of marriage-like relationships is virtually nonexistent. Thus, the status of a civilly united couple that travels from New Jersey to Pennsylvania is entirely unclear. Finally, federal benefits and obligations are awarded based on status under state law as "married." No federal consequences flow from the marriage-like relationships. (Of course, for the moment, the federal Defense of Marriage Act prevents the recognition of same-gender marriages, even where legally recognized by a state, as in Massachusetts.)

Parent and Child

The advent and widespread use of assisted reproductive technology (ART) has led to particularly challenging family law cases. Traditional doctrines governing parenthood developed over centuries. ART either requires application of these doctrines in unprecedented (and notably different) settings or the development of new doctrine.

Mothers were, historically, women who gave birth to children. Without advanced technology, the woman who gives birth to a child is also the woman whose genetic material contributed to the creation of the child. The advent of in vitro fertilization (IVF) broke this link. It is now possible that a woman who gives birth to a child does not have a genetic link to the child because the child may have been conceived via IVF using a donor egg. This technology thus required, for the first time, a decision about the importance of two (or possibly three) competing claims of parenthood.

Courts have divided in their approaches to surrogacy. The first critical case was that of Baby M. This case involved "traditional" surrogacy—a woman impregnated with donor sperm, where the sperm came from the man who wished to be the parent of the child. The agreement the parties entered into called for the

woman who gave birth to give up the child so that the man's wife could adopt the child and become the mother to the child. During the term of the agreement, the surrogate changed her mind. The New Jersey court refused to enforce the agreement. The parents of the child were, therefore, the woman and the man, not married to each other.

This frustrated those interested in surrogacy, and the logical response was to obtain the egg from another source. *Johnson v. Calvert* (1993) affirms that when this is done, the intended mother/egg donor or, if there is no single person in that role, the intended mother, has the superior claim to parental status. But although this decision is binding in California and a number of states have similar law, a significant number of states have rejected the practice of gestational surrogacy, at least where the surrogate is paid.

Parental status for men traces a different history. Perhaps most importantly, the law generally begins with a presumption that if a married woman gives birth to a child, the child is considered to be the child of the husband. This presumption dates from the Middle Ages, when parentage was difficult for men to establish. The presumption could only be defeated where the man was proven to be out of the kingdom for at least a year before the birth of the child. Generally, the presumption was invoked against the husband/father to prevent him from challenging the legitimacy of his offspring.

The presumption survives today and is in use in all states, with varying degrees of force. At first blush, this might appear curious, given the present ability to determine with certainty whether the husband is in fact the source of the genetic material. But it remains enormously important because genetic testing is not routinely performed at the birth of a child. Thus, for a married man, his paternity rests on the legal presumption that if his wife gives birth to a child, he is the father of the child.

Given the existence of genetic testing, married men may seek to rebut the presumption through genetic testing, if they choose to do so and if they do so promptly. Thus, the presumption can no longer be used to prevent a married man from challenging his paternity. Instead, it is used by a married man to prevent another man from claiming paternity.

The situation for children of unmarried mothers is quite different. For many years, the child of an unmarried woman was deemed to have no father. Although this is absurd as a matter of biology, it was a correct statement of law. No man had the obligations and rights of a parent.

As social practices changed, two means of identifying the father of a child born to an unmarried woman emerged. One was blood testing to establish genetic linkage. The other was the acceptance of the child into a man's home and the subsequent actions of the man, holding the child out as though it were his own. Either of these might create a presumption of fatherhood on behalf of the man, and hence, oblige him to fulfill the obligations of child support.

Current Trends

For centuries before the 1960s and 1970s, family law was deeply and explicitly gendered. Statutes routinely conferred different rights and obligations on men and women. Courts used presumptions in favor of mothers and against fathers, but in a relatively short time, the principles of gender neutrality gained wide acceptance in law. Thus, statutes were purged of the gendered references to mothers and fathers, replacing them with "parents." Similarly husbands and wives became simply "spouses."

At the same time, gender roles persist quite widely in family law. This is most evident in households with heterosexual couples raising children. Although formal equality may be the rule, it is quite common to find the labor of maintaining the household divided between a homemaker and a breadwinner, or perhaps between a homemaker–part-time worker and a primary breadwinner.

Many forces converge to sustain this division of labor. Raising children, particularly young children, demands a flexible work schedule and, often, a short workday. Typically, high-paying jobs do not provide these features.

Equally important, the division into breadwinner and homemaker is often gendered. Thus, the stay-at-home parent is more typically the mother and the working parent is more typically the father.

This creates a circumstance where neutral rules are applied to gendered reality. The effects are sometimes problematic. For example, despite the excision of gendered language from divorce and custody law, post-divorce women are more likely to be granted more substantial time with the child or children (custody) than are men. Thus, a seemingly neutral rule that applies to custodial parents will have a greater impact on women than on men. A rule, for example, dictating

that the custodial parent can only move out of the county with the agreement of the court (because moving will inevitably affect the visitation rights of the other parent) will result in increased judicial supervision of women but not of men. Many perceive this inequality to be problematic.

Conclusion

Much of family law is gendered. The politics of family law, whether in the courts or in the legislatures, often seems to break along gender lines, pitting advocates of father's rights groups against women's rights groups. Furthermore, although the number of unmarried couples, whether of the same or of different genders, has risen dramatically during the past 30 years, marriage remains the model adult relationship. This basis for governing relationships within the law is increasingly challenged by the realities of contemporary couples and families whose circumstances do not fit the normative expectations of traditional marriage.

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See also Commitment Ceremonies; Defense of Marriage Act; Domestic Partners/Civil Unions; Human Rights Campaign; Marriage Promotion Act; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Same-Sex Families; Same-Sex Marriage

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FAMILY MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

The Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was enacted by the U.S. government in 1993. The FMLA guarantees eligible employees who work for covered employers 12 weeks of unpaid leave in a 12-month period. This leave can be taken for the following reasons: (a) to care for a newborn, newly adopted, or foster child; (b) if the employee is needed to care for a spouse, child, or parent with a serious health condition;

(c) if the employee's own serious health condition renders the employee unable to do her or his job. The FMLA is important because it recognizes the reality that employees carry family responsibilities and ties into the workplace. The FMLA is important for gender scholars because patterns of family caregiving are influenced by gender.

One criticism of the FMLA is that not all U.S. employers and workers are covered. Employers covered by the FMLA include all local, state, and federal agencies, and private employers who employ more than 50 employees within a 75-mile radius. Some employers who are not required to by the FMLA have also begun to offer family leave. Covered employers who interfere with an eligible employee's rights under the FMLA are liable for monetary damages and equitable remedies such as employment, promotion, and reinstatement. Workers are eligible for FMLA rights if they have worked for a covered employer for a minimum of 12 months and have worked at least 1,250 hours during the previous 12 months. It has been estimated that half of American workers are not covered because they work for small employers, have recently changed jobs, or are part-time workers.

Unlike in many other countries that provide paid parental leave, leave under the FMLA is unpaid. Some people who would like to take or extend their parental leave find themselves unable to because of economic reasons. This socioeconomic class bias worries some scholars. Additionally, scholars concerned with the unequal amounts of family caregiving between men and women (with women doing the vast majority) point out that men are generally more likely to take family leave when paid. Recently some states have attempted to finance the FMLA leave.

Some ongoing discussions surrounding the FMLA are about the need to expand the coverage and how it is administered. Differing interpretations of the somewhat ambiguous language have led to litigation and the continual redefinition of the FMLA by the courts. Considerable research continues to evaluate the rates of usage by both men and women and their demographic characteristics. Overwhelmingly, research has found that both men and women are more likely to take family leave since the enactment of the FMLA.

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See also Maternity Leave; Parental Leave

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FAMILY WAGE

In general, the *family wage* refers to a wage that is earned in the labor market by one member of the family, usually the father/husband. In discussions of employment, labor, and policy, the concept of family wage has been used to refer to earnings that are considered sufficient to financially support the entire household, typically including a mother/wife and children. The concept of the family wage illustrates the complexities of power dynamics when they involve intertwining structural inequalities—in this case class, gender, and race. These complexities make it difficult for many scholars to conclude precisely whether the family wage is a positive or negative concept because it depends largely on the context and the population to which it refers. This entry describes the relationship between family wage, class, gender, and race and discusses some of the negative and positive aspects of the concept.

Family Wage and Class

From the perspective of organized labor, which has historically argued for such things as an 8-hour workday, protections against child labor, guaranteed working safety standards, and other guarantees against exploitation of workers, the family wage holds a positive connotation. It represents a concept that can be rallied around and for which public support can be leveraged to resist employer attempts to pay workers at wages that are too low to live on. Public support for a family wage to some degree protects workers from employer attempts to lower wages. It also prevents families from having to send other members into the workforce—such as wives and sons and daughters—to earn the wages that the family needs to survive.

Family Wage and Gender

Family wage is predicated on what recent literature on the family has termed the standard North American family (SNAF)—a concept that includes a "standard" assumption of a two-parent, heterosexual, breadwinner–homemaker arrangement with children. As a result, critical analyses of gender and family have raised strong objections to the family wage. For one, it reinscribes or reinstitutionalizes and reaffirms a family model that relegates women to the domestic sphere of the home. Since the earliest days of the feminist movement, well before women's suffrage, feminist scholars have noted that relegating women to the sphere of the home and banning women from the wage-earning potential of the formal labor market is a recipe for disempowering women. This forces a woman to rely on a man for money and trust in his ability to earn and wisely conserve and or invest it. Research indicates that being recognized in the public sphere of the business or work world also brings with it self- and peer-esteem that, in conjunction with earning power, conveys a sense of authority within the household. When fathers are unemployed or employed with meager and or undependable salaries, families tend toward female-dominated and female-centered patterns. Men hold comparably little say about household matters—financial, parenting-related, or otherwise. At the opposite pole, when men are the sole earners, they tend to wield considerable authority and influence in the family, as the popularized terms "the man of the house" and "the man wears the pants in the family" connote. However, when women and men contribute roughly equal earnings to the household, the power dynamics within the family shift toward an egalitarian model.

From a critical gender perspective, the family wage is problematic because of the way it influences within-family dynamics and because of the ways in which it plays out within the workforce. If a family wage is assumed, so is the fact that each family will only have one primary breadwinner and, furthermore, that it will be the man. This reasoning has played out in policy making historically. In many New Deal programs that provided jobs to struggling families to help them survive the Great Depression, only one job was allowed per family. Partly to assist with keeping track of this, and partly because of ingrained biases of implementers that were common at the time, the default was to exclude women categorically and offer

these jobs only to men. Following World War II, this reasoning was used to support forcing out women who had assumed jobs in the labor market to assist with the war effort. In this instance, patriarchal heritage and patriotism combined to shame women who resisted leaving jobs—they were portrayed as stealing from a man who needed the job to support his family, and furthermore, likely a man who had served his country as a soldier—thus, another sphere of work was largely closed to women. Given the potential for multiple structural power dynamics to combine forces, feminist scholars—who tend to value equality of opportunity across genders—recognize the inequitable implications of the family wage when applied to real life situations. In the previous cases, for instance, the results clearly alienated women from the labor market because social stigma ensured that few men would support having their wives as the family's sole breadwinner, the terms by which women could be veterans were restrictive, and heterosexism ensured little support for women who decided to remain single or enter a same-sex relationship.

Family Wage and Race/Ethnicity

Another level of analysis reveals that the family wage is not simply a matter of class (as in laborers resisting capitalists) and not simply a matter of gender (as in home and workplace power dynamics of men and women) but is inextricably an issue of race. Being based on a homemaker-breadwinner assumption, the family wage is utterly divorced from the historical experience of most non-white families—particularly that of African Americans. Not permitted to maintain family ties throughout the tenure of slavery, African American families have long faced structural barriers to maintaining a two-parent family, let alone a breadwinner-homemaker arrangement. Following slavery, de facto segregation typically forced both men and women to enter menial labor force positions, and because neither was paid wages that came near to equaling the value of their work, there was little opportunity for most African American families to survive on the single income of one working adult. In the years since, change to this situation has been thwarted by the movement of urban jobs into the suburbs and from the Rustbelt to the Sunbelt just as many African American families were moving from the South to the North to seek better employment opportunities. The resulting spatial and skill mismatch has left African American men disproportionately unemployed in urban centers, further making a family

wage unrealistic. Concurrent with this lack of jobs, a criminalization of black men has further hindered the possibility for breadwinner-homemaker households because fear of black men, stereotyped as dangerous and incorrigible, has deterred employers from hiring them. Given these structural conditions the family wage is undermined and its power dynamics are reversed such that women can more easily find jobs and thus they are in a better position to be breadwinners than are men.

Other non-white ethnic groups also find the family wage concept problematic as it has been historically applied. For instance, with certain ethnic Latino and Asian families, the labor market niches that have been open to them have forced both genders into menial labor, leaving neither with a sufficient salary to be the sole breadwinner in a family wage household. Given these general patterns, however, there are always exceptions, and the family wage concept is itself largely an exception to the rule. Even among white families historically, only the minority have been able to survive on the wages of a sole earner.

Among all families, across ethnicities or races, it is also misleading to assume that wage earning is the only work needed to support a family. Social theorists dating back as far as Marx and Engels have realized that the wage earned in the labor market is only one part of the production and reproduction equation among families. Feeding, clothing, and nurturing the family and tending to the needs of the home and children, work often done by women, are indeed crucial to producing rested and nourished workers for the labor market and for reproducing society and the future workforce in general by raising competent and productive children. Several nations in concert with the United Nations have recently begun enumerating such unwaged labor to bring attention to its importance. Given the vast social dependence on unwaged labor, another critical flaw of the family wage system becomes visible. During efforts to secure higher wages by appealing to the ideal of a male-secured family wage, labor activists may have overlooked the value of the historically female side of the equation. As a result, the ideological construct of the family wage, in failing to explicitly acknowledge unpaid care work, has colluded with modern and feminized notions of dependence that consider any individual who earns a wage to be independent and any individual who relies on the wage of another to be dependent. This demarcation has fostered the devaluation of dependents—most often women and children—as nonproductive members of

society and less than full citizens, and has been used to justify the meager assistance programs to those considered "dependent," such as mothers' pensions programs and its more contemporary descendents Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and now Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), commonly referred to as welfare. Such programs have historically failed to bring their recipients above the poverty level and have stigmatized them as lazy, presenting a stark contrast with upper-tier social programs such as social security, which was initially patterned on the assumption of a male breadwinner–female homemaker family structure and which carries higher levels of support and virtually no stigma.

Conclusion

Given the problematic aspects of the family wage concept when inspected from angles of class, gender, and race, it is not surprising that it has failed to acquire a universal and sustained following. Although the family wage holds potential as a useful tool in struggles of workers to ensure decent wages from their employers, it is also divisive in that it is rooted in patriarchy and borne of a limited white experience that does not resonate with the experience of other racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Furthermore, in recent years, the fundamental base of the family wage, that of the two-parent, breadwinner-homemaker family, has eroded. In reality, this structure was only the dominant family structure for a brief time—from about 1900 through about 1970. Before that time, two-parent farm families were the most common arrangement, and since then dual-earner and single-parent families (i.e., all adults in a family working) have constituted the majority. Given the problematic aspects of the underlying conceptualization of "family" in the family wage, popular support has recently shifted toward a similar concept—that of the "living wage." Similar to a family wage, a living wage generally ensures that anyone working a 40-hour workweek will earn enough to afford housing and be able to keep a family of four above poverty. With the living wage, unlike with the family wage, no assumption is made about who is receiving this wage: mother, father, or nonbiologically related family contributor.

Frank Ridzi

See also Caregiving; Private/Public Spheres

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FATHERHOOD MOVEMENTS

Fatherhood movements have evolved in response to unprecedented changes in family demography and the "family values" debate that centers on the issue of family structure. These changes include the increase in unwed childbearing and divorce and their impact on the role of fathers in children's lives. In the 1990s, a grassroots fatherhood movement, and then a marriage movement, emerged in the United States. Movement participants strive to improve child well-being by strengthening fatherhood, improving the quality and stability of the institution of marriage, and reducing unwed childbearing and divorce rates. Fatherhood movements encompass a wide ideological spectrum from conservative, anti-feminist, "father-power" groups, to pro-feminist "responsible fathers" groups.

The current separation of U.S. fathers from their children is historically unprecedented. In 1960, father-absent families numbered 10 million in the United States; today the number stands at 24 million. For the first time, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, less than a quarter of the nation's households are made up of married couples with children. The U.S. divorce rate more than doubled between 1965 and 1980 and

remains the highest in the world; an estimated 40 percent to 50 percent of all marriages now end in separation or divorce, affecting more than 1 million children annually. There has also been a dramatic upsurge in unwed childbearing: After remaining below 5 percent for decades, the proportion of births that occurred out of wedlock rose 600 percent from 1960 to 2000. Single-mother families constitute 7 percent of all households and grew at a rate five times faster than that of nuclear families during the 1990s. The proportion of unwed births has begun to plateau at record annual highs of 1.3 million and 33 percent respectively, and births to unmarried parents have now overtaken divorce as the primary cause of father absence. Research indicates that unmarried fathers, through divorce or unwed fathering, tend over time to become financially and psychologically disconnected from their children. Approximately 40 percent of children in father-absent homes have not seen their fathers in at least a year, and more than half of all children who do not live with their father have never been in their fathers' homes. This entry describes various types of fatherhood movements.

Father-Power Movements

Fueled by conservative writers such as David Blankenhorn, David Popenoe, and Barbara Defoe Whitehead, proponents of "father-power" have criticized changes in attitudes toward divorce, premarital sex, and unwed births as responsible for family breakdown and believe that the future of fatherhood is highly dependent on the future of marriage. The intellectual roots of the father-power movement go back to the conclusions of the 1965 Moynihan Report, in which then U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan argued that single-mother families are the principle cause of what he described as an economic and social crisis in the African American community.

Don Eberly and Wade Horn's National Fatherhood Initiative (NFI), funded by large federal grants during President George H. W. Bush's administration, has dominated the father-power movement since the early 1990s. The foundational beliefs of the NFI are as follows: (a) fathers make unique and irreplaceable contributions to the lives of children, (b) father absence produces negative outcomes for their children, (c) societies that fail to reinforce a cultural ideal of responsible fatherhood get increasing amounts of father absence, and (d) widespread fatherlessness is

the most socially consequential problem of the time. The leading indicators the NFI uses to measure the progress of the father-power movement include the proportion of Americans who believe all children deserve fathers, the proportion of children whose fathers are legally identified, the proportion of fathers who support them financially, the proportion of fathers who regularly spend time with their children, and the proportion of children who spend their childhood living with their two, married parents.

Fathers' Rights Groups

Fathers' rights groups want to increase father-power by fighting for legal shifts that favor fathers, including major reforms in divorce, support, and custody laws. These groups argue that single-parent families (meaning mother-only families) have produced decades of child poverty, delinquency, and crime. Fathers' rights advocates argue that the family court system is responsible for the lack of two-parent families. Fathers' rights groups are active in efforts to reform no-fault divorce laws and argue for measures such as extending waiting periods for divorce, requiring counseling for troubled marriages, and, in cases of contested divorce, ending or restricting the right to divorce on demand and promoting covenant marriages. Many fathers' rights advocates want to link Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) to marital status in an effort to build barriers to divorce. These advocates argue that, to qualify for welfare benefits, recipients should be married or attempting to solidify their relationship.

Fathers' rights proponents also want to lower or remove child support awards. They are fighting across the United States for states to cut their guidelines for minimum child support payments and to exempt fathers from paying child support when joint custody is awarded even if children live with their father less than 50 percent of the time. These proponents want to reverse the current requirement that fathers register their employment in court documents and the automatic imposition of wage garnishment. Proponents advocate child support "arrearages" that recognize unemployment, layoffs, and illnesses as reasons for nonpayment. Proponents also aim to reverse recourse to imprisonment, suspension of professional licensing, and suspension of the license to drive for nonpayment of child support as a violation of their constitutional rights. Fathers' rights groups are against the use of private

collection agencies in the collection of child support and against data-sharing computer systems that states use to track people who owe child support.

Currently, about 1 million children are affected by divorce in the United States each year. In 72 percent of cases with a formal written agreement, mothers retain sole custody. Fathers receive sole custody in 9 percent of cases, and courts award joint custody in 17 percent. Fathers' rights groups support presumptive joint physical custody, regardless of the history of care, and actively fight against the primary caretaker rule, which rewards past care and concern for children. Fathers' rights groups argue that although "primary caretaker" theory may be formally gender neutral, in practice it privileges "mothering" and ignores "fathering." Fathers' rights groups fight against any interpretation of the "best interest" of the child that excludes the father, children's visiting centers that are used as instruments to marginalize fathers, weight given to children in custody determinations, and the obligation to employ a lawyer for divorce proceedings.

Fathers' rights groups fight current divorce, custody, and support policies around the country. They want to increase fathers' power by insisting on settling family conflicts outside of court, relying on family mediation rather than adversarial means, and supporting "friendly parent" rules. These groups want to increase protected child exchanges, free access to genetic testing to determine paternity, and the "permission to move" law that redefines relocation as a change in the principle residence of a child "30 miles or greater from the child's current principle residences." Many fathers' rights advocates also argue that the spouse filing for divorce must be regarded as the one willing to abandon the children to the other parent and want to punish "false" accusations of child or spouse abuse with imprisonment for felonious perjury. Fathers' rights advocates insist that many domestic violence charges are false and should have no impact on child custody determinations even if proven true. They oppose the Violence Against Women Act (2005) and the Child Support Enforcement Act (1975), believing both Acts are unconstitutional and primary weapons in the "war against fathers."

Additionally, fathers' rights groups support expanding claims of parental alienation syndrome (PAS), a condition allegedly brought about by parents—usually mothers—who alienate their children from the other parent. PAS is not recognized by the American Medical Association or the American Psychological Association. Regardless, fathers' rights groups are using the term in court to switch custody to fathers, eliminate or reduce child support payments, and discredit charges of abuse. A national PAS foundation, funded by federal grants, has been established in Washington, D.C., with an advisory board composed of people connected to the father-power movement.

Christianist Fathers

Fundamentalist Christianists want to increase father power by preserving the heterosexual nuclear family. Since President Ronald Reagan's administration, fundamentalist Christianists have been mounting attacks on programs that promoted women's rights, welfare rights, and gay rights as the cause of the "breakdown of the American family." The Christianist "pro-family" line selectively uses social science and economic arguments to promote marriage as a cure for myriad social and economic problems and to argue that many social ills—for example, teen pregnancy, drug abuse, suicide, poor academic achievement, and low self-esteem—can be attributed to children not being raised in heterosexual nuclear families.

Christianist groups such as Marriage Savers and Promise Keepers campaign for male supremacy and have attracted millions of men during the last 15 years; much of their rhetoric centers on the idea that a "bad" woman is a woman without a husband. These fathers work through their houses of worship and rely on the Bible to make their case that "God hates divorce." They want more faith-based marital enrichment programs and communitywide ecumenical policies aimed at strengthening marriage and reducing divorce. The Promise Keepers and other religious-based fathers' organizations are against women's rights, abortion, gender equity, and homosexuality. The Promise Keepers want men to "take back" their role as head of the household and want their spouses to submit to them as they submit to the Lord.

Critiques of Father-Power Movements

Critics of father-power movements are concerned that promoting marriage may inadvertently increase domestic violence, contribute to the re-stigmatization of single mothers and their children, divert resources from custodial mothers and children to noncustodial

fathers (e.g., welfare-to-work funds), erode the legal status of custodial mothers as they face new conditions (e.g., changing custody laws in state courts), and increase the requirements for low-income mothers receiving public assistance (e.g., cooperating in establishing paternity).

All of these concerns are particularly salient in situations involving impoverished women and domestic violence. The number of female-headed families in poverty increased to 3.6 million in 2002, from 3.5 million in 2001; the poverty rate for these families was unchanged from 2001, at 26.5 percent. Among children younger than age 6 living in families with a female householder and no spouse present, 48.6 percent were living in poverty, five times the rate of their counterparts in married-couple families (9.7 percent). Custodial mothers are 44 percent more likely to live in poverty than are custodial fathers. Despite these vulnerabilities, fathers' rights groups have succeeded in reducing the legal protections available to mothers who are victims of violence; they have also lessened the legal sanctions imposed on fathers who are perpetrators of violence by discrediting mothers who make accusations of domestic violence or child abuse in divorce and child custody hearings. Fathers' rights groups respond to the issues of domestic and sexual violence from the perspective of the perpetrator. When they acknowledge men's violence against women and children, they tend to blame the violence on unfair family laws.

Increased paternal involvement does not automatically mean improved child outcomes, nor is it clear that biological fathers provide nurturance so unique that substitute caregivers cannot provide it. A review of recent research studies of two-parent families found the ratio of mothers' to fathers' contribution to be 10:1 in responsibility for a child's daily activities, 2:1 in availability, and 3:1 in parent-child interactions. Researchers have also found that compared with their wives, husbands do relatively little domestic labor of any kind. Despite the powerful stereotypes working against fathers, they are more successful in child custody disputes than is commonly believed. For example, a Massachusetts gender bias task force recently found that fathers receive primary or joint custody in more than 70 percent of contested cases. And, unfortunately, abusive fathers are far more likely than are non-abusive parents to fight for child custody, withhold child support, and kidnap children.

Many interpret the pro-marriage and pro-fathers' rights groups' family-first rhetoric as an anti-woman,

anti-equality message. Critics are concerned that the goals of ending domestic violence and winning gender equality directly conflict with father-power movements. Recent congressional fatherhood bills argue that "fatherlessness" is the "most consequential social problem we confront" but ignore evidence that the presence of consistent, loving caregivers is more important in a child's development than the number, sex, or marital status of the caregiver(s). Many women fear that pro-marriage, anti-divorce, pro-fatherhood advocates interpret women's independence and resistance to patriarchy as a culture of family destruction. Feminists are concerned that the notion of marriage as a solution to poverty is closely tied to right-wing initiatives in Congress to cut aid to women and children.

Responsible Fathering Movements

The fragile-families movement addresses the unique needs of low-income fathers, many of whom are young, never-married, and contending with multiple problems, including racism, poor education, and joblessness.

Low-Income Fathers

Ronald Mincy of Columbia University developed the term *fragile families* to designate a family formed when a child is born out of wedlock to young, disadvantaged parents. Within the fragile-families framework, the child, resident parent, and nonresident parent are viewed as a single unit, as a family. The fragile-families perspective finds that traditional welfare policy, child support enforcement laws, and public housing policies push young unwed parents apart because policymakers develop policies with middle- and upper-income traditional family formations in mind. Mincy and Hillard Pouncy argue that assistance programs must be reformed so that low-income families in which fathers want to be involved will not be penalized. Securing jobs for low-income fathers is critical, and Mincy and Pouncy argue that child support orders must be flexible and made within the father's means.

Incarcerated Fathers

The incarcerated fatherhood movement responds to the needs of the more than 2 million U.S. prisoners. Approximately 93 percent of prisoners are men, and, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 55 percent

of prisoners have minor children (with an average age of 8). Almost 1.5 million children, roughly 2 percent of all children, have a parent in prison, and that parent is nearly always a father. By some estimates, 10 million children—one in seven—will, at some point during their childhood, have an incarcerated father. Most fathers in prison have not seen their children since entering prison.

Incarceration harms family ties. In several states, such as Pennsylvania and Missouri, the Department of Corrections has created and implemented fatherhood programs with the idea that they will reduce recidivism rates. Many communities around the United States have started fatherhood programs for fathers leaving prison that facilitate weekly support groups where they can seek assistance with job training, education, counseling, and parenting skills. InsideOut Dad is an example of a peer-led, incarcerated fathers' program that offers inmate's communication skills and fathering techniques to foster positive father-child relationships. Many believe that one way to improve fathers' relationships with their children is not to imprison fathers for nonviolent, minor offenses in the first place.

Gay Fathers

There are gay fathers organizations in most states in the United States and in many countries around the globe. Most gay fathers have children from former heterosexual relationships, and others are gay fathers through adoption or foster parenting. Between 6 million and 10 million children of lesbian, gay, and bisexual parents are currently living in the United States; one-fifth of gay male households have children. The goals of gay fathering organizations are to provide support and a communication network for gay fathers so they know their parenting rights, to encourage cooperative action in promoting the common interests of gay fathers, to sponsor activities that present a positive image of gay fathers, and to encourage acceptance of alternative parenting within communities. A growing body of scientific literature demonstrates that children who grow up with one or two gay or lesbian parents fare as well emotionally, cognitively, and socially as do children whose parents are heterosexual. Children's development appears to be more influenced by the quality of the relationships and interactions within the family system than by the particular structural form it takes.

Stay-at-Home-Fathers

A stay-at-home father is the primary caregiver of his children. This arrangement was almost unknown in Western countries as recently as 25 years ago. Many stay-at-home fathers make the decision to become a househusband for economic reasons: Often his spouse out earns him, and these families find that it makes economic sense for the parent who earns less to quit her or his paid work to care for their children. A 2003 U.S. Census report estimates the number of stay-at-home fathers who were not in the labor force for the previous 52 weeks is 1 million. Only 16 percent of these fathers (about 160,000) left the labor force to care for home and family, and 45 percent reported being ill or being disabled. Since industrialization occurred in the United States, when fathers left the home for paid work, child-father contact has typically been minimal. However, in developing nations, male members of families have long had considerable roles in child care.

International Fatherhood Movements

The international fatherhood movement is often couched in religious fundamentalist terms and found, for example, in the Taliban in Afghanistan. It is considered a patriarchal backlash against political, economic, and educational gains women have made worldwide.

Religious Fundamentalism

Patriarchy has reinforced fatherhood by placing restrictions on women's bodies and how women are allowed to live their adult lives by restricting voting rights, women's sexuality, and entry to education, jobs, and private property.

Paternity Leave

Paternity leave outside of the United States in other industrialized countries is quite generous. In Germany, companies are required by law to give all employees as many as 3 years parental leave and guarantee their jobs on return. In Denmark, new fathers are allowed 34 weeks of paternity leave. In Sweden, "papa leave" has been around more than 30 years; a couple can take as much as 13 months off work between them and be reimbursed 80 percent of their pay. The leave can be

used in a block, can be transferred between parents, or taken over time before the child is eight.

Two Biological Fathers

Around the globe, there are vastly different notions of what fatherhood means. Anthropologist Stephen Beckerman and his colleague Roberto Lizarralde studied how fatherhood is understood in non-Western cultures. In the Bari tribe of Venezuela, in many indigenous groups across South America, and in many other cultures across the globe, Beckerman and Lizarralde found that babies can easily have more than one biological father. The Barí, for example, believe that the first act of sex, which should always be between a husband and wife, plants the seed. Then the fledgling fetus must be nourished by repeated anointings of semen not necessarily from a woman's husband. In the Barí system, when a man is named as a secondary biological father, he is also placed under an obligation to the mother and the child and expected to give gifts of fish and game. Beckerman and Lizarralde found that secondary fathers were involved in 25 percent of pregnancies, and that women were less likely to have a miscarriage or stillbirth, and the children were more likely to survive to their teens, if they had both a father and secondary father contributing food. The Barí and others show that the idea of fatherhood is fluid. As Beckerman says, "One of the things this research shows is that human beings are just as clever and creative in assembling their kin relations as they are putting together space shuttles or symphonies."

Conclusion

Fatherhood movements have progressed along parallel tracks. "Responsible fathering" groups are embraced by many women who welcome sharing the responsibilities of raising children with biological fathers. On the other hand, "father-power" groups fighting to "take back" their families have generated many concerns. Critics of father-power groups worry about increasing violence against women in families and decreasing women's and children's economic position. The current dominant ideology of marriage is that of the companionate marriage but this masks marital power differences. And, the "new father" is

more fiction than fact—only a few studies report increases in paternal involvement in recent decades.

Fatherhood may be on the social agenda in the United States, but all the "consciousness-raising" of the fatherhood movement has not produced much change in the composition of U.S. families: Currently approximately 4 of 10 children are growing up without a father in the home, which is the same as a decade ago. Fatherhood movements have emphasized the importance of fathers' rights over their children but have had little to say about their financial obligations. During the past decade, fathers' rights groups have successfully purged the phrase "deadbeat dad" from the political lexicon by arguing that it is demoralizing. The facts, however, are less forgiving. Approximately 60 percent of poor children do not get child support that is owed them and approximately 85 percent of those who do not pay are fathers.

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See also Caregiving; Child Support; Deadbeat Dads; Family Law

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FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN

The Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) was founded in 1954 by two members of South Africa's Communist Party, Ray Alexander, a trade union leader, and Hilda Bernstein, a member of the Johannesburg City Council. Established as a broadly based multiracial women's organization focused on issues that affected women, it grew to become one of the most important anti-apartheid organizations in the middle part of the 20th century.

As part of a broader coalition of anti-apartheid organizations, namely, the Congress Alliance, the inaugural conference of FEDSAW was strongly supported by a broad range of anti-apartheid organizations, including the African National Congress Women's League and several trade unions. Founded initially as an individual membership organization, in time FEDSAW became a federation of affiliate organizations.

At FEDSAW's inaugural conference, a Women's Charter was adopted. Although feminist in its orientation, the charter focused on the conditions of the oppressed black majority in South Africa. The charter demanded a range of civil and political rights, including the right to vote, and equality in relation to marriage, children, and employment. The charter did not only confine itself to apartheid laws, but also condemned indigenous laws that discriminated against African women, denying them equality in many areas of life. The charter also called for a range of economic and social rights, including the right to education and child care. The rights called for in the charter were incorporated into the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress Alliance in June 1955.

The burden of poverty and government-sanctioned repression was a central concern of the organization. One of the most renowned and successful activities of FEDSAW was a 20,000-strong women's march on the Union Buildings, the administrative seat of government, in Pretoria on August 9, 1956. Alexander and Bernstein, who had been banned by the apartheid government just before the march, were not allowed to attend any gatherings. The leaders of the 1956 march were Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams, and Helen Joseph. They, and women such as Amina Cachalia and Francis Baard, became some of the most prominent anti-apartheid activists. A phrase from a protest song, "You have struck the women, you have struck a rock," coined during the 1956 march, became synonymous with South African women's struggle. To commemorate the remarkable stand taken by the women of FEDSAW, August 9th has been designated the official Women's Day in South Africa.

FEDSAW continued to conduct massive campaigns of resistance to apartheid laws, particularly the hated pass laws, but in time came under tremendous pressure when the African National Congress and other political organizations were banned. Many of FEDSAW's leaders were banned, jailed, or forced into exile. Some attempts were made to revive FEDSAW in 1983, but because of the widespread political repression at the time, FEDSAW was not re-launched until 1987. Continuing its tradition of political protest, FEDSAW was active until South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Many FEDSAW members went into government and the bureaucracy; however, the organization is now defunct.

Penelope Andrews

See also ABANTU for Development; United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; Women's Social and Political Union

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FEMALE CIRCUMCISION/ FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

Female circumcision or *female genital mutilation* refers to a variety of practices that involve the removal of girls' and women's prepuce, clitoris, labia minora, and labia majora. The terms *female circumcision* and *female genital mutilation* require some explanation so that readers understand the complexity of the different

kinds of procedures and the diverse responses to these practices. The debate regarding the use of these terms reflects different understandings and approaches to changing the practices that affect millions of girls and women each year.

Proponents of the term *female genital mutilation* claim that these procedures disfigure women and girls. Medical and health care practitioners distinguish between three general types of female genital mutilation: Type I (clitoridectomy), the removal of the prepuce and part or all of the clitoris; Type II (excision), the removal of the prepuce, the clitoris, and part or all of the labia minora; Type III (infibulation), the removal of the prepuce, the clitoris, the labia minora, and the labia majora. Technically, the term *female circumcision,* or *clitoridectomy,* describes the removal of the clitoris. In practice, however, women and girls may have parts of their genitalia removed that would not place them unequivocally in one category or another. Medical and health care professionals overwhelmingly refer to all three types of female genital removal under the umbrella term *female genital mutilation.* In addition to the medical community, many human rights organizations and grassroots activists use the term *female genital mutilation* to highlight these practices as an example of violence against women and, therefore, a human rights violation.

The term *female circumcision,* and an alternative term, *female genital cutting,* are used among educators and activists who are critical of both the practice of removing part or all of girls' and women's genitals, and the ways in which the debate is framed within academic and activist communities. Those who use these terms rather than *female genital mutilation* do so in the spirit of advocating women's empowerment and female agency. These activists argue that describing some women and girls as mutilated implies a normalized female body, and they are particularly sensitive to problems of ethnocentrism that may arise when the critiques of these practices are espoused by those who have not been cut. Educators and activists who use the term *female circumcision* fear that embedded within critiques of the practice by those who use the term *female genital mutilation* is an implication of superiority of women from cultures that do not practice female genital cutting. Moreover, these activists argue that the term *mutilation* diminishes women's power as subjects when their altered genitalia establish them as objects of victimization.

There are many responses to the practice of female circumcision/female genital mutilation. Those who make use of either term may advocate the abolition of the practice and deem it a form of violence against women. Understanding the complexity of the debates on female circumcision/female genital mutilation is germane to increasing knowledge about the gendered societies in which we live and using that knowledge to improve women's lives across the globe. This entry places the practices in historical and cultural context, then discusses responses to the practices of female genital mutilation.

Female Circumcision/ Female Genital Mutilation in Historical and Cultural Context

There is no definitive explanation about the origin of female circumcision/female genital mutilation. Modest evidence traces these practices to select societies in Africa and the Middle East. However, locating its genesis is not as useful an endeavor for understanding its implications as is one that situates its significance in historical and cultural context. For example, one circulated argument is that the origin of these practices is tied to Islam. In addition to being incorrect (these practices preceded Islam), this assertion is problematic because it does not explain why many Muslims do not circumcise women and girls or why members of other religions circumcise their female population. Another example that demonstrates why an origin-based approach is problematic is the occurrence of these practices in the United States. The increased numbers of migrants in the United States performing female genital cutting (particularly on minors) prompted the inclusion of criminalizing these practices in a 1996 immigration law. Yet migrants did not introduce female genital cutting to America. Women in the United States were subject to clitoridectomies in the 19th century by the medical establishment because it was thought to be a cure for hysteria.

Female genital cutting practices may be found in many different societies and are often justified as necessary to satisfy cultural customs, religious rituals, or social mores. Girls may be cut as early as infancy or as late as adulthood. In many cultures, girls' genitals are cut as a prerequisite for marriage, to ensure virginity, and because it is believed to be aesthetically pleasing (girls and women are deemed unclean or dirty if

they are not circumcised). Girls and women who are not cut may not be allowed to prepare food or marry, which may result in grave implications for their livelihood in societies that restrict women's ability to work or own property. Information gleaned from scholars, activists, and health care professionals shows that women are overwhelmingly the ones who perform female circumcisions. The circumciser may be a relative, a community member, or a medical practitioner. This position carries with it a great deal of power because the circumciser transforms girls and women into culturally acceptable females in societies that practice female genital cutting.

Responses to the Practice of Female Circumcision/ Female Genital Mutilation

The position that has gained the most currency among global debates about female circumcision/female genital mutilation is one of abolition. Those who are at the forefront of advocating the abolishment of these practices are medical and health care professionals and human rights activists. Another viewpoint that has far fewer supporters is the cultural relativist position. The term *cultural relativist* is mostly used by critics of cultural relativism, such as human rights activists, rather than by those who hold the position. Cultural relativists argue that societies that circumcise women and girls should not be criticized by those outside of those cultures because to do so would be ethnocentric. This position contrasts starkly with a human rights approach that advocates the abolition of these practices based on a universal right to be free from violence.

Medical Responses

Medical and health care professionals argue that all forms of female genital cutting cause severe physical and mental health problems that most women who have been cut endure throughout their lifetimes. The World Health Organization (WHO) has been the leading health care institution to advocate an abolitionist position on female genital mutilation. Health-related problems include infection, septic shock, transmission of HIV/AIDS, infertility, and death. Many circumcisions are performed under unhygienic conditions. Circumcisers often use the same instrument (which most often is not sterile) on numerous girls or women,

which can lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infections. Circumcisers may also suture girls and women too tightly, causing them to go into septic shock if they cannot pass urine or menstrual blood. Long-term problems with infections may also cause infertility in circumcised women. Sexual intercourse may be painful and cause excessive bleeding, which leads to the increased risk of HIV/AIDS transmission. One consequence for many women who are cut is the inability to have an orgasm. Women who are raped or give birth may be sutured again by either a circumciser or a health care professional. Without proper medical care, female genital mutilation may have lifelong debilitating affects for those who are cut.

Some medical practitioners argue that if girls and women are going to be cut, the procedure should be performed by trained professionals to decrease health-related problems associated with the practice. Overwhelmingly, however, medical and health care professionals do not support this position and instead advocate for the abolishment of all forms of female genital mutilation. Although the primary focus of the health consequences of these practices is on women's and girls' physical health, evidence from the medical community indicates that girls and women suffer post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other mental health problems throughout their lives as a result of being circumcised.

Female circumcision is sometimes compared with male circumcision in the context of genital altering rituals that affect both women and men. The problem with this comparison is that it situates these practices as though they are equal, thereby diminishing the focus on the specificity of harm that circumcised women, but not men, experience.

Human Rights Responses

Human rights activists include grassroots members who work for change within their countries and members and employees of organizations that undertake this issue as a human rights abuse. Human rights organizations underscore the eradication of these practices as necessary for ensuring women's human rights. A human rights approach to female genital mutilation is one that views these practices as tantamount to torture. The primary goal of many human rights groups is to create change by making demands on nation-states. This approach entails pressuring governments to criminalize the practice and prosecute the practitioners

through laws that make all forms of female genital mutilation illegal. In addition to campaigning for legal changes, human rights activists, particularly those at the grassroots level, educate communities that practice female genital mutilation about its medical consequences and encourage community members to alter their social mores regarding circumcision as a requirement for women and girls. Many nation-states have responded by outlawing female genital mutilation, and many communities have slowly decreased the practice of female genital mutilation. Beginning in the 1990s, countries that receive asylum seekers began accepting women and girls who were fleeing forced circumcisions with the understanding that these practices constitute a human rights violation.

The diverse responses to female circumcision/female genital mutilation illuminate the complexity of the debates surrounding these practices and the myriad possibilities for altering customs that prove harmful for so many women and girls throughout the world.

Connie G. Oxford

See also HIV/AIDS; Infertility; Male Circumcision; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Rape; Sexuality and Reproduction; Sexually Transmitted Infections; Torture; Universal Human Rights

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FEMALE FARMING SYSTEMS

The typology of preindustrial subsistence agriculture consisting of two paradigmatic farming systems, one male and the other female, was first expounded by Ester Boserup in 1970 in her pioneering work, *Woman's Role in Economic Development.* Agrarian production in Europe and Asia—Eurasia for short—was dominated by men. In contrast, women were in control of most aspects of agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, Boserup argued, Europe's colonization of Africa was, among other things, an encounter between two radically different farming systems; this aspect of colonialism underlies the traumatic losses of economic and social status among African women under European rule.

Historically speaking, the relatively high autonomy and mobility of women in sub-Saharan Africa, although intimately associated with the female farming systems prevailing in this region before European colonization, cannot be attributed solely to their control over agriculture. Rather, the connections between farming and gender systems should be viewed within the context of a complex set of interrelated ecological, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. This entry describes some of these factors and the relationship to female farming systems.

Ecological Factors

Female farming systems developed in regions where the ratio of cultivable land to population was relatively high and land was tribally owned. Tribal communities would typically allocate plots of land to families based on their need and capacity. The land would be cleared by men and cultivated by women, primarily with the use of a hoe or digging stick. As the topsoil became depleted of nutrients, the land would be left fallow for long periods while new land was cleared for cultivation. The plough was rarely used in this type of shifting cultivation because the "long fallow" system guaranteed an almost endless supply of fertile topsoil without the need to dig deep into the earth to release nutrients and to neutralize the residues of previous cultivation. Under these ecological conditions, agriculture developed with women as the chief cultivators, possibly because their accumulated knowledge of plants carried over from their pre-agricultural role as gatherers and healers.

In regions with substantial population pressure on arable land, different farming techniques were needed for cultivating the same plot repeatedly without depleting the soil of its nutrients. The plough was perfectly suited for this type of intensive agriculture, and

diffused quickly through Europe and Asia from its birthplace in the Middle East. The efficiency of plough farming depended, among other things, on the body weight and upper body strength of the farmer and on the use of traction animals traditionally domesticated and bred by men. Thus, historically, male control of farming accompanied plough cultivation throughout the world.

Property, Inheritance, and Class Systems

Shifting cultivation, tribal ownership of territory and flexible allocation of farming land to families according to need are feasible in the absence of land scarcity. Where there is population pressure on land and intensive fixed plot cultivation is the only feasible farming method, however, there is a strong motivation to establish private property rights over land. Furthermore, because men control farming in regions of intensive plough cultivation, property rights are also held by men. Land scarcity results in a large supply of landless families available for wage—or indentured—work on others' land, establishing a context for further class differentiation whereby owners accumulate wealth through appropriating the surplus created by landless laborers.

Private ownership brings with it the drive to transmit one's wealth and class status to one's descendents; furthermore, the survival of future generations and the maintenance of the family's class position depend on the devolution of land from one generation to the next without significant fragmentation. Thus, the intensive farming regions of Europe and Asia have developed into highly stratified societies with strict inheritance rules. In contrast, sub-Saharan Africa, marked by tribal or community control over land allocation, generally lacked rigid class systems. A family's prosperity, status, and prestige within the community depended less on its accumulation of private property than on its ability to control use-rights to land, which in turn depended on its capacity for cultivation. Consequently, the intergenerational devolution of personal property within bloodlines was not a major concern.

Marriage and Reproduction

The systems of property, inheritance, and class associated with male farming in Eurasia on the one hand and female farming in sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand were closely linked to the divergent family formation systems that dominated the two regions. Africa's female farming system, with land allocated according to need and capacity, meant that families with many adult women could command large plots and live in relative prosperity. Multiple wives brought prosperity and high community standing for the entire household, so monogamy was not a dominant norm. The system of tribal land allocation according to need and the ability of young children to help in cultivation minimized the costs of children while increasing their benefits. Thus, polygyny and high fertility regimes were the prevalent features of family structure in these areas. The dominant marriage transaction in female farming systems was the bride price (also called *bridewealth*), a payment in cash or kind made by the groom to the bride's family, which served as compensation for the transfer of her productive and reproductive capacity from her natal household to her husband's. There was little variation among families in the size of the bride price because the productive and reproductive capacity of adult women did not vary widely.

Child-spacing through postpartum abstinence was the only commonly used form of family limitation and its intended function was to maximize maternal and child survival rather than to limit family size. The high net benefits of children coupled with the absence of a need to keep family assets within the bloodline gave rise to widespread child fostering; orphans and unwanted children easily found households willing to adopt and raise them.

In the male farming systems of Eurasia, women were net consumers and monogamy was the dominant marriage pattern. Polygyny was rarely practiced even when sanctioned by religion because few men could afford to support multiple wives and their children while guaranteeing the long-term survival or class status of the family. The most common marriage transaction was the dowry, a transfer of assets from the bride's natal family to the household of the newlywed couple and typically controlled by the male head of the bride's new household. The size of the dowry was determined by the social class of the bride and groom. The dowry system served the dual purposes of guaranteeing class endogamy (that is, marrying within one's class) and contributing to the bride's livelihood and status maintenance in her new household.

To ensure the preservation of the family's assets within the male bloodline, women's sexuality was

closely monitored during childbearing ages, and there were strong social mores enforcing premarital virginity and marital fidelity. Too many children threatened family survival among the lower classes and family class position among the elite. Consequently, child abandonment, induced abortion, and infanticide, all rare in sub-Saharan Africa, were common practices in preindustrial Eurasia, especially among the lower classes. Likewise, innovations in birth control methods were more readily adopted in Eurasia than in sub-Saharan Africa, and mortality decline was closely followed by fertility decline in the former but not in the latter.

Gender Roles

The direct effect of female farming systems on gender roles was the relatively high levels of autonomy, mobility, and self-direction enjoyed by women; as a direct extension of their role as cultivators, they were active in trade and community affairs. Married women typically lived in their own huts within the family compound and cultivated their own plots with help from their children. They were expected to provide for themselves and their children, and shared with their co-wives the responsibility of feeding their husbands.

When the gender systems of male and female farming regions are fully compared, however, the most salient differences are found among factors associated with the social and economic structures that developed around the ecological underpinnings of these farming systems rather than with the farming systems themselves. For example, the structures of property and inheritance that developed in response to the same set of ecological factors as male farming systems imposed tight controls on women's sexuality and gave rise to such practices as female sequestration, veiling, honor killings, son preference, female infanticide, and women's lack of autonomy, power, and control over strategic resources. In contrast, the socioeconomic structures accompanying female farming systems and their ecological underpinnings were not pivoted on male control over women's sexuality. Thus, the social and cultural practices that organized and maintained male control over women in Eurasia did not materialize in sub-Saharan Africa until European colonization. European rule brought about severe losses of status for African women through registration of land in the name of male householders, recruitment of men into cash cropping, spread of Christian values that

favored monogamy over polygyny, and imposition of sociocultural norms and practices predicated on and supportive of male control of women's daily lives. It comes as no surprise, then, that women in this region were active, and in some instances took the lead in, anticolonial resistance movements.

Conclusion

The two widely differing socioeconomic and cultural systems associated with female and male subsistence farming are both patriarchal in the sense that men, as heads of households, control crucial social and economic resources and political processes, as well as owning women's productive and reproductive capacities. However, the historically specific conditions within which each system developed, and the interplay of ecological, socioeconomic, and cultural factors that shaped gender hierarchies in each, allowed for different levels of female autonomy and self-determination.

Promoting women's active participation in agriculture, or in production in general, thereby reducing their dependence on men, is certainly a worthwhile cause. However, it is not a panacea and may even adversely affect women by eroding the traditional social obligations that guarantee their support before the mechanisms of self-support are fully established. Full emancipation calls for an overhaul of the entire complex of factors that support and are supported by the particular brand of patriarchy native to each region.

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See also Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era; Patriarchy; Polygamy; Sexuality and Reproduction

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FEMICIDE

Femicide is generally defined as males killing females because they are females. Variations on this definition include death through selective neglect or the use of the phrase "intentional killing" or any killing of females including those by other females. Feminists use this term to distinguish between the systematic destruction of women simply because they are women and the more general term, *homicide,* that is used to describe the murder of any person at another person's hands. By distinguishing between the two, feminists reject the use of gender neutral terms to describe what is normally considered hate crimes against women as a gender. Femicide is the ultimate form of violence against women. Research and discourse on femicide show that as patriarchy becomes institutionalized, femicide is used as a method of maintaining male privilege by controlling women and their sexuality. It is an extreme form of punishment against women who have somehow transgressed against men's expectations regarding a woman's proper role in society.

Femicide is a global problem, although there are some regional differences in what type is most prevalent. Some of the earlier well-known cases of femicide include the 16th- and 17th-century witch hunts in Europe. More recently, there are reports of mass femicides, such as the rape-murders of Croatian women by Serbian men during their civil war or the increasing numbers of rape, mutilation, and murder of young women in Latin American countries. Other types of femicide include dowry deaths in India, honor killings in the Arab world, and crimes of passion in the Western world. Femicide includes female infanticide, intimate femicide (women killed by their intimate partners), racist femicide (when black women are killed by white men), and homophobic femicide. Some of the most common types of femicide are described in this entry.

Intimate Femicide

Most violence against women in general is perpetrated by a partner or family member. The pervasive nature of femicide at the hands of a "loved" one destroys the myth that the home is a safe place for women. Intimate femicide represents a significant percentage of all femicides in many parts of the world. In North America and Europe, women most at risk of femicide are those residing with their husbands or intimate partners. In the United States, intimate femicide is a leading cause of death among young women. Women with a history of wife-beating are most vulnerable to being killed by their abusers when they decide to leave. Biased reporting of femicides as the outcome of domestic troubles or squabbles, while neglecting to mention abuse or female defense, gives the impression that women are equally to blame for the femicide.

Dowry Deaths

A special form of violence against women in India is dowry deaths, also known as bride burning because the most popular form of dowry femicide is to pour kerosene over the victim and set her on fire, thereby allowing the culprits to later claim that it was a kitchen accident. A large dowry can improve a bride's standing in her husband's home; a small dowry can make her life miserable. Sometimes brides are driven to commit suicide as a result of intense physical abuse; at other times, the husband and in-laws resort to murder. As demands for dowry have escalated, dowry deaths have increased alarmingly—as high as 12,000 per year.

Dowry deaths are most prevalent in Northern India where they are usually a middle- or upper-class phenomenon with the widower being remarried soon after, to bring in another dowry. Despite feminists who have actively campaigned to make changes to the existing penal codes, it is hard to pursue court cases because the police are biased, evidence is not preserved, and judges are unsympathetic. Even dying women in the hospital try to protect their husbands because of the shame or because of their children.

Honor Killings

Honor killings are most prevalent in the Arab world where women are systematically murdered by their male relatives because of shame and dishonor that they have brought to the family. A man's honor is tied into the behavior of his female relatives. The honor code requires virginity before marriage and chastity and fidelity after marriage for women. Women who violate this code are subject to punishment. If the violation becomes public, male family members have to take immediate action to restore the family's social status in the eyes of the community. Infidelity, real or

suspected, is sufficient grounds for murder of a woman. A woman who has been raped may be beaten, isolated, and killed by her own family if a marriage between the rape victim and rapist cannot be arranged. In particular, women who are raped by male family members are killed to cover up incest and restore the family's honor.

Reputation and rumor plays a role in honor killings. Women who are suspected of immoral behavior are often killed, usually by a brother or father. Some sexually inactive girls have been killed simply because they were seen with non-related males or boyfriends. Although the exact number of honor killings is difficult to estimate, they form a large percentage of total femicides in some Islamic countries. Honor killings often go unpunished because the criminal justice system is sympathetic toward the perpetrators. In some countries, the penal code has specific provisions for honor killings exempting the male perpetrators from any penalty or giving them a reduced penalty. These provisions make explicit the link between sexual transgressions of women and the honor of the family, making honor killings a socially sanctioned form of femicide in many parts of the world.

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See also Domestic Violence; Dowry Prohibition Act; Honor Killings; Misogyny; Rape

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FEMININE MYSTIQUE

Feminine mystique, a term coined by feminist Betty Friedan in her 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique,* is the notion that, post–World War II, mainstream American society advocated that white, middle-class women could and should only find fulfillment in life through housework, marriage, sexual passivity, and childrearing. Part of the ideology of the feminine mystique was that truly feminine women did not want higher education, careers, or a political voice. Rather, they should remain happily in the home and void of careers or commitments outside the assigned domestic sphere. Despite this societal expectation of femininity, many housewives wondered, "Is this all there is?," but had difficulty articulating their lack of fulfillment. Friedan deemed this unhappiness and inability to live up to the feminine mystique the "problem that has no name." This entry describes Friedan's study and its impact.

Friedan's Critique

Human potential psychologists such as Abraham Maslow, popular during the late 1950s and early 1960s, influenced Friedan's claim that the feminine mystique denied women their "basic human need to grow." By stunting this basic human need for development, Friedan claimed that women would continue to be unhappy and children would grow up with unfulfilled and neurotic mothers. Friedan also argued that the feminine mystique hurt women both personally and professionally. According to Friedan, for men and women alike, identity was largely cultivated through personal achievement, primarily through careers.

Situating her study of women in the post–World War II era, Friedan argues that after the war, women were expected to return to the domestic sphere of society, which in turn inspired the feminine mystique. She claims that men returned from war and looked to their wives for mothering. Furthermore, largely because of the escalating cold war during the 1950s, the cultivation of the American nuclear family and the idealized domestic space was part of an ideological battle against Soviet Russia to prove America's superiority. Middle-class white women were implicated in this ideological war with the USSR because they were supposed to represent idealized femininity and the triumph of the American capitalist, consumer society.

Friedan's study uses statistics and interviews to illustrate women's desire during the 1950s to achieve the feminine mystique. For instance, by the end of the 1950s, 14 million girls were engaged by the age of 17 and the average age of marriage dropped to 20. The number of women in college dropped from 47 percent

in 1920 to 35 percent in 1958. During the mid-1950s, 60 percent of female students dropped out of college to get married or to cease their higher education before they became "undesirable" on the marriage market. The idea that women only went to college to land a husband and get their "Mrs. Degree" was a popular notion perpetuated by the media. From touting women's natural role as mothers and caregivers, to advocating how to properly take care of one's husband, the media and the education system helped perpetuate all aspects of the feminine mystique. The American housewife who properly performed her domesticity was deemed by the U.S. media to be the dream and envy of all women, in communist countries and throughout the world. In 1956, *Life* magazine rejoiced that American women were "moving back into the home." A 1954 home economics high school textbook excerpt "How to Be a Good Wife" offers this advice for housewives: "Have dinner ready. Plan ahead, even the night before, to have a delicious meal, on time. This is a way of letting him know that you have been thinking about him and are concerned about his needs. Most men are hungry when they come home and the prospect of a good meal is part of the warm welcome needed. Make him comfortable. Have him lean back in a comfortable chair or suggest he lie down in the bedroom. Have a cool or warm drink ready for him. Arrange his pillow and offer to take off his shoes. Speak in a low, soft, soothing and pleasant voice."

When Friedan interviewed housewives, however, she found that behaviors such as those outlined in the "How to Be a Good Wife" guide did not always prove fulfilling for women and that most women could not live up to this idealized feminine behavior. Unable to reach the feminine mystique, many women spent years with psychologists who tried to help them adjust to their "feminine role" or took tranquilizers or drank alcohol to ease their feelings of emptiness. By the early 1960s, the media recognized that suburban women were often unhappy with their roles. Some attributed housewives' unhappiness to education—they contended that the more educated a woman, the more likely she was to be unfulfilled as a housewife. To counter the problem of the educated "trapped housewife," some educators suggested that women no longer be allowed in universities. Magazine articles targeted those who could not reach true feminine achievement by suggesting new sexual techniques or better ways to find fulfillment through sex.

Friedan's solution to the feminine mystique differed greatly from those in mainstream American society. Rather than trying to achieve the feminine mystique, Friedan suggested that women develop a new "life plan." Housework should not be seen as a "career," but as something to finish as quickly as possible. Friedan contended that it was possible for women to have a successful career and a family. Education should also change drastically from an ideological proponent of the feminine mystique to an emancipating experience for women.

Conclusion

Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* is considered an important inspiration for the second-wave feminist movement (1960s–1980s). Friedan also started the influential liberal feminist organization National Organization for Women (NOW). However, by the end of the second-wave feminist movement, in many ways the notion of the suburban housewife suffering from the feminine mystique seemed like an outdated critique because twice as many women were in the workforce as had been during the 1950s. Furthermore, feminists such as bell hooks have criticized the fact that Friedan's notion of the feminine mystique claims to speak for all women, but only relates to white, middle-class women and not to working-class women who joined the labor force from necessity.

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See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Depression; Economy: History of Women's Participation; Education: Gender Differences; Family, Organization of; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Glass Ceiling; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Marriage; Maternalism; Motherhood; National Organization for Women (NOW)

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FEMINISM AND MILITARIZATION

Militarization describes the sociopolitical environment through which militaristic control, influence, and ideologies are spread throughout society. Militarization marks a society's dependence on the military for its well-being and results in the normalization of militaristic values. Feminist work on militarization, pioneered by Cynthia Enloe, has emphasized the importance of looking for the causes of militarism (the state of military control) that occur through militarization, moving beyond traditional studies that have focused purely on the consequences of militarism. Feminists are particularly concerned with the ways in which masculinity and femininity are mapped out and used throughout a variety of military interactions. Feminists ask why militarized masculinity has been privileged, but focus primarily on the ways that militarization affects women's lives. Although feminist scholars of militarization are careful to differentiate among different cultural contexts, they identify common patterns of gendered behavior in militaries throughout the world. These theorists have also argued that feminists must move beyond a simple focus on war and examine the processes of gender socialization for military roles, such as the societal valorization of the male soldier. This entry discusses militarized masculinity, women warriors, and prostitution, rape, and care work connected with the military.

Militarized Masculinity

Feminist theorists have demonstrated that the military relies on and promotes violent masculinity. Military commanders have also used men's pride in their roles as fathers, sons, and heterosexuals to motivate them to obey commands, frequently through humiliation. The tenuousness of masculinity has particular consequences within the military, where superior officers and peers alike challenge men's manhood if they are unable to perform a required task or show signs of weakness. This perceived loss of masculinity renders a man "unfit" for military service, and violent masculinity is both legitimized and rewarded by the military. Feminists argue that male soldiers are required to prove their masculinity by committing violent acts, frequently against women. These constructions of masculinity, though, depend on an opposing construction of passive femininity, which is troubled by the presence of female soldiers.

Women Warriors

Women have been informally engaged in combat in every American war. However, this fighting was covert for much of the country's history because women in the United States were not allowed to join the military until World War II. Although women's involvement has increased and shifted dramatically since then, women are still generally excluded from ground combat. Feminist theorists argue that this exclusion reifies ideals of feminine weakness and encourages the notion that male soldiers should take care of their female comrades. Gender ideologies also promote sexist behavior and sexual harassment. The 1991 Tailhook scandal was one of the most infamous incidents of this kind within U.S. military history, when 83 women and 7 men were sexually assaulted, several of whom were female soldiers. One reason given for the Naval officers' behavior was resentment toward women's presence in the military, which had prompted a series of attempts at reforming military traditions. Feminists have also suggested that the paternalism that surrounds female soldiers situates them as second-class citizens and makes them more vulnerable to sexual assault and harassment.

Gay men and lesbians have also been an increasing presence in the American military. U.S. law forbade the entrance of gays and lesbians into the military until 1993, when the U.S. Congress passed the measure known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Although the military formally opposes homophobic harassment, it is generally permitted in practice, and women thought to be lesbians are subject to more frequent harassment. Feminists argue that the privileging of heterosexual masculinity has created a climate of homophobia in the military, and deviations from this standard of masculinity are punished through sexual harassment and assault. Gay and lesbian organizations have become much more militarized due to the focus on the struggle for gays and lesbians to be treated fairly in the military.

Given the frequently negative ways that militarization has affected gay male, lesbian, and heterosexual female soldiers, some feminist theorists have questioned why they would continue to express a desire to be involved with the military. Scholars have examined

the role of citizenship and emphasized the limited access to citizenship that these groups have faced. Soldiers, however, are held up as the ultimate citizens, willing to fight and die for their country. Although gay men, lesbians, and heterosexual female soldiers are not valorized in the same way that heterosexual male soldiers have typically been, becoming soldiers can grant them access to a level of citizenship (and even societal acceptance) that they would not otherwise obtain.

Prostitution

Prostitutes have played a critical role in military history, although military officials typically deny that they have any policies on prostitution. Prostitutes have frequently been "kept available" to soldiers, under the logic that access to prostitutes would curtail both marriage (which has been discouraged at some historical moments) and rape. Through the involvement of military officials, local governments, and business owners, brothels have been established near military bases to facilitate contact between prostitutes and soldiers. Women involved in militarized prostitution have been subject to a number of discriminatory practices based on commonly held beliefs about femininity. Military officials have reified the ideology of women as sexual gatekeepers by forcing prostitutes to undergo testing for sexually transmitted diseases, but not requiring soldiers to do the same. Instead, officials control women to exercise control over men. Militarized prostitution upholds the virgin/whore dichotomy, exemplifying the latter while reminding soldiers about the "good women" back home, those whom the soldiers are fighting to protect. Racial hierarchies have also frequently been upheld through the use of different brothels for soldiers of different races.

Prostitutes deal with a number of health concerns, including sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies, and AIDS. Many women who engage in militarized prostitution have either been coerced by an economic need to participate or outright forced to be involved. Finally, prostitutes have often served as scapegoats in anti-base campaigns, which have focused on the supposed immoral behavior that surrounds military bases. In recent years, feminist attention has begun to shift to the role that United Nations peacekeepers play in militarization, and scholars have discovered that many peacekeepers engage in the same behaviors that soldiers do, including prostitution. Frequently, though, prostitution has been used as a cover for militarized rape, when soldiers claim that a woman or girl was not assaulted, but was actually a prostitute.

Rape

Feminist scholars of militarization stress that rape must be understood within the context of more permissible acts of violence occurring daily, which contribute to a military culture that finds rape sometimes allowable. These authors have identified the need to differentiate between different forms of rape and the different motivations that may accompany militarized rape. Rape has actually been used as a tool of war, as an intimidation tactic against community leaders, as a warning to those thought to be threats to national security, as a method to raise soldiers' morale, and as a "prize" for the victorious army. The occurrence of rape has also been blamed on an insufficient amount of prostitutes in the area, which does not permit soldiers outlets for sex. Soldiers have sometimes seen gang rape as reinforcing a sense of camaraderie among soldiers, even transgressing men's racial differences. Rape has also been used as a form of ethnic cleansing, whereby an invading army rapes civilian women to "breed out" a particular racial or ethnic group. Feminist scholars have pointed out that although women and girls are most frequently the victims of rape, the ultimate targets are their male relatives and community members. This tactic is based on the notion that women have traditionally been defined as men's property and that sexually assaulting women is an especially grievous insult to their husbands' and fathers' senses of honor.

Care Work

In the centuries before women were formally part of the American and British militaries, camp followers traveled with soldiers and performed a variety of services for them, including cooking, laundering, mending, and nursing. However, camp followers were generally unappreciated by military commanders, and they were frequently referred to and treated as prostitutes. Soldiers relied heavily on their services, though, and exercised extreme control over camp followers. Camp followers exemplified the division of labor along both gender and class lines because the women who performed these tasks were typically poor.

Camp followers acted as nurses until military officials, along with Florence Nightingale, began pushing for the use of trained nurses, and camp followers were pushed out. However, nurses have played similarly gendered roles in the military, such that they were not officially recognized as part of the military (and eligible for ranks) until after World War I. During World War II, black nurses were segregated into a separate division to care for black soldiers, perpetuating racial hierarchies. Generally, nurses have been expected to uphold a certain standard of femininity—at different historical moments, they have been expected to remain single, to seem available to soldiers, to provide comfort, and to avoid becoming emotional in front of soldiers. Nurses are frequently discouraged from talking about their wartime experiences to civilians because the violent stories might taint the military's image. Because of the extreme violence and pain that these nurses witness, they have found it difficult to approximate this type of femininity. Recent recruitment campaigns by the U.S. military have shifted between portraying the nurse as a tough, fully militarized woman and the romanticized image of the sensitive, loving nurse.

In many military settings, male soldiers' wives have been expected to take over much of the care work that camp followers used to perform. Feminists point to the rigid construction of the ideal military wife, who is expected to uphold the image of the military, be a model wife and mother, accept restrictions on her life for the sake of national security, and place her career aspirations second to her husband's military duties. Mothers have also been militarized, depicted either as supportive military moms who speak proudly of their sons' and daughters' service in the military, or as mourning mothers who have lost their children in battle.

Adriane Brown

See also Comfort Women; Military, Women in Relation to; Military, Women Serving in; Military Families; Military Masculinity

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FEMINIST ACTIVISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin American feminist activism is a pillar of womanhood that pre-dates current feminisms. Latin American feminist activism has existed throughout the centuries, paralleling Western feminisms on a more formal basis for the last century and a half. Compared with U.S. and European feminism, specifically French, Latin American feminist activism been measured inadequately by Western feminisms. Both Western scholars and men have provocatively oversimplified women's struggles with colonization, racism, sexism, democracy, gender, language, and the nation-state. A reality that has been excluded from most history books is that feminism in Latin America has almost always been a group action, and thus, activism emulates a similar construction.

The issues particular to Latin America are the colonization 500 years ago as well as the continued cultural colonization of Latin America. Other emergent issues—religious evolution, the incorporation of indigenous populations into the cultures of literary and historical production throughout the 20th century, the continued linguistic and cultural richness that women have preserved throughout the centuries—all merit a new scale and framework, deconstructing established scales about feminist Latin American activism.

Since pre-Columbian times, women in Latin America have participated in change and have been in solidarity and community with other women in their daily endeavors, struggling toward the improvement of their status, as well as that of their families and regions. Scholar and political scientist Jane S. Jaquette has best stated these practices across social classes about the 20th century feminism and the transition to

democracy with her research on the women's movement in Latin America. Jaquette believes that Latin American feminist analyses of politics are different than those in other regions because the political climate encouraged more interaction between women and the state. Thus, the distinction between public politics and private family lives has blurred, and there is more focus on human rights.

From a Western perspective, contemporary feminism in Latin America emerged with the suffragists in the 19th century. Initially, issues of education, equality regarding race, economics, law, property, and class were the main topics addressed by women organizing, and not necessarily the right to vote. Not until the 1920s and 1930s was it obvious to the world that women were excluded from the vote in such countries as Mexico and Argentina where women had fought for the right to be equal; nonetheless, in 1912, Argentina did not allow women to vote, nor did the Mexican Constitution of 1917, a world-famous radical document of the time.

In the 20th century, the main recurring issues that feminist activists in Latin America addressed (aside from the continued push for the right to vote and the right to an education) were health care for women and children, contraception, women's civil and human rights, and domestic violence. By 1911, in Peru, for example (the year Machu Picchu was first explored by Europeans), Maria de Jesús Alvarado Rivera was already giving feminist talks about women's suffrage. Alvarado Rivera founded a feminist organization that became part of the International Women's Suffrage Association in 1924, and was exiled to Argentina as a result of her activism when she promoted changes in the civil code to make women equal to men.

Other Peruvian feminists such as Magda Portal exemplify the Latin American women feminists who fear the manipulation of women's vote due to the history in Latin America of control of women's activism by the Catholic church and the military regimes, something that has continued. This is one emblematic example of a similar pattern in many Latin American countries that portrays a nonlinear and Western vision of everyday Latin American Feminism.

In Mexico, women have often participated in struggles of all types, including armed struggle during the historical Mexican Revolution of 1910 where Mexican women set a precedent as soldaderas, acquiring titles in the army parallel to men: "generalas" and "coronelas," an example that set a definite precedent for the wars in Central America during the 1970s and 1980s, in El Salvador, Guatemala, and informally in Honduras.

In the 1980s, the lives of women in Latin America became "interesting" to American and European feminist scholars who documented such rural organizers as Honduran organizer Elvia Alvarado, Bolivian miner Domitila Barrios de Chungara, and Guatemalan indigenous leader Rigoberta Menchú, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. This step, of having international scholars acknowledging non–middle- or upper-class women as important is essential in international feminism because it promotes the feminism of Latin American women, indigenous women, and mestizas as unique and valid. Before this, only lives of the educated and privileged women were documented in a small unequal scale, or highlighted by any one or any world organization. If one was raised in the working class, one had to become formally educated and be extraordinary to be noticed as a leader or as a woman activist.

Nonetheless, women writers in Latin America have been at the forefront of global feminist activism, beginning with the first published woman of the Americas, the nun Juana de Asbaje, best known as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, in the 17th century, and her writings continue to be particularly theorized and feminized by women in the 20th century. Latin American women writers have been included in global endeavors that show their local activism, especially during the last 40 years of the 20th century. They have been participating in international feminist movements and writing about feminism on the international level, while expanding the array of subjectivities they represent.

Disclosing difference as an asset is important in the type of activities in which women engage, and this has finally occurred among Latin American feminist activist writers—a watershed of feminist authors marked this territory at the beginning of the twentieth century. The ideal example of this is Gabriela Mistral, a Chilean working-class woman and children's rights advocate who helped found Red Cross chapters throughout Latin America. Others such as Argentinean author Alfonsina Storni who committed suicide in the 1930s and Rosario Castellanos who died in a freak accident in Israel also used their writings to subvert established social norms for women. In the first part of the 20th century these women set a unique precedent as writers and journalists who

worked in political positions as consuls or ambassadors throughout the world, and who resisted patriarchal culture both through their writings and with their bodies.

Currently, Latin American writers such as Marjorie Agosín, Pía Barros, Carmen Boullosa, Cristina Pacheco, Alicia Partnoy and Cristina Pacheco, Elena Poniatowska, and Rosamaria Roffiel have demonstrated that the connection with the social is generational and uniquely particular to Latin American feminist activists, especially writers. Activist writers such as Mexican author Poniatowska embrace their activism, seldom removing themselves from the lives of their domestic workers. Poniatowska along with the Argentinian author Partnoy who now lives in Los Angeles, CA have become activists for the disappeared and mutilated women of Ciudad Juarez, and are two of the main insurgents in the rights of the mothers of these disappeared young women from the Mexico–U.S. border. Another example is Barros, the unofficial "social worker" for the aging poor in Chile. So the Latin American activist and particularly the writer has become transnational.

Diasporic activism is also important to the shrinking notion of the world. Central to this movement is the feminism developed by returning feminist exiles who have participated in other struggles abroad. These are women who had left the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay) and Central America for political reasons or the oppression of military regimes that disappeared many of their peers and families in the 1970s and 1980s. In Chile, writers such as Susana Sánchez Bravo, or even the current Chilean president Michelle Bachelet, are underlining the importance and innovation of transforming the global into the local government. The inscription of a one-dimensional official story is no longer possible in Chile or anywhere else in the world, largely because of these women. A feminism of Latin American diasporic activists is one of resistance, affirmation, and an ongoing activist agenda. It has transformed an entire continent and continues to have a ripple effect throughout the world.

Gabriella Gutiérrez y Muhs

See also Anzaldúa, Gloria; International Women's Day; Maquiladora

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FEMINIST BIOETHICS

Ethics is more than a philosophy of moral values or a set of principles governing right and wrong behaviors: ethics is also chiefly concerned with humans living lives that are worth living. Bioethics, then, is the pursuit of the good life within the realms of health, medicine, and science. Feminist bioethics, like bioethics, shares this broad focus on the good life; however, feminist bioethics specifically advocates women's rights and needs within health, medicine, and science as the primary means for women to achieve a life worth living. This entry describes the historical background, current field, and some issues of feminist bioethics.

Historical Background of Bioethics

The modern field of bioethics developed in the early 1970s. Though its contemporary social movements include second-wave feminism and the civil rights movement, bioethics shares only one basic, though extremely important, tenet with these other movements: that social amelioration is necessary for humans to live lives full of dignity. Before the 1970s, bioethics was known as *medical ethics* and as such, was far more limited in its scope. The shift from traditional medical ethics to bioethics is usually attributed to three events: global public outcry against the horrors of the Nazi doctors' medical and scientific experimentations on Jews that were publicized during the

Nuremburg Trials, the scandalous syphilis experiments on black men at the Tuskegee Institute, and fantastical scientific innovations in what would become known as the fields of molecular genetics and biotechnology. Bioethics was vastly different from medical ethics in that it was a space for critical inquiry into the juxtapositions between medical and scientific advances and the need for improved quality of human life. Hence, bioethicists, then and now, address often-difficult questions that pit the needs of patients against the needs of doctors, health care organizations, health insurance companies, and those who would advocate medical and scientific innovations. Examples of these questions include the following: Should those persons without health insurance receive the same quality of care as persons with health insurance? Do local and national governments have the right to mandate vaccinations for school-age children? Do terminally ill patients have the right to choose death over treatment?

The Field of Feminist Bioethics

According to noted scholar Mary C. Rawlinson, feminist bioethics is a field of both study and practice that places women's rights and needs at the center of its ethical discussions and decision making. Thus, feminist bioethics critiques bioethics for ignoring the specific needs of women. This happens because bioethics considers men to be the universal subject of inquiry. Feminist bioethicists have argued that because men are the benchmarks for which to pursue ethics in health, medicine, and science, women are rendered invisible, at best, and pathological, at worst. Much of feminist bioethics scholarship has been concerned with revealing how such gender biases structure the overall health care system. Specifically, using men as the universal subject translates into outcomes such as clinical trials that use only males as subjects and little to no research on women's experiences of major illnesses (i.e., cancer, heart disease). Critiquing the use of men as universal and allegedly neutral proxies for humans is not new to feminism. Simone de Beauvoir referred to this as a process of "otherization" with men at the center and women as the "second sex."

As a field, feminist bioethics emerged in the late 1980s and the early 1990s as one manifestation of more than two decades of activism by participants in the women's health movement. Other manifestations include highly visible organizations such as the U.S.-based Boston Women's Health Collective, the National Women's Health Network, the National Black Women's Health Network, and the 1990 founding of the Office of Research on Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health.

Understanding Feminism in Feminist Bioethics

Feminist bioethics, like bioethics, is not a monolithic field with regards to interests, practices, and goals. Feminist bioethicists, especially in more recent scholarship, have tried to maintain a unified understanding of what feminism is and how it informs feminist bioethics. However, there are many instances where feminist bioethicists have contrasting views on an issue. Rosemarie Tong's article, "Feminist Bioethics: Toward Developing a 'Feminist' Answer to the Surrogate Motherhood Question," provides one example where feminist bioethicists have contrasting views: One view argues that surrogate mothers are performing a much-needed service, and as long as they are treated fairly as workers, there is nothing particularly wrong with the practice. Another view of surrogacy posits that such tasks will likely become the underpaid burden of poorer women and women of color. A third perspective conceives of surrogacy as a prime example of how reproduction will always be a burden for women's bodies. Surrogacy can also be argued to be a mechanism by which men control reproduction by moving pregnancy between the lab and the womb.

Some feminist bioethicists such as Laura Purdy have worried that a field with such divergent views will only encourage confusion and, thus, rejection from mainstream bioethicists. But within each perspective, there is a unifying theme: that women suffer from a lack of full autonomy regarding their bodies, whether they are willing to be surrogates or not. This particular unifying theme is an application of the "core feminism" that some feminist bioethicists have tried to universalize within feminist bioethics: that the oppression that women and other disadvantaged social groups face is real, harmful, inexcusable, and thus, should be remedied.

Reproduction Issues and Beyond

Though feminist bioethics encompasses a range of concerns and issues as wide as bioethics, when

feminist bioethics is included in mainstream bioethics venues (e.g., courses, textbooks, policy panels, health care administration boards, educational institutions), issues related to reproduction garner the greatest representation. This narrow focus on reproduction provides an interesting perspective on the entire field of feminist bioethics. On the one hand, most scholarship by feminist bioethicists does indeed address reproductive issues. Even feminist bioethicists' current research on human genetics reflects earlier research foci on women's reproductive concerns. On the other hand, the focus on reproduction obscures other fields of bioethical inquiry that would benefit from feminist bioethics scholarship. In *Feminism and Bioethics: Beyond Reproduction,* Susan Wolf and other scholars offer critiques of the reproductive focus that are two-pronged: one, bioethics should pay attention to feminist bioethics in more arenas than just women's reproductive issues, and two, feminist bioethicists should move "beyond reproduction." Interestingly, critiques of the reproductive issue focus have also informed recent scholarship and activism regarding a global feminist bioethics. Here, feminist bioethicists from developing nations have argued that feminist bioethicists from developed nations have a myopic view of reproduction that has produced a body of research and resulted in global policies that are obsessed with poor women's fertility, particularly poor women from developing nations. Hence, feminist bioethicists from the global North have been deaf to the concerns of feminist bioethicists from the global South. Tong's research indicates that while privileged feminist bioethicists worried about poor women's fertility, less privileged feminist bioethicists researched poor women's working conditions imposed by global multinational corporations. This dichotomy of representation is just one of several salient critiques that has led to feminist bioethics' most current challenge.

Conclusion

Recent scholarship within feminist bioethics has taken up the task of articulating a universal feminist vision and applied it to global health care issues. This interest in universal feminist values comes out of several critiques from within feminist bioethics: (a) that feminist bioethics is in danger of fragmentation and thus, further marginalization from bioethics; (b) that feminist bioethics has thus far mostly reflected the standpoint of feminists from relatively privileged social positions in developed nations; and (c) that feminist bioethical inquiries into the needs of women from developing nations have not been generated from those women in question. Though there are numerous vocal detractors of the goal of universalizing feminism, even their concerns are primarily aimed at developing a global feminist ethics. For the detractors, the concern is that a universal notion of feminism might obscure the particular needs of local communities of women. Similar to the definition of core feminism given earlier, a universal global feminism for feminist bioethics includes the recognition that women may occupy overlapping disadvantaged social positions, including gender, race, class, nationality, religious membership, and disability status, and that these social positions must be considered in their rich complexity in any discussion of their health care needs. Following the recognition of oppressive conditions that stem from social positions, a global feminist bioethics posits that such oppression is unnecessary and intolerable and, thus, is the responsibility of all to rectify.

Mary C. Ingram-Waters

See also AIDS and International Women's Health; Health Disparities; Sexuality and Reproduction; Women's Health Movements

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Feminist Disability Theory

Feminist disability theory is an emerging school of thought that includes an interdisciplinary group of scholars conducting a critical analysis of how we come to know what we know about meanings of disability and ability. Scholars in the fields of sociology, psychology, cultural studies, gender studies, disability studies, and literature contribute to the analysis of how these understandings intersect with a range of cultural notions, including gender ideologies. Feminist disability theory contributes to contemporary feminist thought about such things as the body, beauty, and constructions of masculinities and femininities. This theoretical enterprise has the particular potential to advance theorizing on the representation and experience of workers both in the paid workforce and as caregivers and receivers in family networks and other settings. Feminist disability theory has made important contributions to the field of disability studies, drawing on understandings of intersectionality that promise a bright future for theoretical explorations of gender and disability. This entry describes disability theory and studies, intersectionality, and the future of feminist disability theory.

Disability Theory and Disability Studies

The field of disability studies was founded by a group of scholars, activists, and people with disabilities as part of the disability rights movement of the 1960s. Like participants in the civil rights movement and the women's movement in the United States, participants in the disability rights movement strive to protect the rights of all persons of varying abilities while questioning what it means to have a disability. Primary aims of this interdisciplinary field include, first, to challenge the idea that disability is a medical category and, second, to use the body as a site of critical analysis. Sociologists, in particular, have used this thinking to put the term *disabled* in a social, political, and economic context while grounding disability in the experiences of individual life experiences.

Those using disability theory as a lens of analysis often look at both a group of people whom some consider disabled and a broader social landscape that defines some as able and others as disabled. At their beginning, disability theory and disability studies, like feminist theory and gender studies, made the experiences of people with disabilities visible to those who might not otherwise recognize them. Such visibility was supposed to help scholars, activists, and policy makers get a more complete picture of the social world and trace how oppression and privilege operate in the lives of people who might be seen as disabled. Disability theory, then, includes an analysis of power dynamics. Within this school of thought, theorists investigate meanings of normalcy, what it might mean to be abnormal, and how these definitions change over time and across locations.

In sociology, disability studies and disability theory grew out of the investigation of stigmatized identities and the ways that social groups define both insiders and outsiders. Sociologists began questioning the role of social institutions such as the workforce, the media, the family, the educational system, and the medical industry in assigning and maintaining stigma; sociologists also considered how people's day-to-day interactions in schools, work, and families reinforced certain stereotypes of what it meant to be disabled or abled. Toward these ends, sociologists studied such topics as depression, obesity, and mental retardation. Other areas explored by some sociologists and literature scholars are the role of culture and language, especially when investigating the empirical example of the Deaf community. Instead of considering themselves disabled, members of the Deaf community argue that, because of their native language of American Sign Language (ASL) and shared culture, they are actually part of a linguistic minority in the context of a larger hearing society.

Many scholars have made distinctions between definitions of the terms *sex* and *gender*. Gender studies scholars have argued that sex is something that is perhaps biologically based whereas gender is something that is socially created depending on how one interacts with others in a given society. In the early stages of theorizing, disability studies scholars were concerned with putting people who might be seen as disabled at the center of analysis. Early writings in this area did not necessarily address issues of gender with regards to one's perceived ability; however, more recent scholarship has called for a more inclusive and intersectional analysis where the consideration of gender and ability are both part of such discussions.

Intersectionality

As the field of disability studies and notions of disability theory emerged, some began drawing connections

between feminist theory and disability theory. One major site for analysis was and continues to be the body and issues of representation. By looking at material bodies, theorists such as Rosemarie Thomson and Susan Wendell argued that how people come to think of bodies and their meanings depends on accepted ideas of disability and what it means to be able-bodied. People writing in this regard began looking at images of the body in popular culture and how they were gendered and abled. For example, when thinking of the concept of femininity, one might conjure up a mental picture of an "ideal" feminine body. Media images reinforce this image as one that is white, thin, young, blond, and able-bodied. Therefore, looking at representations of bodies in popular culture along with consideration of a historical period and location provides an analysis of gender and ability. This insight has prompted scholars to think critically about cultural ideas of what it means to be feminine as well as masculine. Others have looked at illnesses and conditions and have written about the material experience of bodily pain—an important consideration when engaging in what can be abstract theorizing.

While using feminist theory to view gender as an institution organized by social roles and rules, others began critically employing the concept of intersectionality. Feminist analyses of intersectionality provide a means of exploring social phenomena through simultaneous attention to race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, and age as they are experienced in historical time and location. African American feminist scholars have used intersectionality to critique academic writings about motherhood that privilege the experiences of people who are white and members of the upper middle class. Their critique rejects a singular understanding of motherhood and recognizes that the experiences and the institution of motherhood vary across racial, class, sexual, and other categories. Feminist disability theorists and scholars use intersectionality in their analyses of motherhood to problematize the links between being seen as an able and legitimate mother. Feminist analyses have established that women's legitimacy as mothers—and thus as women—intimately reflects their racial, gender, and sexual privilege or disadvantage.

For example, Sara Ruddick has argued that the concept of being maternal is a socially created category based on various disciplinary practices rather than something that is biological or innately unique to women. A feminist disability studies analysis would also point out that being maternal or being a mother who is seen as disabled also requires additional identity work, in certain contexts, to be seen as legitimate. For a Deaf mother in a hearing context, this might include ensuring that her child has the ability to communicate with members of the Deaf community as well as the hearing world and thus knows ASL as well as spoken English. Such mothers might also be put in positions to ensure the acceptability of their children as well as themselves with both communities. This example, then, allows us to question the notion that being maternal is something that is based on biology as well as on one's perceived ability.

Feminist analyses of intersectionality approach bodies as raced, classed, gendered, and—with the insights of feminist disability theory—abled. Feminist theory and disability theory thus need each other. The two are intertwined, producing a rich analysis that considers ability, disability, age, race, sexuality, and social class along with other contextual factors. Through such an analysis, feminist disability theory provides a way to articulate how power dynamics reward those considered normal and stigmatize and oppress those who, in certain contexts, appear different or disabled. Feminist disability theory provides strategies for assessing how definitions of difference and sameness reflect one's location in a given society and period. Finally, feminist disability theory provides hope because it suggests that representations of gender and ability, like those informing understanding of mothering, are mutable and subject to change over time.

Future Directions

Feminist disability theory addresses a wide variety of topics, each with far-reaching implications. Hallmarks of this theoretical perspective are the ideas, first, that all people inhabit bodies that are seen as able, disabled, or a combination of the two and, second, that one's identity reflects one's race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and cultural context. Feminist disability theory also suggests that the binary between being an able body and being a disabled body is suspect. Much as gender studies theorists have challenged the false divide between what it means to be a man or a woman, feminist disability theorists are interested in investigating the complexities that lie in between the being abled and disabled because no one person fits exclusively into one category or the other. Thus, it becomes critical to look at

individuals and to put their identity constructions into a historical, political, and economic context.

Much of feminist disability theory's strength lies in its spanning disciplinary fields. Social scientists, linguists, practitioners, and individuals with life experiences of disability contribute to the theorizing discussion. Many researchers also use the concept of reflexivity where they critically analyze their own roles in constructing such things as gender and ability. This is seen as an important aspect of feminist disability theory as well, especially when considering such things as research design, analysis, and law and policy making. For example, what might it mean for a hearing researcher to interview someone who is Deaf? What are the dynamics of power that might exist as they might struggle to understand one another? If the data is written in a textual format, what is lost in translation because the visual language of ASL is not a written language? How might these questions be similar and differ from interviews done with people who do not speak the same language as the researcher?

Many issues are being debated in the field and include the future directions of feminist disability theory. These include, but are not limited to, the increased number of the aging population and the similarities and differences between and among men and women; the role of bioethics and stem cell research, especially technologies that allow people to choose the sex of a child; abortion and who has the right to procreate or to be seen as viable mothers and fathers; the segregation of schools and homes for people who are aging or seen as disabled and how this might vary by gender; and the experiences of caregiving and receiving and how this varies between and among groups of men and women. As scholars, activists, and individuals grapple with these terms, feminist disability theory provides a uniquely vibrant space for creating a common language about gender and ability—a language that should be subject to consistent critique, but also one that can be a catalyst for social change.

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See also Body Politics; Caregiving; Disability; Feminist Bioethics; Women's Health Movements

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Féministes Révolutionnaires

Féministes révolutionnaires was a radical feminist group committed to the disruption of patriarchy. The loosely knit assemblage was founded in 1970 in France by members of *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* (MLF), most notably Monique Wittig and Simon de Beauvoir, both of whom later collaborated with Christine Delphy on the journal *Questions feminists.*

It is difficult to define *Féministes révolutionnaires* because members were completely against any form of hierarchy. They resisted designating individual leaders with representative goals. Actually, *Féministes révolutionnaires* is referred to as *féministes non-alignées* because it is difficult to pin the movement to any one philosophy or cause.

Launched in the context of student and worker turbulence in 1969, socialist women became discouraged by male members' unwillingness to share power; thus the battle cry, *"Les hommes discourent, les femmes nettoient!"* (Men discuss, women clean!). Although influenced by feminists in the United States, *Féministes révolutionnaires* differed from mere "reformist" groups whose major concerns were the rights and roles of women in society.

Indeed, members believed in revolution from the current system of phallocracy—a societal structure rewarding those possessing a penis—a notion similar to meritocracy, such that perceived merit is the means to gain privilege, or aristocracy whereby a person inherits power by parentage.

To bring feminist issues to the fore, members of *Féministes révolutionnaires* organized events to attract media attention. Their most famous exploit was placing a wreath at the Arc de Triomphe at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier with a banner that read, *"Il y a plus inconnu encore que le soldat: sa femme!" (There is one more unknown than the soldier: his wife!).* The exhibit was immediately dispersed by police. However, the incident made national headlines, and the faction's grievances became known to the general public for the first time.

In 1971, to assert women's rights to contraception and abortion, two popular publications printed the *Manifeste des 343.* The manifesto was signed by some members of *Féministes révolutionnaires,* including Simone de Beauvoir, testifying that they had had abortions. Abortion was illegal and such women risked arrest, so this act induced a great deal of national interest.

Féministes révolutionnaires eventually disbanded about 1979, but not before Wittig broke from the assembly because of perceived resistance to lesbian issues. Despite the group's break-up, one can gauge their influence by the overall diffusion of feminist ideas in the French media as leading to broad receptivity to MLF issues by ordinary French citizens and consequent legalization of contraception and abortion.

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See also de Beauvoir, Simone; Lesbian Separatism; Materialist Feminism; Patriarchy; Phallocentrism

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FEMINIST ETHNOGRAPHY

Feminist ethnography is a research methodology, a theory about how research should proceed. Its principal method is observational research conducted over time and motivated by a commitment to women. Social scientists use feminist ethnography to uncover how gender operates within different societies.

Beyond this common pursuit and commitment, a wide range of interpretations of feminist ethnography exists. To understand this, one must look at the historical development of ethnography in general and of feminist ethnography in particular and trace the debates about whether a feminist ethnography is possible. Broadly, since the 1970s a shift has occurred from seeing feminist ethnography as on-the-ground research by, about, and for women to understanding it as diverse written constructions of gendered experiences. What emerges is not a single feminist ethnography but many different versions, as described in this entry.

Defining Ethnography

The ethnographic method originated in anthropology in the mid-19th century and developed into its most characteristic form during the 20th century, when sociologists joined anthropologists in adopting it. Essentially, ethnography involves immersion in a social context with the purpose of collecting, and then recounting in an intelligible way, descriptive data concerning the world of the people being studied. Ethnography is a relational experience, and fieldworkers aim to understand the social setting from the perspective of those with whom they spend time. The method of data collection is often called "participant observation": The researcher observes the life of the group under investigation by participating in it. In the process, the researcher comes to understand the group's underlying beliefs and assumptions and must negotiate a position as both outsider and insider. The term *ethnography* refers to both *process* (the act of doing research) and *product* (the written account of the research that is produced when fieldwork is complete). Anthropologists have generally carried out ethnographic research in non-Western settings, and sociologists have adopted the method for use in the West. Subsequently, other subject areas including nursing studies, geography, communication studies, and religious studies have embraced ethnographic methods. Ethnography has also diversified, with contemporary forms including cyber-ethnography, photographic ethnography, and the autobiographical form autoethnography.

Overview

Notwithstanding some antecedents, feminist ethnographic research originates principally from the contributions of the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In anthropology, feminist ethnography operates both as a new area of research and as a critique of the discipline's tendency to exclude women from field analyses or to present them in reductive ways. Feminist ethnography is part of the larger challenge that feminism posed to positivist social research, in which researchers approach the setting logically, objectively, and with predetermined criteria for measurement. Feminists instead tended to advocate analyses that were detailed, flexible, and subjective, arguing that they would be more conducive to representing women's experiences in a patriarchal society.

In its earlier days, feminist ethnography was chiefly concerned with women. Like other feminist research, feminist ethnography was about, by, and for women. It involved giving voice to marginalized women whose experiences had rarely been represented or understood. In this way, feminist academic ethnographers saw themselves as giving a voice to the voiceless. The critical focus on gender that most feminist ethnographers took involved questioning commonsense assumptions about men and women, masculinity and femininity. If, as social science contended, gender was socially constructed, the task of ethnography was to discover exactly how this construction took place in different social contexts. With this critical focus, a more general concern with gender rather than just women arose: The construction of gender identities and relations in the field became important questions. As the interdisciplinary field of men's studies developed during the 1980s and 1990s, feminist ethnographers began to study men and masculinity. Often these investigations were attentive to issues of gendered power: By "studying up"—the term for research on more powerful men—researchers could find out how power dynamics operated. More recently, the postmodern turn in the field of feminist ethnography has resulted in the questioning of many earlier assumptions. The focus of ethnographies has turned to narrative, deconstruction, and representation. The earlier interest in discovering the authentic gendered experiences of men and women as they are materially and economically structured has been replaced by attention to diversity, representation, and the symbolic realm.

Early Feminist Ethnography

The behavior of a group under investigation toward the researcher reveals much about that group's approach to gender. Many ethnographers, predominantly feminists, have written about how the researcher's gender informs the way they participate in and analyze the field they are studying. Several key themes emerge in the literature. First, women researchers are more able to form fruitful relations with women group members (particularly in gender-segregated settings) and develop fuller understandings of women's experiences. Second, women researchers are less likely to be seen as authoritative academics; they may thus face less opposition because their research does not appear particularly threatening. Third, group members often assign women researchers "fictive kin" roles, for example as honorary daughters (notably in family-centered cultures). Fourth, married and unmarried female researchers may have different research experiences. Marriage often signifies adulthood, affording the researcher respect and her husband's help in reporting details of male-only settings. Conversely, being unmarried signifies immaturity (though less often in Western cultures), attracting fascination and attempts to find the researcher a male partner. Single female researchers may also be treated as honorary males.

Researchers' bodies and physical appearance can shape their field experiences, and ethnographers have been alert to the need to dress in a manner that is acceptable to informants. Researchers less often discuss how such variables as ethnicity, class, sexuality, and religion also contribute to ethnographers' gendered experiences. In the case of sexuality, for example, female embodiment may mark the researcher as sexually available, and she may be subject to sexual advances from informants. Dealing with sexuality (how to present themselves, how to negotiate others' interpretations, and how to negotiate sexual relationships) is a challenging issue for ethnographers.

The issue of power has been central to feminist ethnography. Such ethnographers analyze the way structures of power routinely position participants as subordinate or more primitive than the all-knowing Western expert. The early history of ethnography was linked to a colonial project concerned with knowing, and thus being better able to control, the "other." Feminist ethnographers pointed out that this division between researcher and subject is often gendered,

with the male researcher associated with knowledge and rationality and the non-Western or non-male subject associated instead with emotion and the body. Establishing equality between participants and researchers was a fundamental strategy of feminist ethnographers, who tried to work toward intimacy, dialogue, and mutual self-disclosure in their relationships with research participants. Reciprocity became a vital element of feminist ethnography and was considered valuable in itself, not simply as a means to elicit information from informants.

Feminists also seized on the political potential of ethnography. They hoped that their research could expose women's oppression and highlight the need for political changes in particular areas. Indeed, feminist ethnographers, especially in developing countries, have often worked alongside those promoting policy and development initiatives, for example with non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Challenges to Early Feminist Ethnography

Feminist ethnography's claims have been challenged, especially since the 1980s. One strand of this critique came from women of color who began asking whether the ethnographic methods propagated primarily by privileged white women could really uncover and represent adequately the voices of non-white women without falling back on racist assumptions. Further skepticism came from the sociologist Judith Stacey, who in 1988 published the essay "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?" Drawing on critiques by post-structuralist ethnographers, Stacey argues that mutuality and friendship between participants and researchers may increase the harm experienced by participants who open their lives to the researcher more than in less relational research. Participants may reveal personal information they later regret sharing. The researcher, rather than her informants, controls how participants' lives are represented. Participants may feel exploited, betrayed, and abandoned when the researcher, always freer to leave than the researched, departs.

A parallel crisis in the wider field of ethnography also occurred in the 1980s. A group of (mainly male) theorists influenced by postmodernism began questioning the realist assumptions of earlier ethnographers. Ethnography, they argued, is always a construction. Ethnographic accounts are written documents, textual constructions; as such, they construct, rather than

represent, the social world. The ethnographer chooses from multiple possibilities how to observe the social setting and how to write the ethnographic account, and readers then construct their own readings of the work that is produced. Because ethnographic writing cannot claim to reveal truth, it may be more ethical to be polyphonic, allowing many different voices to speak, and rejecting attempts at unifying explanations. Such postmodern critiques advocate innovative styles of writing, including poetry, photography, diary entries and letters; linear narratives are eschewed.

Although feminist ethnography predates this "new" or postmodern ethnography, some of the contributions it offers are similar, notably the call for ethical scrutiny of the ethnographic enterprise and researcher reflexivity. Yet the feminist response to postmodern ethnography is mixed. Some consider feminism and postmodernism mutually necessary to developing an ethical ethnography that attends to differences (for example, of class, geography, ethnicity, or religion) among women and men. Postmodern feminist ethnography can deconstruct dominant discourses, revealing hidden assumptions. Participants and researcher can collaboratively produce analyses, allowing the multiple perspectives encountered in the field to be presented. But others are wary that postmodern ethnographic accounts are less accessible to readers. Also, rejecting an earlier focus on women's authentic voices can deny the women featured in the texts the agency they would have gained by being represented in more conventional feminist ethnographic writing.

The feminist and postmodern turns in ethnography are connected to differences and developments in epistemology (theories of knowledge). Feminist discussions about epistemology have paralleled the debates on ethnography. As such, they should be considered in tandem because the process and product of ethnography will inevitably be affected by the epistemology of those in the field, especially the researcher.

Conclusion

Today, feminist ethnographers benefit from this developing history. Many attempt to combine the best of these approaches, trying to do ethnography that is reflexive, alert to power differences between researchers and informants, and recognizes diversity among and between men and women. In representing and constructing the lives of their participants, feminist ethnographers try to move beyond the

dichotomies of victimhood or agency, recognizing that choice and constraint are intertwined in women's lives. They try also to incorporate the material and the symbolic realms and to acknowledge accounts as partial, yet valuable in uncovering the complex ways in which women—and men—make sense of their gendered lives.

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See also Feminist Methodology; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism; Postmodern Feminism; Standpoint Theory

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FEMINIST MAGAZINES

Feminist magazines, which materialized specifically in the 1970s, are associated with a period in history when women and other marginalized groups sought to change how society thought about and constructed personal relationships. Addressing issues concerned with women's personal and social lives, feminist magazines did not undermine popular magazines as much as they provided an additional and alternative space in which issues such as divorce, marital violence, employment, and child rearing could be discussed alongside other concerns. Feminist magazines represent an important intervention in the sphere of media production, allowing many women for the first time to discuss mutual concerns outside the control of popular-media determination.

From the mid-1960s, women's liberation, and then the lesbian and gay liberation movements, heralded the beginnings of a sea change in the understanding of the spheres of the personal and the political in both America and Britain. This turnaround was particularly apparent in the magazine industry that, until 1972, was dominated by popular commercial output. Before the emergence of magazines that directly addressed issues pertaining to feminist and women's liberation, popular magazines for women were produced and consumed in a society still pledged, albeit problematically and precariously, to patriarchy, middle-class norms, and fairly rigid racial and gender-sex divisions.

Much of the cultural incongruity of the late 1960s was brought about by groups involved in civil rights, sexual politics, and gay liberation. These activist spheres challenged traditional values, particularly notions of femininity, masculinity, and hegemonic heterosexuality. The issues being raised by the ongoing sexual-gender politics and activist campaigns, which had previously not been addressed in popular media, became a major feature of the new media output and, more specifically, feminist magazines.

The strained and conflicting dialogues of the 1960s and 1970s between traditional values and identity politics problematized theories of gender, identity, and sexuality. Until the early 1960s, images and representations in popular magazines aimed at women positioned women in relation to the home and domesticity, the family, heterosexual romance, marriage, and beauty. The content of magazines such as *Family Circle* and *Woman's Own* reinforced an ideology that promoted consumerism, sexual morality, and traditional gender separations. In magazines published before the early 1960s, conjugal role relations were depicted in ways that secured male rather than female hegemony. Women were expected to stay in the kitchen or do house cleaning, and men were encouraged to find secure careers and much greater degrees of independence. The dominant view depicted men in the public sphere, and the private sphere remained the domain of women.

However, during the 1960s, activist organizations such as the women's liberation movement appealed to women by looking beyond literary, artistic, and academic circles. This allowed feminists and campaigners to mobilize a much broader activist response to the oppressions that women continued to endure in both public and private spaces. One of the most accessible ways of addressing women's concerns about issues

such as divorce, domestic violence, employment discrimination, and rape was via magazines.

Spare Rib, first published in Britain in 1972 on the basis of meetings that involved feminists Rosie Boycott and Marsha Rowe, along with *Ms.,* also first published in 1972 and founded in America by Gloria Steinem, were publications that served a feminist agenda. Using a language and formats that attempted to de-objectify women, these magazines nonetheless addressed a broad range of everyday social anxieties. The publications deployed similar formats and editorial features but differed from mainstream commercial output of the time. *Cosmopolitan* and *Nova* did not seriously challenge the gendered nature of social structures, and representations of women in popular media ignored feminist critiques. Long-standing magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Family Circle,* although highlighting the importance of mutuality and the sharing of roles, continued to reinforce the gendered nature of women's domestic responsibility within the family. Feminist magazines importantly questioned such output and in doing so, critically questioned received notions of beauty, romance, and domestic life.

Feminists in the early part of the 20th century campaigned for the right to vote and for changes in laws governing matrimony and contraception, whereas feminists from the 1960s ensured that the personal, social, and political spheres were seen in relation to each other. The media was important in bringing this to women readers and audiences. Women from diverse spheres of social life now had magazines that offered links to a world beyond the confines of domestic responsibility and that provided a forum for discussing wider politics and for exploring sexuality and desire.

Spare Rib and *Ms.,* alongside more recent output (e.g., *Diva, Lesbian News*) have become vehicles for the dissemination of a wide range of concerns raised by and for women themselves. Earlier feminist output sought to distance itself from the glossy and stylized publications of the popular market, offering a critique of the domain occupied by popular output, but more recent magazines have incorporated the legacies of third-wave feminism into their formal construction and message.

The rationale underpinning *Spare Rib* and second-wave feminist books and journals in general is summarized in the rallying cry, "The personal is political." This slogan had important consequences to the extent that early feminist magazines moved away from an exclusive interest in the private spheres to one that allowed women and groups to narrate their own stories and to begin to construct new narratives of women's hidden histories.

Since its inception, *Spare Rib* constructed a critical feminist analysis of sexual oppression and gender inequality, without essentializing women's identities and without imagining a singular feminist discourse. Although some popular magazines essentialized women's sexual pleasures and desires in relation to patriarchal constructions, *Spare Rib* and other magazines addressed and explored women's pleasures in ways that challenged and subverted the objectification and fetishization of femininity in popular culture. In the early years of the 21st century, feminist magazines and publications are much more specific in their focuses and aims, tending to be more identity based yet still addressing the broader parameters of a feminist trajectory but that is now alert to the differences and dimensions of first-, second-, and third-wave agendas.

Tony Purvis and Gareth Longstaff

See also Diaries; Feminist Methodology; Gender Identities and Socialization; Media and Gender Socialization; National Organization for Women (NOW); Women's Social Movements, History of

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Feminist Methodology

As modern feminist sensibilities expanded beyond the second-wave feminist social movement of the 1970s, social critics and academics could hardly ignore feminism as an intellectual enterprise. Today, feminist theory and research is a central project of most traditional academic disciplines and interdisciplinary settings such as women's and gender studies departments and programs. Initially, many feminist scholars struggled with marginalization within the academy, often

fighting for recognition of their own research, as well as of the theoretical innovations and methodological critiques that continue to define feminist scholarship as historically unique and socially relevant. Primarily developed by second-wave feminist scholars, feminist methodology is an approach to collecting information, analyzing data and conducting research that analyzes traditional or patriarchal understanding of how knowledge is produced and subsequently accepted as legitimate by peers in the academy, feminist activists, policymakers, and the general public.

The challenge for academic feminists was and continues to be to generate a research methodology that does not replicate the same epistemological and ontological problems that have contributed to forms of oppression based on gender or other marginalized statuses. The development of feminist methodology has benefited in part from the rise of non-positivist theoretical paradigms and the increasing acceptance and popularity of interpretive and critical perspectives in the humanities, social and behavioral sciences, health sciences and nursing, and education. This entry describes feminist methodology and research, approaches, standards, and issues.

Feminist Methodology and Feminist Research

Some of the core issues that have influenced the development of feminist methodology include the use and application of specific research approaches; qualitative versus quantitative hierarchies; bias and believability; objectivity and subjectivity; the impact of new approaches in terms of representation (modern and postmodern influences); voice, text, and ethics; and disciplinary versus interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary distinctions.

Feminist methodology, like feminist theory, has developed through three stages: (1) the study of sex differences and biological factors to defend or to support differential experience or inequality based on gender; (2) the study of gender as social construction, to understand the production of inequality through socialization within and through social structures and to challenge understandings of gender as an individual experience; and (3) research that locates gender at the center of inquiry for all social systems and representational forms, be they social institutions, cultural practices, or language and linguistic conventions.

One of the first questions that feminist researchers raised regarded the use and application of specific research methods. Sandra Harding makes a compelling argument about methods in her essay, "Is There a Feminist Method?" She argues that methods are simply tools or techniques for collecting information (data or evidence). Examples of methods include surveys, interviews, experiments, text analyses, and observation. Although any one tool in itself is not feminist, what makes the approach to gathering information feminist is one's ontology or epistemology and, thus, one's methodology. When gathering information or evidence for a purpose, an epistemology helps determine what is considered legitimate or authentic knowledge, who can gather information, how it can be obtained, and from whom. One catalyst in the development of feminist methodological approaches was a recognition of the need to enable groups that had traditionally been primarily the object of study by others or excluded from the research process altogether or from participating in their own research. Such methodological commitments guide the application and analysis of research methods.

Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

Feminist knowledge production emerged in response to Enlightenment thought in which scientific inquiry became the dominant approach for explaining, understanding, and predicting both the natural and social world. Based on the tenets of rationality, reason, and objectivity, scientific inquiry evolved as an alternative to traditional perspectives and power structures. Rather than relying on philosophical and religious forms of knowledge, the scientific approach relies on empirical evidence to support causal claims. Known as positivism and objectivism, these perspectives assert the existence of universal truths and structures that are knowable. As this approach became more rationalized, quantification, or assigning numerical values to abstract concepts for measurement purposes, became the norm rather than one approach. As quantitative research became dominant, competing perspectives that questioned objectivity (that a researcher can engage in inquiry without influencing the subject of study), the ability to quantify complex concepts, and the practices of research (defining who can be knowers and participants of inquiry) arose.

This perspective, commonly known as relativism, rejects the notion of universal truths and holds that knowledge is constructed and affected by both the material conditions of the world and the positionality (gender, race, class, sexuality) of the researcher. Feminist researchers in particular privileged rather than disparaged positionality as a source of data. As feminist methodology emerged, many scholars promoted qualitative approaches, in which data collection and analysis are based on the words and actions of people using a narrative or descriptive perspective and representing participants' subjective experience of social situations. Recently, scholars such as Ann Oakley have suggested that the debates surrounding these approaches are gendered in themselves (with quantitative seen as masculine and qualitative as feminine) and that researchers should use the best method and methodology to answer the research question posed. The processes of qualification and quantification are intertwined for presenting a complex picture of social reality and the generalizable claims about social phenomena as regularly occurring structural events or circumstances.

Feminist Politics and Research Ethics

Feminist methodology has been concerned with the ethics of doing social research, especially in calling for self-reflexivity and discretion in managing the ethical aspects of the research process rather than simply adhering to preestablished codes of conduct.

Feminist methodologists have analyzed "value free" objectivity, examined power relationships between the researcher and the population studied, and promoted an intimacy based on an ethics of care in relationships between the researcher and researched. Methodologists often classify research ethics into several models that are based on philosophical tenets: deontological ethics, in which ethics are based on universal principles of truth and justice; utilitarian ethics, in which the appropriateness of research is evaluated according to the results' potential to promote the common good; context or situational ethics, which emphasizes the researcher's internalized moral values and skills in negotiating and evaluating the research situation; and an ethics of care and responsibility, which emphasizes care and responsibility for research participants along with social justice. Carol Gilligan provides a foundation for a feminist ethics of care through her argument that

women and girls operate under different ethics than those usually described by developmental stage theorists. A feminist ethics of care involves personal experience, context, and nurturing relationships. The positionality of the researcher thus influences the dilemmas of the research process and the manner in which feminist researchers address these issues with the population studied.

Many feminist scholars question knowledge and truth claims that are based on positivist and Eurocentric ethics. These arguments assert the primacy of lived experience, the value of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims, and an ethic of personal accountability. An issue in both the ethics of care and context/situational ethics is the potential for experience-based knowledge to supersede or negate neutrality and impartiality. However, feminist methodology prioritizes achieving the best outcomes for the researcher and the study population; feminist researchers use these outcomes to evaluate the research. Critics of this position assert that ethics of care may obscure differences between the interests and positionalities of the researcher and the researched.

Bias and Objectivity

As it challenges perspectives based on more formalized and philosophical ethical codes, feminist methodology also advances discussion of ethical issues that concern the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Long-standing practices maintain distance between those who gathered and analyzed data and those who provided their embodied experience as information. Early feminist researchers questioned the value-free and objective stances that privileged this subject-object relation. Calling for more egalitarian relationships within the research process, feminist researchers believe that this approach could diminish or even eliminate power inequality produced in the collection and dissemination of research. In addition, feminist methodology calls on researchers to be more reflexive about their own role in the research agenda and to actively address the inclusion of participants in the design, administration, and dissemination of research. However, participants do not often share this level of self-reflexivity. Their ability to have an "equal" power relationship with researchers may be impossible or, at the least, a problem for all involved in the research

process. These questions represent an area of active negotiation in the field.

Subjectivity and Insider/Outsider Status

Feminists have also challenged issues of objectivity and bias with claims that issues of race/ethnicity, sexuality, disability, and class are as important to data collection and analysis as are issues of gender. Feminists from marginalized groups claimed that their positionality allowed them to better understand the marginalized populations they wanted to research. However, as researchers and members of researched categories, this positionality also creates a problem: Researchers become separated both from their researcher peers and from the very populations they strive to represent. As a result, feminist methodology began to acknowledge and question the traditional "outsider position" that empirical and positivist traditions demanded; feminist methodologists also realized that the "insider" statuses that interpretative and critical approaches advocated did not necessarily result in either better understanding or diminished power differentials.

As feminist researchers challenged conventional understandings of objectivity and bias, they also questioned tools or means to assess research. One concern was validity, the ability of data measures to genuinely capture the concept being questioned. Another was reliability, which refers to whether a study's results will be repeated if the study is replicated. As counter-Enlightenment perspectives, such as interpretative and postmodern critiques of universalizing truth claims have gained influence, standards of the trustworthiness of credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependency (reliability), and confirmability (objectivity) have become even more important. These challenges to traditional positivist science advance feminist methodology in that they deconstruct or question concepts that institutions have adopted to maintain structural and interpersonal oppression. However, the lack of consensus on evaluation standards may also assist in obscuring oppression and limiting the potential for collective action.

Conclusion

Feminist research ranges from projects by self-identification and those whom others identify as such, research published in feminist journals, and projects funded by feminist-identified organization to any research that problematizes the diversity and construction of women's lives in gendered institutions and material and historical structures. Feminist methodology addresses the manner in which research is conducted and insists on theoretical, action, or policy frameworks that promote gender social justice. Although feminist methodologies have trouble achieving consensus among researchers, the issues uncovered through feminist methodology represent an important step toward social justice.

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See also Postmodern Feminism; Standpoint Theory

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FEMINIST SEX WARS

Sexuality has always been one of the central issues of feminist activism and scholarship. In the 1980s, fierce debates about the representation of sexuality, and pornography in particular, overshadowed other sexuality-related topics. These conflicts are often referred to as the feminist sex wars, the center of which was located in the United States. Feminist voices against pornography are still heard today, most recently in Europe, although with diminished intensity. Pornography remains one of the most hotly debated issues within feminism, one that attracts highly polarized reactions.

Certain aspects of the anti-pornography feminist stance stemmed from the cultural feminism of the 1970s. This stream of feminism praises women's culture, characteristics, and values such as women's bonding, empathy, and care. Conversely, anything connected to the "male principle" is rejected and denied. Sexuality was framed as essentially male and therefore profoundly bad. Within this discourse, male sexuality is singled out as a main source of patriarchy, for example, by Robin Morgan. During the 1970s, sexuality became a forefront feminist issue, although it was reframed in terms of oppression rather than liberation, as had been typical of the 1960s.

These tendencies within feminism congealed into the anti-pornography wing of the movement, where pornography was identified as the primary source of patriarchal domination over women. The main arguments against pornography are that it causes violence against women, constructs woman as a person with subordinate social status, silences women, and thus, constitutes discrimination against women. Based on this reasoning, part of the feminist movement strived for anti-porn legislation.

Modeled on Morgan's famous phrase "pornography is the theory, rape is the practice," anti-porn feminists argue that pornography causes violence against women. Thus, all women are victims of porn, which in this view equals violence, and all men are pictured as filled with pornographic desire for violence because, inevitably, men are brutal by nature, as Susan Griffin notes. According to Laura Lederer, porn was emphasized as not about sex but, rather, about violence and subjugation. Authors such as Diana Russell presented arguments stressing the *causal* link between pornography and violence. Neil Malamuth and Edward Donnerstein state that such assertions are based mostly on the findings of behavioral psychology. Other feminists criticized the mechanistic assumptions behind these claims. These authors highlighted the reductive character of positivist research design, arguing that it simplifies our understanding of the dynamics of pornography's production and consumption. Despite these contestations, the argument connecting porn with violence is still commonly used by feminists today. In these accounts, violence and sex have become inseparably locked together.

According to Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, two leading figures in the feminist anti-porn battle, woman is defined by the objectives of men's desire, whereas pornography is the site of men's power over women. MacKinnon perceives sexuality as a realm of dominance and control, making it a central mechanism for producing gender inequality. In her account, the essence of sexuality is quintessentially revealed in pornography: hierarchy, power, violence. To be a woman in a world governed by porn means pain, degradation, and humiliation. In short, to be a woman means to be oppressed like one. Forming a circular argument, pornography is both cause and expression of the oppression of women. This conception of woman is contrary to the cultural feminist version, which places woman and everything feminine on a pedestal. However, anti-pornography feminism shares with its cultural-feminist predecessor a rejection of sexuality as negative. For the former, sexuality is the core mechanism of dominance of men over women, and for the latter, sexuality falls within an oppressive male principle.

Many feminists opposed such a simplification of both sexuality and femininity. Carol Vance pointed out the twofold character of sexuality as both a realm of restriction and danger as well as a realm of agency and pleasure for women. Ann Snitow and colleagues

criticized the highly contentious appeals to morality, coupling femininity once again with endangered purity and positing women as "both culture's victims and its moral guardians," and thus reinforcing rather than subverting the conventional gender binary. These writers explored the complex political nature of the intersection of sexuality with race, class, and ethnicity, in both theoretical and activist modes.

Sexuality and gender are interconnected in multiple ways. MacKinnon, however, simply states that gender is sexual and that the meaning of this sexuality is constituted by pornography. In her account, gender is conflated with sexuality to the point of analytical obliteration. This underscores sexuality as a criterion fully constituting gender, and gender then fully constitutes a person and her status. Using this double step, MacKinnon reduces other status-founding and identificatory criteria into insignificance. Woman thus becomes a universal and ahistorical category. In this manner, the anti-pornography approach produces a feminist theory of gender that shows residual essentialism.

The anti-porn reduction of sexuality to the power of men over women is based on a heterosexualization of all sexuality. MacKinnon believes that sexual hierarchy produces gender as a stable category. If the paradigmatic metaphor for the production of gender is pornography, and gender comes out of pornography as a rigid binary, it becomes clear that sexuality in this account equals heterosexuality. MacKinnon strives to analyze a society that is profoundly structured by masculine domination and gets trapped in it herself when she articulates social relations exactly in terms of the dominant perspective, according to which men define women as sexual beings. Ironically, MacKinnon's theory effectively reproduces the dominant discourse. Where other feminists such as Judith Butler cogently theorized gender as a normative institution regulating sexuality (especially sexuality challenging the normative borders of gender) and questioned the supposed coherence of sex, gender, and desire, MacKinnon presented a snapshot of gender causally given by (hetero)sexuality, thus congruous with it, and therefore fundamentally unchangeable.

Typical of both cultural and anti-pornography feminism is their binary conception of gender. Conversely, a major dividing line is their valuation of womanhood. Although cultural feminism mostly glorifies women, there is no positive appraisal of women in anti-porn feminism. In the anti-pornography narrative, women are cast only in one role—the role of victims. Whereas MacKinnon grounds femininity in pornographic oppression, Wendy Brown attacks this definition because it grounds political subjectivity in the status of injury. Thus, a political identity rooted in victimhood must be maintained for the sake of the subject's existence.

Anti-pornography feminists claim that pornography inevitably and without exception silences women. Pornography is, according to Griffin, full of images of women gagged, women silenced; women are not expressing themselves but words are being put into their mouths. Dworkin targeted pornography as a crucial avenue for the male power of naming; she describes a system in which agency lies in the hands of men while women are left silent. This silencing and harm constitute discrimination against women, and therefore its cause, pornography, should be legally treated as such, according to MacKinnon. Anti-porn feminists such as MacKinnon and Dworkin rallied for legal action with the ultimate aim of redefining pornography as the degradation and dehumanization of women. Other feminists opposed such efforts, pointing to their censoring nature and claiming that in the end it is censorship, not pornography, that hurts women. Nadine Strossen notes that the harm done to women is corollary to the suppression of sexual expression that has traditionally been denied women. Anti-censorship feminism's claims ultimately proved their point. After a Canadian court decision against pornography, praised by MacKinnon as a victory for women, criminal charges were brought against a Toronto-based gay and lesbian bookstore for selling a lesbian erotic magazine. As Brenda Cossman describes, the magazine was outlawed according to the new legal interpretation, and with it, the social existence of sexual others.

The argument that pornography silences women can be disclaimed on two levels. On the first, anti-porn feminists' action, organizing, lobbying for new legislation, in other words, *speaking,* contradict their own argument that silencing is the only and inescapable result of pornography. On the second level, the legal restriction of pornography proposed by feminists proved, ironically, to actually silence women, particularly those who challenged the expected sex-gender-desire coherence. By accenting the legal way, the state's scrutiny over alternative sexualities and marginalized identities was strengthened.

The feminist sex wars thus often resulted in reduction to dichotomies: sexuality was placed in the categories of pleasure versus danger, victimization versus liberation—all of which reduced power to a negative and divided the feminist movement into two opposing camps. More nuanced critiques of representations of sexuality, however, gave rise to a refinement of conceptualizations of gender and sexuality along with a rethinking of feminist agency and empowerment.

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See also Media and Gender Stereotypes; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream

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FEMINIZATION OF LABOR

The *feminization of labor* refers to the increasing integration of women into the wage labor market as a result of industrialization and globalization processes. The rise of the United States as an industrial power in the 20th century marked the increase in the demand for female workers into the wage labor force. The shift in the U.S. economy from agriculture to manufacturing to service has had a significant impact on labor demands and, in particular, on notions of women's labor. Perhaps one of the most important social and economic developments of the 20th century in the United States and abroad is the remarkable increase of women in the labor force. Women's participation remains important in today's global economy, as described in this entry.

Separate Spheres and Women's Work

The notion of separate spheres dominated 19th- and 20th-century thinking about gender roles and perpetuated beliefs in intrinsic differences between women and men and in the inferiority of women to men. Patriarchal family relations that focus on women's subordination to men and essentialist notions that women are naturally suited as care providers for the family made it much easier to exploit the labor of women inside and outside the home. The development of the "cult of womanhood" in the 20th century glorified women as mothers and nurturers and only exacerbated the devaluation of women's labor. Consequently, labor markets have been framed around the notion of separate spheres contributing to the gendering of work in the 20th century. Justifications of lower pay for women's work and assumptions about women's place in the home and the need for part-time or flexible work have put women at a distinct disadvantage in the paid labor market. Race and class further inform these gendered experiences. Not all women's experiences are the same: Just as gender ideologies are summoned to favor men over women, racial and ethnic ideologies are used to disadvantage groups and maximize profits by devaluing labor.

The Feminization of Labor in the United States

With the growth of U.S. industrialization in the 20th century, women's labor force participation increased

remarkably, thus challenging the ideology of separate spheres. Regardless, gendered expectations of work remained. Industries such as textile manufacturing became predominantly female, whereas metal and steel industries primarily employed men. As Julia Blackwelder and others have described, technology is *gender-laden.* Stereotypical notions of women being good at "detail" work, or having "nimble fingers" better suited for textile and clerical work, contributed to, and in many ways cemented, occupational segregation. Women's work was regarded as less skilled, and consequently, of less value, and, more importantly, as only needed to supplement family income.

During World War II, women flocked to occupations that were previously inaccessible to them. Despite women needing employment to survive, rather than "pin money" to supplement family income, the wage gap remained. War-end layoffs and occupational demotions for women were significant. Nevertheless, the war's impact on the acceleration of the feminization of labor in the United States was far-reaching.

As the economy shifted from a blue-collar to a white-collar economy—that is, from manufacturing-based to service-based economies—women's labor force participation grew at rates greater than men's. Much of the growth of women's labor force participation took place in female-dominated "pink-collar" industries, rather than breaking occupational segregation barriers.

By late 20th century, U.S. women began entering occupations to which they had previously been denied access. Yet parallel to women's entry into new occupational terrain was the remarkable growth in low-wage service work—labor in which women are overrepresented. The economic restructuring of the global economy of the late 20th century into the 21st century has significantly affected the feminization of labor across the globe.

The Feminization of Globalization

With increased economic globalization, women have been incorporated into the global economy as a source of cheap labor. Transnational corporations operating under free trade agreements have outsourced production to developing regions of the globe where women are overrepresented in low-paying, labor-intensive, economically insecure jobs. In many respects, the global economy is maintained by gendered labor that is waged and unwaged and that occurs outside and inside the home. Globally, the service sector provides the majority of female jobs: Of employed women in 2007, almost half are in the service sector. Furthermore, in 2007, the International Labor Office considers about half of employed women to be vulnerably employed—working under relatively precarious circumstances. Increasingly, the feminization of the global labor market reflects the influx of women into low-paying jobs as well as the changing quality of employment generally. What was once characterized as women's work (low-paying, "flexible," part-time, and precarious labor) increasingly describes the quality of labor for both women and men today in the global economy.

A corollary of the feminization of labor has been the feminization of poverty, a situation in which women represent an increasing proportion of the poor in both the developed and developing worlds. Though women's labor force participation has increased substantially, their participation in the labor market has not been accompanied by a reduction in expectations regarding child care and household responsibilities. Women's work, therefore, has a greater likelihood of a double bind: Women confront low-paying, vulnerable labor market participation while having to meet the demands of familial labor. In many ways, the feminization of globalization has exacerbated existing inequalities between men and women.

Conclusion

Although globalization processes and the feminization of labor have had devastating economic consequences for women, these processes have significant implications for mobilization and activism as a new base of working women forms across the globe. The processes of globalization have indeed created a new constituency of workers empowered and bolstered by global women's rights movements and international gatherings such as the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace of the Fourth World Conference on Women* held in 1995. The growth of a global women's movement that focuses on the feminization of poverty brought on by economic globalization, and the inequalities and struggles of women across the globe provides a response to globalization processes that further the immiseration of women globally; nonetheless, many are optimistic that mobilization against these trends is continuing to strengthen.

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See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Feminization of Migration; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Occupational Segregation

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Feminization of Migration

The term *feminization of migration* is often loosely associated with the increase in the number of women migrating. However, the term was originally coined in the 1980s by economist Guy Standing to describe a much more complex process. Standing argued that the increasing globalization of production and the pursuit of flexible labor forces to increase competitiveness favored the feminization of employment in terms of the increased numbers of women in the labor force and the deterioration of work conditions for these workers. The actual increase in women migrating should be reviewed carefully, because even with the increase, the percentage of women migrating is just under 50 percent of the total population of migrants. In addition, the proportion of men and women migrants changes drastically from country to country. The significant changes in women's migratory patterns are not in the numbers of women migrating per se, but in the reasons for migration, the newer roles women have been taking as migrants, and the cumulative effects these demographic shifts have on the local and global economy. The globalization of women's traditional role poses important challenges to understanding gender and economic inequality. The feminization of migration is predicted to increase because demand for women migrants is often greater than the demand for men migrants. This entry describes these patterns of change and discusses some of the implications.

Conceptualization

In the 1970s, the typical profile for a migrant was that of a male breadwinner. Since the 1980s, an increasing number of women have become migrants. Women, however, have always been present in migratory processes, often as spouses, daughters, or dependents of male migrants. Women are now migrating independently for economic opportunities.

The feminization of migration has produced specifically female forms of migration. Some immigration and human rights organizations argue that the feminization of migration is the result of an economic crisis in the agricultural sector, which has led to increased obstacles to men's ability to maintain their status as head of household and primary breadwinner. Male unemployment and high rates of female head of household have forced women to seek alternative sources of income, of which migration seems to be the most lucrative and sustainable. Immigration trends show huge numbers of women migrating over long distances. Female migrants have accounted for a larger percentage of migrants in developing countries than in the industrialized world.

The feminization of migration has produced gender-typed forms of migration, particularly in terms of domestic workers and caregivers, performed either in private homes or institutionalized settings such as hospitals or nursing homes; trafficking of women for the sex industry; and the organized migration of women for marriage. The migration of women predominantly for these forms of work includes both legal and illegal migration, as well as voluntary and forced migration.

Gender and Migration

Gender is an important component in understanding the process of migration. Gender shapes the migration process directly in that it influences the division of labor and the structure of the family as a whole. Migration and immigration patterns are shaped by gender roles and gender socialization, both universally and more particularly to regions, cultures, and both

men and women migrants. This gender socialization is influenced by economic, political, social, and cultural factors. The global demand for migrant labor presently prioritizes women's specific skills and traditional roles. This has shifted local, national, global, and transnational associations of gender norms, gender socialization, and gender roles.

Gender plays a significant role in the construction of work made available to migrant workers. Demands for low-paid migrant workers continue, but often in types of jobs that afford a great deal of control over workers, in gender-typed professions that are typically undesirable, unregulated, and underpaid. Despite this, the current migration of women combines aspects of traditional male immigration, in that it is largely autonomous, without dependent family members. In addition, the most recent migration of women is for primarily economic purposes. Migrating women play a crucial role in the creation and maintenance of migratory networks that have implications for both the home and host countries. Demographic, economic, gender, and security differences are sometimes linked to networks. These networks have been shaped by four major revolutions: global economic integration, communications, transportation, and human rights. Increasingly, women are not "latecomers" in migratory practices, but the principle actors, breadwinners, in migratory movement. This challenges older assumptions about immigration worldwide as well as forces a reexamination of gendered expectations and actual gendered behavior. A gendered perspective on immigration is becoming more common as acknowledgement of the changes in migratory patterns increases.

Changes in the Migration Process

The number of countries affected by migration is much larger than ever before, involving most of the world in the web of migration. Migration from poorer to richer countries has increased significantly. Economic differences between nation-states are widening, increasing the motivation for economically motivated migration. By February 2007, 191 million people around the world, which is roughly 3 percent of the world's population, were living in a country different from the one in which they were born. An estimated 15 to 20 percent of the world's immigrants, roughly 30 million people, are unauthorized.

The two primary means of analyzing immigrant women's and men's experiences are the push-pull

effects and the systems approach. The push-pull factors isolate whether immigrants are pushed out of their home country by unfavorable circumstances or pulled toward another country by greater opportunity. The complex factors behind the push to migrate and the pull to a particular locale are shaped by capitalism and trends of globalization. Some of the push factors are overpopulation; political, religious, or social cultural persecution; and economic hardship. The pull factors can specifically include a promise of freedom and individual security, economic opportunity, and present subcultural communities. Attention to differences in the lived experiences of men and women is important when considering the push-pull factors of immigration. The socialization of women as nurturer, mother, wife, and often dependent, but lived experience of the increasing commonality of woman as breadwinner influence what pushes the woman migrant out and what region pulls them in. Additionally, variables such as race, ethnicity, religion, education level, and access to resources also shaped these women's perceptions of what push them out of their home countries and what forces pull them to new regions of the world, whether it be intended for temporary or permanent resettlement.

The systems approach focuses on a multiplicity of social factors that aid in the immigration decision. Variables such as race, ethnicity, religion, social networks, education level, and access to resources also shape these migrants' decision-making processes that bring them to new regions of the world, whether it is intended for temporary or permanent resettlement. Both theories are used across a variety of disciplines and can be helpful in thinking about how immigration and gender are interconnected and how different systems and push and pull factors affect the process of immigration for women.

Globalization, Gender, and Work

The most recent immigration of women is labor oriented, most often with temporary intentions, and independent in that it is not motivated by family reunification; more and more females are emigrating first. More attention has been given to the numbers of women migrants and the global effects of women migrating for labor purposes. The world trade in services and labor favors women's labor migration in contrast to the demands for male manufacturing workers in the early parts of industrialization in the Western world. Women are now more likely to move from one country to another on

their own. However, women's opportunity to migrate legally has been more limited than has that of men in most countries. There are some entrance restrictions for both men and women that involve stipulations for gender-typed work.

Globalization has allowed women to be more on the move than ever before. This movement has led to both exploitation and opportunity. There is a great flow of female labor and energy, which has resulted in three new trends. The first change is the entering of women in the "mobile world" as primary actors, which transforms the masculine landscape of understanding migration. The second is the change of mobilization of the unskilled category, and the third is related to the spatial patterns and the direction of migratory flow, changing the traditional flow from south to north, to a flow that is less linear. The ongoing process of globalization is tied to feminization as a feature of more recent work labor markets. Sexual division of labor outside of the household shapes the roles of family members. Many women who become migrant workers escape violence and or other precarious positions but often find themselves in similar positions in a foreign land.

Many argue that the feminization of migration is a direct consequence of the feminization of poverty, which affects women in the developing world the most. Issues that include the increase of HIV in the developing world have resulted in an increase in women as head of household and increased the extent of their lived poverty. Therefore, many women face the decision of migration solely to support their families.

Feminized Work

The distinction between productive work and reproductive work is important. *Productive work* refers to employment in the formal or informal economy, and *reproductive work* refers to work that is necessary for the functioning of households. Women are often recruited internationally to do reproductive work in other people's homes. This involves tasks of social reproduction of the labor force. This occupation has relatively easy access without prior training required because it usually mirrors household work. In the case of live-in domestic work, housing does not have to be accounted for. The major disadvantage is the lack of labor mobility because domestic work does not provide an avenue for other occupations; it involves long hours, abuse from employers, and instability of

employment because of the unregulated, and often illegal, nature of the work.

Both reproductive and productive work in the host community is almost exclusively carried out by women. The lifestyles of the first world are made possible by a global transfer of the services associated with a wife's traditional role-child care, homemaking, and sex—from poor countries to rich countries. The migration of women from developing nations to do women's work in affluent countries is increasing. A major component of the exploitation of female migrant workers is the legal and illegal recruiters and agents that work in both the home and receiving countries. Restrictive regulations of these practices often drive the work underground, often leading to greater exploitation. The filling of domestic jobs by migrants in the host countries is evidence that despite the advances made in gender equality, the market continues to assign women jobs that maintain and reinforce traditional gender roles, and women's second-class status as paid workers. Domestic work is a site of feminization of migration, as well as part of the reconstruction of social inequalities on a global scale.

A large number of migrants are working in jobs for which they are overqualified. Regardless of their level of education, most women migrants are funneled into domestic work where there is little social status, little social and legal protection, and low pay. Many organizations that specialize in migrants' rights are now focusing attention on policies that aid the increasing number of women migrants, while addressing the lack of male-based work for migrant men.

A component of the feminization of migration is forced migration that primarily encompasses human trafficking of women and children for the sex industry. The United States presently estimates that between 800,000 and 900,000 people are victims of forced migration for purposes of human trafficking each year. Prostitution is the main cause. Recently, this has become understood as a human rights issue. Attention to gender discrimination, income inequality, and the lack of other opportunity are factors that help explain the proliferation of human trafficking in women.

Migration and Family

In both rich and poor countries, fewer families can rely solely on a male breadwinner. Many migrants are forced by economic necessity to leave their families

behind and pave the way for the family's economic betterment. Often migrants who leave their families behind send remittances.

Remittances traditionally refer to money sent home to remaining family members. Remittances play an important role in the global economy. In particular, they have become an important stabilizing economic force for many developing countries.

According to estimates from the World Bank, developing countries received 126 billion American dollars in remittances in 2004. The volume has increased steadily. The women who send remittances are usually described as household providers. Women who move by choice through voluntary migration are estimated to remit less, and usually do so in the form of family investments, such as education. As a result, there has been an increase in education of girls in the developing world. Dependent women contribute the least to remittance flows.

Remittances have also more recently been used as a concept to illustrate the new ideology and behavior that immigrants attain through the socialization of their work in their new home. The social remittances that women migrants send or eventually take home themselves are usually in the form of new skills or applied knowledge. These new skills or applied knowledge often challenge the norms of gender socialization in their home country.

The feminization of migration has also affected the gender roles and familial roles of those left home. For example, United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) reports that 90 percent of Dominican women who migrated to Spain left their households in charge of another woman, most frequently a mother or a sister. Therefore, this affects the family that is left behind in the reassignment of gender roles and gender norms for the family as a unit.

The proliferation of long distance and long-term transnational family ties challenges conventional notions of the family. Many argue that migration transforms, reorients, and reprioritizes family relationships. The situation intensifies as women who are separated from their children often have a strong sense of anguish and feelings of guilt. Migration becomes a decision related to the needs of a family unit. Though women can gain independence through emigration, many of them confront a series of conflicts in their daily lived experiences as well as in their own conception of their futures.

Conclusions: Effects of Feminization of Migration

Feminization of migration has affected all aspects of the world that has been shaped by migration. The effects of feminizing the work of women migrants and the effects of migrating as independents are shaped by cultural variance, yet are not cultural, regional, or religiously specific. The trends shaping feminization of migration affect women across the globe. However, there are some notable distinctions and shifts in the recent migration of women. The feminization of migration has affected more than just the host and home countries and families affiliated with the migrant. Institutions such as health care have also been affected by the trends of a growing number of female migrants. In the Mediterranean, an influx of primarily female migrants has taken many positions involving elderly care. This feminization of migration is interconnected with the change in the care of Southern European regimes.

In Asia, the movement of laborers is becoming an important phenomenon associated with economic growth and development because it eases skill imbalances in labor markets while providing broad cultural and economic benefits for sending and receiving countries. In many developing Asian countries, the transformation from an agricultural to an industry economy and the massive mobilization of women in the workforce points to the importance of a global manufacturing structure. The uneven economic and political development throughout has initiated new migration movements and patterns and led to a creation of transnational spaces and changes in gender relations and power. The feminization of migration greatly alters individuals, groups, such as families and kinship networks, and all the major institutions that shape social life.

Teal Kristen Rothschild

See also Feminization of Labor; Global Care Chain Work; Immigrant Households and Gender Dynamics; Sexual Slavery

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World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org

FEMOCRAT

A contraction of "feminist" and "bureaucrat," the title *femocrat* originated in Australia in 1981 to describe a new generation of feminist policymakers who sought to address feminist concerns about issues such as pay equity, violence against women, and sexual harassment. Though some scholars argue that the conditions that enabled the proliferation of femocrats only exist in Australia and the Scandinavian countries, others maintain that though the term (if not the concept) originated in Australia, it has successfully migrated to a wide range of countries. Either way, the Australian roots of the term call attention to the vibrant feminist movement in Australia throughout the 1970s and 1980s and the significant inroads femocrats made within that state bureaucracy. By the 1980s, hundreds of femocrats worked throughout the Australian government.

The position of a femocrat is often one of tension and contradiction: femocrats must navigate loyalties to feminist movement goals and the constraints of working within rigid government institutions. Indeed, feminist scholars and others have taken disparate views of the femocrat role. Scholars who praise the work of femocrats cite the material benefits femocrats have brought about, including the passage of laws aimed to address violence against women, pay equity, and child care. Having ties to state actors has enabled the women's movement to effectively bring a feminist agenda to key government officials.

Criticisms of the femocrat role mirror critiques of second-wave feminism more generally: white, middle-class, formally educated, heterosexual, straight women often set the agenda. This can be especially problematic when femocrats claim to speak on behalf of all women, which can lead to policies that may not represent the needs of women from different class and racial backgrounds from the femocrats themselves. Some scholars argue that femocrat-influenced policies reproduce oppressive colonial relations between whites and nonwhites. Tellingly, some definitions of *femocrat* state that it is a contraction of the terms feminist, bureaucrat, and aristocrats. Furthermore, other critics argue that femocrats' placement within the state bureaucracy dilutes their commitment to the goals of women's liberation.

Evaluating the work of femocrats becomes most meaningful in specific cases. Keeping in mind the tensions inherent in the role can help in assessing the impact of femocrats in specific advocacy and policy arenas.

Karen Esther Rosenberg

See also Family Wage

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FERTILITY RATES

In the United States, the stereotypical family includes a married man and woman having 2.2 children. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that all women may not bear the average number of children; individual and societal-level fertility rates are continually

changing. In discussing fertility rates, it is important to note how fertility rates are defined, why it is important to track fertility rates, and how current fertility rates are influenced by demographic, governmental, social, political, and economic influences. These topics will be outlined in further detail in this entry.

Defining Fertility Rates

First, it is important to distinguish *birth* rates from *fertility* rates. Birth rates are defined as the number of live births per 1,000 women in the total population (across all demographic levels). In terms of population growth, however, the single most important factor is the total fertility rate (TFR). The TFR is defined as the average number of babies born to women during their reproductive years, which is typically considered ages 15 to 44. For the population in a given area to remain stable, an overall TFR of 2.1 is needed, assuming no immigration or emigration occurs. In other words, if, on average, women birth 2.1 children and these children survive to the age of 15, any given woman will have replaced herself and her partner upon death; a TFR of 2.1 is known as the replacement rate. Generally speaking, when the TFR is greater than 2.1, the population in a given area will increase, and when it is less than 2.1, the population in a given area will eventually decrease, though it may take some time because factors such as age structure, emigration, or immigration must be considered. More specifically, if there are numerous women of childbearing age and a relatively small number of older individuals within a given society, the death rate will be low, so even though the TFR is below the replacement rate, the population may remain stable or even increase slightly. This trend could not last infinitely, but could last for decades.

Currently, this type of trend can be seen in the United States and other developed nations. Women in these areas are not having enough children to replace themselves and their partners upon death, but there are more women of childbearing age than older, dying individuals (and immigration rates are substantial), so the population continues to grow despite the low TFR.

The Importance of Tracking Fertility Rates

Tracking fertility rates is important for a few reasons. First, tracking fertility rates allows for more efficient and beneficial planning and resource allocation within a particular region. If a country experiences unusually high, sustained fertility rates, increasing numbers of schools, affordable child care, and health care advancements may be needed. This most recently occurred in the United States during the post–World War II baby boom era. During this period, the TFR in the United States peaked at about 3.8, which is almost double what it was 40 years later. The unusually high number of children born during this period left communities unprepared. It is also important to know if regions experience declining TFRs. Sustained low fertility rates may signify a rapidly aging population, which may place an undue burden on the economy through increasing health care costs and the cost of supporting maximal numbers of retirees.

Finally, it is critical to track age- and race-related fertility trends to obtain a better sense of the changing needs of different population groups. With regard to race- or ethnicity-related shifts, TFRs have declined substantially among non-Hispanic blacks, American Indians, and non-Hispanic whites. Fertility rates among young Hispanics, however, are steadily increasing, which has prompted sex education programs and health care initiatives in some areas to shift to accommodate this trend. There have also been changes in age-related TFRs. TFRs have increased among women older than 30 but decreased among women younger than age 25. In addition, birth rates have substantially declined in teens aged 15 to 19, as of 2005. These shifts indicate that more women are waiting to have children because of increasing educational pursuits and later marriages. In addition, teen pregnancy rates are decreasing, which indicates successful teen pregnancy–related interventions.

Current Fertility Rates

Fertility rates vary across world regions. Although still high in many parts of the world, TFRs have begun to decline overall. In 1998, the world's TFR was slightly less than 3, which indicates overall population growth, as explained earlier. In developed countries such as the United States, however, TFRs are beginning to fall below the replacement rate, which will mean an eventual lack of population growth for these regions if this continues. Both the United Nations Population Division and the U.S. Census Bureau project that TFRs will continue to decline to an estimated TFR of 2.3 worldwide by 2025.

In general, developed countries generally have lower fertility rates than developing countries will. This is partly the result of economic prosperity and medical technology in developed countries. In other words, in developed countries, childhood mortality rates are lower and birth control is more readily accessible than in developing countries. Moreover, in developed countries children are often seen as an economic drain, as the cost to educate, feed, clothe, and protect them becomes increasingly high. In addition, in developed countries, young adults are spending longer periods obtaining a higher level of education, which often delays the age at which they have children. Finally, more children are needed in developing countries to engage in farming and other economic pursuits for the average family. In these regions, children are also necessary caregivers for younger siblings and providers for their aging parents. Also contributing to the higher fertility rates in developing countries is the lack of contraceptive access and lower amounts of female education.

Influences on Fertility Rates

Many influences affect fertility rates. This section describes such governmental, social, political, and economic influences.

Governmental Influences

Governmental policies and positions can significantly influence TFRs. TFRs in Spain, for example, have decreased significantly since the early 1970s. This decline in TFR across just one generation has been attributed to a shift away from the pronatalist Franco regime, which encouraged larger family sizes and deemphasized contraception, to a more democratic regime, which does not have such stringent policies on family size and contraception.

Governmental policies related to fertility can take two forms: direct and indirect. Direct policies are those that offer tax breaks or childbearing incentives. The impact of a direct policy on fertility rates is usually immediate. Indirect policies are those that target other societal goals, but then inadvertently affect fertility rates. Indirect policies include shifts in child care implementation or regulations and laws regarding maternity and paternity leave. It is shortsighted to speculate which of these types of policies has more long-term impact on TFRs because the efficacy

of such programs is influenced heavily by social, political, and economic climates within a region.

Despite the influence that governments can have on TFRs, worldwide, few policy interventions have worked to reverse low TFRs. But, historically, governments have attempted to increase TFRs by implementing a variety of policies and programs. In the last several years, France has used a vast array of policies with one main goal in mind. More specifically, France created more harmony among individuals' work and family lives so that the threat of work and family conflict would not dissuade young adults from bearing children. To accomplish this goal, France provided child care subsidies that enabled individuals to work and have a family more easily. Second, France has implemented a reward system for individuals who have at least three children. Sweden has also followed this pattern by creating more flexible work schedules for women, ensuring quality child care, and allowing more flexible parental leaves.

Social, Political, and Economic Influences

A nation's social structure may also influence the success of fertility-based interventions. In other words, varying political, economic, and social policies may dictate that an intervention that works in one country may not work in another. Also, social changes may influence fertility rates *more than* policy-based interventions do. This was the case when fertility rates declined in the former East Germany after unification. Experts claimed that these changing fertility rates were more the result of a shifting social environment than of intervention or policy change. In East German families, where the unification caused economic instability, children were less likely during the subsequent 1 to 3 years. In comparison, West Germany's fertility rate remained relatively stable after unification. Experts noted that, because the unified Germany's political, economic, and social climates mirrored that of the former West Germany, fertility rates in West Germany were uninfluenced by the unification. Similarly, when Poland began to use a free-market economy, which significantly changed the economic environment of that nation, Poland began to experience a marked decrease in fertility rates.

Conclusion

In the future, the image of the stereotypical family may not include a married man and woman with

2.2 children. In some areas, the TFR has already fallen below replacement value. It is important to track fertility rates because, in the event that the population continues to lessen or even begins to decline, numerous economic and social ramifications may exist. It is also critical to realize how demographic, governmental, social, political, and economic factors influence fertility rates as the 21st century continues and the world's landscape continually shifts.

Natalie Smoak

See also Contraception; Infertility; Population Control; Pregnancy; Sexuality and Reproduction

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FETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME

Fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) is a cluster of birth defects related to prenatal alcohol exposure. There are four diagnostic criteria for FAS: prenatal or postnatal growth deficiency, central nervous system abnormalities (most typically mental retardation), a set of characteristic craniofacial features, and confirmed maternal alcohol use during pregnancy. Estimates of the prevalence of FAS vary widely, partly because there is no set standard for recognizing a child affected by FAS. In the United States, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that FAS affects 0.2 to 1.5 births per 1,000. FAS tends to be concentrated among minority and disadvantaged populations. For example, in the United States, the reported prevalence of FAS is highest among African Americans and American Indians. Reports of FAS are particularly prevalent in South Africa, Russia, and among Native Peoples of Canada. However, numerous studies have documented both overdiagnosis and underdiagnosis of FAS in certain population groups. Moreover, FAS is subject to ascertainment bias, meaning that physicians may be more inclined to see it in some groups than others.

Not all women who drink heavily during pregnancy have babies with FAS; the syndrome is correlated with poverty, race/ethnicity, advanced maternal age, and high parity. Researchers have hypothesized that factors such as nutritional status, exposure to environmental toxins, smoking, and stress may exacerbate the adverse effects of alcohol. Despite widespread public belief that any alcohol exposure during pregnancy is dangerous, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact etiology of FAS. Binge drinking (the consumption of five or more drinks in a single episode) is highly correlated with FAS.

In 1973, physicians at the University of Washington discovered FAS, based on similar defects observed among eight children of alcoholic mothers. During the last several decades, the diagnosis has expanded to include categories such as "fetal alcohol effect," "alcohol-related birth defects," and "alcohol-related neuro-developmental disorder." There are no clear diagnostic criteria for these labels.

Governments around the world have responded in disparate ways to the policy issues raised by FAS. In the United States, the surgeon general first issued a warning advising pregnant women not to drink in 1981 (updated in 2004), and congressionally mandated warning labels have appeared on all alcoholic beverages since 1989. Rates of FAS have not decreased since implementation of these measures. European countries tend to have more permissive attitudes about prenatal alcohol use, whereas drinking during pregnancy is today a highly stigmatized behavior in the United States. South Dakota and Wisconsin permit civil detention of women who drink during pregnancy; several states have brought criminal

charges against women whose babies have allegedly been born with FAS or a related diagnosis. None of these prosecutions has been successful.

Elizabeth Mitchell Armstrong

See also Fetal Rights/Public Fetus; Stratified Reproduction

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Fetal Rights/Public Fetus

Medical technologies increasingly provide new ways of seeing and knowing the body. In pregnancy, fetal imaging technologies, diagnostic tools, and fetal surgeries have changed the status of the fetus from organism to personhood, a social status reserved for living human beings. Although medical treatment still requires accessing the fetus through the pregnant woman's body, recent technological advances demonstrate that the fetus is no longer fully contained therein. The woman's subjective and embodied experience of the fetus has shifted from a private or semi-private phenomenon to one that is public. New technologies produce representations of the fetus that aid in the construction of fetal personhood, allowing public investment in women's pregnancies and the rights of the fetus.

The shifting status of the fetus is an ongoing process made possible through interpretation and social interaction. In addition to cultural beliefs and political agendas, medical technology has been a key factor in shaping how individuals and collectivities interact with the fetus, give meaning to the interaction, and thereby interpret its status. The definition of the fetus as either a biological organism or a person results from this process. This entry first examines the role of medical technology as a key factor in the social construction of fetal personhood. Then, it discusses the implications of fetal personhood in elevating the rights of the fetus over the rights of pregnant women.

Medical Technology in the Construction of Personhood

The discourses of science and medicine have powerful implications for social understandings of the body and the fetus within the body. Technologies of reproduction have made the science of human development visible and available to multiple audiences. Imaging technologies have produced the evidence and the imagery used to demonstrate contraception and fetal development in scientific texts, pregnancy guidebooks, educational materials, and in doctor-patient interactions. New medical technologies that monitor fetal development present the stages of development on a continuum of personhood, promoting prenatal bonding and fetal patienthood.

Personhood at the Cellular Level

Anthropologist Emily Martin's cultural analysis of reproduction demonstrates how technological advances call for new considerations of personhood and the individual. In describing the content of scientific texts, Martin reveals gendered stereotypical imagery of the egg and the sperm. The egg is cast either as a damsel in distress waiting for a heroic sperm to save her or as a dangerously aggressive threat who lies in wait to trap an active but ineffectual sperm. In addition to gendering the egg and sperm, this narrative suggests deliberate human action at the cellular level. The intentional action does not belong to the persons whose bodies are involved in the interaction but to the cellular entities living within them. Intentionality is a key aspect of personhood in Western culture, thereby conferring the status of personhood to the cellular level, a necessary step in transferring personhood to the fetus at the moment of fertilization.

Prenatal Bonding

Medical technologies further identify the embryo as an individual person. This social investment in fetal personhood carries with it benefits and costs. Home pregnancy tests, for example, have encouraged women to begin to construct the personhood of their

embryo/fetus at earlier points in a pregnancy. Pregnancy tests are an affordable, low-tech option used to measure the pregnancy hormone, human chorionic gonadotropin (HCG), which can establish a pregnancy before the first missed menses. These tests enable women to experience themselves as pregnant much earlier than would have been possible without this technology.

After confirming the test result with a doctor, women often begin a planning process that typically involves pregnancy guidebooks, the onset of regular fetal monitoring in a clinical setting, and disclosure of the pregnancy within one's social networks. As women experience pregnancy, cultural norms of good mothering begin to take hold. Mundane behaviors such as healthful eating, prenatal nutrition, and avoidance of risks to the fetus are imbued with moral meaning to safeguard the future child. The increase of prenatal maternal responsibilities signals a shift in focus from the health of the pregnant woman to the health of the fetus.

Corresponding with the narrative of fetal development found in pregnancy guidebooks and educational materials (from fertilized egg to complete human being), imaging technologies have enabled the fetus to be constructed as a separate, developing person. Sonograms provide visual evidence that gives women and others direct access to the fetus and help establish the "reality" of a "baby" in the early stages of pregnancy. Sonography facilitates prenatal bonding and can even be used in infertility treatment to demonstrate the process to would-be parents before a pregnancy occurs.

Fetal imaging technologies establish personhood without considering that many pregnancies end at some point along the way for reasons that are entirely unknown. Although studies reveal that 10 percent to 25 percent of all clinically recognized pregnancies end in miscarriage, the stages of fetal development are presented definitively. For those who have experienced pregnancy loss, the early personification of the fetus can intensify and lengthen the duration of emotional distress.

Fetal Patienthood

The subjectivity of the fetus is paramount with advances in medical technology. However, the status of the fetus has also become contested terrain as some medical professionals consider the fetus to be a potential patient. Varied definitions of the fetus emerge from perceptions outlined in key policy documents and medical journals, the ways practitioners discuss the fetus and the mother, and the processes of decision making about surgical procedures and practices. For instance, an analysis of medical journals illustrates a general belief that a surgery automatically signifies patienthood—a status reserved for human beings. The notion is that surgical procedures would not be performed on a clot of blood. However, studies in fetal surgery reveal that some fetuses are considered to be patients whereas others are not, and in some cases even the same fetus may shift between these statuses during treatment.

Perceptions of fetal pain (fetal stress) have also brought personhood to the forefront of medical ethics debates. Numerous medical reports have concluded that the immaturity of the fetal central nervous system prevents conscious awareness of pain before 26 weeks gestation. Yet, medical technologies have monitored fetal hormonal stress responses, which have influenced fetal treatment. In protecting the fetal patient, legal review boards have discussed the duty of practitioners to prevent and treat fetal pain. This variation in fetal status among practitioners, researchers, and review boards illustrates the role of social context in perceptions of fetal status and the political implications of fetal personhood.

Personhood and the Rights of the Fetus

Medical knowledge and technologies strongly influence individual and public understandings of proper fetal development. Based in assumptions about scientific objectivity, the medical system asserts a strong ideological force that expands medical jurisdiction and provides the framework for personal and public understanding of reproduction in addition to other aspects of health and illness. Definitions of personhood based in science and medicine lay the foundation for the expanded monitoring of both women and fetuses. New medical technologies have reinforced the construction of fetal personhood already evident within scientific and medical discourse about reproduction. This construction has enabled greater prenatal bonding and the positioning of the fetus as a patient. In a feedback loop, these processes have further solidified the status of fetal personhood.

Fetal imaging technologies in particular have furthered the investment in fetal personhood and

pronatalist agendas. As the subjectivity of the fetus has taken the foreground, however, the needs and rights of the pregnant woman have shifted toward the background, creating a contested area where the rights of women are positioned in opposition to the rights of the fetus. Especially in the last few decades, it has become the personal responsibility of pregnant women and their social networks to protect the health of the fetus through fetal monitoring, behavior modification, and prenatal bonding. It has become the social responsibility of the medical system to provide these pregnant women with the knowledge and the means to engage in these protective activities. And, more recently, it has become the public's responsibility to protect the fetus from the rights of the pregnant woman who carries it.

The personal, social, and public investment in the fetus creates the context in which women make choices about their pregnancy, from what to eat to whether to carry the fetus to term. In its current iteration, the interaction among these areas of responsibility has created a situation that is weighted toward the rights of the fetus—from claims of maternal deviance if a pregnant woman fails to live up to the norms outlined in a pregnancy guidebook to extreme medical interventions in fetal surgeries to acts of aggression perpetrated against those supporting the rights of a woman to have an abortion. The public investment in the fetal personhood (the social child) has begun to subordinate the importance of women's rights to health and a self-determined life. Although this particular debate has been ongoing for decades, the rise of medical technology and the shift in medical discourse toward patienthood has given the public greater access to the fetus than ever before.

Gayle A. Sulik

See also American Birth Control League; Declaration of the Rights of Women; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Pregnancy; Stratified Reproduction

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First, Ruth (1925–1982)

Scholar, author, and activist, Ruth First is best known for her investigative journalism and anti-apartheid activism in South Africa, Mozambique, and the United Kingdom. First's dedication, intelligence, and progressive politics made her an asset to the anti-apartheid movement.

Born Heloise Ruth First, she was the daughter of Julius and Matilda First, who immigrated to South Africa from Latvia in 1906. Her parents were politically active socialists and founding members of the South African Communist Party (SACP). Because of this, First grew up surrounded by the leftist political debates among different races and classes that took place in her house. In 1942, she attended school at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, where she was a member of the Progressive Youth Council, secretary for the university's Young Communist League, and founding member of the Federation of Progressive Students. First graduated in 1946 with a bachelor's degree in social studies. In 1949, she married Joe Slovo, a communist labor organizer and lawyer, with whom she had three daughters.

Throughout the 1950s, First served as editor of the *Guardian,* a progressive newspaper, wrote numerous journalistic pieces about the conditions of migrant laborers, and focused on documenting the campaigns of the anti-apartheid movement. First published most of her scholarly activist writings in this newspaper, in addition to the Congress Alliance journal, *Freedom Talk,* for which she was also editor. During this time, she also founded the Congress of Democrats—an organization made up of white South Africans who opposed apartheid—and served on the drafting committee of the Freedom Charter, the document on which the new constitution of South Africa is based.

Because of their political organizing, First and her husband were both arrested for treason in 1956, but were acquitted after a 4-year trial. In 1963, First was

arrested again, along with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and other members of the SACP and African National Congress (ANC), for her membership in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the militant branch of the ANC. This time she was sentenced to 90 days in prison, and served 117. Upon her release, First joined her family in exile in Britain where she remained active in the fight against apartheid by holding seminars and public gatherings to support the ANC and the Communist Party. She also published several books on politics, revolution, and labor, including a memoir of her days in prison.

From 1972 until her death, First worked in academia as a research fellow at the University of Manchester, a lecturer on the sociology of underdevelopment at the University of Durham, and as the director of a research training program at the University Eduardo Mundlane in Maputo, Mozambique. On August 17, 1982, First was assassinated by a letter bomb believed to have been sent by South African police. She continues to be remembered for her commitment to racial unity in a divided South Africa, her passionate involvement in the anti-apartheid movement, and her support for the liberation of other African countries.

Katy Nicole Kreitler

See also Federation of South African Women

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Footbinding

The practice of footbinding, which existed in China from the mid-900s to 1949, usually began for girls between 4 and 6 years old; some started at age 2, and some between 7 and 12. The goal was to make the feet 3 inches long. The four smaller toes were usually broken, tucked underneath, pulled toward the heel, and wrapped with bandages. Each time the feet were unbound, the bandages and feet were cleaned. Any dead skin, blisters, dried blood, and pus were removed. The feet were rewrapped even tighter, before the blood drained back into the feet, in hopes this would lessen pain, and then perfumed to mask the stench of rotting flesh. Mothers, grandmothers, or older female relatives were first to bandage the girl's feet. This process could cause paralysis, gangrene, ulceration, and death. Estimates are that 1 in 10 girls died from footbinding or its effects. Binding the feet continued for the rest of the girl's life. Decorative shoes and leggings were worn over the bandages and differed with times of day and special occasions.

The "golden lotus" foot originated in China around 900 CE before and during the Sung Dynasty, 960–1279. The exact origin of the practice is unknown. Most agree that it began because of a male erotic fascination with the shape and point of a ballerina's foot while dancing. Although footbinding began in the upper classes, it spread rapidly. In poorer families who could not afford the bandages or lack of labor constituted by a hobbled woman, the feet were not bound until the girls were older. Once the girl married, the bandages were taken off and she reentered the workforce.

Footbinding was viewed as a rite of passage for young girls. It was believed to be preparation for puberty, menstruation, and childbirth. Footbinding symbolized the girl's willingness to obey. Footbinding ensured a girl's marriagability in patrilineal Chinese culture, and a shared bond between daughters, mothers, and grandmothers.

When Confucian thought reigned, from the 10th to 20th centuries, women were devalued, had certain roles in the family, were essentially disabled, and were geographically restricted to the house. The process of footbinding kept women subordinate to men, increasing the differences between the sexes, and limiting women's power in all institutions. Chinese men found the foot to be both erotic and a prestige symbol, and the popular belief was it increased fertility because the blood would flow up to the legs, hips, and vaginal areas.

During the Manchu rule, K'ang Hsi banned footbinding in 1662, but withdrew the ban in 1668 because most Chinese were still practicing footbinding. Anti-footbinding became popular when missionaries traveled to China to argue that footbinding was cruel; missionaries also pointed out that the rest of the world looked down at footbinding, urged exposure of the naked bound foot, and thus changed their ideas about gender. With the Nationalist Revolution in 1911, footbinding was outlawed in 1912. However, footbinding finally ended with the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Footbinding has been compared with other ways to "perfect" the female body such as corsets and female genital cutting or mutilation.

Tiffany Marie Smith

See also Female Circumcision/Female Genital Mutilation

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Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act

Introduced by Democrats Senator Edward Kennedy and Representative Charles Schumer, the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act was passed with bipartisan support and signed into U.S. law by President Bill Clinton in 1994. The act prohibits vandalism of clinic property and using "force or threat of force or . . . physical obstruction" to attempt to or actually injure, intimidate, or interfere with anyone obtaining or providing reproductive health services. It also protects access to "place[s] of worship." Additionally, the FACE act describes penalties for violators. The act does not prohibit "peaceful picketing or other peaceful demonstration," including nonthreatening shouting, photography, and distributing antiabortion materials outside of clinics. Every federal appeals court in the United States has heard FACE cases and ruled the act constitutional. The U.S. Supreme Court has never reviewed the act.

Between 1977 and 1993, congressional investigations found that abortion clinics experienced 36 bombings, 81 arsons, 131 death threats, 84 assaults, 2 kidnappings, 327 invasions, 71 chemical attacks and more than 6,000 blockades. These investigations also found that patients had been threatened, pushed, grabbed, spit on, pinned to the ground, and beaten. The first murders of clinic workers occurred in 1993, and by 2000, 7 workers, including doctors, had been killed and another 13 had been injured.

The Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, was initially used to prosecute blockaders. However, in its 1993 decision of *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic,* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled such use unconstitutional. The next year in *National Organization for Women v. Scheidler,* the Court found that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970 (RICO) could be used to sue violent protestors. However, the decision was overturned in 2002 in *American Coalition for Life Activists v. Planned Parenthood.*

Under the FACE Act, maximum sentences for first-time offenders range from 6 months to 1 year in prison or $10,000 to $100,000 in fines, depending on the severity of the violation. Maximum penalty for offenders committing bodily injury is 10 years in prison and life imprisonment for those convicted of murder. Civil suits can ask for a maximum reward between $10,000 and $25,000, depending on the severity of the violation.

In the decade after the FACE Act was enacted, 46 criminal prosecutions resulted in 71 convictions and 17 civil lawsuits resulted in rewards. A Government Accountability Office (GAO) report that reviewed reports of clinic violence in the 2 years before and after passage of the act found 21 percent fewer blockades; 17 percent fewer acts of vandalism; 15 percent fewer invasions, bomb and death threats; 13 percent fewer assaults; 4 percent fewer arsons; and 2 percent fewer bombings. More than 90 percent of providers and 60 percent of U.S. attorneys believed that the FACE act was at least partially responsible for the reduction in clinic violence. In 2000, less than 25 percent of clinics experienced blockades, invasions, bombings, arsons, chemical attacks, gunfire, bomb threats, death threats or murder, compared with more than 50 percent of clinics experiencing such violence in 1994.

Rishi Rattan

See also Abortion; Pregnancy

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Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)

Sigmund Freud was, arguably, the most important personage in the history of psychiatry and psychology. His theory of personality, psychoanalysis, revolutionized both psychology and Western culture and remains the single, most in depth personality theory within the field. Many of his ideas have entered common culture, that is, the unconscious mind, defense mechanisms, Freudian slips, and dream symbolism. Freud is best known for his work regarding the unconscious mind, especially how memories too painful to recall consciously are exhibited in ways unknown to the sufferer, including nightmares and psychosomatic illnesses that are not "real" in the medical sense. This entry discusses his theories.

Freud was born May 6, 1856, in Freiberg (in what is now known as the Czech Republic). He was highly intelligent, matriculating at the University of Vienna at age 17. He studied neurology and earned his doctor of medicine degree, returning to Vienna to open a private practice emphasizing the study of nervous and brain disorders and to marry his fiancée, Martha Bernays.

He was an excellent researcher and spent most of his time engaged in studying the human personality. The more he studied, the more he realized that the most intriguing mysteries were not conscious; rather, they were the concealed operations of the human mind. By the early 1890s, he specialized primarily in "neurasthenics" (mainly severe hysterics), and the field taught him much, including the art of listening patiently as clients told their stories. At the same time, he began writing down his dreams, increasingly convinced that they might offer clues to the workings of the unconscious, a notion he borrowed from the Romantics. Freud saw himself as a scientist, taking material both from his patients and from himself, through introspection. By the mid-1890s, he had immersed himself in self-analysis, an exercise for which there were no guidelines or predecessors. During this period, he slowly remembered anger he had felt toward his father, while distantly recalling childhood sexual feelings for his mother, who was strikingly attractive. Later, Freud considered this time of emotional difficulty to be the most creative time in his life.

In 1900, he published the seminal *The Interpretation of Dreams,* but it sold poorly; even so, Freud's ideas became popular in Vienna, and he was awarded a professorship in psychiatry at the University of Vienna in 1901. He gathered around him a group of intelligent disciples, including Carl Jung, Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Reich, and others. Freud had little tolerance for anyone who disagreed with his rigid ideas. He expelled those colleagues who disagreed with him, even if they accepted the basic tenets of the theory—Jung and Adler being the two most famous examples (interestingly, both created their own personality theories).

In 1933, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party were voted into power in Germany. Shortly thereafter, Freud's works were burned publicly throughout the country as were those of other, well-known Jewish writers. In 1938, Germany's anschluss with Austria caused Freud to leave his home, immigrating to England where he remained for the rest of his life. Freud had been an excessive cigar smoker since age 24, smoking as many as 19 per day. He was told by different physicians that to continue would be a death sentence, but he kept smoking. Freud contracted oral cancer in 1923, at the age of 67 and underwent 30 operations, but he continued to smoke cigars until his death on September 23, 1939. In the end, the pain caused by the cancer was intolerable and he had his personal physician give him an assisted overdose of morphine.

Psychoanalysis

The central goal of psychoanalysis (a term Freud coined in 1896) was to bring one's unconscious thoughts and desires into conscious awareness, thus gaining insight into one's problems or behaviors. As there was no single method for achieving this, Freud experimented with hypnotism, used especially with highly hysterical and neurotic patients. Eventually, he felt that hypnotism was not dependable, and he switched to having his patients lie on a couch, encouraging them to say whatever came into their minds (he later called this technique *free association*).

The bringing of unconscious thoughts and feelings to consciousness is, according to Freud, brought about by encouraging the patient to talk in free association and to talk about dreams. Another important element of psychoanalysis is a relative lack of direct involvement by

the analyst, which is meant to encourage the patient to project thoughts and feelings onto the analyst. Through this process, transference, the patient can reenact and resolve repressed conflicts, especially childhood conflicts with (or about) parents. Psychoanalysis, as a theory, was based on women Freud saw in Austria. In 1896, Freud wrote that hysteria (as understood at that time) and obsessional neurosis arose from unconscious memories of sexual abuse in infancy. To buttress his argument, he claimed that he had uncovered such incidents for every single one of his current patients (one third of whom were men). Later, it was found that these patients did not report early childhood sexual abuse; rather, the findings came after Freud inferred the incidents, using a procedure that was heavily dependent on the symbolic interpretation of somatic symptoms. Unlike other great minds of this period, Freud felt that the notion of free will was delusional; that is, each day people are primarily unaware of what they think and often act for reasons that have little to do with their conscious thoughts. Thus, hysterical women were suffering from a malady that had little to do with their waking thoughts and concerns.

Freud felt that the way to understanding the unconscious derived from understanding one's dreams. He devised a "map" detailing conscious and unconscious processes. The preconscious lay between the conscious and unconscious thought—an area that was easily accessible with small effort. Freud felt that the only sure way of living up to the Enlightenment's goals of human growth was by studying one's unconscious, rather that repressing or hiding it. In psychoanalysis, repression is a major concern and is crucial in understanding the unconscious mind. Freud felt that when something was too painful to allow into consciousness, these thoughts and feelings did not disappear. On the contrary, although they are banished from one's mind, they are still in one's unconscious, causing problems. Individual differences do matter because patients tend to repress different things. Freud felt that what an individual represses is likely determined by that person's unconscious. In other words, the unconscious was for Freud both a cause and effect of repression.

Theory of Personality

In 1920, Freud posited his topography of personality—the id (governed by the pleasure principle), ego (governed by the reality principle), and superego (governed by the morality principle). The pleasure principle states, "I want what I want right now and to hell with the consequences!" In reply, the ego states, "I understand, but before we can do that, we need to do this first." Finally, the superego says, "It is wrong to want this—we should be moral and do something else." This "dialogue" occurs countless times each day and its successful conclusion depends on whether one has major problems locked away in the unconscious.

Freud argued that as humans develop, they become fixated on objects (both in general and specifically) through their stages of development. During the oral stage (birth to age 2), the child receives pleasure by sucking the mother's nipple. The anal stage (age 2 to 3) is where the toddler receives pleasure by retaining or emptying her or his bowels. The third stage (age 3 to 5 or 6) is the phallic stage, where male children often become fixated on the mother as a sexual object (known as the Oedipus complex), but will eventually overcome this attraction and repress it because of its taboo nature. Female children exhibit the same behavior in the Electra complex, where the father becomes the object of sexual attraction. The latency stage (age 6 to 12) of psychosexual development precedes the sexually mature genital stage (after puberty to death) of psychosexual development.

When an individual becomes fixated in one of the psychosexual stages, the problem usually arises because of conflict between the id and superego. Defense mechanisms are the psyche's attempt to lessen the stress that the conflict between the id and superego causes; however, their overuse or reuse rather than confrontation can lead to either anxiety or guilt, which may result in psychological disorders such as depression. Defense mechanisms include denial, reaction formation, displacement, repression/suppression (the proper term), projection, intellectualisation, rationalization, compensation, sublimation, and regressive emotionality. Freud believed that all humans were unconsciously driven by two conflicting central desires: Eros (the life instinct) and Thanatos (the death instinct). Eros was filled with humanity's creative and life-producing drives. The death instinct represented a desire for returning to a state of utter calm, or, ultimately, of nonexistence.

Conclusion

Freud's way of viewing women has been called phallocentric, primarily because in his opinion, the

unconscious always desires the penis. Males are afraid of castration, which would mean the loss of masculinity to someone else. Females also want a penis; thus, an unfulfillable desire causes women to be hysterical. During the phallic stage, boys are afraid their fathers will castrate them, whereas girls sexually desire their fathers. Freud's views regarding women were commonplace in 19th-century Austria. In essence, he saw women as victims of their biology, thus, he focused on inherent limitations in women. For instance, he saw their role as mothers in childbearing as a great impediment to finding happiness, especially because maternal duties demanded a great deal of time and attention. Moreover, he viewed women's sexual development as aborted because once they discovered they lacked penises, they were forever inadequate. Freud's attitude toward women has contributed to the resurgence of contemporary applications and critiques of Freudian theories through a feminist and gender studies lens.

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See also Hysteria; Mental Health; Oedipal Conflict; Phallocentrism; Psychoanalytic Feminism; Sexology and Sex Research

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G

GANDHI, INDIRA PRIYADARSHINI NEHRU (1917–1984)

Indira Gandhi was the first woman to be elected prime minister of the world's most populous democracy, India. Her leadership was both long and controversial.

She was born in 1917 to Jawaharlal and Kamala Nehru and was the heir to a distinguished political family history. Her grandfather, parents, and aunts were all active in the Indian nationalist movement. Her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, became independent India's first prime minister. As a child, Indira joined the nationalist movement by forming the "Monkey Brigade" a group of children who assisted their political parents by secretly carrying documents and spying on the British. Her education was intermittent because of her parents' political activism and her mother's failing health. Indira attended schools in Switzerland and spent a brief time in Somerville College, Oxford, before she married Feroze Gandhi, a politician and journalist, in 1942.

Her marriage to Feroze was troubled because she was torn between her private life and the call of public service in support of her father. The Gandhis had two sons, Rajiv and Sanjay. After India's independence in 1947, Indira Gandhi served as Prime Minister Nehru's hostess and continued her political work. She was elected a member of Parliament in 1964 and became minister of information and broadcasting in Lal Bahadur Shastri's government. With the sudden death of Shastri, Congress Party politicians elected Indira prime minister in 1966 because they perceived her as weak and susceptible to their authority. She soon proved them wrong.

As prime minister, Indira Gandhi is remembered for several achievements. She nationalized Indian banks, abolished the privy purse of Indian princes and reduced their power, increased India's grain production, developed India's nuclear program and exploded the first nuclear device in 1974, and triumphed in the war against Pakistan and rendered military support to Bangladesh during its independence struggle in 1971. She was known to be an astute politician and a shrewd diplomat. However, she also increasingly centralized power in the executive branch, attempted to reduce judicial power through controversial constitutional reforms, and encouraged corruption and nepotism. In 1975, a regional judge declared her election null and void because of minor legal infractions, and people called for her resignation. However, she declared a state of emergency in 1975 and suspended the powers of the state governments, jailed several thousand dissidents without due process, and severely censored the press, citing grave internal security problems as cause for the emergency. In 1977, she called for national elections and was defeated.

In 1980, she returned to power after a major electoral victory and had to deal with several internal separatist movements including the Khalistan movement advocated by Sikh militants in Punjab. Because Sikh militants were staging their violence from and storing their weapons in the Golden Temple complex, their holiest shrine, she commanded the army to storm the temple. In the battle that ensued, many soldiers, civilians, and Sikh militants (including the leader of the movement, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale) were killed. Her choice to invade the Temple outraged many Sikhs, and in October 1984, she paid a huge price for

her action when her Sikh bodyguards assassinated her. After her death, her son Rajiv continued the Gandhi-Nehru democratic dynasty and became prime minister of India, only to be assassinated himself by a Sri Lankan Tamil separatist in 1991. Indira Gandhi inspired many young women around the world by leading a large democracy for many years, but her career also illustrates the problems of power and corruption inherent in many democracies.

Nalini Iyer

See also Asaf Ali, Aruna; Naidu, Sarojini

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Gangs, Boys

Gangs share similarities to cliques, which are made up of friends and crowds that are a loosely organized group of people. Both gangs and cliques are groups of people who share activities, and sometimes confidences. The difference is that gangs are involved in illegal and antisocial activities. Their illegal activities and visibility have waxed and waned, depending on the state of the economy and the vigilance of law enforcement. In the 1970s through the early 1990s, violent gang activities occurred at a high rate. This is attributed to the poor economy and emergence of crack cocaine. With the acceptance of contraception and the legalization of abortion, the birth rates among single women and those most likely to be at risk for gang involvement dropped, and as the older gang members were given lengthy prison terms, gang activity waned during the 1990s. The United States has tracked gang activity for the past 200 years.

Gangs fill a void by providing status, social acceptance, protection, self-esteem, and a sense of pride among the members. The emotional needs met by the gang make membership all-important for at-risk youth. Gangs are formed within geographic neighborhoods and communities and by ethnicity. Pride and geography lead to "turf" protection.

Feared by the general community for their violence, gangs maintain standards for members: recruiting new members, enforcing rules and regulations, setting goals, and assigning roles. Gang identification is provided through claiming colors, picking brand-name clothes, using gang talk, and giving street or gang nicknames. Individuality can be maintained but identification with the group is most important. Gangs are mostly composed of males, but females are affiliated either in an adjunct group or within the original gang. The role of girls in gangs is often primarily seen as either sexual objects or as mothers, which provides a sense of family for the members of the gang. Unfortunately, the activities girls are expected to perform are often illegal and puts the girls in danger.

Gangs, once dominant in the inner city, are now a problem of the suburbs and small towns as well. The revitalization of inner cities and the demolition of housing projects have forced the impoverished to move into the suburbs. As these problem families are displaced, the gangs also move, and these once relatively quiet communities must deal with an influx of illegal drugs, firearms, drive-by shootings, and deaths. This entry describes the attraction of gang membership, the process of joining, gang activities, and the process of leaving.

Lack of Hope

Most gangs originate and exist in neighborhoods where social and economic disorganization, deprivation, and family dysfunction are high. Gang members may have experienced physical or sexual abuse, emotionally unsupportive parent(s), foster care, and drug use. In addition to family dysfunction, other risk factors such as poverty and neighborhood disorganization, unaddressed learning disabilities and school failure, unmet medical and mental health needs, and delinquently oriented peers all contribute to the lack of hope for meeting society's definition of success as measured by education, employment, and material possessions. This lack of hope becomes pervasive and results in disenfranchisement. Gangs fill this void by providing an alternative and accepting family. In addition, through their illegal activities, members have access to the status and material possessions they would otherwise be deprived of. Membership is also practical: The danger of being unaffiliated outweighs the risks of affiliation; physical safety and companionship become necessary for survival.

For males raised in a female-based household, the gang can be the first opportunity to learn essential aspects of the male role through imitation of the older gang members. Young boys learn conformance, socialization, coping, and business skills in the gang culture. These skills are essential to survival in a fatherless and dysfunctional subculture of society. There is the sense of pride and power gained when recruiting new members.

Violence in a gang is both a means and an end. It is a way to achieve honor, respect, and material advantage. It is an end when honor is challenged or "turf" is invaded. Protecting honor and turf is paramount.

Joining

Joining a gang can be brutal. Boys are recruited at an early age and must prove their willingness to commit offenses as bidden by older members and leaders, and to put gang wishes ahead of their own. They are "jumped-in" (fighting with a member or members of the same gang) or are expected to commit a serious offense such as killing a rival or stealing firearms. Once in, the boys are given street nicknames, affirmation, and knowledge that any slight or offense against them will be retaliated.

Potential gang members are often groomed for membership at elementary school age. Grooming is done by older members who will often praise and give gifts of expensive items or money to younger youth. These youth are often from disorganized and impoverished families and neighborhoods, so the sense of having otherwise unattainable money and material objects is alluring. Reputations of older gang members are romanticized through stories about their violence, illegal activities, surviving in jail, fighting skill, or financial success.

Before joining, a young boy is a "wannabe" gang member. "Wannabes" will dress, talk, and act as if they are members. Once a gangster, boys do the majority of the work such as drug selling, fighting rival gangs, and procuring guns. The goal is to provide a sense of safety and community to the gang, whether real or imagined. Respect comes with survival, fighting ability, and the use of manipulation and cunning. Pride, status, and reputation are gained in being caught for illegal activities, committing murder, and being imprisoned. Unfortunately, being killed by police or in a gang war also lends status and builds reputations (after death).

The perception of being an adult is strong for these boys. Cars and cash are accessible, as is the freedom to smoke, drink, gamble, and be sexually active. Which gang to join is based on the gang that friends and family members belong to and which gang will provide the protection based on safety and neighborhood.

Gang Activities

The gang provides a powerful social network for its members. It defines life activities of the members by demanding loyalty and obedience. The punishment for disobedience can be violent and deadly. Gangs are involved in selling illegal drugs, stolen car parts, and weapons. These are lucrative means of business that demand protection of the business territory leading to rival gang wars, criminal involvement, incarceration, and the possibility of physical harm or death to the member.

When youth join these gangs, they are discouraged from traditional prosocial activities such as school attendance and legal employment. The lack of the conventional daily structure combined with free time allows the youth to occupy themselves with daily illegal activities such as substance use (although some gangs forbid the use of hard drugs such as heroin), drug selling, and precocious sexual activity. With the self-perception that these boys are adults and "manly," little attention is paid to birth control, sexually transmitted diseases, or medical or mental health needs. Commonly, substance use is used for self-medication for undiagnosed and unmet mental health needs and adds to the "high" of being a part of the gang. Unprotected sexual activity leads to unplanned pregnancies that allow the boastful honor of being a father and the opportunity show off their offspring. Often, the boys are too young to be effective parents, so the next cycle of absent parents begins for the next generation.

Young gangsters younger than age 18 actively support the criminal life of the gangs and are the "soldiers." Youth face less stringent punishment in juvenile court than an adult would for the same offenses. Youth are also given more chances to remain in the general community.

Unexpectedly, an effect of gangs is they provide a sense of calm in the neighborhood because they keep rival gangsters away. Occasionally, as gangsters age and become "old gangsters (OG)," they can move their gangs from antisocial activities to being a positive

force within their community. An example of this is the evolution of the Black Panthers, who opened free-breakfast programs in the 1960s and 1970s.

Leaving

Some gang members can leave a gang with little difficulty, especially if the member was only involved marginally or for a short period. Usually, however, leaving the gang can be difficult and frightening. Some gangs threaten physical violence or death against those who want to leave, especially if a gang is organized with a long-established existence and control over a neighborhood. These threats can continue over a long period, causing the person to live in fear. Older gangsters can gradually "age-out" of active gang involvement, leaving the "work" for the younger gangsters.

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See also Gangs, Girls; Mentors in Violence Prevention Model; Single-Parent Households

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GANGS, GIRLS

Girl gangs have been present for decades but virtually invisible to law enforcement and literature, until recently. Recorded offenses and arrests were generally for behaviors violating the values and morals of main society, rather than for serious felonies. Within the past 10 years, statistics have shown the number of boys arrested or detained in juvenile detention centers for serious offenses has declined while the numbers for girls has risen; self-report studies by girls record more felony involvement than arrest records show. Similarly to boys, girls participate in gang fights and gang-related criminal activity for protection of self, friends, or neighborhood; defend their role in a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship, companionship, independence, and protecting businesses (such as drug selling). Yet, there are gender-based differences.

Research suggests the factor that once rendered girl offenders and gang members invisible is gender—society did not accept that girls could commit violent or serious crimes. When girls were arrested, it was more often for status offenses such as curfew violations, running away, truancy, prostitution, theft, or minor property offenses. It is thought that because girls often dress in more conventional attire rather than in gang clothing, or are seen as mothers and do not always hang out on a corner, they escape notice by the police who are looking for male gang members. Historically, most police are male and socialized to protect females. When they arrest girls, it was more often for offenses that are self-harming rather then because girls are viewed as capable of committing serious criminal offenses. This entry discusses gender socialization, risk factors, types of gangs for girls, and the process of exiting gangs.

Gender Socialization

Socialization by gender is a large contributor to the historical criminality differences between boys and girls. From birth, society views girls as needing protection. From infancy, girls are socialized to believe that relationships build self-worth whereas boys are taught independence, not to cry, to be manly, to protect sisters, and to seek retaliation. Parenting is stricter for girls, and parents are more judgmental in raising daughters than sons: The expectations for being a "good" girl are high.

As toddlers, girls are observed playing in groups and claiming "best friends," whereas boys play side by side on a more individual basis. This socialization breeds fear of isolation that continues as girls age into adolescence. The desire to remain within the group can lead to bullying and the manipulation of loyalties

(nonphysical aggression but nevertheless emotionally damaging to their victims) just to retain a place within the group. Victimization comes from isolation and division from the original group by passing notes, leaving someone out, bullying, and shaming. Those targeted respond with anxiety, self-blame, loss of pride, depression, and shame. Victimization and fear of isolation can lead girls to choose abusive relationships rather than be alone.

As girls grow into adolescence they continue to "lose their voices" and self-esteem. This is especially true if they are victims of physical or sexual abuse, bullying, and isolation. Lack of school success continues to diminish self-worth. The search for self-affirmation can lead girls to gangs, where, for the price of initiation, acceptance can be found. Acting out the feelings can be through self-mutilation or being easy prey for abusers.

Risk Factors

Gang membership provides disenfranchised girls with a sense of protection, safety, belonging, and hope for the future. Risk factors for female gang involvement are similar to those that define male delinquency: community and family conflict, poverty and neighborhood disorganization, early victimization, substance abuse, lack of educational success, learning disabilities, unmet medical and mental health needs, delinquently oriented peers, and growing up with a single parent. Gangs provide a structure and accepting family, superficially ameliorating the risk factors. The brothers who protect the sisters within the family similarly protect their female gang associates.

Although these factors affect all youth, gender-specific risks target females: sexual abuse, poverty, and sexism. Sexism in U.S. society offers less power and fewer options for females in general and even more so for those who are uneducated and living in poverty. Victimization from early sexual abuse leaves a wide path of destruction including self-loathing, depression, lack of trust, and self-damaging behaviors such as cutting themselves, running away, illegal self-medication, precocious sexual behavior, and prostitution. In seeking protection from one set of victimizers, these girls look to their gang cohort for protection, yet can become victims of these protectors. Precocious sexuality poses risks for sexually transmitted disease and for unplanned childbirth. These all can lead to the continuing cycle of victimization, truncated education, joblessness, poverty and, ultimately, lack of hope.

The Gang

Although gangs have a societally negative connotation and often lead to criminal activity, there are positive rewards for the members. These include the instant and accepting surrogate family, protection, and companionship. The negative side of gang membership includes low self-esteem, victimization, jail, and, perhaps, death. Acceptance into a gang is through brutal initiation: rape or being "jumped-in" (where the initiated will fight other gang members). Initiation can also include committing a serious offense to show that the girl is not afraid and will follow gang orders.

The three main types of girl gangs all offer both the rewards and consequences of being involved in a group: the auxiliary to an established boy gang, the all-girl and independent of any boy gang, and the coed gang. The choice of which gang to enter depends on family gang affiliation, neighborhood affinity, or a boyfriend's membership in a particular gang.

Auxiliary gangs are attached to a boy's gang with a feminized version of the male gang name (e.g., Vice Queens in New York vis-à-vis Vice Kings). Although they have their own female structure, girl gang members work together and with the boys' gang. In the coed gangs, boys and girls are together. In these gangs, the boys are dominant and the feeling of protection from the boys and being part of a family is strong. Problems can occur if entry is via a boyfriend or father of a baby and the couple breaks up, or if the girl begins a romantic liaison with a member of another gang. Traditionally, the female roles have been to be sexual objects and possessions, or message carriers when the boys are jailed. Girls also carry the weapons or drugs and spy on rivals. Girls will fight to continue gang battles for turf protection, retaliation for a slight, or continue an ongoing war with rival gangs. In the past, a girl's most common weapon was a knife or her hands, but with widespread availability, guns are more frequently used. In the coed or auxiliary gangs, girls complete the "family" idea of the gang. Studies report there is a gender-based disagreement about the sexual role of the females; males claim girls as possessions and sexual objects, but girls deny this is so.

Independent gangs have their own hierarchy and rules of behavior. Within this gang, there is the solidarity of shared troubled backgrounds and current

struggles that provides support and understanding. Illegal activities such as drug selling and gang fights occur, but the members in these gangs experience peer support and a sense of independence. This sense of independence can be enticing because it provides a chance to be part of the more permissive contemporary culture. This is especially true if the female is from a traditional culture that has strict and limiting gender roles.

Exiting Gangs and the Future

Deciding to leave active gang life can be as dangerous as joining. Girls can be beaten out. Although reasons for leaving can include maturity and aging-out, there is a unique female reason: motherhood. Raising children in a gang can be supportive and can replicate a sense of family, especially when children are infants. Over time, the mothers often decide to raise their growing children in a lifestyle free of gang and criminal activity and sometimes because the fathers are no longer interested or involved.

Although the legal and emotional repercussions associated with gang membership are serious and further marginalizing for girls, in their own minds the immediate rewards of community and protection outweigh the risks. With visibility in the legal system, and knowledge of the factors of poverty, sexism, sexual abuse, girl-specific programming is working to include education, work-skills, self-care, parenting, and building self-efficacy.

Riva R. Zeff

See also Ethics and Moral Development, Gender Differences in; Gangs, Boys; Gender Identities and Socialization

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Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation

The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), was established in New York City in 1985 in response to the portrayal of AIDS in the *New York Post.* During the 1980s and earlier periods, the portrayal of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) persons in the media was either nonexistent or defamatory. During the past 20 years, as the organization has grown, it has shifted from chapter-based to a nationally based organization with offices in New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Today, GLAAD has been noted by *Entertainment Weekly* as one of the most powerful entities in Hollywood. GLAAD has been integral to the increased portrayal of LGBT persons in the media in a fair, respectful manner that highlights the diversity of the LGBT community.

GLAAD seeks to address LGBT in all facets of the media including newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, television, and radio. GLAAD responds to inappropriate and discriminatory depictions of LGBT person and educates media outlets with the *GLAAD Media Reference Guide,* now in its seventh edition. This guide particularly helps educate media outlets about appropriate language and terminology. GLAAD's analysis of the fall 2006 cable and reality television programming found LGBT persons in 1.3 percent of all regular roles and a significant underrepresentation of racial and gender diversity.

In recent years, issues drawing significant GLAAD attention include the media's portrayal of the gay marriage movement, hate-motivated crimes such as the murder of Matthew Shepard, the anti-gay advocacy voiced by Dr. Laura Schlessinger on her popular radio program, the hate lyrics found in the music of artists such as Eminem, the manner LGBT victims and heroes of September 11th, 2001, have been portrayed, fraudulent advertising found in ads from the "ex-gay" movement, and the manner the Catholic Church is personifying gay priests within the sex-abuse crisis within the church.

Annually, GLAAD presents media awards at ceremonies in New York City, Miami, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The first GLAAD awards were presented in 1989. The 2005 awards were broadcast for the first time on the *Logo* network. In 2006, the awards were broadcast again on *Logo* and on *VH1,* reaching 85 million homes, with 5,000 guests in

attendance, and raised $3.5 million. Awards are granted in various media and to persons demonstrating significant efforts for equal and respectful portrayal of LGBT persons. In recent years, awards have been given to films such as *Angels in America, Bend It Like Beckham, Kinsey, Brokeback Mountain,* and *Trans America* for their portrayal of the LGBT community. Television series receiving recent awards include *Six Feet Under, Sex and the City, The L Word,* and *Will & Grace.*

Daniel Farr

See also Gender Roles on Television Shows; Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays

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GENDER AND THE BRAIN

For hundreds of years, scientists have been delving into research concerning the differences between male and female brains. This research has at differences in brain size, structure, and functions. More recently, studies have been conducted on the influence of hormones on sex differences. This controversial research has led to some heated debates about the biological influence on gendered behaviors. This entry traces some of the findings and debates.

Brain Size and Structure

One of the first topics to be considered was the comparative size of male and female brains. Male brains were noted to be larger than female brains were. The average brain of boys at birth was found to be 12 percent to 20 percent larger than that of girls. As adults, men were found to have brains that weighed 11 percent to 12 percent more than the average weight for women. This early research was used to label women as intellectually inferior. It was later revealed, however, that when the size of the brain was compared with body weight, there was relatively no difference between the brain sizes of the sexes.

Brain structure was the next topic to receive considerable research attention. Looking for differences in brain structures to explain cognitive differences between males and females became a focal point. The human brain is complex. The cerebral cortex, the outermost part of the brain, contains 10 to 15 thousand million neurons and billions of synaptic connections. The cortex is divided into two halves, the right and left hemispheres. Connecting the two hemispheres is a mass of nerve fibers made up of 200 to 250 million axons called the corpus callosum. These fibers connect hundreds of millions of neurons between the two brain hemispheres.

The hypothalamus, considered a primitive part of the brain, is located at the base of the brain and connects to the master endocrine gland called the pituitary. The hypothalamus is the controller of many basic life functions such as temperature regulation, appetite, and sex drive. Scientists have found sex differences in several nuclei including the interstitial nucleus of the anterior hypothalamus. This clump of nerve cells was found to be larger in men than in women. Further, gender identity and sexual orientation have also been linked to variations in the hypothalamus. A particular cell group of the interstitial nucleus was shown to be twice as large in heterosexual men than in homosexual men and women. Another part of the hypothalamus was found to be smaller in male-to-female transsexuals than in a male control group. These research findings prompted great debate about whether there is a biological basis for homosexuality.

In the past 10 years, neurobiologists have reported structural differences between the sexes that have been linked to women's advantage in language-related tasks and male's advantage in visuospatial skills. Some studies indicated that when processing language, activation in the men's brains was confined to the left hemisphere, whereas both the left and right hemispheres of women's brains were strongly activated. Further, it has been said that men's right hemisphere was more specialized for spatial tasks compared with that of females. The research suggests that women have greater integration between the brain's two hemispheres (bilateral processing), whereas male brains are said to be more lateralized or

specialized. Further, this concept of bilateral processing has been supported by findings regarding the size of the corpus callosum.

The splenium, which composes the back fifth of the corpus callosum, is a pathway serving complex cognitive functions. Relative to brain weight, the splenium's surface area and width were found to be greater in women than men. Male brains have been found to have fewer connections across the corpus callosum. This increased lateralization may allow for greater right brain performance, such as in enhanced visuospatial skills. Women, with greater bilateralization, would excel at verbal skills. Although contentious, there is some consensus that the corpus callosum is larger and differently shaped (more bulbous) in women compared with men. Other research, using different methods, has not found these differences.

Language and Mental Ability

In taking a closer look at women's language skills advantage, on average, women excel on recall of words and finding words that begin with a specific letter. They also tend to be better than men at matching items and performing certain precision tasks, such as Peg-Board placing. Some research suggests that women's stronger links between brain hemispheres enable verbal and nonverbal information to be coordinated. This may lead to women's greater social sensitivity.

Interesting research has pointed to sex differences in certain speech disorders. For example, men incur aphasia, an impairment of the production and understanding of speech, more often from left hemisphere damage compared with women. Since men rely more on the posterior region of the left hemisphere for speech than women do, they are more affected.

Some research has failed to find sex differences in language tasks. Conflicting results may be attributed partly to different language tasks used in various studies. It may be that the sexes differ in brain organization for some language tasks but not for others. The varying results may also reflect the complexity of the ever-changing brain.

The largest male advantage in cognitive abilities has been found for certain spatial tasks, especially for mental rotation and visualization of objects. In particular, men seem to have an advantage in tests that require the subject to imagine rotating an object or performing some similar type of mental manipulation. Further, men exhibit more accuracy in tests

of target-directed motor skills, such as guiding or intercepting thrown objects. They also have been found to outperform women in navigating their way through a route.

Interestingly, it has been demonstrated that men and women use different mental strategies in attempting to perform various spatial tasks. Men often use visualization of the entire pattern or geography, whereas women appear to use verbal labels and landmarks more frequently.

Some research conducted on adults suggests a structural basis for the male advantage in visuospatial tasks. The area of the brain important for visuospatial activities, called the inferior parietal lobe, is larger in men than in women. This is especially true on the left side of the male brain. It is not known whether males and females are born with the same sized inferior parietal lobes or whether differences develop with experience through time. A growing body of research is now providing evidence that the brain's organization changes in response to learning. Thus, researchers caution that observed differences may be the result of brain adaptation to gendered learning and socialization and do not necessarily reflect innate differences.

Hormones

During the development of the embryo in the womb, circulating hormones are thought to play an important role in sexual differentiation of the brain. Some researchers have indicated that the presence of androgens in early life produces a "male" brain. In contrast, a "female" brain is thought to develop in the absence of androgen through a default mechanism. The role of ovarian hormones has only recently been investigated. Some evidence is accumulating to indicate that sex hormones may alter connectivity between various parts of the brain throughout life.

Initially, it was thought that the emergence of sex differences in spatial abilities appeared during puberty. Accumulating evidence now suggests that some differences are present early on. At this time, the role sex hormones play in brain organization is not well understood. Some research findings have suggested that both testosterone and estrogen may play a role in visuospatial and verbal skills. Scientists are speculating that prenatal hormone exposure in humans may affect brain development.

Studies have been conducted on two groups of women exposed to abnormal levels of androgens. Girls having a genetic condition called congenital adrenal

hyperplasia (CAH) and women whose pregnant mothers took diethylstilbestrol (DES), an estrogen ("female") hormone have been studied. The adrenal glands of CAH girls produce excessive amounts of androgens ("male" hormones). Overproduction of androgens and effects of DES have been shown to masculinize female reproductive systems and contribute to possible behavioral differences. This research has provided evidence for the hormonal contributions to sex differences.

Studies found that CAH girls showed enhanced visuospatial skills as well as masculinized toy preferences. These girls may also have masculinized genitalia that may contribute to the way the child is socialized and treated by others. In further support of this view, men with androgen deficiencies show decreased visuospatial abilities on tasks such as object rotation and navigation.

The influence of androgens on spatial ability does not appear to a simple case of higher levels producing better spatial scores. High levels of testosterone may actually inhibit spatial ability. For maximal spatial ability, studies indicate an optimal level of androgens, somewhere in the low "male" range. This may also be the case for math reasoning as well.

Natural fluctuations in hormonal levels are also being investigated. Some studies indicate that women's performances on cognitive tasks changed as estrogen levels varied throughout their menstrual cycles. At the beginning of the menstrual cycle, in the low-estrogen phase, women's performance on some spatial perception tests improved. In contrast, just before ovulation, when estrogen levels were high, spatial ability decreased and speech performance was enhanced. In men, seasonal fluctuations in spatial ability have been observed. Men's spatial performance appears to be enhanced in the spring, when testosterone levels are lower. Also, men's testosterone levels are higher in the morning than in the evening. Hormonal levels also vary throughout life and with environmental changes. Very little is known about the relation between hormone levels detected early in life when abilities may become organized in the brain and those levels found in adulthood. Further research needs to be conducted to understand these impacts on the brain and behavior.

Explanations of Differences

One controversial view put forward to explain sex differences is the evolutionary perspective. According to evolutionary theory, studying the differing roles men and women have played throughout history can provide valuable insights into brain organization differences. In ancient times, men were responsible for defending the group and hunting. Women were the caretakers and gathered and prepared food and clothing. This role specialization is said to have put different selection pressures on men and women. Male-to-male competition was typically physical, resulting in larger and more aggressive men. The male advantage in navigational skill could have aided in their detection of the movement of enemies or predators. Although spatial skills could have aided in the making and use of tools and weapons, females' preference for landmarks may have enhanced their abilities to gather food closer to home. Also, although men have the physical strength to compete with other men, women may have used language skills to gain a social advantage. Increased nonverbal sensitivity might have helped in selecting a nurturant mate who was willing to participate in childrearing practices. Further, this sensitivity might have enabled her to detect threats and distress in her children, increasing their chances for survival. This evolutionary view is not without its critics.

For instance, as noted earlier, some of the research suggests that observed differences in cognitive patterns and hormonal activity may reflect social and environmental conditioning. Interestingly, some research is starting to find that when people deliberately change sex-role behavior, such as men becoming more nurturing or women becoming more aggressive, their hormones and brains change in the process.

In recent years, new methods for assessing sex differences in brain organization have been used. These include functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) and positron emission tomography (PET). Researchers are now able to see what parts of the brain are activated when a given task is performed. These techniques are also used to detect quantitative differences in the number and form of brain cells, as well as the thickness and volumes of brain regions. This research has yielded promising, yet conflicting results.

All the findings mentioned are generalizations based on group means. Much of the research conducted is based on correlational data, so causality cannot be determined. Any individual of either sex may have relatively strong or weak spatial or verbal abilities. There is considerable overlap between men and women on many cognitive tests. Also, some researchers report greater similarities between the sexes than differences, and many researchers report changes over time within individuals.

Although findings pointing to sex differences in the brain could be used to justify prejudice against women, this does not necessarily have to be the case. Physiological research on sex differences reflects existing cultural constructs regarding gender—in other words, even the questions asked reflect gender socialization. At the same time, understanding sex differences can advance our knowledge of health and illness. Certain illnesses that appear to afflict one sex more than the other, such as schizophrenia, Alzheimer's disease, and dyslexia, can benefit from continued research efforts.

Claire F. Sullivan

See also Chromosome Disorders; Gender Stereotypes; Hormones; Menstruation; Toys

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GENDER AND THE INTERNET

From its inception in the latter half of the 20th century, the Internet has been a social tool that has reflected general attitudes and participation about gender among other social factors, viewed through the distinctive prism that the Internet imposes on communication. In addition, the study of gender differences in Internet use is sometimes used as a measure of gender differences and similarities in communication, of gender and sex roles, and of the reaction to and use of technology.

As technological innovator Tim Berners-Lee explains, the Internet was originally a tool for a relatively small audience, an audience of users who were predominantly conservative white men in positions of entrenched power. Indeed, the Internet was first used in the early 1970s as a means of communication for U.S. Department of Defense scientists and other defense researchers. The Internet rapidly developed into a tool for U.S. scholarly and research communication in general. (With a goal of promoting scholarly and research communication outside of the United States, Berners-Lee created the World Wide Web in 1989 as a tool for European scholars to share information; both tools are often referred to as the original entity, the Internet.) Regardless of original intent and usage by men, even the most cursory examinations demonstrate that the Internet is now accessed and used by women both at home and in the workplace, and that differences in these access and use patterns are more often either (a) minor or (b) explicable by women's different occupations and depressed salaries.

By 2000, the Internet had become a global means of communication available to anyone with access to a computer with a modem. The Internet is characterized by communication that can be rapid, uncensored, and difficult to modify once transmitted. Internet communication can occur in real time or as the static posting of type and other images. Because it is no longer restricted to scientific or scholarly usage, the Internet reflects such generally significant socially constructed categories as race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexuality, sexual preference, and, of course, gender, as described in this entry.

Gendered Communication on the Internet

Differences in Internet use have been and continue to be studied widely, by, among other researchers, those at the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau has collected information on computer access and use in general since 1984 and on computer and Internet access and use since 1997. However, the Census Bureau's analysis of the data often emphasizes educational level and socioeconomic status rather than gender.

Studies, such as that of Tracy Kennedy, Barry Wellman, and Kristine Klement, of the gendered use of computers and the Internet in North America, have substantiated the existence of a digital divide in access to and in the use of computers and the Internet. Studies using large-scale survey data, the 1998 National Geographic Survey (NGS) and the General Social Survey (GSS) for 2000 and 2002, suggested that women use the Internet more for what were said to be more "social" and "supportive" reasons, thus reinforcing the interpretation of women's communication as affiliative and emotionally expressive when contrasted with that of men. In comparison, men use the Internet more for what were classed as instrumental reasons and for recreation when alone. Kennedy et al.'s study explains such disparities in use by referring to the greater likelihood that women will have other roles interfering with possible computer time, for instance, postulating that maternal caregiving for children has limited women's use of Internet technology (IT) more than have the obligations of men who are fathers.

Again using large-scale surveys, researchers such as Susan Carol Losh, have demonstrated how U.S. computer and Internet access has grown and, to a degree, changed according to gender. In examining changes in digital access from the early 1980s to the beginning of the 21st century, researchers have found dramatic growth in the numbers of Americans who have and make use of IT—yet the gendered patterns of difference in access and use have persisted. Women who were not married had, in general, the least home computer or online access of any group. Women who were less educated (together with more highly educated men, interestingly) markedly used their workplace computers more often.

In contrast to women of all categories, Losh has demonstrated that men who had at least some college were also the most likely to have workplace Web access or e-mail. Men in general (and the well-educated as a whole) were more likely to use home e-mail or to subscribe to a home dial-up or broadband service. There continued to be significant gender gaps in online time from 1995 to 2000: Men (and well-educated individuals overall) spent by far the most time online. Yet by 2000, women with graduate degrees had indeed achieved gender parity in many areas of the United States. Results have been interpreted as stemming partly from gender, educational, and occupational differences.

Women do continue to lag behind men in the intensity of their use of the Internet, continuing to spend more modest and less regular time on the Internet than men do. Yet, data also show that women are making great strides in the time they devote to Internet use, and using the Internet in their own particular ways; for example, using the Internet for activities that are thought of as developing and affirming relationships, whether in the business or personal sphere.

Richard Joiner and his colleagues examined areas of participation of women and men in varied Internet activities, along with the way in which they communicate. There were several differences in the use of the Internet attributable to gender as shown by a study of more than 600 undergraduate students. Gender differences in participants' use of the Internet were exemplified by men's greater likelihood of having their own Web pages compared with women. Overall, men were more likely to use the Internet than women; in particular, men were more likely to use game Web sites, to use other specialist Web sites, and to download material from the Internet. It was not true, as is sometimes suggested, that women used the Internet for communication more than did men. There was a significant positive relationship between Internet identification and total use of the Internet, and a significant negative relationship between Internet anxiety and total use of the Internet. Controlling for Internet identification and Internet anxiety, a significant and negative correlation between gender and use of the Internet has been found. In total, all three predictors accounted for 40 percent of the variance in general Internet use: with Internet identification accounting for 26 percent, Internet anxiety accounting for 11 percent, and gender accounting for 3 percent.

Attitudes and Anxiety

Basic attitudes toward computers and their use for the Internet as well as for other applications indicates that computer anxiety has almost inevitably been reported

as more common in women than in men, as have feelings of competence with regard to computers. Yet the percentage and number differences have never marked so great a gulf, and the gap between women and men with regard to feelings of anxiety and competence has decreased every year, as broad-scale surveys like those of the U.S. Census Bureau and the Pew Project on the Internet and American Life have shown.

In specific studies of feelings about cyber-terrorism, women have shown a steady and escalated level of fear when compared with men. Studies such as that of the Pew Project and the Census Bureau note that as many as 55 percent of women report fear at the possibility of cyber-terrorism compared with as few as 40 percent of men.

Reported attitude differences between women and men users of the Internet rely on the questions researchers pose. Often such researchers have covered a limited area, often that of assaying "computer anxiety" or "fearfulness" expressed at the prospect of cyber-terrorist attack. To be sure, formulating a survey instrument that evaluates women's and men's reported anxiety and fear can be an excellent measure by which to judge gendered differences in reporting behavior. Yet, scholars suggest that researchers might also reasonably study the effect on computer and Internet users of popular beliefs about the possibility of effective cyber-terrorism to be, or the practicality of "fire sale" plans that eliminate all Internet-dependent systems in the nation. Such plans are the subject of urban legends and folk myths and the fodder of popular movie plots pitting male evil computer geniuses against male action heroes—see the film *Live Free or Die Hard*, for example—and the effect of these rumors and films has yet to be explored.

A reasonable fear exists among some women, which has been documented by the Pew projects. This fear is not so much a fear of technology, lurking cyber-terrorists, or the Internet complexity, but of the individuals women and girl users might encounter and how trusting or suspicious women and girls should be when using the Internet. The population expressing the highest levels of fear comprises teenaged girls who post information and especially photographs on the Internet. Thus, teenaged girls who post Internet profiles for social networking have a greater chance of being contacted by individuals with no connection either to them or to their friends, as the Pew Center reports. Although teenaged boys too are contacted and exploited, teenaged girls are far more likely to express fear about the possible ramifications of their Internet activity.

The Character of Internet Communication

The Internet is the receptacle of both real-time and virtual messages, of both immediate and static images and words. As such, the Internet allows users to engage in many different kinds of communication (and even not to seem to be on the Internet, as one does when one is lurking). From the instant message, chat room and Internet relay chat (IRC), message board, virtual community and multi-user domain (MUD), Web site, and support group, the Internet enables the transfer of images and information. The user soon understands that he or she uses the Internet with the caveat that a receiver must often take a sender at his or her word, and vice versa. In this way, networks and relationships can be formed, but will always have a tentative and uncertain quality about them—expectations that, as the receiver's words and images may be suspicious, the sender too need not necessarily communicate faithfully. In addition to "normal" misrepresentations such as claiming that one does not have a cold when one does (the better to escape the sick role), misrepresentation on the Internet may be of a kind considered much more momentous, as when gender, name, age, personal appearance, biography, sexual preference, race, or ethnicity is claimed with an intent or the result of deceiving another or others. Outrage experienced will vary with the degree to which a given characteristic is felt to be crucial to the Internet communication.

Almost any membership criterion can be manufactured and misrepresented on the Internet. Possibilities for online deception and exploitation, on the one hand, and altruistic and protective gray-hat action on the other, have been explored and discovered to take distinctively gendered turns, as in situations where a subtle dragnet is issued for young women or for older widows. The object can be Internet harassment or meeting the target to exploit her sexually or to defraud her of funds. Of course, the resulting suspicion of stated or projected authenticity and accuracy about identity, image, and deed, on the one, hand, and the match between claim and sincerity, on the other, exists with face-to-face interaction as well. However, the relatively recent use of the Internet has awakened individuals to this general feature of social interaction, as well as the potential dangers and

advantages of using the Internet for strategic acts like the formation of relationships, the transmission of information, the creation, sustenance, and dissolution of networks, and the communication of positive and negative social sanctions, both formal and informal.

Gender, Identity, and Internet Communication

Multiple studies have demonstrated that women Internet users differ from men. Researchers have found that the way in which women use chat rooms, discussion boards, and listservs suggests that the cyber-discourse may be gendered in much the same way as face-to-face talk. Women may use emoticons that symbolize the emotions stereotypically sanctioned positively for their gender, and women overall are reported to use more emoticons and to use them more often. More than reinforcing the view that women are emotionally expressive whereas men remain stoically instrumental; however, the soundest research examines emoticon use in detail, over time, and with regard to different Internet audiences and contexts, as Alecia Wolf's work demonstrates.

Wolf's study of newsgroups noted that same-gender groups developed their own patterns of use of emoticons over time. When these single-gender groups formed a mixed-gender group, men did not silence women or ignore their contributions, as might be expected. Instead, men adopted women's richer patterns of use for emoticons. Women's emoticon use connoting support, gratitude, and solidarity continued to develop at the same time. In some contexts studied, in e-communication involving both women and men, men contributed at greater length and more entries were judged as "instrumental," in contrast to women's briefer online participation that was likelier to be social if not sociable. In this way, women's usernames may mirror their own names, if those names express the segment of identity they want to express; examples are 31sweet_sue74, marxistgrrrl23, IMAseriousfeminist, and abigail26, or the tongue-in-cheek 2cute2survive. Women also report sometimes choosing usernames to shield themselves from potential predators searching for women as prey, and women who post their own Web pages include information designed to shore up their image as gender appropriate while omitting information that will give others ready access, whether that access results in a simple flood of e-mail or results in male sexually predatory actions. In this respect, women in business, who often must adopt a company-chosen name, are least protected.

The Internet offers opportunities to communicate authentically or deceptively or to manage strategically one's own identity. Identity tourism, or the practice of trying on and attempting to pass as a social category to which one has no legitimate claims, exists with regard to gender along with such other categories as occupation, sexual preference, ethnicity, race, age, and socioeconomic status. When unseen and unheard in general, the individual in everyday face-to-face communication will reliably have opportunities when she or he can, or must, dissemble in expressing gender, race, age, and other social categories. In MUDs, others may enact race and gender by interacting with one's character by, for example, purchasing paint to change another's skin, change one's hair color as well as one's garments, and suggest one's name or, if in a game, a different avatar, itself with a variety of categories.

Cyberfeminism and Women's Experience

Importantly, the Internet, together with other present and future applications of computers, is sometimes presented as introducing a new type of feminism with distinctive qualities. This cyberfeminism (as students of technology and social life such as Donna Haraway and Sadie Plant suggest) can offer women the possibility of experiencing a feminism free of reductive essentialism, free of the shackles of embodied communication and the obligation to deal with the polarities of control or lack of control of the body, and free of the rhetoric of mere victimhood and the obligatory self-examination for the footprints of oppression, either as author or object of oppression. (There are also nonfeminist theorists who believe that the Internet need not be "gender-salient.") If cyberfeminists' projected possibilities are realized, the resulting social change would achieve social change, for women in particular, to a degree not even contemplated by past visionaries of cybernetics.

However, the mundane reality—and the possible disagreeable and unfortunate counterpoint to these hopes for a radical or even a liberal cyberfeminism—is that the Internet experience of some women is rarely unambiguously pleasant or successful. For example, Loong Wong's research suggests that women who are Asian may feel that a particular Web site can be experienced by those to whom it was directed as an empowering refuge for the discussion of and planning for resistance. Yet, Internet users also found themselves subject to other

Internet experiences that featured an image of Asian women as self-abnegating mail-order brides or exotic dragon-ladies (see, for example, www.thaidarling.com, www.asianwifeonline.com, www.aperfectwife.com). Those who analyze such sites can feel that they portray Asian women as the continuing emblems of white men's colonially subjugated fantasies. For men who make use of such Internet sites, the Internet may thereby become a means to shore up current fantasies that trivialize Asian women and perpetuate degrading stereotypes—and to distribute these fantasies and stereotypes ever more widely, cloaked in the garments of a "new" and sophisticated technology. If this is so, then scholars argue that Internet communication is little different in character from the literacy that has enabled us to deliver information that challenges or reproduces stereotypes of the past, such as letter-writing or the print media.

Conclusion

Women's and men's use of the Internet partly responds to and can be explained by those more general gendered features of interactions with technology, of communication styles, and, indeed, of social status in U.S. society. With much the same dynamic as Wong reports, the woman who is a university professor may find virtual communities as a safe harbor of expression and support—yet experience gendered online harassment from her students. With an unambiguously sinister purpose, cyber-rape Web sites exist in numbers and may result in extreme violence toward girls and women. With such developments in mind, critics such as Eileen Green and Dale Spender warn users to carefully consider that the Internet may reinforce as well as disrupt power structures that sustain and promote gender inequities, and that virtual communities may be sounding boards for the repression of women's rights as well as tool for forging those rights. Consequently, gendered communication and the Internet shed light on the complex relationship of language, technology, and society.

Carol Brooks Gardner

See also Cybersex; Cyborg Manifesto; Discursive Theories of Gender; Language, Gender Differences; Media and Gender Socialization

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Gender Discrimination in Employment

The experiences of women in the formal U.S. labor force have long been shaped by systems of inequality. Women's labor—in both the formal and the informal labor force—has been regulated within a socioeconomic structure that is rooted in the core

principles of capitalism, patriarchy, and racism. Although the U.S. socioeconomic structure is highly invested in the maintenance of male privilege and male dominance, the interlocking nature of capitalism, patriarchy, and racism, as outlined by the writings of black feminists, has also created diverse labor histories as well as diverse labor realities among different classes of women. Even when women's labor history is analyzed through the prism of these interlocking and intersecting systems of inequality, it is most apparent that all women are and have always been disadvantaged in the U.S. labor force, as described in this entry.

Women and the Formal Labor Market

As acknowledged by the title of Alice Kessler-Harris's book, *Women Have Always Worked,* the history of women's labor is intimately woven throughout the many fabrics of the national identity and historical evolution of the United States. The complexity of women's labor in the United States cannot be solely understood by analyzing women's labor in the formal or paid labor force. Women's labor has historically been performed in what has been conceptualized as the domestic or private sphere. The positioning of women outside the formal labor force or the public sphere was, and to some extent remains, culturally justified and legally sanctioned. Such justifications and policies were rooted in the Western social construction of gender roles, which are rooted in a patriarchal system and are committed to the normalization of male superiority and dominance.

Heidi Hartmann was among the first feminist labor scholars during the second-wave U.S. feminist movement to theorize about women's subjugation—both within and outside the labor market. Hartman sought to unmask the interrelationship of capitalism and patriarchy and argued that the sex division of labor is a central and pervasive thread throughout the capitalist mode of production. The underlining patriarchal principles that supported the devaluation and marginalization of women's labor performed in the domestic or private sphere took roots in the public sphere as women—primarily white, middle-class women—began to make significant inroads into the paid or formal labor force. Although the rise of industrial capitalism and the military industrial complex generated a demand for labor—hence creating a range of occupational opportunities for women in the formal labor market—women's inroads into the formal labor market or public sphere did not result in a socioeconomic equity between men and women.

Women's Struggle for Justice in the Formal Labor Market

There has been a long history of injustices committed against women who are a part of the labor market. However, there have also been key moments where women have gained greater access to resources and better standing within the labor market. During the 1960s, many of the acts that affected civil rights in the United States also advanced women's rights through greater equality. Two acts that strongly affected women's struggle for justice were the Equal Rights Amendment and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

The Equal Rights Amendment and Feminist Movement(s)

President Lyndon B. Johnson's signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a major moment in women's struggle for equality. This milestone in both the civil rights movement and the evolution of justice in the United States allowed for federal oversight and regulation of most employment policies and practices. Before one can fully understand the significance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the quest for women's rights and protections in the formal labor market, this legislative document must be situated in a historical legacy of feminist activism and feminist politics. To that end, the legacy of struggle surrounding the advocating for the Equal Rights Amendment highlights a broader struggle against occupational discrimination.

Ever since the Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, women have been committed to an organized struggle against systems of inequality that seek to maintain women's subjugated status. This era in feminist and womanist activism, which some scholars have identified as the first wave of the feminist movement, resulted in a national platform that sought to bring awareness to the plight of women in a patriarchal society and inspire a woman-centered movement that would agitate for sex equality as well as woman's liberation from their sexual enslavement. During this phase in

the feminist movement, what emerged was a broader demand to amend the U.S. Constitution and promote equality among all individuals and protect the fundamental human rights of all persons.

Since being proposed in Seneca Falls in 1923 during the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, the Equal Rights Amendment has undergone a number of iterations. First introduced as the Lucretia Mott Amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment set out to ensure equality between men and women throughout the United States and in all of its jurisdictions. This proclamation encountered both opposition and hesitancy from many first-wave feminists and labor activists in the U.S. labor movement at the beginning of the 20th century. Many first-wave feminists and labor activists believed that women and children need to be protected from inhumane working conditions and exploitative labor demands; therefore, gendered labor laws that institutionalized inequities between men and women as it relates to the types of labor most suitable for women to perform and the number of hours in a day women could work were established. Such feminist politics were later critiqued—largely by second-wave feminists and academics—as paternalistic and invested in essentialist or biological stereotypes about sex and sex roles. Nonetheless, many first-wave feminists and labor activists were well-intentioned and committed to their protectionist polices; therefore they perceived the Equal Rights Amendment as possibly threatening if not undoing significant gains in the early U.S. labor and feminist movements.

During World War II, there was increased political support for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Although many first-wave feminists and labor rights activists remained in opposition, Alice Paul—a longtime suffragist and woman's rights activist—emerged as a leading advocate for the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1943, Alice Paul rewrote aspects of the amendment with the intent of adding universal suffrage and equality. The Equal Rights Amendment was later referred to as the Alice Paul Amendment. Support for the revised amendment escalated in the post–World War II era and with the rise of the civil rights movement. The demand for equal rights between the sexes became a defining issue of the second-wave feminist movement.

For second-wave feminists, the notion that women were inherently different from men and therefore should be legally protected in the labor market was problematic. It is the position of most second-wave feminists and labor activists that women's unequal status relative to men is endemic to a patriarchal-capitalist society. This male-centered socioeconomic arrangement has created and maintained a legacy of sex-typed wages, of exploiting women's and children's labor, and of relegating women either to sex-typed jobs or the unpaid labor in the domestic sphere. The Equal Rights Amendment was therefore seen as a means by which to guarantee federal oversight of women's experiences in the labor force as well as a mechanism by which to contest the occupational discrimination faced by women.

Civil Rights Act of 1964—Title VII

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a centerpiece of various progressive social movements in the United States. Even though the original drafting of the 1964 civil rights act was heavily grounded in notions or ideas of racial justice and racial equality, the plight of women and other disadvantaged groups was also part of this national conversation. The legacy of feminist activism helped shape the provisions and guidelines of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been essential in establishing occupational opportunities and, to a lesser degree, reforming the workplace culture for certain marginalized and minority populations. The objectives and provisions of this act of legislation are twofold. Title VII outlines specific discriminatory practices and policies in hiring based on the race, color, religion, sex, and national origin of the potential employee. In conjunction, Title VII also prohibits employers from engaging or endorsing practices and policies that discriminate based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin with regard to promotions and job training. These provisions aimed at undoing years of institutionalized policies and practices that sought to exclude cultural minorities and disadvantaged groups from accessing certain occupational niches. Further, these provisions also established regulations against a hostile workplace for cultural minorities and disadvantaged groups.

Title VII goes beyond solely legislating against discriminatory polices and practices in the labor market. Like many of the civil rights acts that emerged during the 1960s, Title VII is also an act of legislation that established a system by which to oversee its federally

mandated objectives. At the federal level, Title VII allowed for the development of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Although this authoritative body was assigned the primary task of overseeing and enforcing Title VII, its ability to actively investigate and forcibly prosecute acts of occupational discrimination—as outlined by Title VII—was the task of the U.S. attorney general. Not until 1972 with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act was the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission entrusted with the jurisdiction to fully enforce the provisions of Title VII.

Women, Work, and the (Subtle) Dimensions of Occupational Discrimination

Given the emergence of federal policies as well as increased sociopolitical agitation that sought to establish fairness and equality in the U.S. labor market, women began to make significant inroads into the formal labor market; moreover, women began to enter into occupations and occupational positions that were male-dominated. Such inroads were instrumental in reforming the sex demographics of the U.S. labor market and challenging traditional, biologically centered notions of women's sex roles. In the post–civil rights era, the once-explicit or overt nature of sex discrimination became more insidious and more apparent in the internal structure of occupations and firms that women were beginning to penetrate.

Occupational Sex-Typing

As women began to enter the formal labor market, they encountered a division of labor that was rooted in cultural assumptions about appropriate sex-roles and gender performances. Early analyses of this gendered division of labor often operated from the assumption that the distinction between men's and women's sex roles is both natural and biological. As a result of this assumption, written and unwritten labor policies were responsible for tracking both female and male workers into occupational niches that were deemed most suitable for their respective biological sex roles. Early discussions regarding the sexual division of labor (that is, men's work versus women's work) attribute this dichotomous phenomenon to the taken-for-granted connection between different types of work and biological assumptions

about men's and women's innate sex roles. These gendered assumptions about work as well as workers have formed sex stereotypes about diverse classes of occupations in the formal labor market.

For most social scientists, and feminists scholars in particular, the biological discourse about sex roles as well as the sexual division of labor is problematic. When the differentiation of sex roles transitioned from being defined as a biological phenomenon to a sociocultural construct, analyses of the sexual division of labor began to uncover the artificiality and arbitrariness of this bifurcated system. The stereotyping of women's work or men's work is seen by second-wave feminists and critical social scientists as an outgrowth of a patriarchal and capitalist socioeconomic structure that requires distinct work boundaries or responsibilities for males and females. Given this socioeconomic arrangement, women's work, both in the domestic and the private spheres, is highly devalued, yet it is extremely essential to the functioning of society; moreover, women's work is fundamental to the capitalist mode of production. Within this mode of production, women's work or labor is positioned within occupational niches that lack the monetary rewards, occupational prestige, and the job stability that are more commonly associated with men's work and labor.

Occupational Sex Segregation

Although federal legislation created more inroads for women into the formal labor market as well as male-dominated occupational positions, there has been limited interaction between male and female workers both within and across occupations. The sex segregation of workers is a multifold process. At the core of this phenomenon are the cultural assumptions and stereotypes underlining the sexual division of labor. Even in occupational settings whereby considerable sex diversity exists among workers, the type of occupational tasks and job assignments that one is required to do produces and maintains a sex-segregated environment. The sex segregation of work and occupations is a process that emanates from two distinct yet interrelated factors. At one end of the spectrum, feminists and critical scholars have argued that the overrepresentation of women in certain occupations and professions is a systemic outcome of the gender tracking of females throughout the education system. By tracking females into academic disciplines that are culturally

defined as most appropriate or well-suited for women, women's occupational trajectory takes them in divergent employment paths relative to that of men. At the other end of the spectrum, women become channeled into sex-typed occupations and occupational roles by employers or hiring bodies. Although the process of occupational sex segregation has a significant role in shaping the sex ratio or sex composition of an occupation, the consequences of this dimension of occupational discrimination also affects the earning potential, occupational mobility, and overall prestige of occupations that are disproportionately female compared with those that have a higher concentration of male workers and have been defined as men's work.

Sex Gap in Wages or Earnings

Women's work and women's labor have long been devalued within the United States. From a socialist feminist perspective, the work that women do is devalued as well as degraded because it is women's work. The subjugated status of women in a capitalist and patriarchal society does not become irrelevant with the increased participation of women in the formal labor market. The second-class status of women in the labor market is highlighted by the gap between men's and women's wages. Some economists have characterized the gender gap in wages as reflecting women's "limited" and more sporadic tenure in the formal labor market. Feminist and critical social scholars, however, have argued that the gap between men's and women's wages is largely the result of wage scales that are rooted in patriarchal assumptions. These assumptions have placed a lower premium and value on women's work and labor; therefore, the level of compensation associated with women's work and labor is unjust.

Occupational Mobility

Within the occupational structure, women are disproportionately positioned in the lower tiers of the labor market. The overwhelming concentration of women in entry-level or lower-level occupational positions can be explained by women's tenure in the formal labor market or in a given occupational niche—especially during the 1960s as a significant number of women became new entrants into the labor force. Although women's length of time in the formal labor market partially explains women's lower status

in the labor market relative to most men, this explanatory variable masks the ways in which employers, managers, and various sexist or patriarchal policies often hinder women's upward mobility. Feminist scholars began to assess women's rate of occupational mobility or the lack thereof using an internal labor market analysis. For many women in the professions, their ability to advance from more entry-level occupational positions to positions of greater authority is restricted by a phenomenon known as the glass ceiling, a process whereby women are tracked into occupational positions that have limited opportunities for advancement or whose promotion trajectory does not lead to administrative or executive statuses.

Conclusion

Women made significant advances within the formal labor market during the last quarter of the 20th century. This progress is the result of both women's resistance to systems of inequality and legislative policies or regulations that outlawed sexual discrimination in the labor force. Although women have made great gains, dimensions of occupational discrimination do exist. In the context of a patriarchal and capitalist society, women's status in the labor market will inevitably remain devalued and impeded by sexist, male-centered practices and policies without greater equity in opportunities.

Gary Perry

See also Affirmative Action; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Gender Wage Gap; Glass Ceiling; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Occupational Segregation; Sexism

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Gender Dysphoria

Gender dysphoria is discomfort or dissatisfaction with one's gender. *Gender* is the socially constructed dichotomy affiliated with constructs of masculinity and femininity and is primarily assigned based on one's perceived sex at birth. Infants born male are socially expected to become men, females to become women; people who choose to cross these boundaries may be diagnosed with gender dysphoria. Interestingly, those who are born intersexed, or with ambiguous genitalia or sex chromosomes, cannot be diagnosed with gender dysphoria because it is based upon a clear dichotomous structure of both sex and gender.

Gender dysphoria is an umbrella term used to refer to both transvestites and transgendered persons. Transvestic fetishism, also know as TF, TV, or cross-dressing, is medically defined to exist only in males who enjoy dressing in women's clothing. Cross-dressers are likely to be heterosexual, appropriately masculine men who may dress in women's clothing for erotic reasons. There is substantial variation in the extent of cross-dressing that may occur, ranging from women's undergarments to full clothing with the accompaniment of wigs, makeup, perfume, and jewelry. Most transvestites do not wish to change their gender or their sex. As many as 1 in 15 men may enjoy cross-dressing behavior; however, numbers of men who participate in this behavior are difficult to estimate given that many men may feel shame and embarrassment about this behavior and actively seek to keep it secret. Women also dress in men's clothing; however, this is not socially constructed as gender dysphoric, but is merely regarded as gender variance. This may also have founding in the social reality that men have greater social power and privilege; to dress in women's clothing challenges this social position and, thus, may have become regarded as a psychiatric condition.

Gender identity disorder (GID) is the official psychological diagnosis for transgendered and transsexual persons. Transgendered persons are individuals who enact a gender identity that does not culturally align with their sex; for example a born male who lives as a woman (a transwoman), or a born female who lives as a man (a transman). Transgendered persons who pursue surgical genital or sex reassignment surgery are transsexual. Transsexuals who transition from male to female are frequently denoted as MTF or M2F, and those who transition from female to male are denoted as FTM or F2M. Increasingly however, the denotation of T2F or T2M, to recognize a transgendered identity rather than a sexed identity, is being employed.

Before a person can pursue surgical sex reassignment surgery, he or she must be psychiatrically diagnosed with GID, thus must be "mentally ill" to have surgery, which in turn "cures" the mental illness by aligning the person's body with her or his mental gender construct. The psychiatric diagnosis of GID is problematic because it exists in a world where men and women commonly experience gender variations and behaviors that do not necessarily imply the desire to change their gender or sex. Additionally, it is assumed that one's psychiatric distress is the result of GID, whereas it may be the social response and stigma affiliated with cross-gendered or gender-variant behavior that is causing distress.

GID diagnosis among children is often the result of psychiatric treatment sought by parents concerned about their child's "abnormal" behavior. Parents are more likely to seek psychiatric treatment for boys who demonstrate feminine behavior (sissy-boys) than for girls who demonstrate masculine behavior (tomboys). A goal of "successful" treatment of children with GID is the avoidance of adult homosexuality and transsexualism. This embeds GID within a social context valuing heterosexuality and traditional gender identities. Although it may not be a causal relationship, research demonstrates that a significant number of gay men and lesbians recall cross-gendered behaviors as children. The degree to which heterosexual adults demonstrated cross-gendered behavior as children is unclear.

A diagnosis of GID among adults is embedded in a binary system of gender norms. Many individuals with gender variance who desire sexual reassignment surgery and need the diagnosis of GID have learned the "appropriate" narrative or story to tell

their psychiatrist. Given the constraints of psychiatric diagnosis, the tremendous variation of experience that likely exist within this population becomes invisible. These narratives limit the knowledge of variation, and the continued use of this narrative further reinforces the value believed to be held in this one common story. Those who identify as transgendered or later transsexual often develop or "transition" from one gender to another over time, often at least several years.

Most persons identified with GID and who pursue surgical reassignment are born male. Although statistics vary dramatically, it is estimated that between 1 in 2,500 and 1 in 500 born males transition to become female. Perhaps fewer born-females pursue this diagnosis because socially they may have greater fluidity in the enactment of femininity, enabling the existence of a more "butch" feminine identity or this may also be a consequence of the surgical reassignment procedure itself. MTF surgical reassignment surgery has been practiced for decades and can be accomplished to enable the creation of a functionally appropriate vagina; however, FTM surgery is still being refined to create a functionally appropriate penis. FTM may simply feel that genital reassignment is less important to their gendered social identity. For both groups, socioeconomic obstacles may limit the ability to pursue psychiatric and medical treatment and surgery.

Daniel Farr

See also: Gender Identity Disorder; Gender Performance; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Transsexual; Transvestite

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GENDER IDENTITIES AND SOCIALIZATION

Gender socialization is the process by which individuals are taught and learn the values and norms associated with women's and men's roles in society. According to prevailing lay understandings of gender, individuals are born with a sex (i.e., female or male), but they must learn their gender (i.e., what it means to be a woman or a man). Through the process of gender socialization, individuals develop their gender identity, or their definition of themselves within this dichotomy—as either a woman or a man. Although most gender socialization takes place during childhood, socialization does not end there. Because gender is a social construction that pervades all social institutions, throughout the life course and in day-to-day interactions, individuals routinely navigate social expectations of girl/boy and woman/man and revise and maintain their gender identities as necessary. This entry describes theories of gender socialization, the "doing gender" perspective, agents of gender socialization, and diversity in families.

Theories of Gender Socialization

Several different theoretical perspectives explain the process of learning and enacting gender identities. Psychoanalytic theories, namely identification theory, social learning theory, and cognitive developmental theory, and the sociological "doing gender" perspective, are the main theories of gender socialization and gender identity formation.

Identification Theory

Identification theory views gender socialization as a process by which children learn gender-appropriate behaviors by identifying with, and modeling their behavior after, their same-sex parent. Identification theory is associated with Sigmund Freud, who focused on unconscious motives and drives to explain individuals' behavior. In this vein, identification theory posits that children develop motivational systems through unconscious learning; behaviors, feelings, and attitudes all form involuntarily. Because of their close emotional relationship, an unconscious psychosexual bond forms between the child and the same-sex parent, which shapes the child's sex-role identity.

Many theorists have provided revisions to Freud in the years after he initially conceptualized identification theory. Several theorists reinterpreted his notion of penis envy by taking it out of the realm of the psychological and putting it into the realm of the social. In this revision, it is posited that women are not jealous of men's actual phallus, but rather that they are jealous of the symbolic phallus; in other words, women are envious of what the penis represents: power, status, and privilege.

Object Relations Theory

Nancy Chodorow's feminist psychoanalytic theory of gender identity called object relations theory is another, well-known revision of Freud's theory. As in identification theory, children are thought to model themselves and their behavior after their same-sex parent. However, object relations theory also states that as children develop their identities, they must become psychologically separate from their parents. This means different things and has different consequences for the formation of gender identities in boys and girls.

Object relations theory posits that boys must psychologically separate themselves from attachment to their mothers and instead model themselves after their fathers. Fathers often spend a lot of time away from the home, so boys develop personalities that are more detached from others and are oriented inward. By disconnecting from others, boys cultivate a personality that stifles most emotional expression. Conversely, girls never have to psychologically separate from their mothers because they learn how to be girls by emulating their mothers. Mothers often have close attachments to others, so girls develop personalities that are more attached to, and oriented toward, others. Through modeling, girls develop nurturing behaviors and the psychological capabilities necessary for mothering.

Chodorow's object relations theory provides a socially informed perspective by placing the creation of gender identities in the context of the gendered division of labor in the worlds of work and family. Critics of Chodorow's theory argue that her perspective relies on a "traditional" nuclear family form that historically has not been used by all American families, or by families in other countries and cultures. However, researchers have also found that this perspective's sensitivity to social context provides the flexibility necessary to understand some other family forms with different household structures and cultural traditions.

Social Learning Theory

Unlike identification theory, which focuses on unconscious learning, social learning theory focuses on observable events and their consequences, underscoring the importance of the environment in understanding gender socialization. This theory understands individuals' social behavior as a response to their environment: Individuals are either rewarded or punished for their behavior; appropriate behavior results in positive sanctions, whereas inappropriate behavior results in negative sanctions. Social learning theory, then, views gender socialization as an ongoing process of learning about gender through reinforcement from others.

Similar to identification theory, social learning theory posits that children model themselves, both in their attitudes and behaviors, after their same-sex parents. However, according to social learning theory, parents are not the only significant role models for children. Cultural images and expectations that bolster children's gender identities come from a wide range of sources, including peers, teachers, and other gendered institutions.

Although social learning theory views gender as a role that is learned through modeling, it also allows gendered behaviors and attitudes to change. Even though a person establishes gendered patterns of behavior during childhood, the person's behavior is malleable and changes according to her or his social environment. Therefore, as people are thrust into new situations and the expectations in their environment changes, so do their attitudes and behaviors. Social learning theory argues that people learn their gender roles throughout their lives.

Cognitive Development Theory

Cognitive development theory is mostly associated with the psychologists Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg. This theory posits that as children explore and interact in the social world, they create mental categories called schemata. Children then use these schemata each time they interact in the social world, modifying the schemata based on the new information they have received. Essentially, cognitive development theory sees children's social development as the

result of children's interaction with their environment through their cognitive processes.

Kohlberg extended Piaget's original theory to attempt to explain the development of children's gender identities. He posited that at a young age, children learn that people are divided into two different sexes: male and female. Children first learn their own sex and then are able to classify others into those categories as well. Children come to use gender as a system for organizing and categorizing behaviors and objects and assign value to characteristics associated with men and women. Cognitive development theory also posits that as children start to believe that gender is something that will not change, they begin modeling their behavior after others of the same sex. As in identification and social learning theories, children form a strong bond with their same-sex parent and emulate their attitudes and actions.

Enculturated Lens Theory

Related to cognitive development theory is Sandra Bem's psychoanalytic theory of gender formation called enculturated lens theory. In her revision of cognitive development theory, Bem addresses its main criticism that cognitive development theory minimizes and understates the role of culture in gender socialization and the development of gender identities. Enculturated lens theory argues that culture provides individuals with a set of principles about acceptable thought and behavior, called lenses, which are embedded in society's values, social structures, and people's minds. In any given society, many different lenses exist. These lenses, or hidden norms, values, and beliefs, enable societies to reproduce themselves with each successive generation.

Enculturated lens theory focuses on the three lenses of gender that exist in the United States and most of the Western world: gender polarization, androcentrism, and biological essentialism. The lens of gender polarization centers on the concept that men and women are considered completely different, even opposite, from one another, which underlies the organization of society. The lens of androcentrism centers on the idea that men are superior to women and, as such, men and their experiences are the norm against which women are judged. The lens of biological essentialism both minimizes and justifies gender polarization and androcentrism by interpreting these lenses as biologically ordained; men's presumed superiority, using men as

the default category, and unequal power relations between men and women in society are viewed as the result of natural, unavoidable differences, rather than socially constructed differences, between males and females. These three lenses operate together to influence individuals to think and act in sex-typed ways that are supported by the culture.

"Doing Gender" Perspective

In contrast to the psychoanalytic theories posed, the "doing gender" perspective is a decidedly sociological way of understanding gender and the formation of gender identities. This perspective emphasizes that gender is a social construction, as well as an act that men and women accomplish. Essentially, gender is achieved through daily interactions with others. Rather than viewing gender as an essential something that men and women have, the "doing gender" perspective analyzes gender as something that is created and recreated in everyday interactions with other people. Gender is both fluid and situational. In other words, gender is never constant or fixed; it is not a role or set of roles that an individual learns and then has, nor is it a characteristic or an attribute of a person's identity. Rather, gender is an active construction.

Gender socialization, therefore, is a process by which children come to understand their place in the world by performing the role of same-sex others. Because children and adults care how people see them, they reflect on the judgments of others, and consequently, form (and perform) their gender identities; girls and boys, and women and men, "do" their gender every time they act in ways that are consistent with gender norms. Even though individuals receive social rewards for "doing gender" in normative ways, individuals have the power to change the social definitions of gender through norm-breaking behaviors. In addition, the "doing gender" perspective acknowledges that there is more than one way to perform masculinity and femininity and that men and women enact gender to varying degrees. Some people tightly conform to gender normative behaviors and display hypermasculine (i.e., being aggressive, physically imposing, controlling) or hyperfeminine (i.e., passive, innocent, nurturing) gender identities. Others combine various aspects of normative masculine and feminine behaviors in the performance of more androgynous gender identities.

The "doing" gender perspective views gender socialization as a dynamic process that involves active negotiations and modifications, rather than passive internalization, of others' expectations. Children do not just submissively accept messages about gender but, rather, create their gender identities in interaction with others.

Agents of Gender Socialization

People learn in many different ways what it means to be a girl or a boy and later a woman or a man. Agents of socialization are the groups or social contexts through which society's norms and values are transmitted to its members. The family, peers, schools, and the media are all important places where people learn about gender and form their gender identities.

Family

The family is the primary source of gender socialization because it is the first institution that individuals enter and, immediately upon entering it, individuals are socialized into gender appropriate norms and behaviors. The moment a child is born, parents and other family members begin to treat the infant in a variety of gender-typed ways; some even argue that new technologies that allow parents to identify the sex of the fetus in the womb also allow parents and others to begin the gender socialization process before a child is even born. Regardless of whether the sex of the child is known before birth, once a child *is* born, adults often use different adjectives to describe infant boys and girls. Research shows that parents tend to describe their children in gender-typical ways; they use words like *large, athletic,* and *tough* to describe boys, but they use words like *small, sweet,* and *pretty* to describe girls.

Dress

Parents and other adults also use dress as a way of socializing children into their gender. Different colors and styles of clothing are marketed toward either little girls or little boys. Pastel colors, especially the color pink, are popular on clothing for girls. Girls' clothing is often adorned with ruffles, bows, flowers, hearts, and other "feminine" markings. In contrast, dark colors, especially blue, dominate boys' clothing. Sports, cars, trucks, and trains are common decorations on clothing for boys. Although some gender-neutral clothing options are available, this can open the door for mistaken gender identification because infants lack physical cues to determine whether the baby is a boy or a girl. As a result, many times when young girls are dressed in gender-neutral clothing styles or colors, parents and other family members mark their infant girl's gender through earrings or a headband.

Researchers have also noted that babies' diapers are even decorated differently, often using similar gender appropriate colors and the icons mentioned earlier, so that parents can choose the design that "suits" their little boy or girl. Parents use gender-appropriate dress and even diapers because they are ways of symbolically telling the world the gender of their child and provide reliable clues about gender that are lacking from the babies' physical appearance. One of the main reasons that parents and other family members dress children in gender appropriate ways is to help people correctly interact with their child as either a girl or a boy.

Communication

Studies have shown that parents treat boys and girls differently, even though they think they are treating them the same. Parents often communicate differently with daughters and sons, reflecting parents' gendered expectations. Gendered communication between parents and children centers on discussions of different emotions; for instance, parents tend to speak to their daughters about sadness, whereas they speak to their sons about anger. In addition, with their daughters, parents tend to use a range of emotion words and use them with greater frequency. The result of this differential communication is that girls themselves tend to use a variety of emotion words and use them more often than boys do. In addition, young girls are better able to read other peoples' emotions and to identify and examine their own emotions.

Conversely, boys are less attuned to others' emotions and tend not to acknowledge their own feelings, with the exception of anger. Rather than emotive language, when speaking with their sons, parents tend to use more action verbs, numbers, and explicit language. They are also more likely to directly and verbally teach their sons, but actively help their daughters. Some argue that this fosters dependence in girls and independence in boys. This difference in communication provides a distinct socialization experience for boys and girls.

Expectations, Personality Traits, and Behavior

Individuals in society have different expectations for boys and girls; they expect boys to be more dominant and engage in rough-and-tumble play, whereas girls are expected to be more reserved and engage in quieter forms of play. People expect different things from boys and girls and therefore encourage girls and boys to have different personality traits and express different behavior. Researchers have found that boys' aggressive behavior and girls' passive behavior is often encouraged by adults in both direct and indirect ways; for instance, studies have shown that parents, especially fathers, are more likely to engage in physical play with their sons than with their daughters, which in turn steers boys away from fantasy forms of play. In essence, parents expect boys and girls to be different, which results in differential treatment based on gender.

Toys and Play

Toys are also significant sources of gender socialization. Parents choose different toys for their children based on their gender, with toys for girls and boys fostering different skills. Girls are given more dolls and household items, which encourage passivity and reinforce women's domestic and caring role in society. Conversely, boys are given more tools, trucks, cars, and sport-related toys, which encourage creation, aggression, and competition, and emphasize men's dominant and assertive role in society. Studies on gender stereotyping and toys show that toys for boys and girls of all ages are stereotyped according to gender; however, this same research finds more overlap among toys geared toward infants and toddlers. When parents and other family members give girls and boys different types of toys to play with, they are also giving them messages about appropriate gender play.

Types of play also differ by gender. As previously stated, parents tend to engage in more interactive play with their young sons than with their young daughters, which parlays into more aggressive and physical play by boys in general. However, girls are given more leeway when crossing into boy-typed play, whereas boys are often swiftly reprimanded and redirected toward boy-typed activities when they engage in play associated with girls.

Egalitarian Values and Androgyny

Despite the differential treatment of girls and boys, recent research has found that, more than previous generations, contemporary parents are also teaching their children more egalitarian values and are attempting to cultivate more androgynous gender identities (i.e., having both male and female personality traits and behaviors) in their children. Studies have documented an increased number of career goals among young girls and an increased expectation of employment for mothers among boys and girls. This change reflects a change in parents' attitudes regarding mothers' and fathers' roles in the realms of work and family, which then is communicated to their children.

Diversity in Families: The Intersection of Gender, Race, and Social Class

Parents' gender socialization practices vary across race and social class differences. Gender, race, and social class are overlapping categories of experience; they simultaneously affect the formation of people's identities and shape their lives.

When considering the intersection of gender and race, we find differences in the expectations of what it means to be a girl or woman of color, compared with the expectations for white girls and women. For instance, the expectation that girls and women should be passive, quiet, and dependent is not as pervasive among girls and women of color. Among African American women, values such as independence and self-sufficiency are emphasized in addition to nurturance and caring. African American children of both genders are taught to value education and hard work, along with financial responsibility to their family and community. Despite these similarities, evidence also suggests that the socialization of African American boys and girls is not identical or equal.

Latino parents also have culturally defined values that are important to their children's gender socialization. An emphasis on family relations, respect and social hierarchy, and strong gender role divisions are taught to young boys and girls as a part of what it means to become a man or a woman. In addition, expectations that Latinas will be submissive, dependent, and chaste, but also bear children for their family, are important parts of gender identity for women in Latino culture; conversely, expectations

that Latino men will be dominant, independent, and virile are essential components of gender identity for men in Latino culture. As a result of these gendered expectations, the same-sex parent usually takes the lead role in socializing children into their gender identities. In addition, parents stress the importance of virginity until marriage for their daughters, but not for their sons, and impose more limits and stricter rules on daughters than on sons.

One socialization practice that occurs among African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans is the formation of gender identities in the context of both racial/ethnic pride and negative stereotypes about their group. However, the points of celebration and satisfaction, as well as those of hurt and frustration, are gender specific, which means that they can be different for women and men in each racial group. Conversely, most whites do not actively teach their children about race. Occupying a privileged racial position in society, at the top of the racial hierarchy, many white parents feel no obligation to their children to tout the successes, nor mitigate the abuses, of their racial group.

Research on black and white families from different social classes shows the importance of understanding how gender, race, and social class occur simultaneously in the process of gender socialization. Parents' interactions with their sons and daughters differ on the basis of the intersection of race and social class. For instance, although both black and white parents highly value their children getting a good education and jobs in the future, this is more of a priority for black parents from lower income groups. Upper-middle class parents of both races place less emphasis on education and jobs, but when ranking priorities for their children, education and jobs are still at the top of the list for black upper-middle class parents, whereas family is central for white upper-middle class parents. In addition, white parents emphasize obedience for their sons, whereas black parents emphasize discipline through withdrawal of privileges. Overall, this research highlights the importance of considering race and social class in the process of gender socialization.

Peers

Children's daily encounters with peers are important in the process of gender socialization. Scholars argue that gender socialization is not simply a one-way process where adults teach children what it means to be a girl or a boy and, in turn, they passively accept those lessons and messages. Rather, children actively negotiate and adapt the information adults give them before they incorporate it into their self-concept. Children are seen as creative and gender socialization is viewed as a collective process. Some scholars even suggest that same-sex peers are the most influential socializing agents for children.

Research shows that children actively separate themselves by gender by dividing into same-sex playgroups. This often occurs without any adult influence as young as age 2 and grows stronger as children move into middle childhood. Studies also show that girls tend to interact with one another in smaller groups and that their games and activities are more flexible and less rule-bound. Conversely, boys tend to congregate in larger groups, and their games and activities are more structured, organized, and competitive.

Young children demonstrate strong disapproval of cross-gender behavior in their peers, but only show mild disapproval of cross-gender behavior in adults. In addition, studies find that high-status boys police the activities of girls who cross into boy-typed activities. Additionally, in both cases, peers positively sanction children with "appropriate" gender displays. However, other research highlights the similarities among girls and boys, focusing on interactions that cross the gender divide. Barrie Thorne argues that too much research emphasizes differences between children and ignores children's "borderwork"; rather than separating themselves into exclusive gender-defined groups, girls and boys commonly attempt to cross gender boundaries and participate in activities associated with the other gender. However, when adults placed children into groups, they often engaged in contests, chasing, and invasions that illustrate that the worlds of boys and girls are not equal. Girls take up less physical space than boys, have their space invaded by boys more often than they invade boys' space, and are more likely to be defined as polluted.

Studies also indicate that children often self-segregate themselves in the classroom, in the cafeteria, and on the playground. Additionally, children are liked better and tend to have more friends to play with when they choose gender-appropriate toys. This is especially true for boys: those who engage in cross-gender play are considered unpopular by both boys and girls their age and are often highly criticized and called names, such as *sissy*. This type of name-calling challenges a boy's sexuality, for which he is often

ridiculed and bullied. Even when teachers encouraged boys to engage in cross-gender play, if their peers denounced it, boys were more likely to listen to the comments and criticisms of their peers.

Although peers are an important socializing agent for children, peers become even more important in the formation of gender identity as boys and girls get older and the influence of the family dissipates. Peers are extremely important in the development of sexuality and the teenagers' decisions to become sexually active. Peers impose heterosexual norms on each other, which is especially critical in the gender socialization of boys. Boys in their 'tween and teenage years learn from the media that manhood is wrapped up with sex and violence. Teenage boys often gain status through sexual activity, so sexual conquest becomes a part of the development of normative masculine identity. Boys often joke with each other about scenes of sex and violence they have seen in the media as a way of performing their gender identity; not engaging in such behavior could mean becoming an outsider and others challenging one's masculinity.

Conversely, teenage girls learn that womanhood is equated with a physical beauty that is rigidly defined as white, young, and ultra-thin. Girls face social pressures to conform to feminine beauty standards and are severely judged by their peers on the basis of attractiveness and sexual behavior or lack thereof. Girls, however, must walk a fine line between abstaining from and indulging in sexual activity; both the former and the latter often have negative social consequences. Teenage girls and boys who do not meet the standards of their gender category and are marked as outsiders may begin to act out in school, earn lower grades, experience depression or physical illness, and even have difficultly with relationships in adulthood.

Schools

A large part of what children learn in schools has nothing to do with reading, writing, and arithmetic; rather, children learn about proper behavior and values, including messages about gender, through what some researchers have called the "hidden curriculum." In addition to their interactions with peers, children are also socialized by their school's formal curriculum and teachers' differential expectations of boys and girls.

The formal curriculum, evident in textbooks and other educational materials, tend to emphasize men's contributions to society, while minimizing or failing to acknowledge women's vast contributions. The content on women, especially the contributions of women of color, is often limited to information on famous individuals (e.g., Rosa Parks) or mainstream and white-dominated social movements (e.g., the suffrage movement). Elementary school textbooks still often portray women as passive and dependent when compared with men. Regardless of the push toward more gender balanced and multicultural educational materials, change has been uneven and minimal.

Researchers have found that teachers tend to call on boys more frequently and give them more personal attention, praise, and specific feedback on their work. Teachers also indirectly socialize boys to be assertive and aggressive and girls to be quiet and polite by calling on girls less frequently and reprimanding girls more often than boys for speaking out of turn. In addition, separating children into different groups, lines, and teams on the basis of gender continues to exacerbate the differential treatment given to boys and girls. This practice reinforces the notion that boys and girls are inherently different by not just separating them, but many times also pitting them against each other.

Research shows that differential treatment has harsh consequences for girls; while they continue to outperform boys on standardized tests in the early years of education, girls often lag behind boys by the end of high school. High school guidance counselors and other administrators often track boys and girls into gender-typed fields and activities, discouraging girls from math- and science-based fields. Boys routinely outperform girls in math and science in high school, which then continues into their college years. Eventually, boys' encouragement and girls' discouragement in math and science courses develop into careers in these highly competitive and prestigious fields.

Media

Media, including children's literature, television, and video games, are an increasingly important agent of gender socialization. Parents are beginning to lean on the media more and more to occupy their children and teach them essential values, lessons, and skills. In addition, the media also help socialize children into their gender identities through the portrayal of gender-stereotyped behavior and attitudes.

Children's Literature

Research on children's literature has shown that books for children are sources of important socializing lessons. Gender stereotypes have been, and continue to be, prevalent. A landmark study of Caldecott award–winning picture books for children documented males playing a larger part in stories and pictures, with females rarely represented or playing supporting roles. Men and women were involved in different activities as well, as men engaged in a variety of adventures outdoors that required strength and autonomy, while women remained indoors in passive domestic roles.

Recent research on children's literature continues to assert the socializing implications of children's literature and documents similar depictions of men and women displaying stereotypical characteristics and attitudes. Men are still overwhelming depicted as aggressive and competitive, despite the call for nonsexist portrayals in children's literature. Girls are still often located in the home using domestic items, with boys outdoors involved in an adventure. One researcher noted that, even though more than two million girls play sports on organized teams, few books are written about such teams. Studies also show that a large number of these books assign girls and boys gender-typical aspirations. Researchers also note that books featuring strong, independent women are becoming increasingly popular. Books by African American writers, as compared with books by white writers, feature more female characters, and those characters are more likely to be portrayed as independent and competitive, as well as more nurturing. Despite social changes during the past several decades, few books feature men in nurturing and caring roles, or in other nontraditional ways. Children's literature, as well as television and video games, are important markers of cultural change, as well as agents of gender socialization.

Television and Video Games

With some exceptions, children's television programming is also gender stereotyped. Cartoons are especially revealing because girls are often depicted as domestic and passive, whereas boys are often depicted as active and violent. In addition, cartoons have more males as the main characters, as well as more males leading the action or pursuit. Males in these cartoons are also featured in occupations, in contrast to females who are often shown in generic caregiving roles. Studies show that these types of cartoons affect children's self-concepts and aspirations for the future because they tend to pick gender stereotypical jobs for both themselves and other people.

Research on video games and their socialization lessons is a burgeoning area of study. Video games have been described as gendered play spaces and as distinct genres are marketed toward boy and girls. Linear, goal-driven narratives mark boy's games, whereas girl's games are seen as more circular explorations. Some argue that digital play spaces need to combine these different attributes to create a common play space for both boys and girls. However, most video games are designed by men for boys and men, and change may be difficult to accomplish in such a hypermasculine arena.

As the popularity of video games has increased, researchers began to pay closer attention to the games' content. Studies show that a majority of video games overwhelmingly portray stereotypical gender roles for men and women and center on violence. Many video games lack any female characters at all. Women, when featured, are portrayed in demeaning ways, as provocatively dressed—or undressed—sexual fantasies, thus as sex objects. In addition, the violence and aggression that dominates video games is often directed toward women, particularly prostitutes and strippers.

Researchers argue that video games socialize their users through misogyny and violence, cultivating a dangerous definition of masculinity. Although the effects of these images and messages are still unknown, many argue that they may negatively affect boys' attitudes toward girls and women and their notions of acceptable behavior for boys and men.

Carolyn Corrado

See also Children's Literature, Gender Images in; Education: Gender Differences; Family, Organization of; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Media and Gender Socialization; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Toys

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Gender Identity Disorder

Gender identity disorder (GID) is a psychiatric diagnosis that mental health and medical professionals apply to people who were assigned one gender at birth and subsequently identify with another gender or who do not adhere to the gender role associated with their assigned gender. The GID diagnosis appears in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision* (*DSM-IV-TR*), the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) most recent official listing of psychiatric disorders. A set of GIDs also appears in the World Health Organization's (WHO) *International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems* (*IDC-10*). This entry describes the history, current diagnostic criteria, and controversy surrounding GID.

History

GID today is the most recent version of a set of diagnoses that first appeared in American psychiatry in *DSM-III* in 1980. *DSM-III* included for the first time a diagnostic group called "Gender Identity Disorders," comprising "Transsexuality," "Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood," and "Transvestic Fetishism." These diagnoses formalized medical and psychiatric thinking about gender-variant people that dated back to the 19th century, expressed in the work of such early sexologists as Havelock Ellis, Karl Ulrichs, and Magnus Hirschfeld. More recently, GIDs were the product of heightened mid-20th-century interest among a subset of psychiatrists and other medical and mental health professionals in gender variance. Their increased interest was primarily directed at the newly emerging medical and social category of transsexuality.

Since appearing in *DSM-III,* the gender identity disorder entries have changed with each subsequent *DSM* revision. The most significant revision was the 1994 combining of "Transsexualism" with "Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood" into one overarching diagnosis, "Gender Identity Disorder." "Transvestic Fetishism," once listed among the gender disorders, has been reclassified as a sexual paraphilia. The GID diagnosis today is most associated with transsexual adults and with gender-variant children.

Current Diagnostic Criteria

As outlined in *DSM-IV-TR,* GID has two basic components that must be present for a diagnosis to be made: (1) There must be both a strong and a persistent

cross-gender identification. (2) There must be evidence of persistent discomfort with one's assigned sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex. The diagnostic text lists specific examples of these criteria as they may manifest in children and in adolescents or adults. The criteria also disallow a diagnosis if an intersex condition is present. The cross-gender identification or behaviors must also be accompanied by significant distress and impairment.

In addition to the main GID diagnosis, the *DSM* contains a "Gender Identity Disorder Not Otherwise Specified" (GIDNOS) diagnosis. It permits a GID diagnosis for someone who may not fit all the criteria of the primary diagnosis (such residual "not otherwise specified" categories are not unusual in psychiatric diagnostics). Examples provided in the *DSM* of appropriate GIDNOS diagnoses include people with intersex conditions, people whose cross-gender identification or behaviors may be temporary, and people who may obsess about castration without wanting to change sex.

Controversy

The GIDs have been controversial since they first appeared. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the level of controversy and debate increased, partly because of the work of transgender, intersex, and queer social movements, but also because of critiques made within medical and mental health professions by both individuals and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) professional organizations.

Critics argue that GID continues a long-standing psychiatric and medical history of pathologizing oppressed peoples. Some argue that the diagnosis stigmatizes groups that are simply expressing variation, not pathology. Critics suggest that the diagnosis individualizes a broad cultural and social phenomenon. GID, they say, transforms society's intolerance for gender nonconformity into a pathology applied to individual gender nonconformists.

For adult transsexuals, critics suggest that GID mistakenly categorizes a medical condition as a mental health disorder. These critics often point to recent research that may indicate a biological basis for transsexuality. Some therefore lobby for the elimination of the diagnosis. Others have suggested that GID could be redesignated as a benign, somatically based medical condition instead of a psychiatric disorder. However, because many transsexuals seek the services of medical and mental health professionals, some members of transsexual and transgender communities worry that removing or reforming the GID diagnosis could jeopardize the availability of sex reassignment surgeries and other procedures. There is also concern that, without the diagnosis, insurance reimbursements for such procedures could be threatened.

For gender-variant children, critics often argue that the diagnosis is over-inclusive. Research on children diagnosed with GID suggests that they will most likely grow up to be gay and bisexual. Critics note that the APA and other mental health professional organizations do not list homosexuality as a mental illness, and thus question the treatment of children they term "pre-homosexual." Some also suggest that GID treatments for children over-focus on boys, that treatment may be damaging to self-esteem, and that the distress that GID children exhibit is not inherent to their gender nonconformity but, rather, is a reaction to being stigmatized. Many of the mental health professionals who support the diagnosis and treat GID children counter that their treatments are not aimed at preventing homosexuality; that they help GID children to have better peer relations and thus bolstered self-esteem, and that research indicates that GID children do exhibit forms of distress associated directly with their gender variance.

Karl Bryant

See also Gender Dysphoria; Genderqueer; Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Mental Health; Tomboy/Sissy; Transgender; Transsexual

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GENDER OUTLAW

Gender outlaw refers to an individual who does not conform to society's expectations for their biological sex. In Western societies, sex is often conflated with gender, meaning that women are expected to abide by certain "rules" of femininity, and men must follow particular "rules" of masculinity. Not following these rules may result in material consequences such as discrimination, societal marginalization, and physical violence.

Western society has constructed sex, gender, and sexuality along the lines of a binary. Therefore, one is supposed to be either male or female, masculine or feminine, heterosexual or homosexual. A gender outlaw violates one or more of these binaries in some way. For example, not all babies are born with "intelligible" genitalia. Rather than accepting variation, society labels such people as "abnormal." Therefore, the parents are likely to approve sex-reassignment surgery. The baby's genitalia are then surgically shaped into either a penis or a vagina. Besides "ambiguous" genitalia, gender outlaws may not identify as their biological sex; for example, a male identifying as a woman. Also, a gender outlaw may be a person who "does" or "performs" gender in a way that does not reinforce the gender binary.

Kate Bornstein is perhaps the most well-known contemporary gender outlaw within gender studies. In her book, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women, and the Rest of Us,* it is "the rest of us" with whom she is concerned. In this work, she discusses her coming of age, highlighting how gendered and sexualized norms worked for and, more commonly, against her. She challenges cultural customs, beliefs, and institutions that are readily attached to the categories male and female by drawing on her own experiences of sex-reassignment surgery and identifying as a lesbian, transgendered woman.

Gender defender is the term Bornstein uses to describe scholars, activists, and the like, who insist on using, defending, and understanding gender as naturally linked to one's assigned sex. Gender outlaws, on the other hand, challenge gendered and sexualized binaries through writing, performance art, photography, poetry, and activism, in addition to many overlapping mediums. Some gender outlaws such as Brandon Teena, though not politically active, experienced embodied gender oppression through his everyday experiences.

Gender outlaws are also found in various geographical regions throughout the world. These regions necessarily make a direct link from binary sex categories to binary gender identities problematic. For example, as anthropologists and activists have shown in Thailand, automatically linking female and male to feminine and masculine and heterosexuality and homosexuality is highly problematic. A common cultural term, *pheet,* synthesizes sex category and gender identity and allows the reading of multiple genders and sexualities, thus complicating assumed binaries. This example is only one of many that challenge Western gender binaries. Gender outlaws, therefore, may be constructed as "abnormal" in certain cultural contexts but considered "normal" and sometimes spiritual in other cultural contexts.

Kristen Barber and Danielle Antoinette Hidalgo

See also Cross-Dressing; Gender Identity Disorder; Gender Performance; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Teena, Brandon; Transgender

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GENDER PERFORMANCE

The concept of gender performance has developed within debates concerning sex, gender, and sexuality in sociology and feminism. Though conceptualized somewhat differently by various scholars, *gender performance* can be broadly defined as the act of engaging in a set of behaviors that display an individual's gender identity as female or male and that cause the individual to be so perceived during social interaction. The notion of gender performance relies on a division between "sex" and "gender." Sociologists and feminists have sought to clarify the tendency to conflate these terms by introducing the idea of a sex/gender divide wherein these two concepts are distinct, though related. *Sex* is defined as biological femaleness or maleness. *Gender* is a social construction, or set of ideas and expectations about femininity and masculinity. There are various understandings

of how gender is performed, and such performance may involve the body (through body modifications such as cutting hair), dress, comportment, and social interaction and discourse.

Feminists have politicized the notion of gender as performance by arguing that women are not naturally or biologically weaker or inferior to men, but are created as less powerful through gendered social practice. Developments in feminist thought have led some feminist scholars to challenge the notion of a sex/gender distinction, a critique that has brought gender performance even more to the center of such debate. This entry describes the principal theories within which the concept of gender performance has developed. Though they appear here under distinct headings, these perspectives have not developed in isolation from each other and share many key ideas and concepts.

Symbolic Interactionism: Gender Displays

Sociologist Erving Goffman developed a symbolic interactionist approach to social interaction. Symbolic interactionism is a sociological perspective that views social reality as a product of the meaning-making of individuals during interaction with others. Goffman outlines a dramaturgical approach to social interaction wherein he likens social interaction to performances by actors onstage. He sees individuals as creative players in social interaction, influenced by the performances of other actors as well as specific audiences.

Gender is expressed during social interaction through a form of interactive performance that Goffman terms *gender displays.* Gender displays help define what will occur during a social interaction and how the interaction will be organized. Goffman likens gender displays between women and men to the roles of domination-subordination characterized by the parent-child relationship: the relationship between women and men is unequal, with women positioned as the dependent and subordinate child. For example, a male's masculine gender displays in interaction with a woman will likely position him as an initiator and leader; the woman then conducts herself in a gender display appropriate to femininity so that she follows the man's lead.

Though Goffman recognizes biological differences between women and men in the form of reproductive capabilities, he argues against the common interpretation of gender displays as being demonstrative of the inherent nature of female or male individuals. Goffman asserts that different behaviors of women and men are instead rooted in culture, rather than biology and that gender displays create the notion of gender difference. He uses the term *sex-class* to refer to women and men as distinct social classes, clearly defining the social inequality between women and men as a social (as opposed to biological) design.

Ethnomethodology: The "Doing" of Gender

Though Goffman did not specifically develop the concept of gender as performance, his work influenced other scholars who have used this terminology. The ethnomethodological research of two sociologists, Candace West and Don Zimmerman, expanded Goffman's work on gender display. Ethnomethodology is a type of sociology that seeks to understand how individuals create social life as meaningful through interaction with others. West and Zimmerman developed a theory of gender performance in which they posit gender as something individuals do. Gender is a performance that occurs during social interaction, rather than reflecting inherent traits of individuals.

West and Zimmerman argue that individuals claim to be members of a particular sex category, either female or male, through performances of gender. Social prestige and power are awarded to individuals on the basis of their privileged (male) or less privileged (female) sex category status, so stakes are high in the performance of gender. West and Zimmerman describe individuals as accountable for appropriate gender performances. That is, individuals are held accountable for clear and representative performances of gender, or else they may face negative social sanctions. As such, performances of gender are mandatory within a society wherein power and resources are allocated on the basis of sex category. Gender performance, then, incorporates individuals into social structure.

The Social Construction of Gender

Since the 1970s, sociological and feminist scholarship has widely used the understanding of gender as a social construction, a conceptualization that inherently relies on a separation of the terms *sex* and *gender. Gender* as a social construction is the culturally determined definitions of femininity and masculinity,

created by humans and subject to change over time. *Sex* refers to biology as female or male. Further, some feminists also argue that sexuality is also a social construction that is linked to sex and gender. Feminist sociologist Judith Lorber argues, for example, that the social construct of sexuality is linked to gender by determining with whom it is appropriate to mate and the division of labor for raising children.

Feminists have used the theory of social constructionism to challenge the dominant essentialist perspectives on sex/gender, which broadly assert that gender is determined by biology and therefore reflects the unchangeable essential natures of women and men. Feminists have sought to explain the subordination of women to men in patriarchal society as an unnatural and unjustifiable social oppression. Feminists instead argue that femininity and masculinity are not naturally occurring traits or sets of behaviors or dispositions, but are learned culturally specific sets of behaviors and characteristics.

There are various feminist perspectives on the social construction of gender. Some feminists give greater consideration to the biological body and certain biological differences between women and men. Others posit that all gendered differences between women and men are socially created via individuals' compliance with gendered expectations for gender performance.

As theories on the social construction of gender have developed, feminist scholars have grown increasingly critical of the sex/gender divide. Some feminists argue that the concept of gender as a social construction has reified the notion of sex as biological; reaffirming a natural sex difference between women and men may counter the aim of some feminists to assert the equality and essential sameness between women and men.

Postmodern Feminism: Gender "Performativity"

The influence of postmodernism is apparent in the efforts of some feminist theorists to rework dichotomous understandings of sex/gender. Postmodernism is a vein of social theory that varies across academic disciplines and in application by different theorists. (Some critics doubt that there has been a transition from the modern era in social history to a postmodern era.) Broadly, postmodernism is a shift toward the elimination of universal and dichotomous categorizations of, particularly, identity and the recognition of a multiplicity of coexisting social realities or truths, as well as knowledges and identities. Postmodern feminists critique the sex/gender (nature/culture) dichotomy. Now some feminists, including philosopher Judith Butler, argue that both sex and gender are social constructions.

Butler has developed a theory of gender performativity. In Butler's formulation, gender is performed through discourse, which includes social interaction as well as the discourse contained within texts, media, and the law. Contrasting with notions of an individual self who performs gender as in West and Zimmerman's conceptualization of gender performance, Butler argues that there is no gender identity that motivates performances of gender. She suggests that the repetitious discursive performance of gender creates an illusion of a gendered core self. An individual's sex role identity exists in the performance of gender, and this identity is itself performative. Gender identity is an effect of discursive performances.

The performance of gender naturalizes the categories of gender. Gender performance creates the illusion of being an essential representation of a real, natural, and underlying gendered core in individuals. But because gender is a performance, Butler argues that there is no true gendered core or identity upon which such performances are based. Therefore, there is no original model for such performances, only ideals from which gender performances are copied. Because gender is not biologically fixed but is socially constructed, Butler argues that there is ample room for change in gender performances; there is possibility of subversion or a multiplication of gender. Butler cites drag, cross-dressing, and butch/femme identities as examples of performativity with the potential to disrupt traditional ideas about the fixity of sex/gender identities; these acts can expose gender as a performance that can be enacted by socially inappropriate actors (such as a male drag queen impersonating feminine females, or a butch lesbian enacting masculinity in appearance, relationship, and desire).

Conclusion

Many scholars continue to debate the meanings of *sex* and *gender,* and the relationship between them. Sex, gender, and sexuality are politicized concepts that

underlie basic assumptions about human nature and how society is organized via sex/gender. Sociological and feminist theorists, as well as queer theorists, continue to develop new understandings of the relationship of sex/gender/sexuality and performance.

Suzanne Pennington

See also Butch/Femme; Cross-Dressing; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Institution, Gender as; Postmodern Feminism; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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GENDER PUBLIC ADVOCACY COALITION

The Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (GPAC, GenderPAC) is an association that seeks to attain equal rights for people in all aspects of society regardless of gender, and whether or not they adhere to gender stereotypes. GenderPAC was founded by Riki Wilchins in 1995 as a loose coalition of organizations; it became a corporation in 1999 and received tax-exempt status as an IRS §501(c)3 nonprofit. The GenderPAC headquarters are located in Washington, D.C. Wilchins is the current executive director of GenderPAC.

The mission of the GenderPAC is to make communities, classrooms, and workplaces safe and free of gender biases that define masculinity and femininity in rigid terms. GenderPAC seeks to erase these gender biases through programs such as Gender Youth, Children As They Are, and Workplace Fairness. Gender Youth develops young leaders in schools and empowers them with the skills to make schools a safe place for children who do not comply with society's definition of what it means to be male or female. The Children As They Are program informs parents and educators of the dangers of forcing their children to succumb to the rigorous gender norms that are pervasive in U.S. society. This program encourages parents to allow their children to develop well-rounded interests and express themselves regardless of whether or not their behavior meets society's definition of gender "appropriate" behavior. The mission of Workplace Fairness is to ensure that people are not discriminated against in the workplace for their failure to met society's gender definitions. This program informs individuals and companies alike of what gender stereotyping is, how to recognize it and discuss it, and what needs to be done about gender discrimination and stereotyping in the workplace. Workplace Fairness offers on- and off-site workshops and training. GenderPAC has petitioned organizations to change the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies to include gender identity. In 1997, one company had gender identity as part of its EEO policies. Currently, 193 major corporations have EEO policies that include gender identity.

GenderPAC accomplishes these goals through weekly press releases, published articles in the popular press, and Gender Tours that travel across the country educating the media, public, and communities of the danger of discrimination based on gender stereotypes. GenderPAC shows the danger of gender stereotypes by using its human rights report, "50 under 30: Masculinity and the War on America's Youth." This report addresses the underreporting of gender-based violence that has taken the life of more than 50 young people since 1995. Furthermore, this report addresses the trends of gender-based hate crimes to demonstrate the necessity of changing the gender stereotypes in U.S. society, including the facts that victims and assailants are predominately male and that a large number of these crimes remain unsolved.

GenderPAC has recently addressed the portrayal of masculinity in the hip-hop and rap culture, which

often are replete with stereotypes of aggressiveness, homophobia, violence, and sexism. This program has called for corporations to be held accountable for the music or music videos they play portraying this dangerous view of masculinity.

Deborah Santiago-Cintron

See also Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

Web Sites

Gender Public Advocacy Coalition: http://www.gpac.org

Genderqueer

First widely used in the late 1990s, *genderqueer* is an identity adopted by individuals who characterize themselves as neither female nor male, as both, or as somewhere in between. Although genderqueers describe and express their identities differently and may or may not consider themselves to be transgender (a general term for people whose gender identity or expression differs from the gender assigned to them at birth), they commonly understand themselves in ways that challenge binary constructions of gender and traditional images of transgender individuals. Genderqueer is an identity more frequently embraced by younger gender nonconforming people, ensuring that the crossing and blurring of gender lines will continue to become more visible and likely more accepted.

The concept of genderqueer has its genesis in the development of a queer movement in the 1990s that redefined *queer* as a term of empowerment and confronted heteronormativity and the conformist ideologies of many lesbian and gay organizations. In a similar way, the term *genderqueer* challenges gender normativity and the common assumption, even among many transgender people, that everyone is either male or female. A genderqueer identity challenges the traditional transsexual paradigm that individuals who feel themselves to be a gender different from the one assigned to them at birth will seek to express that different gender completely through changing their bodies and presenting unambiguously as that gender.

Undermining this binary gender expectation, genderqueer individuals express their gender identities in a variety of ways. Some partly or entirely transition to a gender different from their birth gender through hormones, gender reassignment surgeries, or altering their bodies in other ways, such as by having electrolysis or bodybuilding, to look more androgynous or more like a gender different from their birth gender. Others do not change their bodies, but dress and present in ways that destabilize gender categories, such as by wearing a combination of clothing considered appropriate only for women or men, or by completely cross-dressing. But not all genderqueers are able to or feel the need to express a gender nonconforming identity, so appearance alone cannot be used as an indication of a genderqueer identity.

Genderqueer individuals also make different choices about how they want to be referred to by others. Some accept the pronouns compatible with their assigned gender, but others ask to be described with the pronouns of a gender different from their birth gender. Still others seek to use "they" and "them" as singular pronouns or want to be identified by gender-neutral pronouns—typically "ze" or "sie" instead of "he" or "she" and "zir" or "hir" instead of "her" or "him." A few reject pronouns altogether, preferring to be called only by their first names. Some genderqueers also adopt androgynous names, combine traditionally male and female names, or assume names that are more typical for someone assigned a gender different from themselves.

Genderqueer identities are much more prevalent among youth, many of whom feel constricted by traditional gender and transgender categories. Gender nonconforming individuals growing up in the early 21st century have access to information and can meet others like themselves on the Internet, see an increasing number of transgender images in popular culture, and benefit from the political and social gains made by previous generations of transgender activists. As a result, they often can take advantage of a greater range of options for defining and expressing their gender identities than was available to transgender individuals who came out between the 1960s and 1990s.

But despite the growing visibility of genderqueer individuals, gender nonconforming behavior, especially by individuals assigned male at birth, continues to be highly stigmatized and frequently punished. Studies have shown, for example, that

gender nonconforming high school and college students experience greater levels of harassment and violence than do non-transgender lesbian, gay, and bisexual students, and rates of unemployment, incarceration, and crime victimization are much higher among individuals who are known to be transgender than among the non-transgender population. Thus, being able to transgress gender boundaries freely in most areas of society remains a privilege available only to a few.

Whether or how someone expresses or is perceived to express a genderqueer identity is also affected by race, ethnicity, class, nationality, religion, and other aspects of identity, as different cultures and communities have different norms regarding what constitutes "female" and "male" appearance and behavior. For example, women who grow up on farms in many rural communities are able to dress and act in ways that would be considered masculine in more urban areas, and men in many traditional Muslim cultures wear clothing that most Westerners would see as feminine.

To date, self-identified genderqueer individuals have published little. Even the anthology *GenderQueer: Voices from Beyond the Sexual Binary,* edited by Joan Nestle and colleagues, has only a few contributors who specifically describe themselves as genderqueer. With a growing number of people coming out as genderqueer, much more will be written about the lives of genderqueer people in the near future.

Brett Genny Beemyn

See also Gender Outlaw; Gender Transgression; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing; Transsexual; Transvestite

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GENDER ROLE IDEOLOGY AND INTIMACY

Women and men relate to each other in many contexts—in family life, work and formal organizations, marriage and cohabitation, friendships, and a host of others. In all of these settings, individuals confront expectations of how they should behave and think. Although some expectations may be widely shared (e.g., calling to say thank-you after receiving a gift), others vary depending on whether you are a woman or a man. *Gender role ideologies* is one name sociologists have given to these sex-specific expectations. This phrase refers to a "gender role," understood as a set of expected actions and dispositions ascribed to an individual on the basis of her or his assumed biological sex. Gender also functions as "ideology," in the sense that there is a fervent and perhaps widespread belief in the *truth* of the expected roles. Thus, gender role ideologies may be deeply held, and not easily relinquished; they weigh upon all individuals to varying degrees.

This entry addresses the place of gender role ideologies in past and present-day heterosexual romantic relationships. Romantic relationships (e.g., married and, more recently, cohabiting) have provided fertile ground for enacting gender role ideologies. These ideologies guide individuals' answers to many practical questions arising in everyday life, and especially in romantic relationships. Will women or men perform housework? Are men or women more emotionally attached to romantic relationships? How much time should be spent together and apart? If there are children, who will work, and who will stay at home? And although these questions continue in their importance, recent social developments also present new questions for women and men to work through, and the possibility for new, more egalitarian gender role ideologies. In part, this potential for new gender role ideologies is linked to a "culture of intimacy," a concept that has been central to discussions of heterosexual relationships for the past 25 to 30 years.

The following section reviews past gender role ideologies, highlighting the social conditions that accompanied particular beliefs about women and men. Next, the entry provides a summary of how an emergent "culture of intimacy" organizes contemporary heterosexual relationships. The final section assesses the status of gender role ideologies as they exist in romantic relationships enmeshed in today's culture of intimacy.

Gender Role Ideologies: Then and Now

The period stretching from the late 1800s to the 1950s may be aptly termed America's heyday of gender role ideologies. During that time, many of the gendered expectations society has placed on women and men were solidified. As capitalist production diminished the economic role of women, women's primary responsibility by the latter days of the 19th century became more and more closely associated with the sphere of family relations. Middle-class American women were swept up in a "cult of domesticity," allying women with the caring and nurturing demands of home-life, and leaving men to dominate the rationalized and independent worlds of work and politics. Though challenged by women's entry into the paid workforce after the first and second world wars, a woman's social place during this long period was largely understood as in the home, her personality being warm, affectionate, and accommodating. In comparison, men were assigned roles as uncommunicative and unyielding economic providers. These gender roles enjoyed hegemonic status, largely unchallenged even by early-20th-century women's movements (e.g., for the right to vote).

These "traditional" ideologies profoundly shaped heterosexual relationships for the white middle classes throughout the early 20th century and into the 1950s. In accordance with these roles, there existed between married couples unequal divisions of housework, responsibilities for childrearing, and degree of emotional attachment to the relationship. But sea changes in 1960s and 1970s United States (as well as in other Western societies) promised to undermine the gender role ideologies that underpinned such inequalities. Feminist social activism, increased labor force participation, and heightened personal control over reproduction were only a few of the developments working to grant (white middle-class) women new levels of autonomy and individual opportunity. No longer would women be defined solely as appendages of the family or their husbands. Many young men as well, involved in civil rights, antiwar, and other left movements, had the chance to rethink the capitalist and masculinist ideologies shaping their own gender roles.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists have paid special attention to the possibilities generated by these social shifts. Speculation centered on whether traditional gender ideologies would crumble, giving way to more androgynous relations between women and men. Or, would constraining beliefs about gender persist? Sociologists have turned to romantic relationships as a key setting in which answers to these questions are played out.

Understanding a Culture of Intimacy in Heterosexual Relationships

Cultural, economic, and institutional shifts occurring during the mid-20th century ushered in a new context for heterosexual romantic relationships. Previous (gendered) interpretations of women and men's orientation to relationships no longer held true to the degree they once did. For example, today it is not Victorian notions of a spiritually derived "true love" that best describe individuals' orientation to romantic bonds. Neither do conditions of economic dependence or repressive cultural norms mandate marriage and permanent relationships to the extent they once did. Traditional cultural and economic frameworks for understanding romantic attachment have lost some of their explanatory and descriptive power; feminist ideologies, along with women's increased participation in paid labor and a generally flexible market economy, all worked to inaugurate a "culture of intimacy" that guides heterosexual relationships.

Although this late-20th-century culture of intimacy carries multiple definitions, several common elements can be discerned in most accounts. Intimacy typically refers to a heightened emphasis on knowing the other and on reciprocal consideration. Disclosure of the self through open communication is prioritized in a culture of intimacy, and it is widely recognized that relationships take psychological toil and effort by both partners if they are to survive. In this new order of intimacy, relationships are governed by democratic and egalitarian ideals; the survival of a marriage or other romantic relationship depends more on the degree to which it emotionally and sexually fulfills

each partner than it does on external pressures (e.g., family or community coercion). If in the past heterosexual romantic bonds were organized by taken-for-granted, unequal gender roles, a culture of intimacy derives its originality from an emphasis on rational decision making, and an ability to question in ongoing fashion the way rights and responsibilities are to be shared between romantic partners. Thus, *intimacy* is an apt word to summarize these dynamics in that it connotes deep closeness and familiarity—necessary preconditions for such a mutually negotiated field of relationships.

To the extent that relationships are governed by these new intimate ideals, the implications are numerous. Some express concern about a discourse of rationality, rights, and partnerships invading a sphere of supposedly warmer relations. Others optimistically interpret such ideals as a progressive force, in that they elevate the needs and wishes of individuals (and especially of women) above the demands of social norms that long constrained and imbalanced heterosexual relationships. Moreover, because intimacy—at least heterosexual intimacy—refers not simply to generalized ideals but also to relations between real women and men, the fate of "traditional" gendered roles in this potentially egalitarian romantic partnership is questioned. Some scholars argue that a culture of intimacy may make romantic relationships a progressive force, in stark contrast to their past tendency to reinforce strict gender roles.

Gender Role Ideologies and Intimacy

Earlier sections of this entry described the taken-for-granted character of gender roles throughout the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. This was a period during which material conditions (e.g., industrial capitalism) and cultural beliefs fused to create social conceptions of women as passive and nurturing and men as forceful and economically active. Various social forces functioned to reinforce the unquestioned, "received wisdom" quality of dichotomized gender roles. But today, an emergent culture of intimacy indicates a model of heterosexual bonds in which relationships, married or otherwise, are fashioned through conscious decision making and negotiation by empowered individuals. Because most women and men must work outside the home, "love" can be understood as a shared accomplishment between

women and men, rather than a uniquely feminine skill. Hence, present realities make past ideologies and arrangements untenable. Moreover, scholars point to how social supports beyond the romantic relationship (interpersonal and institutional) have eroded, and the real possibility of divorce leaves women systematically disadvantaged, breeding a healthy skepticism about entering into relationships. Culturally, autonomy and independence are no longer recognized as inherent male qualities, but instead as pathways that should be made available to women as well. Some argue that these new ideals and economic conditions render relationships and gender ideologies unscripted and open for debate. The egalitarian and deliberative ideals of intimacy step in to guide individuals in rewriting relationships.

Researchers point to enduring gender inequalities in heterosexual relationships to problematize the practice of rewriting relationships. Housework is still unequally shared between married women and men, and women are more likely than men to report deficits of emotional connection in relationships. Women and men persist in describing their own orientations to love and romance in typically gendered terms (e.g., love as natural for women and laborious for men), and long-term relationships still are desired by most. Yet, the central features of the culture of intimacy—self-disclosure, a language of individual rights, emphases on self-development—do find expression in contemporary relationships, helping women to negotiate more effectively in disputes and decision making, and making women and men alike aware of innovative relationship possibilities.

Conclusion: The Promise of Intimate Culture

The relative benefits and costs associated with a culture of intimacy, and its implications for gender role ideologies are debatable. Social theorist Robert Bellah has argued that a principal shortcoming of relationships in a culture of intimacy is their insulation from external influence. To Bellah, intimate ideals encourage couples to operate according to guidelines they establish on their own, away from society. Detached from broader social norms and regulation, individuals must engage in "incessant renegotiation" of their internal relationship guidelines. Although he is nominally concerned about social norms that at times impose unreasonable limits on freedom and wield

power unjustly, Bellah nonetheless is more wary of relationships between women and men that are navigated in relative isolation, or according to therapeutic experts' dictates. According to this argument, intimacy's chief failing is its rejection of traditional authority and stable gender roles in favor of new arrangements established by a "party of two."

Some scholars argue that this view is inadequate given certain present realities; the ethic of negotiation fostered by intimacy may be understood as a progressive force. It appears beneficial in that it destabilizes gender role ideologies; its promise lies also in its functionality. As the economic and cultural justifications for traditional gender roles have worn away, new relationship arrangements are demanded. According to Bellah, "incessant renegotiation," is the process through which women and men might hope to establish scripts for behavior in romantic relationships that move beyond traditional ideologies, and that cope with the unprecedented flexibility of contemporary social life. Negotiation and debate in relationships take place today in direct proportion to the (incessantly) growing range of uncharted terrain in romantic relationships. The number of new relationship questions is interminable. Who will give care for aging parents with rising life expectancies? Will a couple stay put for a woman's job that carries medical benefits or move for a man's better-paying job that carries none? For those with means to send their children to myriad after-school lessons and programs (and for those who do not have the means but do so anyway), which parent's work schedule will be rearranged to shuttle young children to their next activity? If a couple's enthusiasm for sex is dwindling, should a third party be added to the mix? These historically unique problems and a slew of others require unique solutions negotiated by *both* partners.

Traditional gender role ideologies constructed women as passive and caring and men as active and providing. Though these ideologies continue in some ways to shape expectations, the realities of post-1960s life have rendered these beliefs open to challenges and in a sense plainly untenable. Today, the flexible nature of contemporary society (increasingly referred to as "risk society") requires that both women and men be workers, "carers," planners, and so much more. A culture of intimacy is functional in that it conditions individuals for their roles as "on the fly" decision makers. In this sense, gender role ideologies are converging.

Daniel M. Santore

See also Cohabitation; Family, Organization of; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Heterosexuality; Marriage; Romance and Relationships

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Gender Roles on Television Shows

Media producers often attempt to provide their audiences with a window on the world. However, because of the one-dimensional nature of television and the complex multidimensionality of social reality, such windows seldom offer accurate views of the world. Even perceived unscripted television programs such as news broadcasts, at closer inspection, are not so unscripted after all. Journalists' and newsroom editors' personal biases, often unintentionally, influence how information is framed as "news." By definition, news selection processes, a standard in journalism protocol, distort social realities because these processes isolate information from their complex, multidimensional contexts. Journalists, like their audiences, process information through preestablished interpretive frameworks, processes that are, therefore,

inherently biased. Given the multifaceted nature of information and the ways in which individuals construct social reality, news, which essentially consists of reproduced information, largely reflects a journalist's subjective interpretations.

Thus, media messages are rarely exact reflections of social reality, and yet people often rely on these messages to construct their self-identities. Because people's self-perceptions are reflexively constructed, the reflective power of television as mirror is significant. People tend to use what they see on television to reinforce their existing frameworks of interpretation. These frameworks, in turn, influence how they see others, and through interactions with these others, ultimately, how they perceive themselves. The concept of television as a mirror is a central element in many gender scholars' concerns of the negative impacts of stereotypical television gender role portrayals on women's and men's self-esteem and, subsequently, society.

Historically, gender roles portrayed in television shows reflected social patriarchy. Incomplete and narrowly defined relative to race and social class, these stereotypes tend to reinforce social inequalities. At the same time, they give visibility to the social status quo and, as such, contribute to the construction of a feminist consciousness in popular culture and to the mobilization of people willing to fight for gender equality. Television gender stereotypes are thus a so-called double-edged sword: although they perpetuate the social status quo, but they also politically empower and mobilize those who are marginalized by it. This entry describes the interaction of gender roles and television.

Gender Roles on Television Shows in Historical Perspective

In the 1950s and 1960s, television producers' portrayals of women and men tended to reproduce gender roles from traditionally masculine perspectives. During this period, men's roles were much more varied and numerous than women's were. Images of men thus dominated most television shows. Men were often portrayed as breadwinners and working professionals, but, in contrast, fewer than half of the women in television shows were depicted as having any form of paid employment. Most women were relegated to roles as wives and mothers within the context of the family and home, reinforcing the common view of women as nurturers and caregivers.

The formatted "woman-as-housewife" role was typified by Barbara Billingsley's June Cleaver in the 1960s television series *Leave it to Beaver.* In the series, June Cleaver is preoccupied with the well-being of her family, maintaining an orderly home for her husband and two sons, and tending to her domestic duties while demurely dressed in pearls and (not too) high heels. For many critics, June Cleaver exemplifies the ways that women in mid-20th-century television were kept in positions of social powerlessness. Despite her social dependence, Cleaver never complained and carried out her duties as mother and wife with a smile, in the self-sacrificing way that was expected of women of the day.

The cultural institutionalization of women and African Americans as socially inferior to white (middle-class) men, is illustrated by the popularity of such subservient women's characters as June Cleaver or June Whitley's matriarch Margaret Anderson in the appropriately titled 1960s sitcom *Father Knows Best,* or stereotypical African American characters such as Lincoln Perry's happy-go-lucky Stepin Fetchit or Hattie McDaniel's loyal Mammy in the movie classic *Gone with the Wind.* Confining women to the domestic sphere, infantilizing African Americans, and portraying white, middle-class men as decision makers at work and the home helped exclude women and African Americans from important political and economic decision-making processes. Men's roles consistently linked rationality, a highly valued trait in the business world, to masculinity. This link, as well as portrayals of women and African Americans as indecisive and childlike, was instrumental to the gendering of financial success; it perpetuated a deterministic view of gender roles that suggested that women would never be able to succeed in the inherently masculine (rational) professional work environment. After all, as *Father Knows Best* often illustrated, even within the "natural" feminine domain of the household, men were in charge of all the major decision making.

Most 1950s and 1960s television shows were heavily skewed toward the white middle classes. Although working-class women and men were largely absent from television sitcoms, African Americans fared even worse. When not entirely absent from prime time television, they were relegated to supporting roles as housemaids, cooks, butlers, or mammies. Not until the premiere of *Julia,* in 1968, did an African American woman, Diahann Carroll, play a leading role in a prime time television show. Carroll's Julia, a nurse, was a

milestone for African Americans in television. Her role was neither typecast nor framed within the traditional "black" contexts of manual labor, poverty, or the fractured family. *Julia* was perceived as so mainstream that some critics in the African American community stated it was "too white" and failed to address the social reality of discrimination that an African American woman faced in 1960s and 1970s America.

By the mid-1960s, representations of women in television gradually began to change. Women's roles were still largely framed in the context of the home and family, but they also started to become more financially autonomous. Financially independence, however, meant neither equal employment status to men nor a reversal of gender role expectations. Women were often cast in supporting roles such as receptionists or secretaries and had male bosses. Although women were allowed to work, they were also expected to balance their career aspirations with their caregiving responsibilities at home. Overall, women's roles were still much framed within traditional gender role expectations. Yet television shows also increasingly portrayed women as socially independent, as seen in the 1970s comedy *The Mary Tyler Moore Show,* which featured Tyler Moore as the single and career-oriented Mary Richards. Despite her financial and social independence, however, Mary Richards's superiors were still overwhelmingly male.

Though the diversification of women roles in television shows was promising, representations of men and masculinity remained relatively unchanged. Men's roles did become less overtly sexist, yet television shows continued to portray a divide between perceived women's and men's domains and tasks. The portrayal of men in nontraditional roles—for example, doing household chores or taking care of the children—was seldom depicted as a natural extension of masculinity. By showing such roles as isolated occurrences, often to provide comedic relief, and positioning them within feminist discourses of gender hegemony, the constructed naturalness of traditional gender roles remained unquestioned and therefore reinforced. Overall, most men in television shows continued to be portrayed within narrow race and class contexts of social, political, and economic dominance. These 1960s and 1970s portrayals reinforced white heterosexual middle-class men's perceived social superiority.

Women's roles continued to diversify in the late 20th century. Most significantly, women began to appear as lead characters in the traditionally male-dominated genre of crime drama. In the 1960s, the British crime series *The Avengers* had already featured a female detective, Diana Rigg's iconic Emma Peel, as co-lead. Yet U.S. media producers didn't follow in British footsteps until the late 1970s and 1980s, when women detectives in U.S. television shows took prominence in such shows as *Charlie's Angels, Murder She Wrote, Police Woman,* and *Cagney and Lacey.* The presence of women detectives in crime dramas, as well as the introduction of women-led sitcoms such as *Murphy Brown, The Golden Girls, Roseanne,* or *Grace Under Fire* in the 1980s and 1990s, reflected media producers' increasing willingness to introduce a more feminist consciousness in television portrayals of women. The character roles for these women did not fit the traditional standards of femininity; they were not overwhelmingly thin, middle-class, white, or in their twenties, and their lives did not exclusively revolve around the family and the home. Women before the early 1970s predominantly were portrayed as sexually demure, their sexual identity dependent on men's desires and approval. By the late 1980s and 1990s, women's sexuality became more prominent, and more autonomous. Gone were the pearls and knee-length skirts of the 1950s and 1960s; in came stiletto heels, miniskirts, and belly-button-baring t-shirts in popular television series such as *Sex and the City, Alias,* or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer.*

Gender Roles on Television Shows and Social Reality

From the 1950s to the early 21st century, women's roles on mainstream television became much broader in scope; it no longer was exceptional for women to be portrayed as detectives (*Cagney and Lacey*), CIA spies (*Alias*), sexually independent (*Sex and the City*), physically aggressive (*Xena: Warrior Princess*), successful career women (*Dynasty* or *Murphy Brown*), or nonheterosexual (*The L Word* or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*).

Men's roles had changed as well, though not as dramatically as women's. This lack of change in depictions of men is not surprising; instead, it reflects the stubbornness of and social investments in a patriarchic society. Men's roles tended to reflect the social status quo as envisioned by media producers. This status quo was characterized by traits associated with hegemonic masculinity: heterosexuality, whiteness, middle-class,

financial independence, physical aggression, and—of course—rationality. Largely because of the second wave of feminism and the women's movement, the framing of women's roles in terms of social equality was finally catching up with that of men's. Yet society had remained inherently patriarchic, and thus men's roles, reflecting the status quo, also had remained largely the same. There were some exceptions, with shows like *Soap, Dynasty, Will & Grace,* and *Queer as Folk* featuring male characters who were gay and bisexual, or the comedy series *My Two Dads,* which introduced viewers to the single male-headed family format. However, the inclusion of nontraditional male gender roles made these shows unique and therefore exceptions that confirmed the rule.

Women's roles continued to be contextualized through a masculine framework, a male gaze, often centering on relationships and emotional dilemmas. Even in a show such as *Sex and the City,* which is celebrated for portraying women as sexually and financially independent, story lines tended to focus on "feminine" issues such as friendships, relationships, appearance, aging, or motherhood. At the beginning of the 21st century, women's roles had become more diverse than ever before. However, the contexts of these roles often did little to effectively challenge traditional gender role expectations in society at large.

Given the instrumentality of television in the construction of the self, diversification of women's roles is a significant step toward gender equality. The mirroring effects of television suggest that, for instance, portrayals of women as working professionals may serve as positive role models for girls and women. Yet, unless critically contextualized, such portrayals run the risk of constructing one-dimensional and distorted realities of women's experiences. For instance, portraying women predominantly as working professionals ignores how factors such as institutional racism and sexism prevent many women from climbing the corporate ladder. The underlying factors contributing to women's social marginality remain unaddressed. Given the reflective nature of television, therefore, overrepresentation of women professionals may, aside from providing role models, create a false illusion that gender inequality has largely been overcome, despite the continued existence of a significant gender gap in employment and earning.

The "new man" trend of the 1990s did somewhat change the ways in which men perceived masculinity. New man masculinity, a crossover from Great Britain

in the mid-1990s, juxtaposed men's physical muscularity with an emotional sensibility, allowing men, for the first time, to show a range of emotions in television roles. In the hope of reaching female audiences, media producers showed some men's roles in soap operas or situation comedies within nonstereotypical—that is, caregiving—masculine contexts. However, because such new man roles were largely targeted toward women, their representations seemed more reflective of ratings strategies rather than effecting or mirroring any actual changes in hegemonic masculinity.

As women had already experienced for decades, new man's emphasis on physical attractiveness placed increasing pressure on men to achieve physical perfection. It is telling of the social dominance of masculinity, however, that the increasingly unreachable standards of beauty associated with masculinity and femininity tended to affect the framing of men's roles differently than women's. Unlike masculinity, femininity has predominantly been measured by a woman's physical attractiveness, thinness, and youth. A man could be physically large or middle-aged, but still framed as sexually attractive to women if he was, for instance, financially successful. In most television shows, this was not an option for women. Even financially successful women, such as Joan Collins's business tycoon Alexis Colby in the television series *Dynasty,* were predominantly framed within contexts of physical perfection. Fortunately, television sitcoms like *Roseanne* and *Golden Girls* actively set out to challenge these double standards. Such groundbreaking shows, however, were few and like nontraditional men's roles, women of unconventional beauty tended to be treated as gimmicks; producers made their physical unconventionality central elements of shows' story lines—for example, to serve as comedic relief, rather than unquestioned, acceptable forms of femininity.

In fairness, despite all the criticism, since the 1950s gender roles in television shows have changed to reflect shifts in mainstream society. Women's roles have become more diverse, and men are more often portrayed as sensitive and caring. At the same time, it remains more common for women to be shown within domestic settings than for men, and for men to be portrayed as dominant, financially successful, charge-taking, and aggressive. In the odd instance that gender roles are reversed, it is often portrayed as something counternatural that, therefore, comes at a social cost. Even in a television show such as *Desperate Housewives,* which portrays women in a variety of nontraditional roles, a

stay-at-home father is headed for an identity crisis, and a working mother risks alienating her children and husband. Such portrayals are not necessarily distorted and may actually mirror the realities many working women and men face within patriarchic organized societies. At the same time, however, these conventionally gendered portrayals run the risk of acting as a moral warning of the costs of a changing gender order.

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See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Art, Gender Images in; Body Image; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Performance; Hegemonic Masculinity; Lesbian Stereotypes; Media and Gender Socialization; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Privilege, Male

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GENDER STEREOTYPES

Gender is essentially a composite of stereotypes—beliefs, positive or negative, that people hold about a group and its members. Gender stereotypes are evident in many aspects of life, including personal traits, behaviors, occupations, hobbies, appearance, family functions, communication, sports activities, and preferences for most anything. Gender stereotypes shape people's behaviors, expectations, and roles; conversely, roles can become stereotypes. Research has found that gender stereotypes in Western society have remained fairly stable, even as roles have been changing. Women are increasingly present in the formal workforce; nevertheless, they are also consistently viewed as caretakers and hold a large proportion of service jobs and support positions. Regardless of their job position, women often take care of the social functions on the job. Men are seen as leaders and are often found in head positions. In the business world, masculine communication styles are often the standard. Many social differences, such as race and sexuality, influence and inform gender stereotypes. These gender stereotypes influence the choices people make about themselves and others. They are so ingrained in society, that to go against gender stereotypes can generate uneasiness, confusion, fear, and hostility. This entry describes the effects of stereotypes.

Cognition, Interaction, and Stereotypes

Stereotyping is a normal cognitive process. Humans deal with a high volume of information on a daily basis, and stereotyping is a cognitive tool for organizing information about people and thus more efficiently processing information. Stereotypes assist in social categorization as they help people maintain the consistency they tend to prefer in their lives. This consistency sometimes comes at the expense of accuracy: stereotypes can be exaggerated or false. Stereotypes help people adjust or plan their behavior to accommodate others and allow a person, when first meeting other people, to have ideas about who they are and how to treat and interact with them. Stereotypes affect what people notice, think about, and remember, as well as how they interpret other people and interact with them. In short, stereotypes facilitate smooth personal interactions.

As people communicate with others about the world around them and about their expectations for that world, they pass on messages about how others should think, feel, and act. They learn how others see them and learn how to see themselves. Although

stereotyping can assist us in one's cognitive interaction with the world, stereotypes foster the loss of uniqueness. People become part of a larger group and are defined by their most salient group memberships. Gender stereotypes, numerous and pervasive, thus influence one's perceptions of others and ourselves, while muting individual differences in favor of gendered expectations and norms.

Stereotypes of Women and Men

The current stereotypes of women originated in the 19th-century Victorian era during the Industrial Revolution. At this time, the economy shifted from agriculture to factories; as this economic shift took hold, men left the home to work and the women stayed home to care for the household and children. This difference in roles is enough to create or enhance stereotypes: The disparate activities are often viewed as representing some internal aspect of a person or group of persons. Women are viewed as mothers, providing nurturance and support to others. As women are socialized to be caretakers, they learn that they need to be nice and to put others' needs before their own. The Judeo-Christian virtues of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness also fostered the belief that women are most virtuous when vulnerable, dependent, and weak. Apparently in need of protection and guidance, women are stereotyped as childlike, suggesting that they are immature, incompetent, and in need of assistance. Stereotypes such as this encourage people to patronize women and to neglect their intelligence and competence. Women are also stereotyped as sex objects who pay significant attention to their physical appearance. Women who do not adhere to this stereotype may fall into another stereotyped role—that of a manly woman. This iron maiden demonstrates stereotypically male characteristics such as independence, ambition, toughness, competition, career mindedness, and directness. Other social categorizations combine with gender and create specific stereotypes of women. The butch lesbian connects with the iron maiden image of masculinity, and the femme lesbian takes on a more passive role and is concerned with her physical appearance despite the lesbian stereotype of being a bit stronger because of her supposed anti-male stance. Women of color in particular have been stereotyped in demeaning ways. Research on

women in advertising supports this in findings that nonwhite women are typically portrayed as animals, less than human, and always lower in the image than males. These images depict women of color as being sexual objects lacking intelligence, being subservient to men, and requiring male control.

Boys are socialized to be in charge and assertive, if not outright aggressive. Men are stereotyped as being rational and strong. Men can be stereotyped in several roles, such as breadwinner, heroic fighters, and "sturdy oaks." As more women enter the workforce and some fathers stay home to care for the children and household, the stereotype of men as breadwinners may weaken. For now, however, the stereotype remains prevalent, and some people are still uncomfortable with men who do not have a job or an income, even if they provide for their families in other ways. Men in working-class families, often men of color, may be more prone to feel pressure from this stereotype as their wives also work outside the home to provide financially for their family. This may cause conflict in the family if the wife earns more money than her husband. The heroic fighter stereotype suggests that men are active, courageous, brave, strong, forceful, dominant, aggressive, and even violent. This stereotypical image suggests men cannot experience fear or doubt, and that to stay at home and care for family or be nurturing renders a man less than masculine, which can also be detrimental for the ego men of working-class families who must take on more responsibilities in the home while their wives are at work. This also weakens the stereotype and broadens the man's role. The sturdy oak suggests similar characteristics: A man must be tough and able to hold strong while facing whatever challenges come his way. As sturdy oaks, men will maintain control. The heroic and sturdy view of these stereotypes seems to hold especially true for black and Latino men, but less so for men of Asian ancestry. These views correspond with idealized body images in which Asian men are not viewed as being muscular or physically strong, though it is expected that black men have these characteristics. According to these stereotypes, men do not experience pain or problems and thus can remain independent of others' support and assistance. In none of these masculine stereotypes are there any conventionally feminine qualities. People routinely consider those men who exhibit some feminine qualities sissies and gay.

In the 1970s, Sandra Bem challenged the notion of a dichotomous gender system with distinctly masculine men and distinctly feminine women. Bem suggested instead that people are not necessarily primarily masculine or feminine. Masculinity and femininity may be distinct and simultaneous aspects of a single person, rather than poles of a continuum dividing women and men. Bem's argument allows the possibility that some people are androgynous, demonstrating both masculine and feminine characteristics. The Bem Sex Role Inventory, a 60-item measure, provides a scale through which a person may be classified as masculine, feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated (low on both masculine and feminine qualities). The Bem Sex Role Inventory leveled a fundamental critique against stereotypical notions that women are essentially feminine or men essentially masculine.

Stereotypes and Socialization

When children are about 2 years old, they can distinguish men from women and boys from girls. Children as young as 3 years old have established a gender identity and can hold gender stereotypes. As children learn about men and women, they also form their own self-concepts and recognize how they fit into the world. Children understand their own gender, their roles, and stereotypes before they learn those of the other gender. They stereotype their own gender before they do that of the other gender. Boys know that blue, and not pink, is associated with them; girls, on the other hand, know that pink and purple are for them. By the preschool years, the stereotypes are fully developed, and most children hold rigid stereotypes about both genders. This rigidity decreases as children go through elementary school. In middle school, gender stereotypes can become rigid again. As people age, the stereotypes become more flexible. This flexibility increases as young adults learn more about their world and gain a critical understanding of the influence of stereotypes.

Most parents reinforce gender stereotypical behavior early on, as is evident in the toys parents choose for their children. Girls receive toys that focus on mothering behaviors, attractive appearance and grooming, and such domestic tasks as cooking and cleaning. Boys often receive toys that encourage aggressive play, construction, and destruction, such as trucks, balls, blocks, action figures, guns, and swords.

Toy companies that have tried to market gender-neutral toys have had little success. Adults with purchasing power influence the development, popularity, and marketing of toys, and their influence often affirms stereotypes at the expense of children's realities. For example, though inaccurate, the stereotype that boys are better at math is popular among parents and teachers. Such beliefs among people who strongly contribute to children's ideas about the world can influence what activities children pursue and how successful they are in their endeavors.

Social groups, institutions, and people as a whole are responsible for passing on gender stereotypes. A person learns by watching what a range of people do and will repeat what he or she sees reinforced across people and across situations. According to Albert Bandura's social learning theory, children learn gender stereotypes and stereotypical behavior from sources in addition to their parents. Children learn gender stereotypes from their teachers, peers, siblings, and the media. Media create, mold, and perpetuate stereotypes through portrayals of the genders that perpetuate stereotypes. Advertising has long relied heavily on gender stereotypes. Children who watch a lot of television tend to hold more rigid gender stereotypes. Throughout all children's programming, gender stereotypes are abundant, particularly in programs for younger ages.

Gender roles are culturally specific. Within the many U.S. cultures, there are different views of gender. These views are influenced by factors such as the region of the country, population density, racial makeup, primary industries, and socioeconomic status. The gender stereotypes seem to be more exaggerated in Southern, rural, and agriculturally based areas. Women and men in urban areas have more latitude with what roles are acceptable for them. The metrosexual male and career-oriented woman are expanding the gender roles.

Culture is also a factor beyond the borders of the United States. A large cross-cultural study looked at gender stereotypes in 30 countries in North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. College students in these countries responded to a list of 300 adjectives by indicating whom they thought the adjectives represented—men or women—and how positive or negative they considered the adjectives. The researchers found more similarities than differences in gender stereotypes. All countries found six adjectives to be associated

with masculinity—adventurous, dominant, forceful, independent, masculine, and strong. All countries also agreed that three adjectives related to femininity—sentimental, superstitious, and submissive. In only a few instances were words associated with women in some countries and men in others.

Problems with Stereotypes

Although stereotyping facilitates cognition by helping us more efficiently process information, stereotypes also have negative consequences. At best, stereotypes can accurately represent a group, but they may also obscure nonstereotypical qualities that each person possesses. Regardless of one's gender identity, each person will likely have some qualities that deviate from their gender's stereotypes. For example, not all women like pink, and not all men watch football.

Though stereotypes may be completely inaccurate, they can powerfully influence people's behaviors, interactions, and perceptions of others and themselves. In one study, researchers asked men and women to memorize a list of items. The researchers told some participants that the list included items they would find at a hardware store; others heard that the list included items at a grocery store. Though the list was the same in all cases, women performed better in the memorization if researchers told them they were memorizing a grocery list, and men did better if they heard they memorizing a list of items from a hardware store. Gender stereotypes informed the participants' expectations for themselves and their ability to successfully memorize the list items.

Gender stereotypes constrain the opportunities and experiences to which women and men have access. This includes freely chosen behaviors. Some creative forms of expression, such as dancing, are stereotypically women's endeavors. If a boy wants to pursue dance lessons, he may have to counter negative reactions from his peers and family who deny him the opportunity because "dancing is for girls." Gender stereotypes also restrict, and for some promote, people's success when seeking employment, undergoing performance evaluations, or competing for scholarships. In the political arena, candidates with gender stereotypical strengths and agendas are more often successful than are those who violate gender expectations.

Another negative consequence of holding stereotypes is a concept known as stereotype threat, in which a person experiences anxiety that her or his behavior will invoke and confirm a negative stereotype of the person's group. Stereotype threat can influence gender, race, sexuality, and other social categories about which negative stereotypes prevail. This anxiety has harmful consequences for a person's performance. One study of stereotype threat and gender examined the stereotype that women perform poorly on math tests. Researchers reminded some participants of this negative stereotype; others did not hear the stereotype; both groups then took a math exam. The results showed that women did worse on the exam if researchers made their gender salient by reminding them of the negative gender stereotype.

Challenging Gender Stereotypes

Treatment based on gender stereotypes is often detrimental and reductive. For example, stereotypes that render women sex objects also render them vulnerable to sexual harassment in the workplace, school, and beyond. Recognizing the oppressive quality of, in particular, female stereotypes, feminists began to challenge gender stereotypes in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some of the movements to encourage equality have been the "Take Our Daughters to Work" day, originally meant to encourage young females to explore their career options, and Title IX policies requiring no sexual discrimination for activities receiving federal funding, including athletics. Other sweeping changes have replaced gendered terms that had suggested males take lead positions with gender-neutral terms (e.g., "mailman" is now "mail carrier," and "chairman" is now "chair"), research has challenged the stereotype that it is primarily girls of color who become pregnant when teenagers, and the judicial system has called for both men and women to take responsibility in parenting. The increased visibility and acceptance of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, and queer (LGBTQ) community in popular culture and day-to-day life has challenged gender stereotypes, as well. "Butch" women, "sissy" boys, and androgynous individuals have further expanded the concepts of what a man and a woman can be in society. These and other efforts have successfully weakened stereotypes' capacity to impose restrictions on women and men. Women have felt the primary benefit of these efforts, though both they and their male counterparts continue to navigate restrictive gender stereotypes.

In their efforts to challenge the rigidity of gender stereotypes, some researchers look at schemas and their influence on gender stereotypes. A schema is a cognitive construct that organizes information and influences our perceptions. Schemas begin developing early on, and their contents are influenced by individual biographies and social location. The concept of schemas (a) helps explain the existence of stereotypes and (b) suggests a strategy for altering them. According to Bem's gender schema theory, because gender and gender stereotypes are socially constructed and maintained, they may also be socially dismantled or, at least, diminished.

According to gender schema theory, parents and others can reduce gender stereotypes in their interactions with young children. When parents discuss boys, girls, women, and men, they can emphasize the biological aspects of being a male or female rather than the social roles or stereotypes associated with each gender. Bandura's social learning theory offers another suggestion. Children learn from watching those around them, particularly their parents. Thus, parents can undermine stereotypes by eliminating gender stereotypical behavior and roles in the family: fathers can, for example, cook dinner, and mothers can perform home repairs. Parents can also eliminate gender stereotypical choices for their children by offering a range of toys, activities, and clothing. Parents can also try to create a new schema that revolves around individual differences, teaching children to recognize people's distinctive personalities and not to approach them as composites of a few salient group memberships like gender.

Research examining children raised in gender-neutral homes has identifies some factors related to producing nonsexist children. Parents who focus on the biology of being male and female, question traditional gender stereotypes, and feature mothers who work outside of the home are more likely to raise less gender-restricted children. Same-gender siblings and peers with flexible gender identities expose children to gender variation and thus promote an openness about gender.

Typically, even children raised in gender-neutral homes go through the traditional stereotyped stages of development and gender stereotyping. Even if parents raise their children in line with the suggestions put forth by Bem, children still navigating stereotyping messages from the media and their peers, rendering change a daunting, if admirable, goal.

Alishia Huntoon

See also Children's Literature, Gender Images in; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Tomboy/Sissy

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GENDER TRANSGRESSION

Gender transgression, as discussed in this entry, is a broad term that denotes diverse phenomena when individuals do not fit the sex/gender categories attributed to them at their birth but instead act social roles

not typically associated with their natal sex, diverging thus from the normative gender role. Transgender does not imply any specific form of sexual orientation because gender-variant individuals may identify as heterosexual, bisexual, queer, homosexual, asexual, or pansexual. They may have characteristics that are usually associated with a particular gender, or identify as "third gender," "intergender," "bigender," or several other places on the traditional gender continuum. Therefore, transgender identity can be said to encompass several overlapping subcategories: transsexual, transvestite, cross-dresser, genderqueer, drag kings and queens, as well as androgynous people.

In the Western cultural tradition, gender transgression has long been stigmatized, with individuals often persecuted and forced into the existence on the margins of society. Western interest in gender transgression came with the development of sexology, an interdisciplinary science that focuses on diverse aspects of human sexuality. Additionally, anthropology has provided numerous examples of non-Western gender classifications and divergent sexualities, demonstrating the cross-cultural variations in sexual and gender patterns and thus contributing to the growing challenge of Western essentialist ideology of gender dimorphism.

Gender-Variant People

Before the 19th century, preceding the work of Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, and Émile Durkheim, it was widely believed that there were only two sexes. It was "natural" to belong to one or the other, no matter what the individual desired. The problem of "anomalous" individuals became prominent at the time of Darwin and Freud, but it seems it did not significantly alter their understanding of what was "natural" and "normal" in human sexual behavior. However, the 19th-century sexologists and sexual activists and reformers were preoccupied with this problem, attempting to introduce new terminology and hence classify the gender-variant people. Concepts such as *Uranians, homosexuals, psychic hermaphrodites,* or the *intermediate sex* were coined, aiming to identify persons whose minds, bodies, or behavior seemed to challenge sexual dimorphism. In 1923, Magnus Hirschfeld coined the term *transsexual,* whereas a few years before that, in 1917, the first genital reassignment surgery helped Dr. Alan Hart achieve his female-to-male transformation. Hart's

case was published in 1920, in the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders* by Dr. Joshua Gilbert, who assisted Hart with his transition and who kept the identity of his patient a secret.

The early-20th-century researchers believed that gender and sexual behavior were the result of a sexually dimorphic brain. The brain itself was believed to have a sex, which was most often in accordance with chromosomal and genital sex; however, just as there were genital or chromosomal intersex conditions, there were cases of the brain intersex morphology too, causing gender identity that was at odds with either chromosomal or somatic sex. Hirschfeld's concept of sexual intermediates, or intersex, included, for example, the whole spectrum of what is today called queer expression—gay, lesbian, transgender, and transsexual. His Institute for Sexology in Berlin, established in 1919, provided endocrinological and surgical services to transgender individuals, one of them being Lili Elbe, a case well-known in the literature on gender transgression as well as on the history of sexology. After the Nazis closed the institute in 1933, there were no cases of gender transgression in Europe accompanied by surgery until the case of Christine Jorgensen in Denmark in 1952. Surgical sex change, however, was not a choice of all gender transgressors. For example, Virginia Prince—the Southern Californian advocate for heterosexual male transvestites and the author of 1960s self-help books *How to Be a Woman Though Male* and *The Transvestite and His Wife*—argued for change of gender through nonsurgical means. She was the first person to use the term *transgender.*

Much of the early history of struggle of gender-variant people for social visibility and acknowledgment was intertwined with the history of homosexual emancipation movement because the conceptions of homosexuality at the time linked same-sex erotic desire and gender variance. Since the late 19th century, gender-variant people have advocated social and legal reforms that would ameliorate discrimination and oppression they suffered. Transgender advocacy gained momentum in the 1950s, with Jorgensen becoming an international celebrity, bringing transgender issues to widespread attention. By the later 1960s, some fractions of transgender activism were linked to gay liberation. However, during the 1970s, most gay, lesbian, and feminist activists distanced themselves from transgender issues. Transsexuals in particular came to be seen as reactionary in their cultural politics.

Transsexual Empire, by feminist author Janice G. Raymond, was built on anti-transsexual discourses that had already been developing for the whole decade on the grassroots level. In 1980, the American Psychiatric Association officially classified transgender phenomena as psychopathology—*gender identity disorder.* The terms *gender dysphoria* and *gender identity disorder* are still used in psychiatric and medical community to explain these tendencies as a psychological condition. The 1980s were also marked by the appearance of the first organized female-to-male (FTM) gender community; in 1986, a San Francisco–based FTM activist founded the FTM support group that became later FTM International and started publishing the *FTM Newsletter.* The public health crisis triggered by the AIDS epidemics in these years brought about a new era in transgender politics, broadening the focus toward the issues of poverty and racism and not only those of the politics of sexual identity. Leslie Feinberg, a Marxist, published the highly influential pamphlet, *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come* in 1992. Since then, *transgender* has been an umbrella term used to represent a political alliance between all gender-variant people whose social gender differs from the one assigned at birth and who suffer political oppression for that.

Non-Western Cultures

Some non-Western cultures have traditionally recognized more than two genders, American Indian tribes with their *woman-living-man* and *man-living-woman* gender identities (more popularly known as "two-spirit" or "berdache") being one of the best-known examples. Two-spirit people in the cultures of Native North America were often misinterpreted as biologically abnormal hermaphrodites or "degenerates" and, later, as deviant homosexuals, both of which categories run counter to the cultural phenomenology of two-spirit individuals in these cultures. Two-spirit people were generally changing genders, not sexes, and cultural ontology was legitimized by social practices. These alternative gender roles had many tribal forms, with different beliefs and practices. Other famous examples of gender transgression have been *hijras,* Indian eunuchs, a traditional gender role in Indian culture; *kwolu-aatmwol* of Papua New Guinea whom Westerners would anatomically classify as hermaphrodites because they embody a rare form of hermaphroditism known only in few places in the world;

Balkan "sworn virgins," biological women who under the condition of lifelong celibacy acquire the social status of "female honorary men" among transhumance pastoralists of Northern Albania and neighboring Montenegro; and "female husbands" among the Nuer of East Africa, women who acquire male status and can marry heterosexual women.

Scholars argue that these, as well as some other examples of multigender systems in certain non-Western cultures, testify that sexual dimorphism and the resulting dual-gender classification system seem not to be inevitable universal structures and that transgenderism itself has not been an invention of modern medical technology.

Conclusion

Today, the term *transgender* does not refer only to the cases of individuals who opt for gender change without surgical means—as argued for by Virginia Prince—but also transsexuals (either female-to-male or male-to-female), transvestites, drag queens and kings, effeminate gay men, intersex individuals, asexual individuals, and members of non-Western indigenous cultures who claim such identities.

Despite all the complexities and controversies around the issues of gender transgression, a great deal of intellectual, cultural, and political work has been done under the transgender rubric since the early 1990s. There has been a heightened level of interest in transgender issues in the media, especially after the appearance of the feature film *Boys Don't Cry* (2000), which called attention to the serious problem of anti-transgender violence. Transgender studies have also acquired the status of a recent area of academic inquiry, growing out of the nexus of the history of sexuality, feminism, and queer theory.

Aleksandra Horvath

See also Androgyny; Berdache (Two-Spirit); Cross-Dressing; Drag King; Drag Queen; Genderqueer; Hirschfeld, Magnus; Jorgensen, Christine; Sexology and Sex Research; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing; Transgender Studies; Transsexual; Transvestite

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GENDER WAGE GAP

One of the most important economic trends in the 20th century was the dramatic increase in the number of women entering the paid labor force. As more women have entered the labor force, the difference between the average wages of men and those of women has decreased. However, a gender wage gap still exists, where male workers earn significantly more money then female workers do. This entry will describe the size of the current gender wage gap and the major explanations for its existence. Special attention will be paid to explaining three different types of forces that affect the wage gap: occupational segregation, vertical segregation, and within-job discrimination.

The Size of the Gender Wage Gap

According to the 2005 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, female workers earn an average of 80 percent of men's earnings. This wage gap has declined from the 1950s when women only earned about $.60 per male dollar. Many factors have contributed to the declining wage gap. Part of the decrease can be attributed to the increase in women's wage's that occurred as women increased their human capital and job-related skills. In addition, more women now have careers that are uninterrupted by long absences for childrearing, which tend to reduce wages.

Another explanation for the decrease in the wage gap is that although women's wages have been increasing, many men found their wages falling in the 1970s and 1980s. This decline in male wages (especially for white men) is a result of the economic restructuring that began in the 1970s because of deindustrialization (a decrease in manufacturing) and the corresponding shift toward a service-based economy. The loss of manufacturing jobs that occurred with deindustrialization appears to have depressed the wages of male workers more than that of female workers, partly because more male workers were employed in manufacturing jobs.

Although wages have been increasing for some women and decreasing for some men, not all men and women have been affected similarly. Both men's and women's wages have become increasingly polarized in recent years, where the difference between the wages of those at the top and those at the bottom is becoming greater. This divide occurs largely along educational lines for both men and women, as workers with a college education have continued to experience rising wages. In addition, what specific job a worker holds may be important because the gender wage gap appears to vary in size by employment sector, occupation, and job title.

The size and shape of the gender wage gap is also influenced by race and ethnicity. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, white and Asian women earn 80 percent of what white and Asian men earn. This differs from Hispanic women who currently earn 87 percent of Hispanic males' earnings and black women who earn 89 percent of black males' earnings. The smaller wage gap between men and women who are Hispanic or black can be largely attributed to the fact that Hispanic and black men tend to earn less money than do white or Asian men.

Horizontal or Occupational Segregation

Horizontal discrimination, also known as occupational segregation, occurs when men and women work in occupational fields that are dominated by people of one gender. For example, among professional jobs, accountants, architects, and engineers are mostly men, and teachers, nurses, and social workers are mostly women. Although occupational segregation has declined in the past few decades, most workers remain in sex-segregated jobs. Occupational

discrimination fuels the gender wage gap because men's occupations tend to pay better and have greater advancement opportunities.

Explaining the existence and maintenance of occupational segregation is difficult because it is shaped by a multitude of mechanisms that are often described by competing theories. Some of these mechanisms concern " supply-side" factors that have to do with the qualifications and abilities of individuals, gender-role socialization, workers' values, the opportunity structure, and the size of the labor supply. Others involve "demand" factors such as employers' preferences, the demand for workers, economic pressures, discrimination, and personnel practices, which may lead to gender differentiated treatment in the labor market.

Most scholars acknowledge that a certain amount of self-selection plays a role in sorting men and women into different occupations, as women do appear to have different preferences for jobs than men. Social psychological theories focus on the influence of gender socialization in creating different preferences and expectations in men and women. Other theories have posited that women's family responsibilities influence their choice of occupation; however, the extent to which this is true is greatly contested. In general, the degree to which women are freely choosing to enter into specific occupations or how much of this may be the result of structural constraints is a major concern to many sociologists.

Another important question for scholars studying horizontal segregation is why workers in female-dominated occupations are lower paid than are those in male-dominated fields. Paula England and other feminist researchers have argued that in U.S. society, the cultural valuation process is gendered and because women are generally devalued so are the jobs and skills that are associated with them. This cultural devaluation of women's work is one explanation for the lower wages in female-dominated fields. The belief that women's jobs are paid below their "real" worth is behind the movement for comparable worth.

Vertical or Hierarchical Segregation

Although horizontal segregation undoubtedly plays a large role in creating the gender wage gap, it cannot by itself account for the entirety. A second process that also fuels the gender wage gap is vertical segregation. Vertical segregation, also known as hierarchical segregation or the "authority gap," refers to the fact that men are much more likely than women to be in positions of authority. A number of researchers have found a significant pro-male bias in promotion decisions that is not attributable to differences in time on the job, education, or nonwork responsibilities.

Some people have argued that the lack of women in upper positions is the result of a cohort effect, where the differences in the levels of skills and experience between men and women in previous generations can explain the gap. Logically, if a cohort effect were the cause of vertical discrimination, then it would naturally decrease as older women leave the workforce and younger women (who are more similar to their male coworkers) become predominant. Although researchers acknowledge that a portion of the difference in authority may be caused by cohort changes, most research has found that vertical discrimination exists at a much greater level than it would if based solely on a cohort effect.

Several other factors are believed to influence vertical gender discrimination. Scholars have argued that a "glass ceiling" prevents or reduces the promotions of women beyond a certain point, especially in fields where they are the statistical minority. Theories of the glass ceiling argue that there are gender-based barriers to higher-status positions that result in men having greater access to these positions. The lack of female CEOs of major companies can be viewed as an example of the effect of the glass ceiling. The metaphor of the glass ceiling has been conceptualized in various ways. Some researchers see it as a literal barrier beyond which women do not advance, but other researchers see it as women encountering progressively greater barriers as they move up the hierarchy or as a series of fairly constant barriers that have a cumulative effect.

One factor that is believed to contribute to vertical discrimination and the glass ceiling effect in particular, is the lack of informal mentoring of female workers. Research has found that having a mentor is important to one's chances of reaching the highest positions, yet the majority of successful male workers are reluctant to mentor women. This may be because of worry about gossiping or sexual harassment charges, or it also could be because women are often stereotyped as being weak and therefore not good candidates for top positions. In addition, a U.S. Department of Labor study conducted in the 1990s found that career-enhancing projects, educational opportunities, and credential building assignments

were less accessible to women, which may be related to the informal mentoring system. Two other factors that may also reinforce vertical discrimination are a lack of compliance with equal employment opportunity rules at higher levels in corporations and work environments that are hostile or where women encounter sexual harassment.

In contrast to theories of the glass ceiling, Christine Williams found evidence of a "glass escalator" effect, where men in female-dominated occupations benefit from hidden structural advantages that increase their career opportunities. Although men who enter female-dominated fields may face discrimination from outside forces, in their workplaces they are likely to be positively evaluated and to be rapidly promoted to positions of greater authority. This phenomenon has been much less studied than the concept of the glass ceiling and more research needs to be done to see if this phenomenon differs across industry.

Within-Job Segregation

Within-job discrimination occurs when men are paid more than are women who hold the same job and have comparable levels of skill and experience. Many people who are unfamiliar with the literature assume that this type of discrimination is what is responsible for the wage gap. In contrast to this belief, most academic research has found little to no effects of within-job discrimination after controlling for horizontal and vertical segregation, as well as personal characteristics.

Most scholars agree that although within-job discrimination was a major contributor to the gender wage gap at one point, it is no longer considered to play a significant role. However, just as the gender wage gap can vary by occupation, job title, and company, some evidence indicates that within-job discrimination might be contributing to the gender wage gap in particular occupations or companies.

Medora W. Barnes

See also Comparable Worth; Gender Discrimination in Employment; Glass Ceiling; Occupational Segregation; Sexual Harassment

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General Union of Palestinian Women

The General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW) is an umbrella organization for Palestinian women's groups such as the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling and the Palestinian Working Women's Society. Palestinian women across the Middle East, Europe, and North America participate in local chapters, and other Palestinian organizations have women representatives in the GUPW. GUPW encourages women to increase their participation in social, economic, and political life. It also maintains a number of humanitarian projects providing health and welfare services to needy Palestinian families. GUPW's headquarters are located in Ramallah, West Bank, and Gaza City, Gaza, in Israel/Palestine.

GUPW has five main goals: First, mobilize Palestinian women for political action on behalf of the Palestinian people, particularly to fight against the Israeli occupation. Second, raise Palestinian women's political awareness and participation within Palestinian politics and international political arenas. Third, promote gender equality within Palestinian legal and political processes. Fourth, increase Palestinian women's participation in the economy. Fifth, provide literacy, cultural, and health programs that benefit Palestinian women.

Women's groups have played important roles in Palestinian politics since the formation of the Palestinian Women's Union in 1921. Many of these organizations focused on national liberation as linked to gender equality, and many were affiliated with Palestinian political parties. GUPW formed as a popular organization or a mobilizing section of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1965. However, GUPW took issue with sexist tendencies

within the PLO and later became an organizing mechanism for Palestinian women from most Palestinian political parties. From 1967 to 1993, many of the political activities of the chapters operated in secret while the organization continued its social and economic programs for women with aid from the international community including the United Nations. Following the Oslo Peace Accords, GUPW busily sought to organize chapters, elect women to serve in the Palestinian Authority, write gender equality into the Palestinian legal system, and begin new social programs. The political turmoil at the start of the 21st century led GUPW to postpone many of its activities. However, in 2005 and 2006, the union was successful in promoting and training women candidates in a variety of Palestinian elections.

Because of the turbulent status of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and GUPW's affiliation with Palestinian politics, this organization has an ever-changing and complicated system of organization. An executive committee leads it, though most of the activities are undertaken by local chapters.

GUPW organizes political, cultural, and economic programs for Palestinian women. It runs vocational training centers for women as well as centers that provide health care for children while providing their mothers with child care. GUPW chapters run seminars on health, political rights, and Palestinian culture. GUPW continues to take part in political activities such as boycotts and protests aimed at increasing gender equality and promoting Palestinian and, to a lesser extent, pan-Arab political interests.

Lisa Leitz

See also Arab Feminist Union; Women and Islam

Web Sites

General Union of Palestinian Women: http://www.gupw.net

GENETIC PRENATAL TESTING

Advances in genetic prenatal testing since the 1970s have given parents the option of learning their unborn baby's gender, as well as other characteristics, early in the pregnancy. This technology is of concern because it gives the parents the option of aborting a fetus that has unwanted characteristics. Although aborting a fetus of an unwanted sex is widely condemned, choosing to abort for other reasons is still contested. This entry will start by describing genetic prenatal testing and sex selection. Second, the implications of prenatal testing for selection based on race and sexual orientation will be discussed. Third, the emerging arguments of the disability rights community will be explained. And fourth, a variety of other concerns regarding genetic prenatal testing will be covered.

The term *genetic prenatal testing* includes a variety of genetic tests that look at chromosomes, genes, or proteins and are usually done to diagnose a range of genetic disorders. The most common prenatal test is amniocentesis. In this procedure, the health care provider uses ultrasound as a guide and inserts a thin needle through the mother's abdomen and uterus. A small amount of amniotic fluid (the fluid that surrounds the baby) is removed and tested. Amniocentesis can detect chromosomal disorders such as Down syndrome, structural defects such as spina bifida (open spine, where the vertebrae fail to close), and many rare, inherited metabolic disorders. The procedure is usually done between 15 and 20 weeks of pregnancy. Many parents and medical professionals are concerned with the small increase in the risk of unintentional miscarriage (approximately 1 in 200) that is associated with amniocentesis.

Ever since the technology became available to allow for prenatal sex testing, scholars have been worried that this procedure would be followed by sex-selective abortions (where the fetus is aborted if it is not the parent's desired sex). This is especially a concern in those countries that show a strong preference for sons over daughters, such as China, Korea, and Taiwan. Although there already are concerns in some countries about infant femicide (the killing of female babies), the worry is that the use of sex-selective abortions would lead to even more unequal sex ratios. In developed countries, such as the United States, son-preference is weaker and the idea of family balancing (having one boy and one girl) is usually behind parental gender preference.

Genetic testing and prenatal sex selection are also used by parents who conceive through the use of what is often called "assisted" reproduction. This includes an assortment of reproductive technologies, including in vitro fertilization where the egg and

sperm are combined in a Petri dish and selected embryos are then transferred to the mother's uterus (or in the case of surrogacy, the uterus of another woman). Although some parents may be unwilling to abort a fetus that is already growing in a mother's uterus because of its sex, more parents are willing to engage in prenatal sex-selection when the sex of the fetus can be selected before the woman is ever actually "pregnant."

Concerns about the use of genetic prenatal testing, whether in concert with either abortion or reproductive technologies that allows potential parents to "choose" their offspring, are not limited only to the topic of gender. As more knowledge about genetic makeup is discovered, worries that parents may choose not to have offspring who are either darker in skin color (racial discrimination) or who carry the so-called gay gene have increased. The arguments surrounding whether this type of prenatal genetic selection is morally acceptable become murky because, although some parents may make decisions based on prejudice, other parents claim to have the well-being of their children in mind. These latter parents claim to be basing their preferences on their understanding (but not their endorsement) that lighter-skinned or heterosexual children may be better off because of the current levels of racism and homophobia.

Similar arguments have arisen concerning the morality of prenatal discrimination (either through abortion or nonselection) based on disability and disease. Although most people still consider sex-selective abortion to be wrong, whether parents should be allowed to abort fetuses that are thought to have disabilities or genetic diseases is less clear. In recent years, many people from the disability rights community have argued against the assumptions implicit in prenatal testing and subsequent abortion. Genetic prenatal testing, especially when combined with the intention to abort fetuses that may be disabled or carrying a genetic disease, assumes that the presence of impairment makes the birth of a fetus automatically unwelcome. In addition, it assumes that the impaired child and its family will have a lower quality of life, yet fails to address the societal constraints that may contribute to these stresses (such as inadequate services and support, and continuing discrimination). Disability rights activists have argued that the practice of recommending abortion when a fetus is thought to be impaired threatens the right to life of disabled people.

In contrast, parental choice groups have argued that a liberal interpretation of reproductive rights can be taken to include not only the number or timing of children, but also their sex and other characteristics. Feminists have grappled with the tension between a commitment to parental choice (through "a woman's right to choose") and the concerns about the societal values implicit in the practice of testing for and aborting impaired or undesirable fetuses.

Finally, a range of additional concerns have been raised about the practice of genetic prenatal testing. Some scholars are concerned because they see genetic testing as another aspect of the increasing medicalization of childbirth or the rise of fetal rights. Others worry because, like so many other types of technology, access to prenatal genetic testing is not available for all women. In many cases, those women who may have the fewest resources to assist in raising a child with a disability or genetic disease are those with no access to the testing. Furthermore, several scholars have begun to explore how the option of prenatal genetic testing is presented to prospective parents and whether women are making informed decisions about whether to have the testing done.

Medora W. Barnes

See also Abortion; Eugenics; Femicide; Fetal Rights/Public Fetus; New Reproductive Technologies

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GENOCIDE

During the 20th century, most state violence was directed toward the state's own citizens. One contributing factor to this unnerving statistic is genocide, the systematic killing by the state of a community or social group. The term *genocide* was coined during

World War II, but it is an ancient crime. Sadly, though, 20th-century genocides witnessed an increased capacity for state killing, and for the first time, included women as both perpetrators and victims.

The legal definition of *genocide* is contained in the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, ratified in December 1948. Article 2 of the convention makes genocide an international crime to attempt to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group by killing members of the group, causing the group members serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions meant to bring about the group's physical destruction or preventing births, or forcibly transferring children from the group to another group.

Genocide is prohibited during times of war or peace. Other articles of the convention deal with the conditions under which the international community must intervene to protect lives. Thus, unlike many other international laws, when genocide is occurring, the international system of states, through the United Nations, has a duty to act. This entry describes the relationship of gender, women, and genocide.

The Study of Gender and Genocide

At the end of World War II, genocide studies slowly evolved into an academic discipline. By the 1980s, centers for the study of genocide were located in universities around the world. The research is propelled by the need to understand past genocides and, consequently, to record survivor's testimonies and to preserve archive materials, but also to prevent future genocides and to intervene to stop genocides once started.

The study of gender and genocide dates to the 1980s. Feminist genocide scholars, particularly Holocaust scholars, have shown that how we teach and come to understand genocides are based largely on male survivors' accounts and written by male scholars. Feminist scholars point out that male's testimonies exclude women's understandings of issues such as rape, survival strategies, or pregnancy. And missing from scholarly accounts are women's testimonials, diaries, and other forms of written and oral testimony. Thus, feminist genocide scholars seek to show how and why women's experiences of genocide differ from those of men and in so doing broaden understanding of the design and prosecution of genocides, and the conditions of survival and death.

Women and Genocide

In the 20th century, women's roles in genocide changed from nonparticipation and protection from murder, to perpetrators and victims. Before the 20th century, women rarely participated in the planning or execution of genocides, partly because women were barred from military service. But women's reproductive role, the view that they were both weak and dependent, was the basis for their protection from mass murder in war and in peace. However, women historically were never spared forms of sexual assault although systematic rape of women during genocide was unique to the last century.

Women as Perpetrators in the 20th-Century Genocides

Women participated in the planning of genocides, and were responsible, directly and indirectly, for the murders of men, women, and children. In both the Cambodian genocide (1974–1979), where 1.7 million people were murdered, and the Rwandan genocide (1994), where 800,000 people perished, women assisted with the planning. Three wives of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge leadership contributed to plans to commit mass murder. Similarly, in Rwanda, the wife of the president and one female cabinet minister were integral members of a small, powerful group of political elites that plotted the genocide. Thus, *women* ordered that women and girls not be spared.

Women also participated as perpetrators in three genocides: the Holocaust (1939–1945), where six million Jews and 260,000 Romas and thousands of others perished; the Cambodian genocide; and the Rwandan genocide. During the Holocaust, at least 3,000 women acted as guards in concentration camps and were known for their viciousness: They set and administered punishments, including beatings sometimes to the death. German women also participated indirectly: many worked at the concentration camps, and others benefited from camp labor to clean their homes or tend their gardens. In Cambodia, women were involved in every aspect of the forced deportations including killings, with pickaxes, of even young girls. And in Rwanda, women from all walks of life participated in the killings, turning in women who sought shelter or leading women and children to their certain death.

Women as Victims in 20th-Century Genocides

Women like men were victims because of their membership in a racial, ethnic, or national group targeted for extermination. Yet, although all victims suffered the same ultimate fate, the path women took to their deaths was shaped partly by gender. Therefore, women's experiences before, during, and post-genocide differ from that of men.

Gender roles partly determined how men and women reacted to violence that preceded the genocides. For example, before the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), where 1.5 million were murdered, the Armenian government did not expect women to be killed. When the genocide started in 1915, men were killed first: They were rounded up, forced into military service and murdered, or summarily executed. The massacres of Armenians in the late 19th century (1894–1896) had spared women and children, so the targeting of women after the men were killed was unexpected in this genocide. Women, left behind in rural areas, without military defenses, were forcibly deported to the desert. Many died en route from abuse, starvation, disease, and sorrow, and others were mercilessly raped, kidnapped into forced marriage, tattooed from head to toe, or murdered. In Nazi German–occupied France, the French, too, did not anticipate that women would be targets. Thus, men were often forewarned when roundups were about to occur, so women and children, who stayed at home, outnumbered men in some of the mass arrests and deportations to the concentration camps.

The unfathomable horrors of life and death during genocide, preserved in survivor's testimonials as well as record-keeping by the states involved and eyewitness accounts, also attest to gender differences. Women's caretaking of their children is a singular difference between men and women during genocide. Women and children were kept together, and in Nazi Germany, this was their death warrant for, with few exceptions, women and children were murdered together upon arrival at extermination camps. Moreover, during times when camps were emptied and children scheduled to be murdered, women had to choose between saving their own lives, or going to their deaths with their children; a situation men did not have to face. In genocides that included forced marches, women had to care for, protect, and often bury their children.

Pregnancy was also cause for differential treatment. In Nazi German concentration camps, pregnancy was punishable by death. If pregnant women escaped death, newborn children were often immediately murdered if they could not be smuggled out of the camp. Life in the camps also demonstrates different coping skills between women and men: women tended to decorate their barracks with photographs, curtains, and the like; women tried to make their dresses more attractive, which had less to do with vanity, and more to do with the selection process for death at roll calls; women who looked tired, infirmed, or frail would be selected for extermination. And women worked together, to provide surrogate families, to care for each other, and to keep themselves and their barracks clean to minimize the spread of despair and disease.

Sexual Assault in Genocide

The targeting of women and children is unique to 20th-century genocides, but sexual violence toward women during genocide is not. In all genocides, women have been forced into prostitution, sexually assaulted, and raped. However, 20th-century genocides elevated rape, sexual assault, and sexual terrorism from widespread occurrences to a genocidal act; in other words, systematic rape became integral in the planning and execution of some but not all genocides. One example of the use of systematic rape as a tool of genocide is the Rwandan genocide.

In Rwanda, the denigration of Tutsi women created a climate that equated their rape and murder with destruction of the Tutsi people more generally. Women were characterized as immoral, oversexualized, and arrogant. During the genocide, rape reached the level of a genocidal act because of the numbers of women raped and the multiple uses of the rapes. Estimates are that more than 250,000 women were sexually assaulted. Women were kidnapped and used as sexual slaves, repeatedly raped and gang-raped, and in many cases women were enslaved when taken as "wives." In many documented cases, rapes were only one part of an act that included genital and body mutilation, and sexual torture. In other cases, raped women who escaped immediate death were left instead to live with the shame that rape would bring. Other women were raped by men who knew they carried the HIV/AIDS virus, deliberately condemning women to slow deaths. Finally, raped women were used as a form of "reward" for soldiers and others involved in the killings.

Conclusion

Scholars of gender and genocide studies illuminate how 20th-century genocides included women as both victims and perpetrators of genocide. Moreover, analysis highlights how rape and sexual assault, traditional features of genocide, also changed from sporadic to systematic. Women were raped, mutilated, tortured, assaulted, and murdered. Understanding why genocides occur and the specific differences between how men and women experienced genocide fuels research. And because the 21st century opened with women again the victims of murder, kidnapping, and rape in the Darfur genocide, genocide prevention remains a goal for survivors and researchers alike.

Wendy Theodore

See also Ethnic Cleansing; Eugenics; Feminism and Militarization; Hegemonic Masculinity; Patriarchy; Torture

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GI Joe

GI Joe is the brand name of a line of dolls meant for boys, which, with the exception of one 4-year period (1978–1982), has been produced and marketed in various manifestations continuously since its creation in 1964 by the toy company Hasbro. This entry will provide a summary overview of GI Joe's history and its connection to successive popular concepts of masculine idealism.

During its more than four decades of existence, GI Joe has undergone many revisions mirroring and reinforcing contemporary changes in conceptions of masculine idealism. GI Joe was first marketed as a lifelike military "action figure." The use of the term *doll,* suggestive of toys for girls, was willfully and consciously avoided by Hasbro (although the doll was 12 inches tall, approximately the same size as Mattel's Barbie doll for girls). GI Joe was at first a great commercial success. Sales declined, however, as the Vietnam War grew unpopular. In response, Hasbro toned down GI Joe's militaristic message. In 1969, "GI Joe: America's Fighting Man" became "GI Joe Adventure Teams." This new bearded GI Joe was presented as an adventurer, rather than a combat soldier. During the 1970s, various other attempts were made to keep GI Joe up to date with popular culture treatments of confident manhood. Sales declined nonetheless, and GI Joe was discontinued in 1978. In 1982, however, the toy line "GI Joe: A Real American Hero" was launched. These GI Joe figures were relatively small (3.75 inches tall) and were designed to rival the then popular Stars Wars action figure toys. This new version of GI Joe was science fiction themed, and somewhat outlandish in comparison with the original. A comic book and a television cartoon show promoted this version, which nonetheless gave way to a reintroduction of the 12-inch version in the mid-1990s. Some of these later GI Joes have been designed to resemble historical (and archetypically masculine) figures such as Dwight D. Eisenhower and Buzz Aldrin.

Although GI Joe's body has been presented primarily as an instrument necessary for the accomplishment of the mission at hand, successive versions of GI Joe have been progressively more muscular. The short-lived "GI Joe Extreme" version in particular is infamous for its unrealistically massive physique. In contrast, GI Joes of all versions have only slight bumps at the crotch to indicate the existence of genitalia.

Overall, women have been poorly integrated into GI Joe's fictitious world. In 1967, a female GI Nurse was introduced and then quickly discontinued for lack of sales. In the mid-nineties, a GI Jane set of action figures was produced, also for a short time.

Daniel Burland

See also Barbie; Toys

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Gilman, Charlotte Perkins (1860–1935)

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, writer, artist, lecturer, and social reformer, was a figurehead of the social reform movement at the beginning of the 20th century and the well-known writer of important social tracts. She is today best known for her short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1890), a vicious account of the gender politics in marriage, and the novel *Herland* (1915), which is concerned with a utopian isolated society made up of Aryan women who reproduce via parthenogenesis (asexual reproduction).

Gilman was born Charlotte Anna Perkins in Connecticut, the daughter of Mary Perkins (née Fitch Westcott) and Frederic Beecher Perkins (nephew of Harriet Beecher Stowe). Having studied at the Rhode Island School of Design, Gilman supported herself as a greeting-card artist. Despite having strong anti-marriage views, she married the artist Charles Walter Stetson in 1884 and gave birth to her only child, Katharine Beecher Stetson. Separating from her husband in 1888 (divorced in 1894), she moved with her daughter to California. She was active in the social reform movement and lectured on this across the United States and the United Kingdom. During the 1890s, she had an intimate relationship with Adeline Knapp, a newspaper reporter who shared her interests in social reform and the Nationalist Club. She married her first cousin, George Houghton Gilman, in 1900, with whom she lived happily until his death in 1924. Diagnosed with inoperable cancer, she committed suicide in 1935.

Gilman's first book, *In This Our World,* was published in 1893. In 1898, she published the better-known *Women and Economics.* This was followed by numerous works, including *Concerning Children* (1900), *The Home, Its Work and Influence* (1903), *Humanness* (1913), *Social Ethics: Sociology and the Future of Society* (1914), *The Dress of Women* (1915), and *His Religion and Hers* (1922). From the early 1890s on, Gilman was known for her lectures and articles, some of which were published in her journal, *The Forerunner* (1909–1916). She published 8 novels, more than 170 short stories, 100 poems, and 200 nonfiction pieces. Interest in her work, however, waned in the early 20th century. She admitted in her autobiography that people were perhaps no longer interested in her work because she firmly believed in the strength of religion as a way to improve society. Interest in Gilman did not reemerge until the 1970s, when the rise of women's writing courses led to the rediscovery of her corpus and particularly her fiction.

Stacy Gillis

See also Divorce; Domestic Labor; Marriage; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Glass Ceiling

The *glass ceiling* is a conceptual term that describes a lack of women in upper-level positions in various organizations. The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1991–1996) stated that the glass ceiling refers to artificial barriers to the advancement of women and minorities. The term *glass ceiling* is used because women can see the jobs that are above those they have, but cannot break through the "glass" to gain those positions. This unbreakable barrier keeps women and minorities from moving up the job ladder regardless of education, experience, or ability. The effects of a metaphorical glass ceiling are to relegate

women to the lower rungs of the job ladder, compared with white heterosexual men. This entry discusses the effects of the glass ceiling.

The term *glass ceiling* has often been credited to Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Scelhardt in the March 24, 1986, issue of the *Wall Street Journal*. But research demonstrates that the term was used in many prior works, including that of Gay Bryant's March 1984 article in *Adweek*. Therefore, where this concept was derived is still under considerable debate.

The glass ceiling has been used in many works to describe artificial barriers that women and minorities face, but the actual criteria of what distinguished the glass ceiling from other forms of labor market discrimination was not put forth until D. A. Cotter and colleagues identified four particular requirements that are necessary to claim that a glass ceiling is in effect. The first criterion is that the gender difference cannot be explained by any other job-relevant characteristics of an individual. This means that a man having more training than a woman cannot explain the glass ceiling. Men and women must be equal in job-relevant characteristics. Second, Cotter et al. assert that the glass ceiling has a stronger effect at the higher levels of the organization than at the lower levels. Consequently, there will be a higher rate of gender inequality at the top of the hierarchy than at the bottom. This higher rate of gender inequality at the top of the hierarchy widens the wage gap, whereas the gender wage gap at the bottom of the hierarchy is smaller. Third, the glass ceiling is not just about proportions at each level in an organization. Cotter et al. maintain that a better indicator would be promotions to higher positions and raises of income, rather than just the proportion of men and women at each level. Last, the effects of the glass ceiling increase over an individual's career. The effects of a glass ceiling are stronger the later one is in one's career. Discrimination increases as one moves up the job ladder and increases throughout an individual's career, so the disadvantages grow. The glass ceiling has the effect of flattening women's career trajectories in comparison with men's career trajectories. Consequently, women's wages do not increase as much as men's do. The glass ceiling hypothesis has been supported by substantial evidence of male-female earnings differences that are small at first and increase immensely over time.

Results are mixed about whether the glass ceiling is evident in other countries. Comparative research has demonstrated that the effect of the glass ceiling may be stronger in Western Europe than in the United States. This is attributed to weaker barriers faced by women in the United States in comparison with other countries. Women in the United States have greater access to higher education and participate in a more dynamic economy. These ideas are counterintuitive to what one knows about work and gender in Western countries, but researchers claim that the interplay of gender ideologies, availability of jobs, and the possibility of organizing women's labor movements are more significant.

Are Women Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling?

The glass ceiling is not an absolute barrier because some women are breaking through. Often these women are seen as "tokens," which refers to promoting a woman so the organization appears to have gender equality. The women are considered tokens because they are taken from a skewed group and are treated as representatives of women as a whole. The women who are promoted become symbols who are not individualized. Others argue that women in fields such as law, the hard sciences, engineering, and academia are facing glass ceiling that are almost impossible to penetrate. Research illustrates that the invisible barriers are typically the result of sexist attitudes about women's abilities in the workplace, either direct or indirect.

Does a Glass Ceiling Still Exist?

Many doubt that a glass ceiling exists in today's workforce. The assertions are typically that women's lower positions in the labor market are just the result of age and experience, rather than labor market discrimination. Some researchers claim that a cohort effect is actually occurring. The older generations of women experience gender discrimination because they lack necessary tools that men in their cohort have. These researchers state that women in younger cohorts no longer experience a glass ceiling because women's education and experience is becoming similar to men's in their cohort. When the younger cohort ages, researchers predict that women and men will have an equal playing ground and that the glass ceiling will cease to exist. Although these are only predictions, we will have to wait for the younger cohorts to enter the labor force with higher education and relevant work

experience until we see if the glass ceiling has disappeared or remains.

Wendy M. Paulson

See also Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Wage Gap; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Occupational Segregation

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GLOBAL CARE CHAIN WORK

Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild first used the term *global care chain* to describe the export of care work from low-income nations to high-income nations. *Care work* is the work of attending to others through the provision of physical, moral, and emotional support. Historically, care work has been done informally without pay, usually by family members, as in the case of mothers caring for their children. Recognized care work occupations, in which caregivers are compensated financially, include nursing, child care, and domestic work. As the popularity of international migration increases, the distribution of care work is more likely to expand past familial links to encompass a more complex and international labor industry. One development as a result of increased migration is the creation of transnational families—families with one or more parents living outside their country. Migration theorists have explained the prevalence of international migration through push and pull factors. In low-income countries, conditions make sustainable living difficult, such as high unemployment and poverty rates, so people may feel "pushed" to go elsewhere to earn a living; whereas, receiving countries "pull" immigrants by

offering more plentiful work opportunities, higher wages, and secure lifestyles. Immigrant workers also often support their families through remittances sent back home. These remittances may contribute a large source of income to the home nation's economy. Accordingly, the demand for care work in wealthy nations draws people (mostly women) away from impoverished countries as they seek to fill the positions of care workers, just as they are pushed by unfavorable circumstances in their countries of origin, in which there becomes a deficit of caregiving.

Although men have traditionally been viewed as the breadwinners of the family, which may have obligated them to migrate for work, economic hardships have also required women to travel for salaries as well. In other cases, domestic violence may influence women to flee their country to escape abusive situations, or because women are more likely to feel the brunt of divorce or abandonment, they may be additionally compelled to leave their families to provide for them financially. The feminization of migration has required many women to leave their own families behind to be cared for by relatives (often grandmothers, aunts, or godmothers) or hired help. There is a transfer of caring labor from one place to another, creating a global care work chain, which is described in this entry.

Feminized Care Work

Immigrants (especially undocumented immigrants) from poor nations tend to perform jobs that are privatized, underpaid, and devalued in their new settings. When it comes to care work, labor is also feminized because the primary responsibility for caring is allocated to women. This is largely based on socially constructed beliefs of women's inherent mothering and nurturing capabilities. Women are the preferred gender to feed, bathe, teach, and show affection to others, especially children, the sick, and the elderly. As increasing numbers of women, particularly mothers, in wealthy countries demonstrate their ability to break these barriers by entering into the paid workforce, they leave their children (and sometimes elderly parents) unattended, without supervision or care. Although most mothers in these situations must make arrangements for their relatives to be cared for during the work day, only a few are financially able to hire care workers to come

into their homes to provide personalized care and perhaps perform household tasks. At the same time that traditional gender ideologies are expanding, they also remain stagnant because the new caretakers are also women, just of lower socioeconomic status. Widespread gender ideology that associates poor women with care work not only beckons their presence but also legitimizes low pay and poor treatment. Although the conditions differ across occupational settings, the informal structure (mediocre regulations and enforcement systems) of the occupation allows economic exploitation. Care work gains a name because it becomes a paid occupation; however, it remains largely invisible as well as low in pay and prestige because of its relegation to a disadvantaged social group.

The Global Care Chain and the Displacement of Love

Anthropologist Rhacel Salazar Parreñas describes a three-tiered system of reproductive transfer that is dictated by social class, which she calls an international transfer of care taking. At the top tier are middle- to upper-class women from high-income nations, followed by the hired migrant care workers who constitute the middle tier. The bottom tier consists of hired care workers in poor nations who replace those who migrate to other countries. In the process of reproductive transfer, care moves upward through the tiers, placing the burden of care work on those who inhabit the lower tiers. Moreover, there is a displacement of emotion, particularly love, from children of low-income nations, which gets added onto the amount of love received by care workers' wards.

Even though women from wealthy nations are more likely to rely on formal workers to care for their relatives, transnational mothers rely on their family members to serve as "other mothers" in their homeland. Although there is a preference for a grandmother or godmother to care for the children because female family members are believed to be best suited for loving their children, they may also employ nannies in their homes for low wages. Additionally, care work may be relegated to female children in the absence of responsible or employable adults.

Care workers sometimes develop close relationships with the children that they care for and may interpret this relationship as an outlet where they can deliver the love that they feel for their own children to the children

that they are paid to care for. Not all domestic workers have strong bonds with their employers' children, and many prevent themselves from getting close because relationships can be ended abruptly by termination of employment. At the same time, transnational mothers may worry that their children's caretakers will replace them in their own families. Because of these reasons, they often feel the need to compensate for their own absence in their families' lives by attempting to be hypervigilant of the family's affairs or by sending them gifts. Ironically, they also express dissatisfaction with their employers' neglect toward their families, which often influences their own definitions of good mothering and care taking.

Gender Ideologies and Definitions of Mothering and Fathering

Transnational families, which are quickly becoming the norm in some poor nations, experience unique problems as they search to redefine traditional notions of family and parenting. Family roles of men and women are generally seen as separate and complementary: Women are nurturers, men are breadwinners. Traditionally, fathers were the only parents who traveled great distances for financial benefit. In essence, they become absentee fathers; however, they are viewed to be satisfying their traditional roles in the family. Transnational mothers, on the other hand, often take on economic responsibilities but are still allotted the full responsibility of care work (in two countries). For most of history, mothers have stayed in close proximity to their children, whether they were homemakers or held jobs that required their small children to tag along. Transnational mothering breaks this long-standing normative behavior because they endure vast distances between themselves and their own families. This stimulates far more role confusion and adaptation than when fathers leave their families.

Transnational mothering poses many moral dilemmas for mothers who have been socialized into traditional gender roles. Many have difficulty balancing their ingrained traditional beliefs with the economic reality of poverty. Transnational mothers may see themselves as upholding as well as redefining traditional gender roles and negotiating their placement in their families. Not infrequently, mothers become reluctant breadwinners as they try to make up for their lack of caregiving by maintaining intimacy in the ways that they can. They make phone calls, send

letters, and text messages all in an attempt maintain their emotional role in the family. Furthermore, the effort that they put toward arranging care for their children illustrates their deep concern and commitment to their families. If a family care arrangement was not viable, or if a preselected arrangement fell through, they would feel compelled to return home, or else try to bring their children to live with them in their country of immigration. The well-being of the children is always at their central focus.

Fathers who remain home while their wives go abroad to provide financial support to the family may actually endure a loss of self-respect and dignity. This reflects poorly on men because they are perceived to be unable to provide for their families or incapable of satisfying their wives sexually. Although some men are quite secure in their masculinity, others (at the risk of appearing feminized) cast off any responsibilities of doing housework or child care to other relatives or paid workers.

Misty Curreli

See also Caregiving; Domestic Labor; Economy: History of Women's Participation; Emotion Work; Feminization of Labor; Immigrant Households and Gender Dynamics

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GOLDMAN, EMMA (1869–1940)

Also known as "Red Emma," Emma Goldman is much more than an anarchist who protested against the imperialist capitalism as a feminist lecturing on issues ranging from birth control to jealousy. An energetic lecturer rather than a reticent theoretician, Goldman spoke to the masses to challenge the prevailing ideas on marriage, free love, prostitution, and homosexuals.

At a time when the main target of bourgeois feminists was the right to vote, Goldman took revolutionary steps to transgress the narrow political boundaries and seek women's liberation within a wider arena. Against all governments, Goldman thought the vote would only mean improving a system that fosters the tools of victimization for women. Thus, she often attacked women professionals and suffragists both in her lectures and articles she wrote as the editor of the monthly journal *Mother Earth.* Her critique of the mainstream feminists can also be observed in her comparison of the educated women to the working-class girls whom she deemed less tainted by the suffocating social roles.

For Goldman, women's liberation begins in one's soul and only the liberated individuals can eradicate bourgeois values from their roots. To this end, Goldman showcased Nora of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House,* a model who closed the door of her cage for freedom. Goldman's lecture "Marriage and Love" describes marriage as an insurance policy for women who practice dependence on men. Prisoners at its best, married women are sex objects sold like a piece of meat. In "Traffic in Women," she concludes that if poverty tempts women into prostitution, then wives are prostitutes. Physical beauty is the only asset women are allowed to put on the market, so they see each other as rivals to further imprison themselves. Critical of bourgeois marriage, Goldman supported free love and the necessity of birth control. For her, motherhood was to remain a matter of free choice. The authorities of the time found such claims too bold, and short arrests following the special birth control issue of *Mother Earth* led to a final deportation from the United States to Russia, where she came from in 1886.

Her life is an emblem of the values she fervently supported; Goldman apparently enjoyed the capacity

to create a new life out of practically nothing. Unlike most mainstream Communists of her era, Goldman believed that beautiful things are necessities, not luxuries. Her response to the disapproving comrades, "If I can't dance, it isn't my revolution!" became a motto. Her autobiography *Living My Life,* Martin Duberman's play *Mother Earth,* E. L. Doctorow's novel *Ragtime,* and Warren Beatty's film *Reds* are the key sources to explore a life started in Lithuania as a middle-class member and ended in Toronto as a world citizen.

Mine Özyurt Kılıç

See also Contraception; Motherhood; Suffrage Movement

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GYNECOLOGY

Gynecology is a surgical medical specialty that grew out of the practices of obstetrics and midwifery in the mid-19th century. Practitioners usually also practice obstetrics—hence, the specialty is more commonly referred to as "obstetrics and gynecology" and practitioners are more commonly referred to as "obstetrician-gynecologists" (ob-gyns). Although some scholars have defined gynecology as the study of women in terms of their functions and diseases, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) defines gynecology as care related to pregnancy and women's reproductive organs. In addition, ACOG defines ob-gyns responsibilities to include providing general care to women. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between obstetrics and gynecology because both deal with similar concerns in women's health. However, only obstetricians provide medical care dealing with pregnancy and delivery. Although all obstetricians provide gynecological care, gynecologists do not necessarily provide obstetrical care. ACOG further identifies four subspecialty areas within obstetrics and gynecology: gynecologic oncology (focusing on cancers of the reproductive system), maternal-fetal medicine (focusing on the care of a pregnant woman and her fetus both before and after birth), reproductive endocrinology and infertility (focusing on hormonal or infertility problems), and urogynecology and pelvic reconstructive surgery (focusing on disorders of the genitourinary system). This entry discusses the background, feminist criticisms, and the current state of gynecology.

Historical Background

In the United States, gynecology did not come into being as a medical specialty until the mid-1800s. The man widely acknowledged as the "father of American gynecology" is J. Marion Sims, the founder of the Woman's Hospital of the State of New York. Before the mid-1800s, women's health was primarily under the purview of women midwives, who attended a large proportion of births. At that time, pregnancy and childbirth—not to mention the workings of the reproductive system—were not well understood by anyone. Furthermore, concerns about modesty also made it difficult for men to attend to women during childbirths. In effect, female midwives held a monopoly on attending pregnancy and childbirth because there was little competition.

After 1750, American men began to return from Europe, having obtained medical education there. At the same time, they brought back new knowledge about childbirth and innovations in birthing equipment. These male physicians became known as "man-midwives" to distinguish them from the traditional, female midwife, and there soon existed a division of labor where women midwives attended to pregnancies and births, but called upon man-midwives during emergencies. The foundation was being laid for a new understanding of pregnancy and childbirth—one that eventually privileged man-midwives (later to become ob-gyns) over female midwives.

Beginning around 1810, physicians began to consolidate their domination of the market in pregnancy and childbirth. They primarily did so by making the case that they were the only ones with sufficient scientific knowledge and expertise to be birth attendants—a strategy that ultimately proved successful. In addition, male-midwives began to organize as a profession and further bolstered their professional status and authority by diminishing the image of the female midwife, using

racist and xenophobic ideologies. Against this back-drop, in the mid-1850s, Sims moved to New York City and began a medical practice. Sims is generally credited today with developing the technique of repairing vesico-vaginal fistulas (vaginal tears that result from childbirth) and the speculum. However, Sims remains a controversial figure because he perfected his technique by practicing on poor immigrants and slave women without the use of anesthesia.

In the 20th century, the division and development of medical specialties within the medical establishment came to fruition, and obstetrics-gynecology gradually became accepted as an established medical specialty in its own right. The field remained predominantly male for most of the 20th century. Although gynecology technically does not deal with pregnancy and delivery, many gynecologists today continue to incorporate obstetrics in their practice. However, primarily because of the stresses of long and unpredictable work hours and the high risks of litigation, some ob-gyns have dropped obstetrics from their practice and focus primarily on gynecology.

Feminist Critiques of Gynecology

Several scholars have critiqued the medical specialty of gynecology (and to a large extent, obstetrics as well) for promoting an understanding of pregnancy and childbirth as pathological conditions. Many argue that women being viewed as "patients" placed them in a subservient position relative to the ob-gyn and pathologized natural bodily processes as disease. Beginning in the 1970s, ob-gyns began to face several challenges from others who resisted medical understandings of pregnancy, birth, and women's bodies. These challenges came from the women's health movement, the home-birth movement, and a resurgence in the popularity of midwifery and alternative medicine. These activists asserted that women themselves were the ones who best understood how women's bodies and biological processes worked and that male ob-gyns did women a grave disservice by treating women's bodies like machines with repairable parts. Scholars have further documented that ob-gyns are trained with a surgical viewpoint, further fostering the view of women's bodies as machines with repairable parts. In addition, many ob-gyns also adopted paternalistic attitudes, which led to conflicts with patients because ob-gyns frequently imposed their medical will against their patients' wishes.

During this era, feminist health activists also challenged the view that the medical profession's knowledge base was objective and scientific. They contended that obstetrics-gynecology's understandings of women and women's health were often constrained by larger normative understandings of women's natures and roles. These activists pointed out that historically, there existed a belief that women's reproductive organs and negative mental health conditions were strongly related—a belief that still finds currency in some segments of society, including among some ob-gyns. Some women's health activists also pointed out that many members of the male-dominated medical specialty held conservative views about women's appropriate roles, believing that women's main role was to reproduce, which led to a restrictive and narrow understanding of women's bodies and sexualities.

In response to the medical establishment, critiques of obstetrics-gynecology and the medical model of women's reproductive health were published, as well as such books as *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* which aimed at providing women a different model of women's health, rather than just health care information. This feminist model advocated a holistic view of women's health and bodies and a belief that women themselves were best qualified to judge for themselves what they needed and how their bodies worked. The publication of these materials represented more than just an attempt to change dominant views of women's bodies; they attempted to provide some grassroots education to women. For year, feminist health activists have argued that obstetrician-gynecologists' refusal to share information with women forced them into a passive role when it came to their health care. Critics have charged that by withholding information and dictating what women should and should not do regarding to their health, men ob-gyns in essence control women. By sharing information about women's bodies and health through grassroots education, feminist health activists hoped that women would wrest back some control.

The Current Landscape

Many of these critiques were based on the historical reality that the specialty of obstetrics-gynecology had been dominated by male physicians. In recent decades, however, the demographic profile of the specialty is changing, and signs indicate that obstetrics-gynecology is becoming a feminized medical

specialty. Since 1976, the percentage of women among obstetrical-gynecological residents has steadily risen. In 1975, women made up only 17 percent of all obstetrics-gynecology residents, but in 2000, they composed 70.3 percent. In 2005, the percentage of women residents in the specialty had further risen to 75.7 percent. ACOG predicts that by 2010, the sex composition of practicing ob-gyns nationwide will be split 50–50. Although this demographic change might be an indication that men and women are now on an even playing field in the medical specialty, the top leadership, policy, and administrative positions in obstetrics-gynecology are still held by men. Given that many critics of obstetrics-gynecology argue that women are the best judges of what they need and how their bodies work, some argue that the entry of more women into the specialty will in turn foster a more holistic view of women's health and women's bodies. However, others counter that before real change can occur, the institution of medicine itself, larger normative cultural beliefs about women, and the power disparity between men and women in society all have to change. Otherwise, these critics charge, women entering the specialty will still be trained to view women's health and bodies through a medical framework. These critics point out that although more women have entered the specialty, reproductive technologies continue to proliferate, indicating a continuing underlying view of women's bodies as pliable machines.

In contrast with early feminist critiques that equated gynecology with patriarchal control of women, some scholars have cautioned that the balance of power in the physician (ob-gyn)-patient relationship should not be seen as a zero-sum game. These scholars concur that patients are, in some ways, constrained within the larger macro system of the health care system because of such issues as the rising costs of health care and the lack of health insurance. However, they urge more nuance in examining the dynamics of physician-patient interactions. Increasingly, researchers have begun to emphasize the role that patients play in these interactions, and they argue that patients do exercise some degree of agency. In reality, gynecology can no longer be conflated with patriarchal control, and a more nuanced examination of power dynamics within the medical specialty should be adopted.

Carrie Lee Smith

See also Body Politics; Midwifery; Pregnancy; Sexuality and Reproduction; Women's Health Movements

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HAMER, FANNIE LOU (1917–1977)

A civil rights leader and activist, Fannie Lou Hamer served as a source of inspiration and mobilization for all black people, especially through her personal understanding of multiple oppressions forged by gender, race, and economic status. She dedicated her later life to the human and equal rights of all individuals. Hamer became known for her incredible speaking and singing voice, and her ability to extinguish others' fears especially during times of chaos and trouble.

Hamer was born in the Mississippi Delta on October 16, 1917, the youngest of 20 children, to sharecropping parents. As a young black woman in the Deep South, she experienced the injustices of racism and Jim Crow segregation laws at a young age, which solidified her lifelong commitment to freedom and equality. In 1944, Fannie married Perry Hamer, a fellow sharecropper, and eventually adopted two daughters. Although conscious of the injustices African American were suffering and their growing resistance, Hamer continued to work in the fields until 1962 when she attended a mass meeting focused on civil rights coordinated by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). There, she learned about the right to vote, and, inspired by the event, she and 17 others made the dangerous journey by bus to Indianola, Mississippi, in an attempt to register to vote. Although the group was unsuccessful in becoming enfranchised, Hamer engaged in her first act of public service on the bus ride home. After police arrested the bus driver, the individuals riding the bus did not calm down until Hamer began singing, an action that eventually characterized her life.

News of Hamer's powerful voice reached SNCC organizer Bob Moses, who realized she was just the leader SNCC and the Freedom Movement needed. Hamer accepted Moses's request to become a SNCC activist, where she dedicated most of her energy to voter registration. After finally registering to vote in January 1963, Hamer began taking training courses to further her knowledge and enhance her activism. While traveling to one such training event in June of that year, Hamer and others were arrested while taking a lunch break at a café. In jail, Hamer was violently beaten and sexually abused by black male prisoners under the orders of the police officers. This left Hamer psychologically, emotionally, and physically scarred, with permanent damage to her kidney and left eye, yet it did not extinguish her fighting spirit. Hamer went on to share her story to inspire and mobilize African Americans across the country. Her leadership continued, and in 1964, she ran for Congress against incumbent Jamie Whitten. Although she did not win, Hamer successfully challenged and exposed the racist policies of the Democratic Party, in addition to demonstrating that African Americans have the power to hold political office.

Throughout the rest of her life, Hamer was at the forefront of many civil rights causes in the arenas of politics, finance, law, and grassroots organizing. She was particularly focused on aiding black women and improving their economic and social position. On March 14, 1977, at 59 years of age, Fannie Lou Hamer died of heart failure. Since her death, Hamer

has continued to be recognized as a national symbol of the civil rights movement and is celebrated across the nation.

Teresa Mayer

See also Black Feminist Thought

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Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association

The Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association, Inc. (HBIGDA) was formed in 1978 by Dr. Harry Benjamin, M.D. (1885–1986). Intended to be an interdisciplinary professional association, HBIGDA brought together experts in psychology, sociology, voice therapy, medicine, and many other fields of study to improve understandings of gender identities and to standardize treatment of individuals diagnosed with gender identity disorders. HBIGDA published the first standards of care, created an international community of professionals who specialize in treating gender identity disorders, and organized professional conferences. Now in its sixth version, *The Harry Benjamin Standards of Care for Gender Identity Disorders* (2005) is perhaps the most significant product of HBIGDA. Originally published in 1979, the document was intended to outline the medically accepted view of transsexualism (a diagnosis that was officially added to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III [DSM-III]* in 1980), as well as the recommended stages of treatment. The standards of care call for three phases of treatment, often referred to as "triadic therapy," for individuals diagnosed with gender identity disorders (the diagnosis that replaced transsexualism in the *DSM-IV* in 1994): hormone therapy, "real-life experience," and sexual reassignment surgery. Although the stages of treatment are often in this order, the standards of care note that some biological females transitioning to males may prefer hormone therapy, breast surgery, and then real-life experience. According to the standards of care, one letter from a mental health professional to a qualified physician is required to begin hormone therapy or for breast surgery, and the patient must be able to demonstrate prior real-life experience or participate in psychotherapy for (usually) 3 months. The real-life experience is intended to boost the confidence of both the patient and the medical professionals. Essentially, the real-life experience is a time in which individuals maintain full or part-time employment, function as students, participate in community volunteer activities, change their names legally to match their gender identity, provide documentation that other people in their life are aware of their gender identity, or some combination of these. Some mental health practitioners consider this a "real-life test" because the process of assuming the role of their desired gender may discourage some patients from pursuing genital surgery, or may solidify their resolve. Generally, if a patient has had 12 months of successive hormone treatment, has also has 12 months of successive real-life experience, and has two letters of recommendation from mental health practitioners and physicians, they are then eligible to pursue sexual reassignment surgery. Finally, follow-up with both mental health providers and surgeons is encouraged. In 2006, HBIGDA officially changed its name to the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) in an effort to shift the discursive focus away from mental illness and instead promote health and well-being. WPATH considers a diagnosis of gender identity disorder to be important for patients' overall well-being, processing insurance claims, and guiding professional research.

Kegan M. Allee

See also Benjamin, Harry; Gender Dysphoria; Gender Identity Disorder; Hormone Therapy

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HAY, HARRY (1912–2002)

Harry Hay (April 7, 1912–October 24, 2002) was one of the most important and influential activists in the history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) movements. He devoted his lifelong activity to the rights of gay people and the community. Often ahead of his time, he advocated the idea of gay people as a minority group—an initiative that seems obvious today though it was unthinkable in the 1950s.

Hay was a controversial person for his period, overcoming social and cultural norms and taboos. He was influenced by Marxist philosophy, which he first encountered in 1933. Soon afterward, he joined the Communist Party USA and became one of its most prominent figures. He soon found that there would not be support for him as a homosexual man; thus, he yielded to general expectations and married Anita Platky in 1938. However, the wound remained unhealed. Finally in 1948, Hay decided to break his silence and actively fight for the rights of homosexuals. That year, while working for the presidential campaign of Henry Wallace, he started expressing the idea of homosexuals as an oppressed minority. The breakthrough moment came in 1950 in Los Angeles, when, together with a group of friends, he founded the Mattachine Society. Soon after that, he divorced and left the Communist Party. In 1953, he and other founders left the organization when it became dominated by much more conservative ideas and his Communist roots became problematic for some members.

It took almost 20 years for a homophile movement to develop and transform itself into the next stage. The Stonewall riots, which symbolically opened up the next chapter in gay liberation, brought onto the agenda the strategies that Hay introduced in the 1950s. The idea of homosexuals forming a separate and distinctive culture quickly spread and dominated gay politics in the 1970s. On the wave of this enthusiasm, he joined the California chapter of the Gay Liberation Front. However, he soon became disappointed. By the mid-1970s, he was already looking for another, new quality for the gay community. Feeling that the gay liberation movement had lost its spirit—the key word for the next stage of his activity—he set up the first Spiritual Conference of Radical Faeries in Arizona, in 1979. From that moment, Hay dedicated his life to political work for the gay community and to the idea of spiritual renewal through neo-pagan and New Age practices embraced in the notion of the Radical Faerie.

Robert Kulpa

See also Daughters of Bilitis; Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; Mattachine Society; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

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HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS, HIDDEN/INFORMAL

The concept of *hidden* or *informal health care* lacks a commonly understood definition. For purposes of this entry, it is defined as care given or received outside the formal health care system or as those dimensions of health care existing within both formal and informal systems of care that are hidden from casual observation. *Formal health care* is that given to improve the health and well-being of patients by allopathic or osteopathic medical practitioners and professionals within hospitals and clinics, particularly in Western industrialized countries. In formal systems, fees are typically paid through public or private insurance or directly by patients, and occupational sex-segregation is prevalent. Physicians and technicians are typically men, whereas nurses, midwives, and aides are typically women. In most cultures, women are overrepresented both as providers and consumers of informal health care for themselves and their families. Informal care in the United States is an important force in both health maintenance and disease prevention with as many as one-third of the total population and as many as one-half of some racial/ethnic minorities engaging in unconventional medical practices or informal care. A gender perspective on informal health care in the United States

and globally emphasizes the dissatisfaction among growing numbers of people, especially women, with conventional and formal medical practices. Feminist perspectives, in particular, seek to improve the health and social status of women by making visible the hidden aspects of the health care system that reinforce gender inequality. This body of knowledge and health activism also highlights women's diverse experiences as health care consumers, informal caregivers, and as agents of change. This entry describes types of and issues relating to informal health care systems.

Doctor-Patient Relations and Limited Access to Care

Dissatisfaction with doctor-patient relations is central to dissatisfaction with the formal health care system. Practitioners in the formal health care system tend to take an authoritative approach where the physician is in control. Such an approach can be particularly unpleasant for women because gender bias is easily amplified in interactions between male doctors and female patients, ultimately contributing to substandard health care. Women's experiences and concerns are often discounted or not taken seriously by doctors in medical encounters. To be seen as credible patients by doctors, as well as in their own eyes, women must go to great lengths to assert themselves in formal health care settings.

Ethnicity, class, age, and sexuality, among other factors, play a role in how individuals experience social interactions and health care institutions. Historically, African Americans have been discriminated against in formal medical care systems, and because of this, as well as lack of money or insurance, have relied on informal support systems. Susan Smith, in her book, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired,* documents the informal activities of black women's health networks in America, particularly in the rural South, between 1890 and 1950. This work describes significant community health efforts by midwives, extension service workers, home demonstration agents, volunteer laywomen, and club and sorority women who vigilantly sought to channel public health resources to minority communities denied access to private health care. Similarly, contemporary informal health care networks empower minority communities when formal health care is inaccessible or unsatisfactory. Physician bias and limited health care access are also experienced by other groups, including low-income and lesbian women. For poor women,

power imbalances between the patient and the doctor are significant as a result of social class differences. Many experts have found that power imbalances were especially evident in some societies (India, for example) where there are extreme educational and class disparities between patients and doctors. Lesbian women can also suffer a power imbalance because of "heteronormativity," when health professionals assume that heterosexuality is the norm, thus erecting a barrier to communication and trust, and, ultimately, to quality health care. Patricia Stevens's analysis of 45 lesbian women's narrative accounts of interactions with doctors reveals that their uses of power reflected both solidarity and control depending on how physicians used power. These women expressed a desire for both competence and sympathetic understanding from physicians.

A common theme of research on women's health is the expressed desire for improved communication and increased time with health providers and physicians. Women also express a preference for holistic care directed to patients' overall well-being, and better relationships with health care providers to increase collaboration in treatment goals. Because many women's needs are not being met in formal or conventional health care systems, they are turning to informal sources such as complementary medicine and self-help alternatives.

Alternative Approaches and Women's Self-Help Groups

Along with increasing numbers of people who are dissatisfied with conventional medical care are increasing numbers—both male and female—who are using complementary and alternative medicine to meet their health care needs. Though much research is dedicated to herbal treatments and supplemental practices, such as chiropractic care, acupuncture, energywork, and massage, alternative medicine is certainly not limited to these practices. In many cases, what Western culture views as "alternative" medicine is in practice traditional folk medicine that has been used for much of history. For example, Linda Nelms and June Gorski describe the important role of the traditional African healer in linking rural populations of women and children with primary health care. Another example of traditional medicine that is being integrated with the biomedical model is the case of bicultural nurse-curanderas. Techniques practiced by curanderas vary geographically, but all share a holistic orientation to

health; no separation is made between the mind and the body. The system of curanderismo begins in the extended family and then encompasses the larger community. Using traditional remedies, the curandera is believed to help bring equilibrium, or to restore God's will in the lives of patients. Only if Hispanic traditional healers have failed to help will many patients enter the system of mainstream medical care. Curanderas continue to be popular among the growing population of Hispanic men and women in the United States, as well as elsewhere.

Women use complementary and alternative medicine, particularly herbs and supplements, more than men do. Further, most complementary and alternative practitioners are female. Some research suggests that a lesbian sexual orientation may increase the likelihood of seeking complementary or alternative medicine. Also another population, older women, may find empowerment in alternatives to conventional medical practices, particularly through a holistic and patient-centered approach that enables older men and women to reclaim authority over their health that is often lost with aging.

Women's self-help ideologies and activities grew with the women's health movement during an era of larger social movements occurring in the 1960s and 1970s. A transformation of women's consciousness shifted emphasis from professional control of knowledge by medical authorities to personal experience, knowledge, and control. Groups that subscribed to self-help ideologies employed cooperation and collective support to accomplish their goals of improving health care for women of all ages, race and ethnic backgrounds, and class or employment statuses. More specifically, women's self-help groups recognized that conventional medical practices were often used to control women's bodies and lives and therefore sought to establish practices that would shift the doctor-patient balance of power in favor of the client.

An important change agent in the self-help women's movement was a small group of women in Boston, Massachusetts, who began to meet regularly in a study group dedicated to educating women about their bodies and their health. Over time, this group formalized its organizational structure, becoming the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, publishers of the well-known and now much-published *Our Bodies, Ourselves.* Through their work as publishers of accessible and reliable information on women's health, sexuality, and reproduction, this organization became the leading feminist advocate for women's education about their bodies. In a similar vein, in the years before the legalization of abortion with the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision, an underground women's abortion referral network embraced self-help principles, providing women-centered and patient-centered services. Operating under the pseudonym of "Jane," this informally organized women's collective in Chicago initially provided counseling and referral services, negotiating and making arrangements for women to have safe and affordable abortions. Eventually several members of the collective learned the skills required to perform abortions themselves. Jane members saw reproductive choice as a fundamental woman's right and took considerable personal risks to provide women from all backgrounds the opportunity to choose abortion in a safe and supportive setting. After abortion was legalized, the group disbanded. More recently, however, in the 1980s and 1990s, a new group known as "Metrotown" has emerged to prepare women to provide safe abortions in the event that women's right to abortion is reversed. Metrotown provides gynecological services, but also focuses on educating women to perform procedures such as menstrual extraction and on disseminating gynecological knowledge and skills to women.

Self-help gynecology advocates work to promote education about women's anatomy and reproduction, encouraging women to become actively involved in cervical self-examinations to identify and treat health problems related to reproduction. One such treatment, menstrual extraction, is the practice whereby the contents of the uterus are removed and is an important aspect of women's self-help gynecology. It can be used to prevent or shorten menstruation or to perform a home abortion in the early stages of pregnancy. The issues surrounding this procedure are complex and controversial, but the practice is significant for reasons other than those offered in political rhetoric. When the procedure is conducted, the woman receiving it plays an active role, either conducting it herself or participating in the process. This aspect of the women's health movement is significant because it upsets the power imbalances of conventional medicine.

Technological and For-Profit Intrusion

Other hidden dimensions of health care delivery that are experienced differently by women and men include what feminist scholars such as Kathryn

Ratcliff have come to refer to as the "technological and for-profit intrusion" into women's health. Women's health has become a big business in modern capitalist societies, and the American Medical Association, pharmaceutical companies, and hospitals and clinics have vied for market control of treatments and services for women. At the same time, insurance companies and government spending is often denied to women for routine procedures related to reproductive health, such as family planning and abortion, and cancer screening. Many of the problems of technological intrusion initially emerged with the historical shift away from midwifery to specialized obstetrics-gynecology in the area of maternity care. Women's bodies and childbirth, though a natural biological occurrence, became highly medicalized in the United States through cultural and structural changes. As a result of these changes, women lost much authority and knowledge about their own bodies and female midwives were forced to cede power to male gynecologist-obstetricians. Also related to this larger structural shift in power and authority, the field of gynecology-obstetrics adopted technological innovations that brought profits to medical practice. Hysterectomies, fetal monitoring, and cesarian sections as treatments and solutions to women's gynecological-obstetric problems have been overused, thereby unnecessarily subjecting women to surgical risks. In a groundbreaking ethnography of the apprenticeship training of obstetrician-gynecologists, *Men Who Control Women's Health,* Diana Scully documents how women have sacrificed parts of their bodies and health to the training needs of the medical profession. Although poor women receiving care in teaching hospitals have disproportionately experienced this outcome, the development of modern reproductive technologies and cosmetic surgeries, has put middle- and upper-class women increasingly at risk of for-profit intrusions, unnecessarily risky treatments, and substandard health care.

Gender Bias in Health Research and Informed Consent

A final area of health care delivery that often remains hidden from casual observation or critical examination is the historic neglect of research on women's health relative to men's. Women have been excluded from clinical research samples, ostensibly because of concerns that they may be pregnant or become pregnant during clinical trials, or that women's hormonal cycles will interact with treatment protocols. Yet, medical protocols and treatments based on all-male clinical trials and samples are prescribed for women. Although in 1986 the National Institutes of Health in the United States issued a new policy requiring justification for excluding women from federally funded clinical research, the new guidelines were not integrated into the grants application process until 1991.

Further complicating issues related to gender bias in research, in many cases women have not been given full information to make informed decisions about participating in clinical research. One of the most egregious examples is found in testing of the birth control pill. Early clinical trials involved poor Puerto Rican women who volunteered, without complete disclosure, during the early stages of birth control development. The women were not told that some of them would be selected into control groups given placebos; additionally, they were not informed of the risks of taking untested hormonal treatments that could lead to strokes and deaths and in several cases did. Although information on the risks of hormonal and other drug treatments are now routinely required by internal review boards for clinical research, as well by the Food and Drug Administration, full disclosure and information came only after women's groups lobbied persistently for social change.

Conclusion

Advocates for women's and community health promote holistic health care practices and total well-being through increasing consumer responsibility and authority for personal, family, and community care. Historically, the women's health movement has sought to promote self-help and to alter the imbalance in consumer power in health care by educating women and others about health matters, improving doctor-patient relationships, employing "alternative" approaches to health care, and through political advocacy. Informal health care activists promote policies and procedural practices that eliminate discrimination (sex, race/ethnic, age, sexual orientation, and class) in formal health care delivery and that empower women and minorities in health care decision making.

Vicky M. MacLean and Kathryn W. Ross

See also Health Disparities; Traditional Healing; Women's Health Movements

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HEALTH DISPARITIES

Health disparities and research related to this topic have been an important concern in medical sociology for decades, but the term *health disparities* has become more central in medical sociology as well as in public health and medicine more broadly during the past decade. Sometimes the research area is also known as health inequalities, especially outside the United States. Within the United States, this area of research has received more attention because a reduction in health disparities has been listed as one of the major goals of the *Healthy People 2010* report, a major goal setting and reporting effort within public health and the U.S. government. As specified by the goals of that project, the United States strives to eliminate health disparities among segments of the population, including differences that occur by gender, race or ethnicity, education or income, disability, geographic location, or sexual orientation. Collection and reporting of data on health care disparities are complex. This entry focuses on the U.S. effort to eliminate health disparities, with some comments about related issues from other countries.

Early Sociological Background

Sociological research on inequalities and health has been one of the most long-standing concerns in medical sociology, and this concern within sociology is much older than specific U.S. government policy efforts in the area. The conclusions from numerous studies are that people of lower socioeconomic status have worse health and lower life expectancies than do those from a higher socioeconomic status (SES). Recent, more sophisticated studies still find that people with incomes below the poverty level in the United States have higher (in some studies two and sometimes even three times) chances of dying early, even when other basic factors such as age, race, and gender are controlled. Relationships of SES to poorer health outcomes hold in many countries in the world, not only in the United States, and the presence of national health insurance systems that cover the entire population generally may help somewhat to reduce these types of differences, but do not eliminate them. The presence of national health insurance systems tends to be more important in reducing disparities or inequalities in access to care. This conclusion is important for countries other than the United States; however, the United States remains one of the only major developed countries that does not ensure access to health care services for all its citizens. Given this, discussion of health disparities and inequalities in the United States includes both examinations of variation in health status and in access to, use of, and quality of health care services.

U.S. Government Efforts Related to Health Disparities

At the federal level of the U.S. government, one of the first pushes for concern about health disparities was a report by the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Margaret Heckler (1983–1985). This landmark report revealed large and persistent gaps in health status among Americans of different

racial and ethnic groups. Because of this report, the Office of Minority Health (OMH) within the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) was created with a mission to address these disparities within the nation. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC), another U.S. federal government agency that focuses on public health and epidemiology, also established its own Office of the Associate Director for Minority Health (ADMH) in 1988 in response to the same report. This unit became the CDC's OMH in 2002, and was given the mission of promoting health and quality of life by preventing and controlling the disproportionate burden of disease, injury, and disability among racial and ethnic minority populations. In 2005, the OMH was expanded to create the new Office of Minority Health and Health Disparities (OMHD) in CDC. The mission of the renamed agency was broadened, with a focus on reducing health disparities experienced by populations defined by race/ethnicity, SES, geography, gender, age, disability status, and risk status related to sex and gender.

During the same period, one of the pushes for more research on health care inequalities came from the passage of Public Law 106–129, the Healthcare Research and Quality Act of 1999. This law directed the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ) to develop two annual reports, one focused on quality and one focused on disparities. AHRQ was directed to track prevailing disparities in health care delivery as they relate to racial and socioeconomic factors among priority populations. Priority populations include low-income groups, racial and ethnic minorities, women, children, the elderly, individuals with special health care needs, the disabled, people in need of long-term care, people requiring end-of-life care, and places of residence (rural communities). The first National Healthcare Disparities Report in 2003 built on some previous efforts in the federal government, especially *Healthy People 2010,* and the 2002 Institute of Medicine report, *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Economic Disparities in Healthcare,* Brian Smedley and colleagues. *Unequal Treatment* extensively documents health care disparities in the United States, with a focus on those related to race and ethnicity. One of the weaknesses of this report is that there is no focus on disparities related to SES.

The National Healthcare Disparities Report does focus on the ability of Americans to access health care and variation in the quality of care. Disparities related to SES are included, as are disparities linked to race and ethnicity, and the report tries to explore the relationship between race/ethnicity and socioeconomic position. There are seven key findings from the report. First, inequality in quality of care continues to exist and often these are particularly true for some more serious health care problems, such as minorities being diagnosed with cancer at later stages, less often receiving optimal care when hospitalized for cardiac problems, and higher rates of avoidable hospital admissions among blacks and poorer patients. Second, disparities come at a personal and societal price. Third, differential access to health care often leads to disparities in quality of care actually received. Fourth, opportunities to provide preventive care are often missed. The last three points all relate to the need for more data, more research, and the linkage of those to policy within the United States. The knowledge about why disparities continue to exist is still limited, and data limitations may limit improvement efforts.

Racial/Ethnic Health Disparities

Health differences by race and ethnicity are true both for morbidity and mortality. These differences are important in the United States, but also in other developed countries such as Great Britain and Australia. Disparities also are found in many Latin American countries. Because the ways "race/ethnicity" is understood varies across countries, specifics in health disparities also vary by country. One recent example of this type of complexity is a study that examines the black diaspora and its relationship to the health of black people in the United States and England. Black Caribbean-origin people in the United States have an advantaged health position relative to both black Caribbean people in England and black Americans overall.

U.S. data from the Midcourse Review data from *Healthy People, 2010* indicate a number of specific areas in which it is useful to examine disparities by racial/ethnic category. In this report, 28 different areas of care are covered, and data are presented by racial/ethnic categories as well as by some other categories reported in later sections. Of particular interest for racial/ethnic disparities in care are examination of access to health care, maternal and infant care, physical activity and fitness, oral health, vision and hearing, substance and tobacco use, and chronic diseases.

One of the most important access areas is health insurance coverage. Among racial and ethnic groups, the white non-Hispanic population has the best coverage rates for health insurance, and Latinos and American Indians and Alaska Natives have the lowest rates, with a greater than 100 percent disparity from the group with the highest rates of coverage. Latinos also have a greater than 100 percent disparity on having a source of ongoing care, whereas non-Hispanic African Americans have a greater than 100 percent disparity for this for people under 18.

In the maternal, infant, and child health category, non-Hispanic African Americans generally have the greatest disparity from the population subgroup with the best outcomes. In many of the categories, their rates show a greater than 100 percent disparity from the group with the best rates. In categories of major policy interest such as infant mortality as well as in categories such as fetal deaths, perinatal deaths, neonatal deaths, and child deaths from 1 to 4 years of age, the group with the best rates is generally Asians.

In the areas of oral health, vision health, and hearing health, disparities by racial/ethnic category vary in importance. For oral health, the white non-Hispanic population has the best rates for 11 of the 12 objectives. Within specific categories, the largest racial/ethnic disparity is for untreated dental decay among persons aged 35 to 44 years with a greater than 100 percent disparity rate for non-Hispanic blacks. Within the same age group, destructive periodontal disease is 50 percent greater for non-Hispanic blacks. For many other categories of dental problems, such as untreated dental decay in various childhood age groups, there is no significant racial/ethnic disparity.

For vision and hearing problems, there are two vision categories among the objectives for which there are both enough data available to examine disparities and in which there are important racial/ethnic disparities. For uncorrected visual impairment caused by refractive errors, both Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks have a 50 percent greater rate of the problem than do non-Hispanic whites. For visual impairment caused by glaucoma among those older than 45, non-Hispanic blacks have double the rate of non-Hispanic whites. For hearing problems, although data were limited, racial/ethnic disparity is not important for most indicators.

For physical activity and fitness, non-Hispanic whites have the best rates for leisure time physical activity and regular physical activity. General in this area, disparities are lower than in areas such as access to care and maternal, infant, and child health, with only one indicator in which a racial/ethnic minority has problematic rates that are double the most favorable group rates. For leisure time physical activities, Hispanics and American Indians/Alaska natives are 50 to 99 percent lower than non-Hispanic whites, but non-Hispanic blacks are only 10 percent to 49 percent lower. For regular physical activity, most minority racial/ethnic groups are only 10 percent to 49 percent less likely to engage in the activity, and for Asians there is really no difference. Hispanic and black non-Hispanic adolescents are less likely to engage in vigorous physical activity even though Hispanic students in 9th through 12th grades have the best rates for participation in daily physical activity in school and in physical education classes. Television viewing, as a negative activity in the physical fitness area, is highest among Hispanic and black non-Hispanic youth, with persistent disparities of 50 percent to 99 percent for Hispanics and double the rate or more for black non-Hispanic youth.

For substance use and tobacco use, racial/ethnic minorities often report better outcomes than do non-Hispanic whites. This is particularly true in the area of youth abuse of substances. The black population has the best rates for high school seniors who have never used alcohol, high school seniors who have never used illicit drugs, high school senior binge drinking in the past 2 weeks, and 8th, 10th, and 12th graders' steroid use in the past year. If the indicators examined are actual use of substances, black youth also have the best rates for adolescents not using alcohol or illicit drugs in the past 30 days and not using marijuana in the past 30 days. However, this is not true for some of the most serious outcomes of drug and alcohol problems. For cirrhosis deaths and drug-induced deaths, blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and whites all have rates double the racial/ethnic group with the best rates, Asians and Pacific Islanders. For alcohol-related motor vehicle traffic deaths, the same pattern holds except that Hispanics have a rate 50 percent to 99 percent higher than Asian and Pacific Islanders, while the other groups are double. For tobacco use, the patterns of disparities are quite mixed among racial and ethnic populations. For example, the black non-Hispanic population has the best rates for 5 of the 13 objectives with significant racial and ethnic disparities, and the Hispanic population has the best rates for 4

of these objectives. There have been some successes in reduction of disparity in adult tobacco use and some lack of progress. From 1950 to 2000, there has been substantial reduction in disparity in adult tobacco use. In 1950, the black non-Hispanic population smoked at higher levels than the white non-Hispanic population. By 2001, smoking rates across the groups were equal. One group stands out with high tobacco use rates, American Indians and Alaska Natives. Their rate of use of tobacco products for people 18 and older is twice the rate of the group, Hispanics, with the lowest rate of usage. Historical factors that have promoted tobacco use as part of participation in the culture are one explanation of these high rates of use.

During the past decade, both in government efforts such as *Healthy People* and other research, there has been documentation of racial/ethnic differences in chronic diseases and their treatment. Various studies argue that blacks continue to receive inferior care for cancer. Blacks and other minorities have higher death rates for many types of cancer. Data from the Midcourse Review show blacks having double the overall cancer death rates, female breast cancer deaths, cervical cancer deaths, lung cancer deaths, and prostate cancer deaths. Age-adjusted diabetes death rates for black persons in the United States are approximately twice those for white persons. The number of overall cases of diabetes experienced by American Indians and Alaska Natives are twice that observed in the white non-Hispanic population. Racial and ethnic minorities bear a disproportionate burden of the diabetes epidemic; they have higher prevalence rates, worse diabetes control, and higher rates of complications. Coronary heart death rates and stroke death rates are twice as high for blacks as for the best group, Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in the Midcourse Review data. Other studies have reported that Hispanics have more vascular disease and worse outcomes when treated for the problem.

An important consideration in thinking about racial/ethnic health disparities is to take social context seriously. Rather than considering racial/ethnic inequalities as brought about by processes internal to ethnic minority groups, the impact of wider social relationships and different historical contexts need to be considered. Issues such as social disadvantages unique to a particular racial/ethnic group in a particular society (for example, the history of institutional racism and discrimination rooted in slavery and experiences while a slave or the period immediately following slavery for African Americans in the United States) may help explain today's health inequalities.

Gender and Health Disparities

Health differences by gender have been studied in sociology for many years. General conclusions are that men report better physical health but die younger than women. The leading causes of death (heart disease, cancer, and stroke) are the same for men and women. Generally, men have more life-threatening chronic diseases such as heart disease, cancer, and kidney disease but women have higher rates of chronic debilitating problems such as arthritis, migraines, gallbladder and thyroid conditions, and more acute conditions such as respiratory infections and gastroenteritis. As with racial/ethnic disparities, the data from the *Healthy People 2010* effort and the Midcourse Review data provide some of the most current information. In general, gender differences show less disparity than across racial/ethnic groups. Women have lower death rates for all cancers that occur in both sexes. In heart disease, women have better rates than men for most indicators, including coronary heart disease (CHD) death rate. Differences between men and women are often a complex mix of biological factors and social and structural factors.

In the access area, women have better rates than do men for health insurance, usual primary care provider, and several other indicators, whereas men have better rates for difficulties or delays in obtaining needed health care. In oral health, gender disparities are generally less than 50 percent. In vision health and hearing health, gender differences are also generally less than 50 percent. In physical activity and fitness, there are more gender differences. Men have a more favorable rate for participation in leisure-time physical activity. Among youth, boys in 9th through 12th grades have better rates of engaging in vigorous physical activity, and boys aged 5 to 15 have better rates of walking for transportation.

In substance use areas, women generally are similar to or have better rates than men. Men's rates are at least twice women's rates for alcohol-related motor vehicle deaths, cirrhosis deaths, and adult

binge drinking. On tobacco, women have better rates than do men for seven of the eight objectives with significant disparities but initiation of cigarette use for those 12 to 17 years old is 50 percent to 99 percent higher for girls.

Methods Issues in Health Disparities

Measurement issues are important for data about health disparities. This is true both in general and in government disparity reports, which this article has used a great deal. A recent government report by the National Center for Health Statistics, the part of the federal government charged with collection of health-related data, has argued that six important decisions affect disparities data, including selecting a reference point from which to measure disparity, whether to measure disparity in absolute or in relative terms, and deciding whether to consider any inherent ordering of the groups. In conclusion, it is important to recognize that these types of choices can affect the size and direction of disparities reported, and therefore influence conclusions. These are some of the reasons that research on health disparities is complex.

Jennie Jacobs Kronenfeld

See also HIV/AIDS; Mental Health; Sexually Transmitted Infections

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Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity, or *hegemonic masculinities,* refers to a particular set of practices and societal norms that are seen as "masculine" and that are dominant in society. Masculinity is the set of norms or expected behaviors and abilities that society prescribes to men. It is not "hardwired" biologically. Antonio Gramsci defined *hegemony* as winning and retaining power that forms and destroys social groups in the process. *Hegemonic masculinity* relates to how masculinity constructs dominance and remains in control. This involves persuading a large portion of the population and often appears normal and goes unquestioned. The norms and practices that constitute hegemonic masculinity assist men in maintaining social control. In short, hegemonic masculinity is what it takes to be a "real man" in society. The set of qualities defined as hegemonically masculine varies from place to place, over time, and culturally. Development of the concept of hegemonic masculinity was in response to and critique of literature on the male sex role, which was singular and static.

Hegemonic masculinity is a gender performance. A gender performance implies that gender is not innate or tied to sex characteristics but is a set of expectations held by society and its citizens, and a set of actions by individuals and institutions. The performance of individuals is measured against the hegemonic masculinity ideal. All gendered beings can police and shame gender performances, but those in the dominant position are most expected to police other's gender.

Hegemonic norms come with institutional power and are associated with men in power. Hegemonic masculinities are relational, meaning that they are always compared with other masculinities and all femininities. Emphasized femininities, hegemonic masculinities' counterpart, are seen as the key supporting ideal for women where not challenging hegemonic masculinity but, rather, promoting it are the goals. That women are expected by society to strive for emphasized femininities assists in keeping hegemonic masculinities in control because emphasized femininity focuses on being subordinate to men.

Hegemonic masculinity has historically been somewhat invisible not absent but seen as normative and, hence, natural. Masculinity is often attributed to biological traits, such as testosterone: Men cannot

"help it" when they act in the ways of hegemonic masculinities. But variation in masculinities demonstrates that the biological argument does not hold. Gender, or masculinity, is not biological—it is a social construction, meaning that society functions to maintain the status quo and constructs expectations of men (masculinities) and women (femininities). Discussion and critique of masculinity has developed in women's studies, critical men's studies, and sociology, to name a few, as a response to the privileged invisibility of masculinities. This entry discusses several aspects of hegemonic masculinity.

What Do Hegemonic Masculinities Look Like?

Hegemonic masculinity, particularly in Western industrial societies, is heterosexual, aggressive, and competitive. It involves physical strength; economic success; control; exclusive heterosexuality and the search for sexual conquests even if by force; athletic prowess; stoicism and suppression of emotions that convey vulnerability such as empathy, sadness, and the like; and the patrolling of other men's masculinities (as well as women's femininities). These are the characteristics encompassed in being a "real man"—the most honored type of man. Hegemonic masculinity is also exemplified in the white, Christian, and "able-bodied" male body. Violence is an accepted tool in hegemonic masculinity to communicate and maintain masculinity standards to anyone challenging the system. Hegemonic masculinities are associated with contact sports such as football, rugby, and wrestling. It is associated with dangerous, dirty, or high-power jobs such as police officers, coal miners, and executives, and these ideas remain the ideal. These masculinity standards are not static and vary over time and from culture to culture. The two constants are that hegemonic masculinity is interested in maintaining patriarchal control and it is always dominant to other masculinities and all femininities.

Hegemonic Masculinities as an Ideal

Hegemonic masculinities should be seen as the ideal that men in a particular culture at a particular historical time are expected to value. It is an exemplar. The rules of hegemonic masculinities are so stringent and the monitoring and enforcement by society so strict that the quest for hegemonic masculinity is a constant performance. It is also impossible to ever be truly hegemonically masculine, which is why the quest always continues; if being hegemonically masculine were easy, men who pursue it wouldn't feel the need to try so hard to maintain it. The irony of hegemonic masculinity is how fragile a state it is and how susceptible to failure men are when they attempt to embody hegemonic masculinity.

Many men with social power are not ideally masculine—but these men can compensate for that with social power or by additionally emphasizing particular aspects of masculinity that they do embody. For example, a man may be of small stature but highly successful financially in a job with social power. The focus for this man may be to overemphasize his job power and attempt to call attention away from his physical limitation (in the eyes of societal standards). Although true hegemonic masculinity is nearly impossible to achieve, most men gain from its hegemony because they benefit from patriarchy because men in general gain from the overall subordination of women, but all men do not benefit in the same way.

Hierarchy of Masculinities

Multiple masculinities exist in the world. Recognition of a hierarchy of masculinities grew out of gay men's experiences with oppression and violence from heterosexual men. This confirmed a plurality of masculinities and the evidence that all masculinities are not equal. The hierarchy of masculinities has hegemonic masculinity at the top. Also supporting the hierarchy and assisting in patriarchy's continuance are marginalized masculinities such as those of men of color or religious and ethnic minorities. Among men of color, hegemonic masculinities exist, such as machismo for Latino men and the "cool black pose" for black men, though these masculinities are always subordinate to the white patriarchal masculinity. Last on the hierarchy are subordinated masculinities such as homosexual men or transsexual men. But this does not mean that all homosexual men are effeminate. Hegemonic masculinities can be performed by being subordinated as well, partially in compensation for not being exclusively heterosexual, for instance, as the ideal hegemonic masculinity requires. Homosexual men can

embody nearly all qualities deemed hegemonically masculine while not being exclusively heterosexual.

How Hegemonic Masculinity Works for and Against Men

Hegemonic masculinity, as it works to uphold and promote patriarchy, benefits men over women. Men and masculinity are associated with qualities needed to be successful in business, athletics, the military, and politics, to name a few, and these institutions are highly valued. Because masculinity is dominant, these qualities come to be seen as dominant and these institutions have been constructed to function with masculine characteristics. The benefits that men in these positions reap assist in maintaining masculine power. Women in these arenas are expected to act masculine if they expect to be equals or to continue with emphasized femininity in an effort to appropriately accommodate hegemonic masculinity. In many instances, women remain second class in these institutions, as do most marginal or subordinated men.

Devaluing nonhegemonic men and women can be seen in the homophobia implicit in many of these institutions, sexual harassment, the glass ceiling, sexist abuse in athletics and the military, and essentializing of gender used as a way to hold women back, in addition to much more. Hegemonically, masculine men may pay a price as well. Although they are expected to be the breadwinners in the home and to have a focus outside of the house, they may miss emotional contact and time with the family. They may be encouraged to take risks or focus on profits at all costs, and this can have real health effects such as hypertension and other stress-related conditions, which may be worsened by the expectation of working through pain rather than asking for help or seeking medical attention. Although these men may constantly police the gender performance of others, they also must maintain their own and this is not a simple task. To always control emotion, be successful, try to maintain power, avoid intimacy, and so forth requires constant work. Because the gender performance is assumed to be natural (biological), society assumes that it does not require work and that maintenance is a natural tendency. Hegemonic masculinity, although one version of a script to success in a patriarchal society, is also toxic—to the men who must maintain hegemonic masculinity, as well as to the women and men left in its wake.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Women

Hegemonic masculinity is a relational approach to gender. When studying gender, researchers explain that it is important to keep the focus on men and women in how they construct gender for men. Even though patriarchal society is seen as subordinating women, women are integral to the system of hegemonic masculinity. Most men and women are in many ways complicit in support of hegemonic masculinity, helping to keep the powerful in power.

Ami Lynch

See also Alpha Male; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Homophobia; Institution, Gender as; Masculinity Studies; Men's Movements; Nature/Nurture Debate; Privilege, Male

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HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality is largely defined as attraction to the opposite sex, although the most rigid definitions of the word demand an attraction to the opposite gender as well. Despite compelling empirical studies and philosophical examinations suggesting that bisexuality is a more apt model of human attraction than is heterosexuality, individuals in most cultures identify as either heterosexual or in a homosexual identity category (for

example, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer). Most people declare and enact a straight, heterosexual identity; even if individuals engage in sexual behavior involving a partner or partners of the same sex, most report that they still consider themselves to be heterosexual because they are primarily attracted to persons of the opposite sex and gender. Because of the dominance of heterosexuality, those labeled as heterosexual (collectively referred to as *heterosexuals*) are often only labeled as such to acknowledge or designate that they are not gay or lesbian (*homosexual*) or attracted to both sexes (*bisexual*). The expectation of heterosexuality, combined with systems created to benefit heterosexual institutions, has created a world in which many find it difficult to imagine sexual options beyond heterosexuality. This entry describes various aspects of heterosexuality, such as heteronormativity, relationships, compulsory heterosexuality, masculinity, female sexuality, and the family.

Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity refers to enforced cultural assumptions that heterosexuality is normal and natural for all people. Researchers and activists have extended the term to acknowledge and criticize the systemic accommodation and privileging of heterosexual people. For instance, marriage is largely seen (and frequently institutionally restricted) as a heterosexual institution in which only people of opposite sexes may exchange vows. Marriage is a readily apparent example of heteronormativity; sometimes heteronormativity is more subtle. For example, fictive movie and television programs often feature male-female couplings with a clearly masculine man pursuing a clearly feminine woman. Such pairings confirm viewers' expectations that romantic and idealized heterosexual couples feature strong masculine and highly feminine figures.

Heteronormativity's dominance is evident in the ease with which many people transport the lens outside the world of human interaction into other domains. Social scientific research has demonstrated that people will often impose a heteronormative frame upon situations that do not support it. For example, in one study, researchers asked people to view films of animals at play. When researchers asked participants to describe what they saw, people—regardless of age or sex—frequently assigned sex and gender roles to the animals based upon the way the animals behaved while at play. These sex and gender roles extended to

heterosexual assumptions: The participants frequently identified pairs of animals as couples, with one labeled the male love interest and the other female love interest. The animals depicted in the films were all of the same sex. Sex and gender expectations—particularly expectations of heterosexuality—shaped how the viewers saw the film.

Heterosexuality is automatically assumed for most humans as well. Unless a person comes out as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or another nonstraight sexual orientation, then he or she will usually be perceived as heterosexual. This is especially true when opposite sex persons are seen together. If male and female teenagers are shopping together in the mall, others assume heterosexual identity and that the two have a romantic attraction—even if the couple denies an interest in each other. Only age differences and physical resemblance (suggesting kin relationships) undermine the assumption of heterosexual coupling placed on two opposite sex individuals. Even then, people may wonder whether or not the couple is romantically linked or if they form a different type of relationship.

Heteronormativity and the Study of Relationships

Heteronormativity is routinely viewed through the lens of relationships. This makes sense, given that the label is primarily used to designate one's sexual attraction. Social scientists have long studied heterosexual relationships, chronicling detailed understandings of these relationships in academic journals and textbooks. Understandings of the differences between heterosexual and homosexual relationships, however, remain superficial because much relationship research ignores issues of sexual orientation and assumes participants' heterosexuality. Recent research on nonheteronormative relationships challenges this nearly exclusive heterosexual lens. Interestingly enough, as researchers learn more about nonheterosexual phenomena, a stronger understanding of heterosexuality has emerged. This plays into the common claim that heterosexuality is often defined by what it is not (rather than what it actually is).

Compulsory Heterosexuality

Given the seemingly ubiquitous nature of heterosexuality and its dominance in influencing social institutions, many critics have questioned whether the

heteronormative nature of most cultures is a healthy one. This question is particularly crucial to considering the voices that such a culture excludes and the personal anguish that such a culture may cause to both heterosexual and nonheterosexual individuals. As noted earlier in this entry, heterosexual labels primarily designate one's sexual attraction, but the implications surrounding the label often extend beyond sexual power to gender norms and expectations. Heteronormativity is so dominant that many who study sexuality have employed the phrase *compulsory heterosexuality* to describe the way people gravitate toward a heterosexual identity. The term emerges from the work of Adrienne Rich, who wrote of compulsory heterosexuality in the context of women's lives and lesbian existence.

Though Rich insisted that, given sexism, compulsory heterosexuality had particular consequences for women, many have explored the experience and consequences of compulsory heterosexuality beyond the lives of women. In these discussions, compulsory heterosexuality is commonly defined as the ingrained notion that the only option in society is to be straight. That is, heterosexuality is so successfully established as normal and natural in everyday communication that the notion of homosexuality does not easily exist in the minds of most people, especially as a sexual orientation for oneself. The expectation of heterosexuality, combined with systems that value and benefit heterosexual expression, has created a world where it is hard for many to imagine that options other than heterosexuality exist. For someone to not see herself or himself as heterosexual is equated with lack of personal development, as going through a phase, as confusion, or even as insanity.

Strongly linked to compulsory heterosexuality is the assumption that men and boys must enact masculine roles and that women and girls must enact feminine roles, especially because the performance of gender roles is inextricably linked to the assumption that individuals are naturally heterosexual. Although sex and gender are two separate and distinct concepts, people often treat them as if they are the same. When a male does not enact masculinity, or a female does not enact femininity, then individuals notice this behavior and acknowledge the gender violations by offering feedback, whether intentional or unintentional, verbal or nonverbal. For example, when one man notices another man enacting feminine behavior, he may call the other an anti-queer pejorative such as

"fag" or "sissy." In doing so, he likely is not asserting that the other person is gay; rather, he is likely asserting that the other person is violating expected gender norms. The choice of language, however, speaks to heterosexuality and heteronormativity. "Fag" and other anti-queer pejoratives are inherently linked to sexual orientation—even if not directly used that way. In practical and symbolic terms, such pejoratives elucidate the subtle connections between sex, gender, and sexuality as they intersect with language and nonverbal communication to form a culture that enforces compulsory heterosexuality.

Masculinity and Heterosexuality

Although masculinity and femininity provide the building blocks for many cultural norms and rituals, heteronormative and otherwise, masculinity is especially protected as a male domain and lauded as superior set of gender characteristics. Although most cultures have began to assimilate masculine and feminine identities, this blurring of gender lines has played out differently for each of the gender roles. Women, as feminine figures, have been allowed to enact more masculine roles than in previous generations, especially in Western culture. Women who encroach too much upon these masculine liberties, however, often receive warning that their behavior and self-presentation are not acceptable; these warnings take the form of, for example, pejorative name calling and gendered violence, including rape. Even though men have also begun to employ behaviors and practices conventionally considered feminine, men do not have the same freedom to enjoy feminine characterizations as women have to enjoy the masculine. Ironically, women's greater freedom reflects the devaluing of femininity.

The protection of masculinity has played out in many ways, crossing even into legal domains. Laws making it illegal for two individuals to engage in sodomy, for instance, were common in the United States before the 2003 Supreme Court ruling in *Lawrence v. Texas*. Such laws prevented a man from enacting the passive, femininelike role of receiving anal sex. Few laws existed, however, preventing women from engaging in same-sex activity. Additionally, in traditionally masculine domains such as the military, rules such as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" allow a heteronormative environment to thrive and protect a conventionally masculine space. Even

such entertainment arenas as sports remain highly masculine, with men's sporting events and institutions receiving much greater attention and resources than those for women players and spectators.

Masculinity is almost inherently linked with heterosexual identity. For instance, masculinity and straightness share a common vocabulary that excludes highly expressive words, discussion of emotion, or heightened displays of affection. Male talk—and so therefore masculine talk, and so therefore straight talk—frequently includes discussions of sports, tools, machinery, or the weather, and, in a heteronormative vocabulary, it should not encroach upon such feminine topics as gardening, fashion, or soap operas—at least, not without a proper and exceptional situation or context. Many men report that they feel limited by the conversations they are allowed to have; they point out that this often causes them mental anguish or extreme frustration. This is but one example of how heterosexual masculinity may play out in unhealthy ways for those confined by it.

Other problems with heterosexual masculinity play out through systems developed around heterosexual dominance. Because males remain privileged in most social systems, the demonstration of their masculinity easily violates the rights and comfort of women. One example is sexual harassment. Men who sexually harass women are not the workplace norm, and many institutions have established policies that help protect women (and men) from sexually harassment. Nevertheless, many feminists note that cultural indicators in many workplaces indirectly support sexual harassment and make it difficult for women to come forth with claims, especially because the enactment of a man sexually harassing a woman conforms to heterosexual expectations and practices. That is, heterosexual tradition has long deemed men leaders in their domains, thus allowing them power through which they can assert authority with little question or critique. Women are easily pursued and harassed by men, then, because men feel free to be sexually assertive in a male-dominated, heteronormative world. To better understand this, one must consider the role of female sexuality in a heteronormative world.

Female Sexuality

Ultimately, heterosexuality represents societal expectations for the sexual pairing of men and women. Theoretically, this could be an egalitarian arrangement in which women's and men's sexuality and gender are on equal terms and the sexual behavior fully consensual. The reality, however, is that women in heterosexual relationships are often the objects of men, and their sexuality is supplementary to men's wishes and desires. The heterosexual relationship is one in which men are both free to explore their sexuality without backlash or warning from other members of the culture, and free to assert their gaze upon females. Women, then, are expected to play into these roles, serving as the pursued responding to the man in pursuit. This helps explain why women's clothes are often tighter and feature low cuts, why makeup and accessories are more prominent with women, and why men frequently make the first move in heterosexual relationships.

Although it is far from equal to male sexuality, female sexuality in heterosexual systems and relationships is beginning to transform; women are beginning to enjoy some of the freedoms previously reserved for men. Women who pursue sexual relationships outside of marital institutions experience less shame and stigma, and both news-oriented and fictive media representations increasingly portray women as sexual creatures outside of the confines of male-dictated pleasure. Far beyond these freedoms are the liberties that women can now enjoy as the conditions of heterosexual relationships change. Women who sought divorce were once outcast and condemned to a life of solitude, even when leaving relationships in which their husbands had verbally abused, beaten, or raped them. Women now have greater freedom to divorce without social stigma. Women also report feeling less pressure to marry or have children, something that many would have considered unacceptable just 50 years ago.

Heteronormativity and the Family

Heteronormativity has had a profound influence on the institution of the family. For generations, most of Western culture has viewed families traditionally, with a father, mother, and children living together, supporting one another, and sharing resources. As heterosexual norms have changed, so too have family structures. Families are now less traditional, with research suggesting that family units consisting of single-parent households, same-sex parents, or homes without children functioning in ways much like traditional families. Current political discourse emphasizes

family structures and the maintenance of systems that allow families to thrive. However, what constitutes a family is the subject of heated debate.

The Potential to Be Heterosexual

Unlike most minority categories, where individuals are perceived to be unable to change their features to join another identity category, those who do not identify as heterosexual are sometimes considered able to choose heterosexuality and to ignore their same-sex attractions. Although most psychologists dismiss the possibility of changing one's sexual orientation, this has not quieted views that sexual orientation is open to negotiation. The strong web of heteronormativity has meant that this belief in negotiation applies only to homosexual desire and behaviors and not to heterosexual relationships. Interestingly, because heterosexuality is so easily assumed, many who do feel as if they are lesbian, gay, transgendered, or bisexual can easily conceal their nonheterosexual orientations or gender identities and remain in the closet.

Intersexuality and Bisexuality

Discussions of heterosexuality and heteronormativity often completely ignore intersexual and bisexual individuals. Intersexed persons, or persons who biologically exhibit characteristics of both sexes, often report feeling that they must choose a male or female sex role to adhere to the demands of society. Often the sex role enacted is influenced by sexual orientation, with the individual identifying as female if generally attracted to males and as male if generally attracted to females. Intersexuality is largely unrecognized in most cultures.

Bisexuality is ignored in most cultures, too, with most individuals identifying or being perceived as either lesbian/gay or heterosexual. Further, most people will self-identify in homosexual categories (gay, lesbian) or as heterosexual (straight) even when they harbor attractions to the same sex. This has caused many to question whether heterosexuality or homosexuality truly exist or if they are categories constructed in a society that is uncomfortable with fluidity and that demands rigid understandings. Research surveys have repeatedly demonstrated that those who do not fall into either heterosexual or homosexual categories are often perceived as not being trustworthy and that those who were perceived as heterosexual were noted by those participating in the surveys as the most

trustworthy of all. Research also indicates that those not fitting into the opposite categories of homosexual and heterosexual generate unease, and heterosexual identities are the most comfortable for interaction.

Conclusion

Heterosexuality is interweaved into many cultural practices and coexists with many other gendered institutions. Although heterosexuality is often defined by what it is not, it is evident that what it is allows for much thought about how sex, gender, and sexuality play out in cultures.

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See also Bisexuality; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Heterosexual Privilege; Homosexuality

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Heterosexual Privilege

Heterosexual privilege, or straight privilege, refers to the rights and unearned advantages bestowed on heterosexuals in society. Heterosexual privilege, like many other forms of privilege, is often invisible to its recipients; heterosexuals benefit from these advantages and are usually unaware of their privileged position relative to their sexual orientation. This entry examines heterosexual privilege by reviewing how the scholarship on privilege developed, first with race and gender and, more recently, sexuality. Then, the entry continues with a discussion of individual and institutional forms of heterosexual privilege and compulsory heterosexuality. Finally, the entry concludes with a brief discussion of intersectionality as a further means for understanding how advantages based upon sexual orientation are interlocked with other forms of social inequalities.

Privilege

Privilege refers to the advantage bestowed upon one group that is denied to others because of group membership. Traditionally, studies of social inequality have focused on the oppressed status of a minority group. However, focusing only on discrimination is not a complete picture. As one group is discriminated against, another group occupies a privileged, dominant status enjoying access to goods, services, or even an acceptance that other social groups do not posses. Understanding privilege is about understanding unearned institutionalized entitlements and advantages.

Gender and Race

A plethora of scholarship exists on how privilege is gendered. Many scholars who study privilege have used a concept to help explain its nuances first popularized by Peggy McIntosh, "the invisible knapsack." As a feminist scholar, she noted how she had long seen males bestowed a special status simply because of their gender. She argued that this privileged group was almost completely oblivious to these rewards. They carried this "knapsack" full of the tools and resources that enable its owner to succeed more easily than can a person or persons without the knapsack. The owner of the knapsack may recognize that others are disadvantaged yet the acknowledgment of how one's privileges are related to another's lack of privileges is a difficult concession for many to make.

Yet, scholarly interest did not end at examining gender's place in privilege. Many scholars have argued that privilege extends to race as well, and whites are the beneficiaries. This advantage is obvious to those who do not have it, yet it is invisible to those who possess it. One's status as a member of the dominant group affords the person opportunities or entitlements that a person in another group cannot count on being available. McIntosh created a list of 50 items of the privileges that she enjoyed as a white person, some of which included having the ease and ability to surround herself with people who looked like her if and when she wanted (in person and on television), the likelihood that the curriculum in her children's school would positively speak to their cultural heritage, and the simple fact that purchasing products for her hair was commonplace or knowing that when she found a product with a color named "skin color" that it would match *her* skin tone.

Sexual Orientation

The importance of the knapsack is its applicability in studying other forms of privilege, such as heterosexual privilege. The persons who unknowingly benefit from being members of a dominant group perceive their situation as the normal way society functions. Heterosexuals benefit from heterosexual social unions being seen as standard and legitimate. This normalization of heterosexuality is privileged above other sexual orientations. Sexuality is understood to encompass sexual attitudes, behaviors, and desires. Some scholars argue that human sexuality is innate whereas others view sexual orientation, like gender, as socially constructed. Regardless of where one stands in this debate, it is difficult to deny the power the dominant group has at both individual and institutional levels when gauging privilege as it relates to sexual orientation.

Individual and Institutional Forms of Heterosexual Privilege

Heterosexual privilege plays out at the individual and institutional levels. At the individual level, heterosexual privilege can take the form of homophobia. Homophobia is the fear and hatred of homosexuals or their lifestyle, often regarding those who deviate from the heterosexual norm as sick or evil. What

homophobia induces is the need to prove that one does not have same-sex desires by displaying hostility toward homosexuals. Research has examined homophobia as it relates to hegemonic masculinity. Individually, a heterosexual will not endure stares and ridicule if he kisses his partner in public nor should she have problems finding an appropriate card for her husband for Valentine's Day and will not be asked what caused her heterosexuality or if his heterosexuality is just a phase. Homosexuals and bisexuals do not experience these privileges and endure even more constraining situations because of the institutional nature of heterosexual privilege.

If homophobia refers to the individual fears or actions of persons who oppose any nonheterosexual relations, heterosexism can be used to describe the institutional level of discrimination that homosexuals and bisexuals face. As racism refers to discrimination against those who are not a particular race, heterosexism is the stigmatization of any nonheterosexual behavior, identity, or relationship. Some examples of institutionalized privilege include the legal acknowledgement of a heterosexual couple's right to marry, the recognition of familial relation for health insurance or when a partner is in the emergency room, the lack of doubt in a heterosexual's ability to be a good influence and parent to adopt or gain custody of children from a previous relationship, and the most dramatic form of privilege is the dominant's group nonexistent need to fear being persecuted in anything resembling a hate crime for his sexual orientation. These privileges are rarely regarded as unearned advantages or entitlements to those who possess them; as are racial and gender privilege, heterosexual privilege often goes unacknowledged and is accepted as the norm, the way things are.

Heteronormativity

Michael Warner first coined the term *heteronormativity* referring to the idea that heterosexuality is deemed the legitimate form of sexual union and, moreover, is expected. Heterosexuality is taken for granted and is universalized. It is regarded as the norm and moral way to be and carries with it such pressures that some nonheterosexuals may not feel comfortable publicly acknowledging their sexual preference. Societal expectations or standards are reinforced with rules and structures. Rules may take the form of formal (with the enactment of laws) or may be informal

(social norms) that exist to maintain heterosexual privilege, or heterosexism. Heteronormative laws that seek to validate only heterosexual sexual relations include the criminalization of homosexuality in some societies, the creation of a parallel institution for marriage, civil unions, to protect the privileges of marriage for the union of a man and a woman, and sodomy laws.

Compulsory Heterosexuality

Adrienne Rich, who wrote on the pressure to be or appear to be heterosexual, has examined one of the informal rules, referring to this societal force as "compulsory heterosexuality." In developing this concept, she referred to compulsory heterosexuality as a set of arrangements, both institutional and cultural, that reward people for being or appearing to be heterosexual. The other side to this is what she called the lack of privileges or punishments for being or appearing to be anything other than heterosexual. A punishment for those who are not heterosexual could be experienced as a form of homophobia or heterosexism depending on the situation.

Punishment based upon heteronormative standards or the idea of compulsory heterosexuality can be overt or covert and can take the form of physical violence. One of the most well-known cases of overt punishment for someone who did not conform to expectations of being heterosexual and was stigmatized based on his sexual orientation is the terrible hate crime against Matthew Shepard in October 1998. Matthew was a college student who was pistol-whipped and tied to a fence in Laramie, Wyoming, then left for dead in the freezing night. Six days later, he died. Many other cases of horrendous acts of violent crime have been reported since the Shepard case; typically, both the victim and perpetrators are male.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a theory used by sociologists and feminist scholars seeking to understand how systems of sexual orientation, race, social class, gender, age, and ethnicity are interrelated and work together. Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins has written extensively on this subject and argues that each of these social categories has multiple implications on the levels of inequality in society. This matrix of oppression or interlocking system of privilege complicates the study

of inequality by identifying how understandings of sexual orientation or inequalities based on race or class are influenced by gender. At an individual level, intersectionality is used to explain how any one person can simultaneously experience privilege based on membership in the dominant group of any of the social categories and oppression because of another group status. Intersectionality does not refer to an additive approach to the study of social inequalities; that is, one cannot calculate her or his level of privilege or oppression based on a scale or using numbers. The strength of this theory lies in its ability to account for different experiences of social beings, who never are members of just one group (for example, lesbian) but who experience life with complex identities affected by membership in various social groups. For instance, a person who may experience privilege because of her or his high social class or membership in the dominant race may experience oppression because of gender, race, or sexual orientation. This entry focuses solely on sexual orientation to establish a general understanding of heterosexual privilege in society; however, useful scholarship on the study of privilege and oppression examines how sexual orientation plays out in multilayered studies of social inequality.

Conclusion

Heterosexual privilege is a concept that helps us to understand one aspect of inequality that is related to sexual orientation. As interaction scholars argue, heterosexual privilege is intricately tied to understandings and expectations of sexuality and gender. Sexuality is understood to encompass sexual attitudes, behaviors, and desires. Other forms of social categories can be studied at both individual and structural levels, and so can sexuality.

Beth Williford

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Heterosexuality; Homosexuality; Intersectionality

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Hijra/Hejira

Hijras are often referred to as India's "third sex," and they have become the subjects of numerous scholarly works in recent times. Hijras are born males (sometimes hermaphrodite or intersexed) who perform their sexual identity as female. Many adult hijras have undergone *nirvan* surgery (castration operation) as adults. Hijras wear female clothing such as saris, grow their hair long, pluck facial hair, wear lots of jewelry and makeup, and adopt exaggerated female body language. They dance and sing (known as *badhai)* at weddings and childbirth celebrations because they are believed to possess special powers to grant fertility and prosperity to a new couple or new baby. Many hijras are also involved in sex work. Because hijra identity is complex in its performance and social significance, terms such as *transgender, transvestite,* and *homosexual* prove inadequate to describe them. This entry describes hijras' social organization and history, as well as scholarly interest in hijras.

Social Organization and History

Hijras have played a significant role in Indian culture for many centuries. Several Sanskrit and Pali texts refer variously to the existence of the "third sex" and

some scholars have proved the existence of hijras in precolonial and pre-Islamic India. The word *hijra* is believed to be an Urdu term and suggests that hijra culture and identity evolved during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire in India where eunuchs served as confidants, political advisors, and guardians of the harem. During the British colonial period, hijras were classified as a separate caste or tribe because of their distinctive social organization and occupational identity, but they were also identified as a "criminal caste," placed under surveillance and regulation, and arrested under Article 377 of the Indian Penal code, which prohibits sodomy. In contemporary India, hijras are both venerated because of the special powers attributed to them and denigrated because of their transgressive sexual practices.

Hijras have a unique social organization. They are organized according to seven houses, which are symbolic descent groups through which each member traces her genealogy. Each of these symbolic houses contains many households in which hijras live communally and share their incomes and household responsibilities. Each descent house in a region is headed by a *nayak* (a leader) and has *gurus* (spiritual leaders) and *celas* (disciples). The *nayaks* form a council for governance and arbitration of disputes. The *nayaks* meet from time to time nationally to decide on policy or to celebrate an event of great significance. Each region's *nayaks* also form a council called a *jamat* that works to solve regional issues. Hijras live in family units with *gurus,* share their income within the family, and support one another economically. Hijras are initiated into their houses by sponsoring *gurus* and seniority is an important aspect of hijra social organization. *Gurus* and *celas* have a parent-child relationship where *gurus* are responsible for the well-being of their disciples and the disciples owe obedience and loyalty to their *gurus*. Through the *guru-cela* relationship, hijras form a web of kinship including "sisters," "aunts," and "grandmothers." Some hijras get married and take husbands and live with them. These husbands may sometimes be men who identify as heterosexual and have a wife and children but also take a hijra for a wife. Hijras with husbands may have a separate household but still connect to their symbolic house of descent for their social needs.

Most hijras earn their living through performances at weddings, childbirths, and other auspicious occasions. Some hijras also take to begging and coerce money from shopkeepers and traders by threatening to embarrass them and their customers with public displays of their altered genitalia. Many hijras also make money through prostitution although they staunchly deny this component of their economic life to ethnographers.

Hijras identify themselves as Islamic and many perform the hajj to Mecca and assume Muslim names. They also worship at the tombs of Muslim mystics along with other Indian Muslims and celebrate Islamic holidays. However, hijras also maintain Hindu practices, especially in the worship of Bahuchara Mata or Bedhraj Mata, their prime goddess who is thought of as the incarnation of the mother goddess. Worship of the goddess is especially important to hijras before and after their castration surgery. The *nirvan* surgery with its attending rituals and ceremonies that mimic Hindu rituals at childbirth is the most important event in a hijra's life. These risky and painful surgeries, although illegal, are performed by sympathetic medical personnel or by a *daimaa* (midwife).

Hijras also worship Lord Shiva as *ardhanarisvara* (an incarnation in which Shiva is represented as embodying both male and female principles). Several Hindu temples including the Yellamma temple in Hyderabad, the Koothandavar temple in Tamil Nadu, and the Bahuchara Mata temple in Gujarat are sacred sites for hijras. Some hijras describe themselves as *sannyasis* (ascetics who have renounced worldly desires) because by being castrated they have transcended sexual desire. Therefore, to be a hijra is not just a person's sexual or gendered identity but also an occupational and spiritual identity.

Scholarly Discussions

There is much scholarly interest among academics especially in the West regarding hijras. Many scholars have studied hijras and framed their discussions within a global discourse of transgressive sexuality and resistance to sexual categorization. Scholars such as Serena Nanda and Zia Jaffrey have done extensive ethnographic work amongst hijras. More recent scholarship such as that of Gayatri Reddy and Vinay Lal has questioned the categories through which scholars construct knowledge of hijras. Reddy challenges the overwhelming use of sexuality as the sole scholarly lens to study hijras and argues that hijras see themselves through a more complex lens than just sexuality and that their identity is complicated by location, work, class, and religion. Hijras have also been subjects of film including documentaries such as *Bombay*

Eunuch (2000) and Indian popular films such as *Bombay* (1995). Hijras have also been featured in such fiction as Leslie Forbes's *Bombay Ice* (1998) and P. Mann's *Season of the Monsoon* (1992). Although stereotypes of hijras abound both in daily Indian life and in Indian popular culture, rigorous scholarship proves that hijras and their lives offer different and alternative ways to understand sexuality, gender, and social organization.

Nalini Iyer

See also Berdache (Two-Spirit); Castration; Gender Transgression; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Transgender; Transsexual; Transvestite

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HIP-HOP/RAP

Hip-hop is a cultural movement started by African Americans and Latinos in the context of urban renewal, economic changes, and social dislocations in the mid-1970s South Bronx, New York City. The emergent culture incorporated several artistic activities, referred to as elements, that include emceeing (rapping), DJing, break dancing, and graffiti art. Today rap music receives the lion's share of attention by researchers even though hip-hop culture has expanded its global reach and scope to include journalism, activism, film, spoken word, fashion, literature, and advertising. This entry explores the ways hip-hop studies and gender studies have converged, and how hip-hop culture deals with homosexuality, and the development of a new type of hip-hop feminism.

Hip-Hop and Gender Studies

The nascent scholarship in rap music arose primarily from the interdisciplinary field of black studies in the early 1990s. Houston Baker, Tricia Rose, Michael Dyson, and Robin Kelley as well as journalists such as Nelson George provided largely textual and cultural analyses of the genesis, themes, images, and cultural politics of rap music. These foundational works revealed hip-hop as a social and cultural movement deeply embedded with power relations of race, class, group identity, and representation, yet, with the exception of Rose's work, scholarship on rap music has primarily focused on men and their artistry, performance, and subjectivity. One of the early interventions in the gender politics of rap music focused on the inclusion of women as active agents and performers. Cultural workers, filmmakers, and scholars have inserted women into rap history by exploring the sociohistorical role of women rappers, textual analyses of their lyrics, biographical sketches, and backgrounds of famous female rappers, and the role of hip-hop culture in the everyday expressive practices of women in the culture. Scholars such as Christina Veran and Nancy Guevara posit women rappers such as Salt-N-Pepa, Monie Love, Queen Latifah, and M. C. Lyte as key players in the development of the genre. The everyday practices of female DJs, b-girls, producers, and rappers in hip-hop are explored in a 1993 documentary by Rachel Raimist titled *Nobody Knows My Name,* and the popular urban hip-hop magazine *Vibe* published a book titled *Hip-Hop Divas* in 2000 that focuses exclusively on the herstories of hip-hop.

The privileging of men in the study of hip-hop reflects the gendered ways in which mass culture is framed in society generally. In this schema, women associated with popular culture are perceived as consumers rather than as producers and are viewed as engaging with the culture in more passive (feminine) ways. In contrast, men are associated with high culture, production, and the ability to sustain the intellectual and creative work needed as artists. Subsequently, women's labor, creative presence, and innovations are neglected, ignored, or deemed less distinguished than is that of their male counterparts. Similarly, the history of hip-hop writ large is about black men, and the inclusion of women artists' challenges the myth of their absence and the hegemonic construction of rap as a masculinized public sphere and performance.

Gwendolyn D. Pough, a third-wave black feminist, argues that hip-hop culture and rap music allows black women's experiences to be publicly heard and provides a platform and voice for renegotiating the ways in which they are represented in the world of hip-hop. In her seminal book titled *Black Noise,* Rose

provides a textual analysis of the dialogical qualities of rap music as a public script in which black women "talk back" to men. Yet, the presence of female rappers may subvert but does not necessarily reconstruct gendered division of labor or overcome dominant gender ideologies in the culture. Recording studios are male-dominated spaces with bonding rituals and practices that continue to exclude women. Sexist notions of success and authenticity have meant that over the years female rappers have had to deploy a variety of strategies to earn respect and sell records in the male-dominated world of hip-hop where authenticity ("keeping it real" in rap parlance) is constructed in the hypermasculine terms of aggression, domination, competition, heterosexism, and the ability to exert control over others. During hip-hop's first decade, female rappers, graffiti artists, and DJs in hip-hop culture frequently subdued their sexuality because displays of femininity would undermine their talent or create the strong possibility of sexually "soiling" their reputation.

Through its various genres, rap privileges particular forms of masculinity that are exclusively heterosexual, thus subordinating other forms of masculinity and constructing femininity in narrow, often sexist and misogynist ways. In the mid- to late 1980s, the slew of black nationalist rappers such as Public Enemy, X Clan, Brand Nubian, and, later, Ice Cube, conjured models of black liberation based on a militant black manhood, providing searing criticisms of race but reinforcing the hierarchal discourses of gender politics of black nationalism that historically reinforces sexism and homophobia and places women in subsidiary roles for the "upliftment" of black men. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the sexual and cultural politics of black masculinity and its normative gendered codes came under unprecedented public scrutiny with the commercialization and popularity of gangsta rap, which privileges gangs, guns, and ghettos in its lyricism, demeanor, and claims to authenticity. Some scholars posit that these lyrics function as an oppositional text that provides social commentaries on racism, police brutality, and the economic isolation of the postindustrial ghetto. For others, gangsta rap is little more than the commercial packaging of hypermasculine tropes of black rage for white consumption, (who constitute the largest consumers of the genre), catering to familiar and exaggerated stereotypes about "outlaw" black men as criminal, violent, and misogynistic and black women as promiscuous.

Other scholars such as Robin Kelley and Eithne Quinn emphasize the perfomativity of black masculinity by locating their textual analyses to previous black "baadman" tropes of black masculinity in African American vernacular and expressive cultures, highlighting how constructions of black masculinity are literary and expressive devices opposing both white racism and prevailing black middle-class notions of propriety. Examining the gender politics of gangsta rap through the intersections of race, class, sexuality, and gender, black feminists face the challenge of criticizing the sexual politics of rap music while unveiling the broader contours of patriarchy and misogyny in mainstream American culture. Many argue that gangsta rap reinforces social conservative values and attitudes toward gender issues and women even as it speaks to the gender oppression of black heterosexual males under white supremacy and capitalism.

Hip-Hop and Homosexuality

In 1991, Ice Cube declared, "True niggaz ain't gay," a sentiment that continues. In a recent article of the heteronormative construction of rap music, Vincent Stephen argues Eminem is a genderphobe rather than a homophobe because his lyrics use homophobic language to criticize gender behavior, rather than sexual orientation. The performance of masculinity within the gay community of hip-hop fans commonly described as "homothugs" is, as the gay rapper Casushan noted in an interview, "a homosexual who is not easily identifiable as one." The emergent literature on this segment of rap fans reveals that their performance of masculinity consistently conforms to the same heteronormative manners and behaviors as their heterosexual counterparts. Female rappers who do not confirm to male heterosexist expectations or behavior run the risk of having epithets hurled at them, losing their legitimacy and record sales, or having their same-sex sexual preferences, couplings, and desires accommodated into the heterosexist imagination of the male gaze (such as ménage à trois)

Hip-Hop Feminism

In the 1990s, the gender politics of women rappers such as Lil' Kim or Foxy Brown elicited heated debates. Their sexually explicit raps and image are perceived by some scholars as reinscribing the dominate ideologies

that Patricia Hill Collins describes as controlling images of black women that are tied to hegemonic constructions of black female subordination and sexuality that make them appear to be "naturally" sexually accessible and available. Other scholars highlight the resistive qualities of female rappers, arguing that like the blues before it, rap enables black female rappers to recuperate and revise dominant discourses of sexuality by redeploying masculine tropes such as sexual freedom or transactional sex as well as flaunting the cultural credos of black female respectability (prevalent in the presentation of self for many African American women in response to the historical construction and stereotypes about them). In her book, *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Womanhood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere,* Pough provides a historical overview of black feminist scholars engaged with hip-hop's gender politics. Briefly, she recounts how feminist scholars deal with the construction of female images and women's resistance to stereotypes; the way rap is used to respond publicly to sexism and other body and sexual politics; the subversion of male tropes to articulate their concerns and viewpoints; and the linkages of hip-hop to black women's and men's forms of play, expressive cultures, and every lives.

Conclusion

In the 21st century, scholarship on the gender politics in hip-hop has emerged as an important site of study. It signals an expansion from focusing on artists and the production of rap music to examining the impact on rap's consumers, particularly young black consumers. As global technologies disseminate rap music in a visually heightened popular culture, where strip clubs, strippers, and pornography have become more mainstream in popular culture in general, the presence of females, particularly black, has expanded beyond their presence on the microphone to so-called video vixens and strippers whose bodies are displayed for the pleasure of men and who can be bought or possessed according to the monetary largess of the rappers. Third-wave black feminists argue the current gender politics of rap has profoundly adversely affected the gender socialization, intimate relations, and sense of self. The few studies focusing on the consumption of music videos generally, and rap and rhythm and blues specifically, largely conclude that the sexual violence, beauty standards, politics of colorism, and the

transactional nature of intimate relations particularly negatively affect the psychological and sexual health of young black men and women. One of the largest empirical studies by the Motivational Educational Entertainment Corporations in 2004, titled *This Is My Reality,* concluded that that the relationship between rap music and sexual attitudes, especially of black listeners to hip-hop, adversely affects sexual health decisions and attitudes. Another ethnographic study exploring black male and female relationships of the hip-hop generation found that many black men value economic resources and use them as a means to control and manipulate women. The images of females on rap videos lead some young women to feel they have to conform to the exploitative images of women shown in rap videos to get material goods, love, or attention.

Dipannita Basu

See also Black Feminist Thought; Media and Gender Stereotypes

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HIRSCHFELD, MAGNUS (1868–1935)

Born in 1868 to Jewish parents in Kolberg, a Prussian town on the Baltic coast, Magnus Hirschfeld became an important theorist of sexuality and the most prominent advocate of homosexual emancipation at the beginning of the 20th century. He first studied modern languages

and then medicine, obtaining his degree in 1892. His sexology research was empirically and activist directed, permeated by the belief that the sexuality ideology of Judeo-Christian civilization was a serious obstacle to the understanding of sexuality and to the reform of laws and practices that regulated it. In 1897, Hirschfeld established, together with Max Spohr, Franz Josef von Bülow, and Eduard Oberg, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, the world's first gay rights organization. Its goal was to fight for the abolishment of the anti-homosexual paragraph 175 in the German law that punished sexual contact between men. Hirschfeld believed that scientific understanding of sexuality would promote tolerance of sexual minorities. In 1899, he started the *Yearbook of Intermediate Sexual Types,* the first journal in the world to deal with sexual variants, which was regularly published until 1923. He developed the theory that all human beings are intersexual variants, each individual possessing different proportions of masculinity and femininity, and these proportions changed during one's lifetime. The main idea was that there were no discrete sexual categories, but that human sexuality was in a constant flux, with potentially an infinite number of sexual constitutions.

Hirschfeld did huge statistical surveys on homosexuality, and in 1914, he published his study *Homosexuality in Men and Women.* One year earlier, with Iwan Bloch and Heinrich Körber, he founded the Medical Society for Sexual Science and Eugenics. In addition to publishing on sexology and sexual reforms, Hirschfeld also wrote about racism, politics, and the history of morals. In 1919 he opened the first sexology institute in the world in Berlin, the Institute for Sexual Science, which was destroyed by the Nazis in 1933, together with its huge library and archive. In the same year he established the institute, Hirschfeld also participated in the production of the first homosexual liberation film *Different from the Others.* Within a year, the film was banned by the German government. In 1928, Hirschfeld founded the World League for Sexual Reform, which called for reform of sex legislations, the right to contraception and sex education, and legal and social equality of the sexes. Being both a Jew and a sexual liberation activist, Hirschfeld early on became the target of right-wing supporters, being seriously physically attacked in 1920 and 1921. Later, with the Nazis coming in power, he was regularly assaulted and his lectures were disrupted. Returning to Europe in 1932 after his world journey, Hirschfeld decided not to return

to Germany, but went first to Switzerland and then in 1934 to France. He died in Nice, on his 67th birthday, May 14, 1935.

Aleksandra Horvath

See also Eugenics; Homosexuality

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HIV/AIDS

Partly because of its unique relationship to gender inequality and cultural conceptions of sexuality, HIV/AIDS is one of the most difficult public health issues. It is also one of the most challenging medical conditions to treat clinically. Infection with HIV most commonly begins with transmission of the virus during unprotected sex. Children who are born to an HIV-infected mother can become infected with the virus during pregnancy, childbirth, or breastfeeding. HIV can also be transmitted through contact with contaminated blood, a transmission route most often associated with the sharing of needles by injection drug users. Transmission of HIV during transfusions of contaminated blood or blood products has become increasingly rare as screening and heat treatments have been introduced. There is no evidence of HIV being transmitted through kissing, casual contact, or insect bites.

In the United States, HIV disease is commonly divided into four stages. In the acute infection or primary infection stage, flulike symptoms may be experienced for several weeks immediately after exposure. This first stage is the most infectious because the body contains the highest amount of virus that it ever will. However, the body's immune system does not create antibodies during the primary stage, so an HIV antibody test would likely be negative. The second stage is asymptomatic and lasts an average of 10 years.

The HIV virus is not latent during this stage because, although there are often no symptoms, the virus is actively reproducing, gradually diminishing the body's ability to respond to infections. The third stage is early HIV disease, where one or more opportunistic infections may occur. Opportunistic infections appear when the body's immune system is suppressed, causing symptoms such as fever, diarrhea, thrush, loss of vision, neurological dysfunction, skin disorders, respiratory problems, and other pain and discomfort. Opportunistic infections account for about 90 percent of all AIDS deaths and are caused by a variety of viruses, bacterias, and cancers. After further decline in the body's immune response and emergence of serious opportunistic infections and cancers, HIV infection progresses into its final stage, advanced HIV disease or AIDS. The progression of the disease is most commonly measured by the amount of virus on the body (viral load) and the body's immune function (CD4 or T-cell count).

There is no cure for HIV/AIDS. Without treatment, it takes an average of 10 years for primary HIV infection to progress into full-blown AIDS. The recommended treatment for HIV/AIDS in the developing world is Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy (HAART), which consists of a combination of potent drugs designed to suppress the growth of the virus. HAART has successfully reduced the number of deaths caused by HIV/AIDS and helped improve the quality of life for those living with the disease. However, treatment with HAART is expensive, can cause a number of side effects, and requires almost perfect adherence to be successful. Treatment for HIV/AIDS is made even more complex because the HIV virus is able to mutate, making particular drugs and classes of drugs ineffective. Gender inequality plays a particularly important role in the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention efforts because those most affected by the disease face invisibility, stigmatization, and racial and cultural stereotypes about sexual behavior. Although women are now recognized as being hit harder by HIV/AIDS than men are, the disease emerged with a strong association with gay male sexuality that, in part, obscured the unique risk the disease poses for women. This entry discusses issues and challenges for society regarding HIV/AIDS.

Stigma, Silence, and Activism

Public glimpses of what is now known as HIV/AIDS first emerged in the United States in 1981 as a collection of rare and deadly illnesses in otherwise healthy, young men. After the first cases reported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) emphasized a connection with homosexual lifestyle, AIDS quickly became stigmatized as a "gay disease." Stigma and governmental indifference helped fuel an unprecedented amount of political activism from the gay community that shaped public policy and has helped to characterize AIDS as an exceptional public health and medical problem in U.S. society.

A defining feature of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has become the growing number of women who live with the disease. The disease disproportionately affects women both because they are increasingly at risk for becoming infected and because they are more likely than men are to provide care to others suffering from the disease. In the United States, AIDS cases have increased more than three-fold among women since 1985. Racial disparities are evident in rates of infection, with women of color accounting for 80 percent of all women estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS in the United States. Worldwide, an estimated 37.2 million adults were living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2006. Women in sub-Saharan Africa account for 59 percent of these. If new HIV infections continue at current rates, women will soon outnumber men among those living with HIV.

In the United States, the first cases of AIDS were triggered by requests to the CDC for distributions of pentamidine, a rare drug used to treat pneumocystis carinii pneumonia (PCP). In some of the PCP cases, CDC officers reported Kaposi's sarcoma (KS), a rare form of cancer previously found only among elderly men of Mediterranean or Jewish heritage, organ transplant patients, or young adult African men. Within a matter of months, KS was grouped together with PCP and other opportunistic infections such as toxoplasmosis, severe recurrent herpes simplex, persistent thrush, cryptococcal meningitis, and cytomegalovirus. Although the cause of these infections was unclear in the early 1980s, official reports linked the grouping of symptoms to sexual behavior by identifying the majority of cases among homosexual men.

These initial reports came little more than a decade after the start of the gay rights movement at Stonewall and associated HIV/AIDS with promiscuous sexual behavior and with notions of hypersexual gay masculinity. The Stonewall riots were a series of violent conflicts between lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) individuals and New York City police

officers that began during a police raid on June 28, 1969. The riots, which were centered at the Stonewall Inn and lasted for several days, are widely recognized as the catalyst for the modern-day movement toward LGBT rights in the United States. Newspaper headlines featured phrases such as "homosexual disorder" and "gay cancer." The identity of the so-called patient zero was named in a series of articles published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and mythologized in *And the Band Played On* both by Randy Shilts. Researchers speculated about aspects of homosexual lifestyles that could lead to a level of immunosuppression capable of causing such unusual infections. Meanwhile, President Ronald Reagan refused to speak publicly about the crisis until 1985. Just 2 years later, the Helms Amendment passed, effectively banning the use of federal funds for programs that encouraged or promoted homosexual activities either implicitly or explicitly.

The association of HIV/AIDS with male homosexuality and the ensuing political silence stymied early efforts to prevent its spread and find effective treatments. Without governmental backing of prevention education and research for treatment, fear ran amok in the public and even among health care providers. Gay activist groups and other concerned citizens responded by organizing public protests demanding more research and increased access to treatment and by forming community-based health programs that relied on volunteers to help care for people dying of the disease.

The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) formed in 1987 at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in New York City. With its slogan "Silence = Death," ACT UP characterized the lack of response to AIDS as lethal, particularly to the gay male community. ACT UP successfully protested the high cost of AZT, the first drug used to treat AIDS. Demonstrations also targeted the lengthy Food and Drug Administration (FDA) drug approval process. The FDA responded to these protests by announcing a 2-year shortening in the drug-approval process in 1987. These regulations established conditions under which drugs not yet approved can be made available to people with a life-threatening illness. In part, the public outcries over AZT drew attention to the desperation of AIDS patients and cleared the path for accelerated drug development and licensure processes in general. AIDS patients also felt the stigma in their everyday life as they struggled with

being denied insurance benefits, losing jobs, and even having difficulty finding tolerant funeral parlors. Gay men played and continue to play a central role in HIV/AIDS activism and advocacy.

Although labeled a homosexual disease, more and more cases of AIDS quickly developed among hemophiliacs and children. In 1984, a 13-year-old boy named Ryan White was infected with the HIV virus through hemophilia treatments with contaminated blood products. White was not allowed to attend school, because of community fear and ignorance. Even after the local board of education ruled that he should be allowed to attend, a group of parents sued to keep him out. While fighting his ban from school in the courts, White spoke out about his personal challenges and the need for compassion toward those living with AIDS. He was featured prominently in numerous television programs and magazine covers, became friends with celebrities, was the subject of a television movie, and testified to the National Commission on AIDS. Although Ryan White was often considered more sympathetic because he was infected through blood products rather than unprotected sex or injection drug use, he resisted labels of innocence and did not distance himself from other people living with AIDS.

After his death, Congress passed the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act in 1990. The CARE Act is a federal program that funds primary care and support services for people living with HIV/AIDS who also lack insurance and financial resources. These programs had their roots in models of community care, where volunteer-based supportive services were a core aspect of medical care. This legacy continues today as psychological and social services, including case management, counseling on safe sex and drug addiction, transportation, and housing are offered as key components of comprehensive team-based HIV care under the Ryan White Program. The CARE Act was reauthorized in 1996, 2000, and 2006 with about 500,000 clients served each year.

Together, AIDS activism and Ryan White's fame brought attention to stigmatization with HIV/AIDS and ultimately influenced policy at the FDA, making investigational drugs available more quickly and providing the organizational basis upon which HIV/AIDS care continues to be organized today. In this way, community mobilization and network of social support around HIV/AIDS is unique because it

is rooted in the cultural formation of gay masculinity. The perception that HIV/AIDS was rooted in or even caused by gay male hypersexuality contributed to the invisibility of women in the epidemic until the 1990s.

Invisibility of Women

Today, women are known to be more susceptible to becoming infected with HIV during intercourse, are more likely to take care of loved ones and children infected because of social gender roles and norms, and have clinical manifestations and treatment requirements that differ from those of men. HIV is more easily transmitted from men to women than from women to men during heterosexual sex. Women also tend to carry the burden of child and elder care in families, are more economically dependent, and experience more domestic violence and sexual coercion than men do. Thus, women are more likely to exchange sex for money, less likely to negotiate safe sex, and have difficulty leaving abusive relationships. Finally, HIV/AIDS has clinical differences in women and men. Women tend to have lower viral loads and higher CD4 counts at similar stages of the disease. However, women experience faster progression to advanced HIV disease than men do.

Women tend to have different clinical markers and opportunistic infections than men, experience more severe and different side effects of treatment, and have the added risk of transmitting HIV/AIDS to children during pregnancy, birth, and breastfeeding. In fact, 80 percent of women with AIDS are of childbearing age. For these reasons, the primary care needs of women with HIV/AIDS are unique. They are also understudied because clinical trials often have difficulty recruiting female participants. Since HIV/AIDS cases were first defined by a series of conditions found in men, the unique ways that women were affected was overlooked in the early years, causing late or missed diagnoses. In 1993, CDC expanded the official epidemiological definition of the disease to include gynecological manifestations of HIV/AIDS, such as severe pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) and chronic yeast infections.

Efforts to prevent the vertical transmission of HIV from mothers to children signified the first major success for preventing new cases of the disease. When AIDS first emerged, rates of vertical transmission of HIV from mother to child in the United States were 21 percent. When AZT began to be used during pregnancy

in 1994, these rates quickly dropped to 11 percent. Today, vertical transmission rates in the United States are lower than 2 percent with the use of HAART during pregnancy. Since 1995, CDC guidelines have recommended routine HIV testing of all pregnant women. In 2006, CDC put forward new HIV testing guidelines that recommend routine HIV testing for all adults. These guidelines accentuate the testing of pregnant women. State laws vary in their capacity to integrate and enforce these recommendations. Although women in general are at a disadvantage compared with men when it comes to HIV/AIDS, women of childbearing age and women of racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately infected with the disease.

Intersections with Race and Poverty

HIV/AIDS increasingly affects the poor, the marginalized, and the young. Women of color have become particularly overrepresented in the epidemic. Although in 2005 African American and Hispanic women together accounted for 24 percent of the all women in the United States, women in these racial and ethnic minorities accounted for an astounding 82 percent of total AIDS cases. African American women are roughly 24 times more likely than are white women to be diagnosed with advanced HIV disease or AIDS. In fact, HIV infection is the leading cause of death for African American women aged 25 to 34 years. In 2005, 64 percent of women living with HIV/AIDS were African American, 19 percent were white, 15 percent were Hispanic, 1 percent was Asian or Pacific Islander, and less than 1 percent were American Indian or Alaska Native. Most of these women contracted HIV through high-risk heterosexual sex, which includes sex with injection drug users, bisexual males, hemophiliacs, HIV-infected transfusion recipients, and other HIV-infected persons.

About 1 in 4 African Americans and 1 in 5 Hispanics live in poverty in the United States; problems associated with low socioeconomic status, including inadequate access to health care, the exchange of sex for money or drugs, and substance abuse contribute directly or indirectly to their risk for contracting HIV. In one study, African American women with HIV living in the Southeast reported that they engage in risky behavior because they were financially dependent on their partners, felt indestructible, had low self-esteem, desired the love of a male, and used drugs and alcohol.

In recent years, the phenomenon of African American men secretly engaging in homosexual sex and having unprotected sex with wives or girlfriends has been cited as an explanation of increases in prevalence rates in the African American community. These men did not identify as homosexual, so the category men who have sex with men (MSM) was created to capture this mode of transmission. Prevention activities aimed at this risk population often refer to these men in the African American community as being on the "down low" or "DL." Critics of this newest label contend that this has further fueled the marginalization of MSM and even distorts research. At the same time, categories designed to capture women's transmission route have evolved in such a way that "high-risk heterosexual sex" has become a catchall that accounts for multiple and overlapping risk factors. Perceptions and norms of gender, race, and sexuality are embedded in the social construction of HIV/AIDS around the world, making it a challenging social and public health problem around the globe.

Global Challenges

The number of adults and children living with HIV/AIDS continues to increase in every region of the world, making it truly a global epidemic. Globally, the HIV/AIDS epidemic highlights the challenges facing societies both in cultural conceptions of gender and sexuality and in poverty and civil and political disorder. However, 63 percent of all adults and children living with HIV/AIDS live in sub-Saharan Africa, making it the region with the largest burden of disease; 72 percent of all AIDS deaths occurred in this region in 2006. The sharpest increases in HIV prevalence have occurred in Eastern Europe, East Asia, and Central Asia.

In the early part of the 1980s, global cases of AIDS displayed different gender qualities than in the United States and Europe. Most notable is sub-Saharan Africa where cases of HIV/AIDS have tended to infect men and women almost equally since the start of the epidemic. Today, in the most affected regions of the world, women outnumber men in cases of HIV/AIDS. In every society, men and women are expected to adhere to different norms. In some parts of southern Africa, women are expected to be monogamous, but men are expected to have multiple partners. Women also marry at a younger age than men do, and men are expected to have younger sexual

partners. In some areas, people mistakenly believe that sex with a virgin can cleanse a man of HIV/AIDS. A similarly high value is placed on a woman's ability to bear children. These gender differences are compounded by high rates of economic dependence and violence against women. In some parts of Africa, young girls have exchanged sex for school tuition. Gender-biased laws and customs add to a context where safe sex is difficult to negotiate and the act of seeking treatment for sexually transmitted diseases is highly stigmatizing, leaving young girls vulnerable to sexual coercion and HIV infection.

Efforts to bring HIV/AIDS treatments to the rest of the world have increased in recent years, but drug therapy currently reaches less than one-quarter of those who need it in sub-Saharan Africa. As in the United States, prevention of vertical transmission from mother to child during pregnancy and childbirth has been a vital component of prevention efforts. Single doses of an antiretroviral drug called Nevirapine have been crucial to these successes because they are both safe and effective for mothers. These successes are limited by the HIV virus's ability to become resistant to certain classes of medicines. Thus, although combination drug therapy is preferable, it is often cost-prohibitive in the developing world. In contrast with the developed world, the benefits of breastfeeding may outweigh the risk of vertical transmission in developing countries, especially where water supplies used to make formula are contaminated.

Conclusion

The global crisis of HIV/AIDS is an exceptional public health and medical problem around the world, both because it has fueled a public health and medical response unlike anything else but also because it brings to light the wide range of discrimination that exist in societies with different power dynamics based on gender and sexual norms. HIV/AIDS highlights many social and gender inequities, including women's inability to negotiate safe sex practices, the cultural importance of childbearing, violence against women, male sexual expectations and practices, access to education, and malnutrition and water safety. To be successful, approaches to HIV prevention and treatment must be sensitive to how different gender and sexual norms and values influence both men's and women's ability to practice safe sex and

prevent the spread of HIV. Although still being researched, microbicides and female condoms may offer women female-controlled technologies for safe sex practice. However, these approaches do not target the imbalance of power and culture of silence that are the roots of people's vulnerability to HIV infection. A sociological view of HIV/AIDS offers an understanding about gender and social inequalities that affect how societies understand sexual behavior and risk, masculinity, and women's rights.

Rebecca J. Culyba

See also ACT UP; AIDS and International Women's Health; "Down Low," The; Homosexuality; Sexually Transmitted Infections

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HOMOPHOBIA

Homophobia is defined as the irrational fear and hatred of gay men and lesbians. It combines the words *homosexual* and *phobia,* hence the definition related to panic or fear of people who are sexually attracted to a person of the same sex. Many people contend that the word heterosexism is a more accurate concept because fear or panic is not the problem as much as the power and privileging of heterosexual people over gay men, lesbians, and bisexual people. Heterosexism assumes that all people are and should be heterosexual and asserts that heterosexuality is normal, natural, and right. This entry discusses various aspects of homophobia.

Homophobia and Sexism

Homophobia is intimately related to sexism in that the denigration of the feminine is central to both. According to Suzanne Pharr in her work on homophobia as a weapon of sexism, homophobia works with heterosexism to enforce compulsory heterosexuality and the nuclear family. Political conservatives and religious fundamentalists criticize feminists and homosexuality for undermining the traditional family.

Misogyny, the cultural hatred of women, is expressed through the disempowering and belittling of girls and women and the encouragement of dependence on men. Lesbians are perceived as man-haters and as females who can do without men; therefore, they are outside the natural order. Gay men are viewed as traitors to male privilege and as threats to male dominance and the natural order. Men who are even slightly effeminate and not necessarily gay are suspect.

Lesbian-Baiting

An outspoken woman or a woman who does not accept subordinate status may be "lesbian-baited"—called a lesbian whether she is one or not. The purpose of this is to silence her or encourage her to change her behavior. As a result of political backlash to gains won by the women's liberation movement, the label *feminist* in many circles is mistakenly

equated with lesbian, and as a consequence, many women resist the feminist description. To avoid being called a lesbian, some women choose to be reformist rather than radical—in other words, to tone down their lives and views. The only reason lesbian-baiting has the power to control women's actions is because it carries a negative connotation.

Sexual Orientation Confused With Gender Identity

Heterosexism uses homophobia to blame gay men and lesbians for many societal ills. This victim blaming is an essential component of every form of oppression. Power and control apply to the personal categories of sexual orientation where heterosexuality is privileged, but sexual orientation is often confused with gender identity. Sexual orientation refers to the object of a person's romantic or intimate desire. Gender identity is an individual's internal sense of whether the individual is male-identified, female-identified, neither, or both. A common mistake is to assume every transgender person is gay and to confuse a gender issue (related to sense of self) with a sexual orientation (related to desire).

Gender normativity assumes a gender binary of men and women. Like heterosexism, if a person does not fit into the norm, it is seen as unnatural and wrong. People who are androgynous, masculine women, effeminate men, transgender, or intersex are judged as abnormal. They are outside societal expectations and may be subject to harm. Many hate crimes that are seen as homophobic are really about gender transgression—people are attacked because they violated a gender norm, rather than a sexuality norm, that the attacker(s) found unacceptable. For example, an effeminate man might not be gay but his femininity may anger other men who harm him because they feel his femininity is not manly.

Internalized Homophobia

Young children in elementary schools are exposed to societal homophobia on the playground when the words *faggot, gay,* and *dyke* are used in a derogatory way to tease and humiliate other kids. Boys are especially vulnerable to this form of social control. The expression "that's so gay" to mean something is bad is widespread. The anti-gay climate in schools is well-documented in annual reports by the Gay, Lesbian,

and Straight Educators Network (GLSEN). Hence, individuals grow up surrounded by homophobia in schools, in the media, in families, in peer groups, in religious sermons, and in legislation, throughout the life course. One of the consequences of this pervasive exposure to negative messages is internalized homophobia—the entrenched belief that it is wrong, perverted, and "less than" to be gay or lesbian.

The suicide rate for young gay people is three times the national rate for teens in general. Low self-esteem, higher rates of alcohol and drug use, and mental health problems are serious problems in the gay and lesbian communities as a result of individuals feeling they need to be secretive about being gay or lesbian or that they are immoral or sick.

Structural Heterosexism

Heterosexist prejudice is seen throughout the institutions of society. On the cultural level, traditional gender roles of masculinity and femininity, definition of the family, religious views condemning same-sex sexuality as a sin, lesbian baiting, name calling, and anti-gay jokes all enforce anti-gay prejudice. Lack of civil rights protections in employment and housing, in access to the rights of marriage, and in the military policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" are institutional-level discriminations. These and other limitations form a constant message that the gay or lesbian person does not deserve the same rights, protections, or access to resources that heterosexuals have available to them. Validation from the culture is absent, and key mechanisms for job enhancement, adoption or foster parenting children, or relationship benefits such as joint insurance or access to your partner in a medical emergency are lacking. These messages reinforce that the gay or lesbian person is a second-class citizen.

Legal Protections and Hate Crimes

As of 2003, 24 states had no antidiscrimination laws that included sexual orientation. Eleven states had some protection for public employees. Ten states include sexual orientation in their antidiscrimination legislation. There is no federal level antidiscrimination protection.

Hate crimes, which are on the increase against gay people and gender-variant folks are "message crimes" in that they go beyond the crime against the person who is targeted to send a message to the group of

which the individual is a member. Of 46 states with hate crime legislation, only 27 states and the District of Columbia include sexual orientation.

The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA), introduced into the House of Representatives and the Senate in May 2005, would add sexual orientation and gender identity to existing hate crimes legislation. The last federal hate crime act was passed in 1968 and does not include sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability. By September 2005, only the House had passed the LLEEA. However, in 2007, the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2007 (LLEHCPA), also known as the Matthew Shepard Act (named after the young man who was murdered in 1998 because he was gay in Laramie, Wyoming) was introduced. The proposed federal bill would expand the 1969 U.S. federal hate crime law to include crimes motivated by a victim's actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. The bill passed the House on May 3, 2007, and passed the Senate on September 27, 2007.

Coming Out

Because of the repression and secrecy of being gay or lesbian, many folks are "closeted"; that is, they do not tell others in their lives that they are gay or lesbian. This means they cannot live full and free lives and need to choose to whom and when they reveal their sexual orientation. To come out as gay or lesbian entails taking risks of safety and losing friends, family, and jobs. Coming out is a personal decision with political consequences because it brings the person into opposition with a power structure that has placed her or him in a subordinate position. One strategy of the political movement for gay and lesbian rights is advocating that all gay and lesbian people come out so that others will realize how many gay and lesbian people there really are. This will also help to break down stereotypes and myths as others realize gays and lesbians are in every type of group, class, and occupation. However, until the risks are diminished, coming out is a difficult act for many to take.

Psychological Treatment

Homosexuality as a mental illness was removed from the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-II)* in 1973.

However, there are still therapeutic attempts to treat homosexuality as a mental illness. Generally referred to as "reparative therapy" or "conversion therapy," these therapists believe homosexuality is wrong, is a choice, and is caused by environmental factors. These practitioners tend to come from a religious perspective and usually incorporate prayer and religious worship in the treatment. Scripture reading, group and individual counseling, aversion therapy, and sometimes electroconvulsive shock therapy are other treatments. Most critics view this as a discredited therapeutic model and raise concerns that it can cause serious psychological harm. To date, there is no empirical evidence that these treatments work. The American Psychiatric Association opposes reparative therapy.

Advances in Gay and Lesbian Rights

The gay rights movement for equality, full legal rights, and social acceptance formally dates back to June 27, 1969, when lesbians, gay men, and gender-variant people stood up to police during a raid at the Stonewall Inn in New York City. There has since been a flurry of activism ranging from gay pride parades and events to countless educational forums and trainings, national coming out days, marches on Washington, the formation of national organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign, lobbying for legislation, efforts toward full acceptance of gays serving in the military, advocacy for full marriage rights and benefits, and more. *Lawrence v. Texas* was a milestone for gay and lesbian people when the Supreme Court struck down existing sodomy laws, reversed its own 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick,* and affirmed the constitutional right to privacy in June 2003.

Conclusion

Homophobia and heterosexism lock people into rigid gender roles and expectations by promoting only one acceptable sexual orientation. Although homophobia may never be eliminated in society, the pressure toward a more equal and accepting society continues.

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See also "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"; Heterosexual Privilege; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Shepard, Matthew

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HOMOSEXUALITY

The term *homosexuality* emerged in 19th-century expert discourse to refer primarily to men's same-sex desire; during the 20th century, the term increasingly came to refer to female same-sex desire. Since the 1970s, the terms *gay* and *lesbian* have developed to distinguish between male and female identity and experience. The issue of homosexuality is important to theoretical debates about the social construction of sexuality and gender and is often the focus of discussions about the relationship between sexuality, gender, and power. Studies variously emphasize the historical, cultural, and relational nature of constructions of homosexuality in exploring its interrelatedness with gender. Some theorists have examined this interrelatedness as part of broader explorations of the centrality of sexuality to the modern social order. Other theorists have examined this interrelatedness for the insights it generates into gender relations in the patriarchal order. Social and cultural theorists have achieved a broad consensus that homosexuality is, in one way or another, bound up with the regulation of sexual and gender "norms," and that its study illuminates operations of power and resistance with respect to sexuality and gender. This entry discusses some of the issues, including the language of homosexuality, the construction of homosexuality, gender ideologies, and homosexual practices.

The Language of Homosexuality

Cases of same-sex desire and same-sex sexual relations have been recorded throughout history and across cultures. These are often cited as evidence for the transhistorical and cross-cultural existence of homosexuality. Social and cultural theorists distinguish between these cases and the specific phenomena of "homosexuality" that has been discussed in expert (sexological, medical, psychological, and legal) discourse since the 19th century. In this latter context, homosexuality was assumed to be a pathological condition based on the "abnormal" sexual desire for a person of the same sex. The terminology of homosexuality emerged in European expert discourse about sexuality toward the end of the 19th century. This was initially used in conjunction with ideas about homosexuality as gender inversion—that is, to explain homosexuals as persons whose sexual desires were rooted in innate gender dysfunction. Homosexuality was the dominant way of talking about same-sex desire for much of the 20th century; this discourse contributed to the notion that sexual desire was a defining property of the person. The language of homosexuality was crucial to the discursive construction of morally deviant sexual practices and pathologically deviant personalities. This laid the ground for experts and legislators to define, outlaw, and seek to correct sexual deviance and was crucial to how modern societies defined abnormal and unnatural (homosexual) sexualities as the binary opposite of normal and natural (heterosexual) sexualities.

The power of the discourse of homosexuality is partly evident in the ways men and women themselves took up the language in their own understandings of their desires, identities, and practices. The dominance of the discourse among experts and lay people alike meant that male homosexual experience was often generalized to "homosexual" women. The failure of a female-specific language of same-sex desire to take hold partly indicates the extent to which female sexuality was defined by male desires and lacked autonomy.

The grassroots political vocabulary of *gay* and *lesbian* that the sexual liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s developed did distinguish between male and female same-sex desires and identities. The emerging terminology of lesbian and gay acknowledged a shared

(albeit sometimes uneasy) basis for political solidarity, while recognizing the specificity of gendered histories, cultures, and experiences. Homosexuality remains the preferred language of many experts, legislators, and those who are opposed to homosexual acceptance. However, lesbian and gay movements have been highly successful in popularizing their own empowered discourse of lesbian and gay identity. Indeed, their success has been so profound that homosexuality nowadays seems an antiquated and redundant basis for sexual identity. Indeed, in lesbian and gay cultures, homosexual identity (as opposed to gay identity) is often associated with outmoded or "un-liberated" experiences. The pre-liberation era of homosexuality is also sometimes associated with an uncritical attitude toward gender norms and values, evoked through narratives of pre-liberationist mimicking of heterosexual gendered roles through butch and femme practices. Although one should remain skeptical about dichotomies of liberated and un-liberated experience, the important point is that elements of the gay political movement, under the influence of feminism, self-consciously sought to promote a more critical understanding of gender relations.

The Construction of Homosexuality

There is broad agreement in the critical social sciences and humanities literature that homosexuality is socially constructed. There is also some consensus that the construction of homosexuality is, in some way or other, bound up with constructions of gender. Viewing constructions of homosexuality and gender as interrelated highlights issues of structure, agency, and power and raises the following questions: What dynamics and processes are at play in the construction of homosexuality, and how do these intersect with the dynamics and processes that underpin the construction of gender? How is power at play in the construction of homosexuality, and how does this interact with gender power? The exact nature of the relationships between constructions of sexuality and gender is the subject of an ongoing debate that is unlikely to be resolved soon. There are, however, two broad ways to view the debate's core issues. First, one can focus on homosexual identity and what it reveals about power with respect to sexuality and gender. Second, one can focus on practices with respect to homosexuality and how they involve power—and specifically gender power.

One of the earliest academic contributions to debates about the social construction of homosexuality came from researchers studying the sociology of deviance. The deviance perspective highlighted the issue of power with respect to homosexual identity and pointed to homosexuality as a product of human action and history. Homosexuality, from this perspective, was not the product of innate drives or pathology. Rather, modern society had established the "homosexual role" as a specific, despised, and punished role. Homosexuality, this analysis suggested, could not be reduced to same-sex desires and sexual practices. Rather, homosexuality concerned the behaviors and activities of persons fitted into those that were culturally identified as homosexual—such as camp, butch, femme, and so on. Society, this view suggested, constructed these as innate "traits" of deviant homosexuals, so that participation in such behaviors and activities made identification as homosexual almost inevitable. Drawing on insights from the sociology of deviance, this approach argued that if the treatment of certain types of criminals was essential to keeping the rest of society law abiding, the homosexual role was crucial to keeping the rest of society sexually "normal."

Several early analyses of the construction of homosexuality came from a different perspective, drawing on Marxist structural frames. These analyses viewed the historical construction of homosexual deviance as part of the broader sexual repression that capitalism enforced. Such repression, theorists argued, was essential for producing the kind of workers, families, and gender roles that were central to reproduction of the capitalist social order. Natural sexuality, for some of these theorists, was defined by multidirectional—or as Freud had termed them "polymorphous"—desires that needed to be liberated from capitalist oppression. The liberation of homosexuality was therefore necessary as part of a broader strategy for transformation toward a freer and more natural postcapitalist way of living. Homosexuality and other sexualities that capitalist cultures had deemed perverse were, from this perspective, potentially revolutionary because they challenged institutions that pathologized sexuality and promoted only heterosexual reproductive sex.

By the 1980s, historical and cultural approaches to the construction of homosexuality began to rely less on overarching structural frames and were instead to be influenced by poststructuralist ideas about identity. Studies from this period often adopted radical

constructionist approaches that refuted any claim that sexual identity has any basis in nature. A number of historical and cultural studies developed this approach by arguing that homosexuality is a relatively recent construction. Researchers working in this perspective argued that homosexual, lesbian, and gay identities were fictions or narratives that were the products of historically and culturally specific operations of "power" and "resistance." Historically, for example, the growth of capitalism, urbanization, and changes in family organization in 19th-century Europe and North America allowed for specific kinds of homoerotic relationships to take place outside heterosexual kinship. Over time, the increasing possibilities for creating meeting places and developing social networks in new urban spaces provided the context for developing homosexual cultures and, much later, for developing lesbian and gay cultures. These cultures and networks formed the basis for a politics of resistance that centered on identity. Such historical and cultural approaches tended to be more sensitive than previous approaches to how the opportunities that certain groups (especially in terms of gender and class) had with respect to mobility and participation in the wage-labor market at different historical times shaped different forms of nonheterosexual identities.

Michel Foucault provided one of the most influential accounts of the construction of modern homosexuality. This brought the issue of power into the center of the frame, and upended traditional understandings of power with respect to sexuality and gender. Foucauldian ideas suggest that sexual identities are the products of strategies of power and resistance, and they have been a fecund source of inspiration for social theorizing with respect to homosexuality and sexualities more broadly. Put simply and briefly, Foucauldian approaches explore the production of homosexuality as an exemplar of operations of bio-power in modern disciplinary societies. In doing so, they seek to illuminate how homosexuality—like other categories such as the heterosexual couple, the masturbating child, and the female hysteric—were historical products of the focus of knowledge-power on the body. This perspective suggests that what had once been viewed as sinful behavior—for example, sodomy—was by the 19th century an identity that was produced in discourse and in "reality." This view suggests that homosexual subjectivity has a dual meaning: to be subject to external forces through discipline and control and subject to oneself by internal monitoring. Despite their influence, Foucauldian

understandings of modern homosexualities are widely debated and contested, and critics have highlighted the circularity that power achieves in the theory—the relegation of homosexual agency to "reverse discourse." Notably, Foucauldian approaches are also widely criticized for subsuming gender relations under sexuality and for ignoring what some argue are crucial issues of institutional gender power and patriarchy. Some argue that this issue can be better explored through a focus on ideologies and practice than on identity.

Homosexuality, Gender Ideologies, and Practices

Despite the emphasis on identity in debates about the historical, social, and cultural construction of homosexuality, a number of studies argue strongly for focusing on the relationship between homosexuality and gender ideologies and practices. This issue can be viewed in several ways. Historically, some studies argue, modern conceptions of homosexuality are inseparable from gender ideologies and practices. Studies of contemporary gender ideologies and practices have also considered homosexuality in a number of ways. First, a number of studies have explored how homosexual relationships and ways of living potentially "undo" or "queer" gender. Second, studies have also explored how homosexuality is configured by, and configures, heterosexual masculine cultures. Third, there is the theoretical approach that suggests that homosexuality and heterosexuality are now more similar than different, as both are increasingly subject to lifestyle choice.

A number of studies have criticized analyses of expert discursive constructions of homosexuality and homosexual identity on the basis that they underplay the centrality of patriarchal gender relations in the emergence of modern homosexuality. Studies of the 18th-century English "mollies" (effeminate homosexual man) and "sapphists" (masculine homosexual woman), for example, suggest that changing gender relations were central to formation of modern conceptions of homosexuality. The idea of homosexuality as gender inversion, from this perspective, is rooted in the ways in which bourgeois men sought to maintain patriarchal authority in the face of moves toward greater gender equality—by casting men and women as dichotomous others with respect to the rational and emotional, and the public and private. Some studies suggest that masculine status and sexual relations

between men and boys was not always incompatible in English culture. However, by the 18th century, some argue, same-sex activity was deemed to compromise masculinity and undermine manhood. The construction of same-sex desire as gender inversion was, in this view, tied to the shoring up of the idea of innate gender differences that the bourgeois patriarchal order depended on.

Studies of mollies and sapphists spoke to male and female homosexuality, and other studies explored modern homosexuality as a specifically male form of existence. From this perspective, homosexuality is not reducible to—nor best thought about as—an identity. Rather, it should be conceptualized as a distinctive modern male experience that comprises particular ways of being in the world. The homosexual life-world, in this view, incorporates particular kinds of urban life spaces; relationships to family, friends, and sexual partners; fashions, and styles; and psychological and embodied experience. Homosexuality is not merely a "trait" or a "personality" but should be conceptualized as a more an all-encompassing mode of male existence. To counter the idea of exclusively male homosexuality, some theorists argue that the economic and sociocultural developments that gave rise to the homosexual life-world would have also been available to some well-resourced and single women. Some such women would have had opportunities for mobility and participation in the male-dominated wage-labor market. This would have potentially freed them from the constraints associated with families and communities who reinforced heterosexuality as the only and inevitable option. Nevertheless, formal and informal sanctions against homosexuality targeted men more so than women (through medicalization, criminalization, violence, ostracizing from family and networks), and this is taken as evidence of relative invisibility of female homosexuality in comparison to male forms.

A number of recent studies have explored the issues of gender ideologies and practices by focusing on how homosexual—or gay male—cultures give rise to "arts of existence" or "practices of freedom" with respect to gender. Some studies of male same-sex relationships, for example, have suggested that they offer distinctive possibilities with respect to "undoing" gender. From this perspective, male same-sex relationships are constructed without access to the cultural guidelines and institutional supports that exist for heterosexual couples. Because of this, studies suggest, gay male relationships generally operate according to the rules of friendship that emphasize mutuality, reciprocity, and equality. They also allow a sense of freedom from gendered roles because there is no biological basis on which to base expectations. Studies of same-sex relationships also generally suggest a key difference between male homosexual and heterosexual relationships is the extent to which the former reject sexual and emotional exclusivity as an aspect of couple commitment and explicitly negotiate open relationships. Studies of caring practices in homosexual families and friendships also suggest these to demonstrate qualities that are often assumed to be incompatible with hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. Studies of gay male caring responses to AIDS, for example, highlight how men participated in the caring, emotion, and "dirty" work that are usually deemed women's work in European and North American cultures. Some theorists have also argued that in the early days of AIDS, gay men pioneered safer sex strategies as part of an ethics of care. Such ethics tend to be more often associated with femininity, and rarely with heterosexual masculine cultures of relating.

It is nowadays common to assert the relational nature of gender, and a number of studies have adopted a relational approach in exploring the significance of homosexuality to heterosexual masculine practices and cultures. On the one hand, studies of contemporary gender relations have highlighted how homosexualities are constructed and subordinated with respect to hegemonic heterosexual masculinities. Despite the increasing social and legal tolerance of homosexuality in some European and North American cultures, homosexuality is still broadly conceptualized as the other of heterosexual masculinity in such cultures—a fact that is underscored by studies of media representations and practices in everyday life. Studies of boys and young men's educational and training cultures, for example, consistently reveal the centrality of homosexual subordination and denigration to the formation of hegemonic heterosexual masculine selves and cultures. These studies illuminate how heterosexual male identities are situationally constructed with respect to imagined or ascribed homosexuality, and the extent to which heterosexual masculinity is constructed as the opposite of its "other"—homosexuality. These research findings are at odds with recent social theoretical arguments that suggest that how people construct and "do" gender is

increasingly a matter of lifestyle choice for homosexuals and heterosexuals alike. Although this may be the case for some people, the research suggests the continuing salience of heteronormative pressures in supporting the prevailing gender order.

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See also Bisexuality; Heterosexuality; Lesbian; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Sodomy

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Honor Killings

Honor crimes are acts of violence, usually murder of women committed by male family members. Female victims in this situation are perceived by one or more males in the family to have brought dishonor upon the family name or prestige. A woman's activities are closely monitored by her own parents as well as her husband's family. Her virginity and "sexual purity" are considered to be the family's responsibility, and in the name of that responsibility she is dominated by males her entire life—first her father and brothers, then her husband, and finally her sons. Victims are usually killed for "sexually immoral" actions, ranging from openly conversing with unrelated men to losing virginity before marriage or for violating the sanctity of marriage through adultery, even if they became victims of rape or sexual assault. However, a woman can be targeted for murder for a variety of other reasons as well, including refusing to enter into an arranged marriage based on caste, ethnicity, and religion. Women are sometimes killed for trying to seek a divorce or separation—even from an abusive husband. Usually, the mere suspicion that a woman acted in a manner that could be sufficient to damage her family's name may trigger an attack. In patriarchal societies, women's honor and family reputation are generally based on men's feelings and perceptions rather than on objective truth. In such a man's world, a woman may be killed by her husband, father, son, brother, or other relative for alleged family dishonor. Ironically, other women in the family, including mother, sisters, and in-laws of the victim, often defend the killings and occasionally help set them up. Overall, one of the major causes of honor killings is a general pattern of male dominance in some of the patriarchal societies. It seems that a sense of honor provides such families continued power and control over women.

Honor killings have taken place historically in one form or another in perhaps all countries. Though such crimes are widely suspected to be underreported, the U.N. Population Fund estimates that more than 5,000 women are killed annually for reasons of honor. These crimes against humanity are not specific to any one religion nor are they limited to any one region of the world. However, they have been specifically cited to have rather significantly and consistently occurred in various parts of the Middle Eastern and South Asian cultures. Media and research publications and human rights organizations, such as the United Nations, frequently report honor-related murders in countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, Palestinian territories, Turkey, Uganda, and Yemen.

There appears to be an increased awareness of honor killing in contemporary societies. However, some countries remain reluctant to take the necessary

steps to end immunity for honor killings. For example, although the Supreme Court of Brazil struck down "defense of honor" as a justification for the murder of a wife in 1991, many years later courts in that country still fail to prosecute and convict men who claim they killed their wives because of their alleged infidelity. Nonetheless, in many countries, honor crimes are either condoned indirectly through government inaction or defended as legitimate cultural practices. As a result, police fail to investigate these crimes, and prosecutions are rare or nonexistent. In the few cases where a man is prosecuted for the killing, the woman's alleged behavior becomes the focus of the trial, rather than the possible culpability of the defendant. In a rare case when a man is found guilty, the defendant's claim that it was a crime committed to restore sullied family honor allows the courts to reduce the sentence. In India, for example, the government enacted strict penalties for violence against women during the 1980s. However, honor killings based on intercaste and interreligious marriages continue to take place in rural areas, where they are unreported to police because of an indirect support and apathy prevalent among village residents. In addition, honor murders are ruled as accidents or family disputes when reported. Police and government officials are often bribed to ignore crimes and hinder investigations. A woman beaten, burned, strangled, shot, or stabbed to death is often ruled a suicide, even if there are multiple wounds and there is no possibility the woman could have killed herself.

In some countries, such as Jordan, the honor killings are either legal or minimally punished. For instance, Article 340 of the Jordanian Penal Code exempts from punishment those who kill female relatives found "guilty" of committing adultery. The official protection there given to a "victim" is not without some personal cost. If a woman seeks protection from the police because she fears that her family wants to kill her, she will be held in indefinite detention in a local prison. However, once a woman has sought protection from the government and has been placed in prison, she is prohibited according to the government's policy from leaving the prison even though she has committed no crime. Ironically, women can only be released into the custody of a family member—sometimes persons trying to kill them.

Honor killings are violations of women's rights, and the ramifications of this for women can be significant. Women who experience fears of being killed despite their innocence tend to lead lives of dependence devoid of freedom or individuality that leaves them impoverished and incapable to challenge the practices that allow honor killings to continue.

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See also Caste; Dowry Prohibition Act; Women and Islam

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HORMONES

Hormones act as chemical messengers throughout the body, sending signals between cells or groups of cells. These signals play a primary role in physiological processes ranging from immune function to the reproductive cycle. Hormones have also been implicated in a number of complex behaviors including sex, aggression, and performance on cognitive tasks.

In humans and other mammals, the hypothalamus acts as a master control center for the release of hormones, based on input it receives from other areas of the brain. As a result, the type and amount of hormones released in the body often depend upon perceptions of the environment. In addition, most hormones, including the primary sex hormones, work within a target cell by either increasing or decreasing the activity of specific genes. Conceptually, this means that hormones do not *cause* behaviors but, rather, make behaviors more or less likely in response to a situation. This entry discusses hormones as they relate to sex differentiation and behavior.

Sex Differentiation

Hormones first become relevant to sex and gender as a zygote (fertilized egg) starts to develop into a fetus. The default sex is female, and several things have to

occur before a male can develop normal reproductive organs. Humans have 46 chromosomes, 2 of which are sex chromosomes (XX in females; XY in males). A first critical step for sex differentiation is the chromosome contributed by the male (X or Y). If the zygote has an XY chromosome pair, a gene on the Y chromosome called SRY codes for the development of testes. In absence of this gene, testes do not develop.

Second, as the testes develop in the normal male, they begin to produce the hormone *testosterone.* In the developing female embryo, the lack of testes results in a lack of testosterone. Third, the presence or absence of testosterone affects the development of internal sex organs. Testosterone causes the Wolffian ducts to develop into the vas deferens and seminal vesicles. In absence of testosterone, the Müllerian ducts develop into a uterus and fallopian tubes. Finally, a testosterone by-product called DHT triggers the development of external male genitalia. The absence of testosterone causes the sex organs to remain inside the body.

Early in development, sex hormones have an influence on parts of the developing brain, creating structures that respond to these hormones later in life. Experiments with rats have shown that sexual behavior is entirely dependent on these organizing hormones. Administering female hormones to a developing male rat will lead to an inhibition of normal male sexual behavior. Likewise, administering male hormones to a developing female rat will lead to an increase in male-typical sexual behavior. In humans, the links to behavior are more complicated, but sexual dimorphism in brain structures can be seen as early as 2 years of age.

Hormones and Behavior

Hormones have also been implicated in a number of behaviors that tend to show gender differences. Aggression is defined as behavior intended to harm another person who does not want to be harmed. It was once accepted that females were far less aggressive than males. However, more recent research has broadened the definition of aggression to include more indirect forms, such as ostracism and spreading rumors. When these forms of aggression are included, the gender difference in aggression is considerably smaller.

The primary hormone involved in aggressive behavior is the sex hormone testosterone. The basic argument is that males' increased aggression is the result of increased testosterone exposure during prenatal development. In adulthood, testosterone works as an aggression "signal," triggering behavior in response to certain situations. The evidence for both of these claims is rather mixed, however, and many studies do not find any relationship between testosterone and aggression. A number of social science researchers, including the late James Dabbs, argue that testosterone is linked to *dominance,* rather than aggression per se. That is, testosterone will facilitate an increase in aggression only if the aggression is linked to an individual's status relative to others.

Cognition is used broadly to refer to processes of thinking, problem solving, attention, learning, and memory. An individual's score on a cognitive task reflects both that person's underlying cognitive processes and situational influences such as her level of motivation and anxiety. In general, men tend to perform better on tests of mathematic and spatial ability, whereas women perform better on tests of verbal ability and verbal memory.

Testosterone is also the primary hormone implicated in these gender differences. The basic argument is that testosterone organizes and lateralizes the developing brain so that the right brain is more developed. Because the right brain is responsible for mathematic and spatial tasks, a more developed right brain would seem to improve performance on these tasks. Early research linking testosterone with cognitive performance was conducted on patients with clinical syndromes that resulted in abnormally high or low levels of testosterone. Women with a disorder called congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH) have abnormally high testosterone caused by overactivity of the adrenal glands and appear to perform better than other women do on spatial tasks.

It can be difficult to interpret results from clinical patients because of the complexities associated with these disorders. Men and women with abnormal levels of androgens may be socialized differently and raised into more feminine or masculine roles. Taken together, the research with nonclinical patients reveals a positive correlation between testosterone and spatial performance, and a negative correlation between testosterone and verbal performance. However, there are also inconsistencies within this literature. A number of studies have failed to find any relationship between testosterone and cognitive performance.

It is important to remember, as with all hormonal correlations, that the effects depend on an interaction

between hormone levels and the current situation. Some recent research by Robert Josephs and colleagues has suggested that testosterone can either enhance or impair performance, depending on features of the testing situation.

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See also Biological Determinism; Chromosome Disorders; Gender and the Brain; Hormone Therapy; Menopause; Nature/Nurture Debate; Steroids

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Hormone Therapy

Hormone therapy or hormone replacement therapy (HRT) is the use of the hormones estrogen and progesterone by women to alleviate various "natural" mental and physical discomforts associated with menopause. The wide use of HRT has helped medicalize menopause, thus turning a nonmedical problem into a deficiency disorder. In addition, hormone therapy may be viewed as a form of socially enacted control over the so-called deviant behaviors women exhibit as they go through menopause.

Hormone replacement therapy is used to treat the symptoms experienced during menopause and postmenopause. Menopause is the transition period women experience as they cease regular menstruation, thus marking an end to their reproductive period. It is a naturally occurring or natural life process. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, women typically make this transition between the ages of 45 and 55, noted by the absence of menstruation for a continuous 12-month period. It may also occur earlier (i.e., induced menopause) because of medical procedures such as hysterectomies or cancer treatments including chemotherapy or radiation to the pelvis. Menopause is technically not a medical diagnosis, but a label used to identify the closure of a woman's reproductive ability. As women transition through menopause, there is a decrease in the production of two hormones—estrogen and progesterone—which can lead to various mental and physical discomforts. These include (but are not limited to) feelings of warmth in the face/neck or upper torso (i.e., hot flashes); sleep disorders (e.g., night sweats, fatigue); tension and stress; vaginal issues such as wall thinness, dryness, vaginal itching, painful sex, and irregular vaginal bleeding; osteoporosis; forgetfulness; and dizziness.

Although hormone replacement therapy had its start more than 100 years ago, until the 1960s, the use of extracted and synthetic estrogen on women was limited. In 1966, based on select medical research, hyperbole, and a financial stake in the use of HRT, Robert A. Wilson published the popular book *Feminine Forever,* which advocated HRT use in treating menopause, and to retain and even bolster women's experience of femininity and beauty. In addition, claims were made that HRT also prevented some forms of cancer. The popularity of the book, in conjunction with exposure in the popular media and the accessibility of estrogen (e.g., its availability, low cost, and ease of delivery), led to a drastic increase in prescriptions of HRT through the late 1960s into the 1970s.

However, estrogen HRT was beginning to yield health risks that outweighed the benefits. Some of these risks (e.g., endometrial cancer) were becoming pronounced in the late 1970s, leading to a decline in HRT prescriptions from 30 million in 1975 to about 15 million at the beginning of the 1980s. Yet, prescriptions climbed again through the 1980s as progestins were used in combination with estrogen, and as oral combinations of these hormones became available, prescriptions climbed to 91 million in 2001 (representing 15 million postmenopausal women). In 2002, two landmark studies published questioned the benefits of HRT. The Heart and Estrogen/Progestin Replacement Study (HERS II) showed that the one of the perceived benefits of HRT—reduction in coronary heart disease—could not be substantiated. The Women's Health Initiative (WHI) trial provided evidence that HRT was harmful, with increased risk of

some coronary heart events, strokes, and breast cancer. A host of additional studies since 2002 have continued to show severe negative health consequences of HRT.

The use of HRT is part of an effort to medicalize menopause as a deficiency condition, thus making menopause analogous to other hormone deficiency conditions such as hypothyroidism and growth hormone deficiency (associated with the pituitary gland). Yet, these comparisons are incorrect; the causes of the latter deficiencies are not associated with the natural life process, but the result of gland dysfunction. With menopause, the reduction in hormone secretions is a natural process, rather than a dysfunction. Further, it has been argued that the insistent use of HRT is a form of control over the "deviant" behaviors exhibited by women during menopause, and that such hormonal treatments for health are indicative of women's defective bodies (thus marginalizing women and their bodies).

Although the HRT evidence presented here is negative, there are circumstances where hormone therapy is warranted; for example, medical procedures requiring removal of the ovaries in younger women leading to an induced menopause. However, as marketed to menopausal and postmenopausal women as an elixir for health and beauty, or as a requirement for a constructed deficiency, hormone therapy can have grave health consequences. Menopause is a normal process in the reproductive life of women, and thus HRT should be considered only in special circumstances.

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See also Chromosome Disorders; Hormones

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HOSTILE WORK ENVIRONMENT

Hostile work environment harassment refers to offensive and unwelcome workplace conduct based a person's race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, national origin, or physical ability. Such conduct is a form of workplace discrimination and is against the law. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protects employees from hostile work environment harassment. Most commonly, the phrase *hostile work environment* is used to refer to one of the two forms of unlawful sexual harassment (the other being quid pro quo sexual harassment). The concept of hostile work environment is especially relevant to the topic of gender and society because it reveals gender as foundational to the way that organizations and individuals within them operate.

As a form of sexual harassment, a hostile work environment is one in which unwelcome sexual advances or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature unreasonably interfere with a person's job or create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. Hostile work environment harassment is the most common form of sexual harassment. Workers in all positions and of all genders may be subject to hostile work environment harassment, just as all such workers may commit this type of harassment. Unlike quid pro quo harassment, a worker's organizational status does not matter—colleagues of equal status may sexually harass one another, as could workers in differential positions. Examples of hostile work environment sexual harassment include such behaviors as displaying pornographic or other sexually explicit materials at work, spreading rumors about a coworker's sexual activities, making lewd remarks or telling offensive

sexual jokes in the workplace, or touching coworkers in a sexual way without their consent.

Hostile work environment harassment was first recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1986 case of *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson.* The plaintiff's claim of sexual harassment was initially denied by lower courts, which ruled that the sexual relationship in question was consensual and did not result in economic loss for the plaintiff. The Supreme Court later reversed the ruling, thus recognizing hostile work environment sexual harassment as a legitimate and punishable form of sexual harassment. Another example of hostile work environment sexual harassment can be seen in the class action suit *Jenson v. Eveleth Taconite Co.,* filed in 1988. In this case, the first-ever U.S. class action sexual harassment lawsuit was filed against Eveleth Taconite Mining Company as a result of the overt display of pornographic graffiti, posters, cartoons, and other explicit materials as well as frequent sexist and degrading comments toward and about women at the company. The facts from this case later inspired the popular 2005 film *North Country.* These and other cases have shaped today's understanding of hostile work environment sexual harassment, as described in this entry.

Severe or Pervasive Standard

A "severe or pervasive" standard for conduct applies to the definition of a hostile work environment. That is, a hostile work environment may exist if one single, severe incident such as unwanted sexual touching or groping occurs or if a pattern of less severe but repeated behaviors exists. Such patterned behavior usually takes the form of ongoing offensive joking, sexual remarks, or the display of offensive materials. This standard was designed so that isolated incidents of rude or insensitive behavior can be more easily distinguished from behaviors that constitute workplace discrimination.

Perception and the "Reasonable Woman" Standard

There is some confusion about the definition of *hostile work environment harassment* because some perpetrators may not intend for their comments or actions to be construed as offensive or inappropriate. Although an individual may lack malicious intent, any behavior that directly or indirectly negatively affects the productivity of workers can contribute to a hostile work environment. The question of whose perspective should count when determining whether sexual harassment has occurred has been addressed by some judges in their adoption of a "reasonable woman" standard. The reasonable woman standard takes into account the fact that women and men may reasonably experience the same incidents differently. Because the context of women's lives is one in which they hold relatively less power compared with men and in which they are the most frequent targets of sexual violence, what constitutes a hostile working environment for women is conceivably different from men's perceptions of hostile or intimidating behavior.

Conclusion

Studies estimate that as many as 70 percent of women and 45 percent of men may experience hostile work environment harassment at some point during their working lives. Despite its prevalence, hostile work environment harassment is often unreported. Many persons who experience hostile work environment harassment do not report it because they doubt themselves or their interpretation of events, they may fear retaliation, or they may feel shame or guilt about the harassment. Men who experience hostile work environment sexual harassment may worry about not ascribing to gender role expectations or being perceived as effeminate. Likewise, because of existing cultural scripts of heteronormative femininity, women who stand up against hostile work environment harassment may have their sexuality questioned or face offensive name-calling (e.g., "bitch" or "dyke"). Such retaliation further contributes to an already hostile and intimidating workplace environment and fear of such retaliation may make individuals unlikely to come forward to report the harassment.

Despite these challenges, the climate for workers has improved during the past few decades. Efforts of those involved in the feminist and other rights-based social movements are visible in the form of protections such as those provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Many employers have also tried to improve the climate for workers by adopting clear written sexual harassment policies, providing sexual harassment training for their employees, and hiring human resources officers with expertise in handling sexual harassment claims.

Amy Blackstone and Heather McLaughlin

See also Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Stereotypes; Hegemonic Masculinity; Sexism; Sexual Harassment

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HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

The areas of gender studies, development studies, and activist agendas by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international governmental organizations (INGOs), and projects by the United Nations (UN) have produced research and programs in the areas of household livelihood strategies, particularly of poor households. Household livelihood strategies are often researched in connection with rural households in regions such as Africa and parts of Asia, India, and Latin America.

Generally, household livelihood strategies are material and social resources and activities that provide a household with the means to survive and sometimes generate income. Natural resources such as land and water are beneficial resources to have especially for households in rural areas, and housing is particular important in any region. Many regions of the world are characterized by unequal access to such resources, which is the basis of many poverty reduction programs such as the Habitat Agenda program implemented by the UN.

The goal of the Habitat Agenda is to provide more women with access to land and housing. Case studies in China, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Vietnam, Rwanda, and Uganda indicate that cultural customs typically deny access to land and housing to women because these are often seen as inheritances handed down from fathers to sons. The Habitat Agenda seeks to increase women's access through changes at the international and local government level, along with programs through NGOs. Ownership of land can supply a household, especially those run by single mothers, an important resource in which to rely for livelihood.

Financial resources such as access to credit, savings, and pensions are also important for increasing livelihood options. Because economic crises may be eminent, thus making it precarious for poor households who waver on the edge of poverty, having money saved for an emergency or the ability to borrow money to support a new business can be crucial in maintaining a household.

Micro-credit or institutional lending has been a popular strategy for UN programs and programs implemented by NGOs and INGOs, particularly for women to increase their standards of living and to promote their economic independence. These programs provide poor women with various types of business training, small loans and grants, and classes on how to save or invest the money they make through the selling of their product. One NGO uses the Trickle Up program to provide seed capital to poor women in countries such as Rwanda and Guatemala. Providing credit and business training to women often means that if they do make a profit with their new business or product, the family will see the benefits. Women often serve as the primary household manager, which means that the money they make will go to buy food, clothing, or other necessities for their children.

Micro-credit enterprises are by no means a panacea to preventing poverty among households, and although it increases the household livelihood strategies for some poor families, research shows that the poorest of the poor families still often do not benefit from such programs. Thus, poor households often still need to find other strategies to help keep their households functioning.

Throughout the world, reliance on one wage earner is often not an option. Many households find that to survive or to maintain a comfortable standard of living, at least two incomes are necessary. In a study of Caribbean women adapting to economic crisis, researchers found that these women are entering the paid labor force in record numbers, participating in the informal economy, and diversifying their survival strategies in the household. Women in export

processing zones may work in manufacturing plants or agribusiness, but the wages are still relatively low and do not provide much substantial job security. The informal economy employs many men and women and in the Caribbean includes positions such as domestic servant to activities such as selling food or handmade items on the streets. Although the informal economy may provide some income and may also provide women the ability to combine this with their role as primary caretaker of children and the elderly, informal jobs do not pay much, do not come with any benefits, and although often it is important work to keep the economy functioning, they do not figure into national statistics on economic production.

The ways in which women in the Caribbean have diversified their survival strategies in the household is to expand their exchange networks with other households. In Jamaica, for example, trading small manufacturing goods for fresh agricultural products may be considered a fair trade. Another strategy may be to add more members of the households, not necessarily by birth, but by housing additional kin. Researchers suggest that this strategy allows women, particularly those in female-headed households, to share or sometimes rely on someone else to do household chores and child care while they work a full-time job with the benefit of added income provided by the additional kin's contribution from informal activities.

Household livelihood strategies are employed by poor households to make ends meet. By increasing access to natural, financial, and human capital, including rights to land, water, housing, micro-credit, better jobs, reducing household size by limiting the number of children, or adding additional kin to households for their income contributions, poor households may have more options to have financially secure lives. However, these options may not always be available to the poorest of the poor who must rely on other strategies to survive. Some households may remove their children from school, particularly girls, if they do not value education, postpone or neglect any medical treatment because of cost, or reduce their consumption of healthy foods for those they can afford. Continuing UN programs are important, as are programs implemented by NGOs to help poor households around the world live beyond survival and to increase their standards of living.

Marcella C. Gemelli

See also Family Wage; Immigrant Households and Gender Dynamics

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Hull House

Founded in September 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, Hull House is the best known of the early American social settlement houses. An important component of Progressive Era reform movements, settlement houses sought social justice by assisting ethnic immigrants and the urban poor in housing, health care, nutrition, employment, education, and a variety of civic engagements, including labor and social policy reform activities. Settlements typically provided housing for educated women and men who devoted a portion of their lives to living in poor urban neighborhoods with the goal of improving society through sharing their culture with inner-city populations.

Addams was head resident of Hull House from 1889 to 1935. Following a trip to England, Addams and Starr established Hull House on South Halstead Street in Chicago's 19th ward, a poor neighborhood populated by tenements and sweatshops. Hull House began in a decaying mansion (originally built by Charles Hull) belonging to philanthropist Helen Culver. Hull House residents first occupied a top floor of the mansion, but eventually expanded to include the entire house as well as a city block of buildings. The complex provided meeting spaces for social clubs, educational programs, and trade unions. A library, art gallery, museum, coffee shop, theater, health infirmary, public park, and cooperative apartments became a part of Hull House in a neighborhood with high concentrations of Greek, Italian, Russian, and Polish immigrants. Residents established comprehensive programs to improve living conditions and to ease the strains and problems associated with rapid urban growth and industrialization.

Hull House was first modeled after the English settlement house Toynbee Hall, which housed university men seeking to apply the principles of Christian Socialism in assisting the poor and bridging the gap between social classes. In Hull House, however, this model gave way to a more egalitarian and a less religious one and to settlements established and managed largely by women. Mary Jo Deegan notes that within a few years, the initial emphasis placed on bringing culture to the neighborhood shifted to an emphasis on addressing the practical issues of poverty. Under Addams's leadership, Hull House became a central institution of sociology (nonacademic), providing opportunities to women in the development of research and social thought. It grew simultaneously with the emergence of sociology as a discipline and before the establishment of state-funded welfare and public policies to support social programs. Importantly, Hull House served as a meeting place for intellectual exchange, becoming home to a large network of women who profoundly influenced American thought and government policies. Most prominent among this group of women were Florence Kelley, Edith Abbott, Sophonisba Breckinridge, Mary McDowell, Alice Hamilton, Julia Lathrop, and Grace Abbott. The women of Hull House were successful in defining a nonacademic basis for the practice of sociology during the same period that men at the University of Chicago were creating an academic basis for the discipline. During its peak years, as many as 2,000 persons visited Hull House daily.

Although the work of residents at Hull House placed primary emphasis on pragmatic social change, residents also conducted social scientific research with the goal of generating systematic evidence in support of public policies and social reforms. One of the most important contributions of Hull House residents was to applied social science research. A groundbreaking publication, *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895), became the seminal study for much of early academic sociology that developed at the University of Chicago. Kelley led in the coordination of this set of neighborhood studies and almost every resident participated in the project. *Maps and Papers* thus became a comprehensive survey of the living and working conditions of families within a third of a square mile of the settlement and a model for other surveys of American cities. The work included multicolor maps, interview schedules, and charts representing 18 nationalities as well as the wages, health, and working conditions of women and children in the local sweatshops. Also documented were the physical characteristics of the Chicago ghetto, the works of local charities, the works of local artists, and the role of the settlement in the labor movement.

Hull House was one of the most prominent agents of social change in the Progressive Era. Its residents shaped early labor laws, sanitation practices, and local and federal policy reforms, and they significantly shaped research, theory, and practice in the emerging discipline of sociology. Hull House provided a central, nonacademic setting for the development of women's careers in sociological practice and provided a model for the work of settlement sociology aimed at improving the living conditions of the poor. The Hull House model subsequently spread throughout major cities of America. Some settlement houses survive today as community centers continuing the work of earlier urban projects. Although many of the original buildings were demolished in the 1960s, the Hull-House Museum, located on the campus of the University of Illinois, includes the Charles Hull mansion built in 1856 and the residents' dining hall.

Vicky M. MacLean

See also Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Women's Peace Society

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HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

With more 700,000 members and supporters in 2007, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) is the largest lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) political advocacy organization within the United States. Since its foundation in 1980, the HRC has advocated for LGBT individuals through education, organization of grassroots movements, funding political candidates, and lobbying at the state and federal levels to secure equal rights and recognition of individuals regardless of sexual and gender orientations. This entry describes the HRC.

Mission

Throughout the organization's history, the HRC's overarching mission has been the realization of equality and fairness across gender identities and sexual orientations. The means to this end have changed during the organization's development. Originally founded in 1980 by Steve Endean as the Human Rights Campaign Fund (HRCF), the organization functioned as a political action committee (PAC) that funded political candidates positively disposed toward the needs of the LGBT community, particularly concerning discriminatory health policies and hate crime legislation. In 1989, the HRCF became a membership-based organization—though with an attached PAC—and began to lobby for antidiscriminatory health care and hate crime policies with success. In 1995, the name of the organization officially changed to the Human Rights Campaign, and with the new title, the operations and scope of the organization also expanded. In addition to financially supporting political candidates and lobbying Congress, public education became central to the HRC framework. The HRC uses education, advocacy, political funding, and lobbying to secure equal rights, recognition, and protection for LGBT individuals and families in the home, community, and workplace.

Current Structure and Focus

The HRC operates in conjunction with the Human Rights Campaign Foundation (HRC Foundation), which raises and provides funding for HRC endeavors, conducts research, and offers education and outreach to the general public. Education and outreach include such Web-based resources as FamilyNet with information and advice about issues such as coming out, employment-related policies, and state and federal laws regarding civil unions, second-parent adoption, and hate crimes. These educational programs are intended to raise awareness about and concern for LGBT issues both within the general population as well as within the government, and ultimately garner support for HRC causes.

The HRC currently advocates and lobbies for equal rights and opportunities for LGBT individuals on multiple fronts at both state and federal levels, including health care reform, workplace equality, immigration laws regarding same-sex partners, hate crime legislation, federal judicial nominations, and transgender discrimination. Legal recognition of same-sex marriage and civil unions—a topic that relates to many of the aforementioned issues—is currently at the top of the HRC agenda. At the state level, the HRC attempts to create initiatives that would secure the right to marriage or civil unions with all the benefits given to heterosexual unions. At the federal level, the HRC and HRC Foundation have organized a national petition, "Million for Marriage," that supports same-sex marriage and opposes constitutional amendments and legislation that deny equal marriage opportunity to couples within the LGBT community.

Denille H. Bezemer and Kathryn C. Oleson

See also Bisexuality; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Lesbian; Same-Sex Families; Same-Sex Marriage; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING

See SEXUAL SLAVERY

HYSTERECTOMY

The term *hysterectomy* refers to surgical removal of the uterus (womb). "Total" or "complete" hysterectomy includes removing the fundus (top or "body") and the cervix (bottom or "neck"); partial or supracervical hysterectomy does not involve the cervix. Hysterectomy leaves one or both of a woman's ovaries intact unless she also undergoes oophorectomy (removal of the ovary). More than 600,000 American women experience hysterectomy each year; 70 percent include oophorectomies. The United States has the highest hysterectomy rate in the world, with no appreciable decrease in the rate over the past few decades. Hysterectomy is the second most common major surgery in the United States; approximately one third of American women undergo hysterectomy by the age of 60. This entry describes the history of, effects of, and research about hysterectomy.

History

The root of the term hysterectomy is *hyster,* which means womb. The uterus has long been associated with womanhood itself. The ancient Egyptians and Greeks attributed women's supposed emotional instability to a "wandering womb," termed *hysteria.* Surgery to remove the uterus was performed beginning in ancient times as an intended cure for both physical and temperamental problems.

The common 19th-century belief that women's reproductive organs controlled both their bodies and minds provoked surgical removal of these organs for a wide variety of reasons, some of which included "ovariomania," "hystero-epilepsy," "hysteria," "melancholia," "nymphomania," masturbation, dysmenorrhea, overeating, and suicidal tendencies. The rise of gynecology was accompanied by a widespread increase in hysterectomy and oophorectomy. Since the early 20th century, the medical community has insisted that hysterectomies should be performed only as a last resort for significant physical problems. However, several researchers have claimed that this protocol is not always followed.

Effects

Currently, 10 percent of hysterectomies are performed because of cancer. The rationales for most hysterectomies are benign conditions that can significantly interfere with quality of life, including fibroid cysts, endometriosis, adenomyosis, heavy bleeding, pelvic inflammatory disease, genital prolapse, and severe pain. Many female-to-male transsexuals elect to undergo hysterectomy and oophorectomy as part of gender reassignment surgery. Young women who have hysterectomies cease to menstruate and are rendered infertile. If premenopausal at the time of surgery, most women generally experience menopause at close to the average age. If both ovaries are removed (*bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy*), women go through almost immediate surgical menopause.

Research

The preponderance of feminist social science research on hysterectomy has focused on this surgery as often unnecessary, an example of medical misogyny, and a means of social control. Beginning with Marvin Drellich and Irving Bieber, several psychological studies have discussed a range of emotional reactions among women who underwent a hysterectomy. To some women, losing their uterus is a sad and upsetting event. Their self-image as women may be affected following the operation. Some women may become depressed and experience a period of mourning, especially if they had wanted to become pregnant one day. The emotions experienced after a hysterectomy can also have a physiological cause. Removing the ovaries causes a drop in the hormone levels, which can provoke behavioral changes: irritability, crying fits, insomnia, and so forth. For other women, however, hysterectomy will be a positive experience because the benefits far outweigh the complications from the operation.

Jean Elson

See also Hormone Therapy; Hysteria; Menopause; Menstruation; Transsexual

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Hysteria

Hysteria is a wrongly diagnosed Western medical condition attributed primarily to women. Diagnosed most frequently during the Victorian era (1830s–1900), symptoms of female hysteria, which varied greatly for each individual, included fainting, shortness of breath, anxiety, loss of appetite, insomnia, irritability, and disinterest in sex with one's spouse. Hysteria was often believed to be caused by insufficient sexual intercourse or lack of sexual satisfaction. Many female patients diagnosed with hysteria were treated with a "pelvic massage" (sometimes from midwives or physicians and later with "therapeutic" vibrators) that would induce what doctors deemed "hysterical paroxysm" or orgasm. Until 1952, when the American Psychiatric Association officially dropped the term *hysteria* from its list of ailments, hysteria was one of the most commonly diagnosed diseases in Western medical history. This entry describes hysteria in Western society and Victorian society, as well as Sigmund Freud's views on hysteria.

Origins of Hysteria in Western Society

Notions of female hysteria can be traced back to early Western societies. Ancient Greek myths, which influenced Western medicine for hundreds of years, tell of a uterus moving through a woman's body, eventually strangling her and inducing disease. Thus, the term *hysteria* comes from a Greek word that means "that which proceeds from the uterus." The myth of the wandering uterus harming the female patient infiltrated medical writings in ancient societies as well as the classical, medieval, and eventually the Renaissance period. Descriptions of genital massage as a common treatment for hysteria appear as far back as the Hippocratic corpus and in the works of Celsus, a 1st-century CE Greek philosopher.

Women in ancient Western societies were commonly viewed as "incomplete" males or as having inverted male sexual organs, and the uterus was believed to be in rebellion against its own sexual deprivation. The cure for this, popularized by the prominent Greek physician Galen, was to lure the uterus back to where it usually presided in the pelvis and to expel its excess fluids. If a patient was a widow, nun, single, or in a sexless marriage, the proscribed "cure" was moving the pelvis in a swing or a rocking chair, riding horses vigorously, or massaging the vulva (usually performed by a midwife or physician). Single women who had symptoms of hysteria were normally told by their doctors to marry and have frequent sexual encounters with their new husbands.

Hysteria in Victorian Societies

Popularity concerning notions of female hysteria peaked during the Victorian era. This was largely because of the societal preoccupation with the conflict between sex as an act of pleasure and sex as an act of reproduction. As fecundity rates declined during the Victorian era, the reproductive aspects of sexuality became less important. In response to this debate, medical and marital advice literature edified the "passionless" woman as the ideal of femininity. Physicians and pop culture idealized anorgasmia in women as the model feminine societal norm. In 1844, French physician Adam Raciborski contended, "Three-fourths of women merely endure the approaches of men." Charles Taylor asserted in 1882, "Women have less sexual feelings than men" and have "nothing of what is understood as sexual passion."

The idea of the sexless woman influenced social structures and the medical community as few physicians or medical experts acknowledged that female genital massage for the treatment of hysteria actually produced an orgasm. When conflicts over female sexual desires arose during the Victorian period, the common resolution according to medical and societal ideologies was that if women were aroused it was because they desired motherhood, not orgasms. Nonetheless, by the mid-19th century, orgasm-inducing hydrotherapy devices to treat hysteria were popular in elite resorts in the United States and Europe. The "douche treatment" of running warm water, which was often accompanied by a vibrating massage, was supposed to treat hysteria by "restoring tone and vigor to the female reproductive system." Hydrotherapy treatments were so popular during the Victorian era that when therapeutic douches were installed in Bath, England, in the 1880s, more than 80,000 bathers congregated to relieve their hysteria.

In 1878, electromechanical vibrators were first used in medicine on hysterical female patients. Because hysterical women usually received multiple treatments over time, mechanized efficiency and speed improved productivity and allowed doctors to cease massage treatments, which often challenged their skills and

patience. Fifteen years after the introduction of the first vibrator model into medicine, more than a dozen manufacturers created line electricity as well as battery-powered vibrators. By the 20th century, hysteria patients could "treat" themselves in their own homes. Vibrators were so popular in American society that even a 1918 Sears catalog featured the portable vibrator in its home electric appliances section.

Freud and Hysteria

After 1900, Freudian ideas and interpretations assumed a sexual drive in women, thus moving away from the previous societal norms of the "passionless" women of the Victorian era. According to Freud, hysteria in women was not caused by sexual deprivation but by traumatic experiences from childhood that caused "lesions in consciousness." Female hysteria could manifest itself in frigidity toward penetration or in the desire to masturbate. These symptoms of hysteria meant that a woman's sexual development was arrested at the juvenile state. According to Freud, nonhysterical, "mature" women would enjoy vaginal penetration and not accept clitoral stimulation as an alternative. This belief, common in Western society for hundreds of years and repackaged by Freud, denigrated female sexual expression outside of traditional notions of femininity and passivity. However, Freud also believed that men could be hysterical, which was a minority opinion in his and in earlier times. Though intercourse and marriage were suggested for hysterical males, scholars contend that there are no accounts of physicians performing therapeutic massage on male genitals.

Conclusion

The creation of the medical condition "hysteria" illustrates how Western society pathologized women's sexuality both as a mystery and as a problem. By the middle of the 20th century, hysteria's many symptoms and propensity to be a "catchall" diagnosis for women was undergoing scrutiny from many in the medical community. As techniques for testing illnesses improved, the number of hysteria patients dwindled. Furthermore, other cases that may have formerly been deemed hysteria were suddenly reclassified as anxiety neuroses or other mental disorders.

Lindsey Churchill

See also Androcentrism; Body Politics; Chastity; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Freud, Sigmund; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Gynecology; Hysterectomy; Marriage; Masturbation; Mental Health; Midwifery; Phallocentrism; Sex Toys; Sexuality and Reproduction

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I

For many years, only migrant men captured the interest of researchers. It was presumed that men, as heads of households, would migrate to find work in cities or other countries to support their families. The argument was based on economics: Men are the breadwinners, and if they cannot find work in their community, they will migrate. For a long time, migration research ignored women and either only asked men about their wives or did not include them at all. Women migrants were portrayed as passive participants who did not play a large role in migration and settlement/return decisions. This has shifted during the last 30 years as women have become a central focus in migration research. Migration of women is increasing and even outnumbers the migration of men to some countries. Women migrants either come with their husbands, follow their husbands after they have secured a job, or come by themselves because their skills are sought in the country of destination.

Because of the gender division of labor in the private and public sphere, women migrants offer different skills than men do. Women offer their housecleaning and child care skills or, because of shortages in some occupations, can rely on their educational skills. For example, nurses from the Philippines migrate to the United States because America is experiencing a shortage of nursing professionals. The emerging research on gender and migration sheds light on these women migrants and their families. This research shows that there are substantial gender differences in the migration experiences, which then influence gender roles and settlement/return decisions. This entry focuses on migration of women and men and its impact on household dynamics.

Development of Gendered Migration Research

Patriarchy is the main reason why researchers ignored women migrants for many years. It also reflects the traditional model of households where the man is the breadwinner and the woman takes care of the children. Women were portrayed as passive, and not actively participating in the migration decision. The term *tied migrants,* which is commonly used in migration research to describe women migrants who move with their husbands, exemplifies this thought. Feminist research in the 1970s criticized the exclusive focus on men because it only accounted for half of the experiences so gender was added as a variable to fill the gap. However, treating gender just as a variable was not helpful in explaining the differences in the migration experience of women and men. The next step was to focus extensively on women but researchers were still unsuccessful in accounting for gender differences in migration decisions. The breakthrough happened during the 1980s and 1990s when interview-based approaches slowly started to change migration research by shedding more light on women's experiences and why women and men migrants have to be analyzed differently and comparatively.

This theoretical shift from a men-oriented economic approach to an inclusive gender approach spurred two more important developments in migration research. First, the role of the larger family, or the household:

Migrants often come by themselves and leave families behind in the country of origin, also called the sending country. Those family members can be spouses and children but often include extended family members such as parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins as well. By interviewing migrants about their experiences, researchers became aware of the important role of these households and their support for, or opposition to the migration of family members. For instance, families who struggle to make ends meet might select a son or daughter to find work somewhere else and then support the household through remittances. These remittances are mostly monetary and place expectations and pressure on migrants to provide for family members back home. By analyzing household migration strategies, researchers gain more conclusive insights about why and how people migrate, and the influence of extended family in the sending country.

Second, researchers realized the role social networks play for some migrant groups in the receiving or host country. Social networks include other migrants in the receiving country who are from the same country or from the same region or community. For some migrant groups, social networks can be viewed as an extension of the household in that they provide strong bonds between the sending and receiving community. These networks function as a support system in the new culture and can provide shelter, information, and job opportunities for migrants in the beginning. Migrants from developing countries who have low skill and educational levels and poor language knowledge of the host country especially profit from these networks. These social networks provide important services to the migrant community, but they can also be a source of hierarchical order and exploitation. Skills and education are defined as human capital, and the less human capital migrants have, the higher their risk of exploitation. Middle- and upper-class migrants seem to rely less on social networks because they often have secured a job before their arrival in the receiving country and move where the work is. However, some migrants are highly skilled but cannot find employment in their professions in the host country because their degrees are not recognized, so they end up in low-skilled jobs.

Research Findings of Immigrant Households

Whereas men are free to go wherever they want to, women might be restrained by their native cultures not to migrate. Families might be concerned about their reputation when daughters are moving by themselves, which in turn influences women's migration choices. The same can be true for return migration when women have stepped out of their traditional culture. Women migrants who have experienced more freedom in the receiving country might not want to return to a culture where their life choices will be limited again. For example, research from the United States shows that couples that migrate from countries with a traditional division of labor between husband and wife can experience a shift in their gender roles when both work outside the house. Men will perform more housework than in their country of origin because the wives also have jobs and household duties have to be shared. Whereas in the country of origin the men would be ridiculed by helping with household chores, it is more common in the receiving country and perceived as normal. Therefore, women in some migrant groups gain gender equality by migrating to another country.

Nevertheless, these changes in gender relations might not be permanent, depending on the culture of origin and class status. For instance, couples from the Dominican Republic residing in the United States change back to a more traditional division of labor when they have achieved middle-class status. In the beginning, the husband and wife will both work in the labor force to establish a life in the new country, but when the husband becomes more successful and the family does not need the wife's income anymore, Dominican women will retreat to the private sphere. It is viewed as a sign of success when the wife can stay home and does not have to work outside the house. This is contrary to the notion in American culture that women who work outside the house are more independent than are women who stay home.

Research about Japanese professional migrant families shows that corporations can also influence gender roles. Middle-class Japanese wives come with a defined role as the caretaker of the family. Their responsibilities in the United States are clearly focused on providing a distinct Japanese atmosphere at home. By defining the role of professional wives, the companies hope that a return to Japan will be easier than for families who have taken on an American lifestyle that might include a change in gender roles with, consequently, wives becoming more independent. The social distance between Japanese and American culture regarding gender relations is perceived as different and therefore a return to Japan could be more difficult. Interestingly, the social networks of the Japanese

wives are structured hierarchically depending on age and the position the husbands have in the company. The social network ensures that the wives obey those unwritten norms. The Japanese women also view middle-class lifestyle as a status symbol that allows them to stay home with no need to work outside the house. In turn, they acknowledge the husband's role as the breadwinner and the head of the household.

When women migrants gain gender equality, it means that men lose some of their status and power, and men migrants react differently to those challenges. Some men from traditional, patriarchal cultures want to return to their native country to regain their old status and power, but other migrant men try to find a niche where they can have more power than their wives in the host country. For example, research on migrants from India who are professionals in the United States shows the influence of social networks to oppose shifts in gender roles. The husbands use social networks that are based on religion to undermine the power that their wives have gained. Even though the women have become successful in their careers, the men control leadership positions in the larger religious organizations and thereby reduce the women's power and advancement. Only a careful analysis and comparison of gender roles of different migrant groups can show how gender equality develops over time. Reshaping gender roles through migration causes stress and tension in the family and might even lead to separation and divorce when spouses are unable to negotiate changes in their gender roles.

Globalization and Gendered Migration

Migration movements take place in different locations. Migration can happen in the same country when women and men migrate from the countryside to cities to find work. One of the concerns of researchers has increasingly become the exploitation of less-educated women in brothels or sweatshops in Asia, Central and South America, and African countries. Often, the families who stay in the rural communities are unaware of the life and work the young women are exposed to, but they rely on the financial support these migrant women provide.

Globalization dynamics and companies that operate transnationally have created a culture of cheap labor and exploitation, thereby promoting migration from rural communities to cities, leading to questionable outcomes for women and men. Research has shown

that women are viewed as easier to employ because they are not as confrontational as men based on a cultural system of patriarchy and subordination that ranks women below men. In addition, companies know that these young women support their families and depend on the work in the factories. Because the labor force in developing countries is cheap and readily available in high numbers, the women are almost powerless to change their situation. Furthermore, even though these jobs provide income, the salary is extremely low for the long working hours, and there are no benefits and no chance for advancement. When the women are laid off, they are literally back on the street.

The same pattern of a gendered labor market is true for gender differences in migration to other countries regardless of social class. Presumably, highly skilled women and men migrants should have the same opportunities to renew their careers in the host country and rise to higher-level management positions. Unfortunately, this is not true. Highly skilled men migrants do better and are more successful than are highly skilled women migrants. Institutionalized practices of discrimination based on sex and race prevent gender equality in the workplace around the world.

Many migrants view migration as temporary with the goal of returning to their native country at some point. The number of families who do not return and instead remain in the host country, however, shows that this goal often cannot be reached. Because problems in sending countries, such as unemployment and salaries that cannot sustain families, do not change, migrants have no incentive to return. In addition, family members in the sending country rely on the support provided by the migrants, and children often have better chances of a good education in the receiving country.

Gendered Experiences of the Second Generation

Migration splits many families and is often especially difficult for mothers when they leave their children in the care of family members in the sending country. Current research focuses on the complexities of women migrants who must leave their own children to come to developed countries to take care of children of middle- and upper-class families, thus creating a cycle of dependencies between their native culture and their host culture. The children who are left in the care of family members or other women in the native country grow up without their mother or parents being

present. Rare home visits by the parents do not make up for the lost time. Therefore, women migrants are confronted with the problems that their children develop because of lack of supervision. Grandparents can be overwhelmed with raising their grandchildren and sometimes lack the authority or influence to handle problems well.

Some parents decide to bring their children to the host country, which can create a new set of tensions. Migrants who depend on low-skilled jobs often hold two or three jobs to fulfill their financial obligations to their own and extended families. This workload cuts family time, and children are left to themselves. Parents worry that children could end up in unhealthy relationships or be influenced by drugs and alcohol. Often these worries are perpetuated by cultural differences between the native and host country. Parents have a difficult time understanding their children because the new culture might not instill the same traditional and differential attitude toward parents as the native culture does, thereby leading to different outcomes for girls and boys.

Research has shown that migrant boys are raised more freely than are girls in some migrant communities. Girls are controlled with curfews, and parents carefully decide what activities girls can or cannot attend. These distinctive gender differences in some migrant communities in the United States affect the children's future prospects. Girls realize that one way to get out of the traditional culture and gain acceptance by the host culture is to focus on their education. Overall, girls from migrant families receive better grades than do boys and more girls plan to attend college. Boys do not show the same strategies to deal with issues brought on by migration. For example, studies of second-generation youth from the Caribbean found that boys and girls develop different mechanisms to overcome racism in the host country. Girls use education as a strategy whereas boys create an oppositional culture and are lagging in educational achievement. Hence, gender influences the migration experiences of the second generation, too. Girls and boys are influenced by their native and host cultures and the different strategies they apply determine their future success.

Conclusion

What these examples show is the influence of gender in the migration experience and its outcome for individual households. Fortunately, researchers have realized how important it is not just to include gender but to make it a focus point that organizes the lives of women and men migrants in specific ways. The amount of research about different migrant groups has contributed to a greater understanding of the gains and losses of gender equality through migration and its impact of households. Migration is a complex and intricate web involving two cultures, the sending and the receiving, and the gender norms emphasized by both shape the migrants themselves and their children, the second generation determining their future in the host country. In contrast to the first settlers in the United States, migration in today's world occurs on a much faster pace, thereby challenging older migration theories, such as assimilation theory. The information flow between the sending and the receiving country strengthens transnational bonds and migrants can participate in two cultures more easily. The future will show how these transnational bonds affect the sending and receiving communities regarding gender roles and gender equality. Globalization forces largely determine migration flows on the macrolevel, but women and men migrants are not passive recipients; instead, they are active agents on the microlevel.

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See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Household Livelihood Strategies; Patriarchy; Women and National Identity

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INCEST

In general, *incest* is defined as intra-familial sexual relations. Although this definition appears straightforward, a deeper examination reveals that incest is a complex topic and determined by beliefs, values, and norms embedded in society and culture about sexuality, family-relatedness, and consensual sexual behavior. Incest in one form or another has been almost universally prohibited by societal norms, forbidden as culturally taboo, and criminalized, as described in this entry.

Incest Defined

Often incest is primarily thought of as parent and child sexual contact, but in its largest scope, it includes a vast array of adult-adult and child-child sexual behavior. The narrowest definition of incest is sexual contact between consanguineous or immediate, blood-related family members who are also legally prohibited from marrying. A broader definition of incest focuses on the sexual contact between closely related persons or between persons who define themselves as a family based on the psychological and functional aspects of the relationship and sense of interdependency.

As Michel Foucault describes in the *History of Sexuality,* sexual contact between family members is almost universally seen as taboo and met with abhorrence. In addition, incest is expressly prohibited and criminalized by statutes and laws regardless of age or, in the case of adults, the existence of consent. Sexual contact between a related adult and a minor (i.e., under the age of 18) is also child sexual abuse or termed *intra-familial sexual abuse* and is a criminal offense. In addition to sexual intercourse, types of sexual contact could include the following: fondling, touching, exhibitionism, voyeurism, masturbation, exposure to pornography, oral sex, anal sex, or digital penetration of vagina or anus.

Sexual relations between family members have been prohibited for various reasons across cultures and over time. From a biological standpoint, sexual intercourse and marriage has been prohibited between blood-related individuals to prevent children being born with chromosomal defects, also know as inbreeding. Adult-child sexual contact is illegal and a criminal offense to protect children from harmful abuse. Religious beliefs also heavily influence attitudes, beliefs, and practices regarding familial sexual relationships and the ability to marry. The valuing of exogamy, which is the anthropological term to describe marriage between members of different groups, is also evident, which promotes alliances and connections outside of the immediate family.

Definition of Family: The Degree of Familiness

Given that the definition of *incest* centers on the relationship between people in a family, the parameters of "familiness," that is, who is related and how, as coined by Joe Shriver in *Human Behavior in the Social Environment,* is central in the discussion. The definition of family has been traditionally determined by the ability to marry and have children versus the function of relatedness and dependency among individuals. This view of family from a heterosexual and child-centric orientation establishes marriage between a man and a woman for the purpose of procreation. In this construct, the caring for and raising of children is a central function within the family as evidenced in family development theory (e.g., *The Family Life Cycle* by Betty Carter and Monica McGoldrick). Families as a social institution have been viewed as persons primarily related by blood with a sense of mutual interdependence and responsibility for each other. Family composition in this narrowly constructed view comprises biologically related members such as father, mother, sister, brother, half-sister, and half-brother. Extending outward, family then may include maternal and paternal aunts, uncles, grandparents, and first and second cousins.

Expanding this definition, families may take different forms and include members based on the highly individualized nature of how people relate to one another and function as a unit. Families are formed through legal processes as in marriage (in-laws, stepparents, stepbrother, and stepsister), foster care, guardianship, and adoption. Although not biologically related, the function and care for members and recognition as a family creates bonds that are similar to biological relationships. In addition, certain segments of the population, such as gay, lesbian, and transsexual individuals still create and form families, even though

they are not legally permitted to marry or have civil unions. There are also clusters of persons who describe themselves as families by choice or affiliation given shared history, places of origin, faith tradition, culture, ethnicity, and function with a sense of collective, mutual care providing. Therefore, familiness in the fullest sense of the meaning can encompass the self-defining relatedness that occurs when people care and function interdependently over time. Laws that attempt to codify this relatedness (i.e., Defense of Marriage Act in the United States) tend to lag behind the realities of contemporary family life and the vast array of intimate small group clusters.

Types of Incest

The several common types of incest include adult-child sexual contact, child-sibling and child-sibling relations, such as brother and sister sexual contact, and adult-adult relations.

Adult-Child

Sexual contact between a blood-related adult and child is defined as intra-familial incest and as sexual abuse, which is universally against the law in the United States and in most countries. Intra-familial incest may be between a father and daughter, mother and daughter, father and son, or mother and son. In general, sexual abuse includes all sexual contact between an adult and a minor for the expressed sexual gratification of the adult. Sexual abuse regardless of the relationship between the adult and child is a criminal offense. It often occurs within a context of secrecy and exploits the interpersonal relationship. The exploitation involves the adult taking advantage of the child and forcing, tricking, or coercing sexual contact with the child. Sexual abuse involves a process of grooming, which is the deliberate sexualization of the relationship over time. Grooming involves a series of calculated, increasingly sexualized touching while simultaneously deepening the relationship through a sense of indebtedness, joint responsibility, and participation with the victim, to convince the victim the sexual relationship is mutual.

Parent-child sexual abuse forever alters the child's primary relationship with her or his parent, causes long-standing psychological difficulties, and significantly affects the other relationships within the family. In father-daughter incest, the mother's role in the family has typically been devalued and has little stature in the family. Children often feel isolated because the abuse exists within a climate of secrecy that often separates them from other family members. In addition, children can feel extremely conflicted about the sexual contact and entrapped given the "special" relationship with the parent and sense of loyalty and love it engenders. Further, children may feel helpless to initiate change, given the power difference and role of authority of the parent.

Adults related to children by marriage as in stepparents or through other legal means, such as foster or adoptive parents who molest their children, would also fall into this category of sexual abuse. Though not often legally or technically seen as incest, the psychological and emotional violation of trust within the intimate relationship of a person acting in a parental role is still present.

Child Sibling–Child Sibling

In understanding incest between children, most commonly there is agreement that it means sexual contact between blood-related siblings as in brother-sister, sister-sister, brother-brother, half-brothers, and half-sisters. It is also considered sexual abuse if one of the children is significantly older, larger in physical size, maturity, or cognitive ability. In addition, if there is a use of power, coercion, threat, or force against one sibling to engage in sexual behavior, it is referred to as abusive. Sexual behavior between siblings of generally similar age, stature, cognitive ability, and maturity can be normative and appropriate sexual exploration in the context of human development.

Familial variables, which could lead to sibling incest, are found in the family atmosphere and often occur in concert with other family difficulties. Research has indicated that incest between siblings who live in extremely violent and abusive families may be a method of coping and provide a source of needed nurturance. Characteristics of incestuous families include a high degree of dysfunction and chaos, limited protection of family members, and parents who are psychologically, emotionally, or physically absent or preoccupied because of work, substance abuse, or mental illness. In these instances, older children may often be left in charge. In addition, there may exist a heightened sexualized climate in the home as manifested by diffuse boundaries. In excessively sexually rigid or repressed households, sexual acting out may also occur between family members.

Adult–Adult

Sexual relations between blood-related adults seems to create the most variance in the rationale and responses of society and the legal system. Regardless of consent, adult–adult incest is often criminalized and marriage is prohibited. The disregard of consent tends to anchor reasoning in moral norms and religious beliefs, which creates inconsistent legal responses. Adult–adult incest could include sexual contact between adult biological siblings (brother–sister, sister–sister, brother–brother), adult parent and adult child (mother–adult child, father–adult child), or adults of other blood relation (i.e., half-siblings, niece, nephew, aunt, uncle, grandparent). Incest and marriage prohibitions also include adult relationships between blood-related but more distant relatives such as first and second cousins. Less clear and not necessarily illegal, but considered given the role and function of the relationship and psychological implications, is adult-adult sexual contact that includes anyone whose relationship was established through legal means and has no biological connection, such as stepsibling and stepparent, foster parent, guardian, or adoptive parent with an adult child.

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See also Extended Families; Family Law; Rape, Statutory; Sexology and Sex Research; Uniform Marital Property Act

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INDIAN GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT

The Dawes Act or General Allotment Act of 1887 provides both for the allotment of lands on tribal reservations to members of those tribes, and for equal protection under the laws of the United States for Native Americans both on and off those reservations. This act institutionalizes normative American society in contrast to traditional Native American societies and reifies the gendered preference of males as heads of households and as property owners.

This act describes the power granted to the president by Congress to survey and allot lands among Native Americans located on reservations. Because the act determines it to be the responsibility of tribes to pay for the surveying and resurveying of this land, the act justifies the ability of the government to hold, sell, lease, and use those lands to pay this debt. Lands are allotted in one-quarter of a section to heads of households, one-eighth of a section to either single persons older than 18 years of age or orphans younger than 18 years of age, and one-sixteenth of a section to each other single person younger than 18. The size of these sections is not described. These allotments are made to both men and women but the largest allotments are reserved for male heads of households.

Moreover, a provision is made for settlers and religious or educational groups that work to civilize the tribes. These groups may secure tracts of as much as 160 acres. The implication is that the government can, will, and should determine what is in the best interest of tribes. In contrast to the stated purpose of the act, the final sections list excluded tribes and territories—including the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Osage, Miamis, Peorias, Sacs and Foxes, Seneca, and Sioux—and predicted future removals of peoples from territories, such as the Southern Ute in southwestern Colorado.

This act also describes the paternal role that the U.S. government, acting through the secretary of the Interior and special agents appointed by the president,

plays in the everyday life of Native Americans. The act claims to make just and equal distribution of lands to Native Americans but insinuates a need to civilize, educate, and assimilate Native populations in an effort to create new American citizens. Although equal protection under the law is granted to Native Americans, the act makes clear a preference for those who adopt habits of a "civilized" life and become citizens of the United States to be eligible for all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens.

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See also Population Control; Women and National Identity

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INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S NETWORK

The Indigenous Women's Network (IWN) was formed in 1985 in Yelm, Washington, to promote and support self-determination for indigenous women throughout the Americas and Pacific basin. The IWN addresses problems occurring in indigenous societies today, including sexism, racism, and classism, both within and outside those societies. The IWN emerged from a social and historical context of colonization and works to achieve its goals of social change through strategic coalitions and programs.

The 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act and the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act released indigenous populations from many of the restrictions accompanying colonization, including status as domestic dependent nations. This ushered in an era of opportunity to reassert traditional values, art, language, ceremony, and knowledge. Indigenous activism began to focus on the environment and who defines the environment as an organizing principle to reclaim these traditional practices. As Native activists joined to discuss common problems in their communities and as the larger societies of the world networks formed, the IWN was established.

The IWN is a mission-driven organization with clearly defined goals of social justice. These goals include nurturing grassroots leadership among Native women; achieving self-determination to regain status in society; honoring their traditions and cultures to recover rights to health, land, and biological diversity; and recognition of ancestral properties and territories, both cultural and intellectual.

Focused on women, families, and communities, the IWN believes its goals support the inherent human rights of all indigenous peoples throughout the world, and IWN actively joins other groups in forming coalitions for social change. Foundational to IWN strategies for change is the tenet of honoring and protecting Mother Earth as well as respecting the wisdom of elders. Sovereignty, spirituality, sustainability, and sharing traditional knowledge are strategies for change to ensure the socioeconomic well-being of future generations. The scope of activities needed to achieve these goals ranges from the local to the global.

Accomplishments of the IWN include publication of the magazine *Indigenous Woman* since 1991, the Our Sovereignty and Human Rights program, and the Our Healthy Communities and Healthy Bodies program. The IWN has worked with the Indigenous Environmental Network to create and support Honor the Earth, which actively strategizes for social change through the environmental justice framework requiring recognition of the link between poverty and pollution. Reproductive justice is promoted through coalition work with the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center. Reproductive rights are inseparable from any discussion of Native self-determination and central to Native women's ability to reaffirm status within their own societies.

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See also Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era; Nature/Nurture Debate

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INFANT MORTALITY RATES

Infants are particularly vulnerable to death in the first year of life. The infant mortality rate, which is a measure of infant deaths in a group younger than 1 year of age, is an important social barometer to the overall health of a community. Preserving the lives of newborns has been a long-standing issue in public health, social policy, and humanitarian endeavors. High infant mortality rates point to unmet human health needs in sanitation, medical care, nutrition, and education.

The infant mortality rate is an age-specific ratio, used by epidemiologists, demographers, physicians, and social scientists to better understand the extent and causes of infant deaths. To compute last year's infant mortality rate in a given area, one would need to know how many babies were born alive in the area during the period, and how many babies born alive died before their first birthday during that time. Then the number of infant deaths is divided by the number of infant births and then the results are multiplied by 1,000 so that the rate reflects the number of infant deaths per 1,000 births in a standardized manner. Alternately, the rate could be multiplied by 10,000 or 1,000,000 depending on the desired comparison level. For example:

Infant Mortality Rate =
Number of infant deaths less than age one during
2008 x 1000 / Number of live births during 2008

There are a number of causes for infant mortality, including poor sanitation and water quality, malnourishment of mother and infant, inadequate prenatal and medical care, and the use of infant formulas as a breast milk substitute. Women's status and disparities of wealth are also reflected in infant mortality rates. Where women have few rights and where there is a large income difference between the poor and the wealthy, infant mortality rates tend to be high. Contributing to the problem are limited education and access to birth control, which lead to high numbers of births per women with short intervals in between. High frequency births allow less recovery time for women as well as potential food shortages in poor families. When women are educated, they are more likely to give birth at later ages and to seek better health care and greater education for their children,

including their daughters. This entry discusses factors that affect infant mortality rates.

International and Temporal Comparisons

Infant mortality rates are used to describe and compare infant health problems within and between geographic areas or populations, and to describe conditions over time. According to the World Factbook, Angola, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan had the highest rates of infant mortality in 2006 (see Table 1). Angola's infant mortality rate of 185 indicates that approximately 185 babies out of every 1,000 born died before their first birthday. In comparison, less than 3 babies per 1,000 born to mothers in Singapore, Sweden, or Hong Kong died before 1 year of age. These and Japan and Iceland have the lowest infant mortality rates in the world because they offer free medical and prenatal care for pregnant women and their newborns.

In 1900, the infant mortality rate for the United States was approximately 162 per 1,000 births, a rate that today would rank among the world's worst. By 1950, the U.S. infant mortality rate had improved to 29.2. Despite its high per capita health care spending, the United States today has a relatively poor international ranking on infant mortality. The 2006 U.S. rate of 6.43 per 1,000 births ranks near the bottom of industrialized nations, second only to Latvia in infant mortality rates. Although the United States has a higher proportion of intensive care units for newborns and more neonatal specialty physicians per capita than similar nations such as Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, the rates of infant mortality are not lower. The United States ranking is partly the result of the persistent health disparities among racial and ethnic groups.

Poor Sanitation and Water Quality

In least developed countries (LDC), a primary cause of infant mortality is poor quality of water. Drinking water that has been contaminated by fecal material or other infectious organisms can cause life-threatening diarrhea and vomiting in infants. A lack of clean drinking water leads to dehydration and fluid volume depletion. The loss of large quantities of fluids and salts from the body can quickly kill an infant. Adequate clean water must also be available for hygiene to maintain the health of infants. Advocacy groups such as the

Table 1   Selected Infant Mortality Rates 2006 (Estimates)

International Rank (highest number of deaths)	*Country*	*Infant Mortality Rate (deaths/1,000 live births)*
1	Angola	185.36
2	Sierra Leone	160.39
3	Afghanistan	160.23
4	Liberia	155.76
5	Mozambique	129.29
179	United States	6.43
180	Taiwan	6.29
181	Cuba	6.22
194	United Kingdom	5.08
199	Canada	4.69
202	Australia	4.63
217	Iceland	3.29
218	Japan	3.24
219	Hong Kong	2.95
220	Sweden	2.76
221	Singapore	2.29

Source: The World Factbook, available from https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2091rank.html

Rehydration Project estimate that the deaths of 20 million children could be prevented by the use of a simple, low-cost, oral rehydration solution. An oral rehydration solution can be made by combining one level teaspoon of salt, five level teaspoons of sugar, and one liter (or five cups) of clean drinking or boiled water, which has been cooled. The ingredients are stirred until the salt and sugar are dissolved and the solution is ready to be given to the infant.

Breastfeeding Controversies

The use of infant formulas has come under attack in both the developing and LDCs, as well as in the industrialized world. Many forms of infant formula start as powders that must be mixed with water to be used. The World Health Organization questions the use of breast milk substitutes in families with low income, particularly where clean water is not available because this may increase the risk of infant death.

In the 1970s, the Nestlé Corporation was criticized by a number of groups for its distribution of infant formula to women in developing countries. Infant formula samples were presented to women as a more modern, Western alternative to breast milk. Unfortunately, many women did not realize that their breast milk production would decrease or stop entirely when they started to rely on infant formulas. Without breast milk, they had little choice but to continue to use the product, often with disastrous results. Infant formula is expensive; hence, poor families may try to stretch the supply of infant formula by watering it down. This can lead to malnutrition, starvation, or digestive infections when the diluting water is not clean. Breastfeeding stimulates hormones that serve as a semi-effective natural contraceptive, preventing

ovulation so that nursing infants is a way to space births. This benefit is lost with the switch to artificial infant formulas.

Low Birth Weight

Low birth weight is the single most significant characteristic associated with higher infant mortality. In industrialized nations, low birth weights are often associated with premature births; however, in least developed countries low birth weights more frequently occur at full term. In least developed countries, full-term infants are more likely to be of low birth weight because of a lack of adequate maternal nutrition or malaria, measles, or other infectious diseases such as HIV. For a full-term infant, low infant birth weight is a weight of less than 2,500 grams or (5 pounds 8 ounces) at birth or a weight that is one standard deviation or more below the weight expected for that age in a reference population.

Chances of survival for a premature birth vary greatly depending on the available resources. Premature infants (born at less than 37 weeks gestation) have a higher risk of death not only because of low birth weight, but also because their respiratory and digestive systems are not fully mature. Premature or low birth weight infants are also more likely to die from sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS), which is the third highest cause of infant death. Personal lifestyle factors such as substance and alcohol abuse have been linked to increased congenital abnormalities (for example, fetal alcohol syndrome or heart deformations). Smoking cigarettes while pregnant can raise the risk of low birth weight, pre-term birth, and SIDS.

Prenatal Care

Good prenatal care has been linked to a reduction of infant mortality. Ideally, prenatal care should begin as early in the pregnancy as possible, with visits to a health care provider every 4 weeks during the first 28 weeks of pregnancy, every 2 to 3 weeks for the next 8 weeks, and weekly thereafter until delivery. Using this formula, the appropriate number of prenatal visits for a 39-week pregnancy is 12. Maintaining a schedule like this requires time, effort, and most importantly, access to a system of health care. Often, this is not possible in least developed counties, where devoting resources to the non-sick is seen as a luxury. Nevertheless, good prenatal care is a not always

achieved in industrialized countries where there is no national health care system.

Race and Infant Mortality

The United States may be perceived as having several infant mortality rates: one for the white population, one for the Asian population, one for Native Americans, and another for these who are African American. Infant mortality rates for African Americans in the United States are considerably higher than are rates in the less industrialized nations of Costa Rica, Cuba, Bulgaria, and Hungary. African American babies are nearly two and a half times more likely to die before their first birthdays than are white babies. According to the Centers for Disease Control, infant mortality among African Americans in 2004 occurred at a rate of 13.65 deaths per 1,000 live births, more than twice the national average of 6.76. Pre-term delivery with low birth weight is the leading cause of infant death for African American infants, at a rate that is nearly four times greater than that for white Americans. SIDS deaths among American Indian and Alaska Natives are 2.3 times the rate for non-Hispanic whites. These differences stem from differences in health access, poverty, and the effects of racism. Rates of infant mortality among Chinese and Japanese Americans tend to be the lowest of all U.S. ethnic groups.

Conclusion

To lower infant mortality rates in least developed counties, the focus must be on the basics: Clean water, sanitary conditions, nutrition, education, and family planning are paramount. Health interventions designed to prevent preterm delivery and to improve prenatal care are possible ways to improve infant mortality rates. Communities can play an important part in this campaign by encouraging women to seek prenatal care in the first trimester of pregnancy and by making care available. In industrialized nations, the focus must also include closing health disparities. Attention should be directed toward culturally sensitive programs that will address specific community health needs.

Linda A. Treiber

See also Breastfeeding; Fertility Rates; Health Disparities; Pregnancy

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Rehydration Project: http://rehydrate.org

INFERTILITY

Couples are considered infertile when they are not pregnant after one year of regular, unprotected intercourse. In addition, infertility occurs when females are able to become pregnant, but cannot carry the pregnancy full term. Many consider infertility to be a problem only in those who have never had a successful pregnancy; this type of infertility is deemed *primary* infertility. Infertility can also be *secondary,* which refers to difficulty conceiving after one or more completed pregnancies. Overall, infertility affects about 6.1 million Americans, or 10 percent of those of reproductive age, according to the American Society for Reproductive Medicine. This entry describes causes, treatment, and prevention of infertility.

Male Infertility

Male-related causes of infertility are generally related to problems with either sperm production or motility (i.e., the sperm has difficulty reaching the egg). These problems may be developmental (existing from birth), or they may arise later in life as a result of certain types of illness or injury.

Sperm-related fertility problems arise when men produce no sperm or too few sperm to impregnate someone. Lifestyle factors, such as alcohol and drug use, can influence the number and quality of sperm. Inadvertent exposure to environmental toxins and hazards, such as pesticides or lead, may also lead to lower sperm production, as may intentional exposure to chemicals via chemotherapy, for example. In addition, sexually transmitted infections or mumps, even when experienced as a child, may lead to low sperm counts in men. More chronic conditions such as diabetes and hypertension may also negatively affect a male's fertility.

Even in cases where sperm production is adequate, the sperm may not be ejaculated properly because of a blockage in the vas deferens, which is the mechanism that carries sperm from the testicles to the penis. If a man has had a reversed vasectomy, the vas deferens may be scarred. Certain injuries and structural anomalies in the male body can also cause sperm blockage.

Diagnosing male infertility involves a semen analysis and may require a blood sample. A semen analysis measures the amount and quality of sperm a man produces. This analysis also tests sperm morphology, which allows a physician to examine the percentage of sperm that have a normal shape. Another key factor of examination is the sperms' motility, which refers to the percentage of sperm that can successfully and easily move forward. The last factor of investigation is the semen's pH level. Semen should not be too acidic nor too alkaline.

Female Infertility

Because of the complexity of the female reproductive system, female infertility is somewhat more complex than male infertility is. Women's structural or mechanical fertility-linked abnormalities can also be caused by lifestyle factors, disease, infection, or illness. However, female infertility problems may also be affected by unique issues that do not influence male fertility, such as ovulation concerns and age.

One of the most common abnormalities in the female reproductive system involves the fallopian tubes, which carry eggs from the ovaries to the uterus. These tubes may become blocked because of pelvic inflammatory disease, endometriosis, or various types of surgery. There may also be fibroids in the uterus or scar tissue resulting from a sexually transmitted disease around the cervical opening. Structural or mechanical abnormalities are believed to account for 40 percent to 55 percent of all female-related infertility problems.

Problems with ovulation are believed to account for about a third of infertility in women. Without ovulation, a female's eggs do not reach the point in the reproductive tract where they can be fertilized. Ovulation may be interrupted if hormones are imbalanced. Hormonal imbalances are often caused by lifestyle factors such as stress and dietary and exercise changes, but they can also result from more serious medical problems such as cancer (especially in the pituitary gland). When hormonal imbalances occur indefinitely, the result may be infertility.

Age is also an important factor in female infertility, but not in male infertility. After age 35, a female's fertility declines significantly, partly because her eggs are aging. In addition, underlying conditions such as endometriosis or certain sexually transmitted diseases, which are known to influence fertility, may worsen as females age. When the female is over 35, about one third of couples will have fertility problems. This is in comparison with the fertility problems experienced by less than 5 percent of females under 20, 10 percent of females between the ages of 20 and 30, and 15 percent of females between the ages of 30 and 35.

Lifestyle factors can do more than cause hormonal imbalances in females. As previously mentioned, pelvic inflammatory disease is a large contributor to female infertility. Pelvic inflammatory disease results from untreated sexually transmitted diseases, so lifestyle choices that increase the likelihood that a woman will become infected with a sexually transmitted disease may also increase her chances of pelvic inflammatory disease-induced infertility. These include not using condoms or having multiple sex partners, which may also pose a threat.

In addition, when women smoke at least one pack of cigarettes per day, or if they began smoking before age 18, they are more likely to be infertile. Alcohol consumption may also play a role; in one study, female infertility was greater among women who had five or more drinks a week. Lastly, if lifestyle choices such as eating or exercise patterns cause women to be substantially heavier or lighter than their ideal body weight, they are less likely to ovulate regularly than are women who are within a normal weight range.

Diagnosing infertility in females is generally more involved than diagnosing infertility in males. One of the most fundamental factors to check when gauging female infertility is ovulation. To track ovulation initially, a doctor may recommend fertility charting. Fertility is charted by tracking the basal body temperature or testing urine. After a period of fertility charting, the physician may investigate the progesterone and follicle stimulating hormones in the woman's bloodstream. The physician may also conduct an ultrasound to look for tumors or cysts on the reproductive organs.

Assuming further testing is needed to determine the problem, a physician may order a hysterosalpingogram (HSG). The HSG determines if there are any blockages in the fallopian tubes that are preventing the release of eggs into the uterus or whether there are any fibroids or other complications in the uterus. During this procedure, dye is injected into the uterus, through the cervix, while X-rays are taken of the area.

Despite the complexity of these testing procedures, sometimes the cause of the infertility will remain unknown. This occurs in about a third of infertility cases. Even when the exact cause of the infertility is unknown, treatment procedures can still be exercised.

How Can Infertility Be Treated?

As medical technology progresses, more infertility treatment options become available. Depending on the type of infertility, anything from minimal help to invasive surgery may be needed to aid pregnancy. One basic infertility treatment is intrauterine insemination (IUI). IUI is used if a female is having a normal menstrual cycle including ovulation. In this procedure, a sperm sample is taken from the male partner and placed inside the uterus upon ovulation to better the chances of pregnancy.

If the female has irregular menstrual periods because of inconsistent ovulation, ovulation induction medications such as Clomid or Serophene can be used. These drugs work by encouraging hormones in the brain to ready one to several eggs for ovarian release. There is an increased risk for multiple births when females use ovulation induction medications. These fertility drugs can be used alone or with other therapies like IUI or in vitro fertilization (IVF), described later.

IVF, one of the most invasive fertility treatment procedures, involves the use of fertility drugs to encourage the release of many eggs from the ovaries. Upon release, these eggs are then harvested and combined with sperm externally. The eggs and sperm will either combine with one another within a Petri dish environment or, sometimes, the sperm and eggs must be united via a process known as intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI). In ICSI, a sperm is manually inserted into each egg. One or more of the fertilized eggs are then planted in the uterus. In IVF, it is possible to use an egg donor if the female does not have any viable eggs of acceptable quality, as may be the case in premature menopause.

Can Infertility Be Prevented?

Because infertility can be exacerbated by certain lifestyle factors, it can be partially prevented. The following are lifestyle recommendations that will increase fertility chances for women in particular:

- Maintain an ideal body weight by eating a well-balanced diet and exercising regularly, but not excessively.
- Avoid multiple sexual partners. Insist upon condom use during every sexual encounter.
- If signs of any sexually transmitted infection manifest, seek immediate treatment.
- Avoid smoking (including marijuana), drinking, and drug use.
- Avoid being exposed to harmful chemicals in the environment such as pesticides, lead, metals, and radiation.

In sum, it is safe to say that though much is known about the causes, treatment, and preventability of infertility, much is still unknown. Often, the cause of infertility cannot be pinpointed, or if the cause is known, successful treatment is still not a guarantee. These realities alone make infertility a complex physical and psychological condition.

Natalie Smoak

See also Contraception; Fertility Rates; Population Control; Pregnancy; Sexuality and Reproduction

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INSTITUTION, GENDER AS

A number of theories attempt to explain how social inequality based on gender is produced, maintained, and unsettled. This article takes up one such approach, looking at gender as a social institution. Framing gender as a social institution asserts that gender is created socially and constitutes a key system for organizing society. This entry first briefly explains the terms *gender* and *institution,* then discusses prior approaches to understanding social inequality based on gender. The entry then explains the concept of gender as a social institution. Finally, the entry considers critiques of this approach and concludes with a brief discussion of future directions for this theoretical concept.

Explanation of Terms

Many theorists contrast the concept of gender with that of sex, which they use to refer to biological differences between men and women. In contrast, gender is considered largely a product of social construction. Thus, gender is not something a person is born with but, rather, something that an individual learns based on her or his experiences in society. Gender does not function in isolation; rather, it is created and enacted socially. It is also not static, meaning that it changes across time and space.

The concept of an institution, central to sociology, has been understood in various ways during the past century. Feminist sociologist Patricia Yancey Martin sets out criteria for a contemporary understanding of institutions. She builds on traditional understandings of institutions as persisting over time, pertaining to groups, and regulating actions and behaviors. She complicates these criteria with contemporary scholarship that asserts that institutions are the product of both social structure and human agency. This means that institutions are created and sustained simultaneously by structural factors and individual practices. She also emphasizes that although institutions do persist over time, they are also subject to continual change. Institutions also embody specific belief systems or ideologies that enable some actions while restricting others. In contrast to common usage, a sociological understanding of institutions is not restricted to specific sites such as a prison or a school (though these are both examples of institutions). Rather, systems such as family and religion are also examples of institutions.

Prior Theoretical Approaches

Conceptualizing gender as a social institution provides theoretical tools to make sense of the social locations and inequalities between women and men. Within sociology, previous attempts to understand the place of men and women in society focused on

biological differences and individual characteristics. For example, the sex differences approach assumed that innate biological differences explained the unequal social locations that women and men occupied. Within this approach, scholars could either emphasize or downplay "sex differences" by paying closer attention to intra-sex differences. Some scholars argued that the biological differences between men and women were relatively small compared with the biological differences within and among men and women. Even this approach, however, assumed essential biological difference, thus failing to emphasize the social meaning of biological difference.

The sex differences approach was largely replaced by a sex role approach in the 1970s, mainly because of work in history and anthropology that showed how gender characteristics that were assumed to be universal (and thus biologically determined) actually changed across time and space. Sex role research assumed a combination of nature and nurture factors, with an emphasis on early childhood socialization. Though the move to sex roles dramatically opened up the potential for sociological inquiry, this had some key limitations. The emphasis on psychological, individualized early childhood development hindered structural analyses. Scholars have also criticized the sex role approach for assuming that these roles are fixed during childhood and immune to change later in life. Although sociologists continue to do work guided by this approach, these limitations have led many feminist sociologists to abandon sex roles research in favor of a more fluid and analytically supple analysis of gender, as discussed earlier.

Gender as a Social Institution

Five points inform our understanding of gender as a social institution. First, gender is socially constructed; those gender-related biological differences that may exist are themselves vulnerable to social processes. This means that gender characteristics and the consequences of these characteristics are considered largely products of society.

Second, gender is primarily constructed and enacted between groups and through social structures, not among individuals in families. This point can seem counterintuitive—many of the most obvious ways people learn about gender seem to be intensely personal, such as early childhood experiences at home. This approach does not discount the importance of these individual experiences but, rather, examines the social forces that encourage different behaviors in boys and girls.

Third, even to consider gender as a social institution asserts that gender is a subject worthy of serious attention and study. This approach elevates gender to the level of importance of other aspects of society such as the economy, law, and religion. This counters earlier approaches that tended to restrict gender (or sex) to the study of the family. Theorizing gender as a social institution also facilitates comparing gender with other institutions.

Fourth, considering gender as a social institution necessitates looking at power dynamics. In other words, the way that society stratifies groups based on gender is considered the result of hierarchical power structures, rather than merely luck or the natural order of things. For example, interpreting the meaning of pay inequity between men and women from this perspective entails an analysis of power and privilege in society and the specific mechanisms that permit men to consistently earn higher wages than women.

Fifth, this perspective provides a framework for working for change within institutions. If institutions are considered socially constructed, then organized human action can effect change (e.g., the U.S. civil rights movement and women's movements worldwide). Conversely, if gender differences are considered the product of biology or religion, the path to change would look quite different.

Questions and Theoretical Limitations

Though considering gender as a social institution offers much promise to the study of gender and society, this approach raises important questions. If we theorize gender as a social institution, how can we understand other axes of difference such as race and sexuality? Would it be appropriate to consider each as its own institution? Adopting this approach, how could we theorize the relationship between, say, race as a social institution and gender as a social institution? This question begs another, related question: What are the ramifications of isolating gender from other systems of difference, such as race, class, and sexuality? Scholars have raised this question in myriad ways during the past 30 years. For example, legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw and sociologist Patricia Hill Collins have persuasively argued that looking at gender in isolation or centering gender and "adding in" other systems of difference such as race lead to incomplete analyses that

do not adequately theorize the social location of groups such as African American women, who must contend with both gender and racial oppression. Crenshaw and Collins argue that an exclusive focus on gender further marginalizes women who are subordinate members of other groups. To address these concerns, these scholars, and many others, have developed theories intended to examine multiple axes of difference simultaneously. This approach, called intersectionality, eschews separating different forms of oppression. Intersectional theorists seek to show how multiple oppressions affect groups of people, and emphasize that the effects of oppression change depending on the context. Despite these differences, intersectional theories share many of the same assumptions that underlie looking at gender as a social institution. For example, intersectional theorists consider difference to be a product of social construction, intimately connected to power structures, and created and enacted within groups.

Conclusion

In looking at gender as a social institution, feminist sociologists provide a robust set of tools for understanding how gender operates throughout society. These sociologists theorize gender as a product of social construction, primarily enacted and sustained through group behavior and institutions. This approach provides a rationale and a method for asserting the importance of gender in all aspects of society. However, looking at gender as a social institution raises important questions about the place of other societal systems of inequality, such as race and sexuality. These questions do not negate the benefits of considering gender as a social institution. Rather, they can help invigorate and strengthen this approach. Theories about institutions, like institutions themselves, are neither static nor immutable. Feminist social theory is not about finding the "truth" but, rather, about outlining theories and approaches that generate engaged debate.

Karen Esther Rosenberg

See also Feminist Methodology; Intersectionality; Patriarchy; Private/Public Spheres

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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

A day marking women's rights and achievements, International Women's Day is celebrated in many countries on March 8th. It began almost a hundred years ago as an annual call to action by suffrage and labor activists, was then formalized by United Nations representatives, and is now observed around the world.

The idea of having an international celebration was first conceived about the beginning of the 20th century, when rapid world industrialization led to many worker protests. The first national Women's Day was celebrated on February 28, 1909, by members of the U.S. Socialist Party, in memory of the 1908 garment workers' strike in New York in which women protested the common dangerous working conditions later made infamous by the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire (1911).

In 1910, the Socialist International proclaimed a Women's Day during its annual meeting. It called for a day to honor the women's movement and to build support for universal women's suffrage. As a result of this proclamation, International Women's Day was celebrated on March 19, 1911, with rallies in Austria, Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland. Activists decried discrimination against women and demanded the right to vote, work, hold office, and get vocational training.

With World War I raging in Europe, International Women's Day also became a time to demand peace. In 1913 and 1914, women in Europe held rallies in early March to protest the war to express solidarity with other activists.

In 1917, an International Women's Day protest was part of the final push of the Russian Revolution. Russian women chose the last Sunday in February (March 8 in the Gregorian calendar) to strike for "Bread and Peace" in St. Petersburg. The strike merged with riots in the city, now known as the February Revolution. The czar abdicated just 4 days later, and the provisional government granted women's suffrage. The first Soviet government marked March 8 as an official Communist holiday to recognize "the heroic woman worker" and the day continues to be celebrated as a national holiday in Russia.

By the 1930s, International Women's Day had dwindled in the United States, but it continued to be observed in Socialist nations on March 8. The celebration was revived in the United States and other countries in the 1960s, with the flourishing of second-wave feminism. Feminists seized the opportunity to recognize women's advances and to rally people to support women's rights. Women began to observe the day in countries where it had not been celebrated before.

Soon after designating the year 1975 "International Women's Year," the United Nations adopted March 8 as International Women's Day. The General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming that a United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace should be observed each year on any day chosen by member states. In 1981, the U.S. Congress recognized the week of March 8 as National Women's History Week; this was enlarged to the entire month of March in 1987.

Elizabeth Borland

See also United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; United Nations Decade for Women; United Nations Development Fund for Women

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Web Sites

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National Women's History Project: http://www.nwhp.org

INTERSECTIONALITY

Intersectionality is a framework meant to describe a person or a social problem holistically. Originating from the experiences of women of color who were often pigeonholed by race *or* gender, or as experiencing racism *or* sexism, but never both, intersectionality is directed at the gaps in academic literature, law, research, and activism. In short, intersectionality provides fuller and more complex understandings of people's multiple identities and of experiences with racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and other forms of discrimination.

Women of color criticized feminist and civil rights movements from the 1960s and 1970s for not dealing with race and gender issues, respectively. Women of color activists from this era were often forced to pick sides between feminist and civil rights struggles. Making the choice was difficult for women of color because their experiences were not just based on race or gender, but on race *and* gender. Frustrated with white feminists who failed to integrate antiracism in their activism and with men of color who failed to grapple with their sexism, women of color began to organize and vocalize their issues based on their unique vantage point. In the 1980s, two important and ground-breaking books were published that challenged white feminists and men of color: *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (1982) by editors Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith and *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1983) by editors Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa.

Women of color have talked about their experiences navigating multiple identities and struggles for decades, but UCLA law school professor Kimberlé Crenshaw is largely credited with coining the term *intersectionality* in the 1990s. For Crenshaw, the consequences resulting from inequalities caused by racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of discrimination position people at different levels of a social hierarchy, and intersectionality aims to capture that systematic process or dynamic. For example, conservative critics of single mothers

receiving welfare place the burden on the single mother for her position, meaning that it is her own fault for being in that position. Therefore, the solution to her problems is simply finding a job; however, with intersectionality, different issues must be considered to fully understand how she arrived to her current position in society, such as her level of education and access to affordable and reliable child care. How does she get a job if she isn't able to access affordable day care or transportation? How does she secure employment that pays a living wage if she does not have sufficient education or training? Intersectionality leads us to consider the role of social structures on a social problem rather than remain solely focused on the individual. It ultimately asks more nuanced questions of a social condition. One of the best ways to understand intersectionality is to examine different social problems. Two contemporary issues highlighted in this entry demonstrate how intersectionality leads us to a more complex understanding of an issue: immigration and the pro-choice movement.

Intersectionality and Immigration

In 2006, immigration reemerged as a major topic politically in the United States. In addition to numerous protests throughout the year, the world witnessed a massive boycott on May 1, 2006, that even expanded to the Latin American region. The protests were in response to congressional debates about classifying undocumented people as felons and for increased militarized enforcement of the U.S.–Mexico border. The debate was largely framed in terms of jobs: as immigrants, primarily Mexican, taking American jobs and immigrants needing jobs and working at jobs that Americans will not do. The issue is economics for both sides, but in a narrow sense because the discussion fails to include other structural factors that force people to migrate, such as the negative effect of trade agreements in poor countries (i.e., the North American Free Trade Agreement), which resulted in decreasing Mexican wages. Moreover, factors for migrating are not only for employment reasons, but can also be due to domestic violence, political persecution, and war, which are rarely, if ever, included in the broader debate on immigration. Intersectionality encourages an unpacking of the rationale for migrating beyond a simplistic argument of undocumented immigrants taking away American jobs because that argument produces reactionary solutions: increase

border patrolling agents and classify undocumented border crossers as felons. We must also explore why more women are migrating alone than in past decades, how trade agreements are structured to further exploit cheap labor in Mexico, and why U.S. agribusiness relies on an exploitable labor force.

Intersectionality and the Pro-Choice Movement

The mainstream pro-choice movement has centered its activism and advocacy on access to abortion because they believe women have the right to an abortion if so desired. However, intersectionality moves "choice" beyond whether or not a woman can have an abortion by considering how race and class affect women's reproductive rights. The issue for middle-class white women might be access to an abortion but the issues facing women of color are intertwined with racism in reproductive health. The experience and history of poor women of color, especially Puerto Rican, black, Chicanas, and Native American women, being sterilized in massive numbers in the United States is an issue that middle-class white women do not consider precisely because it is not part of their collective history or memory. Furthermore, women of color are more likely to use dangerous or experimental forms of birth control when compared with white women. This fact is not a coincidence but is inextricably connected to questions of racism. Therefore, for women of color, "choice" is not just about access to an abortion but, rather, a "choice" on safe and effective birth control options and a "choice" on the number of children. Women of color have criticized the mainstream pro-choice movement for marginalizing issues of race and class in reproductive health and being solely focused on the issue of abortion.

Intersectional Identities

Intersectionality is often discussed in terms of the experiences of women of color, which some scholars have criticized because in essence, everyone has intersectional identities. This criticism is similar to those aimed at the term *gender* when *gender* is used as a code for women. Intersectionality has demonstrated that identities are fluid and changing and that because of this fluidity, it can be difficult to identify clearly who or what is the oppressor. Men also have intersectional identities, experiences, and struggles as do white

women. If we consider the statistics that state women earn 76 cents for every dollar men earn, the categories women and men are de-racialized. When we account for race, then the statistics indicate black women earn less than white women who earn less than white men. Therefore, a different story emerges for everyone when statistics account for race and gender.

The law in particular is unable to grapple with intersectional identities and realities because the law operates with an either/or structure leaving no middle room or gray area. Intersectionality thrives in the gray area of social problems. In the case of family violence, for example, when a battered woman's children are also being abused, child protective services (CPS) is legally empowered to take the children away from the mother because she is seen as the primary one responsible for their safety. Therefore, sole focus on the children's well-being disregards the mother's situation entirely. CPS does not ask what factors are preventing mothers from caring for their children. Has her life been threatened if she leaves her batterer and takes her children with her? Are her children harmed in the process of protecting their mother? A holistic approach to the issue of family violence demonstrates that multiple issues need to be considered and that family violence is rarely, if ever, straightforward.

In short, intersectionality considers how a merging of racism and sexism (or other forms of discrimination) or race and gender (or other identities) leads us to examining social problems or conditions that can be overlooked. Intersectionality prevents us from homogenizing categories such as men and women because a person's race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, and nationality are interconnected or intersectional. Ultimately, intersectionality poses a challenge to society for better and more effective solutions to a host of social problems and conditions because it examines social factors and structures that move beyond the individual level.

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See also Gender Wage Gap; Immigrant Households and Gender Dynamics

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INTERSEXUAL, INTERSEXUALITY

Sex is often thought of as two distinct categories with no fluidity between or beyond male and female. Males are persons with XY sex chromosomes with a penis and testicles for external genitalia and females have XX sex chromosomes with a clitoris and vagina for external genitalia, all expected to be recognizable at birth. However, sex and gender are not that clear-cut. *Intersexual* describes the state of not neatly fitting into the sex binary because of esthetic characteristics of the genitals that doctors deem abnormal or because of chromosomal variations from XY or XX. For example, a child's genitals may appear male but there are female internal reproductive organs. Intersex individuals are often diagnosed as so because of ambiguous genitalia as determined by the physicians, though many intersex individuals have unambiguous genitalia. Intersex is not always determined at birth and sometimes becomes apparent at puberty, with infertility, or never.

Intersex challenges a rigid binary conceptualization of sex and gender. Bodies that diverge from the expected norm demonstrate that not all people are clearly male or female. Sex anatomy, as intersex supporters explain it, occurs on a spectrum with many body parts occurring in a variety of shapes and sizes. The majority of intersex infants need no medical intervention to allow for their physiological health. This does not prevent the medicalization (taking a

natural occurrence and analyzing it through a medical lens that becomes the authority on the issue) and surgical intervention of these children to "repair" the variation of their genitalia, hormones, or sex organs. This desire to end variance of genitalia and perhaps sex is motivated by a tendency to correct all forms of gender deviance in a society that presumes male and female are the only genders.

The term *Hermaphrodite* is historically used and often misunderstood as *intersex,* but this is a misappropriation of the term. *Hermaphrodite* refers to a person with both female and male genitalia. This is not necessarily the case for intersex individuals. Those labeled hermaphrodites may self-identify as intersex but may not identify as hermaphrodite.

This entry describes the occurrence and determination of intersexuality, surgical interventions for intersexuality, and activism related to intersexuality.

Intersex Occurrences

The reported numbers vary, but between 1 and 2 per 2,000 children are born in bodies that doctors deem in need of sex assignment surgery. Two percent are born with chromosome or other variability labeled as intersex. Estimates vary depending on how intersex is defined. Some researchers estimate that using an inclusive definition of intersex would produce an estimate of approximately 1 or 2 in 200.

Intersex Determination

A phallometer (developed for penis size in the 1960s and clitoris size in the 1980s) was developed to specify acceptable penis and clitoris size in infants. A clitoris must be between 0 and 0.9 centimeters. There are gendered implications tied into the rejection of the large clitoris. So little is known about the eventual outcome of a "large" clitoris that it could be possible that the child grows into her clitoris or lives quite comfortably with one deemed "too big." Studies have shown that infant genital size does not correspond to adult size. Tied into the same heterosexual gender expectation, a penis, according to the phallometer, must be at least 2.5 centimeters in length. These measurement standards, like those for the clitoris, are arbitrary. Once again, lack of research on possible outcomes of "small" penises leads to incomplete assumptions. The concern is for the too-large clitoris and the too-small penis; the reverse is assumed to be desirable.

Surgical Interventions

Historically, attempts to surgically intervene to "correct" intersex children was motivated by fear of homosexuality or bisexuality, and of tricking heterosexuals into intercourse with same-sex partners. Many argue that this motivation continues in an attempt to preserve heterosexual institutions such as marriage, which historically has been based in sex difference. Many practitioners (and parents) fear that a child deemed intersex will not live a "normal life" so surgical and other medical procedures are employed in an attempt to ensure normalcy. There is no evidence that children without medical intervention grow up more psychologically unhealthy than do those whose genitals were operated upon. Actually, evidence indicates that these children do better than those who have had sex alteration surgeries.

In the 1950s, Johns Hopkins University medical specialists developed a concealment-centered system to gender intersex children so they were believable as girls or boys and heterosexual. This treatment also involved convincing the parents that the child was a girl or boy. Many following this advice lied to patients and parents. This often led patients to avoid medical attention or follow up care fearing that they were highly abnormal. This system also prioritized girls' reproductive ability over their ability to experience sexual sensation, and boys' penis size and utility above all else.

Most intersexed infants are sexed as female, and this is determined by the phallus size. In determining whether a child with a Y chromosome can be sexed as male, doctors determine whether the child can urinate from the end of the penis to enable urinating while standing, whether the penis is large enough, and whether the child will be considered normal (read: normal for heterosexual intercourse purposes). If the genitals do not pass these criteria, the child will likely be constructed as female. Doctors have been known to say that constructing a female, which involves trimming or cutting, is easier than building or constructing a penis.

Families remain on the periphery in many intersex cases, turning decision making over to the medical team. Parents are often told of genitals that were not fully developed but that the doctors would take the baby to be examined by a litany of medical professionals to determine the supposed "true sex." Doctors assess genitals, chromosomes, hormones, and gonads (though sometimes only the genitals), usually based on a heterosexual view of normalcy.

Surgical intervention is mandatory in cases where excretion of waste is not possible without surgery, but most cases do not require immediate intervention. Because of the lack of information, reforms are being made in policies regarding intersex infants, and many do not recommend surgery for cosmetic reasons, explaining that patients should choose for themselves when they are old enough. Critics also point out that surgery on intersex infants is in the same vein as reparative therapies for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) persons. The medical community is beginning to change its practices and is moving away from mandatory surgery, motivated by the voices of adult intersexuals and advocates.

Activism

Some researchers and advocates explain that intersex genitals should be seen as variations within a range of naturally occurring genitalia possibilities. Transgender people are examples of those who often traverse and transcend the binary gender system into which they were placed at birth. Not all intersex people identify as transgender, but increasing visibility and activism by transgender groups is continuing evidence that one can lead differently gendered lives. *Transgender* or *transsexual* should not be confused with *intersex,* though there are many overlapping issues, discriminations, and quests for rights. Although some intersexual individuals do identify as transgender or transsexual, many intersexual individuals identify as male or female.

Emergence and activism of intersex advocacy groups in the 1990s pushed for change in medical intervention and treatment of intersex children. Before the activism of such groups, sexing those who are intersex often occurred unchallenged. Many researchers call for demedicalizing intersex because the "problem" needing remedy is the society the child is born into, not the child. Medical intervention is suspected, or in many cases proven, to impair sexual function and to come with physical and psychological trauma. This often leads to shame and isolation. Many first-person accounts speak of the pain of repeated surgeries and exams, depression, isolation, and shame in addition to loss of sexual function caused by attempts to erase intersexuality.

Turner's Syndrome Society, founded in 1987, was the first known support group for those with a sex difference. Turner's Syndrome consists of a person having XO for the sex chromosome instead of XX.

Following the founding of this group, many others formed. In 1988, the Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome (AIS) Support Group was founded in the United Kingdom to assist those with AIS. This was followed in 1989 with K. S. and Associates to support those with Klinefelter's syndrome, which is when the sex chromosome is XXY.

The major activist organization for intersex individuals is the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) founded by Cheryl Chase in 1993. ISNA seeks to remove stigmas about intersex and promote the acceptance of variability in genitals by hoping to end genital surgery. Currently ISNA is recommending that the medical community use the designation "DSD," which stands for Disorders of Sex Development instead of intersex.

Other organizations include the Ambiguous Genitalia Support Network founded in 1995 for parents of intersex children, and the Hermaphrodite Education and Listening Post (HELP) founded in 1996 for peer support and medical information provision. In addition, other groups support intersex rights such as the Gender Public Advocacy Coalition and other LGBT organizations.

Ami Lynch

See also Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome; Berdache (Two-Spirit); Chromosome Disorders; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Eugenics; Gender Dysphoria; Gender Identity Disorder; Institution, Gender as; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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J

JONES, MARY HARRIS (MOTHER) (C. 1830–1930)

Mary Harris (Mother) Jones (c. May 1, 1830–November 30, 1930) was a legendary labor and community organizer, civic educator, rousing orator, and all-round rebellious firebrand, according to many historians who have documented her impressive and important life. Born in Ireland, Mother Jones reported that she was inspired to take up workers' causes because, as a girl, she had witnessed bloody clashes between British soldiers and Irish farmers. She established herself after the death of her husband as an independent seamstress in Chicago but lost her business in the city's 1871 fire. Joining the Knights of Labor, a predecessor to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or "Wobblies") that she helped found in 1905, she became a strike leader and was particularly involved with the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Socialist Party of America. For more than 60 years, Mother Jones fought for workers' rights, particularly miners,' through labor unions.

Known as "Mother" to her "boys"—the alternate family of miner men she loved and grieved for—Mother Jones' autobiography details her work with girls, women, and children. In chapters less about her and more an account of specific strikes and developments in the movement, she describes delightful upturns in gender stereotypes. Additionally, in numerous political tracts, she seems to strategically make both an appeal to and critique of national ideals of bourgeois, white femininity depending on when it supported her cause.

Looking more like a fragile grandmother with white hair and a billowy black dress than an indomitable activist, she traversed the country delivering stirring speeches demanding workers, government officials, and business developers to consider social and economic justice. Her "children's crusade" to President Theodore Roosevelt's Long Island home in 1903 to abolish child labor was an effective publicity stunt that garnered public support. She came to national attention because of the public furor over her imprisonment at the age of 86 after conviction by a military court for conspiring to commit murder during the Paint Creek-Cabin Creek strike in West Virginia and, as a result, was released. Seven months after her self-proclaimed, but theatrical, one-hundredth birthday, she was buried in the Union Miners Cemetery at Mount Olive, Illinois, in the coalfields of southern Illinois alongside miners who died in the Virden Riot of 1898. Her spirited resolve lives on in the muckraking, award-winning magazine known for its investigative reporting, *Mother Jones.*

Sarah L. Rasmusson

See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Gender Stereotypes; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Occupational Segregation

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JORGENSEN, CHRISTINE (1926–1989)

Christine Jorgensen was born George William Jorgensen in 1926. Reflecting in later years on childhood, Christine described struggling with a long-standing sense of herself as really a girl despite her male body. In the mid-1940s, George was drafted to fight overseas in World War II. The military did nothing to alleviate his sense of himself as a woman. After the war, George traveled to Denmark, a country known at the time for doing experimental sex reassignment surgery. He met Christian Hamburger, an endocrinologist, who was receptive to George's desire to become a woman. Under Hamburger's care, George took estrogen, underwent electrolysis, and had a castration operation. She took the name "Christine" to honor Hamburger. By 1953, Hamburger had received hundreds of letters from people hoping to follow in Christine's path.

The story of Christine's sex change hit America in 1952. The first public transsexual, she spoke extensively to the press about her sex change. Explaining that she had always felt herself to be a woman trapped in a man's body, she separated herself from male homosexuals, whom she saw as pathological. The gay male homophile groups of the 1950s returned these feelings of animosity, as they worried that the success of her sex change would create pressure for gay men to transition as a form of normalization. She eventually recanted her views on homosexuality, becoming an advocate for gay rights in her later years.

Christine created a career from her media attention, doing nightclub acts and vaudeville shows. As a public figure, she encountered reverence for her beauty, but also ridicule. The mechanics of her surgery became an area of interest. Reflecting the conflicted attitudes about "sex changes" and sexuality, her surgeons had created the appearance of a labia but no vaginal canal. Though she later had an additional surgery, initially this lack of ability to have vaginal intercourse generated debate about whether she was a woman or a castrated homosexual. Christine remained dignified in her press interviews, always carefully maintaining secrecy about her romantic life. Her 1967 autobiography, *Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography,* sold 450,000 copies. The book was made into a film, *The Christine Jorgensen Story,* in 1970—the same year the movie version of Gore Vidal's controversial novel about an eccentric transsexual, *Myra Breckenridge,* arrived in theaters. Reflecting a new public interest in transsexuality, a spate of semi-pornographic films and novels about transsexuals soon followed.

Christine continued as a performer until the early 1980s. She made one last film appearance in a 1985 Danish documentary about transsexuality, *Paradise Is Not For Sale.* She succumbed to bladder cancer in 1989. Her willingness to be public about her transition left a lasting legacy because the popular press, doctors, and psychologists began to take notice of transsexuality through her story. Her story also gave many people who desired to change sex the hope that such a path was a possibility.

Kristen Schilt

See also Gender Performance; Transsexual

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JUDAISM, GENDER ROLES AND

Any discussion of Judaism and gender must consider the relatively recent changes in gender roles—changes that have transformed Judaism. From the 1970s on, Jewish women succeeded in altering gender roles within the Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative branches of American Judaism. The most significant of these transformations was the ordination of women within all branches of American Judaism, except orthodoxy. Jewish feminism flourished in the early 1970s, particularly in America, in part as a result of the confidence women were gaining from the wider feminist struggle in society. Many Jewish women born in the postwar period had rejected Judaism as a result of a childhood realization that women and girls were treated unequally. However, Jewish feminism began to make a once-unpalatable Judaism more compelling to Jewish women. European Jewish women argued for greater rights for women within Judaism at this time. In Britain, for example, Jewish women demanded that the Liberal and Reform branches make women equal to their male contemporaries in the synagogue.

The struggle for greater female recognition centered on allowing women to become ordained as rabbis, to be counted in the minyan (the quorum necessary to cite certain prayers, consisting of 10 adult Jewish men), and to read from the Torah in services. In 1971, Rachel Adler published her seminal article, "The Jew Who Wasn't There," now considered the founding document of Jewish feminist theology. Adler was one of the first to state that it was possible to integrate feminist ideas into the interpretation of Jewish texts and laws. Adler argued that Halacha (Jewish religious law) must be interpreted in new ways to allow Jewish women to participate fully in Jewish religious life.

Halacha, which is based on the Torah, Mishnah, and the Talmud, had long been used as a reason that women could not be ordained or read from the Torah. Orthodox Judaism views Halacha as divinely ordained and thus cannot be challenged. Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative Jews typically see Halacha as open to interpretation. However, according to feminists of the 1970s such as Adler, there was an exception to this view when the "woman question" was on the agenda.

Susannah Heschel's edited anthology, *On Being a Jewish Feminist,* was one of the first book-length texts to explore gender inequalities within Judaism. Heschel produced the collection to give voice to the myriad of emerging Jewish feminist voices and to illustrate that women's religious and social needs have been neglected and misrepresented by the central texts of Judaism. The text highlighted the fact that Jewish feminists disagreed about whether women's inequality within Judaism was as a result of custom and practice or whether it was embedded in the Torah itself.

In 1972, Sally Preisand was ordained in the Reform synagogue of America. In 1974, Reconstructionist Judaism sanctioned female ordination, and Sandy Eisenberg Sasso became their first female rabbi. In 1983, after many internal struggles, the theological seminary of Conservative Judaism voted to allow women to undertake the rabbinate training. In 1985, Amy Eilberg became the first female Conservative rabbi. Orthodox Judaism continues to reject the ordination of women.

Conservative Judaism is the second largest branch of Judaism in the United States after Reform Judaism. It was founded in 1887 in reaction to Reform Judaism, the largest branch, which some found increasingly distant from Judaism. Conservative Judaism had flourished after World War II, after which many Jews wanted to identify with some form of religion. Conservative Judaism's more relaxed attitude toward Halacha attracted others to its doors. For example, since the 1950s, it has allowed driving on Shabbat, mixed seating, and Bat-Mitzvah for girls. Until the 1980s, however, women in Conservative synagogues were not counted in the minyan, nor could they read from the Torah or perform any cantorial duties.

Reconstructionism was officially founded in 1968. However, its ideas had first gained currency in the 1930s when its founder, Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan (1881–1983), began to conceive of a Judaism that would evolve and develop according to the cultural climate. From the beginning of its existence, Reconstructionism was advanced in its views on women's participation in religious life. Even in the 1950s, Reconstructionism began including women in the minyan and allowing women to come to the Torah for Aliyot (Ascent). Kaplan also began the tradition of Bat-Mitzvah with his own daughter who had her Bat-Mitzvah in 1922. Since the 1960s, women within Reconstructionist-orientated synagogues have been serving as witnesses, leading services, reading from

the Torah, and wearing prayer garments such as yarmulke (skull cap) and talitt (prayer shawl).

More radical still with respect to gender roles was the Reform movement. Founded in 1869, American Reform Judaism quickly adopted early 1970s feminist demands and became the first branch of American Judaism to accept female rabbis. Reform Judaism was influenced by the political and cultural events of the period, admitting women to its rabbinical program in the late 1960s at the same time as the women's liberation movement had begun challenging the economic, political, and social position of women in secular society. Concurrently in the late 1960s, some more traditional members of Conservative Judaism were denouncing feminism and the gay liberation movement as dangerous to the Jewish family. Reform Gay synagogues were established in the late 1970s. Reconstructionism also adopted a tolerant view of homosexuality and admitted openly lesbian students to their rabbinate program in 1985.

Reform Judaism's success in America is attributable to the fact that it has embraced those who were often made to feel unwelcome in Conservative or Orthodox movements, for example feminists, gays, lesbians, and mixed-marriage couples. This inclusive ethos and broad definition of Jewishness has meant that Reform Judaism became, in the 1990s, the most popular branch of Judaism.

Judaism has been forced to confront the challenges and demands placed upon it by women, and some men in the last 40 years. It continues, in its many manifestations, to grapple with ever-changing gender roles in the 21st century.

Rachel Cohen

See also Religion, Gender Roles in

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K

KAMAL, SUFIA (1911–1999)

Sufia Kamal was born June 20, 1911, to an aristocratic family of Barisal, Bangladesh. She is remembered as a poet, social activist, and feminist, whose life focus was on fighting for women's rights and the underprivileged and working against religious fundamentalism and extremism. She did not see women's inequality as a class issue and believed that violence against and the exploitation of women existed regardless of status. In her work, she drew upon her own experiences and applied her wisdom to the condition of all women. For Sufia, as a child, women's education was prohibited. She was homeschooled through tutors, focusing on languages, specifically Urdu, Arabic, and Persian. She was married at age 12 to her cousin, Syed Nehal Hossain. He was a law student and a liberal man, encouraging her social welfare work and literary activities and supporting her educational desires.

In 1923, she wrote her first short story, "Sainik Badhu" (The Soldier Bride), and in 1925 met Mahatma Gandhi, an encounter that colored her life actions. In 1926, her first poem, "Basanti" (Of Spring), was published. Her work reflected heavy influence from Bangla literature, including roots to ancient Indian mythology. In 1938, Kamal's first book of poems, *Sanjher Maya* (The Eventide Spell) was published. In 1947, she became the first editor of *Begum,* a weekly women's magazine, and in 1949 became founding co-editor of another weekly magazine, *Sultana.*

During the 1930s, she was introduced to many prominent personalities in both the literary and political world. Through the influence of these various relationships she became particularly interested in Muslim women's emancipation, dedicated to those deprived of privilege and mobility resulting from conservatism. Kamal was the first Muslim woman elected to the Indian Women's Federation in 1931. After the death of her husband in 1932, she sought employment to ensure financial stability and began teaching at the Calcutta Corporation School, working there until 1942. During the 1946 Hindu-Muslim riots, she provided shelter for riot victims as well as trying to encourage friendship between Hindus and Muslims as a member of the Peace Committee. She later focused her attention on the language movement and the preservation of culture, protesting the Pakistani government's attempts to suppress Bangla and Bengali culture during Bangladesh's fight for independence from Pakistan in the 1970s.

Throughout her life, she received about 50 awards, including some international awards, for both her literary works and her contributions through social activism. Her published works have been translated into many languages, with the most complete collection represented in Russian. Kamal died November 20, 1999, in Dhaka, Bangladesh. She was buried with full state honors, the first woman to receive that honor from Bangladesh.

Jennifer Jaffer

See also Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism

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KINSEY, ALFRED C. (1894–1956)

Alfred C. Kinsey was a pioneering and controversial American sexologist whose work in the 1940s and 1950s challenged the scientific, moral, and political conventional wisdom about sex in America.

A Harvard-trained zoologist, Kinsey began studying sex to address what he saw as a dangerous lack of credible information about what was common and "normal" sexual behavior. By the late 1930s, Kinsey had abandoned zoological research and dedicated himself to collecting the sexual histories of thousands of men and women.

The Kinsey interview was groundbreaking in its methods, scope, and audacity. The basic one-on-one interview consisted of 350 items. The questions targeted sexual behaviors (such as masturbation and vaginal, oral, and anal sex), sources of knowledge about sex, and sex partners. Kinsey and his team ultimately conducted 1,800 interviews.

The project resulted in the publication of two major volumes, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). The male volume was received enthusiastically and praised widely. The female volume was publicly condemned, however, and most commentators attribute this to the fact that Kinsey's findings were at odds with the prevailing cultural expectation that women be reserved about or disinterested in sex. Kinsey reported, for instance, that women were more orgasmic, more frequent masturbators, and—like men—had more premarital and extramarital sex than most presumed.

Kinsey's findings also challenged orthodoxy regarding homosexuality. Kinsey measured sexual orientation on a 7-point scale (0 being exclusively heterosexual), based solely on reported behaviors. Using this scheme, he reported that 37 percent of men had some homosexual experience, although only 4 percent of his sample could be considered exclusively homosexual. These findings comforted homosexuals who recognized strength in numbers and heterosexual men unnerved by having engaged in homosexual activity.

Methodological criticisms of Kinsey's work center on sampling. The sample depended on volunteers and overrepresented some groups, such as incarcerated males. Liberal critics note that many sexual acts (e.g., voyeurism, sadomasochism) were not explored, and conservative critics target the propriety of inquiring about individuals' private sexual behaviors, the seeming normalization of homosexuality, the public "airing" of Americans' sexual behaviors, and the separation of sex from love and marriage.

After the public outcry against the female volume, Kinsey had difficulty securing funding for additional research, his institutional support waned, and his health declined. He registered a posthumous victory in 1957, however, when a dispute with the federal government regarding the importation of sexually explicit materials was decided in his favor. His legacy and research agenda are maintained today by the Kinsey Institute at Indiana University.

Mark Cohan

See also Homosexuality; Masturbation; Monogamy; Sadomasochism; Sexology and Sex Research

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KOMAROVSKY, MIRRA (1905–1999)

Mirra Komarovsky was one of the first sociologists to engage in theory and research on the cultural and structural barriers to women's equality, and to write

about problems men and women face because of their designated roles in American society. Komarovsky wrote a decade before Betty Friedan (1963) wrote *The Feminine Mystique,* the book that triggered the second wave of the woman's movement, and Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* reached an American audience. Komarovsky's 1953 book, *Women in the Modern World: Their Education and Their Dilemmas,* and her articles, "The Functional Analysis of Sex Roles" (1950) and "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles" (1946), identified the structural and cultural factors that undermine women's aspirations and choices in professional and public life. Komarovsky criticized Freudian theory and showed how problems women faced were not psychological but social and to be addressed as social problems. She also was one of the first sociologists to address the problems faced by men as well as women in articles and a book, *Dilemmas of Masculinity.* She was concerned with class issues as well in her first book, *The Unemployed Man and His Family* (1940), which illustrated the impact of job loss on men's authority and self-respect, and the problems of working-class husbands and wives in *Blue-Collar Marriage* (1964).

Although a staunch defender of women's rights and a social critic of the stereotyping they faced, Komarovsky was never an activist in the traditional sense. She did not participate in organizations, but she did consult with such policymakers as Eleanor Roosevelt. Komarovsky was active in making women's roles in society, and the analysis of attitudes toward them, a legitimate part of the university curriculum.

Born in 1905 in Baku, a city in the Caucasus, to upper-middle-class Jewish parents whose circumstances plunged when they immigrated to Wichita, Kansas, in 1922 after the Russian revolution, Komarovsky won a scholarship to Barnard College and entered at the age of 22, graduating at the age of 26. She obtained an MA one year later, under the supervision of William F. Ogburn, at Columbia University. Subsequently she became an instructor at Skidmore College and Yale University, where she was a research assistant to Dorothy Swaine Thomas (the first woman president of the American Sociological Association) and returned to Columbia, obtaining a PhD in 1940 under the supervision of Paul Lazarsfeld. She became an instructor at Barnard in 1934 and held that rank until 1945 while publishing two books and many articles. After Millicent McIntosh assumed the presidency of Barnard in 1947 and recognized

Komarovsky's scholarship, Komarovsky became an associate professor in 1948 and full professor in 1954. After her retirement in 1970 at the mandatory age of 65, she continued to teach at Barnard and engage in research and writing well into her 90s. Komarovsky was never appointed to the Graduate Sociology Department at Columbia University, which only hired its first woman professor in the late 1970s.

In 1947, Komarovsky married Marcus Heyman, who supported her career. Komarovsky's name and citations to her work are rarely seen in the literature on the sociology of gender or among the "theorists" cited among the classic works in the field. Yet her groundbreaking work on the sociology of sex roles and gender formed the basis of much of the work that is taken for granted today. She did achieve recognition for her contributions to sociology, however, by becoming the second president of the American Sociological Association in 1972.

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein

See also de Beauvoir, Simone; Feminine Mystique; Freud, Sigmund

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KRAFFT-EBING, RICHARD VON (1840–1902)

Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing, one of the pioneers of the science of sexology and its most prominent figure in the second half of the 19th century, was born in 1840 in Baden, Germany. After completing his studies of medicine at the University of Heidelberg he

specialized in psychiatry, working first in several asylums in Germany and then as a university professor in Strasbourg, Graz, and finally Vienna, where he also took the role of the forensics expert. In his first major book titled *A Textbook of Insanity* (1879), he attempted to provide a detailed classification of mental disorders. The aim of the book was to to instruct people who could come into contact with mentally ill individuals to identify the kind of the disease and to adequately respond. *Psychopathia Sexualis (Psychopathy of Sex),* his next important work that would become also his best-known one, appeared in 1886, offering a detailed psychiatric classification and analysis of sexual disorders. Although written primarily for the professional medical and legal audiences, with some parts written in Latin, the book nevertheless became popular among general audiences. In his attempts to taxonomize the types of sexual perversion, Krafft-Ebing coined and used the terms *masochism, sadism,* and *fetishism,* and he labeled as perversion every form of desire that was not directed toward procreation. As his book had reached wider circles of readers, Krafft-Ebing was contacted by a number of homosexuals who volunteered to be subjects of his case studies, finally having space to openly talk about their feelings. Thus, for years homosexuality remained the focus of Krafft-Ebing's scientific attention.

The experience of getting to personally know and work with such a great number of homosexual individuals made him change his initial views that same-sex desire was caused by hereditary degeneracy and accompanied by mental affliction and moral corruption. He came to the conclusion that most of his subjects were physically, mentally, and morally healthy, and that homosexuality was not the result of mental illness. These insights led him to support campaigns for decriminalization of homosexuality, such as the one for repealing Paragraph 175 of the German constitution, according to which homosexual acts were prohibited. In the final edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis,* appearing shortly before his death, he recognized homosexuality as one of several possible forms of sexual desire, completely unrelated to mental illness. This acknowledgement of homosexual desire as just one type of sexual desire became one of the most important legacies of Krafft-Ebing's work. Interestingly, however, it was not Krafft-Ebing's view but Freudian reversion to seeing homosexuality as a disease that dominated most of 20th-century psychiatry. Krafft-Ebing died in December 1902, a year after his retirement.

Aleksandra Djajic Horvath

See also Homosexuality; Mental Health

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LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER

The international labor force is divided not just by industries and occupations but also by the characteristics of its workers. Historically, the formal labor market has been filled overwhelmingly with men. However, in the past century, and especially the last 50 years, increasing numbers of women have been entering the labor market throughout the world. These women have diverse lives and cultures but do share some fundamental experiences as women working for pay, despite their many geographic and economic divides. Across regions of the world and individual countries, the participation of women in the labor force has been rising and continues to increase.

Globalization and industrialization are two factors that explain the increased presence of women in workplaces. However, even as women continue to participate in the labor market in larger numbers, the type of work they do and how it fits into their lives is still different than is the case with men. This essay describes rates of participation and some of the trends and consequences of women's increased participation in certain sectors of the labor market.

Global Labor

Rates of Participation

The proportion of women who work varies enormously around the world, but almost without exception, more women enter the paid workforce with each passing year. Several international agencies collect data on labor and women's role in the economy. According to the latest figures by the World Bank, in 2006, across the globe, 58 percent of women age 15 to 64 are engaged in paid work. Rates of participation range from a low of 11 percent in the West Bank/Gaza to a high of 93 percent in Burundi.

There is no simple explanation for the variation among countries, because it has complex sources. Women's choices about work depend on national, local, cultural, religious, and personal factors. However, different areas of the world show varied rates of labor. While in the Middle East and North Africa, about 30 percent of women work, in Latin America, Europe, Central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa, closer to 60 percent of women work. In the United States and East Asia, participation is the highest, around 70 percent. The more proscribed role of women in many communities in the Middle East keeps larger numbers of them in the private sphere of home and family. The region, however, also does not have the severe financial pressures that may push some women into work even when traditionally they have not been expected to. The World Bank data also show that among countries that are heavily in debt, two thirds of women are in the labor force, suggesting that economic necessity may override other characteristics of a country. A complex interplay of cultural and economic factors is evident in these statistics.

Even within these geographic regions, though, there is substantial variation that can be explained only through a detailed analysis of the particular culture and history of each place. Though there is variation, Harvard's Project on Global Working Families notes that over the last 50 years, female labor participation rates have increased significantly in all of these

regions. The amount of the increase is smaller in some places than others, but the trend is universal. The trend toward more female participation in the workforce has been so pronounced that social scientists have described the phenomenon as the "feminization of labor."

Global Factors

In most areas, globalization and industrialization have had a significant effect on women's entrance into the labor force. As countries industrialize and become connected to global flows of capital, the type of work their citizens do changes. Agricultural work generally becomes less popular, and more of the population moves to urban areas. There, increasing numbers of people become involved in the formal economy. The type of informal work that women may do in rural areas, such as selling crops in their communities or assisting with family farming, does not show up in measures of the labor force. Jobs that accompany urbanization are measured and so partially explain the increasing proportions of women appearing in the statistics.

Another commonality shared by women across the globe is their tendency to move in and out of the labor market because of childbearing and familial obligations. As more countries experience growth of their formal economies, women are less able to work in the market while also fulfilling their domestic work. This leads to less women in the economy at any time and disrupts the trajectory of some women's careers. Any snapshot measure of labor force rates will exclude women who are experiencing this sort of disruption.

Feminized Labor

Discrimination

Although detailed information does not exist for every country, we know that in general, women around the world earn less than men do, even when performing similar jobs. Two major factors that have been identified as causes of the pay gap are discrimination and segregation.

Gender is one of the primary means by which people categorize others. In turn, this makes it one of the most common bases on which people discriminate or treat others unequally. Social scientists view gender as socially constructed; that is, the distinctions and judgments that people make based on gender are a product of their beliefs and understandings and those of their societies. However, gender is very real in the

sense that it has consequences for the lives of men and women. Understanding why and how women have entered the workforce tells us about shifting definitions of womanhood around the world and the possible material effects of this change.

Discrimination in the labor market occurs when, based on gender, women are discouraged from seeking certain types of jobs or are not hired for jobs. One subtle way that discrimination occurs is through *occupational segregation,* or the tendency of men and women to do different types of work. For example, women are more likely to be domestic workers, and men are more likely to do manual labor. Part of this has to do with choice, but it also happens because men and women are steered into different paths in school and through other means of socialization and thus are likely to acquire different skills. They are also encouraged to do specific types of work even when they are qualified for a range of jobs. Segregation also occurs within occupations in terms of the occupational ladder one may climb. Women still experience the "glass ceiling" effect, in which they are blocked or discouraged from advancing past a certain point in the hierarchy of an organization.

Care Work

Many scholars have recognized that women are more likely to do what has been termed *care work*. This includes work such as caring for children or elderly family members, housework, and looking after the sick in the home. The fact that women are the ones to do most of this work affects their labor force participation in two main ways. First, this informal work is not counted as a job in the labor force, even though it is labor. Second, women's responsibility for care work affects the time and energy they have for formal work. A woman may not be able to get a job outside the home if she is responsible for others on a daily basis.

Consequences of the Feminization of Labor

Scholars disagree about the specific effects this growing female workforce will have, and in many ways the consequences of such large-scale changes may only come to be understood years from now. Some believe that increased female labor in the formal market will help to alleviate global poverty, because currently many of the countries with more gender inequality also have higher poverty rates. The increased participation

of women in work will also have effects on unpaid care work. Changes in gendered expectations of care or family structures may occur, or the burden of care may merely be shifted from some women onto others. Whatever the effects, the global shifts in labor force participation are sure to have far-reaching impact as we progress through the 21st century.

Marianne Joyce

See also Domestic Labor; Economy: History of Women's Participation; Gender Discrimination in Employment; Gender Wage Gap; Glass Ceiling; Global Care Chain Work

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Language, Gender Differences

Despite research studies repeatedly suggesting that the language used by women is largely similar to the language used by men, much attention is nonetheless paid to gender differences in language. To be certain, masculine and feminine speaking styles have been firmly established, but the distinction between the two categories continues to blur as males and females expand their vocabularies to include the words, expressions, styles, and topics of conversation once reserved for the opposite sex.

Feminine Language Use

Language described as "feminine" frequently involves the use of words to relate to others. For many feminine speakers, words are the building blocks of relationships and can support, explain, and enhance understandings of the people conversing and the nature of their relationships. This frequently involves validation, or the demonstration through words that

experiences are similar and that people are not alone in their hardships. On some level, this also demonstrates an equality that is not as common in masculine style. Feminine style tends to reject hierarchy, and those employing a feminine style are usually open to hearing about different cultures and experiences.

Feminine language is often labeled as *inquisitive.* While this plays into stereotypes of women being "busybodies," it also reflects that those employing the feminine style are concerned about how others are doing. Questions such as "How was your day at work?" or "How does that make you feel?" get to the heart of what the conversational partner is thinking or feeling, and this opens the conversation to heightened self-disclosure. In listening to the answers to these questions, feminine speakers often follow up with verbal cues, such as "That's really interesting" or "So how did that go?" to indicate they want the other person to continue telling her or his story.

While tentativeness is another trait of feminine language, it is one that is slowly becoming part of masculine speech as well. Tentative language often introduces ideas with disclaimers such as "I don't mean to sound like I'm complaining, but . . ." or "I might be wrong, but it seems to me that . . ." While this concept remains a feminine one in interpersonal relationship talk, it is beginning to be replaced (both for feminine and masculine speakers) by language expressing relativity as opposed to tentative observations. Instead of tentative disclaimers, people in workplace settings or in public arenas, whether male or female, have begun to use phrases such as "In many cases . . ." or "Many people tell me . . ." that use some of the open features of tentative language but also allow for more assertiveness to come through with the statement.

The feminine style of keeping open lines of understanding is highly related to the personal nature of feminine language. Those engaging a feminine style are overall more likely to disclose personal information, especially details that a masculine speaking style is unlikely to employ. For example, instead of saying, "Work was bad today. Connie didn't show up," a feminine speaker will more likely say, "Work was bad today. Connie showed up 15 minutes late. I'm so frustrated with her! And Doug didn't know how to cover the phones, which is what Connie was supposed to be doing. So I had to run like crazy back and forth between training Barbara and helping Doug get the phone calls routed. The whole thing had me feeling overworked and underpaid!" The feminine speaker would also likely offer more details as they were

solicited from conversational partners. So, as the conversation about what happened at work progresses, elements of the story will likely be revisited and elaborated upon.

This open and descriptive style makes it easier for feminine speakers to engage their emotions, and so the feminine style of language may be nonverbally enhanced by laughter, tears, or other displays of nonverbal emotion. Despite the openly emotional nature of feminine language, it is important to consider that the feminine style, while rooted in language used by females, is frequently used by males, too. While males are still likely to employ the style described in the next section of this entry, most English-speaking cultures have become more accepting of men sharing personal feelings and emotions, with some even encouraging it. Men are especially likely to engage feminine language styles during dating practices and romantic rituals, and the workplace has become a place where masculine speakers have began to adopt feminine styles of communicating and feminine speakers especially begin to use masculine style. This is explored more in the next section.

Masculine Language Use

Masculine language, while still carrying a relational aspect, usually reflects elements of autonomy and control. This is reflected largely in the direct nature of masculine language. Instead of prefacing advice with suggestive remarks such as "Would you like to hear some possible solutions to your problem?" or "If I might offer some advice," masculine language tends to gravitate toward statements such as "Well, that is an easy problem to fix, just . . ." or "I know how to take care of this." Males are especially expected to employ these types of language patterns when addressing females, as men are often expected to enact control in situations as well as maintain an air of confidence and knowledge.

Along these lines, masculine language allows less leverage for the discussion of emotions. Emotions expressed through masculine language are expected to be communicated through a limited amount of words, often ones that many would view as harsh and direct. To this end, masculine language is actually more abstract than feminine language. While this may seem counterintuitive given that masculine language styles dictate a public persona of wisdom and knowledge and thus a large and precise vocabulary would be

expected to be put into play, masculine language depends more on how words are said rather than the nature of the words themselves. Anger may accompany the masculine style of communication, but few other emotions are tolerated, especially emotions concerning sadness, weakness, or insecurities.

To this end, masculine language is often direct. Instead of entering a combative conversation with "I feel as if there is something we should discuss," the masculine style often finds the speaker entering the conflict with a more direct statement, such as "Why did you tell the boss I skipped out on the dinner?" Notice, too, that the latter statement is not a tentative one. Masculine language generally makes bold assertions and often does not allow for contextualizing or relativity. This is one reason masculine language is viewed as being economical. Many words used in a masculine language style seek to demand or command, as opposed to request or negotiate. While this allows for greater utility, since language serves as action, the economical nature of statements—using relatively few words, with little description—makes it easier for miscommunication to occur in terms of what is being requested.

Queering Language

Even though it seems "easy" to consider language use as either masculine or feminine, this is not entirely accurate. While the descriptions of masculine and feminine language presented in this entry cover many conversational situations, they are hardly exhaustive. This is because of the similarities between masculine and feminine language that do not allow for a given characteristic to easily fit into either of the two categories; but this is also because of the artificial nature of the two categories themselves. Though one might not automatically assume that male equals masculine and female equals feminine, most people interact with those assumptions, and any violation of them disrupts their worldview. This is especially true with language codes and styles employed by transgender, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or otherwise queer cultures or communities.

Although one cannot assume that all lesbian females employ a masculine language style, empirical research suggests that lesbian women may be more likely than other women to use traditionally masculine language. Moreover, although some people may find the use of masculine language by lesbian women threatening, it is generally considered to be more

acceptable when used by lesbians than by straight women. The speech of gay males, which is generally more conducive to feminine style, has also seen wider acceptance—sometimes even being glorified, for example, through television programs such as *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy,* where feminine style is represented as creating a sophisticated, chic male image. While representations such as these can be problematic, they do serve as a larger cultural indicator as to how the lines between masculinity and femininity in language are being blurred.

Perhaps this is most apparent in language codes, or particular ways of speaking, that occur both about and in gendered communities. For instance, when discussing the dating patterns of a heterosexual couple, people typically employ gendered language choices in describing the relationship. In talking about queer relationships, however, those same people have to reconsider the language used to describe the relational partners and the roles they are enacting. Instead of pulling from a typically male or female vocabulary, the gender practices must be considered and language selected in a nonroutine way. Perhaps most interesting are the language codes emerging within and about transgendered individuals. New words such as *ze* or *hir* serve as pronouns for persons who may not consider themselves to be either masculine or feminine, and so the he/she or him/her dichotomy does not appropriately fit the particular transgender identity.

Conclusion

Feminine and masculine speaking styles have been clearly established by language scholars, although styles are less exclusive to a given sex than they used to be. Recognition of gendered language patterns continues to evolve to include nonheterosexual genders and sexualities as well. While people, regardless of sex or gender, continue to enjoy an expansion of their vocabularies, the language being used by men and women continues to evolve as cultural changes allow or dictate different perceptions of gender. Language inscribes gender in many ways, and by exploring language use in gendered communities, overall functions of how individuals of various genders communicate are easily observed.

Jimmie Manning

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Genderqueer; Gender Stereotypes; Heterosexuality; Homosexuality

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LESBIAN

Sexuality is influenced by the cultural, social, and political customs of a society. It refers to values and attitudes, gender roles, body image, sexual relationships, language, and even clothing. The sexuality of heterosexual women involves both pleasure and danger. Women's experience of autonomous desire is important because their sexual pleasure has been taboo in many cultures worldwide. It is dangerous because women's sexuality has often been a domain of sexual violence and oppression. In a patriarchal culture, heterosexual social relations shape sexuality and may even invalidate consent to heterosexual sex.

Traditional assumptions consider lesbians asexual because of the dominance of heterosexuality, which requires a penis and a vagina. By this criterion, lesbians do not have sex. Pepper Schwartz, coining the term "lesbian bed death," implied that lesbians have sex less frequently than others. Researchers, using the concept of *lesbian merger,* meaning intimate relationships between women, have suggested that lesbian relationships are inherently flawed because they lack

the difference of heterosexual relationships. Other discourses propose that by desiring women, lesbians are masculine and sexually predatory.

This discursive context framed debates about lesbian sexuality during the so-called lesbian sex wars. Two opposing positions emerged: sex radicals and lesbian feminists (sometimes called "sex perverts" and "sex puritans"). *Sex radicals* advocated pushing the boundaries of pleasure and desire and considered that sadomasochism (SM) could be included in an egalitarian relationship. They opposed a hierarchy of sexuality that privileges heterosexuality and condemns SM. They sought to eroticize lesbian sexuality, arguing that all sexual practices are normal and that lesbians should explore their own and others' fantasies and desires. In this way, SM becomes a manifestation of trust and a powerful lesbian sexuality. By contrast, *lesbian feminists* argue that sexual desire should be reformulated from an eroticization of difference to an intimacy of equals. Domination and subordination reflect a power differential, epitomized by SM, where danger makes difference erotic. Many black lesbians argue that sexualized power relationships cannot be separated from wider social relations and the legacy of slavery; SM relies upon bondage and enslavement and cannot genuinely be a source of sexual pleasure.

Lesbian sexuality also found expression in butch/femme relationships, which have existed within lesbian communities from the early 20th century. Until the 1980s, butch/femme sexualities regulated clothing, gender role, and behavior, particularly for working-class lesbians. To be *butch* meant adopting stereotypically masculine appearance and behavior, while *femmes* were expected to be emotionally supportive. Some feminists argued that butch/femme roles imitated heterosexuality. By contrast, Joan Nestle contended that butches signaled through their dress and behavior their ability to take erotic responsibility. Butch/femme relationships forged a lesbian sexuality based on stance, gesture, love, courage, and autonomy. Although these debates do not have the salience they once had, they continue to be played out in relation to lesbian chic (feminine and heterosexually attractive), the queering of lesbian identities (e.g., drag kings), and debates about the place and kinds of sex in lesbian relationships.

Lesbian Reproduction

Women's reproductive rights have been central to international women's movements. For heterosexuals, these primarily concern fertility control and protection from unwanted pregnancy, whereas lesbian sex is not similarly tied to procreation. The following section examines the distinctiveness of lesbians' reproductive needs and discursive assumptions linking motherhood with heterosexuality.

Lesbians' reproductive needs relate to safe and reliable assistance. There are two main methods: alternative fertilization or medically assisted technology. *Alternative fertilization* is a relatively straightforward procedure in which a donor is identified from existing social or familial networks; therefore, control and responsibility for conception lie with the woman. She must estimate the ideal time (just before ovulation), by an awareness of her cycle or using predictor kits, and transfer the semen to her vagina using a syringe. Increasing numbers of lesbians are seeking to become parents within same-sex relationships, and such techniques have been used successfully since the 1980s. Pregnancy rates are highest with fresh (rather than frozen and rethawed) semen. The time frame between ejaculation and insertion can sometimes lead to anxiety (though sperm is viable for a number of hours at room temperature). As with heterosexuals, successful fertilization may take up to a year or more to achieve, and the donor must be committed to regular semen donations for some time. The donor medical history is not always available, and there may be risks of infections or HIV unless the donor is checked (reliant on a trusting relationship or medically validated via a sperm bank).

In vitro fertilization (IVF), using fertility drugs to stimulate the ovaries to produce more eggs than usual, is another technology employed by lesbians. The doctor removes the eggs, under sedation or local or general anesthetic. After fertilization, the embryo(s) are placed in the woman's womb. IVF is an invasive, medicalized, and expensive procedure with low success rates (under 30 percent and falling dramatically in women over 35 years old). Until recently in the United Kingdom, there were restrictions on lesbians' access to fertility services through the National Health Service (NHS) and also some private clinics. It is recommended that the NHS fund one cycle of IVF treatment (if the woman is younger than 39), but provision is unreliable around the United Kingdom. Recent and forthcoming legislative changes will mean that lesbians can no longer be denied treatment in the United Kingdom. While no U.S. state explicitly denies access to lesbians, in practice many clinics refuse to treat lesbians. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

estimates that 14 states allow insurance coverage for IVF, but lesbian couples are not considered to have the same medical necessity for treatment as heterosexual couples.

Discursive Assumptions Linking Motherhood With Heterosexuality

Social attitudes, legislation, and public policy promote the assumption that motherhood is inextricably linked with heterosexuality. In a landmark case, the Massachusetts Department of Public Health had sought to prohibit same-sex marriage on the grounds that a married or long-term cohabiting heterosexual couple provides the optimal environment in which to give birth and raise a child. Some believe that lesbian couples have less capacity for parenting than heterosexuals and that their children will have difficulty forming normal heterosexual identities. However, evidence from comparisons of children's development in lesbian mother and heterosexual households show no difference in the likelihood of being gay. Many also assume that children without fathers are disadvantaged by the lack of appropriate gender role models, and it is feared that boys brought up by lesbians will be effeminate. This assumption underpinned a clause in the U.K. Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990, which stated that a woman shall not be provided with treatment unless account has been taken of the welfare of any child who may be born as a result of treatment (including the need of that child for a father). The legislation is currently under review and is likely to be made less restrictive.

Julie Fish and Susan Bewley

See also Body Image; Butch/Femme; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Lesbian Feminism; Same-Sex Marriage; Sex-Radical Feminists; Women's Health Movements

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LESBIAN FEMINISM

Lesbian feminism is a term introduced in the United States in the 1960s. It refers to a theory, an identity, and a political struggle. As a social movement, lesbian feminism emerged out of movements for women's liberation, gay liberation, and the sexual revolution. Lesbian feminism recognizes the legitimacy of love between women, using it to frame individual sexual and political identities and as a basis for community building and collective action. As a way of thinking about sexual relationships and a form of political organizing, lesbian feminism challenges the perceived normalcy of heterosexuality and male supremacy and presents alternate ways of thinking about gender and power.

Historical Background

Prior to the 1960s, thriving gay and lesbian communities developed across the United States, especially within urban areas, where they often centered within bars or private homes and many women assumed "femme" (or "fem") or "butch" gender roles that resembled those in heterosexual relationships. Pervasive hostility pushed many of these communities underground as a form of self-protection against physical violence, social ostracism, harassment, and loss of employment. Within a culture that labeled homosexuality a form of mental illness and generally viewed gays and lesbians as a threat to the well-being of American society, the social, legal, and economic concerns of gay women, like their male counterparts, were seen as private, not the basis for political demands or collective action. These ideas slowly began to be challenged by gays and lesbians, such as the women who in 1955 formed the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the

first national organization of gay women. Members of the DOB came together for social and political purposes, seeking to end the sense of isolation many lesbians felt, educate gay women about their legal rights, and increase their social acceptance.

With the rise of *second-wave feminism,* the mass movement that emerged in the 1960s, the specific concerns of lesbians came to the fore as part of a broader challenge against sexism. Lesbians played prominent roles in many new feminist organizations, helping to organize for equity in the workplace, the home, and the courts. Concurrently, the civil rights and gay liberation movements and changing attitudes toward sexuality created openings for a more visible and defiant attack on sexual oppression. Within feminist organizations in the 1960s, many taboos still surrounded gay sexuality, and sexism constrained lesbians within the gay rights movement. Founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW) Betty Friedan called lesbians a "lavender menace" that threatened to taint the reputation of the feminist movement, driving women away out of fear of association and diverting attention from more-important campaigns for women's equality. Likewise, within mixed-sex gay rights organizations, some lesbians found their concerns marginalized by male counterparts no more committed to ending sexism than was the broader society. These experiences spurred lesbian feminists to create their own organizations in order to transform women's feelings about same-sex sexuality, replacing shame with pride, and to challenge beliefs that equated lesbianism with deviance. Thus, from the experience of viewing themselves as a minority within the era's political movements, many activists developed fresh understandings of the place of lesbians within America's society, economy, and culture.

Theoretical Foundations

As lesbian feminism emerged from this confluence of political, cultural, and social forces, it presented one way for women to free themselves from male domination and heterosexism. Its analysis of society was staked around two central claims. First, lesbian feminists asserted that heterosexuality is not solely a form of sexual desire but also functions as an institution that supports male supremacy and female subordination. Romantic love, familial structures, traditional gender roles, and even the structure of the economy reinforce heterosexuality, making it compulsory and leaving its supposed normalcy unquestioned. At the same time that heterosexuality helps perpetuate women's secondary status, lesbian feminism recognizes that women benefit from their participation in mixed-sex intimate relationships, gaining status and economic privileges through their partnerships with men. The threat of lost privileges keeps women from acting in ways that might jeopardize their status. As one of the first lesbian feminist groups, the Radicalesbians, argued in a 1970 essay, "The Woman-Identified Woman," women earn the negative label *lesbian* when they dare to act as men's equal and prioritize relationships with women. Fear of the consequences of being labeled lesbian acts as a powerful constraint against women's push for equality and the development of solidarity among women.

Second, given the central importance of heterosexuality and marriage to the maintenance of male supremacy, lesbian feminists believe that lesbians and lesbian relationships present a profound challenge to the social and economic order. They do this by rejecting male privilege and by challenging notions of male superiority and female inferiority. Indeed, according to lesbian feminists, lesbians exemplify women's liberation, demonstrating the personal, economic, and sexual independence that feminists believe all women should possess. This analysis helped provide insight into the way that society constructs womanhood, recognizing that lesbians conform to many traits typically considered "masculine." Moreover, some lesbian feminists assert the superiority of women's ways of loving and living, suggesting that as women challenge society's views of male supremacy, they can discover more egalitarian and less superficial ways of relating to each other. Using this rationale, many lesbian feminists criticized butch/femme role-playing as an oppressive form of imitation of heterosexual relationships.

Within the context of the late 1960s and the 1970s, lesbian feminists translated these ideas into a mass movement for women's liberation. This movement primarily organized women at the local level into small groups, supported by an array of national publications, businesses, and gatherings. A branch of the broader feminist movement, lesbian feminism remained both connected to the larger struggle for women's liberation yet highly critical of it.

Strategically, the lesbian feminist movement emphasized its connection to broader feminist struggles and stressed building community among women. Many believed lesbian feminism constituted a revolutionary

vanguard, the forefront of a broader political movement to create a more egalitarian society. If society taught that women were inferior, then lesbians, or "women-identified women," experienced the greatest oppression, took the biggest risks, and most clearly demonstrated the depth of their commitment to gender equality. By defining lesbian feminism as centrally important to feminism, lesbian feminists helped bring greater acceptance within the women's movement for those who identified as lesbian and fostered an environment that made it possible for many women to name their desires and find consistency between their personal lives and their political ideals. At the same time, lesbian feminists were criticized for promoting conformity within the women's movement through their assertion that lesbians most fully reflected feminists' commitment to women's liberation. Support for women's liberation, however, led some activists to identify as "political lesbians," an expression of their commitment to gender equality without an accompanying sexual attraction for women. Similarly, author Adrienne Rich's concept of a "lesbian continuum" sought to expand the meaning of lesbianism and include a range of ways that women experience intimacy and community.

For some lesbian feminists, separation into women-only communities represented the logical extension of arguments advocating an end to male domination and the strength of connections between women. As a political strategy and a preferred way of life for some, geographical segregation and voluntary immersion in a world of women-identified women presented the promise of a society that was less exploitative and more just and caring. Acting on these beliefs, lesbian feminists formed women-only collectives and communes, along with commercial and cultural enterprises—record labels, publishing houses, and music festivals—run by and catering to other feminists. Lesbian feminist separatism peaked in the 1970s and 1980s. It has subsided in the past few decades as lesbian feminists have joined with heterosexual feminists and gay male activists to demand increased legal recognition for gay families and relationships and to confront issues such as AIDS, racism, and global trade.

Contemporary Issues

Lesbian feminist theory has been important in furthering feminist understandings of the nature of gender and power and in illuminating the social and cultural foundations of sexuality and gender roles. The fervent organizing of the 1960s and early 1970s led NOW and other gay rights and feminist organizations to support lesbians' struggle against compulsory heterosexuality and other forms of oppression that lesbians experienced. Lesbian feminism has emerged as an important academic field, led by Mary Daly, Marilyn Frye, Audre Lorde, Charlotte Bunch, Gayle Rubin, and other scholars. However, lesbian feminism has also been criticized for idealizing lesbian relationships and for downplaying the significance of sexual desire among women relative to the adoption of lesbianism as a political identity. In addition, lesbian feminism has been challenged for making the struggle against compulsory heterosexuality primary to women's liberation, minimizing other forms of oppression that women experience and downplaying differences of privilege among women. Lesbians of color, including authors such as Audre Lorde and Cherrie Moraga, have been at the forefront in contesting lesbian feminists' lack of attention to racism and the difficulties of separatism for lesbians who are tied to fighting racism within communities of color.

Since the 1970s, during a period of changing ideas about feminist strategies and sexual identity, lesbian feminism has incorporated new ideas, generally putting less emphasis on separatism, and attempting to build solidarity with men and other women on issues such as family rights or AIDS. Third-wave feminists and queer activists share the commitment of lesbian feminists to resisting conventional gender and sexual identities, albeit differing strategically and stylistically. Nonetheless, fundamental analysis by lesbian feminism of heterosexuality as a social institution remains important to feminist scholarship and activism.

Anne M. Valk

See also Lesbian; Lesbian Separatism; Queer Studies; Women's Social Movements, History of; Women Studies

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LESBIAN SEPARATISM

Lesbian separatism, also referred to as political lesbianism, is an attitude and strategy present within radical lesbian feminism that insists on the rejection and refusal of participation in the social institution of heterosexuality. Lesbian separatism dates back to the late 1960s and the emergence of lesbian feminism during second-wave feminism.

The appearance of the Lavender Menace group during the Second Congress to United Women in 1970, organized by the National Organization of Women (NOW), introduced lesbianism as an important issue of feminism and also suggested that a distinctive lesbian feminist agenda must include separatism as its method. Separatism may be seen as a version of feminist separatism and according to Marilyn Frye concerns the will of women to separate and differentiate themselves from men and male-defined society. However, the distinctiveness of lesbian from feminist separatism lies in the primary focus on sexuality, not just gender, as a crucial element of the patriarchal organization of society. Moreover, separatism takes radical (lesbian) feminism to the extremum of politics—a factor that is most controversial not only for the majority of society but also for many nonradical feminists. The most well-known feminists associated with this movement include Charlotte Bunch, Jill Johnston, Mary Daly, Audre Lorde, Kate Millet, Valerie Solana, and Adrienne Rich.

Historical Overview

The homophobic attitudes observed within NOW (and expressed by Betty Friedan in the *Feminine Mystique*) drove Karla Jay, Rita Mae Brown, Artemis March, Lois Hart, Barbara Love, and others to stand up and speak about the invisible problems of lesbians in the feminist movement. Soon afterward, the group renamed itself Radicalesbians, and the text of their postulates became known as the flagship manifesto, "Women-Identified Women."

After a year of intensive cooperation, Radicalesbians split and engaged themselves in different projects. Rita Mae Brown, together with Charlotte Bunch, Joan Biren, and Ginny Berson, formed a new collective, The Furies, which is a good example of an early lesbian separatist group. The Furies opted for communal living (and occupied two houses themselves), which served not only as private space in traditional terms, but first and foremost as living space; the houses served as home, open meeting place, and workspace. Such a solution served them well and was important for the goals they aspired to, one of them being the publication of *The Furies,* a periodical published from 1971 to 1973. *The Furies* fit well into the wider spectrum of feminist publications and writings, developing theoretical and philosophical feminist thought. Moreover, the group condensed their activities to running self-support and consciousness-raising workshops developed by and for women who identified themselves as lesbians. The aim was not to soothe the coming-out process (very important for gay liberation politics), but to open the eyes of those "opiumed" by patriarchy.

This idea of lesbianism overcoming a notion of a sexual orientation was soon taken up by other lesbian feminists and developed into the concept of *political lesbianism.* However, before Ti-Grace Atkinson coined the famous slogan "Feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice," many erstwhile theoreticians had reflected on this subject. For example, Charlotte Bunch during that early period insisted on a complete break with heterosexuality. She even insisted that heterosexual women could not fully understand and become feminists, because they remained within the male-oriented spectrum of heterosexual patriarchy. Only by putting other women at the heart of their lives and emotions and by complete detachment from men could women fully develop their potential. Such ideas were taken to the edge of acceptance by Valerie Solana, who wrote the "SCUM Manifesto" (1968). In this text, she expressed her favor for bloodshed tactics against men in an act of rebellion for women-only societies.

Lesbian separatism, however, must not be associated only with the extreme. There was also a less radical stream, associated mainly with Adrienne Rich, which developed around the idea of "a lesbian continuum." Rich coined the term in "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," which highlighted the fact that lesbianism is and can be a matter of choice. In addition, the choice is not, nor should it be, about sexuality; it is, first, a matter of political stance. For Rich, every woman who identifies herself with other women (in the very broad terms of shared interests, participation, or social bonding) could be labeled a *lesbian.* Used in this context, the term became purely political etiquette, without any traces of sexual or emotional significance. *Political lesbianism* became a political identity, created to fight against male supremacy in the world. Conceptualized as such, it completely desexualized bonding between women and has put them again in the vacuum of social nonexistence.

Criticism

During the feminist sex wars, the practice of the desexualization of lesbianism faced strong criticism from the pro-sex camp (bell hooks, Gayle Rubin, Pat Califia, and others). Those writers pointed out that such a practice went along the lines of patriarchy in denying women sexuality and pleasure from homosexual encounters. Other criticism of lesbian separatism stressed the exclusiveness and oppressive character of such strategies, bringing attention to the notion that the essentialism underlying the politics of lesbian separatism is the major supporting column of patriarchy. As such, the bipolar division of genders and sexes is against the feminist idea of a better and equal world without sexual oppression. Hence, the radical lesbian feminism is seen by such criticism as inefficient. The idea of separation is also controversial from the strategic point of view: whether women should separate themselves or, rather, directly tackle and challenge the oppression they face in everyday life. Finally, considering the networks of interdependencies in the modern world, it is questionable whether full separatism is truly possible.

Robert Kulpa

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Consciousness-Raising; Feminist Sex Wars; Lesbian Feminism; Sex-Radical Feminists

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LESBIAN STEREOTYPES

Exaggerated, oversimplified or negative beliefs about lesbians are common in the United States. As with other misconceptions about minority populations, stereotypes about lesbians are difficult to correct because they are widely circulated by the media, particularly through television and film. When lesbians appear in the mainstream media, they are frequently represented as stoic "bull dykes" or, more commonly, as seductive "lipstick lesbians." Rather than depicting lesbians' diverse personal experiences and points of view, these images often cater to the fears and sexual fantasies of heterosexual audiences or "heterosexualize" lesbian desire by representing lesbianism from the perspective of straight male viewers.

Stereotypical beliefs about lesbians, like stereotypes in general, are based on observations that are sometimes accurate but are often misunderstood and overgeneralized. For instance, the observation that many lesbians identify as *butch* or *femme* has resulted in the common stereotype that lesbians mimic traditional gender roles in an effort to be "just like heterosexuals." In contrast, lesbian scholars explain that this pervasive stereotype misses a vital aspect of butch/femme culture, namely, that butch and femme identities are often an expression of a campy and irreverent critique of heterosexuality or a reworking of gender roles in a uniquely lesbian context.

Consequences

Lesbian stereotypes are not simply a problem of homophobic attitudes or inaccurate media images; they also have damaging institutional and socioeconomic consequences. In some institutional contexts, such as in the corporate sector or in the realm of professional women's sports, stereotypes about "masculine women"

have been used to devalue all women's skills and accomplishments—regardless of their actual sexual desires or practices. For instance, historian Susan Cahn has shown that the fear of "mannish" lesbian athletes crystallized in the 1930s as a more general concern about women's declining interest in heterosexual romance and feminine beauty. As a result, sports promoters, physical education teachers, and other leaders of women's sports launched campaigns that placed strategic emphasis on the heterosexuality and femininity of women athletes—a trend that continues today.

This entry critically examines three common lesbian stereotypes: the "bull dyke," the "lipstick lesbian," and the "lesbian soccer mom."

The "Bull Dyke"

Although some lesbians identify with the image of the "bull dyke," it is often used as a derogatory label to describe masculine or butch lesbians. The aesthetic of the bull dyke has changed over time, yet stereotypes about butch lesbians have remained fairly constant and include the belief that bull dykes are aggressive or stoic, objectively unattractive, and "man-hating." Butch lesbians are sometimes depicted as tough, muscular, and "one of the guys," such as the character of "Vasquez" in the 1986 science fiction film *Aliens*. Yet butches are also typically punished for their masculinity or continually reminded of their presumed inferiority to "real" men (e.g., Vasquez is ridiculed throughout the film *Aliens* and ultimately kills herself to save the other characters).

Stereotypes about bull dykes attempt to make meaning of butch lesbians from the perspective of heterosexual culture and dominant-gender norms. For instance, while butch lesbians may be perceived as aggressive or sexually undesirable from the viewpoint of heterosexual men (and women), butch masculinity often has a very positive and erotically charged meaning within lesbian subculture. As scholars such as Judith Halberstam have argued, butch sexuality is less a direct imitation of men's lives than a direct challenge to the assumption that men are the sole originators and possessors of masculinity. Halberstam also has noted that society's enduring uneasiness with butch lesbians is evident from their near absence on television. Butch characters, such as the mildly androgynous "Shane" on the television show *The L Word,* are not ostensibly perceived as butch by many lesbian viewers.

Negative stereotypes about bull dykes can also be found within lesbian culture itself. In the 1970s, many lesbian feminists rejected the butch aesthetic on the grounds that it was an expression of overidentification with men. Today, lesbian subcultural norms and ideals often vary regionally and across racial/ethnic groups. While some lesbian communities have internalized the stereotype that bull dykes are undesirable, others revere butch masculinity and in some cases express disdain for femininity.

The "Lipstick Lesbian"

Perhaps no other lesbian figure has been as visible in the mainstream media as the "lipstick lesbian," or the feminine lesbian who desires other feminine women. Like the figure of the bull dyke, lipstick lesbians are generally represented from the perspective of the (heterosexual) male gaze. A common depiction of lipstick lesbianism includes conventionally attractive and sexually insatiable women who desire one another but only insofar as their desire is a performance for male onlookers or a precursor to sex with men. The devaluation of sex between feminine lesbians is bolstered by the popularity of "girl-on-girl" sex scenes in heterosexual adult films, in which it is implied that "real" sex has not occurred until a male participant has arrived on the scene. According to historian Lillian Faderman, the enduring belief that authentic sexual passion is impossible without the presence of men or masculinity had enabled feminine women to publicly express their desire for one another—without suffering social stigma—as far back as the 16th century.

Today, feminine lesbians often experience less explicit social stigma than butch lesbians due to their apparent alignment with conventional gender norms; however, this social acceptance is offered in exchange for sexual objectification and a denial of sexual autonomy. As a result, feminine lesbians are more likely to be subject to the heterosexist belief that their sexuality can be explained by a failure to "find the right man." Similarly, the stereotype that feminine lesbians are not authentically lesbian or "not lesbian enough" has also circulated within lesbian culture.

A second component of the lipstick lesbian stereotype is the belief that feminine lesbians are dangerous, predatory, and inclined to lure innocent girls or hopeful male admirers into a lesbian fantasy world, only to later betray them. The lesbian "femme fatale" stereotype was first popularized in lesbian

pulp fiction novels of the 1950s, which typically focused on the sordid details of lesbian love triangles, innocent women "rescued" from lesbianism by men, or lesbian life in institutions such as prisons and the military. The image of lesbians as beautiful but pathological (and sometimes murderous) is still present in contemporary media, such as in the 1998 film *Wild Things* and the 1992 film *Basic Instinct.*

The "Lesbian Soccer Mom"

Some stereotypes exaggerate or generalize what are arguably positive characteristics of social groups, such as the common belief that Asian Americans excel at math and that African Americans excel at sports. Similarly, in the early 2000s, a new lesbian stereotype emerged that characterized lesbians as exceptionally maternal and domestic—a seemingly positive trait that became a "stock" description of lesbian life. On television, story lines involving lesbians began to revolve around sperm donors, adoption, and the challenges of being "two mommies." Perhaps in an effort to compensate for earlier depictions of lesbians as oversexed or pathological, queer television shows such as *Queer as Folk* and *The L Word* positioned motherhood, domesticity, and upper-middle-class prosperity among the most predictable components of lesbian representation on television. Similarly, in 2000, Ellen DeGeneres and Sharon Stone—the latter was once at the center of queer protest for her depiction of a murderess bisexual in *Basic Instinct*—played an "average" upwardly mobile lesbian couple in search of sperm in the film *If These Walls Could Talk.* Such representations typically focus on white upper-middle-class lesbian couples, reinforcing yet another common stereotype that being lesbian or gay is a "white thing."

While stereotypical media images of lesbians in the 1980s emphasized the dangers lesbianism posed to family values, in the early 2000s, lesbians emerged as new representatives of normative family life. This transformation took place not only in films and television dramas but also as a result of the visibility of seemingly "wholesome" and charismatic white lesbian celebrities such as Ellen DeGeneres and Rosie O'Donnell. DeGeneres and O'Donnell cornered the market on daytime talk shows and appealed to heterosexual female viewers by avoiding discussions of their own sexuality and highlighting their agreement on "middle-American" values. Central to Rosie O'Donnell's success at appealing to American "soccer moms" was her outspoken advocacy for children and her emphasis on "children's culture" (e.g., toys, games, cartoons, and superheroes).

Yet as with the stereotypical bull dyke or lipstick lesbian, the image of the lesbian soccer mom hardly represents all or most lesbians and has been used to reinforce the stereotype that "healthy" gays and lesbians are those who are coupled, monogamous, and reproductive. In sum, while the image of the lesbian soccer mom may appear positive at first glance, it also glosses over the unique or subversive character of lesbian subculture and adds force to the stereotypical belief that lesbians are, or should be, "just like heterosexuals."

Conclusion

The bull dyke, the lipstick lesbian, and the lesbian soccer mom are not the only stereotypes used to describe lesbians; however, each represents a different way in which the lives and experiences of diverse individuals have been oversimplified and generalized by the media. While both heterosexuals and lesbians have used lesbian stereotypes derisively, it is important to note that lesbians' own use of "in-group" jokes, labels, and stereotypes has sometimes functioned to build a collective identity and a shared self-referential culture of resistance. Lesbian stand-up comedy, for instance, draws upon "in-group" stereotypes to show that lesbians have a rich culture and history worthy of satire. Conversely, mainstream stereotypes of lesbians are often based on misperceptions and can be inaccurate and damaging.

Jane Ward

See also Bisexuality; Butch/Femme; Lesbian; Lesbian Feminism; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Queer

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LOOKISM

Lookism (or *looksism*) is a term that describes prejudice or preferential treatment based on how a person looks. The concept is important to an understanding of gender and society as it relates to issues of social status. If someone can be said to gain higher social status due to the shape, height, or structure; perceived ability; age; attractiveness; or "sexiness" of her or his body rather than skill or experience, then lookism has played a part in a discriminatory practice that affects society as a whole. Lookism suggests that certain parts of society have a narrow frame of reference that is used to judge a person by how he or she appears. Such a frame of reference allows only so-called traditional forms of beauty past its self-regulated vetting system. When this system becomes part of dominant ideologies in a given culture, unrealistic expectations may be placed on certain members of that society to conform to a set of norms. Yet it is never clear, an anti-lookist might argue, exactly what traditional forms of beauty involve. Where an ideal is defined, such as the thinness ideal in certain societies, that ideal seems unreachable and is understood by anti-lookists to encourage worrying social trends, such as the use of plastic surgery to conform to a particular standard. Anti-lookists believe that if everyone could be accepted by society looking the way they do, with no requirements to conform to an unrealistic standard, society would be more equal.

In particular, the term *lookism* has been used in conjunction with *sizeism* to criticize discrimination against those who are perceived as, or who self-define as, fat. The connection to gender theory occurs via notions of what a man or a woman should look like. It is also impossible to separate the debate from issues of power and race, and class and sexuality. According to the theories of Judith Butler, such notions are constructed but nevertheless have power in terms of their reiteration. If power is related to a way of looking and that relationship is cited in the further attribution of power, power arises from such an attribution.

This process of reiteration occurs via particular outlets, such as advertising, and therefore can be connected to the functions of the marketplace. It can be argued that the marketplace produces particular bodies, which can be sold back to the viewer. Therefore, the relationship between the viewer/consumer and the advertiser is critically important if one is to examine how particular ways of looking result in certain people being negated or made invisible while others are legitimized.

The way someone "looks" has three crucial and overlapping meanings. First, one can refer to the way a person appears or is perceived by a viewer conjoined with the way a person appears to or is perceived by herself or himself. According to feminist thinkers, such as Sandra Bartkey, when one is objectified, a further process occurs whereby one is made to see oneself through the viewer's eyes. One learns how to look acceptable according to the dominant ideology. This tool could then be used for political coercion or could result in mental illness, such as an eating disorder. From a feminist perspective, a possibility for liberation is discovered via knowledge that the process occurs, but it is not possible to escape the process itself.

Second, "looking at," or what is more often referred to as "the gaze," has power attributed to it via particular assumptions. Therefore, the process through which perception takes place can also be legitimized or denied. For instance, some critics have played on the alternative meaning of *look* while investigating what it means to look or look at from a potentially invisible perspective. To look deliberately from a typically illegitimate position therefore becomes a methodology—often a way of reading against texts or positions that privilege the white male middle-class heterosexual or able-bodied gaze—and a way of claiming political space.

The third meaning that can be attributed to looking is "looking like." This has to do with issues of choice and identity politics and once more raises crucial questions about legitimization within particular subcultures: What happens when one does or does not look like a member of the social group with which one seeks to align oneself? It is sometimes possible to adopt or celebrate a particular way of looking in order to own one's membership of a particular community in the face of oppression for a political purpose. When this happens, pride is especially important. The Black Freedom Movement adopted "the Afro" in this manner, especially in the United States in the 1970s. One can

see a similar motif in some readings of the wearing of the *hijab* (head scarf or covering) by Muslim women in contemporary Western societies.

One might sum up the meanings of *looking* associated with the use of the term *lookism* as follows: learning how to look, the machinations of the gaze, and looking politically recognizable. These are all issues that the anti-lookism lobby investigates. It is also important to mention some of the criticisms leveled at the use of the term.

As an illustration of the way in which a particular group may be subject to the politics of appearance, consider a person who comes out as gay or lesbian by adopting a particular way of looking. Some theorists hold that by doing so, the person in question maintains that there is something cohesive and essential about lesbian and gay bodies. However, it may also be the case that the person is using a particular look as a way of signaling belonging to a particular group. This doesn't necessarily imply that the individual believes the look to be an essential aspect of identity, but paradoxically, in adopting a stereotypical look for the purpose of communicating to others, the notion that it is essential may be reinforced. Some critics have argued that it may be more politically useful to apply diverse meanings to lesbian and gay bodies and to claim such meanings as a strength. An associated criticism sometimes against those employing the term *lookism* is therefore that it may repeat essentialist notions of a cohesive stable body, sometimes through a return to identity politics, while ignoring the theories of construction and materialization put forward by the likes of Judith Bulter.

Another criticism of the anti-lookism lobby is that by its political correctness—via the very process of naming itself as an "ism"—it is in danger of becoming reductive. The danger is that in naming itself, it sets itself up as unavailable or inappropriate for criticism or that it treats itself as already read or already defined. Furthermore, one might also argue that by focusing on looks, both lookism and anti-lookism reiterate a privileging of the visual within culture or suggest that the visual somehow is culture.

The term *lookism* could be said to imply, inflexibly, that all focus on physical appearance, or the seen, is inappropriate. Beauty practices and body modification practices have been an important part of cultural history, especially for oppressed groups within different dominant cultures. They have been an important part of the bonding of familial relationships, for instance, between fathers and sons or mothers and

daughters. Beauty practices are one of the ways in which intergenerational relationships are governed and maintained, whereas the prejudicial and abusive conflation of the term *ugly* with *old* undermines such relationships. One might also hope to be able to find versions of beauty via looking, even if that beauty is not universal or essential.

Finally, some feminists who were dubbed "pro-sex" during the infamous "sex wars" of the 1980s might find the implication that a focus on physical appearance is somehow unethical undermines the possibility of the exploration of bodies for pleasure. Such an exploration is not antagonistic to the philosophies of anti-lookism. Indeed, "pro-sex" can be taken to mean "pro-body"—that is, bodies of different kinds, including those that do or do not match up to a dominant ideology's projections of power and so-called normality. However, some feminists may read stricter forms of anti-lookism as an attempt to negate physical attractiveness between individuals, which they would argue is both unsexy and unrealistic.

It will be useful to end by examining one relationship that anti-lookism seeks to criticize: the application of the terms *ugly* and *beautiful* and how these terms mask their own political drives. From this perspective, anti-lookism would take issue with "new feminism," such as that described by Natasha Walters. Walters argues that to counter negative attributions of ugliness to feminists, a return to beauty practices that build feelings of self-worth and assertiveness is necessary. In returning to an emphasis on the importance of looking feminine or looking sexually confident, however, one also returns to critical questions about bodies that are as a result excluded. In that sense, anti-lookism agrees with Naomi Wolf, who argues that what she called the "beauty myth" has been used as a political tool, with accusations of ugliness being leveled against politicized women. As Wolf demonstrates, such a motif is not new or original. It has been employed in the past to criticize politicized women, and it was also recently used, for instance, in response to the death of Andrea Dworkin. Ironically, instead of examining Dworkin writings, some texts used Dworkin's body to critique her politics. Wolf has been criticized in the popular press in an opposite but similarly political manner—for being "too beautiful," again at the expense of an examination of her writing.

Proponents of anti-lookism may argue that the attribution of the terms *ugly* and *beautiful* is not somehow fixed or stable—whether the terms assess physical

appearance or so-called inner virtue—but is used as a political device and an especially destructive one.

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See also Ageism; Body Image; Body Politics; Self-Esteem

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M

MAIL-ORDER BRIDES

Mail-order bride, a somewhat derogatory term, is used to describe a woman who advertises her desire to marry someone from a more developed country. Traditionally, mail-order brides were unable to meet or contact the men who had selected them for marriage from a print catalog. Currently, most mail-order brides advertise themselves on the Internet and correspond with their prospective husbands. The most popular mail-order brides reside in poor South Asian countries, particularly the Philippines and increasingly from former Soviet countries. The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) reports there are 4,000 to 6,000 marriages between mail-order brides and U.S. men every year. Though far less common, *mail-order husbands* have intentions similar to those of their female counterparts: to move to a better socioeconomic environment.

Statistics Concerning Mail-Order Brides

Hundreds of worldwide agencies, almost all on the Internet, offer the names, pictures, and, for a price, the addresses of mail-order brides. Mail-order bride companies reap the benefits of this exchange not only by selling women's contact information but also through arranging vacations to the women's home countries. Since U.S. immigration law requires that U.S. citizens meet their immigrating fiancées at least one time, these trips are an integral part of the mail-order bride process. In general, most male clients pay mail-order bride services between $6,000 and $10,000 dollars for addresses, traveling to the bride's home country, and other service fees.

The number of women who are available as mail-order brides is estimated at over 100,000 annually. Of these, only about 10 percent, or about 10,000, successfully find husbands through marriage broker services, and nearly half of these are U.S. men. The remaining women generally marry Australian, European, Canadian, or Japanese clients. An analysis of catalogs displaying 1,400 Asian mail-order brides found that 20 percent were 16 to 20 years old, 41 percent were 21 to 25, 24 percent were 26 to 30, and 11 percent were 31 to 35. Only 4 percent of mail-order brides were over 35 years old.

Mail-Order Brides, Societal Stereotypes, and Domestic Violence

Sources indicate that most mail-order brides want American husbands because they will be able to have a "better life," with more educational and employment opportunities in a developed country. Poverty, political upheaval, and a limited amount of choices in their home countries' job markets force many foreign women to seek alternative sources of income. However, deeply entrenched gendered and racial notions about American men as excellent husbands and superior to native men also motivate these women to search abroad. They often believe that American men are handsome, faithful, and kind to their wives. Men in their native countries, on the other hand, are perceived by many mail-order brides as philandering and cruel.

Issues of gender and racial stereotypes also are evident in the mail-order bride business. Generally white, middle to upper class, much older than the women they seek, and often divorced or embittered about relationships, men from the United States seek mail-order brides because they believe they possess traditional values that American women, who are too "liberated," are lacking. Mail-order bride businesses exploit Western stereotypes about Asian women, representing them as delicate, traditional, and without career ambitions. One Web site, expressing disenchantment with changing gender roles in American society, makes the following claim:

> Once you have been exposed to an Indonesian girl you will forget about the money grabbing, selfish Western girls forever. . . . Imagine walking down the street or through a store where all the women smile and wave at you, wanting to meet you. Would you like a wife who never complains, nags, or refuses sex? One who devotes her life to making you happy?

The notion of having a wife whose entire life is devoted to her husband's happiness is fueled by the fact that many men pay substantial amounts of money for their brides and, in return, expect them to adhere to traditional gender roles.

Stereotypes of the submissive foreign wife can be dangerous for mail-order brides, as they are frequently victims of sexual assault and domestic violence, particularly when they assert themselves against their husband's dominance. Though generally mail-order-bride companies contend that their marriages have a divorce rate of only 20 percent, substantially lower than the average U.S. divorce rate, domestic violence is still a huge problem in such relationships. Some reports estimate that upward of 77 percent of women with dependent immigrant status are battered. Isolation from familiar communities; prohibition of employment; lack of knowledge of their new countries' laws and customs; and psychological, linguistic, and economic dependency on their husbands are all contributing factors to domestic violence.

To curb the problem of domestic violence in mail-order-bride relationships, in 2006, President George W. Bush signed the International Marriage Broker Regulation Act of 2005 as part of the Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act. The law states that before a U.S. citizen can purchase a foreign woman's address (a) the prospective husband must fill out a questionnaire about his criminal and marital background, (b) the seller must make sure that the man is not registered on the National Sex Offenders Public Registry Database, and (c) the questionnaire must be translated for the woman so she can decide whether she wants to allow communication from the specific suitor. However, the law has met with legal challenges and has proven difficult to enforce.

Conclusion

The issue of mail-order brides continues to cause controversy, as some claim that the service allows women to create new and better lives for themselves in first-world countries, while others contend that it is merely the trafficking of women. Gender role expectations from American men, influenced by racial stereotypes, drive the gendered representation of mail-order brides by marriage broker companies and also contribute to high rates of domestic violence and sexual assault.

Lindsey Churchill

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Arranged Marriages; Domestic Violence; Gender Stereotypes; Marriage; Sex Tourism; Sexual Slavery; Violence Against Women Act

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MALE CIRCUMCISION

Circumcision is the practice of removing the foreskin from the penis, leaving the glans, or head, of the penis permanently exposed. Circumcision is affiliated primarily with cultural beliefs about penile aesthetics and hygiene or with religious traditions. This practice is most frequently performed upon males

during infancy, though some adult men may pursue circumcision for aesthetic, sexual, or medical reasons. Today, routine circumcision upon newborn males is the most common elective surgical intervention occurring in the United States.

In the United States, as of 1870, only 5 percent of newborn males were circumcised. By 1940, this number had risen to 55 percent of newborn males, and by 1980, the numbers of circumcised newborn males peaked at about 85 percent. In recent years, the circumcision rate of newborn males has fluctuated in the low 60 percent range. Variation in circumcision rates exists geographically within the United States, with the Midwest having the highest incidence rate of approximately 80 percent, followed by the Northeast (about 65 percent), the South (about 60 percent), and the West (about 32 percent). Racially, the occurrence of circumcision is fairly consistent, though black males have a slightly greater likelihood of circumcision than white males, and other racial minority groups seem to have a lower likelihood of circumcision than whites. Statistics are unavailable to address the number of adult men pursuing circumcision, though it appears to be quite low. The majority of men who are circumcised as adults often do it out of medical necessity.

Compared globally, the United States has one of the highest circumcision rates of newborns, being exceeded only by Israel, where the majority of males are circumcised in childhood. Following these nations are Canada (25 percent of newborns) and Australia (10 percent of newborns). Islamic nations also have high rates of circumcision, but this frequently occurs during childhood or adolescence. While statistics vary, it estimated that, globally, 80 percent of men are not circumcised.

Historically, circumcision became more common in America in part as the result of increasing regulation of body and sexuality in the Victorian era. Standards of hygiene were changing in America during the course of the 19th century as running water became more readily available. Of particular concern with male genitals were the foreskin and the potential accumulation of bodily secretions and dirt that may be captured within the foreskin. Additionally, moral and health concerns surrounding masturbation and the loss of bodily fluid, semen in particular, were rampant. Circumcision was believed to reduce the likelihood and desire to masturbate among boys, thus helping to reserve their health and virility for the appropriate sexual expression of procreative sex in marriage.

Circumcision has also held strong affiliations with some religious traditions, in particular Judaism, as well as Islam. The majority of Jewish families condone circumcision of their male children during infancy. Traditionally, Jewish boys were circumcised by a *mohel* during a ceremony called the *brit milah* or *bris milah,* which is commonly referred to as a *bris.* Today, however, increasing numbers of Jewish families are choosing to have their sons' circumcisions performed by medical professionals. Adult men who chose to convert to Judaism may be mandated to be circumcised or if already circumcised may undergo a symbolic circumcision, in which the loss of a drop of blood is required where the foreskin would have been. Among Islamic males, circumcision age varies from infancy through adulthood, depending on cultural affiliation, although frequently it will be performed at or before puberty.

The majority of circumcisions in the United States are the result of parental or medical preference. Some parents condone circumcision on the grounds of aesthetic reasons to help their sons avoid shame or embarrassment for looking "different" than their peers or fathers. While some transformation is occurring, in general, the male body as seen from an American perspective is incomplete, impure, or somehow dirty if uncircumcised. The anxiety many Americans feel when faced with uncircumcised men can sometimes be found represented within the media, as noted in television shows such as *South Park, Sex and the City, Scrubs,* and *Seinfeld.*

Debate surrounding circumcision during the 1980s and 1990s was influenced by organizations such as the National Organization of Circumcision Information and Resource Center (NOCIRC), Doctors Opposed to Circumcision (DOC), and Brothers United for Future Foreskin (BUFF). These organizations seek to educate parents, speak on behalf of children and infants who are unable to consent to this bodily change, and discourage routine medical preference for circumcision.

Some nations and insurance companies are today not only regarding circumcision of infants as elective, but may not pay for this procedure. From a medical perspective, circumcision of infant males has low risk for complications, with a 90 to 95 percent likelihood of normal healing. Research suggests that circumcision decreases a man's risk of penile infection, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and penile cancer. While there is disagreement within the research in regard to

STD transmission in particular, the belief is that a foreskin may trap bodily fluids exchanged during sex, thus increasing the risk of STD transmission. In some parts of the world, particularly African nations, there is an increasing effort to encourage circumcision of males as a possible means of reducing HIV transmission.

Sexual performance has been studied to contrast circumcised and uncircumcised men and found that circumcised men masturbate more frequently, are more sexually adventurous, and have more sexual partners, although they may face the issue of reduced sensitivity and delayed ejaculation. It is also suggested that uncircumcised men are slightly more likely to experience sexual dysfunction. However, these variations may be more a reflection of social class and racial background differences than circumcision status.

Daniel Farr

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MALE FEMINISTS

The term *male feminist* designates men who consider themselves feminists; that is, who recognize the patriarchal oppression of gender in our societies and declare themselves active supporters of feminist thought and the feminist movement in the pursuit of equality. Their belief, like all feminists, is that sexism, racism, and homophobia, in which patriarchy is rooted, are constraining for all people, hence the need for a communal action against those forms of discrimination. Male feminists stress the need for men to take responsibility for their privileged position and to be more aware of the consequences of social inequalities in everyday life. Although useful at times, the idea of distinguishing feminists into feminists (women) and

male feminists creates more controversies and introduces more problems into the agenda than could be expected. It is also important to distinguish male feminists from the *men's movement* (the men's rights movement), which is perceived by many to be conservative (in terms of the social organization and division of gender roles) and antifeminist.

Overview

Several areas of interest claim the attention of male feminists. However, there are also some significant omissions, which indicate tensions between feminists, men, and the choice of a strategy. Although it is dangerous to make any generalizations about such a diverse and widespread group, it is observable that those who consider themselves male feminists (and actually use this label) tend to support more conservative stances within the feminist movement. Therefore, the central focus is often sex exploitation: pornography and violence and ways of stopping it, for example, by education. First, male feminists believe that to stop male hegemony in the real world, its symbolic underpinnings must be challenged. That is why they pay so much attention to pornography, understood as role setting for all other sources and ways of male domination over women. It is believed that women are being subjugated and physically and emotionally exploited by pornography. The abuse of women that is produced by and for men serves their need for power in a symbolic dimension. Moreover, the negative character of pornography has a direct impact on everyday lives; it serves as a modeling space for boys and men to learn the engendered power hierarchies of patriarchal societies.

Second, male feminists want to challenge the violence being done to women from a more practical aspect: They bring atttention to domestic violence. They insist on strict legal regulations and law enforcement and greater support for victims. Also as a link between antiviolence activities and education, male feminists choose didactic projects and social campaigns addressed to young men as the field of occupation. The underlying reason is that the most efficient way of acting upon the violence is not to tackle the outcomes (although that is important as well), but to work on attitudes and to shape them in a way that men will become more aware of gender hierarchies in the culture and will avoid getting involved in them. Male feminists thus organize workshops during which they

teach boys about the wide spectrum of behaviors available to young people that can help constitute their male identities without an underlying sexist and homophobic agenda. Another example of the educational devotion of male feminists is their public advocating of women's rights. In this case, they serve as an example that feminism is not only by and for women (as the popular stereotype implies). By attending public gatherings, they prove the openness of the movement and the importance of male commitment to feminism. Moreover, male feminists advocate the pro-choice stand on female birth control, firmly supporting the right to abortion and artificial insemination. The attention paid to education has also influenced scholarly work at an academic level and helped to develop men's studies in a way that is parallel to women's studies.

Finally, it is important to mention the lack of interest paid to homosexual women and to some issues that are present in the men's rights movement and within the feminist scope. The first oversight is directly linked to the essentialist framework within which male feminists organize their ideology. The latter proves that male feminists are often at odds with the *masculinist movement* (this term is also often used to designate a movement separate from men's rights), which is intensely concerned about family law and the uneven treatment of men and women (e.g., child custody). The difference between the two may lie in the amount of attention that is being paid to the privileges of men (male feminists) and the oppression of men (men's rights) in patriarchy.

Controversies

As mentioned before, the idea of distinguishing *male feminists* from feminists introduces a lot of controversy into feminism and its different currents. First of all, the term often is exchanged with *pro-feminists* and is used by men who claim to support feminism but do not consider themselves feminists; however, those who consider themselves feminists but believe that by virtue of being male they will never have full access to the notion of feminism use the "male" adjective. On the other hand, the pro-feminist label is also used by more radically oriented feminists—for example, the feminism of difference or radical (lesbian) feminism—who claim that no men, thanks to their hegemonial position in society, would ever be able to fully understand and support the women's rights movement. The

key issue here is biological determinism. For the supporters of the essentialist viewpoint, the ultimate difference between the two sexes cannot be overcome or dismantled, so men will never understand women—hence, feminism. However, there is also another philosophical stream within feminist ideology the disregards the gender division. *Constructionists* (often associated with queer theory) emphasize the need to overcome sexual bipolarism (men-women, homo-hetero, active-passive, etc.) in order to completely dismantle patriarchy, which has more to do with hegemonial organization of dualities than simply men dominating women. They also draw attention to the exclusiveness and potential oppressiveness of the essentialist standpoint, for example, with regard to transsexual women, male to female, who may be rejected as "not-real-wo/men" by both feminists and male feminists.

Robert Kulpa

See also American Men's Studies Association; Fatherhood Movements; Masculinity Studies; Men's Movements; National Organization for Men Against Sexism

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MANKIND PROJECT, THE

The ManKind Project (MKP) is a nonprofit organization that leads training workshops in nine countries worldwide. These workshops, called New Warrior Training Adventures (NWTA), are aimed at helping men integrate their emotional selves into their identities and develop new self-schemas based on authenticity, accountability, and leadership. This topic is relevant for discussion of gender due to the overwhelming evidence that traditional models of masculinity lack this integration and are damaging both to men and to society as a whole.

The MKP was founded in 1984 by Rich Tosi, a former marine; Ron Herring, a therapist and college professor; and Bill Kauth, a psychotherapist. The MKP hosts mythopoetic initiation-style weekend retreats,

NWTA, that bring men together to explore subjects that are most difficult for men to cope with when confined to traditional modes of masculine expression: anger, grief, anxiety, helplessness, and lack of life direction. NWTA focus on helping men understand and accept their feelings, develop a sense of integrity and accountability, and find greater purpose in life. NWTA are led by facilitators trained and certified by the organization, who may have begun their involvement with the organization as participants. The MKP has worked to establish over 40 interdependent centers where trainings and follow-up meetings are held.

Details regarding the content of NWTA are sketchy, as participants and organizers alike invoke confidentiality, ostensibly as part of an effort to preserve the mystery of initiation and prevent any preconceived expectations on the part of participants. However, the typical weekend retreat can be described as 48 hours of intense therapeutic interaction with peers and facilitators that may include limited contact with the outside world (no cell phones or television), large- and small-group discussions, games and activities, journaling, an initiation, and a call to action. Participants are invited afterward to attend an 8-week training (once weekly for 8 weeks) designed to help them integrate the benefits of the NWT into daily life. They are then encouraged to form or attend weekly meetings in their local area, called I Groups, or Integration Groups. Workshop graduates are urged to mentor boys in their local communities, and older members are encouraged to serve as elder role models.

The MKP and its participants seem to experience at least anecdotal success; however, its actual efficacy (as a source of what is essentially mental health education) has not been measured, and the secrecy of NWTA has led to criticism of the organization, including claims that it constitutes New Age or cult-like practice. However, the MKP's assertions that it accepts only willing participants, is nondenominational, and lacks a central authority serve to counter those claims. Additionally, there is a cost to consider ($350 to $650). On the other hand, individual centers are free to set their own fee, and some offer scholarships, hold fund-raisers, or encourage graduates to sponsor other men.

The MKP is an important topic of study not only for its impact on its members but also in its potential application for preventative and rehabilitative criminal justice. For example, facilitators from the MKP have partnered with the Inner Circle Foundation, another nonprofit, to offer a training weekend for inmates at state prisons, and MKP members and graduates are encouraged to volunteer with other organizations such as the Boys-to-Men Network.

Tracie Welser

See also American Men's Studies Association; Consciousness-Raising; Masculinity Studies

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Maquiladora

Maquiladora or *maquila* are often used synonymously to identify a foreign-owned factory in Mexico and Central America. In some contexts, *maquila* is used to refer to the factory and *maquiladora* to the factory worker. The maquiladora workers are predominately female; approximately 70 percent of this workforce is made up of women, some as young as 12 years of age. They work in a sweatshoplike setting, under scandalous conditions, earning extremely low pay and working long hours.

The existence of these foreign-owned assembly plants was facilitated by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA was at the outset a Republican initiative under President George H. W. Bush and was signed into law on December 8, 1993, by President Bill Clinton. NAFTA's goal was to facilitate trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

The maquiladora has its origins in Mexico, but presently this model has been expanded to the nations of Central America. The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), under the President George W. Bush administration, passed by two votes, 217 to 215, on July 27, 2005; but the January 1, 2006, implementation date passed without international action due to staunch criticism. However, CAFTA could not be

halted and was implemented in El Salvador on March 1, 2006; Nicaragua and Honduras on April 1, 2006; Guatemala on July 1, 2006; and the Dominican Republic on March 1, 2007. Costa Rica is the only remaining nation included in CAFTA to not ratify the trade agreement, as they are currently waiting to hold a referendum.

How Does "Free Trade" Work?

The creation of the "free trade zone" is taken advantage of by multinational corporations that use NAFTA and CAFTA not to facilitate trade with Mexico and Central America, but to minimize production costs and maximize profits. Factories are built within the free trade zones at minimal costs; no federal or state taxes need to be paid, as would be mandatory if the factory were located in the United States. Machinery and raw materials can be shipped across the border to the free trade zone factories duty-free and completed products shipped around the world at reduced tariffs. The arrangement benefits U.S. multinational corporations in their ability to relocate production for tremendous savings.

Wage Slavery

In addition to the tax and tariff benefits, the most significant and profound savings is reduced labor costs. The multinational corporation, to maximize profit, has the goal of searching for and/or demanding the lowest wages. The average compensation for an entire day of work for a maquiladora worker is less than the hourly wage for comparable work in the United States. A maquiladora worker can expect to make $3 to $4 a day. Also, the companies do not have to pay any benefits; for example, social security, retirement, health insurance, or unemployment insurance. U.S. multinational corporations have a vested interest in producing goods using this model. NAFTA and CAFTA may have advancing trade as their goals, but the maquiladora workers do not make enough money to buy any of the products they produce.

Worker and Environmental Protection

U.S. companies utilizing the maquiladora are not governed by the guidelines set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. The factories are not held to the same (or any) standards for worker safety and rights, as Mexico and other nations lack an adequate staff and funding to complete the task of regulating safety and waste. Workers are exposed to unsafe conditions, with the potential of immediate and long-term effects. The labor is fast paced, and machinery does not have safety features, which increases risk of immediate physical injury (e.g., cuts and amputation). Long-term injuries from rapid repeated motion without adequate rest or ergonomic accommodations are common (e.g., stress injury, carpal tunnel syndrome). Maquiladoras produce goods for a spectrum of industries, and workers are placed into harm's way, as they are rarely provided protective gear and there is inadequate ventilation as they work with toxic, sometimes carcinogenic, materials (e.g., plastics, resins, glue/adhesives, lacquer/paints). Many companies actively relocate to utilize materials in the maquiladoras, that have been banned for use in the United States. In addition to the potential harm to workers, many maquiladoras pollute the surrounding areas and environment by dumping their waste locally. Many members living in communities near maquiladoras sometimes become ill due to the pollution of surface/ground water, air, and land. Some factories use waste export and control companies, but repeated research has documented that these are the minority of cases.

Worker's Rights/Human Rights

The most egregious violation is the (ab)use of child labor. The maquiladora is staffed by children and young adults ranging in age from 12 to 20 years of age. These workers are mostly female and work very long hours under extreme conditions. The typical maquiladora work day spans from 10 to 12 hours, sometimes longer if there are large orders to fulfill. Workers have been known to be beaten and threatened with loss of pay for not making their daily required production. In addition, workers are sometimes forced to take home work to complete if they do not meet their quotas. It has been documented that the use of female labor is preferable, as young women are easier to control. Female workers have been forced to take birth control pills daily so they do not become pregnant. If they do become pregnant, they are urged to abort the baby to maintain employment or are fired without pay if they choose to not comply.

There are no unions or worker organizations to protect workers' rights. Maquila workers are threatened, fired, and sometimes physically harmed when

attempting to organize for workers' rights or providing information to the press. Further, workers who have been caught organizing or talking about the conditions are usually blacklisted, and they become unable to solidify employment in any of the other factories in the area.

The economic and political power of the multinational corporation makes it difficult to sway these business practices. Most corporations deny direct knowledge of these practices, as they subcontract the oversight and operations of the factories to other companies; being one step removed from the process allots the option of denial. A similar business model is currently used by multinational corporations in China.

Paul E. Calarco, Jr.

See also Feminization of Labor; Human Rights Campaign (HRC); Universal Human Rights

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MARCUSE, HERBERT (1898–1979)

As a radical social theorist influential to library social movements during the 1960s and 1970s, Herbert Marcuse embodies the concept of *praxis,* synthesized enactment of theory and practice, fundamental to critical theory as a philosophical approach that is simultaneously explanatory, practical, and normative. His writings are significant to an emancipatory scholarly tradition that considers social relations within a continuous projection of conflictual domination.

Gender and Economy

For Marcuse, social positionings of sex and gender reflect broader economic relations and are exemplary of both acquiescence in and resistance to prevailing societal forces. Contemporary gender formations are based historically in an early societal configuration that favored physical strength and subordinated females as physically contingent on childbearing and child rearing, through which women came to be regarded as inferior generally. Once established, male-dominated power relations expanded into other social and political institutions.

Marcuse's work considers feminine characteristics as socially conditioned and inextricably connected to prevailing economic arrangements. Socially feminine characteristics such as receptivity, sensitivity, nonviolence, and nurturance stand in opposition to the social characteristics of capitalism: profitability, competitiveness, brutality, and productivity. While women's roles gradually changed in the development of industrial society, Marcuse notes that the result, rather than equivalent social positioning, was the increased exploitation of women as material laborers in addition to ongoing exploitation in the domestic sphere.

Sexuality and Liberation

A connection between consciousness and economic material conditions extends into Marcuse's treatment of sexuality. Sexual pleasures are sublimated in advanced capitalist society, resulting in restricted self-expression and thus stifling individuals' communion with humanity. Female sexuality in particular is objectified as a means to an end—either procreation or prostitution.

Marcuse suggests that capitalism's negative effects can be counteracted through developing freedom of sexual choice and incorporating knowledgeable opportunity in pursuit of a full range of sexual outlets. Sexual liberation can be attained through counternormative diversification of sexual desires, sexual activities, and gender roles. Because economic relations are fundamental to social arrangements, in order for such sexual freedom to be realized, strict divisions between what is public and private and what is labor and leisure would have to be similarly transformed and unrestricted.

However, as such sexual emancipation is pursued, it is at the same time manipulated and exploited by prevailing power structures. Liberating tendencies are

reproduced as part of the established value system in the form of commercialized and commodified contrivances of advertising and entertainment industries. In so doing, sexuality becomes even further isolated from universal humanity.

Capitalism and Revolutionary Potential

Marcuse's later work discusses the decline of revolutionary potential in advanced capitalist relations. Capitalism creates false needs, integrating individuals into the existing and continuing system of production and consumption while absorbing and eliminating criticism and opposition. Although he demonstrates limited potential for complete liberation, Marcuse's work remains an optimistic contribution in that it theorizes a nonrepressive social order based in emancipatory goals of freedom and happiness.

Mishel Filisha

See also Freud, Sigmund; Materialist Feminism; Oedipal Conflict

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MARRIAGE

The term *marriage* refers to an institution involving a formal recognition of the sexual union of two people. Marriage confers legitimacy upon an intimate relationship, and therefore this form of recognition often grants a range of social, religious, and legal benefits; rights; and responsibilities to those who marry. In contemporary contexts, marriage usually refers to the monogamous union of a man (husband) and a woman (wife); however, polygny, polyandry, and polyamory are possible alternatives to monogamy. These forms of relationships, however, tend to lack the forms of recognition granted to monogamous opposite-sex couples. Marriage as an institution reflects the norms of the society in which it exists and reveals in particular the

beliefs regarding how sexuality should be governed. Rights such as inheritance, property rights, access to health care, tax credits, adoption rights, and rights of next of kin are some of the privileges that marriage assigns. Marriages are often symbolically marked by a series of cultural traditions, rites, and rituals, such as the wedding ceremony and anniversary celebrations. These events are expressions of the social and cultural significance accorded to the institution of marriage.

The nature of marriage has transformed significantly throughout the 20th century and early 21st century. Historically, considerations such as economics made marriage a necessity, but in the 20th century, marriage increasingly became defined as a form of companionship based on mutual love and free choice. A greater diversification of lifestyles and family forms has meant that the meaning and significance of marriage has continued to change and that intimate relationships are increasingly organized outside of the normative confines of marriage. For instance, marriage traditionally has been seen as the only legitimate context for bearing children, but this is no longer the case as the number of births outside of marriage has grown. As an institution that is often seen to be one of the cornerstones of society, marriage has been the object of much concern and controversy. Changes to the ways in which marriage is practiced often produces anxiety, particularly when those changes are interpreted as signaling the demise of marriage. For others, however, marriage is an institution that is based upon the marginalization of particular groups, for instance, gays and lesbians. That marriage and intimate relationships are undergoing transformations, therefore, is viewed as a positive development.

Feminist Critiques of Marriage

Feminist scholarship has been central to understanding how issues that were once considered "natural" or private matters are actually social and cultural in nature. Sexual relationships have been the object of much feminist analysis, and marriage in particular has been criticized by feminists as being organized in ways that benefit men and further the interests of patriarchal control over women. As such, feminist critiques have drawn attention to the ways in which power operates within the realm of intimate relationships. From this perspective, marriage enforces heterosexual monogamy and restricts the autonomy of women. Historically, men acquired various forms of

rights through marriage, such as the acquisition of their wives' property and rights over their bodies. For instance, in the United Kingdom, legislation against marital rape came into effect only in 1991.

From the feminist perspective, marriage is problematic because it often defines a woman in terms of her relationship to a man; for example, women's loss of autonomy through marriage is symbolized by the convention of giving up their surnames for those of their spouses and changing their titles from Miss to Mrs. Feminists have advocated the use of Ms. as an alternative title, seen as commensurate with the neutrality reflected in the male title of Mr. Romantic love may be seen as promoting a form of ideology that leads women to believe their lives should be devoted to finding and keeping a man. From this perspective, love is a social construction that circulates in society through various cultural forms, including popular songs, poems, fairy tales, movies, and literature. From these representations, it is said, girls and boys learn to express their emotions differently, which leads to gender inequality in intimate relationships. The ideology of romantic love is seen as masking the essentially exploitative nature of heterosexual relationships.

Some argue that traditional roles of husband and wife are defined to reflect different societal expectations of men and women. In heterosexual relationships, women more often take responsibility for domestic chores and caring responsibilities even when working full-time. Women also tend to take responsibility for the emotional labor required to keep a relationship going. Men, on the other hand, generally are expected to behave more instrumentally rather than emotionally and to perform the role of "primary breadwinner." Marriage, therefore, is viewed by some as problematic because it legalizes and socially sanctions a relationship based upon gender inequality and the exploitation of women.

Transforming Intimate Relationships

In the second half of the 20th century, a number of demographic transformations became evident that have given cause to question the meaning and significance of marriage as a dominant form of intimate relationship. These demographics include the sharp rise in divorce rates, the increasing rates of nonmarital cohabitation, the tendency to delay marriage, the increasing rates of birth outside of marriage, and the rise of single-person households.

The reform of divorce laws in Western societies has made the dissolution of marriages more widely possible, and this is often seen to impact the way individuals view commitment to their partners. Debates have emerged as to whether the decline of the stigma traditionally attached to divorce and its greater availability are good for society. Divorce is often cited as being key to the breakdown of the traditional nuclear family and a driver of changes that lead to a loss of social stability. On the other hand, contemporary social conditions are often purported to offer an increased range of choices about how to organize one's relationships, with marriage now being one choice among many others. From this perspective, lifestyles are now organized in more individualized ways that reflect greater diversity in society. Traditional expectations and sources of authority such as religion dictate to a lesser extent the paths people's lives will take, and life courses no longer follow a uniform pattern, but instead reflect greater diversity. This is not only true of the timing and frequency of marriage. It is also reflected in the ways in which individuals undertake their education and in the ways in which employment is organized. People's lives are now more mobile, provisional, and require greater flexibility.

As a result of these transformations to standardized life courses, some commentators argue that the practice of intimacy between men and women is becoming more democratic and less exploitative. Greater equality for women has meant that they no longer have to accept inequality in their intimate relationships. They now enjoy greater financial independence and sexual autonomy. Marriage, once an institution imposed by external authorities, is now defined by the individuals who choose to enter into it. One effect is that married couples are more likely to be continually self-reflective about the meaning and quality of their relationships. If the relationship is no longer meeting either of the partner's expectations, it can be dissolved, freeing up the individuals to pursue another more rewarding relationship. It is the quality of the relationship that keeps it going, not externally imposed expectations or norms. Accordingly, intimate relationships may be more democratic because they have to be continually negotiated. At the same time, they also may be more fragile, as individual expectations must be continually met if the relationship is to be seen as viable. This position has been criticized for overemphasizing gender equality in relationships and for underemphasizing the extent to

which financial and material issues rather than free choice impact the way relationships are lived. Some research suggests that while couples talk about their relationships as being equal, in practice, the female partner performs a greater proportion of the domestic and emotional labor than her male counterpart.

Cohabitation has become an accepted form of intimate relationship, either as a precursor to marriage or as an alternative to marriage altogether, although the legal status of this type of union varies. In some countries, the rights and privileges afforded to legally married couples is still greater than those granted to cohabiting couples, leading some to suggest that heterosexual marriage still operates as a privileged form of intimate relationship.

The rise of single-person households has led some to suggest that being in a relationship no longer holds the same importance to people as it did previously. Traditionally, marriage was assumed to be not only desirable, but "natural," whereas some commentators have more recently suggested that people now spend a greater proportion of their lives outside of committed, monogamous relationships and that being single is increasingly experienced as a normal and desirable status. Within this context, friendships become more central to people's lives as a source of support and sociality.

In the past, the pressure to marry by a certain age was particularly strong for women who risked the label of "old maid" or spinster if they remained single after that age. Men also faced the label of "bachelor" if they remained single, although arguably this stereotype did not carry the same negative connotations for men than "old maid" did for women. In either case, the label attaches itself as one that marks the individual as a failing to achieve the mark of successful adulthood. A greater acceptance of single lifestyles now challenges the assumption that marriage is a necessary or inevitable part of one's identity.

Race, Ethnicity, and Intimate Relationships

With increasing cultural diversity and multiculturalism, parenting and partnering across various differences, including religion, ethnic traditions, nationality, and "race," have become more common. These unions are often seen to symbolically merge divides that exist in the wider society. The extent to which partnering between people who have different cultural backgrounds occurs within a society is often viewed as an indicator of social integration and celebrated as a driver of social change. However, historically, intermarriage was the source of great anxiety, as expressed by the fear of miscegenation. In some countries, this was formally ingrained in laws forbidding marriage between people of different "races." More recently, concerns expressed about intermarriage have focused on the how children born of these unions negotiate their "mixed" identities. Recent research on mixed identities has suggested that these hybrid identities are complex and exceed the boundaries of categories often used to describe them.

Same-Sex Relationships

Marriage has been criticized because historically, it was defined exclusively in terms of the sexual union of a man and a woman. The rights and privileges accorded to married couples therefore operate as a form of discrimination and perpetuate social inequality based upon sexuality. In the later 20th century, demands for equal relationship status for same-sex couples gained momentum, and while gay marriage has been granted in only a very small number of countries worldwide, it has become a possibility. The expansion of legal recognition for same-sex unions is the source of much controversy. There have been significant debates waged about whether gay marriage should be legalized nationally in the United States. This is true not only in wider society but also within the gay and lesbian community.

Gay marriage directly challenges the privileging of the heterosexual, monogamous, cohabiting couple with children as the unit often taken for granted as belonging at the core of society. Therefore, the demand for widening the legal and social definitions of marriage to include same-sex partnerships has, not surprisingly, been contested. While legal recognition has been granted in some countries, in others, such as the United States, legal bans have been brought into effect. In some countries, the decision to grant same-sex marriage has been rejected in favoring of developing a different form of recognition. These civil partnerships deliver a system of rights and benefits as a form of recognition for same-sex partners, while marriage is retained for heterosexuals. Within the gay and lesbian community, the failure to grant marriage to same-sex couples is viewed by many as a form of discrimination that perpetuates heterosexual privilege.

From this perspective, marriage is a civil right enshrined in law. To withhold the rights inscribed in marriage is therefore a violation of citizenship. Opponents to gay marriage, however, argue that marriage is not a civil or social right, but a natural one founded upon the requirement of procreation. This argument puts forward the notion that the heterosexual couple with their biological children is the fundamental unit in society, and as such, its preservation is imperative. Opponents also argue that allowing gay marriage would alter the meaning and significance of marriage beyond recognition. Objections are also made from religious sources that object to gay marriage on the basis of religious teachings. Moderate positions have advocated civil unions or partnerships as a more appropriate form of legal recognition for gays and lesbians. These unions are now available in a number of countries; however, they often do not confer the same legal rights, and symbolically, they operate as a separate status that some feel perpetuates the stigma attached to homosexual relationships.

Some members of the gay and lesbian community argue that marriage, because it has always been an institution defined through heterosexuality, is not the form that gay and lesbian intimate relationships should take. From this perspective, gay marriage is viewed as a strategy of assimilation into the dominant heterosexual social order rather than advancing a more radical challenge to that order. From this perspective, gay and lesbian relationships and kinship do not fit into the same categories as those occupied by heterosexuals, nor should they be expected to. In opposition to a strategy of assimilation, queer theorists advocate the dismantling of a narrow and fixed range of categories for describing intimate relationships. This demand for recognizing sexual diversity and the wide range of ways in which people live their intimate relationships is seen as more socially progressive. In this view, gay marriage does nothing to actually destabilize heterosexuality because those who are accepted into it are accepted on the terms set by those who enjoy a greater degree of social power. Accordingly, homosexuality retains its position of disadvantage and marginal social status, while heterosexuality retains its position as natural and desirable.

Conclusion

Marriage is an institution that confers social, legal, and often religious recognition onto a sexual union of two persons. The definition of marriage and the practices that constitute it have undergone significant changes in the late 20th and early 21st century. These changes are often viewed as the cause of social instability and decline. From another perspective, changes to the practice of intimacy reflect a more socially and culturally diverse society. Marriage, from this point of view, has in the past been a restrictive institution that perpetuates, among other things, male and heterosexual privilege. Its transformation is, therefore, a progressive development.

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See also Divorce; Family, Organization of; Heterosexual Privilege; Queer Studies; Same-Sex Marriage

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MARRIAGE PROMOTION ACT

The Marriage Promotion Act was implemented as part of the overall changes in welfare. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was signed into law on August 22, 1996. The PRWORA radically changed the requirements and stipulations for receiving income assistance. Formerly conceived as a federal income assistance program called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the PRWORA created a block grant called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), which transferred the allocation of funds to low-income families to the individual states.

As the name TANF implies, the assistance low-income families receive is temporary. Thus, one of the provisions of TANF is to limit the receipt of assistance for 5 years in a recipient's lifetime. Other changes that occurred with the implementation of TANF were the ending of entitlements to federal cash assistance, requiring any type of paid labor as a condition for receiving assistance, and cutting benefits to anyone who failed to comply with the program requirements. These changes made it much more difficult for low-income families to receive assistance in the first place but also kept them from applying for assistance again. The work requirement has been criticized for not moving people out of poverty, because recipients often find low-wage jobs without benefits, limited opportunities for advancement, and low job security. This causes low-income families to stay poor even while working, which prompts families to reapply for assistance.

Four main goals set forth by TANF allowed the states to use funds toward: (1) providing assistance to needy families so children may be cared for in their own homes or the homes of relatives; (2) ending the dependency of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage; (3) preventing and reducing out-of-wedlock pregnancies and establishing numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and (4) encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families. Both the House Bill H.R. 240 and the Senate Bills S.105 and S.6 allocate funding for states for marriage promotion programs.

The PRWORA was reauthorized in 2003, with the passage by the House of Representatives of Bill H.R. 4, as the Personal Responsibility, Work, and Family Promotion Act of 2003, which further promoted the states to spend funds on encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families. Some subtle wording was changed in regard to the goals of TANF. The Senate Finance Committee changed the fourth TANF goal to read, "encourage the formation and maintenance of *healthy* 2-parent *married* families, and encourage responsible fatherhood." The House recommended that an additional goal, to "improve child well-being" be added to the original goals of TANF and amended the second TANF goal to read, "end the dependency of needy *families* on government benefits *and reduce poverty* by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage." The changes in the wording of the TANF goals lean more heavily toward emphasizing marriage and maintenance of two-parent families.

Marriage promotion was also emphasized as part of the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (DRA). In this 2006 federal budget bill, $100 million per year for 5 years will go to fund healthy marriage promotion efforts, and $50 million per year over 5 years will go toward responsible fatherhood programs. Healthy Marriage Demonstration Grants are provided to state and local governments, nonprofit and for-profit organizations, and faith-based organizations on a competitive basis. These grants may be used to promote healthy marriages through advertising public campaigns that emphasize the value of marriage and skills needed for healthy marriages, educating high school students on marriage and relationship skills, encouraging couples to enroll in premarital classes and counseling, and encouraging married couples to attend classes and counseling on staying married. Responsible Fatherhood Grants can be applied for by states, territories, counties, cities, independent school districts, publicly funded higher education, Native American tribes, and faith-based organizations. These grants may be used to promote and sustain healthy marriages, foster responsible parenting, and provide economic stability. Promoting responsible fatherhood may include activities such as premarital counseling, marriage education, counseling, mentoring, and an emphasis on two-parent involvement for children.

The overall changes that occurred with TANF and the marriage promotion aspect in particular have been debated by proponents and opponents. Proponents of marriage promotion argue that children are best raised in two-parent families and do better emotionally, physically, socially, and economically. Proponents also argue that marriage improves the overall well-being of

the married couple and their children and that out-of-wedlock births contribute to many social problems and instability. The argument further states that, ultimately, society benefits from the institution of marriage. Opponents of marriage promotion programs argue that the government should not have a role in promoting marriage and that because the majority of families who receive assistance are headed by single mothers, marriage promotion may disproportionately affect women to stay with partners who abuse them or their children. Opponents further argue that the issues of domestic violence and substance abuse are serious issues that may impact the well-being of the family if they are not properly addressed by the marriage promotion programs of counseling and educating high school students, and in these cases, a two-parent marriage may not be the best option for the family. Further, opponents argue that because the funds are to go to programs and activities that promote marriage, there is less money used to actually assist poor families.

Since the allocation of funds toward marriage promotion is relatively new, little research has been done to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs and activities on low-income families.

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See also Poverty, Feminization of; Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; Welfare Reform

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MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACTS

A series of statutes referred to as the "Married Women's Property Acts" were enacted in the United States and Britain in the latter half of the 19th century to remedy the subordinate legal status of married women. At this time, both law and custom meant women had significantly fewer rights than men, the property rights of women being dependent on their marital status. Under the common law doctrine of coverture, a married woman did not have a legal identity separate from that of her husband, and the property women brought into marriage, or acquired subsequently, passed into his control. Reform of the marriage laws was a primary concern of the women's movement, and securing property rights for married women paved the way for wider political campaigns.

English marital law was underpinned by the common law doctrine of coverture, whereby women were "under cover" of their husband. This doctrine, also recognized by American state courts, prevented women from owning any property free from their husband's control. Married women could not make wills, and a husband could overrule any bequests his wife made of her personal property. Married women were thus not entitled to an independent legal or economic identity. While settlements under equity allowed some women control over property brought into marriages, through prenuptial agreements or the establishing of trusts, these were costly and motivated more by the importance of protecting family wealth rather than the rights of women.

Campaigning by first-wave feminists, including prominent activists such as Josephine Butler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, contributed to major reforms in marital property rights. Resistance to reforms, however, meant that the granting of property rights was gradual and piecemeal. In Britain, 18 Married Women Property Bills were introduced into Parliament between 1857 and 1882, while the American states varied considerably in how fast and far they proceeded.

In arguing for laws to protect the private property of married women, feminists drew on liberal principles of freedom, equality, and justice. While liberal theory held that adults should receive equal treatment under the law, family relationships were seen as part of the private realm, distinct from the public world. Feminist arguments challenged this "separate spheres" doctrine and understandings of a married woman as an extension of her husband. The campaigns focused on legal inequalities between husband and wife, rather than broader social inequalities. Furthermore, while these reforms did increase the rights of married women, they did not

ensure equality within marriage: Rights to a share in joint property and earnings or against marital rape were not enacted until the late 20th century. Nevertheless, these acts enabled campaigns for equality in others spheres and helped to pave the way to broader legal and political reforms.

Roona Simpson

See also Uniform Marital Property Act

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MARTINEAU, HARRIET (1802–1876)

Harriet Martineau was born to a middle-class manufacturer in Norwich, England. Her childhood might be best described as sickly, resulting in near complete deafness by age 12. Martineau's Unitarian parents emphasized education and social awareness for all of their children. While Martineau's schooling was not of the same caliber of her brothers,' she received informal instruction in writing, math, French, and Latin and 2 years of formal master's education in French and Latin. Not all of Martineau's father's business practices were consistent with the emerging capitalist economy. He adhered to profit sharing for his employees, even as England entered an economic crisis in the 1820s. As the family's wealth declined, Martineau became fascinated with political economy. Most middle-class Victorian women saw marriage as the antidote for economic uncertainty. Martineau, however, became a professional writer.

Martineau was an established author when she began her 25-volume work, *Illustrations in Political Economy* (1832–1834). Using fiction, Martineau identified the new science of political economy. Within 2 years, *Illustrations* was outselling the works of her contemporary Charles Dickens.

With her travels to America, Martineau ventured into what would become sociological writing. *Society in America* (1837) and *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838) were not the typical travel writings of the period; they used the social theories and methods that Martineau set forth in *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838). Martineau theorized that a true understanding of a society must include an examination of both cultural beliefs (morals) and social interaction (manners). For Martineau, the distinction between natural sciences and a science of society was sympathy for the social actor, a methodology predictive of Weber's *verstehen. Morals and Manners* was prescient of sociology. Earlier than Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, Martineau investigated social class, religion, suicide, national character, the status of women, and the interrelationship between self and society.

Society in America (1837) tackled the ethnocentrism in 19th-century comparative texts. Martineau emphasized the domestic role of women as a critical element to the scientific comparison between British and American societies. Martineau documented the claimed values of Americans and then compared those morals to the everyday life she observed. Like Alexis de Tocqueville, Martineau identified the disparities between the American social structure and its democratic values. While Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835) set forth the connection between American values and conformity, Martineau identified the relationship between values and structural change. She observed America's transition from feudal morals (represented by slavery) to democratic values (represented by the abolitionist movement).

Martineau's intrigue with societies in transition led her to the Middle East. In *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848), Martineau concluded that human history was moving in the direction of new forms of religion. She longed for, as Durkheim would do 40 years later, a scientific study of society that would serve as an intellectual replacement for traditional religion.

By the 1850s, English interest in Comtean thought was growing. However, Auguste Comte's (1838) *Cours de Philosophie Positive* tended toward incoherency and repetition in its original French. By translating and condensing Comte's six-volume treatise, Martineau wanted to introduce the English-speaking world to a science that allowed for social reform. Comte was pleased with the translation and believed that it took Martineau to clarify his ideas.

In traditional sociology texts, Comte is recognized as the "Father of Sociology" and Martineau as his translator. However, she was more than that. In their time, Martineau's short novels of political economy

outsold the works of Dickens; her comparative histori-
cal account of 19th-century American society was
likened to Tocqueville's; 60 years before Durkheim
wrote *The Rules of the Sociological Method* (1895),
Martineau authored *How to Observe Morals and
Manners* (1838); and through her translation of
Comte's *Course de Philosophie Positive,* Martineau
congealed his ideas and introduced sociology to the
English-speaking world. It would be accurate to name
Martineau the "Mother of Sociology."

Cynthia Siemsen

See also Domestic Labor; Education: Gender Differences;
Suicide

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MASCULINITY STUDIES

Masculinity studies is a relatively new academic field.
It has a wide-ranging focus on subjects such as male
identities, gender roles, sexualities, bodies, relation-
ships with men and women, fatherhood, work, sports,
the state, and criminality. Similar to most new acade-
mic endeavors, masculinity studies has been primarily
a Western undertaking, but the field is moving more
in a multicultural and international direction.
Masculinity studies is multidisciplinary and thereby
informed by diverse perspectives across disciplines,
such as sociology, psychology, criminal justice,
humanities, philosophy, communications, anthro-
pology, nursing, and history.

Overview

Masculinity studies grew, in large part, out of accom-
plishments of the feminist movement and the growth
of women studies. For most of recorded history, few
questioned conceptions of masculinity, manhood,
maleness, or the category *male.* In the context of shift-
ing social relations that feminism helped to produce
and with theories from feminist scholarship on
women, gender, sexuality, and identity, interest in
exploring masculinity grew. Although there have
always been writings about men as the subject, it has
been only in the past 20 to 30 years that male gender
and masculinity have become a subject of disciplinary
study and investigation.

Many countries have seen considerable social
change in the past 40 to 50 years that has challenged
the stability and privilege of men and male identity,
precipitating what some have called a "crisis of mas-
culinity." The combination of relatively greater privi-
lege for women and people of color in the United
States, shifting economic resources away from many
men globally, decreased means of obtaining economic
resources, and movement away from the two-parent
nuclear family have left many men wondering about
male identity and traditional male roles, such as
leader, moneymaker, and head of the family.

Masculinity studies covers these issues from iden-
tity and how masculinity has been constructed both
historically and currently to the impact of race, equal-
ity with women, economics, and globalization on
male roles. Over the past 30 years, many popular cul-
ture books and academic texts have been published

on men and masculinities. In 1998, *Men and Masculinities,* a journal devoted to masculinity studies, began quarterly publication.

Masculinity studies often has an explicit political agenda. While work in this area focuses on men, much of the work is explicitly concerned about systematic or institutional issues related to (a) masculinity and relationships between men and among men and women and (b) more equal and less oppressive and violent societies, both locally and globally.

Male Gender Norms

One significant area of focus is examining masculinity norms in diverse contexts, such as work settings, ethnic groups, historical times, the media, and different cultures. Feminists were the first to question the male norm, criticizing it as the gender norm against which women are measured. Increasingly, scholars have begun to question this norm as an unhealthy and unrealistic male "ideal" that is neither natural nor singular for men.

In his book *Manhood in America,* Michael Kimmel tracks ideal white American masculinity and other forms of masculinity from the late 1770s. Manhood in the United States has been primarily an effort to achieve male status as powerful, strong, rich, and successful. How that was done depended on the time in history. For example, in the 1800s, land ownership or possession of a trade could provide access to ideal manhood. Later, success in industry and accumulation of capital were used to fulfill the social definition of the ideal.

Although many scholars argue that upon close examination, manhood and masculinity are fairly unstable and changing concepts, the dominant male norm in the United States has changed little since Erving Goffman's description in 1963 of the young, married, attractive heterosexual, urban male, of good height and weight, who is college educated, white, fully employed, and good in sports. Characteristics often attributed to this ideal man are tendencies for competitiveness, strength, infallibility, emotional distance, aggression, and dominance.

Hegemony

In general, masculinities scholars criticize the notion of an ideal or unified masculinity. They claim that there are multiple masculinities or many ways of being male. This perspective come from modern and postmodern theoretical perspectives that rely on the view that gender is socially constructed and that different social groups construct masculinity in different ways at different times and in different contexts.

Research from different countries, however, shows that dominant gender norms have persisted within patriarchal societies. Drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci, a Marxist philosopher who introduced the concept of *cultural hegemony* to signify that a diverse culture can be dominated by one cultural group and system of ideas, Robert Connell proposed that a hegemonic form of masculinity has come to be most socially valued, visible, and dominant in particular contexts at particular times. As the "ideal," hegemonic masculinity supports the legitimacy of patriarchy and the dominance of men over women.

Hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in contrast to nondominant masculinities. These male identities are marginalized or subordinated in relation to the hegemonic norm. For example, masculine hegemony is currently established and reinforced in most Western countries by the visible associations between ideal masculinity, individual power, and institutional power. Masculine hegemony can often be seen in the connections between upper-level management, the military, and government, with pervasive white heteronormative masculinity and male supremacy or patriarchy dominating these spheres.

Most masculinity scholars argue, however, that very few, if any, men fulfill the requirements that have been constructed for the hegemonic norm. Research explores ways in which diverse men struggle, resist, and/or achieve various aspects of the norm and consequences for men of these processes.

Effects of Gender Norms

Scholars across disciplines and in countries such as Spain, India, Finland, Sweden, Australia, England, and the United States have explored the effects of gender norms in many different male cultures, such as working class, athlete, prison, military, school, and diverse ethnic and national cultures. Research shows that there are negative consequences for men and boys who are positioned or identified as not satisfying the norm.

For example, adolescent boys may not be able to describe ways to be the "normal" or hegemonic male, but they can clearly describe ways to be popular and

not be an "outcast" from the norm. Boys know that wearing particular brand-name clothes; buying expensive vacations and cars; being heterosexual and having attractive and popular girlfriends; playing football, baseball, or basketball; being muscular and tall; and being able to fight and win fights if needed are ways to be popular. These signify or represent the dominant male norm—that is, strength, heterosexuality, money, status, respect, and toughness—and resonate with the 1963 male norm described by Goffman.

Boys identify outcasts from the norm as being weak, nerdy, short, wearing glasses, gay, and not interested in sports; not being able to fight; not having girlfriends or the right girlfriends; not looking good; and not wearing the right clothes or shoes. Boys individually and in groups agree on what makes a popular boy or an outcast "male." They can pick out these same identifiers or constructions of masculinity norms in television shows, commercials, movies, and other forms of popular culture where the norms circulate widely.

These norms have serious consequences for the boys who are positioned as popular and for the boys who are positioned as outcasts from the norm. For example, there is much anecdotal evidence that many adolescent males who have been responsible for violence in schools since the 1990s have been positioned through these cultural markers as outcasts from the hegemonic-masculinity norm.

Gender Roles

Early in U.S. history, gender roles assigned to men were based on biology and religion. Books written about men assumed that all men were different from women biologically, all men were the same, and essential sameness was tied to biological sex or anatomy (penis, testes) and physiology (testosterone). In some cases, this assumption is attributed to a God-given gender order that exists outside of a normal conception of time, and in other cases it dates back to the post-Enlightenment time of the two-sex biological model.

Science and medicine took up the assumption that male and female bodies were perfect in their innate differences and that they were naturally and ideally suited to the social roles attributed to them at that time. In the 18th century, men's bodies were assumed to be superior, stronger, more able, and better suited to public social roles of governing the state, business, land, and family. Women's bodies were assumed to be inferior to men's, physically and mentally weaker, less able to tolerate public social roles, and better suited for the so-called less-demanding roles of childbearing, motherhood, and wife. In the United States, men and women referred to in these theories of the time were primarily privileged white men and women who were free; that is, did not have to work in fields or for others. Considered nonnormative masculinity in the United States, African American males and females at that time were considered to have biological bodies that were well suited for hard physical labor. Masculinity scholars today not only excavate these historical discourses for constructions of masculinities, they trace these discourses into the language and understandings of masculinity in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Role Resistance, Strain, and Conflict

The hegemonic masculine norm is often associated with traditional male gender roles of worker, father, husband, breadwinner, and family provider. In the past, these roles appeared to be more straightforward because they were aligned with biological sex and what was assumed to be natural abilities. In contemporary Western societies where human rights movements, like the feminist and civil rights movements, have questioned the assumed privilege of men and whites, men's roles are in a state of flux. On one hand, some men and women are calling on men to equally share parenting, being the breadwinner, leadership, and family provider roles, but, on the other hand, many in society, both men and women, continue to reinforce the hegemonic norm and traditional gender roles associated with it.

One area where these conflicting social views are felt is in the area of fatherhood and parenting. Scholars like Thomas Johansson, in Sweden, are exploring how men construct their identities as fathers and practice fathering in the face of the conflicts between contemporary and traditional father roles and in light of men's own experiences of being fathered. For example, the traditional dominant norm and its construction of masculinity as emotionally distant and noncommunicative works against the ideals of the newer images of fathers as nurturing and highly involved in all aspects of their children's lives, including sharing and discussing emotions.

In *gender role strain theory,* Joseph Pleck highlights the idea that through gender stereotypes or

masculinity ideology, as described above, prevailing cultural views are transmitted and gender roles are learned. The white heterosexual male norm is used as a bulwark against which many men from nondominant groups, such as men of color and homosexual men, struggle to define themselves. Boys and men who violate masculinity norms or do not fit in with the norms may either try to over-conform to the norms or be left feeling inadequate and suffer negative consequences.

Cool pose, a form of masculine behavior demonstrated by some African American boys and men, developed in response to the white masculine norm and as an adaptation to the masculine gender role. While denied access to the ideal by virtue of not being white and by often being denied economic means for financial success, cool pose preserves dignity and respect for African American men as they enact masculinity norms of strength, control, pride, and competence.

Behaviors, Strategies, Practices, and Performativity

Masculinity scholars provide ways of thinking about male behaviors and how they originate or are produced. Working from a biological and humanist perspective, scientists view behaviors as originating from innate biology, physiology, and psychology, as well as from cognitive abilities and capacities. These theoretical positions have been used to explain the large numbers of men in the military, professional athletics, prisons, government and national leadership positions, engineering and technology fields, and top management. Men are assumed to be naturally rational; of superior intellect when it comes to math and science; physically aggressive, with a tendency toward violence; and less emotional and better able to handle crises.

Biological theories of behavior are also used to explain why there are limits to social change. If men are hardwired to be aggressive, competitive, unemotional, and dominating, then social circumstances between men and women that lead to men governing countries nationally and globally are predetermined by biological abilities and capacities. Similarly, this biological argument provides support for efforts to change bodies of homosexual men to heterosexual, based on the assumption that men's bodies are naturally heterosexual. Scholars who work from these perspectives develop ways of assisting men and society based on these beliefs.

Behaviors and Socialization

Instead of referring to behaviors inherent in a biological core, some masculinity scholars rely on *social learning theories* to explain how male norms and behaviors are learned and then enacted. Social learning theories propose that learning of behavior norms takes place through cognitive functioning via observation, modeling, reinforcement, and punishment. The source of learning material is the society in which masculinity norms circulate.

Albert Bandura says that aggressive behaviors are learned vicariously through observing the behavior of others and by observing the consequences of those behaviors. Changing a man's aggressive behavior, therefore, requires changing behavior of the socializing group in real life and in the media in order to provide an alternative observational experience. Another example of social learning is socialization into fatherhood. Men learn fathering behaviors by observing their fathers and other men performing paternal behaviors. Men observe attitudes toward fatherhood, how fathers discipline, how fathers nurture and handle emotions, and how fathers interact with their male and female children. Men also observe the consequences of those attitudes and behaviors and are more likely to repeat behaviors that they perceive to have had positive consequences and affirm normative masculinity.

Practices and Strategies

Male behaviors have also been theorized as *strategies and practices* that are consciously used to affirm identity as a normal or "ideal" man. This perspective is supported by research that shows that men make strategic choices that heretofore have been assumed to be natural tendencies. A common assumption is that heterosexual men are sexually attracted to heterosexual women and thereby chose women as girlfriends and wives. Research has shown that boys and men can make strategic choices to have a girlfriend, wife, or female significant other for reasons other then sexual attraction. Strategies such as dominance and control over a woman or increasing normative male status by having an attractive and popular girlfriend or wife can be conscious strategies that have nothing to do with biological sexual attraction.

Adolescent boys in middle school and high school describe violent practices of punking and bullying that strategically work to affirm a boy's normative maleness by proving his strength, toughness, superiority,

and dominance. *Punking* is a practice of verbal and/or physical humiliation of a boy by another boy in front of a group of people. Punking practices produce or reinforce the normative male identity of the perpetrator and the nonnormative or marginalized male identity of the victim. Similar punking practices that marginalize boys and men from the hegemonic norm include homophobic ridiculing, comments about weakness and nonathletic abilities, and comments about being feminine or womanlike. Masculinity scholars have identified punking practices used to humiliate, shame, and marginalize other men in popular culture movies, television, and adolescent and adult male prison systems.

Performativity

Gender performativity, a theory put forward by philosopher Judith Butler that draws on psychoanalytic theory, is also used to explain how male gender norms are taken up by boys and men and enacted in society. Words, gestures, and behaviors are performative in the sense that they produce the appearance of an internal gendered self by interiorization of socially constructed norms.

Boys and men come to know themselves by living in a society where masculinity norms are ever present. It is not possible to step outside of society to a place that is value-free and without gender norms. Males are perceived as "normal" when they repetitively perform gestures and displays like athleticism, toughness, emotional stoicism, domination, and heterosexuality. They are produced as "not normal" when they repetitively perform gestures and behaviors that are socially constructed as nonnormative.

Repetitiveness is a key, since the identities that are constructed are tentative and fragile and need to be repeatedly reinforced. Not tied to biology or innate psychology, identity and gender performativity are contingent on being perceived by the audience in the way intended by the male constructing his gender identity. That is, these acts are understood to be repeatedly reproduced and achieved through bodies that signify the norm or marginalized masculinity in a culture where that is what the behaviors symbolize or represent and are recognized as such.

Male Bodies

The masculinity norms described in this entry influence how a boy or man perceives his body and how his body is perceived by others. In many Western contexts, the current ideal male body is white, lean and muscular, and tall, with little body hair, and opposed to contrasting marginalized male bodies that are represented as less than the ideal. Male bodies are increasingly digitally perfected and widely represented in the current consumer and media-driven cultural. Scholars show how these norms and marginalized bodies are culturally produced and circulated in visual texts, such as television and movies, as well as written text, like novels. Research is also beginning to show how men's health is being affected by the media focus on unattainable perfection related to the male body.

Conclusion

Masculinity studies is a wide-ranging discipline with masculinity as its central analytical category. Evolving from a primarily Western focus, masculinity studies is becoming an international discipline, increasingly influenced by multicultural and postcolonial perspectives, queer theory, and other critical modes of thought that are pushing academic boundaries. Similar to women studies, intersectionality with race, ethnicity, nationality, class, sexualities, and other forms of social categorization are increasingly common in masculinity studies and provide the complex analyses that most accurately reflect the complexities of gender in societies today.

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See also Hegemonic Masculinity; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Privilege, Male; Queer Studies; Women Studies

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Mastectomy

Mastectomy, in its simplest form, is the removal of the breast and parts of the surrounding tissue and is generally the standard treatment for breast cancer. In current medical practice, along with lumpectomy, it is the major surgical approach to the treatment of breast cancer. *Lumpectomy* involves the removal of a lesion from the breast with preservation of the essential anatomy of the breast, rather than the removal of the breast as in mastectomy. Currently, breast cancer is the most frequently diagnosed type of cancer for women in the United States. Current guidelines emphasize the need for chemotherapy, hormonal therapy, and, at times, radiation therapy as the main treatments for early-stage breast cancer. Specific types of mastectomy as well as which other treatments are recommended have changed over time and will be discussed in more detail in this entry, following a brief discussion of some of the important facts and figures related to breast cancer.

Breast Cancer Facts

To understand the importance of mastectomy and its role in the overall treatment of breast cancer, it is helpful to review some basic breast cancer facts. As mentioned above, breast cancer is the most common type of cancer in women and the second most important cause of cancer death for women in the United States. In recent decades, breast cancer has received major attention in the United States, due both to high and increasing rates of breast cancer overall and publicized cases of breast cancer among prominent women. A fact often cited, but somewhat misleading, is that 1 in 7 women will experience breast cancer during their lifetimes. Part of the misleading aspect of this statement is that the rates increase with age. One third of women who develop breast cancer are 75 years of age and over, so for women under 75, the 1-in-7 figure is an overestimate, while it is an underestimate for older women. By the age of 50, the chances of developing breast cancer are 1 in 50, for example. Also, breast cancer is very uncommon, but not impossible, among men. Of all breast cancer cases, less than 1 percent occurs in men.

The underlying factors that lead to breast cancer are complex, and there are multiple risk factors. At this point, only a small number of cases are related to discovered genes, such as BRAC1 and BRAC2. Women who are BRAC carriers are more likely than other women to develop breast cancer at a younger age. The frequency of each of these mutations in the general population is about 1 in 217 in the United States. For this group of women, the lifetime risk of developing breast cancer in very high, about 60 percent to 80 percent for a patient with either mutation. One controversy about these women has been whether to consider prophylactic mastectomies (mastectomies prior to the women having cancer), a drastic step, but one that does remove the fear of developing breast cancer in this high-risk group.

There are other genetic components to development of breast cancer. Women who have first-degree relatives (parents, siblings, children) who develop breast cancer are at higher risk than the rest of the female population, and having more-distant relatives (aunts, cousins, etc.) with breast cancer also increases risk. Susceptibility can come from either the mother's or father's side of the family.

Types of Mastectomies and Other Treatments

Treatment recommendations for breast cancer vary by the type of cancer and by many important characteristics of the individual, including family history. Mastectomy is not the first type of treatment recommended for all types of breast cancer. There are both noninvasive disease versions of breast cancer, such as *lobular carcinoma in situ* (LCIS) and *ductal carcinoma in situ* (DCIS), and invasive versions, often divided into early and later invasive and also into

stages. Treatment varies by the type as well as other specific characteristics, such as whether cancer has spread into nearby lymph nodes. In general, however, localized versions of breast cancer often can be treated successfully with breast-conserving surgery (lumpectomies) in about two-thirds of cases, and therefore mastectomies would not be used. For LCIS, observation after diagnostic biopsy and *tamoxifen* (a hormone-blocking medication) might be initial recommendations, although some experts would recommend participation in clinical trials, and a few might recommend prophylactic mastectomies. For DCIS, a common first-treatment approach would be breast-conserving surgery and radiation therapy with or without tamoxifen, or total mastectomy with or without tamoxifen.

For early invasive disease, the stage of the disease and many other specifics make description of any one type of approach overly simplistic. Treatment might include breast-conserving surgery plus radiation therapy or mastectomy plus reconstruction of the breast. Often, both chemotherapy and radiation therapy are used. Some very recent studies argue that chemotherapy may not be needed for some categories of women, depending upon newly developed genetic tests.

There are different types of mastectomies, and some used in the past were very disfiguring, leaving both pain and reduced mobility in the affected areas, and are rarely performed today. Various versions of radical mastectomies that remove pectoral (chest) muscles are rarely performed. More common procedures today are (a) the *modified radical mastectomy,* which is the excision of the entire breast, including the nipple, areola, and overlying skin, as well as the lymphatic-bearing tissue in the axilla, with preservation of the pectoral muscles, or (b) the less extensive simple mastectomy, also known as a *total mastectomy,* which is excision of the breast, including the nipple, areola, and some of the overlying skin.

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See also AIDS and International Women's Health; Cancer; Health Disparities; Hysterectomy; Women's Health Movements

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MASTURBATION

Masturbation, although commonly practiced, is a sexual behavior that continues to elicit negative reactions, including embarrassment, shame, stereotypes, and misunderstanding. Indeed, contradictory cultural messages continue to exist regarding sexuality in general and masturbation in particular. While sexologists (sex researchers) and sex therapists describe masturbation as "touching one's genitals in a sexual way" as a means for overall physical, mental, and sexual health, others, such as religious leaders, have described masturbation as immoral (sinful), harmful, unnatural, and dirty. Various research studies focusing on masturbation have found differences in rates of and motivations for masturbation by gender, age, marital status, race and ethnicity, religion, education, and even body image. Further, individuals' use of masturbation may be influenced by prevailing cultural messages about its relative acceptance in contemporary society. Perhaps no other sexual act is both extremely private and publicly ridiculed. Numerous slang expressions are used to represent solitary sex, such as "spanking the monkey" or "dipping into the honey pot."

Multiple historical records indicate that masturbation has been a consistent part of human existence. Historian Reay Tannahill discusses several ancient civilizations' implicit acceptance of masturbation amid other more regulated sexual behaviors, though masturbation is less accepted for status-conscious men than women. Some Greek women used *olisbos,* or the ancient equivalent of the dildo, an artificial phallus. However, by the 11th to 16th centuries, many social commentators, mostly religious thinkers, contributed to a discourse that increasingly described masturbation (or any sexual act not leading to conception) as dangerous. These proclamations influenced public opinion to view masturbation the same way. In the early 1700s, masturbation was erroneously called *onanism,* after Onan of the Old Testament "spilled his seed on the ground." Religious scholars, though, have since explained that Onan engaged in *coitus interruptus* rather than masturbation.

In the mid-1700s, Swiss physician Samuel Tissot promoted the idea of "post-masturbation disease," particularly for children. The alternative, allowing children to engage in *autoeroticism* (a term used by early sexologist Havelock Ellis), was believed to result in weakness, insanity—or worse, death.

By the 1800s, both religion and medicine attempted to regulate masturbation as part of wider social control efforts over individuals' private sexual behavior. Many doctors recommended parents use implements and "cures" to prevent masturbation. These purported remedies ranged from bland diets and painful implements to prevent nocturnal contact, to circumcision for boys and removing the clitorises of girls. Even after a change in medical opinion around 1920, masturbation was still viewed in psychological terms. Historian Thomas Laqueur argues that this overall "medico-moral" control existed because masturbation contains an element of mental fantasy, which can be kept secret.

Following the mid-20th-century sex research of Alfred Kinsey and the team of William Masters and Virginia Johnson, the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s attempted to change this long-term condemnation of one-person sexual pleasure, especially promoting women to experience clitoral orgasms. There are numerous pioneering advocates of masturbation for women. For example, through therapeutic techniques such as group workshops, Dr. Betty Dodson promotes the idea that women should understand their sexual potential. Popularly known as the "Mother of Masturbation," Dodson continues to encourage women to masturbate for the ability to be orgasmic; to overcome negative social, religious, and familial messages, such as sexual passivity or denial rather than sexual agency; and for enhanced self-esteem. One study from 2003 found a relationship between women's masturbation and body image. For white women in particular, a woman who perceives she is overweight is less likely to masturbate. For women of color, the proscription to masturbate often comes from religious or social pressures to not appear overly sexual.

Although the medical and psychoanalytic establishments have changed their views on masturbation (Freud, for example, recommended accepting women's masturbation, but only until their attention turned to intercourse with men), there are lingering negative messages regarding masturbation. Many religions continue to prohibit masturbation. Today, the major complaints of sexologists and sex therapists are misinformation and censorship of information about masturbation. Through sex education in schools, teenagers might learn about sexuality and sexual roles but not necessarily about masturbation. According to the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), which considers masturbation to be a normal part of sexual behavior, around 30 percent of adolescent males and females had masturbated or been masturbated by a partner, yet many teens remain reluctant to discuss sexual matters.

Contemporary research indicates that many Americans engage in autoerotic activities. In a large nationwide study of Americans' sexual behavior, called the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS), approximately 60 percent of men and 40 percent of women reported having masturbated in the past year. These percentages vary for different social factors, such as age, marital status, and education; however, nearly equal numbers of men and women reported feeling guilty about masturbation. Further, respondents who have sexual partners reported higher rates of masturbation. The researchers conclude that notions of people who masturbate as being socially incompetent, lacking willpower, or being without sexual partners are myths.

Autoeroticism can also include the use of pornography, "sex toys" such as those that attempt to replicate a penis or vagina, and other people. According to the NHSLS, about 19 percent of women and 42 percent of men use sexually explicit materials and sex toys. Masturbation is featured in pornography, and organized groups exist in which people meet to engage in masturbation.

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See also Krafft-Ebing, Richard von; Male Circumcision; Phallocentrism; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Self-Esteem; Sexology and Sex Research

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Materialist Feminism

Materialist feminism variously highlights the centrality of capitalism in understanding women's oppression and continues to foreground transformative social change rather than, for example, seeking reforms and concessions within the capitalist system. The term *materialist feminism* emerged in the late 1970s and is associated with some key feminist thinkers, such as Christine Delphy, Rosemary Hennessy, and Stevi Jackson. During the early years of second-wave feminism, Socialist and Marxist feminists sought to insert and apply the "women question" to traditional Marxist theory, rethinking class relations and consciousness with regard to gender. Traditional Marxism was incapable of explaining the gender division of labor, having focused on class alone. In exploring the role of women in social reproduction, as a source of cheap labor in "public" and "private" realms, materialist feminists suggested that women could be recognized as a separate, exploited group or "class." The class "war" over resources, power, and knowledge was also a gendered one, and here some materialist feminists, such as Linda Phelps and Iris Marion Young, explained the intersection between class and gender in terms of "dual systems" of oppression and exploitation as created and sustained by capitalism and patriarchy. Patriarchy was understood as the system of exploitation that produced gender inequality interacting with the mode of production (capitalism) to create women's oppression. The terms *mode of production* and *mode of reproduction* have been used to speak of these dual, interacting systems, while Alison Jagger developed the term *relations of procreation.*

The names for such understandings, theories, and activities have changed over time, once labeled as *Socialist* or *Marxist feminism* and now more commonly labeled as *materialist feminism.* The linguistic shift also perhaps signifies a shift toward or entrenchment within academia, as feminism becomes "mainstreamed," somewhat devoid of grassroots activism and concerns, which is seen to lie at the heart of materialist feminisms'

focus on social change. Yet it is the concept of "historical materialism" that is seen to provide for an understanding of the interconnectedness of activities and productions that sustain capitalism. Here, society can be understood (in theory) as well as changed (in action) via historical materialism, as a form of emancipatory, revolutionary knowledge.

Materialist feminism has been contested from various angles. The shifts and debates within and about materialist feminism to some extent represent generational gaps, affiliations, and even accusations. Notably, in foregrounding the primacy of capitalist relations—combined and explained in relation to patriarchy—materialist feminist approaches were criticized as falsely universalizing women's oppression; that is, attributing gender inequality to one primary cause rather than paying heed to the ways in which differently positioned women are advantaged and disadvantaged by classed, gendered, sexual, and racial inequalities as other important and intersectional social divisions. Such criticism inspired a move toward including and rethinking "difference." Second-wave feminism brought three main branches of thought: *liberal feminism,* which sought economic, political, and social reforms within the existing system; *radical feminism,* which focused on sexuality and men's ability to control this as a main basis of women's oppression; and *socialist feminism,* which theorized the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy. These were contested and fractured by an assertion of difference between and within these branches; and accusations were issued about the prioritization of white middle-class women's voices. Hazel Carby challenged materialist feminist analyses of the family as universally oppressive to all women, noting instead the ways that arrangements and meanings of the family are differentiated for black women and men, just as the division of labor is also radicalized. The category *woman,* seemingly necessary to articulate a feminist voice and politics, was challenged and deconstructed in the attention to the ways women differently occupied and challenged it. The once easily articulated "universal class" of "woman" became replaced in the attention to difference, channeled through identity politics. *Identity politics* often highlighted the boundaries of "sisterhood" and competing "hierarchies of oppression" between the most-exploited versus the most-privileged women and has been blamed as producing an unbridgeable stalemate, as opposed to fostering feminist coalitions.

Such notions and forms of politics have been displaced by a poststructuralist focus upon contingency, difference, and instability. Materialist thought continues to point to the relevance of social structures, and indeed the significance of such structures in shaping subjectivities, and criticizes postmodern and queer feminist perspectives for their relativism, localism, and pluralism. Importantly, global capitalism is viewed as intensifying, arguably becoming more important in explaining women's oppression. Yet class has been somewhat displaced in the attention to other inequalities: The ways that class has returned to sociological and feminist agendas is, for some materialist feminists, disappointing, overly concerned with class as "culture." For others, this development marks a continuation of the material intersections between cultural and economic life. Attention to classed individuals in specific classed locales need not be ignorant of a materialism feminist concern with capitalism as a structuring presence in "local" lives.

Manuel Castells argues that changes in the organization of production and consumption make it difficult to describe and analyze social class; occupations that have traditionally defined class have broken down, being replaced with service and information industries. In contrast, Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham highlight the movement of capital into new forms of work, expanding the service sector, education, and middle management and the ways that middle-class women can benefit from and capitalize upon these changes. Such changes are seen to produce sharp divisions between those women who have educational credentials and skills and those who leave school with few qualifications and enter a labor market characterized by poorly paid, part-time work. For many working-class women, there is a greater likelihood of being employed in "pink-collar ghettos," doing part-time, insecure work. Within materialist feminist thought, global economic change is considered in relation to the feminization of poverty, working to create a transnational feminist agenda. For example, Rosemary Hennessy analyzes grassroots organization in four *maquiladora* communities along Mexico's northern border. In disciplining bodies to enter the market, capitalism creates exchange and cultural values whereby some "other," queer, and feminized bodies are repudiated, extracted, and expelled. The global nature of patriarchy and capitalism sustains a "political economy of sex"; sexual identity formations, transformations, and commodifications are explained in relation to the global structures of late capitalism.

Most labor market theory either ignores sexuality or considers it unimportant for the gendered operations of the labor market. The disadvantaged labor position of women has been largely ignored throughout class analysis, and lesbians have been further erased. Although there has been attention to the linkages between sexuality and class or, more accurately, between capitalism and sexuality, these often occur without reference to classed individuals. Researching lesbian lives in the United Kingdom from a materialist feminist perspective, Gill Dunne suggests an ability to capitalize on lesbian status and escape heterosexuality and economic disadvantage in the refusal to act as a cheap source of labor within the household and the workforce. In exploring the social and economic influences for lesbians across the household and the workplace, Dunne concludes that there is an interrelationship between lesbian lifestyles and financial independence. Lesbianism then becomes an "economic achievement." Such a stance may invite criticism about the fact that differences or inequalities between women exist, because it seems to indicate that all women in lesbian relationships are equal, which is a false conclusion.

Gayle Rubin's sex/gender theory was intended to remedy overgeneralized notions of patriarchy and the (radical feminist) emphasis on sexuality as the site of women's oppression. Still, many materialist feminists felt such a position left little room to theorize the social division between women and men and the ways that heterosexuality is privileged, endorsed, and institutionalized. Monique Wittig famously declared that lesbians were "not women," which was meant to highlight the connection between gender and sexuality, in that gender division gives rise to the homosexual-heterosexual divide and to the categories *woman* and *man.* In fact, discussion of heterosexuality somewhat derailed materialist feminist unity, with divisions arising around the focus on individual heterosexual practice and "political lesbianism." The 1980s brought a series of debates on both sides of the Atlantic, known as the "sex wars." In the 1990s, queer theory emerged, and many feminists engaged in its interrogation of binary-gender and sexual divisions.

Queer theory continues to set much of the agenda on sexuality studies, displacing many materialist feminist contributions and instigating a "cultural turn." One of the most frequently voiced criticisms against

queer theory comes from materialist approaches, which, on one hand, note that queer theory's social constructionist approach to sexualities is not that new at all and, on the other, point to the evacuation of the material, the everyday, embodied materialities of negotiating (sexual) identities as they intersect with other social positions and identifications. The material has often been absent from an overly cultural and textual-based agenda in which the common, united, and queered disciplines are in the arts and humanities rather than in the social sciences. Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* has helped to set the queer agenda, but her debt to materialist feminist thinkers, such as Monique Wittig, is arguably underplayed, as are the hierarchical dimensions of gender and the institutionalization of heterosexuality.

One example of the absences and exclusions within a queer agenda lies in the uptake of "queer opportunities" as a largely middle-class phenomenon, which the increased commercialization and gentrification of lesbian and gay space underscores. The queering of cultural spaces via consumption readily links the cultural proliferation of queer items, lifestyles, spaces, visibilities, and politics with wider, interconnected socioeconomic inequalities. In promoting and marketing queer bodies, identities, and lifestyles, the question of social change, so crucial for a materialist feminist agenda, is reduced to cultural representation alone. Contrary to intended queer anti-mainstream pursuits, lesbians and gays may be integrated, even assimilated, as well-behaved, spending consumers rather than as citizens. Activism and consumption are often portrayed as collapsible and indeed collapsed in queer politics. Here, there is an apparent disjuncture between the ways that *queer* is being seen and used today and the ways that *queer,* according to some, was adopted as a term of self-identification in working-class communities long before it was taken up as the mantle of Queer Nation or as a fetish object. Materialist feminism and queer theory now inform and challenge one another as they deal with past and ongoing tensions; queers' "localisms" continued to be pitted against materialist feminists' supposed grand "universalisms."

Yvette Taylor

See also Black Feminist Thought; Feminist Sex Wars; Feminization of Labor; Heterosexuality; Lesbian Feminism; Maquiladora; Postmodern Feminism

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Maternalism

In general, the term *maternalism* refers to the state of owning qualities traditionally deemed "motherly," such as warmth, tenderness, and commitment to the protection and provision of children. By the latter 19th century in the United States, maternalism began to take on sociopolitical connotations, so that the term came to denote a school of activism in which women, to fight for public causes, appealed to the qualities they believed were inherent to their gender. As a result, *maternalists* are seen as women who take mothering outside the home and into their communities for the larger social good. Maternalism stems from two ideas: (1) that women are valuable because they are different from men and (2) that their public roles derive from their private roles. While maternalism is usually identified with the Progressive Era in the United States (1880s–1920s), its logic and effects are still evident today.

Maternalism owns a rich history in the United States. Influenced by the Victorian era, 19th-century North Americans upheld a model of "True Womanhood," which defined a woman's worth by her dedication to her family and selfless support of the domestic sphere. Women were expected to stay in the home to devote themselves to their families and child care and to support their husbands as primary breadwinners. Culturally, they were cast as sexually pure icons and religious devotees. To maintain this ideal, women were discouraged from participating in the "male" public sphere, such as politics and the workplace. In the vein of feminism asserting that differences between men and women are socially constructed rather than biological, these activists

worked from assertions that because women were more pious, moral, and "pure" than men, they were apt candidates to improve the lives of all Americans. In other words, they were the "natural" caretakers and nurturers not only of their families, but of the extended social family, or state, as well.

Advocating for public causes therefore grew from feminist interests, such as equal rights, support of the family, and child welfare. Many maternalists argued for suffrage, for example, since voting was a powerful tool for reforming the country. *Purity* could be applied to politics as well as sexuality, thereby furthering the argument that if women really were more moral than men, they could remain disinterested from partisan politics and instead invest in what was objectively best for the country. Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop were early leaders of this maternalist movement, which began with the encouragement of primarily middle-class wives and mothers to invest their civic energies into lobbying for a more humane world by bettering the welfare of American children. To these early maternalist activists, women's political empowerment was not to be found by upsetting the status quo of male dominance, but in engaging women's attachment to family and sentimental fervor for the safety and sanctity of children.

The second half of the 19th century was marked by a rapid increase in industrialization and urbanization. As a result, maternalist reformers were positioned to respond to a host of social ills, such as poverty, disease, and exploitation of child labor. By organizing voluntary groups and clubs, maternalists were able to successfully institute a wide range of policy reforms from the grassroots level. Such landmark social provisions included reduced work hours for women and child labor laws, the establishment of a separate juvenile justice system, food and drug regulations, compulsory school attendance and public kindergartens, nationwide programs to reduce infant mortality and promote children's and women's health, state-funded pensions for abandoned and destitute mothers, and food and drug regulations. Examples of groups from the maternalist reform movement included the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Congress of Mothers, and the National Consumer's League, among others. The maternalist reform ethic resulted from the popular notion that women—especially mothers—were uniquely qualified to right the wrongs of an uncaring society.

While the cultural expectations of "True Womanhood" placed unrealistic demands and unequal strictures on the definition of femaleness, the rigidity and idea of True Womanhood did set the stage for uniting women's rights struggles through a shared dedication to the common good of the family, including the rights of women and children. Although such ideals of domesticity were representative largely of white middle-class women, the common ideological denominator of "mothering" as a tool for social amelioration stretched across racial lines. As Eileen Boris (1996) points out, African American women often used maternalism as a springboard for their struggles for racial uplift. Feminist historians, however, have argued that the maternalist reform ethic was problematic in two distinct ways. First, it perpetuated the codification of women as second-class citizens by inherently supporting the man as the primary breadwinner and justified professional agent. As a result, women would remain economically disadvantaged and, ultimately, less politically enabled. Second, it disadvantaged poor and working-class mothers as well as cultural minorities. For instance, decisions to remove minor children from unfit homes were strongly biased against families of color, and impoverished mothers forced to seek paid employment outside the home were often chastised by social service workers.

Consequently, two attitudes toward maternalism currently exist. One perspective posits that maternalism never originated from a fundamentally egalitarian philosophy. With the advent of equal rights, maternalism is therefore highly problematic, outmoded, or even "dead." For those holding this opinion, maternalism grew out of the desire of homemakers to spin the cultural zeitgeist about women's responsibility for preserving the sanctity of the home into a greater and more glorious cause. Maternalism in its undiluted form ironically discriminates against women because of its foremost concern with the well-being of women only insofar as they are the mothers, or potential mothers, of vulnerable children. In this sense, the maternalist ethic is a particularly double-edged one for women themselves. Promoting the welfare of children is an undeniably worthy cause. And the emotional investment of motherhood can been seen as providing both the personal courage and the collective authority necessary to establish mothers as effectual enhancers of the quality of life of the state. Maternalism, however, becomes problematized when

weighed against the cost of personal identity. That is, since the maternalist ethic privileges personal sacrifice above all else, the consideration of the mother's own identity outside of a selfless commitment to serving others intrudes upon its presumption and perpetuation of a "higher morality" in operation for the greater common good.

In her research on mothers who have transformed their personal hardships into successful campaigns for social progress, Jacqueline Plumez concluded that tapping into "mother power" depends on the mother's suppression of her own needs as an individual. A growing group of contemporary mothers are demanding their entitlement to a life not entirely defined by selfless service, but by the fact that they are women who have rights to full citizenship, with all its opportunities and responsibilities. This perspective and efforts reflect how our culture still struggles with the irreconcilability of self-interest and motherhood. Many feminists continue to feel that a woman can have a life of her own or she can have children, but she cannot have both.

Yet others would argue that this paradox can be rectified by considering the feminist conviction that a woman's capacity for personal and political empowerment is not determined by any culturally assigned role, such as "wife" or "mother." Thus, those of an opposing attitude contend that maternalism is essential to the amelioration of women's rights and society's welfare at large. It is alive and well today, in that the maternalist ethic and its causes and political effects continue to morph and develop as our definition of motherhood changes. Such a philosophy draws attention to, while trying to rectify, the socioeconomic marginalization of mothers and the devaluation of care work.

Today, women are still thought of as the upholders of caring, nurturing, and compassionate principles in the face of indifferent and corruptive commercial interests. While nationally coordinated maternalist activism experienced a significant decline by the 1920s, influential women continue to support a social reform agenda shaped by maternalist thinking. The power of "motherly love" and familial attitudes of care toward the state continues to shape attitudes and actions toward a large range of social causes, such as gun control, drunk driving, sexual and commercial exploitation of children, environmental protection, and school violence. Interests may be as specific as censoring pop music lyrics and media language/images or as broad as working for world peace. The most predominant common goal, however, is to protect the child. Thus, mothers continue to actively shape the face of political currents with implications for both the family and the state. For instance, in 2002, the Barnard College Center for Research on Women cosponsored a symposium titled "Maternal Feminism: Lessons for a 21st Century Motherhood Movement," which was used as a forum to announce a rejoinder to the National Organization for Women by the Motherhood Project at the Institute for American Values. The Motherhood Project's manifesto, the *Call to a Motherhood Movement,* created in response to a concern with the decline of marriage and the traditional family, uses impassioned rhetoric to recruit mothers for political activism, with a focus on promoting the welfare of children. As a quintessentially maternalist document, it opens with the following claim:

> We, women who nurture and care for children, we who mother, call all mothers to a renewed sense of purpose, passion, and power in the work of mothering. . . . We call mothers to a new commitment to building a movement aimed at honoring and supporting mothers and mother. . . . We call for a motherhood movement to ensure the dignity and well-being of children.

While maternalism may not take as systematic organizational forms as it did in the past, American society still counts on mothers to serve as the enlightened custodians of the next generation of competent citizens. Maternalist ideologues continue to see themselves in a battle between the values of the "money world" and the "mother world." They strive to place a high value on the everyday work of mothering and ensure motherhood as a sociopolitically significant role. With changing definitions of the family and increased involvement of fathers in the caretaking of children, maternalism has influenced the growing interest in, and support of, "parenting politics," in which both mother and father become ideologically and pragmatically involved in promoting state welfare issues centered on the child. The advent of a group such as Parents Action for Children speaks to political activism rooted in the family. The organization claims that "now parents across the country are coming together to make their voices heard on issues that matter to children and families." Whether problematically selfless or not, maternalism provides a strong force in

effecting child and family welfare in communities, Congress, and state legislatures.

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See also Caregiving; Maternity Leave; Mommy Track; Motherhood; Parental Leave

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Maternity Leave

The term *maternity leave* refers to the time a mother takes off from work at the birth or adoption of a child. Paid maternity leave is unusual in the United States, since no national requirement for employers exists. While some companies or institutions offer paid leave for the early care of a child, maternity leave in the United States usually consists of an employee combining short-term disability (STD), sick leave, vacation, personal days, and unpaid family leave.

Maternity leave falls under the more current and representative term *parental leave,* which also includes paternity leave and adoption leave. Regardless of the parent's gender or of the child's biological parentage, parental leave is the right to take time off work, paid or unpaid, to care for a child and/or to make arrangements for the child's welfare.

According to a Harvard University study in 2004, out of 168 nations, 163 had some form of paid maternity leave, putting the United States in the company of Lesotho, Papua New Guinea, and Swaziland. In almost all Western countries, maternity leave is available for those who have worked for their present employers for an established minimum amount of time. The United States and Australia are the only industrialized countries that do not provide paid leave for new mothers, though there are exceptions in some U.S. states. The U.S. Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) provides for 12 weeks of job-protected leave. However, this condition applies only to those who work for larger companies. Australian mothers fare better, with 1 year of job-protected leave. Several countries, such as Sweden, Bulgaria, and Canada, provide generous support for mothers and families through their national terms for maternity leave. In most of these cases, the cost is shared between employer and state.

Actions are starting to be taken to expand paid maternity leave in countries such as Australia and the United States. Traditionally, political interests in maternity leave can be traced to such issues as the welfare of the state as well as the family, and to feminist debates. For instance, in Europe, feminists emphasized special treatment for mothers, including maternity leave and child care. The U.S. feminist movement, however, remained more focused on equal rights for women and therefore did not want to advocate notions of special treatment based on pregnancy or motherhood. The ideological conflict can be seen in a case such as France, which expanded maternity leave after World War II to fight falling fertility rates and encourage childbearing. The United States, with its alternative feminist agenda and its steady immigration growth, arguably did not need to ascribe to such nationally supported measures.

Several attempts at introducing paid maternity leave have occurred in the United States, but so far no other provision exists but the FMLA. The underlying problematic question "Who is paying for it?" dominates the discussion. While the administration of President Bill Clinton, for instance, argued for the use of unemployment funds for maternity leaves, opposition arose from businesses concerned with increased contribution to state unemployment funds. The main tension therefore seems to come from the attempt to designate a funding

source, whether it is public or private or some combination or balance thereof, for the provision of care during the induction of a new child into the American family.

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See also Mommy Track; Parental Leave

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MATE SELECTION

Researchers from various disciplines have examined gender differences in social behavior and have offered different interpretations of why such differences exist. One such behavior that has been examined and recently reexamined is gender difference in mate selection. Specifically, what do men and women look for in a mate and why? Although males and females share similar desires and needs, numerous sociological and psychological studies have noted some differences. For example, men favor young and physically attractive women and prefer their mates to be shorter than themselves, while women prefer men who are taller and older than themselves, as well as financially secure. A recent study by David Buss documented the similarities and differences between men's and women's mate choices in a sample of 10,047 participants from 37 cultures around the world.

Theories

What theories explain these dissimilarities between men and women in their mate choices? There are several perspectives on this question, which can be classified into two major categories. One represents a collection of the psychological, social, and cultural views on gender differences, for example, social exchange and social role theory. The other category is represented by an evolutionary perspective on mate preferences.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory is influenced by several other social perspectives, such as social behaviorism, utilitarianism, and functionalism. This theory argues that self-interest is the basic motive for human interaction. Individuals interact with one another for the purpose of maximizing their rewards and minimizing their losses. For various reasons, people possess different characteristics, such as height, financial resources, beauty, ambition, intelligence, and education. Some characteristics are highly associated with just one gender, while others are possessed by both men and women. Men and women in the "mating market" are motivated to "purchase" the desirable characteristics in a mate in exchange for the valued characteristics they possess. Youth and physical appearance in females are examples of the attributes that men desire in a mate. Financial status and social standing are examples of attributes that women desire in men. The bottom line of this theory is that the differences between men's and women's mate preferences are shaped by costs and benefits.

Social Role Theory

Alice Eagly and Wendy Wood proposed a social structural perspective that explains sex differences. This perspective, which they labeled *social role theory,* suggests that gender differences in mate selection are the product of the distinct social-structural positions that society assigns to men and women. According to Eagly and Wood, some sex differences in behavior are universal, while others are localized. For example, having a division of labor between men and women is universal. In almost all cultures, women occupy roles that evolved around the home that are unrecognized, underappreciated, and unpaid, such as cooking, cleaning, and child care. When women partake in the paid economy, they get paid less and cluster in occupations that tend to be less prestigious. Men, in contrast, occupy social positions that enable them to participate in the paid economy and fulfill the social expectations associated with their status as

breadwinners. Another universal pattern is the unequal distribution of status, power, and privilege between men and women.

There are several causes for the distribution of men and women into different social positions. One fundamental cause social role theory focuses on is the inherent physical differences between men and women. Men occupy positions that are congruent with their physical makeup, such as body size, upper-body strength, and freedom from childbearing duties. These positions tend to be associated with greater power, prestige, and wealth. Women's biological endowment, such as childbearing, lactation, and child care, limit the types of activities they can perform. The physical differences between men and women and their interaction with social, economic, and ecological factors influence their positions in society. Because men and women occupy different social roles, specific expectations about what is appropriate for men and women emerged. These expectations, called *gender roles,* as well as other factors influence how men and women behave, what they learn, and what they desire.

According to this theory, gender differences in mate choice reflect the different responsibilities and obligations that social roles produce. Men and women look for characteristics in mates to maximize their outcomes and minimize their costs. Hence, it is expected that women seek men who play their social roles successfully—for example, by being a good breadwinner—whereas men seek women who fulfill their social roles—for example, by being a good homemaker.

Evolutionary Psychology

Evolutionary psychology applies the principles of evolutionary biology to the study of social behavior, such as sex differences in mate choice. In addition to his theory of natural selection, Charles Darwin came up with another theory called *sexual selection theory,* which addresses individuals' differences in their abilities to acquire mates. Darwin proposed two types of sexual selection. The first type is known as *intrasexual selection,* and it refers to members of one sex competing with each other for members of the opposite sex. The traits of the members who are able to mate evolve through the passing on of genetic material. The second type has to do with mate choice and is called *intersexual selection,* which means that

members of one sex choose members of the opposite sex who possess specific qualities. Over time, individuals who possess these qualities are favored over those who lack them.

In 1972, Robert Trivers proposed a new theory called *parental investment,* which argues that men and women differ in the type and amount of parental investment in their offspring, which, in turn, influences the offspring's likelihood of survival and reproductive success. Examples are time, risk, effort, and energy. Women's parental investment generally is greater than men's and includes the costs of gestation, lactation, and taking care of offspring for years. This sex inequality in investment influences men's and women's attitudes toward mate choice, referred to as *psychological mechanisms.* These cognitive and emotional mechanisms evolved in response to the reproductive circumstances that our ancestors faced in the environment of evolutionary adaptability. Men and women have encountered similar and different adaptive problems over human evolutionary history, which produced sex differences and similarities in mate choice. Further, because the reproductive cost of indiscriminate mating is greater for women (the higher-investing sex) than men (the lower-investing sex), women have evolved to be more selective in their choice of mates.

Evolutionary theorists of human mating disagree about whether humans are equipped for either long- or short-term mating or are equipped with both short- and long-term sexual strategies. The focus here is on the qualities that men and women seek in a mate for a long-term relationship. For this type of relationship, evolutionary psychologists suggest that men prefer women with a great reproductive capacity, which can be inferred from such cues as age and physical appearance. Hence, it is not surprising that men tend to prefer physically attractive women. Studies conducted by social scientists found that men tend to seek women who display signs of health and youth, such as smooth skin, a low waist-to-hip ratio, and full lips. For women, however, reproductive success hinges on finding a mate who possesses specific resources and qualities, or has the means to acquire them, and is willing to invest in them and their children. Women are expected to prefer men who possess resources such as "good genes," power, social status, and financial security or have qualities that communicate their ability to acquire them, such as ambition and education. Physical appearance should not be a priority for

women who seek a long-term relationship, because physical appearance is not an indicator of men's willingness and ability to invest in their fertility. The relationship between gender and age preferences changes across the life span. The desires of men for mating with young women become more significant as men get older, while women are inclined to seek older men during their early mating years, with little if any change as they age.

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See also Domestic Labor; Sexuality and Reproduction

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MATRILINEAL SYSTEMS

The term *matrilineal systems* refers to groups that trace their ancestral descent through maternal lines instead of paternal lines and in which familial authority is wielded by women. Matrilineal societies are closely linked to what anthropologists such as Stein Holden, Randi Kaarhus, and Rodney Lunduka identify as *kinship systems.* Every society incorporates some basic components in its kinship system: family, marriage, postmarital residence, rules that prohibit sexual relations (and therefore marriage) between certain categories of kin, descent, and the terms used to label kin. Individuals are said to form a *lineage* when they trace descent from a common ancestor. *Matrilineage* or *matriliny* refers to a system whereby individuals are related as kin through the female line of descent.

Matrilineage is sometimes associated with the primitive concepts of group marriage, or polyandry. Anthropologists have provided different perspectives and interpretations about kinship and its role in society. Based on the findings of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, some 19th-century scholars, such as Johann Jakob Bachofen and Lewis Morgan, believed that matrilineal societies predated patrilineal societies and represented an earlier evolutionary stage. Accordingly, patrilineal systems were also considered more civilized and advanced than matrilineal systems. Writing within the framework of the evolutionary thinking developing at the time, Morgan also argued that matrilineal systems would progressively evolve into *patrilineal* systems, in which ancestral descent is traced through paternal lines. This is a view that, over time, gained popularity far beyond anthropological and ethnological circles.

Matrilineal Puzzle

Scholars have often analyzed matrilineal norms and practices within the framework of the *matrilineal puzzle,* a term that was introduced to kinship theory by the British anthropologist Audrey Richards. By the mid-20th century, structural-functionalism, developed from the work of social anthropologist A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, had replaced Bachofen and Morgan's kinship theories as the dominant analysis model in social anthropology. Within a structural-functionalist framework, Richards was puzzled by the position of men in matrilineal societies. The issue at question was: Can a matrilineal system in which men have ambiguous roles and dual loyalties work in practice? The debate that followed also focused on what it was that made matrilineal societies different from what was seen as "normal" patrilineal systems.

In the study of kinship and matrilineal versus patrilineal systems, a basic normative assumption is that the essential family unit consists of father, mother, and children. A closely linked assumption has been the "dominant sex" versus the "weaker sex." According to scholar David M. Schneider, in classic kinship theory, men having authority over their wives and offspring was a basic surmise, or a "constant." Consequently,

anthropological debate and analysis also extended to the "constant" of a man's control over his wife. Schneider also notes that in patrilineal societies, authority and kinship were passed on through patrilineal descent, whereas in matrilineal societies, these lines would be "separated between males and females." It appears that men were entitled to authority not only as patrilineal group members but also as heads of households (husbands and fathers); however, in matrilineal groups, men's authority would be segregated from their roles as heads of households, husbands and fathers, and be based only on their position in the matriliny. The male's role, therefore, would be that of brother or uncle, instead of the traditional role of husband and father. The fundamental assumption was that this demotion of the "normal" patriarchal role was unnatural.

Schneider also maintains that another normative assumption in the literature of the classic kinship theory examines whether matrilineal versus patrilineal societies could each work as efficient decision-making groups: Their ability to do so would presuppose internal distinctions in power and authority, with one entity representing the group as the final decision maker. As this distinction was necessary, and also given the "constant" of men's authority over members of their households, there was renewed emphasis on the male "constant" in both groups. Thus, Schneider points out that the underlying assumption was that when authority was vested in matrilineal groups, it usurped the role that men were intended to occupy.

In a patrilineal society, descent passed from a man to his sons and grandsons, while in a matrilineal society, the closest equivalent would be descent passing from a woman's brother to her son and from him to her sister's son. Some scholars therefore argued that this assumed normative "principle of male authority" meant that the core structures of matrilineal groups were the positions of uncle and brother. In social groups that follow, in the practice of *virilocal residence* (in which a woman moves into her husband's home), the in-marrying wife will presumably adapt to a dependent role (as in a patrilineal society) but also occupy a significant role as the mother of children, particularly of sons who will perpetuate the patriliny. In matrilineal societies, although in-marrying men may be deemed necessary and useful as husbands, fathers, and human resources for labor, their function becomes part of the matrimonial puzzle. Under the normative principle of "male authority," the role of these in-marrying men seemed effete, controversial, and ambiguous.

Examples of Matrilineal Societies

At the global level, matrilineal societies are found in parts of Africa, Southeast Asia, and India. Specific cultural practices however, differ significantly between each of these groups. Though there are similarities, matrilineal practices in Africa differ from those in Asia, and there are even differences in these practices within specific regions.

The Ashanti tribe is the largest tribe in Ghana and one of the few matrilineal societies in West Africa in which women inherit status and property directly from their mothers. The Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Indonesia, are the world's largest matrilineal society, in which properties such as land and houses are inherited through female lineage. In Minangkabau society, the man traditionally marries into his wife's household, and the woman inherits the ancestral home. Matrilineal societies in India are typified by the Khasi tribe in Meghalaya, Northeast India, and by the traditional Nayar community in Kerala, South India.

Among these groups, the main difference is observed in matrilocal, duolocal, and neolocal residence patterns. The pattern of *duolocal residence* (the husband and wife occupy different homes) exists among the Ashanti, the Minangkabau of Sumatra, and the Nayars. The Khasis of Meghalaya generally follow the *matrilocal residence pattern* (the husband moves in with his wife's matrilineal kin) or *neolocal residence pattern* (the couple sets up home in a new residence in or around the wife's maternal residence).

Critique of Kinship Theory and the Scholarship on Matrilineal Societies

Heteronormativity in the Study of Matrilineal Societies

Heteronormativity, or *normative heterosexuality,* refers to the social, cultural, and legal rules that force conformance to hegemonic, heterosexual standards for identity. According to scholars like G. Arunima, matriliny has historically existed in different parts of the world, although it was mostly restricted to isolated communities within the non-Western world. In the late 19th century, under the growing influence of

social Darwinism, early European and American anthropologists began to explore different kinship systems on a global scale. One aspect of this study focused on delving into the nature of human social evolution. A significant position of this debate was whether patrilineal kinship evolved out of matrilineal systems, thereby relegating matriliny to a less developed status on the scale of human social evolution.

A substantial proportion of historical research on European societies during the past several decades has focused on the family unit. While earlier research in this area has been limited to the search for the Western family structure, later analyses highlighted the error of presuming historical continuity in this structure and argued that the term *family* was fundamentally ambiguous. Notions of family and kinship are based on the existence of marriage, and in this context, most of these later studies examine gender differences only as an expression of a particular cultural system. Consequently, they fail to include ideological nuances behind the concepts of "marriage" or "family" within those social groups.

Non-Western scholars have also argued that the distinction between "household" and "family" is grounded in the Western concept. Under this heteronormativity, "household" is regarded merely as a coresident group, while "family" is made up of those household members who also share kinship. This normative distinction assumes that the "family" is the natural unit, a generalization that ignores differences of class and race. It also fails to account for the fact that "household" could refer to members outside the family, such as landlords, tenants, and family retainers. Hence, only large property-owning households that include all these external family members can provide sufficient data to study the complex relationships between class, caste, gender, and kinship.

The current definitions and paradigms of *matrifocal domestic systems* (where a female is the central, stable figure of the family unit) are also based on the classic kinship theory's focus on marriage and the heterosexual couple. This encourages the assumption that households should follow heteronormativity that considers sexual and marital relations normal only when between people of different sexes. It also assumes that as married heterosexual couples, men and women have certain natural functions in life, with men as "heads." Matrifocal domestic systems are seen as troublesome departures from this norm because they

are not structured around a heterosexual couple or are viewed as temporary solutions to the absence of male household heads, instead of functional households headed and managed by women.

Some scholars argue that the same normative standards, the "headship" that women hypothetically assume in "woman-headed households," is solely grounded in the context of men's absence. Consequently, national and international concerns about the profusion of "woman-headed households" only serve to reinforce cultural notions of masculinity within heterosexual license. The narrow focus on the preemptive "woman-headed household" fails to include other concerns, such as whether these domestic systems are made up of kinswomen, kinsmen, friends, or same-sex partners.

As scholar Evelyn Blackwood explains, Western norms about marriage and where the husband/father stood in the family encouraged anthropologists to question the validity of matrilineal kin groups that embodied the function of the husband and the married couple even when there was no such relationship (or one that did not meet the norm). Within Minangkabau matrilineal groups, for example, it was the matrilineal line, including members of the external family descended through that line, that represented kinship; conjugal and marital ties were considered secondary.

Blackwood also points out that several anthropologists draw attention to the "plight" of husbands in matrilineal societies, again based on normative assumptions about men's place as husbands. They see the marital tie as weak, due to the power struggle not only between the husband and an interfering mother-in-law but also the pressures from the husband's own lineage and the overly prominent position of the mother-in-law's brother. Women's economic independence, particularly control of the land, was attributed to unreliable husbands or those who had chosen to leave the household. Such claims undermine the viability of matrilineal societies because they merely reflect normative assumptions about marriage and family. Thus, matrilineal systems are only the result of "weak husbands" or "missing men." Blackwood's research on the Minangkabau extended households, however, indicates that matrilineal practices come first and marital relationships and the husbands' roles are of secondary importance.

Blackwood further argues that her research into matrilineal societies has provided indisputable evidence

that kin practices and sexual relations prevail between men and women who are unmarried (or unmarried as defined by heteronormative rules of family and patriarchy). Even so, scholars point out that these findings are studied within the framework of heteronormative rules about "marriage and masculinity." Literature on the kinship theory as applied to matrifocal practices (where males frequently leave home for extended periods for work or for other purposes) focuses on the males, who are seen as the primary aspect of cohabitating couples even when they are not present, relegating women to "incomplete halves" in their absence.

Colonialism, "Modernity," and Matrilineal Societies

Scholars like Gayatri Spivak explain how women in patriarchal societies have been reduced to the position of the "other" by being marginalized, or in terms of being colonized. Feminist ethnologists like Evelyn Blackwood argue that while the changing structure of matrilineal descent largely resulted from the colonial culture and the introduction of Western morality, much of the scholarship so far frames its argument on Western concepts of heterosexual marriages and the "normal" family structure.

Cultural anthropologists like Eleanor Leacock demonstrate how the matrifocal "otherness" of women in matrilineal societies came to be rejected because of the impact of colonialism and transition to "modernity." According to Evelyn Blackwood, Leacock's pioneering work was an insightful analysis of how Jesuit missionaries had a negative impact on marriages in the Montagnais-Napaski community. The missionaries saw independent women as sexually promiscuous and advised the menfolk to curtail their freedom, to conform to European notions of wifely loyalty and obedience.

Similarly, G. Arunima highlights how colonials working in South India viewed the cultural practices and customs of matrilineal societies as alien to the patrilineal systems they had seen elsewhere in India and also beyond the norms of their own culture and civilization. She demonstrates that during British colonial rule in India, the Nayar practice of *sambandham* (the informal marriage of Brahmin Namboodri men to Nayar women) was a hugely controversial issue, both with Nayar social reformists and colonial rulers. In the case of the former, it was because, under

the norms of the Nayar matrilineal society, the children born in a Nayar-Namboodri *sambandham* would belong to the Nayar woman's family; in the case of the latter, it was because *sambandham* was not a sanctified marriage, but a state of concubinage, involving sexual promiscuity and polyandry and not conducive to the development of a "normal" family.

Arunima also demonstrates how, from the mid-19th century onward, the concerted effort to define the parameters of matrilineage in a Nayar matrilineal family has persisted. A traditional Nayar matrilineal family consists of a woman and her children living with her eldest brother or maternal uncle *(karanaval)*. Colonial legislation assumed the onus of legalizing this relationship by comparing the *karanaval* to a Roman patriarch. Colonial courts effectively demolished this core matrilineal practice by ruling that while the *karanaval* had authority over the family unit he administered, the father's inborn rights over his children could not be denied or replaced by the *karanaval*.

This view is also supported by Maithreyi Krishnaraj, who points out that before colonial influences, in matrifocal systems in Africa and Jamaica, several women owned land that they worked and were deferred to as both mothers and providers. Motherhood endowed women with status. The Igobos considered human resources to be the most valuable, and the linguistic nuances reflected how women were associated with high worth. Wifehood was valued for enabling motherhood, not for being a man's spouse. For instance, *azuko* meant "siblings are wealth," and *maduka* meant "people bring greatness." There were African languages without any word that meant "husband" or "wife," while the word for "men" meant "strangers married into the matrilineal clan."

Conclusion

In the study of matrilineal societies, classic kinship theory develops normative structures to contextualize heterosexuality and male domination, failing to include the wider social nuances and connotations. These normative structures form the rhetoric of what Blackwood calls "the specter of the Patriarchal Man," which persistently dominates concepts of kinship, marriage, and family. The classic kinship theory has been sufficiently challenged by feminist scholars, who have succeeded in shifting the focus from gender

and kinship to social constructs in kinship relationships. Despite this, the prevailing heteronormativity persists. The traditional role of men is reinforced and perpetuated through heteronormative standards that distinguish between individuals based on their sex or their refusal to conform to the gender roles that are considered normal within their society.

Anjana Narayan

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Family, Organization of; Heterosexual Privilege; Patriarchy; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism

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Mattachine Society

The Mattachine Society, set up by Harry Hay, Rudi Gernreich, Bob Hull, Dale Jannings, and Chuck Rowland in Los Angeles in 1950, became one of the most prominent organizations of the *homophile movement,* the term used by activists to highlight the fact that the problems of homosexual people cannot be narrowed to sexuality and that the movement is open for everyone. The name of the society was derived from *mattachines,* groups of masked troubadours in medieval Europe who acted out satirical commentaries to the current political reality. This reflected the conviction that homosexual people need to hide their true personalities, though this also enables them to bring to light social injustice and discrimination.

Historical Overview

The manifesto of the Mattachine Society was based on three principles. The first was the consolidation of homosexuals as "a community," understood as "an oppressed group" (parallel to ethnic groups), in order to raise effectiveness in the fight against discrimination and also create a sense of belonging and support personal growth. The second principle focused on education and research, which are ways to enlighten society about the condition of the homosexual minority and raise the consciousness of the community. The third principle concerned the practical involvement in political activity, putting forward the new legal and medical formulations that would remove the stigma of perversion or sickness from homosexuals.

During the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, in the time of the fierce and aggressive policies of Senator Joseph McCarthy, discussing homosexuality in public was virtually taboo. This was the reason the homophile movement soon exchanged radical politics of difference for assimilationist ones. The Communist roots of the founders quickly became problematic, and in 1953, the new leader of the Mattachine Society made it clear that his goal was to assimilate homosexuals into society, not distinguish them as a separate community. This shift marked the chief characteristic of the homophile movement. To prove "the normality" of homosexuals, they were pressured to accommodate to gender norms. Thus, any nonstereotypical behavior, such as drag and butch-femme subcultures, was treated negatively by the general public.

Another problem arose around the invisibility of lesbians within the organization. Although it claimed otherwise, the Mattachine Society was centered on white middle-class men. For 10 years of its activity, between 1955 and 1965, the organization published *The Mattachine Review.* The magazine focused on law, medicine, and religion, reflecting assimilationist strategies—the valorization of professionals, doctors, psychiatrists, and priests—and disregarded the personal statements of all concerned. The last chapter of the Mattachine Society closed in the 1980s.

Robert Kulpa

See also Daughters of Bilitis; Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; Hay, Harry; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

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Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)

American anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901–1978) pioneered in the study of both sexuality and gender across cultures. In her best seller, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), she used examples from Samoan society to suggest that the idea about what was normal and expected concerning sex in American society was only one set of practices among many accepted in societies around the world. Samoan girls, she wrote, were allowed by their culture to experiment sexually before marriage, while American girls who experimented met cultural disapproval. She tried to persuade Americans to rethink what they had considered absolute moral values concerning sexuality and the belief that there was only one acceptable way to approach the subject.

Mead's third book, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), is often cited as a pioneer work, suggesting the relativity of masculinity and femininity across cultures. Studying the Arapesh, the Mundugumor (or Biwat), and the Tchambuli (or Chambri) of New Guinea, Mead saw these cultures as having gender roles and relationships that varied between the groups and also compared with those in American society. Among the Arapesh, Mead wrote, both men and women had traits that would be considered feminine in the United States. Mundugumor men and women both had dominant traits that would be considered masculine in America. Among the Tchambuli, men exhibited traits Americans would call feminine, and women exhibited traits Americans would call masculine.

In a later book, *Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World* (1949), Mead focused on the expression of maleness and femaleness across the seven cultures she had studied. She noted that ideal maleness and ideal femaleness differed from culture to culture and that within modern cultures like the United States where different peoples came together, such patterns were blurred. She showed that expected male behavior and female behavior differed between cultures as well. She suggested that parents in modern society not worry if their sons were interested in "female" behaviors or their daughters were interested in "male" behaviors, but merely accept what males did as male and what females did as female.

While Mead acknowledged the contradictory gender role differences between cultures—for example, that one culture might make women's work of what might be considered men's work in another culture—she also noted that all cultures differentiated between men and women, assigning them different gender roles. Mead revisited the question, which she and other anthropologists had spent so much energy debunking, as to whether there were innate differences between men and women beyond those of biological reproduction. She answered the question complexly. Most gender role characteristics within cultures she saw as arbitrary and many also as damaging to both men and women. But she also suggested that men and women do have different gifts that are sex-linked but that are often constructed by societies as positive or negative, or inferior or superior. The repression of some gender roles and elevation of others she saw as creating an imbalance that kept both men and women from becoming whole human beings. She ended by advocating study and recognition of what such gifts were and how they could be reconstructed on an equal plane, rather than a hierarchical one, and perhaps taught to the other sex as well.

Margaret M. Caffrey

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Performance; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy

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Media and Gender Socialization

The title of this entry brings to the foreground a number of important issues in the study of gender. The pairing of the terms *gender* and *socialization,* for example, highlights the ways in which gender, following the arguments of mid-20th-century feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir, is shaped over time rather than bestowed at birth. The underlying arguments of de Beauvoir can be seen in more-recent theorizations of gender. Although philosophically distinct, the work of Judith Butler, Michel Foucault, Germaine Greer, bell hooks, and Eve Sedgwick betrays an indebtedness to de Beauvoir's contention that gender identity is a sociohistorical contingency rather than a biological fact. The term *socialization,* then, refers to the impact of discourses and ideologies in the shaping of the sociopsychological experience of categories such as gender or social class. The other headword for this entry is *media,* suggesting that gendering and gender socialization take place against the backdrop of contemporary media output and representations.

This entry will consider the ways socialization, in light of social construction theory, takes place primarily in relation to language and representation. Gender socialization is not an event so much as it is a process that depends on a range of variables in the culture and in intersubjective relationships. In Western cultures, the media industries shape some of the ways gender is perceived. However, the chapter will discuss the media in terms of their various subdivisions and functions and not simply their impact on gender socialization. While the media are hugely significant in structuring how audiences consume representations, they are not universal in their effects.

Processes: Structure and Agency

Gender socialization occurs the moment a child is influenced by the social processes and cultural discourses that circumscribe male and female behavior. While biological and anatomical differences appear foundational in the processes of gendering, biology and anatomy are themselves constructed in relation to language and discourse. Processes of gendering initially take place via choice of names, the imposition of clothing, and the specific ways cultures address children. When de Beauvoir suggested that she *became* a woman, she highlighted how gender identities are socially formed in relation to the specific cultural and discursive structures. If gender, at the beginning of the 20th century, took shape around the discourses of religion, the family, and the school, today media representations also significantly influence how women's and men's identities are perceived.

Socialization refers more generally to various sociocultural processes that provide individuals and groups with a sense of values and beliefs. Values are fundamentally linked to ideology and politics, but they also structure modes of behavior via media representations. Socialization is a twofold process, requiring, on one hand, agencies and structures whose function it shape social subjects and, on the other, citizens who are socially interpellated. More recently, socialization has been understood in the context debates surrounding the social construction of identity. Social constructionist perspectives, especially in light of work since Mary McIntosh in sociology and Michel Foucault in the sphere of discourse theory, underline how the processes involved in acquiring the society's everyday norms of behavior do not come about by means of a single determining event or unique interpellation, but instead occur in ongoing ways in an individual's life history.

In very general terms, debates about socialization or social construction, whether this is gender socialization, class socialization, or the social construction of nationality and citizenship, raise fundamental questions concerning power, structure, and agency. If gender is socially constructed, then how does such construction or socialization take place? Which groups, organizations, or discourses have the power to affect assemblages such as gender or class? How far can subjects undo gender socialization or reclassify what might seem an irreversible event? Upon what does gender socialization depend: the physically, anatomically sexed body; the discourses in the culture that map out gender on the basis of anatomical sex; those agents who are able to impose gendered meanings on the body; the psychological and subjective experiences of gendering; or a deeply complex combination of all four? Is gender constructed on the surface of the body, or must it also be internalized in psychic or emotional ways? Who escapes socialization? Alternatively phrased, are the processes of socialization inescapable? If socialization is something over which we can exercise little

agency, then that which seems arbitrary, contextual, and contingent—gender identity—now takes on the dimensions of the essential, the necessary, and the inevitable. If gender construction is contingent, to what extent are subjects really in a position to resist such constructions?

Effects, Society, and Gender

We can begin to understand something of the complexity of these questions surrounding gender socialization by recalling that gender has a history and that within one culture, the performances of gender are not the same. Nor are the claims that groups make about gender necessarily self-identical. According to arguments made by some media theorists, white middle-class representations and experiences of gender socialization are not the same as those of working-class men and women. And in arguments set out by other groups of critics, gender socialization also takes place in complex alignments with skin color and ethnicity, education, age, region, and cultural literacy. While it might seem a simple matter of socialization taking place on the basis of structures providing agency in the name of gender, the processes that socialize subjects and that provide frameworks for behavior are multivalent. No individual subject is ever quite captured or captivated by processes of socialization in quite the same way as another subject.

The media's role in socialization cannot be overestimated. However, socialization does not occur because of the media. Rather, media representations, because they are constructed in relation to society's dominant value systems, are important in the structuring and regulation of dominant gender norms. All societies, to greater or lesser degrees, are ordered around customs, values, and norms. In learning and acquiring these norms, individuals become, or are made intelligible, as subjects. The making of subjects in this way occurs in relation to dominant cultural codes surrounding gender, age, sex, ethnicity, and social class. The effects of socialization are evidenced in the behavior of individuals and groups and can be observed in the enactment of cultural identities. While socialization requires subjects who will conform to particular sets of standards (historically, men are expected to act in masculine as opposed to feminine ways, and vice versa), there are no guarantees that socialization has an even or universal impact across society and culture. Moreover, if gender norms have

changed or are changing, then at some point it has to be postulated that (forms and systems of) socialization have been repudiated or resisted.

Up until the early part of the 20th century, institutions such as the family, church, and school not only provided for the well-being and socialization of young people; in addition, they functioned to transmit sets of beliefs about behavior, emotions, and identity. Since 1945, the mass media, particularly in the form of advertising, television output, popular music, and film, have contributed significantly to how people engender a sense of selfhood. Often theorized in relation to effects theory, the media's impact on social life has been regularly monitored and measured.

Socialization per se—and particularly the media's shaping of people's thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors—is not a new area of social research. In many respects, the effects of institutions on behavior, including the media's impact on human agency, have been central to sociological and anthropological inquiry since the 1920s. The work of the Chicago School in the United States, for example, was one of the first to theorize and examine the ways social and personal behavior are shaped by sociophysical more than psychogenetic factors. Chicago School theorists challenged essentialist theorizations that argued that behavior is determined by genetic or innate characteristics. The broadly environmentalist model of human behavior championed by the Chicago School, and later by behavioral psychologists such as J. B. Watson and B. F. Skinner, is not without its limitations. However, it is a framework that operates in other paradigms, particularly in ethnographic theories and qualitative research methodologies that have underpinned media analysis and audience research in the United States, Australia, and Britain. The *effects model,* one of whose principal areas of investigation is the impact of the media on human action, including violence, incorporates a key argument formulated during the formative years of behaviorist theory: that human action and thinking are not determined in isolation from the culture as a whole, but are shaped in relation to intersubjective and social relations more generally. It is via the theoretical filter of the effects model that the media's impact on socialization is initially understood. Later versions of this line of reasoning are seen in the uses and gratifications theory of the media as well as propaganda models associated with theorists such as Noam Chomsky.

Since the second half of the 20th century, researchers working in media studies and media theory have been interested in examining the effects of the media in terms of directness, influence, uses, pleasures and gratifications, decoding, and what today is referred to as *cultural consumption.* The *propaganda model,* for instance, shares one of the key assumptions underpinning earlier models: that media messages, as bearers of meaning, can influence thinking and perception. The examination of media effects, then, has taken place largely because the media are thought to affect socialization in different but nonetheless significant ways. Media research has shown that audiences see media celebrities as role models for young people. At the same time, celebrities, actors, and television personalities are judged precisely in terms of the impact they have on gender socialization. Moreover, analysis of media texts repeatedly shows how television dramas, mainstream films, and popular music are consumed in relation to gender, sexuality, and age. As a result, some critics have suggested that commonsense assumptions about gender and sex are structured in powerful ways via media representations and media celebrities.

Often, the media's impact on socialization is thought to be more detrimental than beneficial to society. Advertising constructs idealized images of women's bodies, films often objectify women as passive objects of desire, and popular culture more generally is produced and structured according to heteronormative gender norms. Yet the findings of media and social research are ambivalent, suggesting that while the media can influence how people act, this influence is not universal, causal, or linear. If social research shows how our understanding of disparate phenomena such as cultural identities, beliefs systems, moral panics, and national pride is in part shaped in relation to the media, the media require cultural discourses in order construct messages about such phenomena.

Organizations, Texts, and Audiences

Ultimately, the term *media* proves too general, both as a theoretical concept referring to particular modes of representation and as a label denoting a global industry. Any consideration of media and gender socialization, therefore, will be concerned to understand and study the operation of three dimensions of the media: organizations, output, and audiences.

First, "the media" refers to organizations that produce and/or distribute information and entertainment by way of visual, linguistic, and acoustic images. Organizations bring with them specific institutional ideologies and corporate agendas. Media organizations, while they are not directly responsible for gender socialization, play a role in making output available to consumers, and research suggests that such output is consumed and interpreted on the basis of categories such as gender, age, sexuality, and race. The BBC, for instance, takes account of gender representation in its programming, scheduling, and staffing policies. It also has to regularly assess how it might be more representative of the cultures in which gender is produced and demonstrate its implementation of equal opportunities legislation.

Second, media output is packaged on the basis of texts whose forms include film and television. Textual analysis of these films, whether this is undertaken by media theorists and ethnographers or by audiences using Internet chat rooms and "right-to-reply" outlets, is conducted against the political and cultural backdrops in which gender socialization is at once questioned and reaffirmed. The reality show *Celebrity Big Brother,* for example, triggered heated debates and public demonstrations as a result of its broadcasting and treatment of gender and race. To suggest that shows such as these are minimal in their impact on the processes of socialization fails to account for the major discussions that this particular reality caused in parliaments in India and the United Kingdom at the time of broadcast.

Finally, media output is made for and needs a range of audiences. The consumption of the media is as vital to media organizations as the producers who intervene at the level of textual production. However, there is no doubt that media representations overrely on gender stereotypes and on audiences' own awareness of or reliance on such images. Popular commercial programs are not made in order to advance social change or to promote progressive political agendas, but for specific audiences, at set times of the day, and with income generation as a key criterion of success. To secure advertising revenue, broadcast schedulers, attentive to ratings, do not usually deviate from programs that reflect dominant gender norms.

Popular output is not made with the aim of radically changing the ways people think about cultural categories such as gender. Rather, gender norms are affirmed in output that is made in order to generate

sales and income. However, media research since the 1980s has also established that audiences are more heterogeneous than effects theories might suggest. The work of critics such as Ien Ang, Stuart Hall, and David Morley has repeatedly proposed that audiences do not passively imbibe, but actively talk about the media, about who is being represented in the media, and about media representations more generally.

Feminist Analysis of Media and Gender

Feminist media critics such as Joke Hermes, Janice Radway, and Sue Thornham have noted how discussions about gender are a routine aspect of everyday life for many audiences. These discussions highlight the very ideological and gendered dimensions that saturate not only media representations but also everyday life itself. Readers of popular romance fiction and viewers of television soap operas do not consume these texts in metaphysical isolation, but do so in the sometimes heated personal and domestic contexts in which gender identity is complexly constructed, performed, or resisted. Living rooms, household spaces, and workplaces are not simply the arenas for the enactment and containment of gender. They are, in addition, spheres in which gender socialization is often rejected or called into doubt.

Considerations of gender socialization and the media take place, as we have noted, in ways that underscore the interoperation of the spheres of production and consumption. Binary models of this kind, however, should not oversimplify the impact, function, and complexity of the media's political economy. Identity-based models of cultural consumption, as Rosemary Hennessy has very pointedly observed, can often ignore the economic and material conditions that lend support to gender inequality in the culture sphere as well. Not all groups question media representations; for some, gender is a reality that exists regardless of any social construction; and the media are undoubtedly a major force in the acquisition of gender norms and socialization more generally. This questioning of the media's role in gender socialization has taken place against the broader backdrop of feminist theory and, more particularly, feminist media studies.

Theorizations of gender identity and gender socialization in media studies concern the twofold investigation of gender as it is constructed by audiences and gender as it is constructed in media images. Similar to traditions in mainstream media theory, feminist media studies examines how gender is produced in acts of consumption: the activities that surround watching television, for example, and the gender and other identifications occasioned by these instances of media consumption. As well as analyzing the psychical and psychosocial experiences of audiences, media researchers also study the representation of gender in media discourses.

In many respects, feminist analysis of media discourses is not simply an activity that seeks to highlight and challenge the gendered dimensions of media output. While such undertakings were identified as important tasks in the early history of feminist criticism, research is also committed in various ways to changing how output is produced, regulated, and distributed. If media institutions have traditionally been financed and managed by men and if men have historically put media images together, then it becomes difficult to argue that the production and management of these images is either representative or neutral. This is not to argue that output produced by men is always made in the interests of men and not women. Nor is such output axiomatically un- or misrepresentative. Rather, feminist research has repeatedly shown that the structures of economic and cultural power are gendered in favor of men. Because the media are also powerful agents of socialization, feminist research has attempted to show the ways in which the agents, processes, and effects of socialization are also never neutral. This is not to suggest that socialization is injurious or negative so much as it is to propose that its dimensions are always fraught by politics and ideology.

Two important aims of feminism and feminist media studies have been to interrogate and then destabilize male control in the spheres of the economy, culture, and the mass media. Any analysis of the media and its impact on gender socialization is also an intervention that is political, at least to some extent, in that the power to shape, and potentially distort, and then to distribute and potentially regulate media images is being challenged. If feminism and feminist media analysis of gender socialization are political activities, this is because they are concerned bout analyzing and changing existing power structures in society.

The analysis of the media's impact in the spheres of gender and socialization, for instance, seeks to show how and why gender is constructed in the ways that it is. Media constructions are never outside of the

society's prevailing power structures. These structures, while they can also be analyzed using other paradigms (by those of class or race, for example), have been shown by feminists to be fundamentally patriarchal: That is, the media's construction of women has often taken place within a representational logic that has subordinated women to men. The media's impact on gender socialization, then, has meant that the private spheres of home, domesticity, and child care are made into the sole domain of women. Women have been socialized, therefore, in relation to the private sphere of home and family, and media representations have often perpetuated or done little to challenge this gendered and spatial segregation. Men, as a consequence, are socialized in relation to the work and the public sphere. These structures, however, far from confirming some natural order into which men and women should fit, highlight the social and mediated ways in which history and ideology are made to seem inevitable and thus fixed.

Old Texts, New Media

Feminist theorists since the 1960s have argued that ideas, language, and representations are pivotal in the construction not just of women's lives but also of gendered identities as a whole. In the period of second-wave feminism, criticism that addressed textual and media images sought to show how women were constructed linguistically and visually in relation to ideals of femininity, beauty, bodily shape, and clothes. Betty Freidan in the 1960s was one of the first critics to show how gender socialization can occur in relation to media output. Her findings suggest that popular magazines and advertising images have been crucial in the post-1945 construction of ideal images of femininity, especially in myths of the happy housewife, the mother, the girl, and the teenager. That the media have been central to gender socialization, especially in the construction of images of femininity, beauty, and the body, is evidenced in the demonstrations that were organized against the Miss America contest in 1968 and the Miss World competition in London in 1969. These demonstrations occurred at a time when rape and domestic violence were slowly beginning to be viewed as serious crimes. It needs to be recalled, however, that the popular press still promoted arguments that women incited their own subordination, violation, and rape. Such views were partly fueled by negative representations in the popular media, especially film and newspapers.

Two distinct traditions of media representation have served to construct and legitimize women's subordination. First, pseudo-scientific discourses during the 19th and 20th centuries sought to justify a pernicious misogyny by lending it the weight of empirical fact. Medical, psychosexological, and religious discourses depicted women in terms of lack, inferiority, and concupiscence. Socialized as subordinate to men, it became difficult for women, because of forced domesticity and child rearing, to move beyond structures of economic dependency. Second, representations in literary and artistic output depicted women as temptresses and seducers. The Old Testament creation story, which constructed Eve, rather than Adam, as the carnal temptress, became a myth that, in its various narrative reinventions, served to structure many popular media and cultural forms. These distinct discursive frameworks construct women as ontologically and biologically inferior to men. Also during the 1960s, magazines and journals written by, for, and about women began to extend feminist politics in the sphere of what became a specifically feminist media criticism, indicating that the understanding of the interrelationship of social and representational structures was crucial to feminism.

A number of theoretical and methodological concerns underpin the emergence of feminist media studies and its attempts to theorize the impact of the media on gender socialization. First, images and representations can significantly inflect how subjects think and act. Second, media representations are always shaped in relation to competing demands, reflecting not simply the respective agendas of producers and consumers of media but also the politics of the mainstream and the margins. And third, the media—the press, television, magazines, radio, popular music—are not simply concerned with representations, but come with their own political and institutional agendas.

We can see from the preceding observations that considerations of gender socialization and the media take place in ways that underscore the interoperation of the apparently distinct spheres of production and consumption. Binary models of this kind should not oversimplify the impact, function, and complexity of global media. Not all groups question media representations. For some, gender is a reality that exists regardless of any social construction, and the media are undoubtedly make up a

major force in the acquisition of gender norms and socialization more generally. To the extent that film and television are popular media consumed by women, they continue to be important arenas in which gender socialization can be variously examined. Since the 1980s, dramas series such as *Cagney and Lacey, Dallas, Prime Suspect,* and *Widows* have foregrounded gender relations in their respective plots and story lines, suggesting that women's roles outside the home and how these roles are undertaken are important to ongoing debates about gender socialization, feminist research, and equal opportunities more generally.

While the impact of media output is ambivalent in that its reception can't always be predicted in advance, the aforementioned dramas illustrate how gender identities are always constructed in relation to power. If the *Prime Suspect* series shows that women can exercise leading roles in organizations, performing professional duties as competently as men, *Cagney and Lacey* exposes just how difficult it is for women to overturn practices that would keep women in positions of workplace inferiority. *Dallas,* for instance, exposes how the sphere of the domestic remains one in which women can nonetheless exercise degrees of agency. Similarly, *Desperate Housewives* underlines how the domestic sphere, for many white middle-class women, is a contradictory space, one in which they are both empowered but also trapped. *Widows,* for example, depicts the ways in which agency and domesticity are always tied to social class and economic power, something that is repeatedly affirmed in soap operas. More recently, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Desperate Housewives, Queer as Folk, Sex and the City,* and *Tipping the Velvet* have all been concerned with gender socialization in terms of age *(Buffy),* identity and gender relations (*Desperate Housewives, Sex and the City*), and queer gender-sex relations *(Queer as Folk, Tipping the Velvet).*

Conclusion

Media outputs—popular fictions, films, television shows, popular music, magazines, and advertising—do not represent gender in universal ways, nor is gender necessarily a key category in the consumption of that output. For example, while Anglo-American television might seem to construct gender in certain ways and not others, audience researchers argue that this same output is decoded in different ways, even by audiences who share common demographic profiles such as class, region, or age. Media texts, nonetheless, are usually clustered around specific forms and genres, and there is no doubt that these forms have been gendered. Often subjected to and by the heterosexual male gaze, gender is materialized by discourses that do not always reflect the wider culture in which gender as a category of everyday life is actually lived.

Sometimes gendering occurs in relation to authorship (e.g., women's writing), content (images of women), or consumption (daytime television for women). Gendering is neither positive nor negative so much as it is a reality for most subjects in all cultures. To argue for a creative space that allows for the production of films and television by and for women is also to affirm the place of women in the spheres of textual production and creation. The same argument is more difficult to make for and about men or men's gender socialization. Moreover, the gendering of texts can perpetuate essentialist theorizing and myths of domesticity, child rearing, and the family. Myths surrounding gender identity, for instance, and the stereotyping of masculine and feminine behavior have often been propagated and perpetuated in media representations. Research in feminist media studies, then, often points out the ways media messages and representations are never neutral so that a text written by and for women might be as negative, positive, or ambivalent in its portrayal of women as material produced by men.

The relationship, then, between the media and gender socialization is a clear one. Media and cultural representations, alongside the social-symbolic world all subjects inhabit because of language, have an impact on how gender is constructed in public spheres and how it is perceived in the psychic lives of individual subjects. The final impact of the media, however, is less clear. Gender is not articulated or materialized in singular ways. Rather, gender is produced in relation to a number of competing stories about what it means to be or become a man or a woman. In adding to these dimensions, media representations merely supplement existing but nonetheless competing stories about gender and everyday life.

Tony Purvis

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Feminist Magazines; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Performance; Men's Magazines; Primetime Comedy; Primetime Drama; Women Artists

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MEDIA AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

Gender stereotypes are common beliefs formed in culture about how men and women behave. The appearance of gender stereotypes is a result of the sociohistorical construction of a gender relations model in which gender differences were situated above other individual differences of personality between men and women. Gender stereotypes often contribute to the socialization of gender roles, which are a set of expected behavior patterns or norms for women and men. As sociological theories on stereotypes have shown, stereotypes are used as a form of maintaining social stratification by relegating individuals into negative classifications based on their personal identities. The emphasis on the individual, the influence of hegemonic forces on the individual in relation to group membership, and the resulting intergroup conflict make it plausible to understand how stereotypes facilitate different forms of stratification. In the case of gender stereotypes in the media, this stratification comes in the form of unequal, melodramatic representations of men and women.

The collective *media* is defined as a social institution that includes print and broadcast news, periodicals, advertising, film, television, literature, music, and music videos. According to communications researchers at Ball State University, individuals consume some form of print or electronic media (information and entertainment) 11 hours per day. Individuals engage media texts that reproduce gender stereotypes, which influence their social perceptions. Media scholars suggest that media texts may contribute to or undermine the inequalities that exist in contemporary societies on individual and institutional levels. Critical media theorists suggest that media texts and ideology go hand in hand, since media often reproduce dominant ideologies. Mass media plays a significant role in the process of gender socialization, and much of their gendered texts are stereotypes.

The Social Construction of Gender

The literature on gender identity suggests that gender is relational, based in the hierarchical association that relates male dominance and female subordination in individuals, institutions, and representations of ideology. Gender is also fluid and variable across space, time, and culture. Robert W. Connell defines *gender* as a social practice that is organized in relation to the material realities of the human body. Masculinity and femininity are gender projects whereby individuals negotiate their understanding of one in relation to the other. While biological differences exist between men and women, only through the social process of defining masculinity and femininity do these biological differences become stratified.

Through both formal and informal socialization mechanisms, individuals learn their gender roles, which are carried out by way of certain social prescriptions; for example, corresponding behavior to a certain gender expressed by speech, manners, gestures, and clothes. These mechanisms include the family, religious institutions, school, social organizations, and the media. Socialization is a critical component to understanding how individuals learn gendered behavior. Yet sociological perspectives on gender socialization often analyze this behavior in the context of social inequality, or the macrostructural forces that translate disparate social meaning into a system of gender-stratified life chances.

Media make up one of the most influential formal social structures through which gender is constructed. Yet gender is almost always represented stereotypically. The most dominant media texts that persuade individuals in contemporary society are advertising and television.

Advertising

One of the earliest sociological examinations of gender stereotypes in the media was conducted by Erving Goffman. In his study of pictorial representations of men and women in advertising, Goffman argued that advertisements draw upon gender display, or perceived behaviors of men and women, as opposed to actual behaviors. This exhibition of gender has also been conceptualized as *gender performance,* or the presentation of a characterized or sensational representation of masculinity and femininity, often performed as a means of highlighting the inherent contradictions in gender display. Advertisements create cultural cues that tell individuals about the nature of society and how things are connected to larger social forces, in this case gender performance.

In the 1970s and 1980s, studies of gender in television advertising in the United States found that women were typically represented as subservient to men, as housewives, mothers, or in some other domestic capacity. Women were also illustrated as inactive (with an overrepresentation of women indoors), physical objects of male desire, with little to no authority and expertise. By the 1990s, advertisers responded to public resistance to this stereotypical display of gender, shifting the trend from illustrating women as physical objects toward positioning women's images in the context of family or female independence.

Media scholars identify this trend toward the representation of female empowerment as the advertising industry's attempt to reflect changes in the culture, due in large part to the impact of the feminist movement and shifting perspectives on the role of women outside of the home. Yet some argue that this shift also reinforced traditional roles of women while creating a new set of contradictory expectations for women to live up to—the ability to simultaneously become feminine (or, as Jean Kilbourne suggests, to be nice and kind, to value romantic relationships with boys, and to compete with other girls for their attention) and masculine (to compete with men in the labor force by adopting stereotypical male traits such as manipulation, anger, exuberance, and egotism).

According to Nielsen Media Research, in the first half of 2006, advertising spending for the top 10 companies in the United States reached nearly $9.8 billion. In addition, product placement advertising (the seemingly inconspicuous placing of branded products within other media texts, including television, film, and music videos) has created another avenue for advertisers to sell products. This has become an unconscious form of embedding gendered images among stereotypical representations of social behavior and interaction.

Television

Television is arguably one of the most significant discursive mediums in American culture. It is also the activity that consumes the majority of leisure time for Americans. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics American Time Use Survey, watching television was the leisure activity that occupied the most time (2.6 hours per day), accounting for about half of all leisure time for both men and women. By contrast, the next most common leisure activity, socializing (e.g., visiting with friends, attending or hosting social events) accounted for roughly three quarters of an hour per day for both men and women.

The commercialization of television technology in the 1940s spawned a new generation of advertising that shifted the marketing practices from the male-dominated audience of television's predecessor—radio—to what was anticipated to be a female-driven target audience. In their anthology on gender, race, and class in media, Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez point out that from the early commercial television of the post–World War II period to the development

entertainment genres that continued well into the 1970s, the television industry developed scheduling (daytime and nighttime) and programming practices that reflected the gendered division of labor and an ideology of separation between the domestic (feminine) and public (masculine) domains of society. Daytime television was targeted toward a female audience, while nighttime, or primetime, television (which has implications of preference and superiority) was marketed toward families with a presumed male-headed household. Although primetime television has evolved to include a diverse range of male and female representations, studies on the depiction of women in primetime television suggest that the increase in representations of women are those primarily of women in the workplace (often within the context of male-dominated jobs, such as law enforcement or the corporate environment) and women within the reality-television genre, including tabloid news, talk shows, and other competition-driven formats (e.g., *Survivor, America's Next Top Model*).

Daytime programming consists primarily of soap operas, talk shows, and news programs. Feminist media scholars offer competing perspectives on soap operas and the extent to which they reinforce or subvert stereotypical gender displays. In a study of audience interaction with soap operas as texts, Tania Modleski argued that viewers are forced to take on multiple subject positions or temporary identities, as opposed to one single character. The endless story line and frequency of character shifts suggests that the viewer is engaging a process of gender role construction, as opposed to single-gendered characters. John Fiske later argued that because soap operas present a constant state of disruption for their characters and their lives are constructed out of the dominant ideologies inscribed in the status quo, women viewers are presented with a type of disruption without resolution that produces the possibility to challenge status quo beliefs of gender roles. Yet other ethnographic studies of soap opera audiences provide mixed interpretations of whether the openness of the text has a liberatory function or whether it reinforces traditional constructions of gender.

The talk show format grew in popularity during the late 1970s, and by the 1980s was distinctively characterized as "women's programming." From Phil Donohue, Sally Jesse Raphael, and Oprah Winfrey to Ricki Lake, Jerry Springer, and Tyra Banks, this genre presents conflicted messages of a gendered, raced, and classed narrative of female discourse through the presentation of everyday lives. While these shows attempt to create a platform to engage the social and political issues of the day, particularly making public the historically private issues of women, studies show that this platform is sensationalized for entertainment purposes, which often undermines the audience's ability to seriously consider these social problems.

The emergence of gender-specific and gender-targeted cable networks, like Lifetime (established in 1984 for women) and Spike TV (established in 2003 for men), created a new avenue for advertising and television programming to market to gender-specific audiences. Like the melodrama of women's programming on daytime television, male-centered programming reinforces sensational stereotypes of men as domineering, aggressive (particularly in the context of sports fanaticism), oversexed, and underprivileged, which suggests a backlash to the inroads made by women in the wake of the feminist movement. Representations of men often emphasize the hardships of the working-class white male as an underrepresented class, with shows like *Married With Children, The Simpsons,* and *The Man Show.*

Conclusion

Much of the contemporary literature on gender stereotypes in the media uses an intersectional approach to analyze the impact of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation on representations of individuals and groups in the media. Given the high rates of media consumption, particularly television, and decreasing rates of social communication, many individuals engage the social world largely through the lenses of various media. Some view these representations as formulaic messages of gender roles and behaviors that, coupled with disproportionate representations of minority populations, present an idealistic, contrary portrait of society.

Mako Fitts

See also Body Image; Feminist Magazines; Gender Performance; Gender Stereotypes; Men's Magazines; Primetime Comedy; Primetime Drama

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MENOPAUSE

Menopause is a time of significant transition for women, representing the termination of the reproductive phase. Although menopause is thought to be a biological process, it also has sociocultural and sociosexual meanings and consequences. Biologically, menopause is the permanent cessation of menstruation as a result of decreasing hormones levels. To understand menopause, it is necessary to define it medically and socioculturally, including the symptoms associated with it and the cause of those symptoms. Placing the experiences of menopausal women within the medicalized model facilitates an understanding of the challenges with which women are confronted. Last, a review of the social construction of menopause cross-culturally is necessary, as menopause is an archetype of how societal notions of gender and femininity interconnect to form a valuation system of women.

Definition and Symptomology

There is no definitive medical definition of menopause. Menopause is diagnosed retrospectively after 12 full months without menstruation. Despite the fact that there is no clear linkage between chronological and reproductive age, most medical professionals still use age as a marker to identify when menopause occurs. In Western countries, doctors place the age of menopause around 50 years, although hormone levels often decline in women in the preceding 8 to 10 years. In general terms, *menopause,* or *climacteric,* as it is characterized in medical terminology, occurs when the ovaries become less sensitive and/or resistant to certain

hormones, which, in turn, causes a decrease in the production of estrogen. The reduction in hormone levels is categorized in terms of vasomotor (e.g., hot flashes, fatigue), atrophic (e.g., complaints related to urinary and reproductive systems), and psychological or sexual (e.g., breast tenderness, vaginal dryness) symptoms.

It is generally assumed that age of symptom onset is due to a combination of genetics and maternal activity during pregnancy. It is also assumed that the external environment and the female's behavior have an impact on eventual menopause experience. For instance, smoking and having multiple births (e.g., twins) are associated with significantly earlier menopause, while women who are married, from higher socioeconomic classes, and taking hormone replacements experience menopause later in life. It is unclear how such variables impact the onset of menopause, but clear associations have been demonstrated, and it has been established that late-stage menopause results in increased health risks, such as endometrial and breast cancers. Current research is unable to distinguish between the effects of the aging process and menopausal symptoms. For instance, the fatigue a woman in her 40s or 50s may experience could also be due to taking care of ailing parents, work-related stress, marital difficulties, or children leaving home for college. Menopause occurs during a normally stressful and challenging time in a woman's life, and any discussion of symptomology should be placed within such a context. Moreover, minimal research has been conducted on how menopause is experienced by lesbians, women of color, low-income women, and women with mental illness. As such, it is important to study menopause from a life span perspective, noting that symptoms vary according to the interaction between biology and sociocultural and sociosexual factors.

Medicalization of Menopause

Menopause has been medicalized and pathologized in Western countries, leaving women dependent on the medical establishment and the pharmaceutical industry for treatment and relief of symptoms. It is measured in terms of loss of ability, functioning, and role. When women enter midlife and begin to identify vague symptoms, such as fatigue or depression, the response of the medical establishment is to assume the cause is a result of hormone deficiencies. Women are often placed on hormone replacement therapy, which

has its own set of risks associated with use in excess of 6-week intervals (e.g., increased rates of cancer), as opposed to being directed to self-help techniques used in other countries. Medical professionals in Western countries contend that without hormone replacement therapy, women are at increased risk for chronic diseases, such as heart disease, osteoporosis, and Alzheimer's, and will have a lower quality of life. However, there is no research to support the claims that hormone replacement therapy improves quality of life or decreases the likelihood of chronic disease. Several cultural assumptions regarding menopause have permeated the medical establishment in relation to menopause, including the following:

- Health is the result of modern medicine and technology, and as such there is an emphasis on prevention and treatment.
- The Unites States regards itself as a leader in the medical field and disregards research from other countries that are antithetical to its own research. For instance, low levels of bone factures are associated with hormone replacement therapy, yet Asian and African women do not use hormone replacement therapy and experience lower levels of bone fractures than American women.
- Much of the research on menopause is sponsored by the pharmaceutical industry in America and as such is focused on the benefits of drug intervention.

Several research instruments have been developed to measure the quality of life of menopausal women, the assumption being that quality of life decreases as women age and are no longer capable of reproduction. Eight major scales are used by clinicians, researchers, and health care practitioners to identify the impact of symptoms and the effects of hormone replacement therapy on menopausal women. No one instrument is effective in addressing all of the issues, and so many health care practitioners combine the tools. Contrary to research focusing on the negative aspects of menopause, additional research has demonstrated no significant differences between the quality of life for pre- and postmenopausal women in terms of physicality, psychology, or sexuality. Moreover, qualitative research has illustrated that many women regard menopause positively, with an enhanced awareness and acceptance of themselves. This is especially prevalent among some women of color whose cultural experiences have taught them to regard menopause as a natural aging process in which they can behave in less culturally confined ways.

Social Construction of Menopause

Despite the biological component, menopause is essentially a socially constructed concept. This is evidenced by the various ways in which menopause is experienced globally. Non-Western cultures characterize menopause through the health perspective, whereby it is regarded as a natural physiological process that actually improves the health of women. According to this perspective, because women are no longer ovulating, their bodies no longer require the high level production of hormones necessary during the reproductive years, and the decrease in hormone levels is analogous to hormone reduction between adolescence and adulthood. Non-Western cultures contend that menopausal women are more confident and energetic, as they have shed the responsibilities associated with menstruation, such as childbearing and child rearing. Moreover, many cultures do not even have a term for menopause, and the women transition at an earlier age and experience no symptoms. This is as a result of the valuation that non-Western societies place on aging women, whereby aging bestows increased status, mobility, and freedom from unwanted pregnancies.

In Western countries, menopause is a time in which women often express an experience of discomforting symptoms. Menopause often involves hot flashes, night sweats, distress, fatigue, insomnia, urogenital complaints, changes in the elasticity and appearance of the skin, aching in the joints and muscles, breast tenderness, painful intercourse, and depressive mood swings. In addition, it has been associated with changing bone density and altered immune response. Western cultural values associated with aging and gender tend to frame menopause as a time of decline for women. From this perspective, menopause means women have entered old age, and society regards older women as less attractive, feminine, and functional. Conversely, aging in men tends to be associated with increased masculinity, competence, autonomy, self-control, and power, and older men are considered highly attractive as a result of these qualities. The stereotypical feminine traits of passivity and noncompetitiveness remain stable, and still unvalued, as women age. Aging women must not only contend with ideal standards of appearance and

weight that plagued them in younger years but also the added societal condition that they be asexual and matronly.

There is evidence that symptoms women experience with menopause may be attributable to social, as opposed to biological, factors. For instance, lack of sexual desire may be the result of relationship problems or lack of attraction to one's partner, as opposed to decreasing hormone levels, as estrogen does not increase sexual activity, desire, or satisfaction without being accompanied by psychosocial and psychosexual factors.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is extremely difficult to disentangle the natural aging process from the hormonal changes associated with menopause. Consequently, when examining menopause, it must be viewed through a life span perspective that takes into account sociocultural and sociosexual factors alongside biological elements. Moreover, how society socially constructs aging and women's experiences with menopause are fundamental in a discussion of symptomology. Despite the fact that Western science links menopause with loss of functioning and ability, many women identify the transition as positive in that they are free from the responsibilities associated with having and raising children.

Laura Zilney

See also Biological Determinism; Body Image; Health Disparities; Hormone Therapy; Hysterectomy; Women's Health Movements

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MEN'S MAGAZINES

Magazines are cultural artifacts that reveal something about society. They tell us something about popular public ideological discourse concerning race, class, gender, and sexuality. Traditionally, men's magazines focused on health or pornography (e.g., *Men's Health* and *Playboy*). Today, a variety of specialty magazines that target the assumed interests of men focus on sports, cars, cigars, and so forth. However, the "new man's lifestyle" magazine has become a recent phenomenon within popular culture, and many rank as some of the highest-selling magazines in the United States. These publications continue to cover issues related to men's health, sex, sports, and cars but also provide advice to men on clothing, beauty products, video games, food, liquor, and more. Men no longer need to purchase multiple magazines in order to indulge in different areas of interest. Rather, men's lifestyle magazines, including *GQ, Maxim,* and *Esquire,* cover a number of topics within one magazine.

It is important to note that such marketing to men represents a turn in the consumer/producer dichotomy that was once largely divided along the lines of gender. That is, women have traditionally been thought of as consumers and men as producers. Therefore, the majority of product marketing was once designed to tempt women into consuming the advertised commodity. Men's lifestyle magazines reveal that today, men also are becoming targeted as consumers. Within the pages of these magazines, men are sold cologne, clothing, shaving cream, hair gel, and more. Interestingly, the ways men are being sold these items increasingly rely on marketing techniques that have traditionally been used to persuade women to buy products. As Susan Alexander (2004) notes, the magazine photos within feature articles and advertisements act to first create bodily insecurity and then offer a product solution. Alexander refers to this as "branded masculinity." This strategy has long had consequences on women's self-esteem and body image. Because this phenomenon has only recently included men, researchers are just beginning to explore the meaning of such marketing and how the magazines create meanings of masculinity.

Producing Knowledge About Men

The new men's magazines advise men how to look and how to live, through features, articles, and photographs. They do so by presenting particular representations of "appropriate" masculinity; that is, what it means to be a man in a certain time and place. Images of masculinity are projected and controlled through media niches. In this way, men's magazines

serve as one window through which to make sense of current social expectations men confront through their consumption of popular culture and media.

The topics presented in the majority of men's magazines clue the reader into what are appropriate "male" interests, such as golf, beer, hunting, video games, and women. It is significant that men's magazines do not seriously consider articles on ballet, parenting, and cooking. The latter are activities and interests that continue to be socially constructed as "feminine," and thus contaminating to men. The feminine is often considered contaminating to men's sexuality. This means that a man interested or participating in what is considered feminine activity may fall under suspicion of homosexuality. Thus, magazine marketers continue to sell magazines by appealing to (heterosexual) men via their supposed traditional interests. Although these publications market to men as consumers and increasingly provide clothing and "beauty" products as solutions to insecurities, they continue to be inundated with mostly hegemonic (dominant) masculine symbols and instructions. In this way, these magazines perpetuate narrow meanings of masculinity that reinforce the hierarchical relationship of masculinity and femininity.

"Appropriate" masculinity is constructed as being synonymous with heterosexuality. Men's magazines reflect this in their objectification of women. Women are provocatively shown on the cover of many men's magazines, including *Maxim* and *FHM (For Him Magazine),* as sexual objects offered to men for consumption. In this way, a number of men's magazines encourage men to be voyeurs. While images of women are meant to sell the magazine, they also appeal directly to the intended readership: heterosexual men. This suggests a sexual relationship between men and women that is rooted in meanings of subject and object.

Bethany Benwell suggests that the use of irony within men's lifestyle magazines plays an important role in the perpetuation of inequality, especially gender and sexual inequality. Irony and humor within these magazines act as reactionary discourse to the call for sensitivity in the wake of both gay liberation and second-wave feminism. Benwell suggests that such irony is strategically employed to represent masculinity as politically incorrect but "fun loving" in character, asking to be excused because the homophobic and misogynist jest is "all in fun."

Kristen Barber

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Hegemonic Masculinity; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream

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Men's Movements

Though the vast majority of gender-based social movements have been organized by women and focused primarily on women's issues, men's movements have gained increasing popularity in recent years. Just as there is no single women's movement, the same can be said of men's movements. Instead, there is a diverse range of men's movements and men's movement organizations. Each has a slightly different point of focus, but all share a concern with men's roles in society. The increase in men's movements over the past 30 years can be understood in part as a result of men's realization that gender inequality affects them, just as it affects women.

As men's movements began to take shape, men who were concerned about the inequality experienced by women whom they cared about began to express their concern by joining feminist organizations. At the same time, some men began to question mainstream views of masculinity and the effects of such views on themselves and on society more generally. Some men joined feminist organizations that were already under way, while others began to form their own organizations. Thus, some men's movements were created in support of women's feminist movements, especially following the second wave of the women's movement. Other men's movements, while also created in response to the feminist

and other women's movements, were started in an effort to push back against the gains made by women's movements. Still other men's movements were created that focus almost exclusively on men's issues and do not explicitly engage feminist or women's movements. This entry considers all three types: those that are pro-feminist, those that are antifeminist, and those that more exclusively address men's issues alone.

The topic of men's movements is relevant to any inquiry into gender and society. It is through social movements that change is created. The impact of gender-based movements on our society has been enormous. Gender-based movements helped change cultural views about gender relations in families, schools, the workplace, and many other areas of society. Men's movements in particular raise important questions about what it means for men and women to be equal members of society and how men are impacted by gender inequality and by potentially damaging norms of masculinity.

Pro-Feminist Men's Movements

Pro-feminist men's movements emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, following the second wave of the women's rights movement. These groups support efforts that promote equality between women and men in all realms of society. Some of these groups focus on changing their own attitudes and behaviors, critically examining the origins of their own ideas about gender. In conducting such examinations, these men's groups engage in consciousness-raising efforts, just as many feminist groups have done. Other pro-feminist men's groups focus on changing others' behaviors and/or the social structures that promote gender-based inequality. These groups may, for example, lobby Congress to change laws that promote gender inequality or speak out against sexism at public rallies or other events.

Perhaps the most well-known pro-feminist men's organization is the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS). NOMAS describes itself as a pro-feminist, gay-affirmative, antiracist activist organization that is committed to a range of social justice issues. At its core, however, is a focus on promoting a positive vision of what it means to be a man and engaging in a form of masculinity that promotes the equality of all people. NOMAS has several chapters throughout the United States and hosts a number of

conferences every year. Other examples of pro-feminist men's organizations include anti-rape groups, such as Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR), which focuses on today's younger generation of men and works to mobilize them in the fight against rape and other forms of gendered and sexual violence. One way that MCSR meets its goals is by engaging young men around the country in conversation about what it means to be a man and discussing ways of resisting harmful forms of masculinity.

One thing that most pro-feminist men's organizations have in common is that they share a broad understanding of gender inequality and view all forms of inequality as interrelated. As such, many pro-feminist movements do not only work toward promoting women's equality with men but also toward ending homophobia, racism, and class-based inequalities. Pro-feminist movements view men's violence against women and other forms of gender-based inequality as part of a broader network of social inequality, each of which depends upon the other to be upheld. By resisting all forms of violence and inequality, pro-feminist men's movements work to promote a more just and equitable society.

Antifeminist Men's Movements

Just as many pro-feminist men's groups emerged in response to the women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s, so did a number of antifeminist men's groups. In this case, rather than forming in support of feminist efforts, they formed to work against the changes advocated by women's rights movements and organizations. Sometimes referred to as "pro-masculinist," groups in this category focus on men's rights and work against what they view as an increasingly popular denigration of masculinity.

The National Coalition of Free Men (NCFM) represents perhaps the most prominent antifeminist men's organization in the United States. The NCFM and its supporting organizations hold feminists responsible for the downfall of the American family and for a variety of other social problems they believe followed, including high rates of teen pregnancy, teen suicide, and poor school performance. In their efforts to reverse what they view as the negative consequences of the feminist movement, the NCFM engages in several different kinds of activist efforts, most notably activism that promotes protections for

fathers who have experienced divorce (though there are many fathers' rights pro-feminist organizations as well). The NCFM and its supporting organizations also work to overturn legislation they believe provides women and other minorities with unfair privileges and advantages such as workplace affirmative action laws.

Like pro-feminist men's movements, many antifeminist men's movements also raise questions about the utility and value of traditional male roles. Unlike pro-feminist groups, however, antifeminist men's groups assert that traditional masculine roles such as that of breadwinner are ultimately more harmful to men than they are to women. These groups focus exclusively on the harm caused to men by traditional masculinity, rather than question how mainstream norms of masculinity lead to women's subordination or promote inequalities across multiple realms of society.

Other Men's Movements

A third category of men's movements includes those that do not explicitly support or resist feminist efforts. Instead, they focus exclusively on men's lives and the social consequences of hegemonic norms of masculinity. Examples include the mythopoetic men's movement and the Million Man March.

The mythopoetic movement, founded by male poet Robert Bly, has garnered much scholarly and popular attention since the 1990s. Interestingly, mythopoetics borrow from an eclectic set of ideologies in framing their movement. For example, the mythopoetic movement urges men to question and challenge today's version of hegemonic masculinity, arguing that contemporary mainstream masculinity is harmful to men and that it has kept men from attaining spiritual and emotional wholeness. On the other hand, mythopoetics also assert that ideal manhood must include strength, aggression, and virility, features of mainstream masculinity that some pro-feminist movements perceive as problematic.

The Million Man March is another men's movement that focuses more explicitly on men's issues than on responding to women's movements. The first Million Man March, a rally on the U.S. Capital Mall in 1995, was organized by Louis Farrakhan and Benjamin Chavis, Jr., in an effort to bring together African American men of all religions and social classes. At the march, participants were urged to recommit themselves to their wives and families. They were also encouraged to become more engaged public citizens and community members by voting and by standing up against violence, unemployment, and drug use in their communities.

Conclusion

Certainly, there are far more men's movements than discussed in this entry, some of which may not fit neatly into any of the three categories described above. For example, the range of fatherhood and fathers' rights organizations makes it difficult to categorize this movement. While some fatherhood movement organizations support pro-feminist ideals by urging shared parenting and involved fatherhood, others promote an ideology that upholds traditional family values in which men are encouraged to take command of their families. Likewise, the Promise Keepers, a conservative Christian men's organization, cuts across all three categories of men's movements. Like pro-feminists, the Promise Keepers encourage men to establish bonds with one another and to reach beyond racial barriers to make connections with those who may differ from themselves. Like antifeminists, the group excludes homosexuals and espouses values that assert men's power over women. Finally, as with movements such as the mythopoetics, the Promise Keepers seek spiritual and emotional wholeness. Cases such as the fatherhood movement and the Promise Keepers demonstrate that men's movements are wide-ranging and complex.

As with women's movements, men's movements and those who participate in them represent a diverse range of perspectives, backgrounds, and ideologies. Whatever their perspective, men's movements have in common a focus on men's issues as well as on social change. Although each movement uses its own set of activist and consciousness-raising tactics toward different ends, all raise important questions about men and the nature of masculinity.

Amy Blackstone

See also Fatherhood Movements; Male Feminists; ManKind Project, The; Mentors in Violence Prevention Model; Million Man March; National Organization for Men Against Sexism; Promise Keepers; Women's Social Movements, History of

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MENSTRUATION

Menstruation is the shedding and discharging of the uterine lining. Menstruation occurs after a woman ovulates and if she does not become pregnant. The time during which menstruation occurs is referred to as *menses.* Although many refer to the discharge during menstruation as "menstrual blood," the more accurate term is *menstrual fluid,* because it contains not only blood but also mucus, bits of the uterine lining, and cells from the vaginal lining. The first time a girl experiences menstruation is called *menarche.* The cessation of menstruation is *menopause.*

Menstruation is a biological phenomenon that, throughout history, has been conceptualized in ways that reinforce the gender norms and roles of the time. Menstruation has long been tied to the philosophical tradition of the distinction between the mind (or consciousness or soul) and the body, which started with Plato and is still a recurring cultural trope to this day. Generally, the mind has been both the privileged term in the binary and associated with men, masculinity, and culture. The body, on the other hand, has been associated with women, femininity, and nature. Within this framework, menstruation has often figured as a sign of women's association with the body and nature, reaffirming women as the "inferior sex." Such gendering extends into the medicalization of the entire menstrual cycle. The normal bodily function of menstruation has become a pathology to be managed by medical professionals, who are predominantly male. This framing encourages women to turn to professionals rather than to get to know their own bodies. Menstruation has also become a large consumer market, encouraging women to empower themselves through consumption and using fear and shame to sell medications and hygiene products.

Despite the strength of these cultural conceptualizations, women throughout history have refuted understandings of menstruation as an indication of inferiority or pathology and embraced it as a sign of women's power to give life, a source of wisdom, a reason to listen to and know their bodies, an equalizer among women, and a connection between generations. The variety of opposing meanings that have been attached to menstruation, both synchronically and diachronically, render it a rich site for understanding how gender is constructed in society.

Shifting Medical/Ideological Understandings of Menstruation

Early explanations of menstruation were closely related to these mind/body, male/female, and culture/nature hierarchies. The philosopher Aristotle believed that menstruation was a sign of female inferiority. His position reflected a broad belief that women naturally lacked the heat needed to produce semen and thus could only produce menstrual blood, an inferior substance. Around the same time, Hippocrates described menstruation as beneficial to women because it seemed to bring relief from the headaches, swelling, and nervousness that women suffered. Pythagoras, in the 6th century BCE, conjectured that women naturally had more blood than men, the model for health and normality, and thus menstruation was the elimination of this extra, unneeded blood. The 1st-century CE Roman naturalist Pliny believed that menstrual blood was a dangerous form of pollution and should be avoided. In the 2nd century CE, Galen claimed that women's extra blood was due to their idleness rather than nature. Menstruation was seen as a means of cleansing the body, a view that still persists in society to this day, and became the theoretical foundation for therapeutic bloodletting. In this way, menstruation shaped the way in which medicine was practiced. Admittedly, these views of menstruation hold negative connotations. However, they also imply that women are powerful and, in some cases, that men envied women's abilities to menstruate and to bear children.

In the late 18th century, menstruation was seen as a healthy, normal part of a woman's life that need not inhibit her in any way. The Protestant ethic of the time

encouraged women to work, get exercise, and be active during menstruation in order to be less likely to fail to menstruate or to have problems during menstruation. Sickness was widely believed to be divine punishment for laziness, and menstrual problems were no exception. This view of menstruation had more to do with the roles women played in society at the time than with any biologically based medical information. Women were integrally involved and important to the overall economy, and menstruation was healthy, normal, and no impediment to work.

By the Victorian era, when the doctrine of separate spheres was firmly in place and respectable women were not supposed to take part in economic activities, menstruation was viewed as a temporary disability or pathology. The dominant medical paradigm of the time envisioned human beings as closed systems, with only a limited amount of energy available for menstruation and eventual reproduction. The loss of energy could cause numerous problems, from a failure to menstruate to excessive menstruation. In general, women were considered unfit to participate in the public sphere and were advised to reduce, if not completely abstain, from physical activity. Menstruating women were thought to be especially emotional, erratic, volatile, and lacking self-control—and thus especially unfit for public life. Excitement, urban environments, dancing, mixing with the opposite sex, and rich food were thought to further encourage heavy or more frequent menstruation, the early onset of menarche, and, in turn, sexual overdevelopment. These arguments, rooted in political and economic theories that privileged marriage and motherhood as the proper domains of women, supported arguments against women attending college, voting, and participating in the public sphere.

Hygiene Products

Mass-produced, disposable menstrual hygiene products appeared in the United States in the 1920s. Although relatively expensive, and thus an option only for the well-off, menstrual products marked a significant shift. Women were no longer held captive by menstruation; instead, they managed and masked it. Although the advent of hygiene products did not actually change mainstream views on menstruating women, it did allow women to pass as "normal" and "healthy,"—that is, not menstruating—and thus to

avoid proscriptions for menstruating women. Advertisements reworked feminist values of choice, control, and freedom while simultaneously stressing the discreet manner in which women could purchase the products necessary to achieve those values. Although disposable hygiene products gave women more freedom, they also cemented beliefs that women should be embarrassed and ashamed by menstruation and that they should view menstruation as a potential hygienic and social crisis, rather than a normal function of the body. These products also initiated the widespread commodification of menstruation, relegating women to the role of consumers. Although menstrual products have changed many ways in the past century, the theme of secrecy, discretion, and potential embarrassment still prevails in advertising.

Other contemporary concerns with mass-produced hygiene products include fears that the bleached cotton used in pads and tampons is unsafe and that the convenience of disposable products contributes to ecological damage. A movement has emerged in response to these concerns. Participants advocate the use of woman-friendly and environmentally friendly hygiene products. Natural, reusable sea sponges, reusable cloth pads, and small rubber cups that are worn internally to collect blood, such as "The Keeper," are part of a growing alternative sanitary products movement.

Painful Menstruation and PMS

Women's problems with or complaints about menstruation provide another opportunity for the medical community to prescribe gender roles and reinforce stereotypes. In the 1940s, during the height of Freudian psychoanalysis, the prevalent view of painful menstruation, or *dysmenorrhea,* was that it was a neurosis caused by a woman's fear or resentment of her function and role in society. According to this theory, women with a negative or unhealthy attitude toward femininity had a greater occurrence of pain and discomfort during menstruation. As late as the 1960s, numerous medical texts encouraged gynecologists to listen to and reassure patients with menstrual complaints as an essential element of treatment. While this advice may legitimate the experience of patients, it also implies that most menstrual complaints are merely psychosomatic and that any woman who does not embrace a passive and subservient role

in society is neurotic. Some doctors also took a behaviorist approach, believing that girls who experienced dysmenorrhea were conditioned by their mothers to reject their femininity.

In the 1970s, a more biological, less psychosomatic explanation for painful menstruation emerged. Researchers found that many women who suffer from dysmenorrhea had higher-than-average concentrations of *prostaglandins,* a hormonelike substance that stimulates contractions, in the lining of the uterus. Women were given one of a number of prostaglandin-inhibiting drugs to reduce the pain. Although many celebrated this biological approach because it seemed to take women's complaints seriously, there were still problems. Many women who experienced pain did not actually have higher levels of prostaglandins, leaving much of what women experienced still unexplained biologically. Prescribing drugs with numerous side effects, which may or may not actually target the real problem, further reinforced the commodification of menstruation and the model of agency through consumption.

Although Dr. Katharina Dalton declared *premenstrual syndrome* (PMS) a legitimate medical condition in 1953, it did not gain popularity and cultural currency until the 1980s. There is no medical consensus on what actually defines PMS or if it even exists as a specific diagnosis. Depending on the definition, PMS can include over 150 different symptoms, including mental or physical incapacitation. In extreme cases, even homicide and child abuse have been attributed to PMS. Further, it has been estimated that anywhere from 25 percent to 100 percent of women experience PMS. Because there is no standard set of symptoms, it is the cyclicity of the experience, rather than the particular symptoms themselves, that tends to define PMS.

PMS represents a mixed bag for women. Concern over PMS may legitimate and address women's complaints. Yet the wide scope of PMS, both in terms of the number of potential systems and women who experience it, works yet again to render women as considered unfit to participate in the public sphere in a number of ways. Women suffering from PMS are often depicted in popular culture as irritable, angry, and aggressive—all conventionally unfeminine characteristics. PMS may thus contrite to the ostracizing of women who do not adhere to gender roles and expectations. PMS also represents a response that can trivialize the legitimate anger that a woman experiences. Further, many women argue the time before menstruation can be a time of change but that they experience surges of creativity and energy that are far from incapacitating.

Birth Control and Menstrual Suppression

In 1960, the way women in the United States thought about menstruation was drastically changed with the release of an oral contraceptive, quickly known as "the Pill." Besides allowing women to have sex without the fear of pregnancy, the Pill also regulated and shortened the menstrual cycle and for many women lessened painful symptoms. The Pill gave women more control over their own bodies, both in terms of pregnancy and menstruation. However, it also brought even "normal" menstruation more fully into the realm of medicine and further commodified the experience.

The menstrual-like bleeding that women experience when taking traditional oral contraceptives is not a true menstrual period; instead, it is withdrawal bleeding, a result of the uterine lining weakening. There is actually no known medical or health-related reason that women on the Pill need to experience withdrawal bleeding. Two of the "founding fathers" of the Pill, the biologist George Pincus and Dr. John Rock, felt that women would be reassured that the Pill was safe and effective if they continued to bleed monthly and wanted to make their revolutionary invention seem less radical.

In response to this male-led, biomedical model of menstrual regulation, women at the Los Angeles Self-Help Clinic developed the process of *menstrual abstraction* in 1971. This was a way of regulating and virtually eliminating menstruation designed by women themselves. The process involves the woman or a friend inserting a tube connected to a syringe into the uterus and pumping the lining of the womb into a collection bottle. This was referred to as a "60-second period." Although some feminist Web sites continue to endorse the procedure, menstrual abstraction never became a mainstream alternative to hormonal regulation through birth control.

Both doctors and patients realized early on that by skipping the placebo phase of the cycle and continuing with the hormone pills, menstruation could be completely suppressed indefinitely. While other forms of birth control, such as the IUD and the Depo-Provera shot, caused menstrual suppression, it

was not until 2004 that the U.S. Federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved Seasonale, the first oral contraceptive to be marketed as a way to reduce menstrual periods. Seasonale is made of synthetic progesterone and estrogen, similar to many older birth control pills, but it is packaged so that a woman takes 84 hormone pills before taking 7 placebo pills and experiencing a menstrual-like bleeding only 4 times a year. Another pill in development would allow women to suppress menstruation for a full year. Many women have been using oral contraceptives to suppress menstruation for years and see nothing controversial in Seasonale and similar products. However, while some consumers see suppression as a convenient option that could lessen painful premenstrual symptoms, others argue that suppression encourages women to be ashamed of their bodies and is unnatural and unsafe.

Menstrual suppression was brought into the spotlight by Dr. Elsimar M. Coutinho's 1999 book, *Is Menstruation Obsolete?* Coutinho was involved in the development of Depo-Provera and argues that while a woman today often has 400 or more menstrual cycles in her life, a woman in the 19th century had only 50 or fewer periods. This change has been attributed to a number of factors: Girls are experiencing menarche at younger ages; women are waiting longer to have children and having fewer children, if any; and women are breastfeeding less and for shorter periods of time. According to Coutinho, regular monthly menstruation is a relatively recent phenomenon; he questions whether menstruation as we know it, specifically the number of periods an individual has in her lifetime, is really in a woman's best interest. Coutinho argues that monthly menstruation increases abdominal pain, mood shifts, migraines, endometriosis, fibroids, and anemia and could increase the risk of some cancers, particularly ovarian cancer and endometrial cancer (the lining of the uterus).

In direct response to Coutinho's book, Dr. Susan Rako wrote *No More Periods? The Risks of Menstrual Suppression and Other Cutting-Edge Issues About Hormones and Women's Health.* Rako's overarching argument is that menstrual suppression fails to recognize the natural female reproductive cycle, which affects every organ system in the body. Rako argues that menstruating provides a number of health benefits; on the other hand, menstrual suppression increases the risk for osteoporosis and cervical cancer

and can ultimately interrupt hormonal cycles that affect female-male partner choice, which will ultimately affect the human species detrimentally. To date, no long-term studies have examined the continuous use of oral contraceptives to prove or disprove either Rako or Coutinho's arguments regarding menstrual suppression.

Cultural Celebrations of Menstruation

Menstruation has inspired many works of art, writing, Web sites, and cultural gatherings. During the 1970s, a number of artists explored the subject. One of the most famous artists is Judy Chicago, whose 1971 lithograph, *Red Flag,* depicted the bottom half of a woman as she removes a bloody tampon. Chicago also created *Menstruation Bathroom,* a white room covered in gauze veil with a wastebasket full of used menstrual products and a saturated tampon on the floor. Many other artists also explored this topic, some using their own menstrual blood as a medium. In 1973, Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton, and Emily Toth, feminist scholars and coauthors of the 1976 book *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation,* held a "bleed-in," a ritual to celebrate menstruation. Gloria Steinem wrote a short column in a 1978 *Ms. Magazine,* titled "If Men Could Menstruate." This satirical piece imagined the cultural reverence that would be afforded to menstruation if men were the ones who menstruated. Steinem's piece reveals the cultural construction behind the meanings attached to menstruation, and the piece is still taught in women's studies classes to this day.

In the 1990s, Harry Finley began the Museum of Menstruation and Women's Health (MUM) in the basement of his Maryland home. While the museum closed to the public in 1998, it still exists online. The site offers a variety of information, including stories about menstruation, slang terms from around the world, advertisements for menstrual products, and educational information, as well the opportunity for visitor contributions. While it is an immense and lauded site for information about menstruation, some have questioned whether a man should be running a site on the subject or profiting from it.

Stacy Weida

See also Contraception; Hormones; Menopause; Pregnancy; Premenstrual Syndrome; Sexuality and Reproduction

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MENTAL HEALTH

Epidemiological studies on mental health indicate that nearly one third to one half of American population experience psychological distress that might be diagnosed as a mental disorder at some time during their lifetimes. Despite the fact that there are similarities between women and men in terms of mental health, experiences of women and men significantly differ from each other in this area. The aim of this entry is to examine mental health and illness issues specifically from women's perspectives. First, conceptualization of mental health and disorders are examined from feminist frameworks, and the influence of gender on these will be discussed. Next, occurrence rates for specific disorders are examined, considering possible gender-related differences. Finally, feminist frameworks in the context of understanding women's health are presented.

Mental Health and Psychological Disorders

Definition of mental health changes dramatically across time and culture. Legal and medical definitions of mental illness are revised over time. The most recent (fourth) edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)* gives a progressive revision of the definition of mental illness; meanwhile, we can expect further criticism of the existing classifications.

According to *DSM-IV, mental disorders* are behavioral patterns or psychological syndromes in individuals. The *DSM-IV* definition of a mental disorder is connected to existing agony, with painful symptoms or significant impairment in the functionality of an individual's life. This can be in one or more important areas of functioning; or with particularly heightened risk of death, pain, disability; or with an important loss of freedom. While conceptualizing mental disorders, culturally approved responses should be taken into account. For example, clinically significant behavioral or psychological patterns must not simply be an anticipated or culturally accepted response to particular life events, such as lost of a loved one or having a baby. Mental disorders are considered a manifestation of behavioral, psychological, or biological dysfunction in the individual, regardless of its original source.

It is clear that similar to other health-related issues, the notion of mental health is gendered. In the mental health field, awareness of women's issues is increasingly prevalent, but sometimes the focus on women's issues is met with animosity from the medical community. Traditionally, in the mental health field, the majority of patients have been female, while the majority of therapists have been male. Moreover, diagnosis, theories, and applications have often been found to be highly sex biased, for example, by women's study groups founded by Marriane Walters, Betty Carter, Peggy Papp, and Olga Silverstein, in the late 1970s. Early on, most theorists and teachers in mental health field were men, which caused female colleagues to question whether the experiences of women in a changing world were sufficiently addressed by theories and applications. In their view, family therapy field needed to be more gender sensitive. They argued that family therapy, although by nature dependent on sex roles, was ignoring women's issues.

The social context of women's lives, especially the conditions that maintain women in subordinate relations, are strongly related to the mental health of women. Men and women in their gender role socialization are assumed to be different from each other. In

dominant-male culture, it is assumed that women have learned (a) to define themselves in relation to others, (b) to define morality in terms of responsibility and care, (c) to develop exceptional sensitivity in noticing others' needs and being empathic to others, and (d) to hold back the aggressive and ambitious drives in order to avoid hurting others. It is accepted that boys must identify themselves with their fathers. Therefore, they must defend against and detach from their dependency to their mothers, whereas girls, being the same sex as their mothers, naturally maintain their primary attachment figures. Therefore, they develop greater concern about their relationships that are based on emotional connections and empathy. Recent research concentrates on how the politics of gender is associated with difficulties in intimate and family relationships; stressful events, such as reproductive crises; gender-linked violence and abuse; and social dislocation, such as homelessness and immigration. Issues of power and the influence of the social world entered into the mental health field through these research efforts.

After feminist criticisms, many mental health researchers and clinicians became more aware of gender-sensitive practices. Researchers also directed attention to the issue of ignorance of historical and contextual power arrangements and engendered roles in the family, where women were largely blamed for their styles of mothering, more so than men were blamed for their fathering patterns. Moreover, families were not seen as part of a larger social context in which different roles were prescribed for men and women. The primary target of feminist approach became "the suspected neutrality of power," and this criticism was combined with postmodern thinking, particularly with social constructionist thinking, which challenged essentialist notions about families and family processes. Feminist criticisms transformed mental health consciousness about the world and questioned the narrow approach of mental health conceptualization, which was generally and historically male centered.

Historical Changes

Although historically, women were mainly the primary clients of psychiatrists and psychologists, most research in these areas concentrated on the experiences of men, and women did not always enjoy higher rates of recognition for their need of mental health services. The earliest studies on mental health that examined reports from 250 hospitals in the United States and Europe indicated that compared with women, men were more prone to mental disorder. According to Jarvis's classical study in 1850, this was because men experience more stress in their lives. Similar findings on prevalence rates were reported by various researchers in the "pre–World War II" studies. However, research findings after World War II reported higher rates of mental illness among women. There are numerous interpretations on this increase among women. Some researchers attribute it to changes in women's roles after World War II. Some researchers believe that these changes created more stress for women as their position in society became increasingly more frustrating and less rewarding compared to that of men. On the other hand, Bruce Dohrenwend and Barbara Dohrenwend argue that much of the dramatic increase in mental illness among women is due to methodological differences between studies. Studies that were published before 1950 particularly relied on official records and police files to identify psychiatric cases. These official records were most likely to report antisocial behavior, alcoholism, and drug addiction, the types of mental illnesses more likely to be found among men. As shown in previous studies, men and women significantly differ in their ideas about mental health and feelings of well-being.

Prevalence of Mental Illness by Gender

Depression

Depression is a mood disorder that involves the body, mood, and thoughts. *Major depressive disorder* is an affective disorder that influences the way people eat and sleep, the way they feel about themselves, and the way they think about things. Therefore, this disorder is accompanied by difficulties in everyday functioning. Symptoms of depressive disorder, without treatment, can last for weeks, months, or years. Symptoms of depression include persistent sadness, anxiety, or an "empty" mood; feelings of hopelessness, pessimism, guilt, worthlessness, and helplessness; loss of interest or pleasure in hobbies and activities that were once enjoyed, including sex; decreased energy, fatigue, feeling "slowed down"; difficulty in concentrating, remembering, making

decisions; insomnia, early-morning awakening, and oversleeping; appetite and weight loss or overeating and weight gain; thoughts of death or suicide or suicide attempts; restlessness and irritability; and persistent physical symptoms that do not respond to treatment, such as headaches, digestive disorders, and chronic pain. Women reported experiencing depression about twice as often as men. The gender differences were observed consistently among different demographic groups of women. Although gender differences were observed among various demographic groups, not all women were identical with regard to their experiences. Factors such as age, marital status, motherhood, ethnicity, and sexual orientation affect the encounter of depression.

Over- and underdiagnosis of depression is a serious concern in the field of mental health. Previous research found some evidence indicating that clinicians are more likely to overdiagnose depression among women. This is also supported by research on clinicians' bias on perceiving women as more depressed, compared with men, although they are not. Thus, there is a pressing concern regarding women being overdiagnosed with depression and overprescribed with antidepressants.

There are various theories to explain the gender differences in rates of depressive disorders. One popular explanation regarding high rates of depression among women includes women's physiology. In other words, some researchers believe that hormonal factors may contribute to the increased rate of depression in women. These factors may include menstrual cycle changes, pregnancy, miscarriage, postpartum period, premenopause, and menopause.

The second explanation for women's relatively higher rates of depression emphasizes personality characteristics and coping styles to deal with the stressors of life. Further research on personality characteristics—particularly with regard to assertiveness, influence-ability, risk taking, dependency, and reactivity to evaluations of others—and different levels of depression indicates that there is neither a strong nor a straightforward relationship between these variables. However, women are more likely to exhibit ruminative response to cope with depression, while men are more likely to exhibit distracting response styles. In other words, women tend to spend time thinking about the reasons they are depressed, in contrast with men, who have a tendency to do something to take their minds off depression.

Another explanation regarding high rates of depression among women involves the difference in women's life experiences as compared with men. Many women face additional stressors, such as responsibilities both at work and home, single parenthood, and caring for children and aging parents. Other factors include poverty, gender role stain, and violence against women.

Anxiety Disorders

Many of us in all ages experience anxiety in our lives, and it is expected for our normal development. However, it becomes problematic when it interferes with normal daily functioning. Anxiety disorders are a class of disorders characterized by a wide range of symptoms connected with fearfulness and apprehension. Some specific characteristics of anxiety disorders include fearfulness of single objects or situations and a powerful feeling of panic that comes with symptoms such as heart palpitations and fear of losing control or dying (panic disorder). On the other hand, some people feel constant anxiety in most situations, with thoughts and fears about safety (generalized anxiety disorder). In contrast, after a life-threatening or a terrifying situation, some people experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which includes symptoms like trouble sleeping and nightmares.

Epidemiological analysis based on international data revealed that females experience anxiety disorders more commonly and predominantly. Although the overall occurrence of anxiety disorder diminishes with advancing age, females are more likely to be afflicted with anxiety disorder at all ages. According to the National Comorbidity Survey, lifetime prevalence rates in females suggests that women are approximately twice as likely as men to display agoraphobia (9 percent vs. 4.1 percent), generalized anxiety disorder (6.6 percent vs. 3.6 percent), and simple phobias (15.7 percent vs. 6.7 percent). Unfortunately, existence of anxiety disorder has been associated with several unwanted outcomes, including increased functional impairment, reduced educational and occupational opportunities, and increased mortality rate compared with individuals without anxiety disorders. Anxiety disorder is rarely the only diagnosis a person receives; it generally has high comorbidity with other disorders such as depression, generalized anxiety disorder, specific phobia, social phobia, and somatization disorder.

Some theoreticians believe that gender role socialization plays a significant role in high rates of anxiety disorders among women. They argue that through gender role socialization, women from a young age are encouraged to stay close to home and frequently discouraged from adventuring out confidently into the world. Gender role socialization is also used for conceptualization of agoraphobia but has rarely examined by researchers.

Conclusion

Traditional explanations of gender differences in mental health have mainly concentrated on biological differences and female reproductive cycles. Behavioral, cognitive, and emotional factors for gender differences in mental health have also been analyzed. However, while discussing women's mental health issues, researchers should also consider the social context in which women live and the unique situations that women experience. The influence of gender role socialization, stress and gender role strain, physical and sexual abuse, and possible clinical bias in diagnosis, particularly overdiagnosis, underdiagnosis, and misdiagnosis within the mental health system, should also be considered. Promoting mental health for women also includes social context changes that require attention. These include decreasing restrictive gender stereotypes, increasing economic opportunity, and eliminating violence against women.

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See also Depression; Hysteria; Suicide; Women's Health Movements

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MENTORS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION MODEL

The mentors in violence prevention (MVP) model was founded at the Northeastern University Center for the Study of Sport in Society (CSSS). Described as a "leadership program," its aim is to motivate student leaders and student athletes to become more involved in the fight to end violence against women. It is a mixed-gender (although its first year focused only on young men), racially diverse group, which includes not only students but also former professional athletes. Sports analogies occur throughout the model, from its name (MVP also stands for "Most Valuable Player" in many North American team sports) to its use of "playbooks" rather than handbooks for its work in high schools. The MVP model was cofounded by Jackson Katz, director of the first worldwide domestic and sexual violence prevention program in the U.S. Marine Corps, also the author of *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help (2006).* Other notable contributors to the project include Byron Hurt, an activist filmmaker who focuses on the portrayal of women in hip-hop.

Mission

Rather than assuming all women are potential victims of gendered violence and all men potential perpetrators, the MVP model favors a "bystander" approach, in which its participants feel empowered enough to stand up to peers who behave in an abusive manner or use language seen to contribute to the culture of sexism and violence. Challenging the mainstream idea that sexual violence and domestic violence are "women's issues," MVP was one of the first campus- or community-based projects to encourage young men to take an active role in addressing these concerns. As a mixed-gender model, participants do not blame each other for the widespread problem of gender violence, but instead seek to find ways to work together in order to devise strategies for intervention and prevention.

Objectives

There are four main objectives for participation in MVP. First, it aims to raise awareness within the group about the extent of male violence toward women on physical, sexual, verbal and emotional levels. Second, it looks at the mainstream discourse around gender, sex, and violence and seeks to disrupt it by challenging those accepted narratives within and outside the group. Third, as a mixed-gender group, it creates a safe environment in which men and women can have an open and honest dialogue, sharing their experiences and opinions. Finally, it hopes to inspire group participants to take leadership roles in their respective communities, in order to apply what has been learned and devised in the group, and effect outside change.

Similar Projects

Similar projects to MVP include Men Can Stop Rape (formerly Men's Rape Prevention Project), whose "Strength" poster campaign used athletes and other young men to portray a variety of antiviolence against women messages, as well as forming "Men of Strength" clubs, which gave awards for men they viewed as having redefined their masculinity and strength in positive ways.

Deborah Finding

See also Domestic Violence; Male Feminists; National Organization for Men Against Sexism; Rape; Women Against Violence Against Women

Mestiza Consciousness

"Mestiza consciousness," or *mestizaje,* became a revolutionary declaration of social agency and the cornerstone of Chicana feminist political thought in Gloria Anzaldúa's 1987 book, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* The primary themes of mestiza consciousness concern displacement and mobility, rupturing dualities that imprison women, finding power in difference, and shifting among multiple facets of identity. Anzaldúa proposes that Chicanas and every border resident, colored or non-colored, are poised to reconnect with an inner life of the self that was suppressed through colonialism and patriarchal conquest. The theory of mestiza consciousness tracks the path of the indigenous woman ancestor, *la indigena,* as a bridge to that inner life, which then serves as the foundation of the ability to become an agent of social change.

Borderlands

Anzaldúa defines *border space* as "a third country" of psychological, sexual, and spiritual terrain that occurs wherever two or more cultures edge each other; where people of different races occupy the same territory; where under, lower, middle and upper classes intersect; and where the space between two individuals shrinks through intimacy. These border spaces disrupt the rigid divisions that shape and perpetuate hierarchies of power as represented by divisive borders (geographic, national, social, racial, gendered) that foreclose the empowerment of Chicana women and other socially marginalized people. While rejecting the melting-pot myth of American culture, Anzaldúa calls for mutual understanding of an Indian lineage, an Afro-mestizaje, and a history of resistance. For Anzaldúa, the psyches of the Chicano, *indio,* American Indian, *mojado, mexicano,* immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working-class Anglo, black, and Asian resemble the border towns that are populated by the same people and reflect a struggle that has always been inner but is played out in the outer terrains. The mestiza is the definitive border resident, whose presence enables Anzaldúa to examine the idea of the border in depth. In the process of reinstating her own mestiza heritage as a basis for imagining a self-determined future *sin fronteras,* without borders,

Anzaldúa envisions the pre-European contact indigeneity of the India-Mestiza, whose home is "this thin edge/of barbwire," as a source of resilience, critical insight, and transformative power.

The multiplicity of identities embodied by the mestiza, or multiracial woman, becomes a means of breaking free of dualisms that revolve around simplistic oppositions, such as white/other, civilized/savage, and virgin/whore motifs that have been controlling themes in U.S. colonialism. Mestiza consciousness positions Chicanas at the center of their own narratives of history and culture; in the context of borders literal and imaginary; and by reengaging indigenous thought, language and archetypes. Mestiza consciousness then becomes an instrument of critical inquiry that can dissect and overcome confining structures of knowledge, memory, and imagination.

In her theorizing of New Mestiza identity, Anzaldúa overturns pejorative connotations of the Spanish term *mestiza* that originated in the time of conquest and enslavement. Under Spanish colonial regimes in Mexico, *mestiza,* meaning "half-breed," "mixed-breed" or "mongrel," was used to identify racially mixed women who had some combination of European, indigenous, and African "blood," or ancestry. As English translations of the word attest, the European colonizer's interest in maintaining white racial purity as human ideal stipulated that the humanity of mestizo/a individuals was subject to question, implying they were less human than animal. The mestiza was targeted in a Christian racial and gender hierarchy that defined her as racially impure, morally tainted by indigenous ties to paganism, and sexually outcast. But this past is also one of survival against all odds, which leads Anzaldúa to assert that her Chicana identity is grounded in the Indian woman's history of resistance. For Anzaldúa, reclaiming the mestiza exposes the lies of colonialism and provides a method of reinterpreting identity and culture through gender, sexuality, and memory.

The Three Mothers of Chicana Culture

In addition, the mestiza methodology of Anzaldúa's text immerses readers in close studies of the popular icons such as Our Lady of Guadalupe, La Malinche, and La Llorona, whom she terms the three mothers of Chicana culture. She interprets each figure through the lens of mestizaje to demonstrate how to move from conventional interpretations to those that reveal

feminist qualities and mestiza archetypes beneath the surface. The analysis yields a composite portrait of India-Mestiza features behind the contemporary facades. This method of searching out mestiza cultural lineages tracks the suppression of gender and sexual qualities that were unacceptable to patriarchal Aztec, and later Christian social dominance, which they systematically wrote out of the iconic narrative to make it conform to their institutional and ideological agendas. Together with Anzaldúa's autobiographical accounts of her mestiza background, this triad of readings suggests that the key to self-determination is reaching deep within one's own personal, historical, and cultural experience.

Anzaldúa identifies Our Lady of Guadalupe as the central deity who connects people to Indian ancestry. Two of her ancient names are Coatlalopeuh and Tonantsi, both aspects of Coatlicue, a Meso-American serpent-creator goddess associated with sexuality, death, darkness, light, balance, and fertility. In many pre-Christian cultures, snakes were associated with women's reproductive cycles, the moon, birth, and death because of their cyclic shedding and regrowth of new skin. Under the male-centered Azteca-Mexica, the powerful female serpent goddesses were redefined as monsters. Tonantsi was retained as a good mother figure, but without the serpent aspects or associations with sexuality or the power to destroy. Following the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Guadalupe became a desexualized, more palatable version of Tonantsi/Coatlalopeuh. Juan Diego's 1531 vision of Guadalupe occurred on the site of a former temple of Tonantsi. In absorbing the heritage of conquest, the virgin Guadalupe comes to represent a synthesis of the old world and the new, and the conquerors and the conquered. Thus, she represents the spiritual, psychological, and political core of the culture, and her dark skin represents retention of indigenous origins.

Like Guadalupe, La Malinche/Malintzin represents the mother but as a sexual outlaw. Guadalupe is popularly regarded as the protecting virgin mother, while Malintzin is vilified as Cortes's lover, the submissive whore who betrayed her native people by interpreting for the conquerors. But Anzaldúa refigures Malintzin and the question of nationalist cultural loyalties through the feminist critical apparatus of mestiza consciousness. This gendered analysis situates Malintzin as the mother of contemporary mestizaje, raped by conquest but

rooted in the indigenous history of Aztlan, the mythic homeland of Chicana/o culture. Anzaldúa points out through this rearticulation of Malintzin that women's self-defined sexuality is a threat to both traditional patriarchy and colonialism. Both sought to manage women's bodies and sexuality through narratives of shame, punishment, and violence such as those perpetuated around Malintzin. Women who self-identify as women of color pose multiple threats because their existence challenges both white supremacy and heterosexual norms.

In her introduction to the second edition of *Borderlands,* Chicana critic Sonia Saldivar Hull notes that in breaking down the dualities that imprison women, an ultimate rebellion for Chicanas can take place through sexuality. Thus, Anzaldúa's mestiza consciousness is also the basis for her version of queer theory. In Anzaldúa's analysis, La Llorona, the grieving woman who presides over the loss and murder of children, is a synthesis of Guadalupe and Malintzin because she exemplifies the "good mother gone bad." By investigating the mythic lineage of this figure, Anzaldúa connects La Llorona to Cihuacoatl, a potent Meso-American goddess who presides over the forces of motherhood and birth; under patriarchy, this image of a fierce protector is converted to that of a lunatic woman who murders children and disturbs the world with her perpetual laments. As with Guadalupe and Malintzin, La Llorona reveals that the cultural impact of these figures, diluted by patriarchal constraints or situated in their indigenous contexts, resides in their indigenous spiritual roots.

This recognition leads Anzaldúa to look to the sources of her inspiration, particularly the divine archetypes of the Meso-American past, and to evaluate her role as a writer in relation to the critical, theoretical, and aesthetic principles they embody. Reflecting on her awareness of a greater power than the conscious "I," she considers the extent to which the power or her inner self is the sum total of these goddesses who manifest as the godwoman or divine within her own consciousness. Anzaldúa's depiction of her consciousness as a reticulated series of names woven together by hyphens reiterates the multiplicity of mestiza identity; the form of the her writing itself exemplifies mestizaje. The politics of "linguistic mestizaje" extends to Anzaldúa's use of multiple languages, including English, Spanish, vernacular Spanish, and Nahuatl, and the interweaving of memoir, poetry, songs, testimonies, myth, history, folklore, spiritual writing, cultural criticism, and feminist theory.

Conclusion

The feminist sociopolitical awareness of mestiza consciousness provides a distinct method of conducting critical analysis, a means to rescript Chicana identity, and an invitation to embark on "the mestiza way" as a plan of radical social activism. Anzaldúa characterizes several phases, or "crossings," in the development of mestiza consciousness. Crossing is a key component of mestiza agency with ancient origins insofar as the crossroads are associated with passing thresholds of initiation to sacred wisdom. Anzaldúa proclaims that her aim is to be a crossroads, a path that leads to change. Excavating mestiza consciousness through Coatlicue, Anzaldúa reconfigures the origins of Chicana political agency and feminism as a spiritual path that emerges through confronting one's deepest fears and inadequacies. If the serpent, Coatlicue, is the image of mestiza consciousness, "the Coatlicue state" is the womb in which mestiza consciousness incubates. But while the Coatlicue state is a condition of stillness, it is pointedly not a state of complacency; the stillness presupposes emergence and action. The time of going within or surrendering to the Coatlicue state allows individuals to process the contradictions and ambiguities of border experience. The encounter with ancient archetypes redefines Chicana feminist consciousness to produce a new subject who dwells between borders of nation, culture, gender, race, and sexuality, taking an active role in producing a new feminist culture, *una cultura mestiza.*

Valorie D. Thomas

See also Anzaldúa, Gloria; Transnational Development, Women and; Women and National Identity

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MICROLENDING

Developed as part of a mix of widely implemented attempts to end global poverty, microlending is the provision of small loans with the intent of fostering self-employment, the growth of small businesses, and ultimately permanent economic self-sufficiency. It is an element of a larger spectrum of financial services called *microfinance,* made available to people who typically lack access to services such as savings, home loans, insurance, and money transfers. Now practiced in urban and rural communities worldwide, microlending began in developing countries as a way of freeing the poor from the usurious rates and practices of moneylenders, allowing them to borrow at lower rates without collateral or traditional credit qualifications.

As women are disproportionately affected by poverty and have proven to be better credit risks, they are now the majority of borrowers. Among the reputed benefits of microlending to women, in addition to reducing poverty and creating more stable and sustainable communities, are greater status and access to resources and therefore increased decision-making influence, authority, and autonomy in the home and community; less economic dependency on husbands and more security for divorced, abandoned, and widowed women; the development of entrepreneurial, leadership, and financial skills; less physical abuse as women's economic significance and perceived productivity increase; self-confidence; strength and solidarity among groups of women borrowers, who join forces to combat threats to their members; political participation and the power to change laws, regulations, and customs; literacy and education for themselves and their children; and improved health and reproductive control.

More than 100 million people have been reached by microlending, and women make up as much as 80 percent to 100 percent of some lenders' clients. This entry reviews the history and structure of microlending and some of its major institutions, aspects specific to women's participation, success factors, and the open issues and criticisms raised by feminist and Marxist scholars.

History

Large-scale microlending had its origins in the 1960s and 1970s in several countries, including Colombia, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. In 1973, ACCION International, starting in Brazil, began evolving from creating jobs and community development through infrastructure projects to funding the creation of small businesses with microloans. Muhammad Yunus, founder of the Grameen ("village") Bank and winner of the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize for his work, developed a comprehensive program that focused on "solidarity groups" of women as clients; expanded on the entrepreneurial activities that women were already doing, such as cooking, food selling, weaving, animal husbandry, gardening, and jewelry making; and had social effects beyond increasing income.

In 1997, 2,900 delegates from 139 countries attended the Microcredit Summit in Washington, D.C., and established a goal of extending credit to 100 million poor borrowers by 2005. As of 2003, over 80 million had been reached, primarily through Grameen-style programs. The United Nations General Assembly declared 2005 the International Year of Microcredit to increase public awareness and provide support for the growth of microlending as a contributor to achievement of the United Nations "millennium development goals." Increasing numbers of nongovernmental organizations have formed in countries and regions worldwide to work with governments, banks, and individuals to make more credit available. Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP), a consortium of 33 institutions involved in microfinance, formed in 1995 to support the industry and ensure its long-term viability and extend the reach of financial services to the poor. Further evidence of the mainstreaming of microlending appeared in *Forbes* magazine's 2007 ranking of the "Top 50 Microfinance Institutions" among over 12,000. New, Internet-based organizations such as http://www.kiva.org and http://www.MicroPlace.com now allow individuals to make microloans.

Rise of Women

Microlenders have increasingly focused on women because they have found, first, that women have a better repayment history than men. Lending to women has also resulted in faster social and economic improvements, because women are more deeply affected by poverty than are men. For instance, men make more household decisions, which often leaves women more vulnerable. Mothers eat last and often least, if at all, which leads to their own poor health and to the death of breastfeeding children. A woman is more likely to be illiterate and thus ill-equipped to

support herself and her family; participation in microlending training programs improves her own literacy, and the next generation benefits from her education as well. In addition, Yunus observes that when men have more money, they tend to spend it on their own interests, whereas women spend it first on children and then to improve the family's living conditions. Women borrow not only to expand their own income-producing capabilities but also for more typically male enterprises and activities (for example, buying land in their own names for husbands to farm). Home loan programs for more experienced microborrowers offer further autonomy by empowering women to own their workplaces, earn rental income, and have a place to live if their husbands die or leave. Women's self-help, or solidarity, groups also have had more lasting effects because women have fewer alternative forms of affiliation, so they find in the group a place for deep, extended commitment.

Structure and Programs

Typical components of a microlending program are the small, local lending circle; collateral-free loans, with the group often serving as the loan guarantor; regular meetings for making repayments and small savings contributions; loans as small as $25, for a year or less, repeated as many as 10 to 15 times until the client achieves self-sufficiency; and supervision by field staff from the sponsoring organization. Larger institutions, such as either regional banks sponsored by larger commercial banks, foundations, or governments, usually fund and sponsor the programs with the help of government or nonprofit grants and donations, but some programs create co-ops and mutual help associations. Decision-making authority varies, with institutions providing at least central governance and intermediation.

The most common approach is that of Grameen Bank, a nonprofit bank mutually owned by its borrowers, which facilitates the formation of small groups with rotating leaderships that collateralize individual loans. Borrowers are also encouraged to save, and their deposits fund further loans in the same village. Members take turns receiving their loans and attend required weekly meetings, where they receive education not only in banking, but in family and social matters. They also subscribe to "Grameen's Sixteen Decisions," principles that address not only members' commitment to repay and support each other, but

social mores with economic impact, such as having small families, limiting spending on weddings and funerals, and not paying dowries for their daughters.

In India and Latin America, microcredit more often occurs in self-help groups, in which the members become trained to set up and run their own banks, developing finance and leadership skills in addition to entrepreneurial ones. India's National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) provides funds to over 500 banks, which, in turn, lend to self-help groups. Other key organizations include India's Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), Women's World Banking, and FINCA International.

Success Factors

Among the prime factors for success of a microlending program, local initiative is vital, in the form of a critical mass of organized women who will provide strong peer pressure to repay, along with business conducted in the local language or dialect by a hands-on, active staff. Grounding in the community leads to demand-driven, not supply-driven, credit. Successful programs also contain a strong component of social intermediation and skills education, often from women who have been through the borrowing process. Collaboration among government, development professionals, banks, and local communities along with willingness to commit to the enormous investment required for training and ongoing support and to treat the endeavor as a business, not a charity, also contribute to long-term success. The sponsoring institution must be healthy, with fair lending decisions and disbursements, systems to prevent corruption, and economies of scale and efficient operating costs that keep interest rates reasonable. Finally, microlending works best when it is one component of a larger range of solutions to poverty, including reformed global economic policies, education and training, housing, child care, health care, insurance, water, food, human rights, legal awareness and aid, political awareness and involvement, infrastructure development, land reform, environmental quality, and crisis and disaster services.

Issues and Criticisms

Critics assert that at a minimum, microlending has become a panacea—the easiest antipoverty measure to

earn political support and to implement—and therefore puts investment in other programs at risk. The emphasis on repayment rate as the criterion for success simply because it is easy to measure may also lead to underinvestment in programs with "soft" metrics. More broadly, critics argue that some forms of microlending do not empower women as much as they claim to, since they leave them in traditionally female, lower-revenue, sometimes hazardous, unregulated, and highly competitive fields; and they may result in women borrowing for household needs or for their husbands' and sons' wishes while absorbing the credit risk themselves; nor do they change existing economic status relations or political power if they place men in managerial positions and women in subordinate ones. Programs that depend on donors risk being driven by remote donor priorities and may also treat borrowers as welfare recipients rather than productive clients. Lack of access to capital and savings, when savings are tied up for further institutional lending, as well as lack of property rights in some countries may tie women's hands and diminish their financial autonomy.

Finally, critics maintain that microlending reinforces a patriarchal, capitalist system with inherent risks and drawbacks: It oppresses poor women by obligating them to middle-class, male-originated, and male-dominated institutions with hierarchical rather than collaborative structures; it assumes that the Western model of the bootstrapping, independent entrepreneur suits other cultures; it presumes the desirability and constant expansion of world markets to absorb the growing output of microenterprises; it puts borrowers at risk as the growing amount of available credit lowers rates so much that they will overextend themselves, as in the West; and because microlending is inaccessible to the most severely poor, the sick, and the remotest people, it may exacerbate economic and social inequality by lifting the less poor while leaving the neediest behind.

Despite these open issues, microlending clearly is one component of the increasing economic, political, and social role and power of women worldwide, beginning with and founded on small-scale, local change.

Nancy Alexander

See also Female Farming Systems; Feminization of Labor; Poverty, Feminization of; Self-Employed Women's Association; United Nations Development Fund for Women; Women's World Banking

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MIDWIFERY

Midwifery is the age-old practice of assisting women throughout the processes of pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum period (i.e., before, during, and after the birth). Most often practiced by women, midwifery is one of the oldest professions in the world, referenced in ancient texts and even mentioned throughout the Bible. Not surprisingly, both midwives and midwifery have undergone several transformations throughout history, surviving periods of intense persecution as well as enjoying periods of deserved respect and esteem. To chronicle the history of midwifery is to observe not only the historical transformations in our understandings of pregnancy and childbirth but also the professional battles over who should have jurisdiction over pregnant women's bodies and the process of childbirth itself. One of the primary distinctions between health care practitioners who practice midwifery and those engaged in modern obstetrics surrounds the orientation toward birth as either a natural or medical event.

Historical Transformations

In the United States, as well as in many other nations, the predominance of one model of childbirth over the other has shifted historically. As transformations occur in the ways childbirth is defined, so do the types of providers that are given jurisdiction over the process of childbirth. A number of historical accounts chronicling the history of childbirth care in the United

States, as well as several European countries, suggest that similar trends have emerged over time that have contributed to the modern state of midwifery (and, alternatively, obstetrics).

Many would argue that there have been at least three major shifts over time in the practice of midwifery. In the United States, for example, the 17th century was marked by the predominance of midwife-attended births. The midwives of this era were examples of what today would be considered "lay" practitioners (i.e., midwives who learned through observation, apprenticeship, and practical experience, without any formal or institutionalized medical education). These women were sometimes considered to be suspect, often by men, in terms of competence and were occasionally considered to be practitioners of witchcraft. The charge of witchcraft against midwives, however, is not unique to this era. During the Middle Ages, when many of the biological processes involved in pregnancy and childbirth were poorly understood, many midwives were feared to be "witches" who possessed power and information from supernatural sources. As a result, many of them were persecuted and even burned at the stake.

In the United States, accusations of witchcraft were emblematic of a more Puritanical era in which women who possessed knowledge or power in general were considered to be suspect and potentially dangerous. Slowly, however, as the 19th century approached, a shift occurred during which men began to infiltrate the previously women-centered realm of childbirth and midwifery. Male midwives sought to professionalize the field and increasingly limit jurisdiction over the process of delivery, which led to a third historical shift in childbirth care, toward the highly professionalized and medicalized modern obstetrics that has continued into the 21st century.

One might argue that there is evidence of a fourth shift on the horizon, as the use of modern midwives, certified nurse midwives (CNMs), is on the rise. In several countries throughout the world, there are institutionalized certification programs for nurses wishing to specialize in midwifery, contributing to both the public and professional confidence in midwifery and the increased utilization of certified nurse midwives. While midwife burning is largely a thing of the past, there are still heated debates among practitioners over who should have jurisdiction over childbirth.

Exploring the history of midwifery highlights several factors that have accompanied the historical transitions in childbirth care that have come to demarcate one era from another. One of the most notable shifts was that from women assisting women as they delivered their babies (which characterized the periods in which early midwives were practicing) to men delivering babies for the women (marked by the transition into modern obstetrics). Today, of course, there are both male and female obstetricians, but the focus is still primarily on delivering the baby, as opposed to assisting the woman during her delivery. The recent shift—slow, though increasingly visible—toward the use of CNMs embodies a return to the more woman-centered, midwife-assisting-mother approach.

Finally, it is important to note that in many countries, midwifery has remained a relatively stable and predominant model of childbirth assistance, whereas the medicalized, obstetric model of childbirth has been slower to take hold. In many countries in Africa and Latin America, for example, more traditional forms of medical care are still used to meet the primary and secondary health care needs of the population. For those who do not have access to more expensive forms of childbirth care, midwives are still frequently utilized and are considered to be normative and trusted medical practitioners.

The Natural Versus Medical Model of Childbirth

One of the primary distinctions that have been made between modern obstetrics and midwifery is in the philosophical approach to childbirth. The approach espoused by most midwives is that pregnancy and childbirth are normal, natural events that occur in the lives of healthy women whose bodies are naturally equipped to deal with these physiological processes. Alternatively, the obstetrical/gynecological approach tends to treat pregnancy and childbirth as medical events, transforming women into patients in need of care, observation, and intervention. This distinction is also illustrated by the move from home delivery to hospital delivery. Historically, and even today, it has been argued that poor maternal and infant mortality rates can be blamed on home births and poorly trained midwives, suggesting that the safest place to deliver babies is in a hospital under the supervision of an obstetrician. There is empirical evidence to suggest, however, that modern births assisted by midwives either at home or at birth centers are not only safe but also cost-effective relative to hospital births. Birth

centers are often thought to serve as a "safe" alternative to home births because they are affiliated with hospitals, where more technically complicated births can be handled in the case of an emergency, while still providing the more holistic service of midwives and a more natural, woman-centered birth experience.

Differences in Beliefs and Practices Regarding the Use of Technical Interventions During Childbirth

In addition to espousing different beliefs about the nature of childbirth, midwives and obstetricians also employ very different practices when caring for birthing women. The management of pain during childbirth serves as an illustrative example. Early midwives and birth attendants typically offered women natural remedies like herbs or drinking mixtures and sometimes even liquor, as well as other forms of relief, such as massage. The move toward the obstetrical management of childbirth, however, harkened a new era of medicalized intervention. Many of the early interventions were desired by women to lessen the pain or to assist in more difficult pregnancies, but they occasionally ended up being extremely dangerous. For example, Jessica Mitford chronicles many of these early interventions in her examination of birth in America, such as the use of chloroform, ether, and "Twilight Sleep," which was a hypodermic injection of morphine combined with scopolamine (a hallucinogenic and amnesiac) and pentobarbital sodium. Other examples of pain relief have included morphine and hot-air enemas, as well as other narcotics, sedatives, and early forms of anesthesia.

While modern obstetricians have moved away from the use of many of these early remedies, they are still proponents of using various forms of anesthesia and drugs to treat pain, such as epidurals and Demerol. Other common technological interventions include the use of Pitocin to induce labor, forceps delivery, electronic fetal monitoring, vacuum extraction, membrane rupturing, and surgical interventions, such as episiotomies and cesarean sections. The use of medical and technological interventions is markedly reduced in births attended by midwives, who tend to approach issues of pain and other "complications" in less intrusive, more natural ways. For example, rather than using Pitocin to induce labor, midwives will often have women move around, instead of lying on their backs in a supine position. Also, instead of using surgical interventions like episiotomies in order to widen the area available for birth, many midwives will use techniques such as vaginal massage. These are just a few examples, but they serve to illustrate how different philosophical approaches toward birth are translated into the actual care birthing women receive from midwives and their obstetrical counterparts.

Midwifery Today

Today, relative to the past, midwifery is enjoying a period of professional advancement, expansion, and recognition. Although there are still lay midwife practitioners throughout the world, many midwives have completed certification and training through professional programs, often affiliated with medical schools and practice as CNMs. While many midwives work out of birth centers or attend home births, some actually work alongside obstetricians in the hospital setting, although this is a less common practice. In addition to enjoying increasing professional status, many midwives are assisted by *doulas,* or midwife assistants, who offer emotional support and encouragement to laboring women throughout the birth process. Some midwives and doulas also serve as postpartum companions, assisting new mothers as they make the transition from pregnancy to motherhood.

Today, there are thousands of CNMs practicing across the world who attend hundreds of thousands of births annually. They work in a variety of settings, serving women from various socioeconomic backgrounds, often offering a more cost-effective alternative to more traditional medical care. In addition, many midwives maintain close connections to hospitals and obstetricians in order to ensure their patients more-specialized care in the event of a complicated pregnancy or delivery. Finally, midwives are increasingly enjoying a resurgence of maternal interest in childbirth education and more natural childbirth experiences, as the demand for women-centered, midwife-attended births continues to rise.

Ryan Claire Reikowsky

See also Motherhood; Pregnancy; Women's Health Movements

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Military, Women in Relation to

Men have traditionally been the ones who initiate and fight in war; therefore, war has historically been associated with the male imperative. The deeply rooted idea of war and fighting as a function of male biology and the constant threat of war lead people to believe in the necessity not only for a strong military, but more specifically, a male military. The combination of brute strength, physical endurance, weapons training, unquestioning obedience, totalitarian leadership, unadulterated violence, and allegiance to one's country creates an iconic male figure unparalleled in almost any other field. This highly masculine image of the soldier leaves one questioning women's roles in this world of testosterone and masculinity. This entry explores women's roles with and in the military, examining historical and social contexts and perceptions of their involvement.

Women's Involvement With the Military

Despite this iconic belief that the military is the domain of men, women have been associated with the military for as long as there has been a military. From the time before women were officially allowed to participate in the military as soldiers, and still to this day, women have been intimately connected to the system through familial relations. Women are wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of military men, creating a direct link between women and this social institution. This connection means that women's lives are often deeply affected by the movements of militias and the deployment of troops. In the modern American military, nonsoldier women associated with the military through marriage or blood are often referred to as "military dependants" because of their social as well as financial dependence on the military industrial complex.

Within the United States, women's unofficial involvement with the military gradually became official, first as nurses in World War I, and later as enlisted soldiers and commissioned officers starting in World War II. Although the history of women in the military has been a controversial one, not to mention tenuous, their involvement has been undeniably important to the success and maintenance of the modern American military.

Beyond family members and soldiers, women's relation to the military has not always been positive or progressive. The only association many women have had with the military is as sex slaves, comfort women, or victims of sexual assault or abuse from members of opposing militaries. Because of the hypermasculine nature of the military and its endeavors, soldiers are often imbued with qualities of violence, aggression, and boldness, along with hypersexuality, thus creating an environment that leads to sexual abuse.

Historical Perspective of Women and the Military

In the past, female family members often served companies of male soldiers in order to stay connected. They acted as cooks, laundresses, and support staff for the traveling companies of men. Many stories relate the heroics of women who took up arms alongside their male relations, even though they were not trained to defend themselves. "Molly Pitcher" is the name given to a composite image of women who, during the Civil War, while traveling through battlefields to help keep soldiers hydrated, dropped their water pitchers and took up arms among fallen male soldiers in order to aid in the battle. Other women donned male clothing to serve as soldiers, taking on male names and personas. Most were only found out in case of illness, injury, or death. Once discovered, they often were barred from further participation in or with the military, and only some lucky few later in life received pensions or pay for their services.

Throughout the history of women in the military, women have faced severe barriers to full participation. Oftentimes, need forced the government and the military to accept women into roles they would otherwise not have allowed. Before World War II, with the exception of women who disguised themselves as men and some temporary participants during World War I, the U.S. military was an exclusively male profession. Women's early official involvement in the military occurred in roles that fit traditional notions of femininity. Women were first nurses and later filled clerical and support positions. It was only as need grew that the military began to bend gender stereotypes to allow women to fill traditionally masculine positions such as mechanic, pilot, and instructor.

Initially, women served in auxiliary corps and later in separate women's corps. It was not until the late 1970s, a time when men's participation in the military dropped drastically after the disbanding of the draft and the installment of an all-volunteer force, and women's participation in the military boomed, that the military united the two forces into one integrated army. Throughout that time, and well into the 1980s, the role of women within the military was greatly questioned. Even after the integration of the two separate forces, the government sometimes put a ceiling on the number of women allowed in the military or limited the jobs women were allowed to fill within the institution.

Despite numerous studies that suggested women's participation in the military would increase rather than hinder productivity, women remained restricted in their participation. For the most part, women have continued to be excluded from all combat and some combat-related fields. Traditional attitudes assume that women do not want to be directly involved in combat and are not capable of such occupations. Gender stereotypes suggest that men are more physically and emotionally suited for combat roles. Furthermore, combat fields are the most prestigious and the most promotable. One is more likely to be promoted and is more quickly promoted during work in a combat or combat-related field than from any other context. This means that women, who aren't very likely to "make general" in the first place, are easily excluded from the highest-ranking offices. Thus, opening up combat positions to women also opens them up to the highest ranks in the military. There is no longer a law that restricts women from combat, but there are still policies that preclude women from actually joining units that may engage in direct combat. Critics of some of the regulations keeping women from combat assert that with modern warfare, there is no distinction by modern technology of combatant and noncombatant soldiers: They kill both types without bias and therefore it is absurd to believe that the military can protect women by restricting them from combat positions. This notion that the military must protect women speaks to the continued reliance on traditional notions of male and female roles.

Social Perspective of Women and the Military

In addition to barriers to work, women in and associated with the military also face social restrictions based on stereotypical ideas of women and femininity. Some fear women in the military may act as a distraction to the male soldiers. For female family members, this often means they are not allowed to deploy with their male family members because the military fears their presence would be a distraction from the job at hand. For female soldiers, this means that their presence is often questioned. Fears associated with women in the military are that they will not be strong enough, that they will require more help from their male colleagues, and that they will distract their colleagues from focusing on the mission. Women's sexuality is always at the forefront of the debate of their presence in the military (both their potential sexual allure and the questioning of their sexual orientation because of the association of sex with gender and gender with sexuality).

Male sexuality, on the other hand, is often the reason for women's association with the military, as female prostitution rings often form near military bases. Where there are not opportunities for legal or purchased sexual encounters with women, rates of rape and sexual assault rise. This has often had an impact on local women in areas where military men are stationed and, more recently, the increasing female population serving in the military.

It has been established that sexual assault and its less easily defined counterpart sexual harassment are more often about power than sex, and this is true in the case of the military as well. Social scientists hypothesize that sexual harassment and assault are ways men express their hostility toward women for invading a once all-male domain, breaking into the cult of masculinity. Studies of sexual harassment and assault in the military were slow in coming, and changes made

in response to findings were implemented at an even slower pace. The military is a socially and sexually dangerous place for women, making it difficult for them to immerse themselves in the culture and perhaps discouraging more women from joining.

Conclusion

The "two-gender notion" is still prevalent in U.S. society, and the reality of women in the military acting in roles so closely tied to masculinity causes some to question the idea of traditional or "natural" gender roles. Women's associations with the military, as wives, mothers, soldiers, and comfort women, depend on the masculine ideology of the profession. Women in the military traverse the boundaries between masculine and feminine roles. They must learn how to navigate a traditionally masculine institution in a society that is not comfortable with gender-crossing.

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See also Comfort Women; "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"; Military, Women Serving in; Military Families; Military Masculinity

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MILITARY, WOMEN SERVING IN

This entry focuses on the gradual expansion of women's roles in the regular armed forces of sovereign states since the middle of the 19th century and on the two principal factors that have governed this expansion: national need and, after World War II, national law.

Women have participated in military operations in all eras of history. A list of famous women warriors includes Artemisia, a naval commander who fought for Persia against Greece in the Battle of Salamis (480 BCE); Zenobia of Palmyra (modern Syria); and Boudica, Queen of the Iceni, in Britain, who led the people in uprisings against Roman occupation. Joan of Arc, at the head of the French Army, lifted the English siege of Orleans during the Hundred Years' War; and African warrior Queen Jinga kept the invading Portuguese at bay in the 17th century. Women were not only military commanders but foot soldiers, too. They served in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods and they fought in the Near East, in Europe, in Africa, in North and South America, and in Asia. And wherever there have been guerilla or irregular forces, there have been fighting women. In recent centuries, women's service was mostly informal. They came into camp or aboard ship with their husbands and worked as cooks, laundresses, and nurses. Their formal service in nation-state militaries began in the mid-19th century with an unmet national need.

Women's Initial Service

National need has been a key determinant of whether a nation encouraged or barred the entry of women into its armed forces; need also governed the military occupations women entered. In the mid-19th century, the need for skilled nurses to fight the typhoid epidemics of the Crimean War and the American Civil War led to the recruiting of women, who retained their civilian status, by Russia, England, France, and the United States. Later these women nurses were given military status because military leaders believed that nurses could best serve if their commanders exercised military authority over them. By the start of the 20th century, these nursing corps were part of military forces in several nations.

During World War II, the need for additional military personnel in several combatant countries (including the United States, Australia, Great Britain, and the Austria-Hungarian Empire) spurred the recruiting of women for nonnursing jobs, such as clerical work, switchboard operations, and translating. After the war, all the women except the nurses returned to civilian life because there was no longer a need for them.

World War II Era

During World War II, need again opened military service to women. They served on active duty in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, the Soviet Union,

and the United States and also in the Free French Forces, among others. Some countries, including Great Britain, conscripted women. In the Soviet Union, women not only served in noncombat positions but also saw combat in every branch of the service. Among the most illustrious of the Soviet women combatants were the "Night Witches," female bomber pilots who flew numerous combat raids against Germany. During the war, women performed well in all manner of military occupations, including combat. In this same period, Jewish women in British Palestine were fighting with irregular and guerilla forces in the Haganah. They served in combat roles, mostly of the defensive or special forces type, through the Israeli war for independence, which ended in 1948.

Post–World War II Era

Before World War II, most countries had no laws or governmental policies dealing with women's military service. This became a problem after the war because women had done so well in a great variety of military jobs—including combat in some countries—and some of them wanted to remain. Mostly, they were quickly discharged because they were no longer needed; but in a few countries, such as the United States, laws were enacted so a small cadre of nonnursing women could stay on active duty. Women's numbers were severely limited by these laws, as were the military ranks they could hold and the types of jobs they could perform. They were inevitably discharged if they became mothers. In the newly established state of Israel, where danger persisted, the 1949 Israeli Defense Service Law called for the drafting of women, but their military roles were cut back and limited to the noncombatant.

Change Comes Slowly

For almost 50 years after World War II, the law in most countries treated men and women differently with respect to the military service. Men could be drafted, but women, with the exception of a few countries, were volunteers. Men, restricted only by their individual skills and talents, could serve in all military capacities. Women, restricted by law and policy, could serve in limited capacities only, no matter what their skills and talents were. By the 1970s, countries slowly began changing laws and policies limiting women's military service. Many countries abolished male conscription, which

increased the need for volunteers of both sexes. Some countries passed equal rights laws that opened all military occupations to women. Technological changes lessened requirements for physical strength, which enabled the services to employ women in a wider variety of career fields. The push by women in the 1970s and onward for admittance into more professions and occupations included the military; and, finally, the advent of reliable methods of birth control made it easier to deploy women militarily.

A Little-Noticed Revolution

The cumulative effect of these changes has been a startling and little-noticed revolution in women's military roles around the world. At the start of the 1970s, only a few women served in any military, and those who did held low rank and were banned from all combat occupations. By the early 2000s, an increasing number of countries in all areas of the world had a growing number of women in their militaries. These women are achieving high rank and serving in an ever-increasing number of military occupations, including combat. They are serving in combat aviation and aboard combat ships in the United States, Canada, most of Europe, South Africa, Singapore, Korea, Israel, Australia, and New Zealand. In many countries, including Canada, France, Germany, New Zealand, and South Africa, women can serve in ground combat occupations, such as infantry, armory, and artillery; and in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Romania, Malawi, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, the doors to military service have opened to women.

Reasons for Change

The reasons for this revolutionary change vary from country to country, but need and the law are still the essential factors of women's military participation. Now, instead of hindering women, as they did in the post–World War II period, these two factors are the facilitators of this radical transformation. Below are examples of how change came about in three countries.

Canada

Canadian women's participation in military service, as in the United States, has been evolutionary. Women served in two world wars and afterward

continued in limited numbers and roles—with increasing numbers and some new roles added in the 1970s. Then, in 1979, the Canadian Human Rights Act was passed, and shortly thereafter trials began to determine the suitability of Canadian women to serve in near-combat roles. As a result of these trials, in 1985, new positions were opened to women, and further trials began to test the suitability of women for combat positions. Before the trials ended, the Canadian Civil Rights Tribunal in 1989 directed that all restrictions on women's military employment be dropped (except for submarines), and the Canadian forces were given 10 years to fully integrate women.

South Africa

South African women came into full military service by a somewhat different route than Canadian women. Before the end of apartheid, South African women could serve in the military but in traditional capacities only. Today, they serve in all career fields, including the infantry. The South African Bill of Rights contains an equal rights clause that aids this. But there is a unique factor in the South African experience that helps explain how all military roles came to be opened to women: the participation of women as combatants in the pre-1994 liberation movement forces. In April 1994, what are now the armed forces of South Africa were created by merging the former South African Defense Force, the four former homeland forces, and the two liberation movement forces. In the liberation movement forces, women had carried out all the functions that men had. These women were allowed to continue in combat fields after the merger, and other women followed.

Germany

Until recently, German women were barred from any military positions in which they might have to bear arms. This left two fields open to them: Medical services and the band. This changed as a result of a decision in the case *Tanja Kreil v. Bundersrepublik Deutschland,* handed down by the European Court of Justice on January 11, 2000. After consideration of the court's ruling, in January 2001, the German government announced it would open all military occupations, including those involving ground combat, to women.

Implications

The full implications of this revolutionary change in women's military participation are not yet clear. The most visible early effects can be seen in peacekeeping operations. Ongoing studies at the United Nations and elsewhere are adding to knowledge about the impact of having both men and women as peacekeepers. For instance, there is a growing awareness that the presence of military women really does make a difference in ensuring that the rights and needs of women and children are safeguarded and not subordinated to other concerns. The long-term effects of having increasing numbers of women serving in combat and combat support roles are not yet known. The experiential evidence to date, however, indicates that women are in the military to stay. No country that has begun using women has stopped; no country that has increased the proportion of women in its military has deliberately decreased it; and no country that has allowed women to serve in combat roles has rescinded that decision.

Lory Manning

See also Military Families; Military Masculinity

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MILITARY FAMILIES

The number of U.S, military personnel with families has steadily increased over the past century. According to the Department of Defense, nearly 60 percent of the roughly 3.5 million people in the military have family responsibilities to a spouse and/or child(ren). The military affects the family lives of those it employs more than most employers because of the system's intense demands and close ties to masculinity, the state, and death.

Scholars have argued that the military is the institution most closely linked to masculinity. Traditional cultural norms categorize men as warriors and women as either peace protestors or supporters of the military as mothers, wives, and girlfriends of service members. The military's structures, policies, and cultures privilege a masculine identity that is hypersexual, violent, and obedient. This militarized masculinity often has dramatic consequences for military families.

The policies, gendered demographics, and culture of the military greatly determine the work and life opportunities for military spouses and children. This entry describes the demographics of U.S. military families, the importance of military families to the military, the effect of the military on spouses' employment, the occurrence of domestic violence in military families, and the effect of war on military families.

Demographics

Over half of U.S. military members are married, and over one third are married with children. Nearly 6 percent of military members are single parents. The term *military spouse* usually refers to a civilian woman for three main reasons. First, women continue to make up a small percentage (approximately 15 percent) of the U.S. military. Second, military women are less likely than their male counterparts to be married or have children. Finally, nearly half of married enlisted women and one-third of women officers are married to another member of the military.

Almost 7 percent of military members are in dual-military marriages, where both spouses are service members. Active-duty military families typically have young children. Although interracial marriage has increased throughout American society, a greater percentage of service men and women are involved in interracial marriages than are civilians. Time spent on overseas tours of duty, integrated living spaces, and increased egalitarian policies and language in the military have likely led to these increased numbers.

Importance of Family to the Military Member

The satisfaction of a soldier with the military is highly dependent on their spouses' and children's experiences with the military. A spouse's evaluation of the military lifestyle and policies significantly affects not only how that person feels about the military but also how the service member feels about the military. In the past 30 years, the military has focused a great deal of research on how spouses and families affect the military member's reenlistment, performance, and general evaluation of the military.

A recent study of Army soldiers demonstrated that happiness with the military's environment for families affects many soldiers' evaluation of the military in general, particularly if they have children. Difficulties with moves and spouses' employment often lead to families' negative feelings about the military. Other military factors, such as odd and long hours worked by the active duty member and his or her rank, also affect families' perceptions of the military.

Wives who successfully adapt to military life are more likely to encourage a service member to stay in the military than are those who are unhappy with the military. Integration into the military is indicative of wives' levels of adaptation to military stressors, such deployments. Military wives gather socially to provide economic and emotional support for one another. The more military wives interact with other military wives or with the military's family services, the more likely they are to be happy with their lives.

Effects of Military on Spouses' Employment

Frequent moves, remote locations, and intense demands negatively affect the employment patterns of military wives, but many families, particularly junior enlisted, find the employment of both spouses financially necessary. Compared with civilians, military wives are less likely to be employed and at least twice as likely to be unemployed and actively seeking employment. Military wives also have significantly lower wages than their civilian counterparts.

A comprehensive study of employment patterns among military wives by Harrell and her colleagues found that compared with demographically similar civilians, military wives are underrepresented in the workforce. Additionally, they found that that Army and Marine Corps wives earn about half as much as comparable civilian wives, while Air Force and Navy wives earn about $3 less an hour. The military's demands affected many of the military stay-at-home-moms and others who were not seeking employment.

Military moves average every 2 to 3 years and negatively impact spouses' employment by increasing unemployment and interrupting work histories. Moving

prevents wives from receiving higher-paying jobs, tenure, seniority, and accompanying pay increases. Frequent moves exacerbate the difficulties of finding new jobs and becoming certified for a profession in a new state. Moves reduce the number of weeks a military wife is able to work in a given year, and civilian employers are often afraid to hire military spouses because of the frequent moves. Moving also negatively impacts spouses' ability to advance by limiting their access to necessary experience and education.

Domestic Abuse

In the past 25 years, the military has recognized the likelihood of the military to foster abuse and has improved services and policies to handle abuse in military families. Military policy continues to dictate that the commander of a base decides whether or not domestic abuse against a spouse or a child has occurred, although this process is slowly moving into civilian and military courts. Unfortunately, there are few reliable statistics on abuse in military families that are comparable to those of civilian families. Most research has demonstrated that rates of partner violence are higher among couples with at least one person on active duty. Particularly, there may be significantly increased rates of severe and fatal partner abuse within military families when compared with civilians. Some research suggests that a higher incidence rate of child abuse exists within military families, whereas other research maintains that the incidence is lower.

While the rate of domestic violence in the military may not be clear, there are several reasons researchers believe that military families are at risk for experiencing domestic abuse. The risk factors for abuse associated with military life include the authoritarian and violent environment of the military; long family separations; frequent moves; and isolation from family, friends, and relatives. Additionally, the youth and poor financial situation of many junior enlisted personnel make abuse more likely. Some people with minimal support networks, low coping skills, or a history of abuse may also self-select into the military, which could lead to increased rates of violence within military families. The immigrant status of many wives also interacts with the military context to compound the abuse, further marginalize victims/survivors, and weaken the military social service and legal systems' response.

Some researchers have suggested that increased support services inside the military may lessen the likelihood of abuse and ease the burdens of abuse. Although none of these services are perfectly provided, military families receive free or low-cost access to physical and mental health care, day care, and social work, as well as financial, legal, and parental advice.

Separation, Deployments, and Military Families

The demands of military life often take one or both spouses and/or parents away from the family for long periods of time. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have meant increased length and frequency of deployments for all troops. Separations require many adjustments within military families. A deployment typically increases stress on military families, and children and spouses of deployed service members have increased rates of depression. While family reunions are supposed to be happy, they involve intense periods of readjustment that often precede many family problems.

Recent research by Burrell and his colleagues suggests that deployments and separations are likely the most difficult demands the military makes of families. While moving, overseas stations, and fear for soldier safety all influenced military families' well-being or perceptions of the military, deployments had the greatest impact. Families of deployed service members experience greater difficulties with finances, household management, and child discipline than families whose spouses are not deployed. Families with young or foreign-born spouses are particularly at risk during deployments. Although this would suggest that the increased length and frequency of deployments following September 11, 2001, would lead to increased divorce rates in the military, recent research does not find that increased stress necessarily leads to increased divorce in military families.

Many families, particularly dual-military and single-parent families, find it difficult to maintain adequate child care while a parent is deployed. Deployments effectively turn dual-parent households into single-parent households, causing many problems for the parents and children. Some research traces psychological problems in many military children to deployments. The rise in dual-military marriages and single parents in the military likely exacerbates the problem of deployment for children.

Conclusion

Mady Segal has termed both the military and the family "greedy institutions" because both make intensive demands of people. Following her lead, recent research explores how military families are pulled by both their obligations to the military and the needs of the family, and how changes in the military structure as well as family relations affect military families. Over the past 30 years, the military has increased services to military families, and military families have engaged with policymakers to receive better treatment through organizations such as the National Military Family Association and Military Families Speak Out.

Lisa Leitz

See also Domestic Violence; Family, Organization of; Military, Women in Relation to; Military, Women Serving in; Military Masculinity;

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Military Masculinity

Military masculinity is the behavior traditionally associated with males in the social context of the military. Its characteristics include aggression, courage, endurance, and an affinity for solidarity at the level of the small group. These same qualities may be expressed negatively as cruelty, mindlessness, blind obedience, and clannishness, respectively. By whatever name, these qualities are consistently (if in widely diverse ways) cultivated among recruits in the course of basic military training. Furthermore, this has been the case for centuries. The debate on the source of military masculinity mirrors and reflects scholarship on the nature of gender itself. Many believe that such aggressive traits are latent features of the biological male merely called forth by the unique rigors (and rewards) of military training. Others have argued that military masculinity is a cultural construction. Military masculinity is also related to vital and ongoing public policy and legal debates, such as (a) the role of gay men and lesbians in the military, (b) the role of straight women in the military, (c) sexual harassment and assault within the ranks of the armed forces, and (d) war crimes, especially those of a sexual nature. This entry will provide the background to the above fields and summarize relevant controversy and debate.

Public Policy and Legal Debates

The use of misogynistic or homophobic epithets, jokes, and chants is a feature of most military environments. Although a punishable offense in the U.S. military, the practice nonetheless is widespread in the ranks, though perhaps less openly so than before a crackdown in the 1990s. Misogyny and homophobia are staples of the (heterosexual) male bonding, thought by many (especially within the military) to be essential to combat effectiveness. It is in this environment that issues of the basic human rights of women and sexual minorities have come to the forefront.

Sexual Minorities in the Military

Since 1994, the United States has permitted homosexuals to serve on condition of silence, the "Don't

Ask, Don't Tell" policy. This compromise measure replaced a policy that had classified homosexuality as a disease and required the discharge of "incurable" soldiers from the military. This latter policy begun in the 1940s was itself a moderation of a policy that had treated homosexuality as a criminal act. Discrimination against homosexuals has thus always been institutional in the U.S. military: Homosexuality in the U.S. military has been criminalized, subsequently pathologized, and finally tolerated, but only under certain conditions. The policy of the U.S. military is, however, relatively gay-friendly when compared against policies of other militaries of the world. It is true that of all the NATO countries, only the United States and Turkey still openly discriminate against homosexuals who wish to serve in the military. Yet it must be remembered that on a global scale, NATO countries are on the whole the least discriminatory in this area. It is an indisputable fact that most militaries of the world discriminate openly and energetically against homosexuals.

The cultivation of military masculinity may be related to this widespread open (and often official) hostility toward gays in military institutions throughout the world. In many societies, the biological male becomes recognized as a man after military service. "Manhood" can thus be thought of as a reward for military service. Gatekeepers to this identity, such as drill sergeants and other small-group leaders, often disparage alternatives to military manhood. Recruits who show sensitivity, cowardice, or even general incompetence may be punished with a homosexual epithet. The homosexual man in particular serves as a *defining other* for young men acquiring soldierly identity. So deeply rooted are these traditions that rank-and-file aversion to homosexuality generally survives the implementation of gay-friendly official policy.

The Role of Women

A second defining other for a young man acquiring soldierly identity is the straight or gay woman. The percentage of females serving in the militaries of NATO countries is higher than ever before. Many countries allow women to serve in the military, but only a few countries (all NATO) allow women to serve in combat roles. In addition to disparaging the potential combat effectiveness of women, many supporters of the combat exclusion rule warn of the destabilizing effects that would follow from a change of policy. These consequences may be classified into

four groups, all of which center not on femininity, but on masculinity: (1) The presence of female soldiers in combat units would interfere with the male bonding deemed by many to be essential to unit cohesion; (2) male soldiers would be physically attracted to the female soldiers and would be distracted as a result; (3) male soldiers would be overly protective of female soldiers and would act irrationally as a result; and (4) the sense of superior masculinity so carefully and consistently built up in male soldiers in order to sustain them in combat would be undermined. These objections suggest that part of military masculinity consists in a proprietary and protective attitude toward women in general.

Nevertheless, sexual harassment and sexual assault are grave problems in the ranks of the military. In a 1995 U.S. Department of Defense Survey of service members, 52 percent of female respondents reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment in the military. Many scholars have noted that military culture promotes the sexual objectification of women. Few scholars deny that such a culture leads to more frequent incidences of sexual harassment relative to the civilian sphere.

Daniel Burland

See also Gangs, Boys; Military, Women in Relation to; Military, Women Serving in; Nature/Nurture Debate

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Million Man March

The Million Man March (MMM), held in October 1995 in Washington, D.C., was one of the largest demonstrations to focus directly on race and gender issues since the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s. Minister Louis Farrakhan called for

black men to participate as a way of affirming the virtues of personal responsibility, self-reliance, and respect for others in their communities. The MMM was supported by hundreds of black professional, political, religious, and activist organizations. The marchers included black men and women from all ages, professions, religions, and geographic locations, although as the title of the march suggests, the event organizers emphasized the need to address black men's experiences as the central theme of the day's activities.

The celebration of traditional forms of masculine behavior, such as the call for men to take their places as the heads of conventional, heterosexual families, was interpreted as sexist and homophobic by some community leaders, scholars, and feminist groups. However, some black women's organizations, such as the National Black Women's Political Congress, supported the MMM, and a limited number of women were welcomed as speakers at the event. At the center of this controversy was Minister Louis Farrakhan, who initially proposed that the MMM should serve as a catalyst for black men to atone to their families and communities, while black women were to play a supporting role by praying and staying home to take care of domestic duties the day of the march.

The MMM organizers were hailed by many for recognizing how gendered forms of racism have led to widespread inequality, such as inferior education opportunities, racial discrimination in employment and the criminal justice system, and harmful stereotypical media images of black males, which have damaging consequences, often spanning generations. Critics of the MMM were concerned that the event organizers lacked a holistic vision for addressing social justice issues by suggesting only solutions consisting of personal responsibility, adhering to religious traditions, and altering individual behavior. These individualized solutions were further condemned by some who interpreted the MMM's mission as embedding heterosexist, traditional gender norms in the rhetoric of social justice for black communities.

A less controversial though highly debated aspect of the MMM was the actual number of participants. Researchers cite that from 800,000 to over 1 million people attended the event. Scholars and activists argue that the media fascination with this number detracted from the mission and accomplishments of the MMM. Supporters state that the event was extremely successful in starting a national conversation on the issues of race and gender as they pertain to the black community.

Marcia Hernandez

See also Black Feminist Thought; Fatherhood Movements; Hip-Hop/Rap; Male Feminists; Men's Movements

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Misogyny

The word *misogyny* comes from the Greek language, meaning "to hate women." The *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* defines *misogyny* as "a hatred of women." Misogyny is probably best conceptualized on a continuum from "covert" at one end to "overt" at the opposite end. At the covert end of the continuum would be instances such as disparate treatment and more subtle forms of discrimination, whereas moving toward the overt end would include instances of discrimination, harassment, violence, and homicide. In defining misogyny, it should be acknowledged that it is technically considered a group-level variable, meaning that one's negative attitudes and/or behavior are directed toward the general category of women rather than individuals within that category per se. For example, literary figures such as Casanova may be considered misogynistic not by how they treated women individually, but by how they treated women as a group: as instruments for sexual gratification.

History of Misogyny

Throughout the centuries, misogyny has flourished in the writings of classical Greek mythology and philosophers such as Aristotle who made it clear that they believed women were inferior to men. Nietzsche was also known for making derogatory statements about women in his writings.

The role of a woman was traditionally defined such that education could be denied to women as a group. Essentially, a woman's responsibility as mother and wife was seen as tantamount to her other roles in society, and formal education was not in keeping with her needs. In the United States, girls generally were not admitted into elementary schools (in the larger towns and cities) until the early 1900s. By this time, most major universities in Europe admitted women and had some provisions for educating women, but many still did not actually grant degrees to women. Inasmuch as education is seen as a valuable commodity, the denial of education to a class of people can be an illustration of malevolence toward that class.

Although religion has often served to temper overtly misogynistic tendencies, it has also been a bastion of misogyny. Instances of misogyny are well detailed in religious writings. It can be argued that misogyny is as old as humankind itself. For example, in the Bible, it is noted that God first created Adam and then Eve, and thus woman was created for man. Moreover, many places in the Bible connote misogynistic attitudes and behaviors directed toward women both at the individual and group level. For example, in the book of Genesis, due to Eve's disobedience, it is written that God punished Eve, and all women to follow, with the pain of childbirth; however, Adam was not similarly punished. Additional passages state that women should be silent and not allowed to speak in church and should be submissive and have no authority over their husbands (Corinthians 1:14). Even today, women are forbidden from being priests, bishops, cardinals, and popes in the Catholic Church, and Southern Baptists have decreed that women should not be pastors. Although other Christian religions have not been so dogmatic, there are few (if any) mainstream religions in which men are not allowed to hold leadership positions. Such attitudes and behaviors are by no means limited to Christian religions. For example, groups such as the Taliban, adhering to a strict interpretation of Islamic fundamentalism, have laws strictly limiting the rights of women, with severe consequences for violating such laws. Women are not permitted to work or be educated, and the penalty for women who choose not to wear the burka in public may include public beating. Thus, misogyny as a feature of religion is not limited to any one culture or society, but rather is pervasive across time and cultures.

Historically, women's contributions to science have often been overlooked. Two such examples include Rosalind Franklin and Émilie du Châtelet. Although Rosalind Franklin invented the X-ray diffraction technique that led to the photograph of the DNA structure (and took the picture Watson and Crick viewed), she was not included in the Nobel Prize for discovering the DNA structure. The university where she worked followed misogynistic practices, such as not allowing women to dine with men. Some credit Du Châtelet's work as setting the stage for Einstein's $E = mc^2$ equation, yet most people have not heard her name in this light. In her book *Institutions de Physique* (Lessons in Physics) (1740), she combined the theories of Gottfried Leibniz and the observations of Willem 's Gravesande to show that the energy of a moving object is proportional to its mass and the square of its velocity ($E = mv^2$), not directly proportional, as had previously been believed by Newton, Voltaire, and others. The exact formula was later shown to be $E_k = (1/2) mv^2$, where E_k is the kinetic energy of an object, m its mass, and v its velocity. Du Châtelet's understanding of physics was probably the best in Europe at the time, and her mathematical genius was undeniable. She was prohibited from education at many universities due to her status as a woman and was not allowed to join the king's library. Ironically, what she has been remembered for is her affair with a famous man, Voltaire, a role much more in keeping with proscribed roles of women.

In contemporary society, misogyny continues to manifest itself in many ways. In addition, many societies are patriarchal, meaning that men typically hold most of the powerful positions within various societal realms, including politics, religion, and business, and also in home life. Nevertheless, given the relatively recent advancements that women have made in the United States (e.g., women's suffrage) and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination based on one's membership in several protected groups, including gender, we might expect that misogynistic attitudes and behaviors would be substantially reduced, especially at work. However, research on gender harassment and discrimination suggests misogyny is still an important issue for women (and organizations). There are, psychologically, at least three distinct components of sexual harassment: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. While the latter two are thought to be driven primarily by sexual intent, the former (gender harassment) is thought to be driven by a sense of extreme hostility and degrading attitudes toward women. Importantly, gender harassment has been historically

(and continues to be) the most frequent type of sexual harassment experienced by women in the workplace.

Robert T. Hitlan

See also Education: Gender Differences; Religion, Gender Roles in; Sexism; Sexual Harassment; Violence Against Women Act

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MOMMY TRACK

By the 1990s, "mommy track" had become a common idiom for a career path in which mothers choose work arrangements that are compatible with bearing the main responsibility for having children. Women may benefit from certain work arrangements, such as flexible hours, diminished responsibilities, or the ability to work from home, but usually at the cost of professional disadvantages, such as fewer opportunities for advancement, less responsibility and authority, and reduced income. Mommy track, however, has also come to include women (typically in white-collar career positions) who choose to leave the workforce in order to have children.

In both its definitions, mommy track refers to ways in which women have been liberated and yet mothers have not. It offers some solutions but still remains a concept that raises many economic and social questions. For example, the argument exists that women are discriminated against for choosing to have children; therefore, society should force private enterprises to make allowances for childbearing (e.g., job and wage protection, maternity leave, child care, and improved medical coverage). The rejoinder holds that having children is a lifestyle choice, and therefore businesses should not be forced to compensate those who have not invested the same time and effort as their coworkers. This view does not take into account, however, that women still carry most of the burden of child care and household responsibilities, even when they are employed outside the home. Another consideration involves the "self-fulfilling prophecy" that arises in the way employers recruit and place employees and can create a no-win situation for mothers. For instance, men who choose to have children have been found to be viewed by employers as more responsible and are therefore rewarded by promotion and salary. On the other hand, if a male employee does not have children, employers may think they will get more time and effort out of him because he will not be committed to child care. While women opt for the mommy track, by contrast, men are more likely to be placed on a "fast track" that offers accelerated advantages, such as promotions and increased responsibility, in exchange for their relatively all-consuming commitment to an employer.

In regard to previously qualified and working women stepping out of the workforce altogether to have children, the question of cost becomes one of individual loss in earnings and savings to the family and/or single mother—and thereby of stress placed on this segment of society as well as on publicly financed social services. Research shows that college-educated women pay a "mommy tax" of over a million dollars in lost income for having a child; mothers are legally deprived of financial equality in marriage; and at-home mothers and their work are left out of the gross domestic product, labor force, and social safety net. A movement for more-flexible working arrangements for parents has been gaining momentum in the United States, based on the premise that companies and institutions cannot afford to lose qualified mothers (or fathers highly committed to child care) because of lack of alternative professional modes of support.

Carolyn A. Weber

See also Maternity Leave; Motherhood; Parental Leave

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Monogamy

A romantic relationship is one of the most intimate connections in a person's life. This bond is based on the need for affectively pleasant interactions, mutualism, sex, and social exchange taking place in the context of concern for another's welfare. Additionally, adult romantic relationships are vital to human survival and reproductive success and may take the form of various cooperative coalitions with short- or long-term mating strategies, such as monogamy, polygamy, polyandry, and others, depending on cultural, familial, religious, and environmental contexts.

Monogamy is characterized by two adults sexually committed solely to one another for a prolonged period of time or for life. In traditional Western cultures, couples during marriage ceremonies customarily announce their devotion to be monogamous by the vow, "forsaking all others . . . until death do us part." Although some restrict the definition of *monogamy* to involve only one man and one woman in marriage, others expand the meaning to cohabitating and/or homosexual couples who devote themselves only to each other for an extended period of time or for life.

Whereas discrepancies exist in regard to what makes up committed relationships, most authorities agree that romantic relationships may be defined by their boundaries. In particular, monogamous couples are expected to be physically intimate only with one another, and persons who violate the restrictions of such a relationship usually receive disapproval from family, friends, religious groups, and/or society.

Monogamy is not the only option available to adults in romantic relationships. Alternatives include *bigamy,* one man concurrently married to two women, and *polygamy,* being married to two or more people simultaneously. Another option is *polyandry,* one woman married to two or more men at the same time, which is currently practiced by only a dozen or so societies globally.

Types of Monogamy

Monogamy may be subdivided into three types: sexual, emotional, or a combination of the two. *Sexual fidelity* involves sharing physical closeness (e.g., sexual intercourse) only with one's partner, whereas *emotional fidelity* is characterized by sharing intimate feelings with one's partner, such as deep-seated fears, personal dreams, and desires. In regard to monogamy, males and females tend to disagree as to whether sexual or emotional infidelity is more damaging to the relationship. Men are more likely to be upset if their partners are not sexually monogamous, whereas women tend to become distraught if their partners are not emotionally monogamous.

A subtype of monogamy, *serial monogamy* is the practice of experiencing several subsequent sexual relationships with only one partner at a time. Deviating from polygamy, serial monogamy can include persons who marry, divorce, and remarry as well as individuals who never marry but are sexually exclusive with multiple subsequent partners one at a time.

Theories of Monogamy

Sexual differences in mate preference also exist. Some evolutionists posit that sexual dimorphism in mate selection criteria developed in medieval times. Known as the *parental investment theory,* this viewpoint states that gender differences regarding monogamy may be attributed to differential division of labor and parental investment, that is, women being more concerned about men's resourcefulness, which contrasts with men being more interested in women's attractiveness and youth. Per this theory, the gender that invests more time, effort, and resources into its offspring tends to be more discriminating regarding mate selection.

Other reasoning for this theory is *female spacing,* the limitation women have on the number of offspring they can produce yearly, regardless of whether they have sex with one man or multiple men. In contrast, males may produce several offspring with multiple partners a year. Consequently, ancestral (and current) females ascertained that committed solo relationships with men offered adaptive benefits that uncommitted arrangements did not.

Recent investigations report mixed findings for the parental investment theory. Data from about 50 nations reveal that the parental investment theory may be valid. In the majority of societies worldwide, men

report less familial investment and more promiscuity than women. Additional support from 37 countries reveals that both men and women utilize short- and long-term mating strategies, including serial monogamy, polygamy, polyandry, and extra-pair copulations. These data found a person's sexual behaviors to be influenced by societal norms, family values, importance of partners, and the ratio of available males to available females.

Furthermore, other studies indicate that both sexes place physical attractiveness and resourcefulness as priorities in selecting partners, the difference being in the weight men and women allocate for each. Women tend to place more significance in securing relationships with men (usually older) who have sufficient resources to care for offspring, thereby placing physical attractiveness as secondary. Men, on the other hand, tend to value youth and physical beauty first and foremost and consider resourcefulness less important. On the contrary, other evidence points to males being more interested in casual sex, partner swapping, and multiple sex partners. As a result of incongruous data, many professionals have searched for alternative theories to explain sexual attitudes and behaviors.

The *sex ratio theory* is one such alternative. This theory is based on the ratio of men to women ages 15 to 49 years old. High sex ratios exist when men in this age group outnumber women, often resulting in less promiscuity and/or sexual infidelity. When high sex ratios are present in a society, men more commonly utilize monogamy as a sexual strategy to appeal to females. Globally, though, the majority of cultures have low sex ratios, or more women than men, enabling males to engage in more unrestricted mating arrangements, since they are in high demand.

More-recent data were collected from 48 countries in the United Nations to determine the robustness of the sex ratio theory. Results reveal that countries with lower sex ratios reported higher promiscuity rates than nations in which men outnumber women. Specifically, countries in which men frequently die in accidents or by suicide, for example, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, reported higher promiscuity rates than other countries with high sex ratios, for example, Taiwan, Bangladesh, and South Korea, thereby supporting the sex role theory.

Somewhat similar to the sex ratio theory, the *strategic pluralism theory* posits that couples are more reactive to their environments than to other influences. For example, in harsh conditions in which child rearing is particularly arduous, mothers rely more heavily on their husbands. Per this theory, fathers subsequently respond to their families' needs, increasing monogamous practices. Based on the same United Nations data previously cited, this theory was supported as well. Furthermore, other recent studies found that the father's presence in the home tended to decrease children's mortality rates in Asia, Africa, and South America.

Finally, the *social structural theory* posits that societal norms of gender roles universally establish attitudes toward monogamy. In cultures that advocate women's rights, for example, voting privileges, contraceptive choices, and ability to divorce easily, monogamous practices decrease. However, in regions exhibiting gender inequality, mating strategies and sexual activities lean toward favoring monogamous practices. For example, among 48 nations, Brazil and Bangladesh report the most gender inequity. In South America, especially Brazil, more men regardless of age admit to being promiscuous compared with men in over 50 other countries. It seems that data support the position that women's sexual freedom and social status are positively correlated.

These findings raise several questions. Are men and women more similar than different in regard to sexual preferences, but due to cultural gender roles, spurious sexual differences surface? Or do gender roles simply reveal sexual dissimilarities regardless of societal influence?

In addition to theories, researchers have also offered models to explain differences in sexual behaviors. One example, the *dependence model of dissolution,* suggests that when opportunities to engage in sexual activities are scarce, individuals resort to monogamy. It is implausible, however, that one theory or model can adequately explain human sexual behaviors across gender and societies. More realistic viewpoints merge two or more of these theories to complement one another, thereby providing a clearer picture of monogamous practices.

Influences on Monogamy Rates

One predominant influence on monogamy is opportunity. It appears to be a driving influence on sexual fidelity, such that it can sometimes predict lack of sexual commitment. Studies find that when men and women are given the opportunity to be unfaithful to their long-term relationships, many pursue available alternatives to monogamy.

Industrialization also impacts fidelity. In industrialized countries such as Australia, Britain, and Austria, monogamy is less prevalent than in nonindustrialized cultures. This same pattern is true when comparing developed countries (lower monogamy rates) with developing countries (higher monogamy rates). Additionally, it appears that being male affects whether one is sexually faithful. Men globally state that they have more concurrent partners than women. However, social desirability often present in self-reports may bias results.

In Africa, monogamy rates are most affected by the fact that teenage women (15–19 years old) are typically more sexually active than their male teenage counterparts due to older men having sex with young girls. Furthermore, comparing data from Kenya, South Africa, and Tanzania with European reports reveals that African males from these countries have more concurrent sexual partners than Europeans and remain in nonmonogamous relationships longer. Two other influences on monogamy rates are poverty and lack of mobility. Individuals who have limited access to alternative partners lean toward monogamous practices.

The extent of limitations restricting females also affects monogamy rates. In some regions, women feel little control over their lives, particularly when their male sexual partners are older, have more power, and provide money and/or favors for sex. As the social structure theory posits, a double standard for men and women's sexual practices, that is, men having more freedom than women, can partially explain predominant male promiscuity in some societies. Furthermore, countries that practice polygamy tend to have fewer males in the population. Thus, based on the sex ratio theory, a high sex ratio (more females than males) tends to increase promiscuous behaviors.

Conclusion

Whereas the overwhelming majority of individuals prefers monogamous relationships over other sexual practices, data reveal a more complex picture. Several theological perspectives regarding monogamy are supported scientifically; however, one viewpoint cannot exclusively clarify sexual differentiation in humans. Moreover, research on sexual differences is correlational and therefore cannot provide explanations regarding cause and effect.

Research does, however, indicate two integral pieces of the puzzle: gender and cultural influences.

As women acquire more power, money, and status and as political, economical, and environmental influences become more equitable in developing countries, gender disparity regarding sexual differentiation diminishes. Additionally, sexual attitudes and behaviors evolve over time. Thus, investigating individual differences in basic human mating strategies across genders and societies is critical in gaining insight into evolving sexual patterns worldwide. An understanding of human sexual practices is valuable for liberating females from unreasonable restrictions on their rights as individuals, preventing sexually transmitted diseases from spreading further, and addressing global policies in regard to public health, poverty, and unemployment.

Colette Jacquot

See also Homosexuality; Mate Selection; Polyamory; Polygamy

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Mormons, Gender Roles and

The relationship between gender and religion is an important site of investigation for sociologists. A central question in this subfield of sociology asks how religion interacts with gender to shape men and women's public and private experiences. Religion

often prescribes different roles for men and women, and consequentially, this creates differential life experiences for men and women across religious contexts. Examining these differences in a wide variety of religious and spiritual locations is an important project for gender studies. This entry investigates gender roles in the context of Mormonism (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or LDS). Officially organized in 1830 in upstate New York, LDS emerged during a great wave of religious revival in the United States. Since its inception, the gender roles of Mormon men and women have been clearly delineated both at the institutional and familial levels.

The Institutional Level: Priesthood and Relief Society

The first LDS prophet, Joseph Smith, organized the church according to a patriarchal order called "the priesthood." Mormon theology defines the priesthood as the authority to act in the name of God, and it is through this authority that the church is to be led. The priesthood organization is central to Mormon theology and to the hierarchically organized church government. While there are historically documented exceptions, the priesthood is an exclusively male right and responsibility. Each level of priesthood office includes specific duties that worthy male members ages 12 and above are to perform: Baptizing new members, blessing the sick, performing marriage ceremonies in the temple, conducting congregational meetings, and administering the sacrament are a few examples of such responsibilities.

A decade following the organization of the LDS church and priesthood, organization the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo was organized, granting women an official role in the patriarchal organization. The role of its members was, and still is, to provide service to those in spiritual and/or material need and to assist in Mormon temple work. While the original organizing and naming of the Relief Society Presidency was overseen by Joseph Smith, immediately thereafter the female leadership was granted the authority to act autonomously, and they largely retained this independence throughout the 19th century. Facing persecution from mainstream society, the Mormons were forced out of their homes and to the West and eventually settled in Salt Lake City, Utah. The mass exodus led to the dissolution of the Relief Society, which was again reorganized in 1867.

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, LDS women were quite liberal in comparison to their non-LDS counterparts. They authored their own publications, were the first to win the right to vote in 1870, and had ties with suffrage organizations from the East. Mormon women greatly expanded their sphere of activity into politics, economics, and social life throughout the latter half of the 19th century. However, as LDS sociologist Marie Cornwall explains, as the church grew in size, it also became more bureaucratic, and the Relief Society and women's activities, along with women's publications, were restricted and subsumed under priesthood authority. This appropriation led to the gradual subordination and feminization of Mormon women.

Despite the early feminism of LDS women, at its inception the church was organized according to normative gender ideologies—men serving as the head of the church and women performing the daily labors needed to nurture and strengthen its members. The gendered division of labor in the LDS church is largely reflected in the private sphere.

The Familial Level

In a 1995 statement issued by the president of the LDS church, "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," a clear definition of the expected roles of men and women in the contemporary LDS family is provided. It explicitly states that "gender is an essential characteristic of individual premortal, mortal, and eternal identity and purpose." Because Mormon theology holds that marriage is essential for achieving the highest exaltation in postmortality, gender roles are defined in terms of heterosexual marital relations. Thus, the proclamation begins by affirming the definition of eternal marriage as a union between a man and a woman.

Both husband and wife are responsible for child care and child rearing, albeit through different means. It is the responsibility of fathers to preside over the family and to provide the basic necessities of life and survival. The nurturing of children is the primary responsibility of women. Men and women are instructed to aid one another in their gendered responsibilities as equal partners. Many have interpreted this ideological statement as requiring that LDS women perform their femininity as homemakers, while men are to operate in the paid labor force.

The shifting social and economic landscape in the United States has, as with larger society, pulled many LDS women into the workforce. As women have

increasingly entered the workforce, the church's position as reflected in church literature has also become more accepting of nontraditional family styles and women's work outside the home.

Conclusion

Although Mormon theology dictates a strict separation of gender roles and these ideologies continue to be a pervasive ideological force in the LDS church, Mormon men and women's activities in both the public and private spheres tend to mirror those of their 21st-century counterparts. Despite the historical shifts of men's and women's actual activities and gender performances, and global and cultural differences in gender role interpretations, it is still the ideological norm for LDS women to assume primary responsibility for home and children and for men to assume the primary responsibility for economic and material survival.

Nazneen Kane

See also Christianity, Status of Women in; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Religion, Gender Roles in

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Morning-After Pill

The *morning-after pill* refers to *emergency hormonal contraception* (EHC), used to prevent pregnancy for up to 120 hours after unprotected sex. There are approximately 30 types of EHC available worldwide. They are distributed in over 130 countries and are available directly from pharmacies in over 30 countries. There are two categories of EHC, progestin-only pills (POPs) and combined oral contraceptives (COCs), which contain progestin and estrogen. In very low doses, mifepristone (RU-486), an antiprogesterone, acts like POPs and is approved in China. EHC prevents ovulation, thickens cervical mucus, and thins uterine lining. EHC does not cause abortion, increase the risk of fetal abnormalities or miscarriage, or harm an embryo or pregnant woman.

History

Though the first trials of emergency contraception occurred in the 1930s, EHC was not widely used until the early 1970s. Initially, the Yuzpe method employed COCs "off-label" by taking several pills together. In 1998, a World Health Organization (WHO) study found that POPs were more efficacious and caused fewer side effects than COCs. POPs are preferred over COCs. However, when approved EHC is not accessible, the Yuzpe method can be used.

Mechanisms

When taken before ovulation, EHC inhibits ovulation primarily by blocking the luteinizing hormone (LH) surge. Thickened cervical mucus acts as a barrier to sperm. Thinning of the uterine lining creates an inhospitable environment for sperm. Fallopian tube motility may be impaired by EHC, decreasing the ability of sperm and ova to move along the tube.

When taken after ovulation, EHC has little effect on ovarian hormonal production and uterine lining. However, thickened cervical mucus is still present. Though unproven, EHC used after ovulation may prevent the implantation of a fertilized egg.

Pregnancy, as defined by WHO; U.S. Food and Drug Administration; and U.S., U.K., and international obstetric and gynecological organizations, begins when a fertilized egg implants into the uterine wall. Progesterone is required to maintain pregnancy. Progestins, synthetic progesterone, are "pregnancy-like hormones." EHC, which relies on the effect of progestin, does not cause abortion and does not harm a pregnancy.

Effectiveness

Failure rate can be calculated by dividing the number of pregnancies in a sample by the sample size. However, not every act of unprotected sex results in pregnancy. An alternative calculation divides the

number of pregnancies by the number of expected pregnancies. Expected pregnancy is dependent on age, day of menstrual cycle, and other factors. Both calculations are useful in determining the effectiveness of EHC.

Progestin-Only Pills

A postcoital dosing regimen of POPs must contain at least 1.5 mg of norgestrel or 0.75 mg of levonorgestrel, the active stereoisomer of norgestrel. Most packages of progestin-only EHC contain two pills. The first pill is taken within 120 hours of unprotected sex, and the second pill is taken 12 hours later. If both pills are taken together within 120 hours of unprotected intercourse, there is increased efficacy with no increase in side effects. Of women taking POPs less than 12 hours after sex, 0.4 percent will become pregnant. Of women taking POPs at 120 hours, 2.7 percent will become pregnant. The average rate of pregnancy is 1.1 percent. POP prophylactic contraceptives can be used off-label as emergency contraception if the dose ingested contains at least 0.75 mg of levonorgestrel.

The International Consortium for Emergency Contraception (ICEC), a group of international organizations, formed in 1995 to promote emergency contraception by manufacturing the POP Postinor, as Postinor-2, for developing countries. Postinor-2 and Postinor are the most widely distributed EHCs. NOR-levo, introduced in France in 1999, is the next most widely distributed POP. In 2002, France allowed over-the-counter distribution. The POP Levonelle became available over-the-counter in the United Kingdom in 2001 and its single dose form became available in 2003. The U.S. POP, Plan B, was also introduced in 1999, and it became available over-the-counter in 2006 for women 18 years or older.

Combined Oral Contraceptives

A postcoital contraceptive dosing regimen of COCs must contain at least 1 mg of norgestrel or 0.5 mg of levonorgestrel and at least 100 mcg of ethinyl estradiol, an estrogen, in each of its two doses. The progestin norethindrone is slightly less effective than norgestrel. The first dose is taken less than 120 hours after unprotected sex, and the second dose is taken 12 hours later. COCs are slightly less effective than POPs. Of women taking COCs less than 12 hours after sex, 0.5 percent will become pregnant. Of women taking COCs at 120 hours, 4.2 percent will become pregnant. The average rate of pregnancy is 2 percent to 3.2 percent.

In the Yuzpe method, the minimum amounts of progestin and estrogen are similar to other COC EHC methods. Like other COCs, the Yuzpe method is slightly less effective and has more side effects than POP methods.

Side Effects

Side effects of EHC include spotting, nausea, vomiting, headache, breast tenderness, moodiness, and changes in next menses. If vomiting occurs within 2 hours of taking a pill, the dose must be retaken. There are no contraindications, though EHC should not be taken if the woman is pregnant, is allergic to any ingredient, or has undiagnosed abnormal vaginal bleeding. Regular use of EHC decreases its effectiveness and may cause menstrual disruption.

The side effects of COCs are more severe. If a woman has vomited when taking COCs previously, antivomiting medicine can reduce incidence by 30 percent to 50 percent. POPs are preferred over COCs when a woman has a migraine or has had venous thromboembolism (VTE). Though COCs increase the chance of VTE, pregnancy increases risk of VTE 3 times more than do COCs.

Public Health Effects of EHC

Studies have shown that increased EHC availability reduces birth defects due to the poor prenatal care that may accompany unplanned pregnancy. Increased availability also reduces ectopic pregnancy incidence. Research has also shown that the availability of EHC does not make people less likely to use regular contraception or more likely to have unprotected sex. Sexually transmitted infection rates do not increase due to EHC availability. Increased availability of EHC does not reduce the rate of abortion.

Rishi Rattan

See also Abortion; Contraception; Population Control; Pregnancy

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MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood is inextricably connected to the study of gender, not because it describes a female parent, but because women's relationship to motherhood has been used to define, categorize, and evaluate women. Motherhood has been considered the essential element of "womanhood," and women who do not bear children have been culturally defined as incomplete or failed women. Women's reproductive capacities and mothering activities have been used to support the assertion that there is a basic underlying female nature as well as to rationalize the social reproduction of gender and the subordination of women. As pointed out by many feminist scholars, *motherhood* and *fatherhood* are asymmetrical terms, and "to mother" a child is not the equivalent of "to father."

This entry focuses on studies of motherhood in the 20th and 21st centuries in industrialized, English-speaking countries of the Northern Hemisphere. The sections below cover approaches to studying motherhood, motherhood as experience and identity, motherhood as institution and ideology, and activist mothering.

Approaches to Studying Motherhood

Definitions of and approaches to motherhood as a topic of study have varied. Before the 1970s, social science research and writing about motherhood was child centered and focused primarily on the effect of mothers' behavior (e.g., employment) on children. "Mothers" and their characteristics and actions were treated as causal variables and children's characteristics as outcomes or results. In a comprehensive review of a decade of scholarship on motherhood, sociologist Terry Arendell notes that in the 1990s, such variable-driven, positivist approaches still predominated.

Beginning in the 1970s, feminist scholars began to study and write about motherhood in new ways. With the publication of Adrienne Rich's pathbreaking book, *Of Woman Born,* the distinction between "motherhood as experience" and "motherhood as social institution,"

and the understanding that motherhood is both, became a fundamental tenet of feminist studies of motherhood. Rich defined the *experience of motherhood* as being the relationship of a woman to her reproductive self and to her children, whereas she described the *institution of motherhood* as a patriarchically controlled structure of norms, laws, economic organization, and power that oppressed women. To focus on motherhood as experience means to study motherhood from the perspective of mothers rather than from the perspective of adult children writing about mothers. To analyze motherhood as an institution means to see motherhood as a pattern of social practices. As each of these broad categories—experience and institution—were teased apart and analyzed, more distinctions and new directions of study emerged. The study of motherhood as an experience motivated studies of women's identity as mothers and of the practices or activities of mothers, while studies of motherhood as an institution led to the study of ideologies of motherhood, questions about the role of agency, and considerations of power.

Research and writing on motherhood are based in one of three major theoretical positions: (1) essentialism, (2) social structure and social theory, and (3) social constructionism. Each of these theoretical approaches has internal variations, but whether stated explicitly or not, the approaches and assumptions in research and writing on motherhood tend to fall within these three broad categories. *Essentialist perspectives* view motherhood as having a universal, fixed, and unchanging nature that is hardwired in biology and is thus part of women's fundamental nature (their essence). Essentialist views generally valorize motherhood in its presumed natural state and see it as a source of values that are specific to women, such as nurturance and caring.

Social structural perspectives give preeminence to the structural components of society, particularly a society's economic structure, in determining how motherhood is constructed, experienced, and enacted. Social structural approaches thus view motherhood as the product of a society's social and economic organization, shaped by the material conditions of people's lives. Integral to this perspective is the central question of social conflict theorists: Who benefits from these arrangements? The organization of motherhood in a particular society is therefore analyzed in terms of the way in which it functions to maintain existing socioeconomic systems and patterns of privilege and inequality.

Social constructionist perspectives view motherhood not as an essential trait of women or as a by-product of social structure, but rather as a "social construct" created by the members of a particular society or culture as they go about their lives. Fundamental to social constructionist approaches is the recognition that motherhood is not everywhere the same and that definitions, expectations, and norms of motherhood have changed and are changeable. A social constructionist theoretical approach incorporates human agency and analyzes patterns of motherhood in terms of a society's social organization and cultural norms, as constituted and reproduced in social interaction. Scholars who use a social constructionist approach focus on examining and understanding the ways in which motherhood has been constructed, the associated social consequences of various constructions, and the possibilities for change.

The care of children has not always or everywhere been exclusively the work of mothers, and the responsibilities for the care, education, and training of children are distributed differently in different places. Nonetheless, women are the ones who mother, and scholars have wanted to account for this apparently universal fact. The question Why do women mother? can be broken down: Why is it *women* who mother? and Why do women *want* to mother? Some scholars locate the answers in women's biology, instincts, and drives, asserting that women mother because they are biologically women.

One of the most influential works to address this issue from a nonessentialist perspective is Nancy Chodorow's *The Reproduction of Mothering,* in which a social structural approach is combined with psychoanalytic object relations theory. Chodorow argues that social structural forces shape a society's organization of parenting and that features of that organization are then processed in the child's unconscious and become part of the child's psychic structure. Specifically, she posits that mothers, as female primary caregivers, relate differently to daughters than to sons and that as a result, boys and girls develop different capacities for relatedness. In Chodorow's theory, these different capacities are not the products of biology or social learning, but have been internalized as part of each person's psychic organization. Daughters develop the capacity and desire to mother, and sons do not. Chodorow's theory has been criticized for universalizing the experiences of families living in accord with the dominant culture and for neglecting the diversity of families and experiences, but her theory remains important in its attempt to explain in social rather than biological terms why women want to mother.

Feminist scholarship on motherhood has more generally been criticized for focusing primarily on the motherhood of white middle-class heterosexual married women. Despite more recent studies of mothers in nondominant groups, this limited focus continues and is a problem in the field. First, the inclusionary corrective of extending existing analyses of motherhood to marginalized groups of mothers does not address the problem of theorizing based on the socially dominant group. Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins argues that theories of motherhood are fundamentally challenged when the center of analysis is shifted from dominant constructions of motherhood, in which race and class have been rendered invisible (white middle-class motherhood), to motherhood as lived and experienced by mothers of color and mothers in different class positions. Starting from the position of marginalized groups, with their varying histories and social locations, will raise different questions and provide new insights into theories of motherhood. Further, the motherhood experiences of African American, Latina, Asian American, and Native American women are not only different from those of white women and from each other but are also forged in relationship with the experiences of white women in the dominant culture. For example, the experiences of black women and white women during slavery and those of working-class immigrant nannies and the middle-class mothers who employ them are inextricably linked. Motherhood is not only gendered but is also an experience that varies by race/ethnicity, class, and sexuality. These categories of analysis should therefore be at the center of any analysis of motherhood.

Motherhood as Experience and Identity

Writings by women about their experiences of motherhood appeared first in novels, short stories, personal essays, and memoirs. In these writings, women were able to express ambivalence about motherhood and discuss its negative aspects in ways that were culturally taboo. Feminist scholars' focus on the experience of motherhood was part of the attempt to give voice to women and other marginalized groups as well as to capture women's lived experience. Sociologist Ann

Oakley's interviews with women on the experience of childbirth revealed that not all women felt that pregnancy and childbirth were natural to them, nor did they necessarily fall in love with their babies at first sight. Feelings of ambivalence, negativity, and loss of self were part, or sometimes all, of the experience for many women. These writings were important for breaking the silence that surrounded these issues and for illustrating that motherhood was not a solely positive experience for all women.

The experience of motherhood, as well as the valuation of any particular experience, varies by social location, historical moment, and cultural context. Many white middle-class women, for example, have found staying home all day with small children boring and mind-numbing, while for working-class employed women of all race/ethnicities, being an "at-home mother" can be experienced as bringing status and longed-for time to attend to family life and home. To take another example, Rickie Solinger's study of the social control of unwed mothers between 1945 and 1965 revealed very different experiences for white and black women. Young white women were pressured to relinquish their babies for adoption and return to the social and educational track that had been prescribed for them, while young black women were pressured to keep their babies and take up the mantle of motherhood.

Studying the subjective experience of being a mother leads to examining how the experience of motherhood is shaped by and helps to shape a woman's identity as a mother. In an influential and much debated book, philosopher Sara Ruddick argues that in response to children's universal demands for preservation, growth, and acceptance, mothers perform activities or "maternal practices" to protect, nurture, and train or socialize them. Ruddick further argues that a maternal way of thinking, a maternal consciousness, develops from these practices. "Maternal thinking" is seen not only as a way of reasoning but also as a set of values and emotions common to all mothers. The concept of maternal thinking has been used to argue that mothers develop a special ethic of care that motivates them to actively participate in and support peace and environmental movements.

Numerous studies have found that their identities as mothers are particularly salient in women's self-concepts and are often stronger than other identities, such as wife, teacher, and friend. Sociologist Martha McMahon analyzed the identity changes women reported occurring when they become mothers. Her study not only illustrates the salience of women's identities as mothers

but also identifies different patterns of identity change between middle-class and working-class white women. How individual women define and value their identities as mothers is shaped by their experiences and by the social definitions that are applied to women in their racial/ethnic and class positions. Many mothers must contend with what Collins refers to as externally defined "controlling images" of their identities as mothers. In her book *Black Feminist Thought,* Collins analyzes the images of "mammy," "matriarch," and "welfare mother" that have been used to perpetuate the oppression of black women and denigrate their status as mothers in the dominant culture. She urges black women to reject these images in favor of "self-definitions" that are centered in Afrocentrism and feminism. Studies of experience and identity also reveal that some mothers have to struggle to claim their identities as mothers in a social world that defines them in opposition to dominant conceptions of motherhood. Mothers with disabilities, lesbian mothers, mothers of adopted children, and incarcerated mothers have been discounted and excluded from social recognition as mothers.

Motherhood as Institution and Ideology

To understand motherhood as a social institution is to see the frame within which women's experiences of motherhood takes place. A number of feminist scholars argue that women are not oppressed by motherhood itself, but that their authentic relationships to and experiences of motherhood are distorted by the patriarchal structure imposed on motherhood. Critics of the patriarchal institution of motherhood concentrate on marriage, the nuclear family, and the organization of motherhood under patriarchy. Some advocate withdrawing from these systems altogether. Taken out of their social and historical contexts, these critics have often been inaccurately interpreted as being antimotherhood, antichild, or antifamily.

Whereas Rich and others posit a universal patriarchal institution, other feminist scholars focus on the variation in the ways motherhood has been organized over time and in different places. The fact that motherhood is not everywhere the same is a crucial argument against an essentialist view of motherhood. Beyond that, however, scholars are interested not only in the variation but also in the ideologies that shape how motherhood is thought about, organized, experienced, interpreted, and judged. To study ideologies of

motherhood is to explore the underlying cultural beliefs and attitudes about the role of mothers and about what constitutes a "good mother." Such investigation reveals that in every time period, the dominant ideology of motherhood affects women in general, whether or not they are mothers and irrespective of their social location. Divergent constructions of motherhood may also exist within a culture, but people are aware of and must negotiate the dominant ideology of the culture.

The dominant ideology of motherhood current in the United States had its beginnings in the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century and in the creation of a new middle class, whose families and homes were no longer units of economic production. An ideology known as "the cult of domesticity" reflected the separation of the white middle-class home from economic production by delineating two "separate spheres." This ideology assigned men to the public sphere of economic gain and women to the private sphere of the home and of labor performed in the name of love. In reality, the division of the social world into domestic and public did not describe the lived experience of most women and men, but it was and continues to be a powerful cultural concept in light of which mothers are assessed and judged. The separate-spheres ideology portrays all (good) women as finding fulfillment in motherhood and having sole responsibility for the domestic sphere, which they must maintain as a moral bastion against an outside world characterized as uncaring and immoral. Expressions such as "breadwinner father" and "stay-at-home mom" still convey the ideology of separate spheres.

The introduction of the idea of "scientific motherhood" in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s did not supplant the cult of domesticity, but did add a new twist to the idea that the woman's place was in the home. Mothers were still deemed responsible for the domestic sphere and for the moral, physical, and emotional well-being of their families, but to perform their duties well, they were now seen as needing the help and advice of experts, particularly physicians and psychologists. Mothers' own knowledge and the advice of other women were discounted, and the daily tasks of caring for children became medicalized as "scientific experts" advocated physician-controlled hospital births, formulas and bottle-feeding, and rigidly prescribed sleeping and eating schedules. A particularly pernicious aspect of the ideology of scientific motherhood is that it engenders "mother blame." Because scientific motherhood asserts that children's well-being and psychological development are dependent on mothers' strict adherence to the directions of the experts, negative child outcomes must logically be the result of mothers not following that advice. Scientific experts therefore see mothers as the primary cause of their children's problems and, at various points, held them responsible for, among other things, children's autism, schizophrenia, bed-wetting, gender or sexual nonconformity, eating disorders, and learning disabilities.

In the second half of the 20th century, mothers, particularly those with children under the age of 6, began entering and remaining in the formal labor force in unprecedented numbers. Historically, women of color, immigrant women, and working-class women have had higher rates of labor force participation than have middle-class white women, but beginning in the 1970s, the proportion of employed mothers increased in all racial/ethnic and class categories. Dominant ideologies of motherhood, however, run counter to mothers' participation in the labor force. Although "working mothers" have become an acknowledged fact of society in the United States, the dominant ideology has not incorporated a model of motherhood in which both motherhood and employment are mutually supported. Instead, in what sociologist Anita Garey terms the "orientation model of work and family," women are categorized as being either "work oriented" or "family oriented." In an orientation model, employment and motherhood are assumed to have a zero-sum relationship in which whatever time, energy, or attention a mother gives to her job is seen as taking away from the time, energy, and attention she gives to her children, and vice versa. Sociologist Sharon Hays describes the ideology of motherhood currently dominant in the United States as one of "intensive mothering," of which the three defining beliefs are that (1) mothers are, and should be, the main and most important caregivers for their children; (2) (good) mothers put their children's needs first, before their own needs or any other demands in their lives; and (3) mothers should give their children as much as they can of their time, attention, devotion, and resources. The ideology of intensive mothering defines motherhood as time-intensive, labor-intensive, emotionally intensive, resource-intensive, and all-consuming; it increases the work of mothering and perpetuates the belief that mothers are the ones who are ultimately and solely responsible for children and the domestic sphere.

Activist Mothering

The concept of "activist mothering" derives from scholarship on the mothering activities of subjugated and marginalized groups and differs in several important ways from Ruddick's concept of "maternal practice." First, rather than setting out universals, it looks at patterns of activity performed by specific people who occupy a particular social location in a specific time and place. Second, it widens the relational location of mothering activities beyond the mother-child dyad and the nuclear family to take in the larger kin group and community. And finally, it broadens the definition of what counts as mothering to include caring for the children of others and community activism. In contrast to the culturally dominant view of motherhood, activist mothering is inextricably combined with motherhood, politics, and paid work. Collins description of "othermothers" provides one example of activist mothering. Situated in the history and experience of African American families, othermothers are women who, as sisters, grandmothers, aunts, and so on, share the mothering responsibilities with biological mothers. Sociologist Nancy Naples's study of the community activism of African American and Latina mothers reveals that dominant definitions of motherhood do not capture these women's experiences, activities, or definitions of mothering.

Studies of activist mothering challenge dominant definitions and portrayals of motherhood. New definitions of motherhood emerge in which economic provision and meaningful work are no longer defined in opposition to motherhood, but as an integral part of motherhood. The dichotomy of separate spheres dissolves in the merger of home and community, personal and political, and private and public.

Conclusion

"Motherhood" is a large and expanding field of study, and scholarship is carried out in a number of disciplines. There is a substantial literature on working mothers, single mothers, lesbian mothers, teenage motherhood, reproductive rights, and pregnancy and childbirth. New scholarship is adding to less-studied topics, such as surrogate motherhood, mothers with disabilities, mothers of disabled children, and maternal sexuality. It is likely that the field will continue to expand in new directions.

Anita Ilta Garey

See also Black Feminist Thought; Caregiving; Family, Organization of; Infertility; Pregnancy; Same-Sex Families; Scientific Motherhood; Single-Parent Households

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Mother Teresa (1910–1997)

Mother Teresa of Calcutta was born on August 27, 1910, as Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu, in Uskup, Yugoslavia (now Skopje, capital of the Republic of Macedonia). She was of Albanian descent and the youngest of three children. At the age of 12, she felt the strong call of God and knew she would become a missionary. At 18, she joined the Order of the Sisters of Our Lady of Loreto, in Ireland, an Irish community of nuns with missions in India. There, she took the name of "Teresa," after St. Teresa of Lisieux, patron saint of the missionaries. Six weeks later, she went to India as a teacher and taught at the order's St. Mary's High School in Calcutta for 17 years. She took her final vows as a nun in 1937.

In 1946, Mother Teresa believed she received a divine inspiration to serve the "poorest of the poor." She left the order, convent, and teaching to, as she put it, "follow Christ into the slums." Seeing Jesus particularly in the poor and suffering, she founded the Order of Missionaries of Charity in 1950, a Roman Catholic congregation of women dedicated to serving the destitute of India. The order provides food for the needy and operates hospitals, schools, orphanages youth centers, and shelters for lepers and the dying poor. In 1950, her order received canonical sanction from Pope Pius XII, and in 1965, it became a pontifical congregation subject only to the pope. At the time of her death, her order included hundreds of centers in more than 90 countries, with some 4,000 nuns and hundreds of thousands of lay workers.

Mother Teresa held deeply conservative views concerning divorce, abortion, and contraception but rallied particularly against the squalor and loneliness of the lepers and the last hours of the terminally ill. A person of great humility, her belief was that "in this life we cannot do great things. We can only do small things with great love."

Mother Teresa received several awards, both in India and internationally, for her humanitarian service. The most notable were the first Pope John XXIII Peace Prize (1972), the Albert Schweitzer International Prize (1975), and the Nobel Peace Prize (1979). Owing to a worsening heart condition, she retired in 1997 and died of cardiac arrest in India on September 5 of that year. She was 87 years old.

For her dedicated service to the poor in India, Mother Teresa was popularly called a "Living Saint" and the "Saint of the Gutters."

After her death, the process to declare her a saint was begun in 1999. The late Pope John Paul II issued a special dispensation to expedite the process of her canonization. On October 19, 2003, Mother Teresa was beatified, earning the title "Blessed" in the shortest time after passing of any person so designated in the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

Rosalind A. Lazar

See also Nuns; Religion, Gender Roles in

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N

NAIDU, SAROJINI (1879–1949)

Sarojini Naidu, born on February 13, 1879, in Hyderabad, India, was the eldest daughter of Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, a scientist-philosopher, and mother Varasundari, a Bengali poetess. Naidu became a national celebrity for entering Madras University at the age of 12. She later traveled to England, studying at both King's College London and Girton College, Cambridge. She returned to Hyderabad in 1898, and her intercaste marriage at the age of 19 to Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu was both groundbreaking and scandalous. Married by the Brahma Marriage Act of 1872, they were happily wed and throughout the course of their marriage had four children, Jayasurya, Padmaja, Randheer, and Leelamani.

Naidu has been highly praised for her poetry. Her first publication in 1905 was a collection of poems titled *Golden Threshold.* Her later publications include *The Bird of Time, The Broken Wings, The Magic Tree, The Wizard Mask,* and *A Treasury of Poems.* Naidu's poetry used such beautiful prose that it could also be sung, a key trademark of her writing. In addition to crafting vibrant imagery through her artistic use of the written word, her poetry served to revitalize the determination of her fellow Indians in the quest for freedom.

Naidu is well-known for her involvement in the freedom struggle and for being established as a strong proponent of women's rights. Her journey began after meeting Mahatma Gandhi in 1916. She had extreme enthusiasm for her work and focused on a quest to awaken confidence in all women. Over the years, she lectured throughout India. In 1919, Naidu was the Home Rule League's ambassador to England and in 1924, she was one of two Indian National Congress delegates at the East African Indian Congress.

Naidu brought Gandhi's message of nonviolence to the United States in 1928. Her arrest during the "Quit India" protest of 1942 kept her in jail for 21 months. Following independence, she became the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, on August 15, 1947, the first female governor in India. Naidu was in office when she passed away at age 70, on March 2, 1949. Her birthday is recognized as "Women's Day," resulting from her status as one of the most influential and famous female heroines of the 20th century.

Jennifer Jaffer

See also Asaf Ali, Aruna; Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini Nehru; Ramabai, Pandita

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was formed in 1890, fighting for female

voting rights as the premier suffrage organization. Previous to NAWSA's inception, the mainstream suffrage movement had split into two main factions: the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe, and the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. NAWSA reunited both camps, with Stanton as the first president (1890–1900), Anthony as vice president, and Stone as head of the executive committee.

NAWSA, composed primarily of middle- and upper-class white women, adhered to 19th-century dominant-gender conventions, which assigned women particular moral duties as nurturers. Women integrated this conception of gender into their participation in the burgeoning Progressive Era as they sought reform through suffrage. In the early years of the 1900s, Carrie Chapman Catt (president from 1900–1904 and 1915–1920) and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (president from 1904–1915) enacted the "Society Plan," which focused on recruiting socially prominent women. This recruitment effort countered the period of stagnation that had prevailed in the first decade of NAWSA's existence. Affluent women's participation solved the organization's financial difficulties and made suffrage seem more fashionable to all women.

NAWSA's conservatism was reflected in its political strategies. Although many suffragists had worked for abolition, racism permeated NAWSA. In an effort to gain support from southern women and legislators with its "southern strategy," the organization largely excluded black women from its ranks and segregated them when they were allowed to affiliate. In addition, by prioritizing suffrage legislation at the state level, NAWSA supported the racist southern philosophy of states' rights. Trying to improve its reputation in order to attract more prominent supporters, NAWSA distanced itself from issues of blacks' rights.

NAWSA also distinguished itself from radical white suffragists, such as Alice Paul and her National Woman's Party (NWP). Paul defected from NAWSA in 1914 to pursue more militant tactics, including protests against the ruling Democratic Party. NAWSA, conversely, remained supportive of the Democrats and lobbied Congressmen for support of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment that would grant female suffrage.

After 1910, the organization enjoyed a period of success, as several states passed suffrage legislation. Thus encouraged, NAWSA shifted its focus from the state level to the federal amendment with Catt's "Winning Plan." In its effort to cultivate a respectable image, NAWSA supported President Wilson and the war effort, proving women's patriotism. NWP's radicalism prompted Wilson to work with the comparatively conservative NAWSA and to support the federal amendment in 1918. NAWSA continued its successful lobbying efforts until the necessary 36 states ratified the Nineteenth Amendment and it became law. With its goal met in 1920, NAWSA transformed into the National League of Women Voters under Catt and focused on educational, nonpartisan initiatives.

Sarah B. Rowley

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan B; National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage Movement; Women's Social Movements, History of

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is the oldest civil rights organization in the United States, with an estimated 500,000 members in 2007. The NAACP was founded in 1909 in response to race riots in Springfield, Illinois. Since the organization's conception, it has utilized democratic processes, grassroots campaigns, lobbying, and educational programs to advocate for the equal rights of all U.S. citizens and to end racism and racial discrimination. Though known primarily for this focus, the organization has also been active in efforts to end discrimination based on sex, gender, sexual orientation, and national origin.

Mission

The defining conviction of NAACP members throughout the organization's history has been that all people are created equal and are thus deserving of

equal and just treatment. The original goal of the NAACP was to change the climate of hatred and discrimination by fighting for civil rights as guaranteed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution: an end to slavery, equal protection under the law for all citizens, and universal male suffrage. Though this mission was framed with the intention of combating racial discrimination, the NAACP's diverse group of male and female board members soon broadened their focus to include the fight for women's equality and suffrage. Today, the organization advocates for political, social, economic, and educational equality for all people.

NAACP and Gender

During the early years of the NAACP, there existed a close relationship between the civil rights and women's rights movements. Two of the NAACP's six founding members were women: Mary White Ovington and Ida Wells-Barnett. Other early female members dedicated to achieving both civil and women's rights include Jane Addams and Mary Burnett Talbert. These women also founded groups such as the National Women's Suffrage Association, the Federation of Afro-American Women, and the National Association of Colored Women. The NAACP continues this tradition through WIN (Women in the NAACP), a committee that focuses on protecting the rights of women and children.

Throughout the NAACP's history as a civil rights organization, the membership has continually reevaluated its position on gender issues. Most recently, members have engaged in a debate regarding gay marriage. While some members have suggested that supporting gay rights conflicts with deeply held religious beliefs, others, including NAACP chairman Julian Bond and former president Kweisi Mfume, have come forward in support of legislation allowing same-sex marriage. Today, the organization is active in securing the rights of those discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation, national origin, and gender, as well as race and sex. Areas of focus include tracking hate crimes, incarceration rates, health care discrepancies, and wage disparities, and advocating for fair housing laws and affirmative action policies that establish equal opportunities for women and minorities.

Bridget D. Hilarides, Sianna A. Ziegler,
and Kathryn C. Oleson

See also Addams, Jane; Affirmative Action; American Woman Suffrage Association; National Association of Colored Women; National Council of Negro Women

Web Sites

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: http://www.naacp.org

National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws

The National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL) was founded in 1969 by well-known feminist Betty Friedan, writer Lawrence Lader, and Dr. Bernard Nathanson. It was one of the first organizations to advocate for the legalization of abortion and has been an important strategic leader for the pro-choice movement in the United States. Today, NARAL boasts over 1 million members and affiliate organizations in over 30 states. It is a leading feminist advocacy organization, using diverse tactics to lobby for reproductive rights in the United States and abroad.

History

Due to changing political circumstances, the organization has changed its name three times, but it has always maintained the NARAL acronym. The first name change came in 1973, after *Roe v. Wade,* the landmark Supreme Court judgment that recognized that the constitutional right to privacy included a woman's right to choose abortion. Celebrating the newfound guarantees for abortion, NARAL became the National Abortion Rights Action League and began to monitor and safeguard women's access to abortion services. In 1975, NARAL moved its headquarters from New York to Washington, D.C., to more effectively lobby for federal reproductive rights policies in Congress.

In 1993, the group changed its name to the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. This name change and subsequent campaigns expanded NARAL's mission to protect the right to abortion while improving policies for reproductive rights that would make abortion less necessary. As the right to abortion was eroded by Supreme Court decisions that placed limits on women's access to abortion, NARAL stepped up its political lobbying efforts, producing annual voter

guides, raising money to support pro-choice political candidates at all levels, and creating advertising campaigns and drives to get out the vote.

In the last few years, NARAL has further emphasized each woman's right to choose. The organization changed its name in 2003 to its contemporary form, NARAL Pro-Choice America (2003), and launched a grassroots campaign that culminated in the 2004 March for Women's Lives. Along with cosponsors, NARAL mobilized over 1 million women for this demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Organizational Structure

Today, NARAL has three branches: NARAL Pro-Choice America PAC, a political action committee that supports pro-choice candidates for public office; NARAL Pro-Choice America Foundation, a 501(c)(3) charitable organization that does research and education on reproductive rights; and NARAL Pro-Choice America, Inc., a nonprofit organization that focuses on advocacy, lobbying, and grassroots organizing for reproductive rights in the United States. Along with the state affiliate groups, these three wings of NARAL cooperate to mobilize a wide array of resources to support reproductive rights.

Elizabeth Borland

See also Abortion; American Birth Control League; Contraception; Freedom of Access to Abortion Clinic Entrances Act; New Reproductive Technologies; Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Web Sites

NARAL: Pro-Choice America: http://www.naral.org

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN

The National Association of Colored Women (NACW), founded in 1896 in Washington, D.C., was one of the largest women's organizations and the foremost national race organization at the turn of the 20th century in the United States. Two organizations, the Colored Women's League (1892) and the National Federation of Afro-American Women (1895), combined to create the NACW. In addition, the black clubwomen's movement reinforced positive images of black women, particularly during the pre–civil rights era, and provided social outlets and a place to learn social graces, such as proper table etiquette. Leaders in the movement called for a unified response to a white journalist's attack on the moral quality of black women and to the escalation of disenfranchisement and violence against blacks. This resulted in the merger of approximately 200 benevolent societies, political, education, religious, professional, and community activist organizations to be represented by the NACW. The NACW served as a unifying umbrella organization that ultimately became a powerful force for social change in black communities and in mainstream society.

Much of the scholarship on the black clubwomen's movement attributes the growth of mutual aid and benevolent societies to forces outside black communities, such as lynching, Jim Crow laws, and violently enforced segregation in the North. Stephanie Shaw argues that this perspective offers only a partial understanding of women's organizations, often ignoring the complicated, rich history of collective activism against racism and sexism as well as the strong belief in self-reliance for community development, as promoted by black clubwomen's groups. Deborah Gray White offers support for a holistic understanding of black women's activism in the 1800s by noting that the clubwomen's work followed in the tradition of self-empowerment dating back to support systems for survival during slavery. The NACW became a model example of the legacy of self-empowerment and activism in black communities.

The NACW boasts an impressive membership list. During its formative years, Mary Church Terrell, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Mary B. Talbert served as presidents. Their motto "Lifting as We Climb" reflected the strong belief that individual survival was tied to group survival and success for black women. Typical group activities included funding and building hospitals, libraries, and schools; caring for the sick; donating resources and time to the poor; and operating settlement houses. Today, the NACW continues to sponsor youth programs, educational programs, and scholarships and promotes AIDS awareness and prevention and international aid projects in Africa.

Marcia Hernandez

See also Black Feminist Thought; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Council of Negro Women

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National Coalition of American Nuns

The National Coalition of American Nuns (NCAN) was founded in 1969 in the wake of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council and in tandem with the social justice issues percolating throughout the American landscape at the time. The organization's main mission is to study and speak out on issues that deal with peace, social justice, human rights, and women's equality within the Catholic Church and society at large. NCAN did not form with the help of the church hierarchy and is not officially sanctioned by it. NCAN's advocacy of issues such as the ordination of women, an inclusive attitude toward gay men and lesbians within the church, and its open-minded view on abortion has often positioned it at odds with the Vatican and its edicts.

Since NCAN's founding by Margaret Ellen Traxler and Audrey Kopp as the first organization for feminist women of the church in the United States, the organization has usually selected its members from 1 percent to 2 percent of the population of nuns in the United States. The issues that NCAN supports stem from the group's advocacy of peace, equality, and justice for all individuals, which its membership believes to be the true purpose of Christ's teachings and the goals of the church. Such issues include supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, seeking amnesty for Vietnam War resisters, advocating the right of workers to unionize at Catholic hospitals, and calling for a reform of sexism in Catholic liturgy.

NCAN published its "Declaration of Independence for Women" in 1972 as a plan for having both secular and religious institutions achieve gender equality. Such statements originate from NCAN members and then are discussed, affirmed, modified, or rejected by the board.

Stereotypes about nuns, as portrayed in the media and the popular imagination, have been a mixed blessing for the organization. In 2007, a group of nuns calling for the impeachment of U.S. President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney caught the eye of those unaware of the antiwar policies of the church and of many of the men and women within the church's organization. Thus, NCAN, willingly or not, generates interest among media outlets that relish the chance to write headlines about "militant" nuns protesting war or criticizing religious institutions that call for a public vow of fidelity to church teachings on abortion, homosexuality, and opposition to women's ordination from its members.

NCAN has published a quarterly newsletter since its inception. Issues contain the organization's public statements, reports of the organization's statements in the religious and secular media, and news about members. The organization's membership is open to all American nuns. Donations are optional and not a condition for membership. People within the church and secular individuals can support the organization through donations and by asking to be added to their newsletter mailing list.

Horacio Sierra

See also Christianity, Status of Women in; Christianity and Homosexuality; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Nuns; Religion, Gender Roles in

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Web Sites

National Coalition of American Nuns: http://www.ncan.us

National Congress of Mothers

The National Congress of Mothers was founded in Washington, D.C., on February 17, 1897. A number of prominent women were associated with the early history of the group. Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst were the founders. The impetus for the creation of the organization was a concern for the educational, social, and economic well-being of children.

Alice McLellan Birney was the first president, and Mrs. Adlai Stevenson and Phoebe Apperson Hearst were vice presidents. From the beginning, men as well as women were invited to participate in the organization's activities. The efforts of the group focused on providing improved conditions for mothers and their children. It was felt that the early years were critical to the later success, health, well-being, and development of youth. The organization combined the efforts of other groups whose chief objectives were serving the interests of young children and their mothers. The guiding principle was that if mothers were better prepared, the babies would be healthier and the United States, in turn, would thrive.

The National Congress of Mothers invited all men and women regardless of race or color to participate in the work of the organization that was directed at "saving the children." However, due to segregation and the existence of "separate but equal" schools during the early years of the organization, a separate organization, the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers (NCCPT), emerged in 1926. Selena Sloan Butler, the wife of a prominent Atlanta physician, founded and served as president of this organization that served the parents and teachers in states that mandated segregation.

The National Congress of Mothers became the National Congress of Parents and Teachers in 1925. In 1970, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers merged to become the National Parent Teacher Association (PTA). The PTA has branches in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. American dependents on military bases have a branch in Europe as well.

As the PTA evolved, the organization's membership included teachers, fathers, and others interested in strengthening the ties between home and school. The ultimate intention was to combine efforts to ensure the best education for children in all aspects: mental, social, and physical. The education and training of children was the ultimate objective of all activities.

The National Congress of Mothers, and later the PTA, sponsored activities and lobbied for legislation that led to education of mothers in the care of infants, mothers' pensions, home education of children, a juvenile justice system, mandatory immunizations, hot-lunch programs, child welfare initiatives, child labor laws, public health laws, kindergarten as part of the public school system, field testing the Salk polio vaccine in the 1950s and securing vaccinations for all school children, the School Bus Safety Program, the Safety Belt and Child Restraint Project, smoking and drug abuse public messages about associated health risks, information programs about the dangers of abuse and addiction, parent education about the dangers to children of violence on television, information about the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS, and advocacy of early childhood education programs to ensure school readiness. The PTA strives to keep parents' voices prominent in discussions of children and their education, to foster partnerships between the parents and schools, and to advocate for greater parental involvement in all aspects of children's lives. Publications of the PTA include the *PTA Magazine* and the *National PTA Bulletin.*

Marilyn L. Grady

See also Welfare Reform; Women's Health Movements

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National Council of Negro Women

Founded in 1935 in New York City, the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) is a voluntary

organization established to enhance opportunities and improve the status of African American women, their families, and communities. Mary McLeod Bethune was the council's first president, from 1935 to 1949.

The National Council of Negro Women is made up of a national network of women's organizations. According to the National Council for Research on Women, the network includes 250 community affiliates. The NCNW's outreach is 4 million women and is the largest organization of African American women. The National Council of Negro Women is an advocacy group for women's leadership, civil rights legislation, health education, and other social justice issues. The council has consultative status at the United Nations.

In addition to Mary McLeod Bethune's leadership, Dorothy Height served the organization for four decades as its fourth president, from 1957 to 1996. Eleanor Roosevelt was a consistent supporter of the organization and was considered an honorary chair of the council.

The National Council of Negro Women is involved in a wide variety of activities, including economic development initiatives to encourage business development and to reduce women's poverty. International initiatives in African countries, such as Egypt, Senegal, and Zimbabwe, focus on enhancing the status of women, families, and communities through partnerships. Again, the emphasis is on economic development and educational initiatives. The council supports educational activities, research activities, lobbying activities, and information dissemination.

The Dorothy I. Height Leadership Institute is a leadership development center for African American women. One of the prominent events sponsored by the organization is the Black Family Reunion Celebration established by Dorothy Height. The event highlights the strengths and values of the African American family. The emphasis of the reunion is strengthening families. The organization sponsors grants and scholarships as well as publications, such as *Sisters Newsletter.* The national headquarters is located in Washington, D.C.

Marilyn L. Grady

See also Black Feminist Thought; National Association of Colored Women; Roosevelt, Eleanor

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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was developed to address the interests and concerns of business and professional women. It was the first national-level organization to focus on issues important to working women, and throughout its history, members have worked to support women in private, public, and political arenas.

On July 16, 1919, Anna L. Phillips, an American lawyer and clubwoman, organized a convention in St. Louis, Missouri, at which the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was officially formed, and in 1920, the federation established the *Independent Woman Journal,* which published articles on a variety of issues of interest to working women. Members of the federation worked throughout the 1920s and 1930s to prohibit legislation and corporate directives denying jobs to married women; and in the 1930s, they lobbied successfully to end the legal practice of workplace preference for unmarried employees and in the case of married persons, preference for male employees. Not surprisingly, the federation was the first women's organization to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment in 1937.

The organization sponsored the first National Business Women's Week, with the theme "Better Business Women for a Better Business World." The week was established to celebrate and dramatize the contributions of women to the country, and in particular their contributions to commerce. During World War II, it developed a database of women with specialized skills critical to the war effort and supported the formation of women's branches of the armed forces. Immediately following the war, the federation worked to support the Women's Pay Act of 1945, which was the first piece of legislation to require equal pay. Eighteen years later, it was signed into law.

In the 1960s, the federation created the first National Legislative Conference, which provided members with the opportunity to lobby Congress and the administration on legislative issues of concern to women and the federation, such as pay equity. Additionally, the establishment of "status of women" commissions in the United States in 1963 was due largely to federation efforts. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the federation continued to lobby Congress around issues of concern to working women, such as comparable worth, health care reform, dependent care, increasing the minimum wage, eliminating sexual harassment, and work-life balance. The federation, for example, worked for many years to encourage Congress to pass a Family and Medical Leave Act and in 1993 finally achieved success.

Since its inception, the federation has had numerous affiliates around the globe; by 1930, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women was created. The modern version of the federation, the Business and Professional Women's Foundation/USA, hosts several programs, events, and conferences in fulfillment of its mission, including Women Joining Forces, Young Careerist, Individual Development, WAGE Clubs, Equal Pay Day, National Business Women's Week Policy & Action Conference, and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women Conference.

Michelle D. Young

See also Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Parental Leave; Sexism; Suffrage Movement

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

The National Gay Task Force was formed in 1973 by a group of former members of the Gay Activists Alliance. Bruce Voeller, Jean O'Leary, Frank Kameny, and Urvashi Vaid accused the organization of leading elitist politics and losing touch with the community and founded a new organization that proved to be the longest running in the United States. Originally known as the National Gay Task Force, the name was changed in 1985, when "lesbian" was added, to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF).

Historical Overview

The mission of NGLTF, as defined in 1973 and maintained until the present day, states that NGLTF dedicates its activities to building the grassroots political power of the lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transsexual (LGBT) community. It addresses its actions toward federal and state politics in order to eradicate discrimination and create full equality. There are three chosen ways to accomplish this: training (provided for the community and the society), organizing social and political campaigns, and (self-) organizing to achieve better effectiveness.

NGLTF quickly became an effective and high-profile organization. It was the first gay organization to be granted an official audience at the White House. In 1975, two other significant events occurred. The first was a change in the law: From that year on, the U.S. Civil Service amended its recruitment policy to allow all gay people to serve in government employment. In the same year, NGLTF successfully managed to convince the National Council of Churches to proclaim a resolution that clearly condemned discrimination based on sexual orientation. The change in recruitment policy and the new resolution, acts that were both practical and symbolic, had an important influence on general attitudes toward gay people. Two years later, in 1977, NGLTF achieved another success, this time in terms of (self-) organization and mobilization. In response to the homophobic crusade "Save Our Children," organized by former Miss America Anita Bryant, NGLTF managed to collect $1 million for their own campaign, "We Are Your Children."

In the next decade, the 1980s, NGLTF's activities intensified as new challenges arose for the gay and lesbian community. In response to those needs, NGLTF dedicated itself to fight antigay violence and the broad social backlash, which were connected with the epidemic of HIV and AIDS and intensified during the highly conservative administrations of President Ronald Reagan and President George H. W. Bush. In 1995, NGLTF launched one of its current key initiatives, the Policy Institute, responsible for the preparation of information about LGBT civil rights. The series of reports and surveys began with "Capital Gains and Losses: A State-by-State Review of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and HIV/AIDS-Related Legislation." NGLTF reached the peak of its

activity in 2000, building a budget of more than $4 million and having over 30 full-time employees.

Robert Kulpa

See also Daughters of Bilitis; Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; Mattachine Society

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Web Sites

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: http://www.thetaskforce.org

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEN AGAINST SEXISM

The National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS) began as a loose coalition of interest in the 1970s. It espoused pro-feminist ideas in settings where men identified themselves as being feminist and attached to feminist causes, initially specifically related to issues of violence against women. While men like John Stuart Mill, Frederick Douglass, and others had promoted gender-egalitarian attitudes some time before, the late 1960s saw a drastic increase in men's attachment to feminism. Antisexist consciousness-raising groups began to emerge for men, as well as a host of writing (articles, newsletters, books, etc.) defining men's relationship with feminism. Today, NOMAS is the largest national pro-feminist organization advocating for feminist causes in the United States.

In 1975, a group of young men at the University of Tennessee were enrolled in a women's studies course. They held a conference the following year, which they dubbed First National Conference on Men and Masculinity (CM&M). This spawned renewed interest, and conferences began to be held in other states, following Tennessee's lead. These first years allowed for a pro-feminist position to take on a form of its own. It was gay-affirmative and was predominantly concerned with the restrictions placed on men as a result of "sex role restrictions." Though feminism has its roots in the abolition movement, this group of men did not champion antiracism officially until 1992. They were predominantly concerned with the ways in which feminism would personally and emotionally enrich the lives of both men and women.

Opponents of this view began to become more vocal as of the late 1970s, forming the "men's rights" movement that pro-feminists situate as an antifeminist backlash movement. The CM&M in 1981 was held in Boston, and it had become clear that further organization was necessary if this pro-feminist group was to persist by defining itself as distinct from "men's rights." In this year, a national membership organization formed, and in 1982, a council formed to provide a collective leadership for the movement. This style of leadership persists today, with no one central figure. It was first decided in 1983 that the name of the organization was to be the National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM). In 1990, the group decided that this name did not adequately reveal its relationship with egalitarianism, renaming themselves NOMAS. Pro-feminist ideologies influenced a range of scholarship on multiple continents, most notably that of Jack Sawyer, Robert Brannon, Robert W. Connell, and Michael Kimmel.

While consciousness-raising is still an issue with which NOMAS is strategically concerned, the organization is also a political activist group concerned with institutional and legal policies and procedures. In this way, NOMAS is critically concerned with cultural ideologies and institutional practices, as well as individuals. NOMAS cooperates with a diverse array of members representing a broad range of races, social classes, levels of education, and so on, though it retains a predominantly white middle-class majority. The goals of NOMAS remain to affect and change not only the ideas and actions of themselves and other individual men but also the institutions and ideologies that maintain inequality between men and women and prevent feminist change.

Tristan S. Bridges

See also Masculinity Studies; Privilege, Male

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National Organization for Women (NOW)

The idea for the National Organization for Women (NOW) emerged at the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women in Washington D.C., from June 28 to 30, 1966. Many founding members of NOW attended this conference and were dissatisfied with the strategies being used to address women's equality. Therefore, Betty Friedan and other frustrated conference participants met in Friedan's hotel room and discussed alternative strategies for women's rights. The famous gathering included Catherine Conroy, Inka O'Hanrahan, Rosalind Loring, Mary Eastwood, Dorothy Haener, Pauli Murray, and Kay Clarenbach. The urgency and importance of forming such an organization was demonstrated through that impromptu meeting, through which NOW became a reality.

Soon after this hurried beginning, an organizing conference took place from October 29 to 30, in Washington, D.C. The initial list of officers elected during that first meeting were Kathryn (Kay) Clarenbach as chair of the board, Betty Friedan as president, Aileen Hernandez as executive vice president, Richard Graham as vice president, and Caroline Davis as secretary/treasurer. Since that initial meeting, a number of feminist activists have served as elected members of NOW.

NOW's Achievements

NOW has contributed to a full range of women's rights issues in addition to social justice issues both within the United States and abroad. Some of NOW's many central achievements include their 1972 endorsement of the first African American woman to run for president, Shirley Chisholm. NOW won money damages and jury trials for sex discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and in 2004, they organized 1.15 million marchers in Washington, D.C., for women's health and reproductive rights.

NOW's Critics and Shifting Landscape

Since its founding, NOW has also received criticism from a number of outside groups, both within and outside the feminist movement. Within the feminist movement in particular, NOW is often characterized as an organization interested in the liberal feminist tradition; that is, NOW has addressed practical change for the equality of women throughout the world without taking into account that "equality" continues to look very different for a middle-class white woman than it does for middle-class women of color, for example. Reflecting on these criticisms, recent NOW presidents, such as Patricia Ireland (1991–2001), have shifted the NOW political landscape, focusing on issues such as developing NOW's global feminist program and working closely with lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transsexual (LGBT) rights groups, welfare rights activists, and civil rights leaders. More recently, NOW initiatives and campaigns have included the Women-Friendly Workplace campaign, Campus Action Network, Young Feminist Task Force, Racial Diversity Program, Save the Courts Initiative, and Equal Marriage Campaign.

Danielle Antoinette Hidalgo

See also Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Gender Discrimination in Employment; Institution, Gender as; Misogyny; Privilege, Male; Transnational Development, Women and; Women's Social Movements, History of

Further Readings

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Web Sites

National Organization for Women: http://www.now.org

National Woman's Party

Today, the National Woman's Party (NWP) maintains the historic Sewall-Belmont House in Washington, D.C., as a research library, archive, and museum

dedicated to educating the public about the women's rights movement in the United States. Throughout most of the 20th century, however, the NWP was one of the most influential social movement organizations in the country.

Suffrage Movement

The NWP was founded in 1916 by two young suffragists, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. Before earning a PhD in economics at the University of Pennsylvania, Paul worked and studied in England, where she became friends with the militant women's rights advocate Emmeline Pankhurst. After college, she and Burns joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the principal women's rights organization. Paul quickly earned a leadership position in the NAWSA, leading the congressional committee, the NAWSA's lobbying arm. She became convinced that NAWSA's strategy to win the vote through a state-by-state approach was too cumbersome. Instead, she favored a federal suffrage amendment. Because of this tactical disagreement and Paul's promotion of boycotts and picketing, NAWSA's president Carrie Chapman Catt considered Paul too radical for the NAWSA. Paul left the organization and formed the National Woman's Party in 1913.

The NWP used a number of creative strategies to pressure elected officials to support women's suffrage, including withholding support from political candidates and parties as well as an unprecedented program of silently picketing the White House every day. When picketers were arrested for disrupting traffic, the women held a hunger strike and were force-fed. They used their brutal treatment to gain national media attention and ultimately increased public support for their cause. The NWP's program of civil disobedience served as a model for subsequent protests for social change by labor and civil rights activists.

Equal Rights Amendment

In 1920, women gained the vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Believing that suffrage was merely the first step toward women's equality, Paul refocused the NWP's efforts on a federal amendment to eliminate all gender discrimination. At a NWP conference in Seneca Falls, New York (home of the first women's rights convention in 1848), Paul introduced the first Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

A version of Paul's amendment has been introduced in Congress every year since, but it has not become law. A number of states, however, have passed their own ERAs.

Global Initiatives

The NWP's efforts were not limited to the United States. It was also involved with the incorporation of women's issues as part of the mission of the League of Nations and later the United Nations. NWP also was instrumental in the creation of the Inter-American Commission of Women, and in 1934, it established its own global organization, the World Women's Party.

Education

In 1997, the NWP ceased its lobbying activities and is now a not-for-profit educational organization. It owns and maintains the historic Seward-Belmont House (home to the organization since 1929). The organization's education outreach program includes house tours, online and museum exhibits, research library and archives, and a speaker's bureau. NWP's most recent project is a digital initiative that, when completed, will include over 10,000 items from their collection of publications, records, and images, which document the women's rights movement in the United States.

Linda Czuba Brigance

See also Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage Movement

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NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) is a multi-issue, multipartisan, multicultural, and inter-generational grassroots organization whose goal is to increase women's participation in the U.S. political arena and to create a women's political power base in order to achieve equality. NWPC recruits, trains, and supports pro-choice women candidates, financially and with technical assistance. The goal is to increase women's voice in politics and public policy making, thus improving women's status.

NWPC offers workshops for candidates and campaign managers on how to run successful political campaigns and collaborates with other women's political organizations to promote women candidates for political office—both elected and appointed offices. There are 45 state caucuses, with local chapters representing over 35,000 members who raise money, provide volunteer assistance, and provide the first mechanism for endorsing and supporting local and state women candidates, in addition to holding policy forums.

The organization was founded to achieve gender equality in July 1971 by over 300 women from all walks of life, from homemakers to elected officials, including Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-NY 19th District), *MS.* magazine founder Gloria Steinem, Shirley Chisholm (congresswoman NYC 12th District and presidential candidate in 1972), National Organization for Women's founder Betty Friedan, Virginia Allen (Republican former chair of President Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities), and civil rights activist Myrlie Evers-Williams. Abzug and Allen were the first chairs of the national policy council. This diverse group of women issued a statement of purposes that called for the opposition of sexism, racism, poverty, and institutional violence by increasing the participation of women in the election and political decision-making processes. The guidelines for candidate endorsement in 1971 supported three key policy issues: reproductive freedom, publicly funded child care, and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

NWPC's goal is to change the historic underrepresentation of women in policy decision making and to eliminate the discrimination that women candidates encounter. NWPC has helped pave the way for women candidates, increasing the number of women in political office at all levels, from 3 percent in 1971 to 16 percent in 2007. On April 30, 2007, NWPC endorsed Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY) for president in the 2008 elections.

NWPC continues to take stands on reproductive choice and other health-related and family issues. NWPC supports comprehensive sex education and access to abortions without delays such as mandatory waiting periods and the need for health insurance companies to provide essential coverage for contraceptive drugs and devices. The organization takes a stance against pharmacists who for religious reasons do not dispense emergency contraception. NWPC advocates the expansion of the Family Leave Act and for women's long-term care insurance. It also advocates for living wages so that working families may live above the poverty level.

NWPC believes that women's rights are human rights and takes a stance on governmental and cultural practices that negatively affect women around the globe, including access to reproductive health care, domestic abuse, and not having political representation. NWPC also awards EMMAS (Exceptional Merit in Media Awards) annually for outstanding stories on women's issues in magazines, newspapers, and television.

JoAnne Myers

See also Abortion; Abzug, Bella; Domestic Violence; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Family Medical Leave Act; Family Wage; National Organization for Women (NOW); Sex Education; Women's Health Movements

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NATURE/NURTURE DEBATE

Nature versus nurture is a colloquial phrase for the scientific debate over the degree of influence of biological and environmental factors on human behavior. With respect to gender, the debate centers on the relative importance of genetics, anatomy, and physiology (nature) as compared with physical environment, socialization, and social structure (nurture) in producing gender difference (or the appearance of gender difference). As with other areas of the larger debate, these questions as they relate to gender are often framed in absolutes (e.g., biology produces gender; environment produces gender), at least in popular discourse. Such polarization is implicit in the phrase.

Most researchers in the behavioral sciences resist this polarization and argue that neither nature nor nurture is solely responsible for gendered phenomena. Still, certain theoretical perspectives typically favor one "side" of the debate as the starting point for investigations. Biological determinists in all disciplines, along with evolutionary psychologists and sociobiologists, begin with nature. Many sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists begin with nurture, but their sense of nurture varies. Some scholars, following traditions like psychoanalysis, developmental psychology, and sex role theory, limit the scope of what they consider environmental influence (nurture) to observable agents of socialization, such as parents, television, and peers. Others, including constructionists, many feminists, and critical and interpretive sociologists, take a broader or more postmodern view that defines nurture to include large-scale social structures, language, and definitional practices, or both. Thus, when examining the nature-versus-nurture debate with respect to gender, it can be useful to distinguish three perspectives: *nature, narrow nurture* (socialization), and *broad nurture* (social structure and language). The controversies that arise from these varying commitments to biological and social explanations are notable throughout the field of gender studies, as exemplified in the debates regarding gender identity, gendered behavior and temperament, and gender roles.

In discussions of gender identity, the nature/nurture debate is shaped by three interrelated questions: How is gender identity acquired, when is it acquired, and how malleable is it? For *nature* advocates, gender identity is not malleable because it is determined in utero by genes and hormones. As such, it is linked inextricably to biological sex. The assumption is that a person's gender identity (and subsequent masculine or feminine behavior) will match their genetic sex (XY for males, XX for females). Indications of a "mismatch" are interpreted as pathology. The relevance of gender socialization is minimal because a person's "true" gender identity will resist any alternative socialization. At the same time, gender socialization consistent with genetic sex is necessary to successfully complete a biologically mandated developmental process. In short, socialization is a means to an end but cannot alter one's biological destiny.

Clinical psychologists and reproductive biologists assert the innateness of gender identity by pointing to cases in which genetic abnormalities or accidents at an early age disrupt the presumed natural agreement between genetic sex, genital sex, and behavior. They note, for instance, studies of XY males with a genetic deficiency of dihydrotestosterone (DHT). These infants have external genitals that most closely resemble a female's (e.g., a clitoris-sized penis or a scrotal structure that resembles a labia), and they are raised from infancy as females. The rise of testosterone levels at puberty that is associated with most males, however, causes the penis to enlarge and testes to descend. According to these scholars, most of these individuals then successfully adopt a male gender identity and behaviors and roles defined as masculine. Thus, physiological development overcomes both the genetic defect and "contradictory" socialization and orchestrates a match between genital sex (XY male) and gender identity.

The argument for nature is also made, they contend, by what they interpret as failed efforts at sex reassignment through deliberate socialization. The case of John/Joan is emblematic. John, one of two identical twins, lost his penis in a botched circumcision at the age of 7 months. With the parents' consent, the child's genitals were surgically reconstructed to look female, and the child was raised as a girl. Doctors counseled the parents on socialization techniques, and the development of Joan's gender identity was a central topic of yearly follow-up appointments. Evidence suggests that Joan resisted the female gender identity offered her through childhood and early adolescence, however. At age 14, she learned the circumstances of her birth and infancy, and with the help of a new team of physicians and psychologists, she began living as a man. John maintained the identity of

a heterosexual male, apparently with relative contentment, until committing suicide at age 38, reportedly in response to financial trouble, the breakup of his marriage, and the recent death of his twin brother.

In the John/Joan case, nature advocates find unqualified corroboration of their assertion that gender identity is innate and largely immune to manipulation by social forces. John's biological sex at birth was (presumably) beyond question; he chaffed at concerted, consistent efforts to make him into a girl; and his life regained some semblance of normalcy when he assumed a gender identity consistent with his sex. In this sense, they argue, the case sheds light on the turmoil experienced by *intersexuals* (individuals who are born with biological characteristics of both sexes) who undergo sex reassignment surgery. Such treatment, they say, is doomed to fail because the conditions subsumed under the term *intersexuality* are congenital ones requiring genetic or hormonal therapy. Trying to treat the problems by nurturing masculine or feminine behaviors can, at best, mask the problems only temporarily and, at worst, add to the individual's psychosocial distress. While "John" ultimately rejected his feminine socialization and returned to his "natural" gender identity, intersexuals have no natural, unambiguous sex to which to return, unless their faulty biology can be addressed.

Scholars who take a *narrow nurture* perspective share the nature presumption that gender identity acquisition is a developmental process that has two possible satisfactory outcomes: masculinity for males and femininity for females. They assert, however, that gender is not fully given by biology, is malleable during a child's formative years, and can therefore be shaped by socialization in fundamental ways. Experts in this camp disagree as to how long after birth this "window" of malleability lasts, but their estimates range from 1 to 5 years. During this window, they argue, the social environment impacts children's gender identity formation in various ways, depending on their particular theoretical orientation. Freudian identification theory associates gender identity development with parental influences on the child's emerging sexuality. Social learning theory and social cognitive theory emphasize the patterns of rewards and punishments children receive in relation to gendered behavior. Cognitive development theory argues that children's early recognition of themselves as boys or girls prompts them to seek out and desire that which is deemed gender appropriate for them, and gender schema theory argues that the salience of gender as a

cognitive filter for children is shaped by the degree of emphasis dichotomous gender differences are given by those around them.

The argument, then, between nurture scholars and nature advocates is not over the nature of gender or gender identity, but the degree of human influence over its successful acquisition. For nurture proponents, the apparent failure of deliberate efforts at sex reassignment does not point to the innateness of gender, but to the possibility that the program of gender socialization was flawed or incomplete.

Advocates of a *broad nurture* perspective, on the other hand, reject altogether the idea that there is a "proper" result to gender identity development because, for them, gender itself is a socially and historically variable cultural production. From this perspective, the dichotomy "masculinity/femininity" is only one of many approaches to defining gender. Transhistorical and cross-cultural comparisons of societies, they argue, support their position. For instance, *hijras* in India are men who have as result of spiritual commitment chosen to undergo ritual castration, without the subsequent construction of a vagina. Thus, although they dress and act like women, they take on a social and institutionalized role within Indian society as neither man nor woman, but a third gender.

Beyond the initial acquisition of gender identity, researchers debate the relative contributions of biology and social environment in producing perceived gender differences in behavior. The generalization that men are more aggressive while women are more moody or irritable has perhaps received the most attention. Nature proponents argue that the contention that males are naturally more aggressive than females is supported by three sources: (1) the fact that men have, on average, testosterone levels that are 10 times higher than women's; (2) animal research showing that raising or lowering testosterone levels raises and lowers aggression levels; and (3) some studies of girls who are exposed to higher than normal levels of male hormones in utero (a condition known as *congenital adrenal hyperplasia,* or CAH), which seem to indicate that they are more aggressive than other girls.

Those who side with nurture narrowly defined, argue that studies of CAH girls have come to contradictory conclusions and that the gender behavior seen in the girls was likely shaped by parents' knowledge that their children were different than other girls physiologically. While there is no question that males' average levels of testosterone are higher than women's, nurture advocates point out that there is a

great deal of variability in testosterone levels among men and women and that some women have higher levels than some men. In addition, individual testosterone levels vary throughout the day and in response to the environment. They contend that testosterone levels and aggression are correlated not because the former causes the latter, but because aggression prompts testosterone production, which then exaggerates the existing aggression. This dynamic exists for both men and women, and they point to research indicating that among both humans and animals, one's position in a social hierarchy is more predictive of testosterone levels than the reverse.

When the focus turns to women, fundamental, hormonally driven differences in temperament are asserted most strongly by biological determinists through reference to the premenstrual syndrome (PMS). A predictable drop in estrogen hormones, particularly estrodial, in the days immediately prior to menstruation has been linked to increased tension, irritability, and depression, to the extent that the condition is identified in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders* as "premenstrual dysphoric disorder."

Critics, often arguing from the side of (narrow) nurture, offer a number of counterclaims to the notion that this syndrome proves that gender differences in temperament are mandated by hormones. First, studies supporting the claim depend on daily mood records kept by subjects. These data can be unreliable, particularly because women's reporting can be influenced by the syndrome itself, which may predispose them to expect the worst just prior to menstruation. Second, studies that account for contextual factors indicate that social and environmental factors are more powerful influences on women's moods than are menstrual cycle phases. Third, in studies involving mood charting by men and women, women's daily mood fluctuations were no greater than men's. And, finally, men's balance of hormones shows greater fluctuation on a day-to-day basis then women's, and men are most similar to women hormonally when women are premenstrual.

Gender differences in cognition are also part of the nature/nurture debate about behavioral differences. Some studies indicate that males are more adept than females at mathematical reasoning and spatial perception whereas females are superior in language and verbal skills. The narrow nurture side of the argument interprets these findings as evidence of differential socialization. From an early age, boys are given toys, such as models and erector sets, that encourage the development of spatial ability, while girls' toys, such as dolls and tea sets, develop interpersonal, emotional, and verbal capacities. Significant others' gender-type activities (e.g., building things) and occupations (e.g., engineer) may foster mathematical and spatial abilities as masculine pursuits and interests like reading, teaching, and caring for others as more feminine. These influences encourage boys and girls to develop their natural abilities in different proportions. Then, at school age, the sense that boys and girls are good at different things is further "naturalized" by stereotypes in textbooks, classroom dynamics, and the dominance of males among math teachers and females among English teachers. Thus, from the narrow nurture perspective, gender differences in mathematical, spatial, and verbal abilities are the result of a self-fulfilling prophecy generated through socialization. Nurture advocates argue that their perspective is bolstered by a cross-cultural analysis showing that in cultures that stereotype reading as masculine rather than feminine, males meet or exceed the performance of females on reading and vocabulary tests.

The nature standpoint on this topic hinges on *brain lateralization,* or the degree to which brain functions are concentrated on one side of the brain rather than distributed across it. Men's brains, it is argued, are more lateralized than women's, contributing to gender variations in abilities and proclivities. Although clinical evidence linking lateralization to differences in males' and females' cognitive abilities remains elusive, proponents of this explanation argue that brain structure affects cognition far too early in a child's development for socialization to play a significant role.

On all these issues regarding behavior and temperament, proponents of the broad nurture perspective emphasize the political and social processes that emphasize and give meaning to (perceived) differences between men and women. They argue, for instance, that a steady stream of social, psychological, medical, and popular writings that assumes gender is a decisive variable creates a climate in which difference is always heralded while gender sameness is ignored. Thus, theories of fundamental hormonal difference are transformed into fact because evidence to the contrary falls into a cultural blind spot. This production of difference can, they say, serve political purposes. Thus, for these scholars, the debate about gender differences in cognition is inseparable from the power structures of a society. The historical fact of male dominance in many societies has meant that women have been systematically excluded from the

most prestigious and lucrative endeavors. In contemporary society, mathematically demanding fields like engineering and computer science are chief among these. In this social context, these scholars argue it is reasonable to ask whether investigations of gender difference in cognition represent efforts to legitimate gender inequity rather than the apolitical operation of value-free science.

Another key aspect of gender that is contested in the nature/nurture debate is the origin and persistence of gender roles—the differing social expectations of males and females. In this realm, the controversy is well exemplified by differing perspectives on women's and men's relationships to work and home. Both nature and narrow nurture advocates begin with the presumption that men work and women tend to the home, an arrangement known as "separate spheres."

Narrow nurture proponents explain separate spheres as a by-product of males and females pursuing interests appropriate to their learned identities. Boys learn that to be a man means to "take on the world" and provide for the family, while girls learn that femininity is closely linked to nurturing and homemaking. A division of labor is functional for both society and individual families, and thus it is expected and appropriate that labor should be divided along lines that capitalize best on each of the unique strengths of each sex.

From the nature perspective, in contrast, the existence of separate spheres results from an evolutionary, biological imperative. The argument is that the separation of spheres dates back to the time of hunter-gatherer societies, when men hunted and women stayed home. Sociobiologists argue that women were best kept out of the hunting groups because hunting required group solidarity, which would have been threatened by women's volatility during menstruation and the competition their presence might have incited among male hunters. Plus, they insist that women have a maternal instinct, an innate quality that makes them better suited to be nurturers than hunters. Consequently, the existence of gendered spheres of influence in the modern world is merely a continued result of social arrangements following naturally from inborn gender differences.

The broad nurture perspective departs radically from these two perspectives by rejecting the basic assumption that a separate-spheres arrangement is a persistent, "natural" feature of social life. Advocates of this position insist that the existence of distinct male and female social realms is a social construction that is bound to particular social arrangements and

historical times and that its reification as a social standard reflects racial and class biases. In support of their position, advocates point to the fact that in some contemporary societies, women make up more than 50 percent of the paid labor force, which means that women who remain in the home are the minority. They also point to the experience of marginalized groups, like African Americans. Scholars argue that historically, most African American families have not adhered to the strict division of labor and family authority common in white middle-class homes but that these social structures have been treated as deviant by the white middle-class majority.

Mark Cohan

See also Biological Determinism; Gender and the Brain; Gender Identities and Socialization

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New Reproductive Technologies

New reproductive technologies (NRT) is an umbrella term for myriad medical and scientific interventions in human reproduction, including but not limited to birth control; medical and surgical abortion; fetal testing and monitoring; assisted reproductive technologies, including in vitro fertilization; and human cloning. The rapid development of NRT in the 20th century resulted in a cultural lag: The science has outpaced the moral and legal response. For sociologists of sex and gender, NRT raises important questions about the

construction of the mother, the family, and the power relationships in society that shape access and the development of some technologies rather than others.

Impact of NRT

NRT profoundly affect cultural ideas about femininity, maternity, and family. For many women, access to relatively cheap and safe birth control greatly influences the course of their lives. Technologies have enormously enhanced the ability to plan and control reproductive lives. Conversely, the control of reproductive technologies by governments, corporate interests, medical professionals, or other stakeholders can prevent women from having reproductive self-determination. Assisted reproductive technologies are typically more expensive and invasive. For some women, access to NRT allows them to become biological mothers later in their lives or in nontraditional circumstances, or when they otherwise physically could not. Again, as scholars point out, this provides some freedom and creates some pressure for women to continue to think of themselves as potential mothers throughout their 40s. Girls and women experience varying degrees of control over their reproductive capacity depending on their circumstances. Race, class, age and religion also significantly shape women's relationships to NRT.

The development of new technologies both shape and are shaped by social interests in reproduction. Although NRT expands choices, choice always occurs in a cultural context. Some scholars argue that we must question the ways that new technologies shape our beliefs about what we are entitled to choose and what we should want or should choose. Social norms about if and when to become pregnant; about what happens during pregnancy and childbirth; about family size; about childlessness; about adoption; about abortion; about when to stop having children; about sex selection; and about what constitutes a healthy pregnancy, fetus, and baby all shape and are shaped by reproductive technologies.

Reproduction remains a gendered phenomenon in the 21st century. NRT heavily target women and emphasize women's reproductive capacity. However, NRT also challenge traditional ideas about the gendered specificity of reproduction. Using NRT, gay men can become parents using donated embryos, and lesbians can conceive using sperm donors. Single parents by choice can similarly use NRT to conceive. NRT can also be used by parents to sex select a fetus, emphasizing the importance of sex early in family planning and potentially creating skewed demographics for generations in the future.

Birth Control and Abortion

Linda Gordon argues that women have attempted to control their reproduction through contraception since ancient times. Political and cultural norms about contraceptive use, abortion, and infanticide vary historically and geographically but women have always sought some self-determination about pregnancy and family size. However, changes in medical knowledge about conception and pregnancy inform both women's knowledge about their own reproduction and the political and social policies surrounding reproductive rights. In the United States, Anthony Comstock introduced the "Comstock Laws" in 1873, which equated contraceptive information with obscenity. This law was not officially struck down until the Supreme Court decided it was unconstitutional in the 1965 *Griswold v. Connecticut* decision.

Technologically, the most important discovery in modern times, with regard to reproductive control, was the invention of the birth control pill. Although condoms were invented in ancient times and mass-produced in the United States in the 19th century, female-controlled birth control tended toward douches and sprays that were not effective. Margaret Sanger and Katherine McCormick, birth control activists in the early 20th century, dreamed of and funded research for a birth control pill that women could take on their own. In the 1950s, George Pincus developed a hormonally based birth control pill, and in 1960, the Searle drug company received U.S. Food and Drug Administration approval for Enovid, the first birth control pill. "The Pill" was distributed in the United States at the same time the cultural sexual revolution flourished and sexual mores were changing.

In the 1980s, the emergence of HIV and new information about sexually transmitted diseases emphasized the importance of condoms for public health. Control over the distribution of birth control remains severely publicly contested, with current debates raging over access to birth control in public schools, in public health centers, and as part of global population funding. New technology includes the development of Depo Provera in 1992, a hormone shot that can be taken quarterly; the development of emergency contraception, or "the morning-after pill," which pharmacists can distribute; and the ongoing refinement of the birth control pill.

Control of reproduction is a personal decision, but it is also a political one. Government shapes access to information and resources. In the United States, for example, the administration of President George W. Bush (2000–2008) ties federal funding of sexuality education to an "abstinence-only" curriculum that does not include information about reproductive technologies. Access to birth control also depends on economic resources. As of 2007, 26 states guarantee that health plans must provide equitable coverage for birth control, but the remaining 24 leave coverage up to the insurer. Furthermore, more than half of women workers are not covered by state-regulated health plans or lack any coverage. The United States is currently debating a law that allows pharmacists to refuse to fill emergency contraception prescriptions because they have a moral or religious objection to the medicine. Finally, globally, most poor women lack access to self-determined birth control. The U.S. "Global Gag Rule" refuses to give family planning funds to any country or NGO that provides information about abortion services. Access to abortion services remains politically determined in Western countries as well. In the United States, Medicaid does not cover abortions.

Infertility

Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) refers to the quickly developing technologies that assist families in childbearing. Infertility stems from a variety of sources. Illness or treatment for illness can cause infertility in both men and women. Reproductive disorders, such as low sperm count in men or endometriosis in women, can cause infertility that has a medical explanation. Aging also causes female infertility, as egg production lessens with age. Furthermore, gay men and lesbians may experience a type of "cultural infertility." Although adults have experienced infertility throughout history, the development of medical interventions is extremely new and has created a range of ethical, political, medical and economic questions.

In the 1920s and 1930s, scientists used increasing knowledge about human reproduction and the role of hormones to develop simple hormonal therapy for infertility. This knowledge paved the way for current hormone treatments, such as Clomid and Pergonal, that stimulate ovulation.

In 1978, the first *in vitro fertilization* (IVF) resulting in a live birth occurred. This technological advance depends on doctors being able to remove a woman's eggs while they are able to be fertilized, fertilize them outside of the woman's body, and then implant the fertilized egg (zygote), while providing the woman with a "hormone cocktail" that allows the zygote to develop instead of being miscarried. The development of this technology spurred political and religious debate. The United States banned federal funding for fetal research in 1974, and research on IVF remained private and controversial. Nevertheless, as the market for IVF grew, the supply did as well, with university medical centers and private practices proliferating infertility centers throughout the 1980s and 1990s. According to Debora Spar, the number of in vitro procedures performed in the United States and the number of fertility clinics rose dramatically during the 1990s.

The U.S. government groups all infertility treatments that involve both the sperm and egg into the classification of ART. Since 1992, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) has collected statistics and published annual reports on the status of ART. In 2003, the most current data available, the CDC documented 122,872 ART cycles; 35,785 live-birth deliveries; and 48,756 live babies born. The technology has dramatically increased the chance of a live birth: From 1996 through 2003, live-birth rates increased 24 percent for fresh-nondonor cycles; 62 percent for frozen-nondonor cycles; 31 percent for fresh-donor cycles; and 45 percent for frozen-donor cycles. Also, age makes a difference: The increases in live-birth rates from 1996 through 2003 were 29 percent for women younger than 35, 26 percent for women 35 to 37, 21 percent for women 38 to 40, 31 percent for women 41 to 42, and 9 percent for women older than 42.

Commodification of Egg Donors and Surrogates

The role of egg donors in ART raises an important set of ethical questions. Assisted reproduction introduces the possibility of third parties into the reproductive process in several possible ways. Men may donate or sell sperm, women may donate or sell eggs, and women may donate or sell their uterus and/or ability to carry a pregnancy to term. A surrogate who carries an implanted embryo to term is called a *gestational surrogate.*

The line between donor and seller is a thin one. Egg donors typically receive higher fees than sperm donors because the procedure is more complicated, invasive, and painful. There are no formal statistics on the

amount women earn for eggs, but estimates range from an average of $5,000 to $15,000, with much higher prices possible. IVF typically costs another $12,000 to $20,000 per cycle. As of 2007, 13 states require health insurance companies to cover some portion of infertility treatment. The high cost of ART raises ethical and public policy concerns. Fertility treatment is a profitable business, and some charge clinics with selling hope at a high cost relative to the chance of success. Stratification in fertility occurs when only wealthy families can obtain ART treatments. Recently, ART has become a global business, with developing nations selling ART treatments for substantially less money than their Western counterparts.

ART allows reproduction to occur outside of traditional nuclear families. Lesbians may use sperm donors to facilitate reproduction. Gay men may use surrogates to help them become fathers. Women may also become single mothers by choice, through access to sperm. Access to reproduction outside of the normative heterosexual family challenges cultural norms and political policy but also simply expands our public imagination about who constitutes family.

Mortality and Morality

The posthumous collection of sperm can allow family members (typically a spouse, but recently parents) to collect the sperm from a deceased male and artificially inseminate it into a woman or through IVF to create a baby. Critics argue that such a practice violates basic consent laws, since a deceased person cannot consent to reproduction. Advocates argue that it allows a loved one to fulfill a wish or promise made to create a family. Debates about how to interpret the *rule against perpetuities* when considering frozen sperm or embryos as part of an estate have the legal and ethical community divided. More simply, new ART extend women's childbearing years into their 40s and sometimes 50s or 60s. In 2006, a 67-year-old woman used IVF to assist her conception. When her twins were born, the public responded with both astonishment and concern. Ideas about life course, family responsibilities for care of infants and elders, and long-standing conventions about gender and age are challenged by technologies that significantly change the window for reproduction for women. On the other hand, as author Sylvia Ann Hewlett pointed out in her controversial 2002 book, *Creating a Life: Professional Women and the Quest for Children,* most

women encounter infertility in their early 40s or before, and publicity about unique assisted births has shaped the public imagination and created a cultural myth about the endless possibility for delaying reproduction. Hewlett argues for a public policy that encourages women to reproduce in their most fertile years; critics charge that early reproduction undermines women's economic security and ability to compete in the workplace.

The expansion of ART has resulted in cultural debates about women's life course and the role of motherhood in women's identity. These debates inform the context within which individual women make individual choices about their reproductive lives. The experience of using IVF or other ART can be complicated and painful. Recently, several books have been published that place women as subject rather than simply object of fertility treatments. Among them are *Making Babies,* a collection of personal narratives edited by Teresa Miller, and *Waiting for Daisy,* a personal and political reflection on ART. These books help to demystify the use of ART and allow us to consider the meanings that ART recipients make about the technology.

Conclusion

NRT will continue to expand throughout the 21st century. Reproduction remains a mysterious process. Some argue that social controls are needed to shape the reproductive course of society, though individuals both conform and rebel against social norms. Wide-scale control of women's reproductive capacities have been the subject for many science fiction dystopias, most notably Margaret Atwood's *A Handmaid's Tale.* The intimate tie between constructions of femininity and constructions of motherhood make NRT an important site for investigating the meaning that is made about babies, bodies, and biology.

Kimberly Simmons

See also Abortion; Contraception; Family, Organization of; Fertility Rates; Freedom of Access to Abortion Clinic Entrances Act; Infertility; Morning-After Pill; Motherhood; Pregnancy; Sperm Donors

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NGOs and First- and Second-Generation Rights for Women

A number of United Nations conventions and declarations have been convened and issued to hold states accountable for advancing women's rights. Over 30,000 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) aid the United Nations in implementing its three generations of rights—civil, social, and development—and monitoring states' compliance with international women's human rights agreements.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

NGOs have been a vehicle for promoting a new-world-order culture of human rights and democracy and addressing issues that go beyond national boundaries. Decentralization and privatization have furthered the gap between the shrinking of state's services and the expanding definitions of collective interests. Hence, local organizations have become the third sector (besides public and private) to provide services to the public body without necessarily representing the public interest.

The sociohistorical context of rights is changing, as is the definition of who deserves service and what rights to guarantee. However, women's human rights organizations, which operate under complex social, economic, and cultural restrictions in many countries, have used international conventions and definitions of human rights as a framework upon which to base their public awareness campaigns.

The United Nations has been the conduit for advancing women's rights and empowering their organizations. From the beginning, the UN Charter of 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 considered men and women equal in rights. Along with the declaration, two subsequent conventions constitute the international bill of rights: the *civil pact* and the *social pact,* both passed in 1966 and enforced in 1976. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantees the following first-generation rights: protection of the individual sphere (e.g., freedom, life, protection from slavery, free expression) and rights to political determination and procedures based on the rule of law. The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights addresses the following second-generation rights: rights to food, education, and health; a decent standard of living; and social security.

Since the United Nations conference in Mexico City in 1975, 6,000 advocacy organizations partnered up with the United Nations to initiate the UN Decade for Women. Twenty years later, in 1995, 30,000 organizations joined the UN Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing to set the global agenda on mainstreaming gender analysis into gender-neutral areas and making women's rights a global priority. To enhance the efficacy of the UN agreements, international expert committees formed to review states' progress reports on implementing these agreements and to recommend relevant legislative and political measures. These committees have relied on NGOs to provide important information and to report on their states' implementation of the conventions. Likewise, NGOs have used these committees to gain international support for their campaigns and to enhance public awareness about states' obligations under international law.

Generations of Women's Human Rights

The three generations of rights were inspired by the three principles of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, and fraternity—and differ in their degrees of importance and commitment. *First-generation rights,*

or political and civil rights, have their origins in the protection of individual rights from the state's tyranny. Therefore, they are directly guaranteed and enforced by the state.

Many human rights groups consider including women in the existing first-generation human rights as a useful starting point for women's rights. Considering women's specific needs as first-generation rights draws attention to gender-based abuses and discriminations and raises the visibility of women's human rights violations. However, this is not enough by itself, because when first-generation human rights are limited, *second-generation rights* are also affected. In fact, World Bank experts posit that first-generation human rights have not advanced significantly worldwide and that this may have caused poor outcomes and performance of second-generation human rights in many countries. This is partly due to ineffective development aid projects as well as corruption and governance problems.

Early demands for the second-generation human rights were made by the workers' movement in the 19th century. But it was not until after World War I that states recognized the need to create an adequate standard of living for their citizens and to guarantee them access to education, food, shelter, health care, economic life, and protection from exploitation. These social, economic, and cultural rights have long been favored by socialists and labor activists, who consider political human rights meaningless without economic rights.

Recently, development scholars and practitioners have formulated a different approach to these rights. They have called for an understanding of socioeconomic development as a human rights issue and have identified women's oppression as primarily economic. This approach highlights the feminization of poverty and the increasing impoverishment of women, claiming that females now make up a higher percentage of the poor. Its advocates consider ending women's economic subordination as the key to other issues, including women's vulnerability to abuse and exploitation. Under international law, states have the obligation to respect, protect, and ensure suitable opportunities and access to resources for all citizens. However, some argue that these are not enforceable rights, but instructions for political action.

Unlike first- and second-generation rights, third-generation rights are not anchored in conventions, but in international declarations. These soft laws are not viewed as being legally binding under international law, but are considered as policy recommendations. Going beyond the mere civil and social, these collective rights include the right to self-determination, right to economic and social development, right to a healthy environment, right to natural resources, right to communicate, right to participation in cultural heritage, and right to intergenerational equity and sustainability.

Rita Stephan

See also Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Poverty, Feminization of; Transnational Development, Women and; United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; United Nations Decade for Women; United Nations Development Fund for Women

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NGOs and Grassroots Organizing

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are often deeply entwined with *grassroots organizing,* that is, local, community-based social movements. NGOs generally have one or more of three primary relationships with grassroots organizing. First, some NGOs are the outcome of grassroots movements. Second, NGOs may serve as sponsors or facilitators of grassroots organizing. Finally, NGOs can be the targets of grassroots mobilization.

What Are NGOs?

Nongovernmental organization is a broad term used to identify not-for-profit organizations that are independent of the state. NGOs operate at many levels, including local, national, and international arenas. Sometimes, NGOs limited to one nation are differentiated from international nongovernmental organizations

(INGOs) that cross national boundaries, but the term NGO can refer to either national or international organizations. The term came into use when, at its founding, the United Nations sought to incorporate organizations that are not member states or government institutions by granting them consultative status. Many international NGOs, as well as some that operate on the national or local scale, remain involved with the United Nations, especially as participants in United Nations world conferences and other events.

The field of NGOs is extremely broad and diverse, including formal organizations, volunteer societies, transnational advocacy networks, mutual aid organizations, and many other types of organizations. Perhaps the best-known NGOs in the world include the International Red Cross and International Red Crescent. In 2006, another high-profile NGO, the Grameen Bank, and its founder, Muhammad Yunus, shared the Nobel Peace Prize for developing microcredit as an innovative solution to poverty in Bangladesh. In fact, NGOs are most widely associated with international development and humanitarian aid, and much of the extant literature on NGOs is grounded in development studies.

Despite the suggestion in the term *nongovernmental* that NGOs are independent from the state, many organizations work closely with states and state agencies and may receive funding through governments. Receipt of state funds can undermine the autonomy of NGOs, whose leaders may feel obligated to meet implicit or explicit goals or expectations set by state actors. More recently, some critics have observed a growing corporate influence over NGOs, which also can create conflicts of interest and undermine the ability of NGOs to represent the interests of common people. Still, in general, NGOs are controlled by individuals or groups that are not directly involved with the state, and they generate a significant portion of funds from private sources.

NGOs generally focus on a specific social issue or set of social issues that advance the goals of their members or funders. Common focal points for NGOs include environmental protection and preservation; health; economic and/or political development; education; independent media; poverty; human rights; and the rights of women, children, and nondominant groups. A common theme across NGOs, particularly outside of industrialized countries, is democratization and development.

NGOs have also been central actors in integrating gender and women's issues into local, national, and international politics and policy. Around the globe, NGOs have often been at the forefront of feminist activism. While not all NGO endeavors are empancipatory or empowering for women, feminist NGOs generally strive to increase women's status. Some of the issues addressed by feminist NGOs include violence against women, such as rape, domestic violence, and honor killings; women's poverty; unemployment and underemployment among women; women's access to education; and women's political participation.

NGOs Facilitate Grassroots Organizing

Many NGOs foster and facilitate grassroots organizing. Even when not explicitly political, NGOs usually encourage community involvement and urge citizens to engage with social, political, and/or economic problems. Especially in democratizing societies, NGOs often view themselves as critical for the creation and maintenance of an active, healthy civil society. NGOs also tend to emphasize the empowerment of historically marginalized groups, such as women and ethnic minorities. NGOs thus place a high value on integrating the voices, experiences, and efforts of everyday citizens in their work.

The degree of public involvement varies across NGOs. NGOs that originate out of grassroots organizing generally seek to include community members in their work. Most broadly, grassroots organizing may be understood as political organizing by nonelite social actors to effect social change. In certain cases, the boundary between NGOs and grassroots organizing disappears. For example, many women's organizations combating violence against women first develop when a small group of women identify a shared concern about violence against women and starts agitating for change. Ultimately, the group might become more formalized and professionalized, offering services to survivors of violence while also providing education in the hopes of increasing awareness about such violence. In addition to direct service activities, the organization may also organize women in the community to continue to lobby for increased funding for women's centers or clinics, stricter punishments for perpetrators of violence, safety provisions and improved policing, or greater public awareness about violence against women. Such an organization might also participate in networks or coalitions of other groups focused on similar issues

either locally or at a broader scale, such as through international coalitions. Through this range of activities, the organization functions both as an NGO and as part of a grassroots movement to combat violence against women. Thus, distinguishing boundary between NGOs and grassroots activism is sometimes extremely difficult, and the two terms are often used somewhat interchangeably.

NGOs as Targets of Grassroots Mobilization

Periodically, NGOs become targets for grassroots activity. This may occur when an NGO refuses to address an issue that community members believe falls within its purview or when an NGO fails to act on a problem of clear importance to its members. Often, grassroots organizing to change an NGO or its platform develops within an organization. For example, many Western feminist NGOs have been targeted for inclusion by lesbian and bisexual women, poor women, and women of color who had previously been excluded or marginalized within these organizations. More recently, women in industrializing societies have challenged men's dominance within development-oriented NGOs and have organized intraorganizational women's groups or caucuses to agitate for greater recognition of women's contributions or issues. The survival of an NGO may even depend on adaptation in response to pressures from members and constituents. NGOs and grassroots movements thus intersect, overlap, and exert influence over one another in many different ways.

Katja M. Guenther

See also Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era; NGOs and First- and Second-Generation Rights for Women; Poor Women's Grassroots Organizations in America

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Nightingale, Florence (1820–1910)

Florence Nightingale founded the modern occupation of nursing. Her efforts led to improved care in hospitals and elevated nursing to a respectable vocation. Nightingale, known as "the Lady With the Lamp," won British national recognition for her service during the Crimean War, in which she became an expert on childbirth, mortality rates, and hospital administration.

Nightingale was born in the city of Florence, Italy, after which she was named, on May 12, 1820. She grew up in a wealthy English family during the Victorian era, surrounded by privilege. Nightingale received a superior classical education and studied French, German, Latin, and Greek. As a young woman of means, she took the grand tour of Europe, visiting hospitals and nursing institutions, as well as more traditional locations. Nightingale was lively and attractive, and it was assumed that she would "marry well"—but she had other ideas. She felt that God had called her to care for the sick, and she prevailed upon her parents to permit her to take training in nursing at a German convent. During this time, respectable nursing existed only in religious orders; most nursing care was delivered by untrained women of the lower class, often of "ill repute."

In 1854, Britain, France, and Turkey were at war with Russia. By all accounts, hospital conditions in the Crimean battlefields were appalling, with filthy conditions, unsanitary latrines, and wounded soldiers lying naked in their own excrement. Soldiers died of infectious diseases, such as dysentery, cholera, and typhoid, contracted at hospitals as readily as from combat wounds. Nightingale and a party of 38 female nurses were commissioned in the Crimean War to provide nursing services for the British Army. Initially, they were met with resistance from the army staff, but their successful efforts in treating the wounded earned respect and acceptance. Believing that infections arose spontaneously from dirty and poorly ventilated places, Nightingale's sanitation and nursing care efforts improved survival rates.

Nightingale received acclaim in the Crimean, and in 1860, she established the Nightingale Training School for nurses at St Thomas' Hospital. Her treatise *Notes on Nursing: What It Is and Is Not,* established the basic foundations of nursing practice. Inherent in its design was subordination to medicine. Nurses

provided caring, nurturing, and tending to the body needs, similar to a middle-class Victorian mother in deference to the male physician's authority. Nightingale's writings demonstrate that she felt nursing was by its very definition "women's work." Although she was a member of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, she never considered the vote to be a top priority.

Nightingale spent much of her adult life in seclusion, confined to a sickroom from which she managed to command influence. She wrote numerous articles and pamphlets, including *Introductory Notes on Lying in Instructions,* a study of mortality in childbirth. Shortly before she died at age 90, Nightingale received the Order of Merit, the first woman to do so.

Linda A. Treiber

See also Midwifery; Traditional Healing; Women's Health Movements

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NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted women's suffrage in 1920 by stipulating that the right to vote could not be denied on the basis of sex. The passage of the amendment was a result of 72 years of organizing, lobbying, and protesting on the part of the woman's suffrage movement, which originally enumerated its demand at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. As suffragists watched the Fourteenth (1868) and Fifteenth Amendments (1870) pass, which augmented the rights of African Americans, they remained disenfranchised. Leading suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony called for a Sixteenth Amendment that would grant women the vote, but it stalled in Congress.

A new draft amendment was introduced into Congress in 1878, eventually known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The amendment, which took 42 years to pass, was reintroduced in each session of Congress but was rarely brought to a vote in either the House or the Senate. Unsuccessful votes in 1887 and 1914 reflected the necessary work still to be done by suffragists.

President Woodrow Wilson's 1918 decision to come out in favor of women's suffrage signaled a shift among politicians, and his influence spurred several undecided legislators to vote in favor of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment in the House vote of January 10, 1918. The House of Representatives passed the amendment with the necessary two-thirds margin in 1918, with 274 votes in favor and 136 votes against, although it failed in the Senate twice more. The Senate finally passed the amendment on June 4, 1919, with 56 votes in favor and 25 votes against.

To be added to the Constitution, the proposed Nineteenth Amendment was required to be ratified by three fourths of the states in the Union. With only one more state needed, Tennessee's August 18, 1920, legislative session became the final showdown for women's suffrage. A tied vote, which would have prevented ratification, was broken at the last minute by young Senator Harry Burn, who switched his position at the urging of his mother. Despite some legal delays, Tennessee finally became the 36th state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, and it was formally added to the Constitution on August 26, 1920.

The Nineteenth Amendment further realized the ideology of American democracy by ensuring the right of all citizens to vote. Additional changes to national voting laws would not be made until the 1960s, when African Americans were finally fully enfranchised throughout the country. The Nineteenth Amendment and the suffrage movement that brought about its passage allowed women to participate in the political process and furthered their quest for equality.

Sarah B. Rowley

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan B.; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Association of Colored Women; National Woman's Party; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage Movement

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North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA)

The North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMLBA) was founded in New York on December 2, 1978, on the principle of supporting "the rights of all people to engage in consensual relations," which in practice equates to the elimination of age-of-consent laws for sexual activity. The group formed at a time when concern was rising over child pornography and pedophilia, specifically as connected to homosexuality and made popular by individuals such as Anita Bryant. Throughout its active tenure, NAMBLA has maintained a physical office in numerous cities, including the main office in New York City and those in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, and Toronto. While most members remained closeted, prominent public spokesmen have included Tom Reeves, David Thorstad, and Bill Andriette.

Throughout its history, NAMBLA has run into trouble with multiple government organizations. In 1996, the nonprofit status for the company under which NAMBLA was operating, Zymurgy, Inc., was repealed by New York State. The group was also implicated in a wrongful death suit, *Curley v. NAMBLA* (2000), for allegedly contributing to the murder and posthumous rape of 10-year-old Jeffrey Curley. According to testimony, the men who killed Curley viewed the NAMBLA Web site and had copies of NAMBLA publications, which contributed to the commission of the crime. Individual members, such as Peter Melzer, a schoolteacher, have also faced legal action. Melzer was fired by the New York City board of education for statements he made reflecting his belief that age-of-consent laws should be abolished. Other members have been under FBI surveillance.

In addition, NAMBLA has had a tenuous relationship with gay and lesbian organizations in the United States. In 1993, the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) gained consultative status to the United Nations Economics and Social Council. Soon thereafter, ILGA was pressured by the U.S. government; the United Nations; and many prominent lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transsexual (LGBT) rights organizations to expel NAMLBA from the group, amid public controversy about its inclusion of a pedophilic organization. The outside pressures prevailed, and in 1994, NAMBLA was voted out of the ILGA. In addition to the ILGA controversy, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has denounced the mission of NAMBLA, arguing that it advocates for the abuse of minors. The group has also been denied the right to participate in pride parades, and its status as a gay organization has been questioned.

NAMBLA does not appear to have been very active as an organization as of the late 1990s and no longer maintains a Web site. The organization has remained silent on recent laws passed in numerous states that increase the sentencing requirements for adults who engage in sexual acts with minors and has not spoken out against popular media representations such as the television show *To Catch a Predator.*

Sara J. Bocciardi Bassett

See also American Civil Liberties Union; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Same-Sex Marriage; Sexual Activity: Age at First Intercourse; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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Northern Ireland Women's Coalition

The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) was a political party established in Northern Ireland in 1996 to secure the representation of women in the peace negotiations developing at the time. From 1968 to 1994, Northern Ireland was the site of violent ethnic conflict as the minority Catholic community sought reunification with the Republic of Ireland, and the majority Protestant community sought to maintain the status quo of union with Britain. The membership of the NIWC was drawn from Northern Ireland's extensive community and voluntary sector. The party took no position on the constitutional status of Northern Ireland and instead agreed on a series of values to guide its participation in peace negotiations: equality, inclusion, and human rights. Due to the innovative electoral mechanism designed to ensure the representation of small parties and the tremendous

success of the NIWC in mobilizing large numbers of women previously disengaged from formal politics, the party won two seats in the 1996 election to a deliberative multiparty forum, with delegates from the forum to participate in peace negotiations. The party's elected representatives, Monica McWilliams and Pearl Sagar, were drawn from the Catholic and Protestant communities, respectively, and were elected under the campaign slogan "Wave Goodbye to the Dinosaurs."

The Peace Talks and the Belfast Agreement

The multiparty forum proved a difficult setting for the NIWC in which to make its political debut, as the party's representatives were frequently subjected to verbal sexual harassment when attempting to speak at the forum. Nevertheless, the important decisions were agreed upon at the smaller peace negotiations, which proved a more favorable setting for the contribution of NIWC. The Belfast Agreement, April 10, 1998, which was the outcome of these peace talks, is notable for its strong provisions on equality and human rights. Specifically, the agreement provided for the establishment of a consultative civic forum, with members drawn from the business, trade union, and voluntary sectors, and other such agreed sectors. In addition, the agreement recognized the right of women to full and equal political participation and committed the British government to advancing the position of women in public life pending the establishment of a regional assembly in Northern Ireland. Both provision for the civic forum and the explicit affirmation of the rights of women in the Agreement are attributed to the participation of the NIWC in the peace talks.

Postagreement

In the first elections to the Northern Ireland assembly established by the Belfast Agreement, the NIWC won two seats. However, the delays and obstacles in implementing the agreement led to the polarization of politics in the region and significantly improved the political fortunes of the more extreme political parties. This left little political space for cross-community party organizing on the basis of gender. In the assembly elections of November 2003, the NIWC failed to retain either of its seats. In May 2006, the party disbanded, noting that its members were active instead in the institutions established by the agreement.

Catherine O'Rourke

See also Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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Nuns

The word *nun* can conjure up images from traditional to irreverent in terms of gender. Those who call themselves nuns can range from feminine to masculine: a contemporary "sister," who does not wear the traditional black habit, but rather modern women's clothing, perhaps a short veil or "wimple" and a small cross on a necklace; a traditionally dressed nun, whose habit is a full-length black gown and full veil, covering everything but her face and hands; or a man dressed as a nun in sexually suggestive female garb, a "drag queen nun." Since the time of the creation of the category "nun," established for the first order of female religious figures, the physical space of "nun" has expanded beyond the realm of gender.

Cloistered orders of women began in the 5th century, though the more liberated orders of "sisters" formed in the 16th century. The *Encyclopedia of Catholicism* lists approximately 12 Roman Catholic religious orders of sisters, or as they are commonly called, *nuns.* However, this terminology should be amended to allow for the difference between *sisters,* or noncloistered orders, and *nuns,* or cloistered orders. Traditionally, the word *nun* has referred to Roman Catholic nuns, those who take solemn vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience and live cloistered lives of silence and prayerful meditation. Choir nuns, such as that of the famous convent headed by Hildegard de Bingen (a 1109–1179 German nun, mystic, and composer), chant the *Liturgy of the Hours* daily, consisting of a set order of readings and prayers, including morning, evening, daytime, and night prayers. Orders of Roman Catholic sisters, on the other hand, take the simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience but live in society, ministering to the

needs of the people in the community, and do not live by the strict rules of the cloister. Those who call themselves nuns also exist outside the Roman Catholic religion, most notably in Buddhism but also among Eastern Christians, Anglicans, Jains, Lutherans, Taoists, and the aforementioned "drag queen" nuns or "Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence."

Nonetheless, nuns are almost overwhelmingly female and live lives of service to God. (The male equivalent of a nun is a monk, as opposed to a priest.) Roman Catholic nuns do not perform the Catholic Sacraments of Mass and Confession, for example, but rather dedicate themselves to charitable service. Mother Teresa of Calcutta is perhaps the most notable example, founding the Missionaries of Charity in 1949 and being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979.

The traditional black nun's habit, covering all but the hands and face, effectively obscures the evidence of female gender, thus making the "woman" disappear and the "nun"—a gender-free space—emerge. This has allowed women throughout history the space of "trans"-gendering the traditional role of "woman." It allowed women to pursue charitable work in a way usually seen unfit for women—a life lived with other women and ministering in the streets of the world— rather than serving in the traditional home setting. Nuns or sisters have been called to every corner of the globe to minister to the poor, sick, and dying and have founded and dedicated themselves to systems of education, nursing, and social work throughout the world.

Because of the emphasis on an intense personal life devoted to God and removal of the possibility and responsibility of heterosexual marriage, historically, the cloister gave many women the space and freedom to create. This freedom allowed certain women unheard-of intellectual access, far before the second wave of feminism. Perhaps one of the most notable examples is the life of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, the 15th-century Mexican nun who is immortalized on the 200 peso note and is second in popularity among religious figures in Mexico only to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Sor Juana challenged male authority throughout her life. As an individual of mixed race from a relatively poor background, her history is an example of the possible trajectory for a woman who entered the nunnery hoping to serve God but also gained access to a different kind of life than her feminine gender would normally have allowed.

Sor Juana left court life for the nunnery, where she published works read throughout her country and in Spain. Her life also points out another function of the nun's habit, a possibility of a kind of "cross-dressing." The topic of "lesbian nuns" was explored in a popular book, *Lesbian Nuns,* published in 1986, which references Sor Juana in the introduction as a possible example. Did Sor Juana enter the convent to have relationships with women, most notably perhaps the Countess of Spain, who published all her work? Did she enter to have intellectual access disallowed women of her time? Did she enter to escape the heterosexual demands of court life or traditional married life, her only other options? Or did she enter simply to marry God, above all other male figures, and to live a life of devoted service? These gendered questions have been asked not only of Sor Juana, but of female religious figures throughout the history of the orders. In a world that often restricts access to intellectual ability based on gender presentation, they are difficult to answer. While the primary reason most women enter the religious life certainly is to serve God in whatever way their order deems fit, it cannot be denied that they do this in a nontraditionally gendered way: that of life lived exclusively among women in a cloistered order, or among others in the greater community, again primarily with women, as part of an uncloistered religious order.

What is certain is that the physical space inhabited by those called "nuns" has, while reinforcing certain gender roles, also challenged them.

Marie Cartier

See also Christianity: Status of Women in; National Coalition of American Nuns; Religion, Gender Roles in; Theology, Feminist

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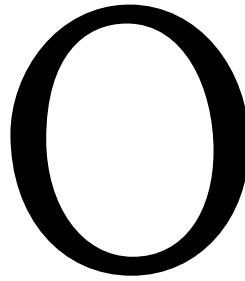
Occupational Segregation

According to 2006 U.S. Census Bureau figures for full-time, year-round workers, women today earn 77¢ on the male dollar. A voluminous scholarly literature exists to explain the existence and persistence of the pay gap, but gender and labor scholars agree that a significant portion of the gap is due to *occupational sex segregation.* Estimates range from 35 percent to 89 percent, with some consensus that approximately two thirds of the pay gap is due to occupational sex segregation. In short, women tend to be employed in female-dominated occupations, like teaching, nursing, and social work, in which wages are lower, and men tend to be employed in male-dominated occupations, like engineering, medicine, and law, in which wages are higher. This entry defines occupational sex segregation, traces trends over time, examines explanations for the existence and persistence of the phenomenon, and presents policies and practices designed to reduce or eliminate occupational sex segregation.

Occupational sex segregation is defined more broadly as the differential distribution of women and men across different occupations, jobs, and places of work. Recent research indicates a trend toward *intraoccupational sex segregation,* or *resegregation.* For example, women are close to achieving parity in medical degrees, but male physicians are far more likely to become surgeons, and female physicians are far more likely to become pediatricians. In addition, male physicians are more likely to be employed in lucrative private practices, whereas female physicians are more likely to work in less lucrative practices, such as government or managed-care companies.

The index of occupational sex segregation represents the proportion of female (or male) workers who would have to change to an occupation for the sexes to be evenly distributed across occupations. An index of 0 is perfect integration, and an index of 100 is perfect segregation. In 2000, the index of occupational sex segregation was 52.1. In other words, 52.1 percent of the female labor force (approximately 39 million women) would have to shift to disproportionately male occupations to achieve occupational integration.

U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics reveal that women are underrepresented in higher-status occupations, making up only 9.7 percent of engineers, 32.6 percent of physicians, 31.8 percent of dentists, and 34.1 percent of partners in major law firms. However, women are overrepresented in traditionally female professions that have also historically been accorded less status. For example, women make up 98.4 percent of prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers, 91 percent of registered nurses, 83 percent of librarians, 81.5 percent of elementary school teachers, and 70.3 percent of social workers.

Historical Trends

With the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy, men entered the paid labor force in massive numbers. Women's paid employment was limited to a few low-paying occupations, such as domestic servant. After the Civil War, more women entered paid employment as factory workers, nurses, and teachers

but continued to predominate in domestic service, farming, and textiles. After World War II, occupational opportunities expanded for women, primarily in clerical jobs that were labeled "women's work." Sociologists Jerry Jacobs and Barbara Reskin have traced trends in sex segregation over time. Between 1910 and 1970, the index of occupational sex segregation fluctuated slightly, from 69.0 to 67.6. In other words, in 1910, 69 percent of the female labor force would have had to shift to male occupations to achieve occupational integration. By 1970, the figure was approximately 68 percent. In the 1970s, segregation dropped significantly, to 59.8. The decline since the early 1980s has been slower. As noted above, the current index of occupational sex segregation is approximately 52.1. It is important to note that the income of occupational sex segregation does not adequately capture the growing intraoccupational sex segregation in fields like medicine, law, and business.

The shift from an industrial to a service economy frames recent developments in sex segregation. The declines in sex segregation during the 1970s can be explained by (a) changes in the occupational structure, with growth in integrated service occupations (e.g., managerial jobs) and declines in highly segregated occupations (e.g., automotive assembly lines) and (b) women's entry into sex-atypical and male-dominated occupations. As sociologists Barbara Reskin and Patricia Roos have noted, employers often hired women into formerly male jobs not because of fairness, but because they could cut costs with women employees or because men were less interested in what were perceived to be deteriorating occupations. For example, as drug manufacturers took over compounding drugs, pharmacists became drug dispensers and record keepers. This deskilling led to lower prestige and income in the profession. In consequence, the occupation became less attractive to men, and pharmacy schools began to appeal to women applicants. Within the occupation, male pharmacists tend to be clustered in the higher-paying research and management sectors, while female pharmacists predominate in lower-paying retail positions.

Most studies of occupational segregation examine sex and race independently. However, recent scholarship emphasizes the need for an intersectionality approach to sex and race. For example, black workers are disproportionately found in the secondary labor market, which is characterized by high rates of turnover. In general, black women are more concentrated in occupations that pay less and are more vulnerable to job loss. In addition, contingent workers are more likely to be female and black than are noncontingent workers. In consequence, occupational segregation results in higher exit rates for black women than for white women.

In general, about half of all workers in the world are employed in occupations that are made up of at least 80 percent of one sex. Although occupational sex segregation is pervasive globally, Padavic and Reskin report regional variation in the extent of sex segregation. For example, the Middle East and North Africa have the highest levels of occupational sex segregation, while the Asia/Pacific regions have the lowest. The United States and Canada have the lowest levels of segregation among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, while Scandinavia has the highest. In Japan, the gendered pay gap is wider than in the United States (women make 59¢ per male dollar), and much of the difference can be explained by wage penalties associated with working in predominantly female jobs.

Explanations

Explanations for occupational sex segregation fall into two broad categories: *supply-side* explanations, which focus largely on workers' characteristics and preferences, and *demand-side* explanations, which focus largely on employers' actions.

Supply Side: Worker Characteristics and Preferences

Regarding *supply-side explanations,* some scholars argue that women choose "female" jobs. That is, human capital theorists assume that women workers spend less time investing in skills and experiences valued in the workforce because they expect their workforce participation will be secondary to family labor. Hence, they choose certain occupations, such as teaching, nursing, waitressing, and social work, as a rational response to expected family roles. However, much research contradicts human capital theory. For example, many job characteristics of female occupations are not necessarily compatible with women's family roles. Female jobs are generally not more flexible or easier than male jobs. For instance, research on physicians shows that neither pediatrics nor obstetrics/gynecology (ob/gyn), medical specialties in which women are disproportionately located, are especially family-friendly.

In addition to applying human capital theory, with its focus on women's skill deficits, supply-side explanations highlight workers' preferences. In this view, culture and gender role socialization shape women's choices for jobs with characteristics, like nurturing, that fit female gender role expectations. In similar fashion, men's occupational choices are shaped by gender role expectations that encourage physical strength and toughness. For medicine, this means that women prefer medical specialties like pediatrics or psychiatry, in which nurturing skills are required, while men are assumed to prefer medical specialties such as surgery, in which physical stamina and toughness are required.

Demand Side: Employer Actions

The second broad category of explanations can be described as *demand-side explanations.* In short, employers and organizational structures place constraints on women's occupational opportunities and promote opportunities for men. Research from a neoclassical theory of discrimination perspective finds widespread employer preferences for white men in higher-status jobs. Since bosses, managers, and supervisors act as gatekeepers to jobs, they wield tremendous power in shaping the workplace along the lines of race/ethnicity and gender. Those in positions of power may act on stereotypes that keep women from entering male-dominated occupations. For example, a member of the residency staff at a training hospital may encourage a woman medical student to consider pediatrics because it seems more congruent with her gender role than does neurosurgery. Men may be discouraged from considering specialties, like ob/gyn, that are perceived as feminine. Employers also recruit through referrals, and research indicates those referrals come from same-sex and same-race networks. Hence, the demographic composition of jobs may be reproduced without intentional discrimination. If an employer asks "his friends" for referrals and his friends tend to be white males, than he tends to get referrals of white males.

Statistical discrimination occurs when employers' preferences for an individual man or woman are based on their ideas about the characteristics of women and men in general. For example, an employer may know that women are more likely to be diagnosed with depression than men. Therefore, he or she may use this knowledge to discriminate against an individual woman applicant who may or may not have actually experienced depression.

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII) prohibits employers from discriminating on the basis of race, sex, or national origin, some employers contribute to occupational sex segregation by hiring workers of their own sex and race. Such in-group preferences have led to discrimination lawsuits at large corporations.

Supply-side explanations focus on worker characteristics indicating a good or poor fit for a job. However, the demand-side explanations recognize that many jobs are encoded with notions of sex and race that label them "appropriate" or "inappropriate" for members of racial/ethnic and gender groups. The recognition that labor queues (i.e., the set of people that employers choose from) are gendered and raced is a major contribution by sociologists like Reskin and Roos. In short, the queuing process reserves the best jobs (e.g., those with higher pay, job security, and autonomy) for the most-favored groups (e.g., white males). Members of less-favored groups (e.g., women and racial/ethnic minorities) are consigned to the lower-paying jobs with less security and autonomy.

Consequences

As noted in the opening paragraph, sex segregation by occupations, industries, jobs, and levels of workplace hierarchies contributes substantially to the gap in earnings between women and men. Women are underrepresented in higher-paying occupations. Furthermore, in occupations dominated by women, both men and women earn less than in occupations dominated by men. In addition to annual income disparities, women also experience cumulative economic disadvantage over the life course. For example, sex segregation lowers chances of promotion and has a substantial impact on access to medical insurance, pensions, and social security income. Location in occupations with less income, authority, and prestige also decreases the amount of power women hold in both public and private realms.

Beyond the individual level, sex segregation has negative consequences at a societal level. Some scholars note that sex segregation is inefficient because the best workers do not always end up in the jobs for which they are most qualified. For example, a man with nurturing skills and experience is turned down for a job teaching preschoolers because the employer assumes he is better suited to a managerial position and will leave the job if hired. In contrast, a woman with no nurturing skills or experience is hired for the position because the employer assumes she is better

suited. However, she quits after 2 months because her skill set does not match the job requirements.

Policy Implications

Since more support exists in the sociological literature for structural-level explanations (actions by employers along with cultural and institutional forces) than individual-level explanations (worker characteristics and preferences), structural-level policies are key. Reskin, a labor expert, recommends three policy approaches. First, current policies barring discrimination must be enforced. The decline in sex segregation that occurred during the 1970s was due in part to new policies and stronger enforcement. In addition, implementing affirmative action in training and employment remains essential. Second, as occupational sex segregation declines, attention must be paid to job-level segregation within occupations. Implementing pay equity or comparable worth might help eliminate wage disparities and could interrupt the sorting into jobs by sex. Finally, family-friendly workplace policies are needed so that women do not perceive male-dominated jobs as incompatible with caretaking responsibilities. The recently released 2007 American Association of University Women (AAUW) report on the pay gap drives home the necessity of implementing policies that keep the "maternal wall" from being a barrier to women's economic success.

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See also Comparable Worth; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Gender Wage Gap; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender

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OEDIPAL CONFLICT

The term *Oedipus conflict,* or *Oedipus complex,* refers to a theory developed by Sigmund Freud (based on an ancient Greek myth) as a way of explaining child development; that is, Freud wanted to understand the way, as a boy, he had felt toward his parents. Freud first suggested the existence of what he would later call the Oedipus complex in his seminal *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). In this work, he described subconscious feelings in children of intense competition and even hatred toward the parent of the same sex and feelings of romantic love toward the parent of the opposite sex. He felt that if these conflicting feelings were not successfully resolved, they would contribute to neuroses in later life.

Oedipus Rex, the classic Greek play by Sophocles, tells the story of Oedipus, who is abandoned at birth by his parents, King Lauis and Queen Jocasta. He later comes back and, as foretold by prophecy, kills his father and marries his mother before finding out his true identity. Freud saw in the play an archetypal dynamic being played out, and so he co-opted the character's name for his description. In essence, the Oedipus conflict describes a young boy's unconscious desire to have sex with his mother, thus supplanting

his father. This includes feeling jealousy toward the father, as well as unconsciously wishing for his death. The *Electra complex* (in the Greek myth, Electra, daughter of Agamemnon, helped plan the murder of her mother) describes a similar phenomenon in girls, also directed toward the father.

Freud felt that the Oedipus conflict was a state of psychosexual distress occurring within the *phallic stage* of development (beginning at age 3 and lasting until age 5). In this view, a boy first chooses his mother as a sexual partner, as the object of his libidinal desire. The son realizes that the father will become furious and fears being castrated as a means of retribution. Eventually, the boy internalizes his father's rules, at which point the *superego* (Freud's term for "conscience") comes into being. The boy now identifies with the father, and, not wanting to be castrated, he gives up on the idea of having his mother to himself. According to Freud, the absence or weakness of either parent, but especially the same-sex parent, often leads to homosexuality in adulthood, primarily because the Oedipal conflict has not been resolved.

"Little Hans" was the subject of a famous case study written by Freud that showed the power of Oedipal conflict, especially the fear regarding castration anxiety. Hans was a 5-year-old boy who refused to leave his house. He feared that a horse would bite him—or, Freud thought, that his father would castrate him in retaliation for his incestuous longings for his mother. This was the first opportunity for Freud to test one of his theories directly on a child instead of relying on adult memories of childhood. He believed that the boy showed the importance of childhood in the formation of adult neurosis. Freud saw Hans's phobia as being rooted in an incomplete repression of sexual feelings and other defense mechanisms the boy was using to combat forbidden urges toward his mother. Once Hans successfully transitioned through the Oedipal conflict, he and his father became close.

Freud never resolved the position of the female child in the Oedipal conflict. He originally portrayed female development as parallel to that of boys but later stressed the differences between the two sexes. Female development was more complicated, as the Oedipal conflict in girls appears as a secondary formation, not primary, and emerges after an initial period of intense attachment to the mother. According to Freud, until the phallic stage, a girl believes she and her brother have the same sexual apparatus. Upon discovering that this is not true, she develops "penis envy," blaming her mother for her own "castrated" condition. She turns to the symbol of strength, her father, for sympathy and understanding, while her desire for a penis is transformed into a desire to give him a baby, in the place of the missing organ.

In Freud's view, when a male child completes his journey through the Oedipal conflict, he has the promise of entry in the father's world, but this is not so for females. For girls, all that is promised is the acceptance of their own subordinate position. A female child realizes that she will never be able to provide her father with a satisfactory baby (penis); thus, she is forced to transfer her affections to a "male other," hoping to bear him a child, in order to satisfy the proper female role of mothering. The female superego has different origins from a boy's: His develops out of castration anxiety, while the girl's arises from the fear of losing her father's love because of being "born castrated." In this view, the female superego is therefore less strongly developed than the male superego; hence, women are more likely to commit immoral acts.

Although Freud championed both sexual freedom and education for women, many modern feminists feel that his influence set women back by decades and that at best, his ideas lent themselves to the belief of female inferiority: Freud felt that women were something akin to a "mutilated male" (lacking a penis) and that they must accept their lot in life. In this way, the language of Freud's work may be seen as contributing to the vocabulary of misogyny. Perhaps until the late 1970s, terms such as *penis envy* and *castrating* (commonly used to describe women attempting to excel in any field outside the home) may have perpetuated attitudes that discouraged women from obtaining education or entering any field dominated by men.

Cary Stacy Smith and Li-Ching Hung

See also Castration; Freud, Sigmund; Misogyny; Phallocentrism; Psychoanalytic Feminism

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Online Dating

Online dating, or the initiation and development of romantic relationships by means of the Internet, has received a fair amount of criticism and negative representation via news outlets, fictive entertainment, and social discourse. Nonetheless, the practice continues to grow as individuals continue to declare satisfaction with the sites and more online dating outlets are available than ever before. Many of these outlets charge users a fee to match them to dating partners based on personality and interest. Other outlets, such as chat rooms and message forums, allow individuals to meet in a public outlet and then e-mail each other as they become engaged in a given topic. Still other sites act as outlets for those seeking nontraditional relationships or specific sexual practices. Perhaps one of the most attractive elements of online dating is that it allows individuals the ability to seek out others with similar relational desires and it can minimize the embarrassment or rejection that may accompany face-to-face dating rituals.

Most online dating is initiated through commercial outlets that allow online daters to respond to or post personal advertisements describing the type of relationship that is being sought. In terms of heterosexual dating, much of what is found in these advertisements for online daters does not differ from the traditional personal advertisement found in the classified sections of periodicals. Men tend to seek out women who are attractive, petite, and kind; while women tend to seek men who are professional, financially successful, and family oriented. Unlike traditional personal advertisements, online dating allows for information to be shared, as the physical limitation of newspapers is eliminated; so in addition to demographic dating interests, online daters are able to learn about others' political leanings, popular interests, and other detailed lifestyle information.

Online dating has allowed nonheterosexual daters a larger outlet for pursuing relationships. While many newspapers do not offer "male-seeking-male" or "female-seeking-female" categories for those wanting to place personal advertisements, Internet dating forums frequently allow for these relationships to be sought. Many gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons have also reported that exploring online dating profiles has helped them to come to terms with their sexual orientations and has given them hope that they will one day find a relationship in a heteronormative world. Transgender persons particularly report that they feel safer in communicating online, especially given that revelation of gender identity can lead to uncomfortable interactions.

Those engaging in online dating typically enjoy more freedom to reveal or conceal elements of their personality or traits. Since all online dating communication is mediated through words, symbols, and pictures selected by those engaging in the conversation, the persons involved have more freedom to edit statements, leave out undesirable traits, and generally conceal information they believe may be unattractive to their online partners. This has led some critics of online dating to suggest that it is unsafe for women, who may be coerced into a dangerous situation, but this criticism has been refuted by the large number of women who report satisfaction and security in the process. Both women and men report that they enjoy the ability to conceal their physical features via online interaction and that this allows them to be evaluated more on the basis of personality than on looks.

Online relationships do not allow for the same sense of mannerisms and nonverbal interpersonal behavior that face-to-face conversations almost immediately demonstrate. Both men and women have reported being disappointed when meeting people in person because their mannerisms did not match their expectations; however, this is largely not a problem because most people who engage in online dating explain that they can predict through online interactions how someone may behave in terms of nonverbal communication in person. While many online daters elect to meet their online dating partners, the majority do not because of their fear of relationship dissolution, or geographical distance. Since the Internet initially provides fewer geographical limitations to those seeking complementary dating personalities, many who engage in the process are at first satisfied with the wide variety of personalities available but become frustrated by distance when a relationship moves into the physical realm. On the other hand, people who are already in physical relationships and then find themselves geographically separated may use online mechanisms to help maintain these relationships. In short, whether newly initiated or already established, online dating allows for people on opposite ends of

the world to initiate relationships as long as they share a common language system.

Online relationships also allow individuals to have more control over time and distance. While a face-to-face conversation usually demands instant responses to questions, those engaging in online relationships can delay their responses through the e-mail or messaging systems they are using. In addition to the ability to craft or delay a response, the distance allowed by using online mechanisms for dating generally has allowed people to have a greater sense of power over emotions and feelings in the dating process. Men are more likely to reveal personal feelings in online conversations, and many contend they have communicated feelings online they would never discuss in person. While women also report that they discuss their feelings online, many suggest that they do not go into too much detail because they would rather wait to share these feelings in a face-to-face conversation, though some report that they feel less intimidated about revealing personal information or private disclosure when the requests come through online conversations. Overall, online dating has met with much satisfaction for those engaging the process.

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See also Cybersex; Mail-Order Brides; Mate Selection; Romance and Relationships

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ORSHANSKY, MOLLIE (1915–2006)

In the early 1960s, Mollie Orshansky developed the federal poverty thresholds that over the past half century have defined poverty, determined program eligibility for many federal and state programs, and helped shape low-income policies. Though dubbed an "obscure civil servant," this accomplishment was no accident. One of seven daughters of hard-working Ukrainian immigrants, Orshansky experienced poverty herself, sleeping two to a bed, wearing hand-me-downs, and standing in relief lines. This memory of poverty enabled her to study and write about the poor.

Orshansky was the first in her family to graduate from both high school and college (Hunter College), majoring in mathematics and statistics. With career opportunities in universities largely closed to women, she began her lifelong government career at the New York Department of Health, moving to Washington, D.C., in 1936 to work first for the Children's Bureau. There and at other agencies, she accumulated the expertise and experience that would later inform her work on poverty measures, working on health and children's issues, food plans, city worker's family budgets, and wages (at the Wage Stabilization Board). She even answered letters from families struggling with severe postwar inflation.

Orshansky joined the Social Security Administration (SSA) in 1958 and first worked on the issue of poverty measures while performing anonymous staff work for the secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Arthur Fleming, on questions raised in a 1960 hearing. Her work began in earnest with an in-house SSA research project on "poverty as it affects children," for which she developed poverty thresholds to measure the risks of income inadequacy among different groups of families with children. She first published her findings in July 1963.

In January 1964, President Johnson declared the "War on Poverty." Meanwhile, the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) adopted a simple poverty measure, $1,500 per year for individuals and $3,000 for families, which was included as its first-ever chapter on poverty in its annual report. The White House declaration of a "War on Poverty" led SSA to give higher priority to Orshansky's work on poverty. Upset that the CEA measure categorized a family of six with an income of $3,100 as "not poor," but an elderly couple with $2,900 "poor," Orshansky set to work to expand her thresholds to all family sizes and ages, publishing both her thresholds and the analysis based on them in January 1965, in her most famous article, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile." Orshansky's poverty thresholds were much more detailed than the CEA's measure, taking into account family size and composition (number of

children or elderly). Since the only data available on what was "adequate" were found in the Department of Agriculture's food plans, she based her thresholds on the two lowest-cost plans, multiplying these costs by three because the average family spent about one third of their income on food. Although the lower of her two sets of thresholds (the one eventually adopted) resulted in a similar aggregate "number of poor" as the CEA analysis, it also resulted in 4 million more children being categorized as "poor," helping to make the case for Head Start.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (the War on Poverty) adopted the thresholds as their working poverty measure in May 1965, and they were subsequently adopted officially throughout the federal government. Orshansky became more widely known, testifying before Congress and commissions on numerous occasions—unusual enough at the time for a woman to be an "expert" that it was remarked on by one Congressman hearing her testimony.

Orshansky was an expert witness for the Department of Justice, contributing to the demise of the poll tax by showing that a $2 poll tax could deprive a person of an entire day's meals. She continued to work on refining the poverty line, coauthoring a paper with Carol Fendler of the Census Bureau that led to several modest adjustments, although the basic approach remains unchanged. Among these was the proposal to drop the lower thresholds for "female-headed" families (based on the lower calories required by women in the food plan), which had been deemed discriminatory by a Department of Justice Committee in 1980 (though the effort was undermined by creating weighted nongendered thresholds reflecting the underlying distribution of female versus male heads, rather than eliminating the lower female thresholds altogether). Orshansky also was part of the working group that developed the initial phase of the Survey of Income and Program Participation, an important official panel survey documenting the impact of programs on low-income people.

Orshansky was keenly aware of the meaning of the numbers she created. When she discovered that the median annual income of single-mother families, at $2,340, was less than what she had been paid, $2,500, to do the analysis using her new thresholds, she expressed her outrage to her startled supervisors—and reported her determination to "get her money's worth."

Orshansky's analysis set the model for decades to come for how poverty and antipoverty policy and programs would be analyzed in the United States and elsewhere. Jenny Podoluk's poverty measure for Canada, the Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs), used a somewhat similar approach, and Orshansky was cited and recognized in poverty research and measurement in Britain, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Uruguay, Algeria, South Africa, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Australia, as well as many international organizations. As a woman and the daughter of poor immigrants, she contributed greatly to advancing the understanding of the demography of poverty.

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See also Family Wage; Household Livelihood Strategies; Poor Women's Grassroots Organizations in America; Poverty, Feminization of; Welfare Reform

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Parental Leave

The term *parental leave* refers to gender-neutral, job-protected leave from employment that is available to both mothers and fathers. As more households are shared by dual-earner couples, the need for adequate parental leave has become increasingly important for the health and well-being of both parents and children. Having access to adequate parental leave is also an important step in facilitating women's work outside the home. This entry focuses on explaining the existing variations in parental leave and briefly describing U.S. leave policies. Some of the variations in parental leave include the following: whether it is seen as an individual or family right, whether it is paid or unpaid, and whether it supplements or replaces maternity and paternity leave.

There are several differences in how parental leave has been conceived of around the world. Some parental leaves are defined as nontransferable individual rights, whereby each parent is entitled to a certain set amount of leave. In other countries, parental leave is defined as a family right, and parents can divide up the total leave time however they choose. Furthermore, in some countries, parental leave supplements maternity leave (leave just for mothers) and/or paternity leave (leave just for fathers), while in other countries, it replaces one or both of these.

How parental leave is defined has a large effect on the number of mothers and fathers who take parental leave—this is known as the "take-up" rate.

In situations where parental leave is seen as an individual right and the father needs to either use his share of parental leave or lose it, fathers are much more likely to utilize their parental leave (especially in those countries where parental leave is paid). When parental leave is seen wholly as a family's right, the take-up rates for fathers are much lower and mothers often use all the available parental leave. This is significant for people concerned with the current gender inequality in family caregiving.

The United States has only one type of family leave, which is regulated by the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). The FMLA requires certain employers to allow eligible workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave to care for a newborn, newly adopted, or foster child. While this law has made it possible for more parents to stay home after the birth of a child, because the leave is unpaid many parents feel economic pressure to return to work before utilizing all of the available leave. This policy contrasts with those of many other countries that provide leave that is at least partly paid.

Medora W. Barnes

See also Family Medical Leave Act; Maternity Leave

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PARENTS, FAMILIES AND FRIENDS OF LESBIANS AND GAYS

Originating in 1972 as parents' response to the treatment of their gay sons and lesbian daughters, today Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) is a national nonprofit organization with over 200,000 members and supporters and over 500 affiliates in the United States as well as international affiliates in Argentina, England, and New Zealand, among other countries. In less than 36 years, PFLAG has developed into a national organization dedicated to improving the lives of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered (GLBT) persons through three distinct, yet related, avenues.

First, PFLAG provides support for families and friends through local chapter affiliates that serve as emotional support groups where they learn how to accept, love, and support the GLBT people in their lives. Meeting on a regular basis, these local affiliates most closely resemble the goals of the original group that met for the first time in 1973, stimulated by the actions of one gay man's mother. Jeanne Manford marched with her son in New York City's gay pride parade in 1972, 2 months after the *New York Post* published her letter complaining about police treatment of gay and lesbian protestors, carrying a sign declaring, "Parents of Gays: Unite in Support of our Children." Responding to concern expressed by other parents, in March 1973, Jeanne and Jules Manford held the first meeting of "Parents of Gays and Lesbians," attended by 20 people. Meeting regularly, the group provided the first public emotional support group for parents of gay and lesbian children. In those meetings, as in the meetings held by the over 500 current local affiliates, parents, friends, and families learned how to not only deal with their own feelings but to also address the adverse environment in which GLBT persons find themselves.

The second avenue in which PFLAG improves the lives of GLBT persons is through educating the general public. The national office provides educational materials, as well as programs, that are made available for schools, community groups, and the local affiliates. The purpose of these educational efforts is twofold: first, to improve the environment for GLBT persons in their schools and communities. This includes encouraging connections between GLBT persons and community groups and religious communities; providing educational materials for school administrators, teachers, and their students; and engaging more straight allies for GLBT persons. The second focus of PFLAG's education efforts is to change the legal environment in which GLBT persons and their families and friends must live. These educational programs include teaching people how to lobby for change in their communities, information about the impact of Supreme Court decisions on people's lives; and voter registration tools and resources. These types of education programs are directly linked to the third avenue, in which PFLAG improves the lives of GLBT persons. An increasingly important aspect of PFLAG's efforts on all levels—local, regional, and national—is to end discrimination against GLBT persons and ensure their civil rights through advocacy. With an online advocacy program as well as lobbying efforts on local, state, and national levels, PFLAG is responsible for the changing environment in which GLBT persons and their families and friends find themselves. The civil rights legislation and legal protections sought by PFLAG include issues related to the workplace, families, hate crimes, and the military. The growth of PFLAG from its origins as a local, emotional support group for parents to its current status reflects the growth and strength of the parents, friends, and families of GLBT persons.

Anne F. Eisenberg

See also Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; Homophobia; Homosexuality; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Queer; Sexual Rights and Citizenship

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Web Sites

Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays:
    http://www.pflag.org

Passing

The term *passing* signifies the actions of an individual who lives temporarily or full-time in an identity to which he or she is seen as not having an authentic or legitimate claim. People may pass because of fear of persecution, such as a gay man working in a blue-collar job who creates fictive girlfriends so as to avoid homophobic violence. Other people may pass to gain rights and benefits they would otherwise not be able to access, such as racial minorities who pass as white. Passing also may be adopted for criminal purposes, such as con men who adopt fake personas. While passing can be unintentional, it typically implies strategic intent to take on a new identity.

Race Passing

Early uses of *passing* typically refer to race. Racial passing emerged as a plot device in many 19th- and early-20th-century novels. Often referred to as the "tragic mulatto" genre, novels such as Nella Larson's *Passing* (1928) featured mixed-raced, light-skinned protagonists who passed as white in an era in which the acknowledgment of "one drop" of "nonwhite" blood made them second-class citizens. Both in real life and in fiction, racial passing could expand economic opportunities and civil liberties for light-skinned African Americans and people of mixed racial ancestry. However, it often required a denial of family and heritage and carried a threat of exposure that could lead to ridicule, violence, and death.

Ethnic Passing

In public discussions about immigration, assimilation, and ethnicity at the turn of the century, American Jews were the target of anxieties about ethnic passing. Unlike racial minorities, Jews were not visibly marked as different from whites by skin color. The fear that Jews could easily assimilate into white culture, infiltrating and ultimately taking over elite "gentlemen's clubs" and financial institutions, generated the narrative trope of the wily "Jewish chameleon." Anxiety about the passing abilities of Jews led to attempts to "root out" Jews in upper-class white society, usually by identifying them with specific ethnic markers of appearance and behavior and by surnames that "sounded Jewish."

Gender Passing

Accounts of women who lived their lives as men in the 19th century provide examples of gender passing. These "passing women" adopted masculine personas in historical periods in which women had few rights and little mobility. As men, these individuals went to war, had successful careers, and if they had same-sex desires, married women. Beyond expanding freedoms, economic opportunities, and romantic possibilities, accounts suggest that adopting masculine identities allowed some women to realize their desire to become men. Transgender activists have reclaimed "passing women" as a precursor to transsexual and transgender identities.

Erving Goffman, Stigma, and Passing

The use of passing as a concept in sociological analysis derives from the work of Erving Goffman. In *Stigma* (1963), Goffman provides a framework for understanding how individuals manage two forms of stigmatized identities: discredited and discreditable. Individuals with *discredited stigmas* are visibly different in some way than what Goffman terms "normals," either through physical manifestation of stigma, like a physical handicap, or through a sign recognizable as stigmatizing, such as a homeless person who has a dirty, disheveled appearance. In contrast, *discreditable stigmas* are not readily visible. However, individuals must adopt passing as a "normal" stigma management strategy in order to avoid being discredited, as in the case of the felon who lies about her or his prison record in a job interview. From Goffman's work has sprung a body of research analyzing the passing strategies of discredited groups, such as the physically disabled and the homeless, as well as discreditable groups, such as transsexuals and homosexuals.

Passing and Authenticity

In *Stigma,* Goffman distinguishes between social and personal identities. He argues that *social identity* is

formed through information given off via signs and symbols in interactions between individuals or groups. *Personal identity,* on the other hand, is composed of a set of static biographical facts unique to each individual. Underlying this distinction is an assumption of authenticity. An individual can project the appropriate social signs that he or she is "normal," as in the case of a homeless person who reads a newspaper in a train station to pass as a commuter. However, such individuals are, by virtue of their biographical facts, positioned as projecting a social identity that is inauthentic. This connection between passing and authenticity can be seen in other works, such as Brooke Kroeger's *Passing: When People Can't Be Who They Are* (2003). Sociologists have also drawn on this model of passing as masquerade to explain how posttransition transsexuals live in their new genders. Some transgender activists challenge this use of passing, however, as it anchors them to their birth gender and positions their posttransition lives as always inauthentic.

Passing and the Politics of the Closet

The gay and lesbian movement that emerged in the 1970s adopted the concepts of passing and authenticity as political strategies. Arguing that stigma gains power from invisibility, activists called for gays and lesbians to stop passing as heterosexual and publicly claim their authentic identities as homosexuals. Being "out" and visible became an alternative to passing that was viewed as psychologically healthy and politically progressive. This push for visibility and authenticity has become known as "coming out of the closet." Other marginalized groups, such as transgender people and people with disabilities, have also adopted visibility over passing as strategy for social change.

Performativity and the Question of Authenticity

Theories of performativity that derive largely from the work of Judith Butler call into question the notion of passing as inauthentic. Seeing all identities as constructed citations of established norms that must be repeatedly performed to be upheld and maintained, passing does not negate an authentic identity; it merely creates an alternative set of identity narratives. This criticism of authenticity has put some performativity theorists at odds with activist groups organized around identity politics, as these theories are seen as undermining the basis for collective action based on shared identities, such as gay, lesbian, woman, or black.

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See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Transgender

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PATRIARCHY

The term *patriarchy* refers to an organization, institution, or society in which power, social control, material

wealth, and high social status accrue predominantly to males rather than females. Patriarchy is one of the most enduring and pervasive of all social patterns. It appears in all eras, among all races, social institutions, and economic classes, and in virtually every known culture. Rising initially in early family and kinship structures, hierarchical patriarchal patterns are found today around the globe not only in family and kinship groups but also throughout the major social institutions, including language, family, economy, polity, religion, law, education, science, and medicine.

Early Studies of Patriarchy

Patriarchy derives fundamentally from early forms of family organization, and this theme was early explored by several noted scholars, including John Locke's *The Two Treatises on Civil Government* (1690) and Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law* (1861), *Early History of Institutions* (1875), and *Early Law and Custom* (1883). The most accessible and comprehensive survey of this early literature, together with a detailed explication of the origins of patriarchy, was provided in 1904 by George Elliott Howard in his massive study the *History of Matrimonial Institutions.* Howard, the founder of what he called "institutional history," applied the interdisciplinary perspectives of history, sociology, jurisprudence, and feminism to unlock and describe the primitive manifestations of patriarchy, especially in England and the United States, including wife purchase, marriage contracts, property rights, and husband's prerogatives in divorce. As a subsequent topic of theoretical discourse, patriarchy has been subjected to sophisticated analyses by leading scholars in the humanities and social sciences.

Matriarchal Hypotheses

Patriarchy is instructively contrasted with its mirror image, *matriarchy,* the rule of society by women rather than men. The Swiss scholar Johann Jacob Bachofen argued in *Das Mutterrecht* (1861) that patriarchy followed an earlier period of mother right, or *gynocracy,* wherein maternal lines of descent reigned supreme in all matters religious and political. Margaret Mead's important findings on the malleability of human personality and socialization notwithstanding, the empirical documentation of early female-dominated societies is controversial and sketchy. Bachofen's view that matriarchy was a universal precursor to patriarchy is at

best a highly speculative conjecture. Nonetheless, hypotheses concerning the character and potential of full-fledged female-dominated societies have provided lively themes for imaginative theoretical debate and fictional exploration. Among the most perceptive of these is sociologist Charlotte Perkins Gilman's two-part Herland/Ourland saga, published during 1915 to 1916. Gilman wrote in a popular voice and published her sociological observations in her own monthly journal, *The Forerunner.* In the instructive, imaginative, and often playful Herland/Ourland saga, Gilman vividly compared and contrasted her conclusions (based partly on theory and partly on direct sociological observation) about societies run by males in Ourland versus females in Herland. Gilman clearly saw many virtues in women's values and condemned the destructive results of generations of male-dominated rule in the real world, but her primary deduction was that the highest and most progressive societies will someday combine the best of both worlds, with men and women ruling together in genuinely equitable partnership. Thus, for Gilman, it was not an either/or problem of matriarchy versus patriarchy, but rather a question of how men and women can share power together and build truly egalitarian relationships. This remains today a pragmatic goal for many feminists and political progressives.

For the present, while anthropologists, philosophers, and other scholars continue to debate the existence, extent, and effectiveness of early matriarchal societies, an important practical point is that various matriarchal practices are found today (i.e., in some naming conventions, female clans and secret societies, sororities, women's clubs, women-owned businesses, etc.). In practical terms, important corollary research questions concern the extent to which patriarchal and matriarchal patterns can coexist, which patterns are ascendent, stagnant, or descending, to what degree these patterns can interpenetrate each other, and, finally, what is the empirical evidence of truly egalitarian and cooperative endeavors between men and women today.

Hierarchical Patterns Within Patriarchies

Empirically, patriarchal patterns are typically hierarchical, in which the head or chief male is awarded (or takes) the greatest powers and controls the most individual and communal assets. Men rarely share equally in the male prerogatives typical of patriarchal social structures.

Males who occupy lower levels in the hierarchy possess correspondingly less power and fewer worldly goods. A paradigm illustration of patriarchy is absolute kingship, in which a male king commands the total fealty of his subjects (both male and female), holds the power of life and death in his hands (as legislator, judge, jury, and executioner combined in one person), and rules with unchallenged authority. Traditional patriarchies are closely intertwined with family and kinship; thus, in *hereditary* patriarchies, the transfer of power from one patriarchal head, chief, or king conveys along specified kinship lines to a genealogically designated male heir. In less formally organized groups, the death of chief or king typically results in a power vacuum to be filled by the male who rises to the top position by virtue of physical prowess, simple seniority, convincing charisma, and/or astute political chicane (traditional accounts, albeit sometimes apocryphal, of the naming of a new "godfather" in organized crime families provide dramatic illustrations of this less structured process).

Modern and postmodern societies are replete with vestigial patriarchal structures in all of the major social institutions, including language, family, economy, government, religion, law, education, medicine, and science. In myriad specific instances, the control of societal, communal, and individual resources is now vested in very real and exceptionally effective patriarchal forms. The prime research question facing social investigators today is not so much whether patriarchy is a thing of the past, but rather the extent to which patriarchy survives, thrives, transforms, and replicates itself in pervasive, persistent, and consequential ways. In contemporary societies today, especially those given to the rhetoric of social progress, accelerated change, and women's liberation, it is often difficult for citizens (male and female) to fully comprehend the continuing existence and influence of patriarchal patterns of control, oppression, and repression. It is not the case, however, that men always get every piece of pie, but they usually get the bigger pieces and—to put it colloquially—they rarely do the baking.

Patriarchy and Multiple Statuses

Patriarchy combines in myriad ways with other social statuses, resulting in complex matrices of social strata, privilege, and prestige. The social pie is divided up along many dimensions, even if men still usually get the largest share. The standard sociological triad—sex, race, and class—is in practice crosscut with numerous additional status dimensions related to education, physical and mental disabilities, religion, employment history, legal troubles, marital status, sexual orientation, parenthood, citizenship, athleticism, politics, cultural standards of physical attractiveness, social manners, and the like. Each dimension can be conceptualized as having majority (i.e., positive) and minority (i.e., negative) status traits in the same way that sex (male vs. female), race (white vs. nonwhite), and class (upper vs. lower) have been traditionally defined. The terms *positive* and *negative* refer to culturally relevant criteria and evaluations made by the dominant groups, not to inherent defects or worthiness. Nonetheless, such evaluations are highly consequential.

The multidimensional reality of combined multiple minority and multiple majority statuses is reflected in the various characteristics of those who rise to the top, fall to the bottom, or float in the middle of powerful patriarchal structures. Persons holding a multitude of minority statuses face extraordinary challenges. Consider, for example, the hypothetical situation confronted by a female Hispanic who is undocumented, unemployed, penniless, unskilled and uneducated, physically disabled, lesbian, apolitical, graceless, overweight and unattractive, and speaks heavily accented English. Hers is an extreme case, and her challenges would be daunting. People in the midst of this evaluative matrix claim a mixture of majority and minority statuses. Take, for example, the comparative case of a heterosexual Anglo-Saxon male who graduated with an accounting degree from a small state college and holds a steady civil service job but also has a severe speech impediment and is grossly overweight, unmarried, and childless. He faces many serious challenges, but not so many as the Hispanic woman described above.

As multiple majority statuses accumulate and minority statuses decrease, what may be called the classic patriarchal paradigm emerges, the ideal candidate for the American presidency: male, white, upper-middle or upper class, Ivy League education, physical prowess, distinguished career, married with children, high church, outstanding civic service and military record, well-mannered, physically attractive, and so on. Given otherwise equally qualified candidates for leading positions, if one is male and the other female, the prizes still go overwhelmingly to the male candidates, and this pattern holds generally true not only in politics and the military but also in

business, law, religion, and medicine. In realms seemingly well outside the corridors of political and economic power, the multiple-majority male still generally trumps the otherwise equally qualified female when it comes to conducting the leading orchestras, directing the major art museums, and heading the most prestigious libraries. An important point here is that while a relatively small but extant number of upper-middle-class, middle-class, and working-class males can point to ever more numerous examples of women who outrank them or who have achieved greater career success, the vast majority of the key positions in the society remain solidly in the hands of males. This is part of the increasingly complex reality of contemporary patriarchal systems.

Objective and Subjective Forms of Patriarchy

Patriarchy in its most entrenched, overt, and traditionally oppressive form is readily evident to careful observers. *Objective patriarchy* is empirically demonstrable by the ratio of men to women who occupy the most well-paid, most prestigious, and most consequential decision-making positions in a society. A society has a fundamentally patriarchal pattern when its presidents, governors, directors, chief executive officers, judges, generals, high-ranking elected officials, chairpersons, key advisors, board members, and the like are either solely or predominantly male. Ostensibly, the pace of social change in given societies, so far as objective patriarchal patterns are concerned, is indicated by charting temporal shifts in the ratio of males to females who hold key institutional positions. Within the government of the United States, for example, the president, the vice president, the secretary of defense, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and holders of numerous other crucial offices have been men throughout the more than 200-year history of the country. This objectively verifiable pattern presents a classic object lesson in enduring patriarchy. From a purely quantitative perspective, a further 200 years of placing only women in the key positions of the U.S. government would be required before reaching equity in the ratio of males to females who have occupied these positions over time. The occasional future election or sporadic appointment of women to the top government positions will at best indicate potential for dismantling what remains at root a deeply entrenched pattern and should not be mistaken as a sign that patriarchy has

been supplanted or significantly weakened within the governmental institutions of the United States in any fundamental or revolutionary sense.

Beyond polity per se, the objective approach to patriarchal patterns can be further applied to examinations of the distribution and control of power, privilege, and prestige throughout the other major institutional structures of society today: linguistic, familial, legal, economic, educational, scientific, medical, and religious. The complexity of such studies, especially over time and when making international comparisons, becomes quickly more challenging and is sometimes intractable. Objective data are frequently unavailable, especially in the economically poorest regions of the world. Additional complications arise when exploring patriarchal patterns in private versus public organizations. Many of the most important and consequential societal decisions are made in secret sessions, behind closed doors through which even the most persistent researcher cannot go. When private entities elect to restrict their personnel records, veil their organizational charts, and seal their internal documents and memoranda, the evidence required to demonstrate the existence of objective patriarchal structures remains largely unavailable to outsiders.

Beyond the visible facade of patriarchal edifices such as the presidency of the United States, the intricacies and subtleties of objective patriarchal structures also deserve analysis, especially when documenting changes in patterns over time. In situations where women have reached something approaching parity with men in previously male-dominated fields, the apparent victory for women is often pyrrhic—too often symbolic rather than substantive. The field of medicine in the U.S. is a case in point. Medicine was traditionally a man's profession, but women now account for half of all medical students. Objectively, one might ask, has medicine ceased to exhibit a patriarchal pattern? Ostensibly, yes, but the deeper answer is negative. While it is true that women are entering the medical profession in equal numbers with men, they do not enter the same medical specialties. Men generally gravitate to the high-paying, highly competitive specialties, such as neurosurgery, whereas women tend to specialize in lower-paying, less prestigious specialties of gynecology and family practice. These differences translate into continuing patriarchal patterns that can be documented when looking at hospital directorships, deanships at medical research hospitals, and the editorships of the most prestigious

medical journals. Yes, women have been admitted to the medical profession, but men continue to dominate and control the field, albeit now in less obvious and more subtle ways.

The aggressive pursuit of power, prestige, and financial reward in capitalist as well as socialist societies is an enduring competition dominated by men, especially in the world's wealthiest and most influential nation-states. When a field of play becomes less lucrative or provides ever more limited opportunities for advancement, the most competitive men typically abandon the field to women and their less competitive male colleagues and go elsewhere to advance their careers. This may well be the ultimate future of medicine, as physicians become mere employees of massive hospital systems run not by doctors but by businessmen. The feminization of the U.S. teaching profession provides an instructive example, in that the average salary for teachers—in what was once an all-male profession—is now lowest in the grade schools, where women predominate, but highest among tenured university professors, where men still outnumber women by large margins. And among professors, as in medicine, men tend to predominate in precisely those scholarly disciplines offering the highest remuneration, and generally, men occupy the most powerful and instrumental university administrative positions. As tenure and other professorial perquisites disappear, the increased feminization of higher education becomes ever more likely. The mirror image of feminization is playing out in the field of nursing, traditionally an all-female occupation. As men enter nursing in larger numbers, salaries are increasing, the professional scope of nursing duties is widening, and male nurses are rising to take a disproportionate share of the top administrative positions open to nurses.

Images of objective patriarchal patterns are further subject to media manipulation, such that casual observers of the social scene are well advised to question the veracity and objectivity of images portrayed in movies, novels, and television comedies and dramas and conveyed in newspapers, magazines, televised news, and the Internet. While notable exceptions do exist, it remains the case that the influential motion picture studios, major publishing houses, television networks, and large newspapers in the United States are run predominantly by men. The underlying pattern of control is decidedly patriarchal, even if the images presented sometimes promote the

illusion that male privileges and prerogatives are in sharp and unrecoverable decline now that the world has entered the 21st century. Positive images of independent, capable, and instrumental women are undoubtedly inspiring models, but thoughtful critics admonish consumers to avoid mistaking self-affirming images, however inviting and attractive, for the hard institutional realities of the lived world.

The operation and persistence of patriarchal privilege is open to objective scrutiny, but the data required for comprehensive study are often unavailable, are frequently veiled in secrecy and privatization, and are subject to significant temporal shifts in the institutional locations of the most lucrative hierarchical competitions. Media laments and progressive fictions to the contrary, the objective patterns of patriarchy show few, if any, signs of socially significant or culturally meaningful erosion, especially in the more aggressive and industrially advanced countries of the world.

Compared with the objective, overtly oppressive aspects of patriarchy, the internalized, repressive dimensions of patriarchy are more subjective. The internalization of patriarchal beliefs (for example, the idea that men make better leaders, are the most stalwart, make the best soldiers, etc.) is relatively straightforward where men are concerned, because such beliefs generally serve their collective interests. On the other hand, the internalization, legitimation, and perpetuation of the same set of ideas by women contributes significantly to the maintenance and persistence of objective patriarchal patterns, to the overall detriment of women's collective interests, and in this sense is clearly repressive. A woman who recently reported, "I really think it's gentlemanly when a man lights my cigarette" and then reflects—as an afterthought—*that she doesn't actually smoke,* illustrates the subjective, internalized side of patriarchy that is passed unwittingly from woman to woman and mother to daughter, not to mention from man to man, father to son, and mother to son. Internalized visions of patriarchy as the proper order of things influence decisions made by men and women in the marketplace, voting booth, courts, schools, and boardrooms and in countless homes, businesses, and bureaucratic offices. It is unlikely that overt, visible patriarchal patterns will change without significant shifts in consciousness on the part of women who have internalized the ideologies and worldviews that support the objective patterns of patriarchy.

Conclusion

Patriarchy is a pervasive and enduring coercive social pattern wherein men hold all or most of the key decision-making positions in virtually every society around the globe. Power, privilege, and prestige are typically distributed in patriarchal systems along hierarchical lines, resulting in competitions between men for the very top positions. While it is often possible for some women to achieve higher positions than some men in patriarchal systems, the rise of a few women to positions in the upper echelons of power is commonly more symbolic than consequential for the society as a whole. The objective dimensions of patriarchal organization in any given society can be mapped by carefully observing the gender composition of the command and leadership positions in a nation's highest courts, elected offices, largest businesses, prestigious law firms, leading universities, and top military units. The subjective aspects of patriarchy (that is, the extent to which women internalize the "rightness" of patriarchal dominance) are more difficult to study but are nonetheless real and consequential. There is no inherent reason why patriarchy should continue to prevail, except that males have traditionally worked to retain the perquisites of power for themselves. Patriarchy, as a widespread pattern, appears safe from significant social or political challenges in the near term and will most likely survive well into the foreseeable future.

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See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Family, Organization of; Feminization of Labor; Gilman, Charlotte Perkins; Glass Ceiling; Masculinity Studies; Matrilineal Systems; Privilege, Male

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PENILE ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION

Penile erectile dysfunction (ED) is a broad term used by the medical establishment to indicate the inability to get or maintain an erection, ejaculate, or orgasm. However, in popular media, ED usually refers only to impotence. Research suggests that over 50 percent of men between the age of 40 and 70 years experience some form of ED. Historically, ED has been resolved through psychotherapy, often involving relationship counseling. However, with the introduction of self-injection drugs and oral therapy, the medical establishment became the leading treatment provider for dealing with ED. To understand the social implications of ED, it is necessary to discuss the etiology and treatment of the disorder.

Etiology of Erectile Dysfunction

The cause of ED is the result of a combination of biological, psychological, and social factors, referred to as the *biopsychosocial model of sexuality.* Biologically, the hormonal and vascular systems as well as

the existence of chronic illnesses impact sexual functioning. Chronic disorders such as cardiovascular disease, diabetes, arthritis, and cancer negatively impact sexual functioning. The extent of the impact is determined by the duration of the illness and the type of treatment involved. Psychologically, the attitudes and information a man has about sex contributes to how he functions sexually. The sexual patterning that is developed in childhood and adolescence through masturbatory technique and frequency as well as attitudes about gender and appropriate sexual expression are transferred to adulthood, resulting in the inability of some men to produce an erection, ejaculate, or orgasm unless stimulated in particular ways. Socially, the availability of partners, quality of relationships, length of relationships, and a man's status and income impact upon his self-image and body image, which directly affect his ability to perform sexually.

Currently, finding a solution for ED predominantly involves physical intervention, as opposed to psychological or relational. Men often fail to connect ED with other life events, such as stress at work, problems with their spouses, or poor nutritional and exercise habits. Despite the fact that longitudinal research exists demonstrating that age is the most important element of sexual behavior and that functioning naturally decreases as one gets older, the medical model emphasizes physical treatments. These treatments include penile prostheses, self-injections, vacuum constriction, and oral therapy. Oral therapy is the most common intervention for ED and was popularized by the introduction of Viagra, which is a cognitive distraction bypasser and has been prescribed to over 20 million men worldwide. However, self-injection is the only treatment for ED that does not require sexual arousal in order to be effective. In this treatment, men inject a small dosage of medication directly into the penis and an erection is produced within a few minutes and often lasts for 1 hour or more. Due to media coverage of ED, many men have unrealistic expectations about the benefits and limits to medical intervention. These expectations result from a lack of education about sexuality and aging and are based upon socially constructed notions of how men should be able to perform sexually.

Social Construction of Masculinity

There are many myths surrounding male sexuality and aging. It is not generally understood that as men age, it will take longer to have an erection, the erection will be less full, the volume and force of ejaculate is decreased, and the male will require more stimulation, both mental and physical, from his partner to become erect. Moreover, as men age, they often realize that they do not feel like ejaculating and/or orgasming at each sexual encounter. This is contrary to what men have internalized through socialization about male sexuality. Men have learned that to be masculine means to want sex constantly and to be able to perform on command. The medical establishment is also not immune to such myths and identifies as dysfunctions any reduction in stereotypical male sexual performance.

In U.S. culture, manhood is directly linked to the ability to have an erection. As such, it is extremely emasculating to experience ED. Men with ED often confront feelings of profound loss and a sense of isolation. Seeking medical intervention provides a biological rationale for ED, thereby eliminating the need to address relational and psychological causes. According to traditional, socialized attitudes among men, relationship satisfaction tends to be associated with the frequency of sexual relations between partners. Sex is narrowly defined as penetrative, and men have a distinct preference of how sex should be performed. There is often an unwillingness to vary performance to include other activities, as these are regarded as unmanly. With such limited sexual options perceived by men, feelings of inadequacy are exacerbated when ED occurs. This stereotypical view of sex is promoted and reinforced by the medical establishment with its focus on drug therapy. Men are supposed to be strong physically and mentally and not show emotion. Yet psychological factors are the key to sexual functioning. How a man feels about himself and his partner, as well as the social attitudes he has internalized about sexuality and aging, all contribute to ED, and these must be addressed in order for ED to be corrected.

Erectile dysfunction is a biopsychosocial concern, in which social attitudes about masculinity and sexuality interconnect with hormones and feelings about oneself to affect sexual functioning. Although ED is a common concern globally, it is also a natural part of the aging process. Historically, ED was treated through psychotherapy that focused on relationship management. Myths surrounding male sexuality and the social construction of masculinity have resulted in the primacy of the medical model to the detriment of other treatment options. Many men

seek physical intervention to avoid having to deal with the emotional loss associated with ED and are often disappointed when treatment fails or is only initially successful. Unless and until male sexuality and the concept of masculinity are reconstructed socially, men will continue to experience ED as personal inadequacy and emasculating.

Laura Zilney

See also American Men's Studies Association; Body Image; Gender Stereotypes; Health Disparities; Phallocentrism

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"Personal Is Political"

The common belief among feminists that "the personal is political" is usually traced to a 1969 essay of the same name by second-wave feminist Carol Hanisch, who argued that many personal experiences (particularly those of women) can be traced to one's location within a system of power relationships. In this case, Hanisch was focusing on men's power and women's oppression; for example, if a particular woman is being abused by a male partner, then societal oppression of women is an important factor in explaining this abuse. Sometimes, the statement is misinterpreted as the opposite—that women's personal behavior is of political significance. Thus, many women and men strive to make "feminist choices" in their day-to-day lives.

Origin

Hanisch was not the first to suggest that personal experiences were the result of social structures or inequality. In 1959, sociologist C. Wright Mills published a book, *The Sociological Imagination,* in which he argued that individual experiences are inextricably connected with the greater social and historical context. If an individual is unemployed, then that unemployment may be related to larger patterns of unemployment in that society. This focus on contextual factors is important in the social sciences. Betty Friedan's now-famous book *The Feminine Mystique* refers to "the problem that has no name," in which (white, middle-class) women felt constrained, unsatisfied, and unhappy in their roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers. Although this dissatisfaction was often treated as a personal problem both by the women themselves and doctors, Friedan blames the position of women in society. Friedan's arguments became very influential for second-wave feminism, and despite its specificity to white, middle-class women, the book is considered canonical in feminist history and theory.

At the time Hanisch was writing, the male-dominated political left often posed an opposition between personal and political issues; thus, if women held a discussion group around personal issues, it was derisively referred to as "therapy," a designation she thought was misguided. In actuality, Hanisch argued, women's personal problems *were* political problems, inasmuch as they were caused by women's inequality and women themselves were not to blame. By extension, these problems could not be solved by personal solutions, but only by social change. Many groups embraced this idea as a way of framing their agendas. For instance, the radical feminist organization Redstockings claimed that women failed to see their situation as a political condition: a class hierarchy, with men placed above women. Similarly, the Combahee River Collective, a black organization, stressed that its feminism included insights that were gleaned from members' personal experiences with racism and sexism. Many other documents from this period feature similar arguments. This focus on the problems of women's everyday lives, rather than just legal and economic phenomena, is one feature that distinguishes second-wave from first-wave feminism—along with the willingness to implicate society and even men themselves.

Impact

The statement that "the personal is political" was influential in second-wave feminism, shaping the development of social analyses and theories, encouraging new types of activism, and widening the scope of issues that could be defined as "feminist issues."

For example, it was one of the premises underlying feminist consciousness-raising groups. When feminist women formed consciousness-raising groups, they met regularly to discuss a particular topic, such as careers or parenting, sharing their personal experiences and generating new knowledge based on those experiences. This knowledge was the basis for further activism. Although one does not hear about consciousness-raising groups as much today, they had a profound influence upon radical feminist theorizing at the time, and many of the works produced by group participants (e.g., *The Dialectic of Sex,* by Shulamith Firestone) are still very well-known. Hanisch herself stressed that an interplay of action and theory, sometimes called *praxis,* is key to the development of good theory.

This idea also finds echoes in feminist theory today. For example, bell hooks stresses the origins of feminist theory in women's personal experiences. To this end, she discusses her own childhood experiences as a young black girl, in which she felt constrained in her family by gender ideologies. Because hooks could not identify or communicate with her family regarding this, she responded by engaging in a childlike version of "theorizing" to better understand her condition. Theory and politics were not distant and abstract relative to her personal life; rather, they were intimately connected. Similarly, Patricia Hill Collins has developed a description of what she calls "Black feminist epistemology," and one of the features she describes is "lived experience as a criterion of meaning." She offers quotes and evidence to support the idea that among many black women, personal experience is treated as being more epistemologically valuable than science or theory because it is based on immediate reality. Personal experiences have much more to tell about social reality and inequality.

Finally, "the personal is political" is implicit in many understandings of feminist issues since second-wave feminism; issues that might otherwise be seen as merely "personal" are emphasized as political issues. For instance, feminist researchers have found that many women are often conflicted about their goals in life, goals such as education, career, and family. For example, a woman may be torn between her desires for a career and for a family. Similarly, many feminists argue that societal messages emphasizing thinness are a cause of eating disorders among young women. The various messages women receive from peers and media contribute to a desire to be thin, even at the expense of their health. Thus, a wide variety of issues in women's lives are considered appropriate subject matter for feminist activism, research, and theory.

Christopher J. Kelly

See also Black Feminist Thought; Consciousness-Raising

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PHALLOCENTRISM

The term *phallocentrism* means "phallus (penis) centered" and refers to bias toward male power, male sexual pleasure, and male erectile and orgasmic functioning. It is a critical term implying that male (but not female) pleasure, sexual energy, and dominance should be admired and fostered. Phallocentrism may be described as a cause or a consequence of male-dominated societies. The term has been used to criticize traditional psychoanalysis (a branch of psychological therapy), sexual norms and practices, and preoccupation with male genital appearance and sexual performance.

Psychoanalysis

Sigmund Freud, a founder of psychoanalysis, is critiqued as overemphasizing the importance and significance of the penis. Freud theorized that both male and female sexual development involve the penis early in life. He thought that girls pass through a developmental stage of "penis envy," in which they desire to have a penis, and that boys experience "castration anxiety," a stage in which they suspect that girls' penises were removed as punishment and that their own will be removed as well. Feminists have interpreted these developmental theories as phallocentric, casting females as inferior and less than whole because they do not possess a phallus.

Psychoanalytic theories of clitoral and vaginal orgasms have also been attacked as phallocentric. The clitoris is a sexual organ located in front of the vaginal and urethral openings, extending up to an inch externally, and in two 3.5-inch branches (crura) internally. Freud conceptualized the external part of the clitoris as a tiny, inferior penis. He thought that when a woman reaches puberty and begins having coitus (penile-vaginal intercourse) the source of her orgasms should transfer from the masculine clitoris to the feminine vagina (the internal tube-shaped organ leading to the uterus, or womb), signaling sexual maturation. Psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch went on to equate the vaginal orgasm with mature femininity. Feminist criticism of the Freudian school maintained that the ideal of vaginal orgasm supports a false notion of the penis as the ultimate source of sexual pleasure. Furthermore, according to this argument, because men experience the vaginal walls as stimulating to the penis, they will tend to support the phallocentric belief that the penis should be ultimately satisfying to the vagina.

Pioneering biologist and sex researcher Alfred C. Kinsey and his research team were the first to claim that vaginal orgasm is anatomically illogical, as the innermost part of the vagina has almost no nerve endings. Sexologists William Masters and Virginia Johnson went on to conceptualize the clitoris as equivalent in sexual functioning to the penis. They are widely credited with describing the centrality of the clitoris to sexual arousal in females and dispelling popular belief in the vaginal orgasm.

Sexual Norms and Practices

Greater cultural importance of the penis is argued to produce sexual scripts (expectations that guide behavior) facilitating male orgasm. On average, men in the United States are far more likely (75 percent) than women (28.6 percent) to report always having an orgasm with their partner, although men overestimate whether their partner always has orgasms (43.5 percent). In the United States, a much more reliable source of orgasm for males than for females is the most commonly reported last sexual event (96 percent). Heterosexual attitudes frame coitus as true sex and the ultimate goal in coupling, also known as the *coital imperative.* Heterosexuals may see noncoital sexual behavior as a precursor to coitus rather than sex in its own right. Heterosexuals may also have difficulty conceiving of

sex between lesbians or acknowledging it as being sex, because it does not involve a penis.

Studies show that heterosexual noncoital behavior appears to be structured around male orgasm. In a study by Virginia Braun, Nicola Gavey, and Kathryn McPhillips, New Zealand couples interviewed separately reported that male orgasm signaled the end of the sexual encounter, whether or not the female had achieved orgasm. Prior to coitus, the male might orally or manually stimulate the female but almost never did so after his coital orgasm. The female sometimes had an orgasm prior to coitus, after which she felt obliged to engage in coitus to bring the male to orgasm.

Size and Performance

Phallocentrism may be linked to the outcome of surgical sex assignment in infants. Infants with ambiguous external genitalia (intersexed) are usually surgically assigned to the female sex. There is more concern regarding a penis that is too small than for loss of sexual sensitivity resulting from corrective surgery, which includes reduction of the clitoral/penile shaft.

Cultural emphasis on the importance of men's penis size and performance is reflected in the content of sexually explicit (pornographic) film. A norm in pornography for heterosexual and gay male audiences is to hire actors with larger-than-average penises, focus on genitalia in close-up shots, and show a "money shot" (external ejaculation sequence), but rarely a female orgasm, except in films for lesbian viewers. Male viewers identify with the role of the male actor in the scene.

Equating a large, erect phallus with sexual satisfaction and power has been linked to negative psychological consequences for men, who may seek drugs or surgery to foster more positive feelings about themselves. Critics point out that penis enlargement surgery and performance-enhancing drugs such as Viagra are not just used by men with unusually small penises or impotent men, but by physically average men hoping to enhance their masculinity and/or sexual confidence through larger penises or stronger erections.

Sibyl Kleiner

See also Androcentrism; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Freud, Sigmund; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Media and Gender Socialization; Oedipal Conflict; Penile Erectile Dysfunction; Pornography

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Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Planned Parenthood Federation of America is a nonprofit organization that seeks to advance reproductive freedom in the United States and abroad through (a) the provision of reproductive health services, (b) sex education, and (c) advocacy. Planned Parenthood originated in 1916 when Margaret Sanger, Ethel Byrne, and Fania Mindell opened a birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. In the 1920s, Sanger formally established both the American Birth Control League and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau. These two organizations merged in 1939 to form the Birth Control Federation of America. In 1942, the Birth Control Federation of America changed its name to Planned Parenthood Federation of America. The name remains unchanged to this day.

Health Services

Planned Parenthood is probably most well-known for providing health care services. It has 860 health centers across the United States that provide medical services to nearly 3 million people each year. Planned Parenthood clinics offer a wide range of services, including birth control; routine gynecological care, such as pap smears and breast exams; testing and treatment for sexually transmitted infections; pregnancy testing; emergency contraception; abortion; and voluntary sterilization for men and women. While Planned Parenthood is often thought of as a women's

health clinic, the number of men turning to Planned Parenthood for reproductive health services has been significantly increasing in recent years.

Sex Education

In addition to direct patient services, Planned Parenthood provides comprehensive sex education. It offers education for parents and teens through family-oriented programs; brings expert speakers to schools, churches, and community centers; and holds workshops and training seminars for teachers and health care professionals. Planned Parenthood publishes a number of resources that are available to the public, including pamphlets, books, newsletters, and videotapes. Through its many Web sites, it also uses the Internet to distribute information. On its teen Web sites (http://www.teenwire.com), for example, people can find interactive videos that illustrate a wide range of normal-looking genitalia and demonstrate how to put on a condom. The Web sites have expanded, however, to do more than simply offer educational resources. They now have an online store, where people can purchase items such as T-shirts, books, and Planned Parenthood logo condoms. In Oregon and Washington, people can order birth control and emergency contraception online.

Advocacy

Planned Parenthood also spends considerable time, financial resources, and organizational capacity doing advocacy work. Staff members and volunteers lobby lawmakers, engage in litigation, and conduct voter education. The goal of their advocacy work is to protect women's access to safe and legal abortion and to promote family planning. Planned Parenthood is a key player in policy debates on reproductive health care and reproductive rights in the United States and abroad. The international division of Planned Parenthood is active in over 20 developing nations. It is also a founding member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and maintains three regional offices in Nairobi (Kenya), Bangkok (Thailand), and Miami (United States).

Rachael B. Kulick

See also Abortion; American Birth Control League; Contraception; Sanger, Margaret; Sex Education

Web Sites

Planned Parenthood Federation of America:
http://www.plannedparenthood.org

POLYAMORY

Given the root words of the term, *polyamory* is defined as the "love of many": *poly,* stemming from the Greek term meaning "many," and *amor,* stemming from the Latin term meaning "love." The Polyamory Society describes polyamory as "the nonpossessive, honest, responsible, and ethical philosophy and practice of loving multiple people simultaneously." Other terms used to describe polyamory are responsible, ethical, or intentional nonmonogamy, sexual love, and ero-romance. There are subcategories and practices of polyamory; these include but are not limited to *polyfidelity,* groups of three or more people who consider themselves intimately partnered and/or married; *polygyny,* a group consisting of one husband and many wives; and other arrangements that are defined as being different from monogamous dyadic relationships. Multiple relationships can take many forms, such as group marriage, primary and secondary relationships, and casual sexual involvement with two or more people.

Polyamory is a relatively new term. However, the practices related to polyamory are not new and have been present across various periods of time and cultures. In addition to the contested nature of the term, there are also debates concerning how the term originated. Until approximately 10 to 15 years ago, polyamory was not a culturally recognized term; "poly" was rarely used as a descriptive identity and rarely applied to sexual and emotional practices. In current everyday contexts, it continues to remain a largely unrecognized term. Many people who currently engage in or philosophically believe in practicing polyamory often refer to their real and/or preferred relationships as "open relationships."

Polyamory, as both a term and practice, carries importance in communities that share and discuss practices that do not privilege the love of one other person and that challenge dyadic notions of what it means to love. Most of the "poly" organizations that currently exist can be found on Web sites that offer descriptions of what polyamory is, how it is practiced, and other informational points, such as how to negotiate jealousy in polyamorous relationships. There is very little empirical analysis of this topic, although discussions about multiple loves, polyfamilies, and similar issues are beginning to emerge in sexuality and gender literature. These topics have also begun to appear in sessions at social science conferences and through various listservs. For example, sociologist Elisabeth Sheff recently started a listserv that allows the increasing number of researchers doing work in this area to connect with each other to discuss ideas, methods, and experiences.

Dyadic Love

Love, like polyamory, is a highly contested and thus far unresolved social science phenomenon. For example, there are many different perspectives on what it means to love, ways to love, and who should love whom. Many scholars offer theories about love that are based on a Western definition of the "normal" relationship, which is rooted in a dyadic frame of reference. The presumed nature of love, desires, and relationships as residing solely within the couple influences the ways people think of and research relationships, including cross-cultural investigations. Love, relationships, and desires are complex in nature, and sexual identities are fluid and contextual.

Research on monogamy, nonmonogamy (a contested term that has been criticized for reproducing the ideal norm of monogamy), polyfidelity, polyamory, and open relationships tends to investigate romantic love as it is negotiated and experienced within the couple. Therefore, we know less about romantic love in triads and other multiple relationships. Deborah Anapol (1997) complicates matters by arguing that serial monogamy is in fact closer to polyamory than we would assume. She claims that those who engage in serial monogamy (different partners over time) have multiple-partner relationships that are merely divided by time. However, polyamorists generally define their multiple-love relationships as the engagement in such relationships at the same time. Thus, in addition to the dearth of polyamory literature, terms and sexual practices have been contested. *Swinging* is one such term that is consistently contested within the "poly" community because it is not universally regarded as "responsible" nonmonogamy.

The notion of love and relationships as dyadic does not reflect reality, people's real desires, experiences, and the ways in which love changes throughout the

life course and across different levels of social analysis, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality. To gain a better understanding of the social processes of love that fall outside of normalized assumptions of the dyad, there have been two shifts in recent sexuality research. First, queer theorists have been debating and discussing the social implications of privileging love as between two people. This debate has especially begun to take root in discussions regarding the same-sex marriage debates. Second, due to this shift in how intimacy, love, and sexuality are discussed, more research in the humanities and social sciences has directly addressed the topic of polyamory.

Cross-Cultural Studies and Gendered Patterns

While there is a lack of research on polyamorous emotional experiences and practices within disciplines such as sociology, anthropologists have conducted studies that challenge Western preconceived notions of kinship, monogamy, and sexual practices. These studies challenge Euro-American constructions of kinship, dyads, and heterosexuality, while highlighting how some family forms, while perhaps not monogamous, are still gendered. In terms of the gendered inequalities that can emerge in and through polyamorous relationships situated in the United States, Elisabeth Sheff's (2006) studies have shown how certain practices with all members of a polyamorous relationship are often gendered. Through the processes of organizing domestic life, women in the relationships tend to do a lot of emotional and logistical work.

Sociologists and anthropologists are interested in the practices that different people participate in as well as the social meanings different cultures and societies attach to those practices. In this way, researchers investigate peoples' day-to-day experiences. In the instance of love, if the predominant love practice in a particular society is marriage, that practice requires the "union" of one "man" and one "woman." This practice repeated time and time again and reinforced through power relations within the family, in occupational settings, and other social contexts, will most likely be institutionalized and taken as "natural."

Cross-cultural research complicates Western commonsense understandings of marriage, intimacy, family relations, sexuality, and economic relations.

For example, the anthropological work of anthropologist Cai Hua on the Na of China challenges assumed familial and relationship categories. In particular, Clifford Geertz (2003) argues that Hua's study of the Na shows that the practices of both marriage and monogamy are not universal ideals. The Na, Hua argues, have a completely different social organization of sexuality that is, even though monogamous marriage is absent, a "social institution." Particular gendered practices are expected; for example, children are treated differently based on gender and even though marriage per se is absent, there are rules and regulations associated with the Na's sexual practices. In regard to polyamory, Hua's work demonstrates the different ways love is situated. That is, the Na do not situate love and intimate relationships solely within dyadic contexts. Such research that demonstrates the multiple ways love and relationships are played out over time and space points to the problematic nature of conflating love with coupled relationships.

Conclusion

Questions concerning intimate relationships across cultures are directly related to those questions that have just begun to emerge in the polyamory literature. As stated above, *polyamory* is a term that is linked to a sexual and emotional practice and experience that is emerging in Western culture. While the term is quite new, similar sexual practices that do not rely on love between two people have emerged in different spaces throughout different periods of time. However, the practice of loving many is especially salient in the early 21st century and in Euro-American discourses. Further, the debates concerning polyamory are sociological in that there are real social consequences and material inequalities that remain on the periphery when polyamory and other similar forms of love are overlooked. As polyamorists argue, and as recent research has shown, institutions such as marriage marginalize relationship forms that fall outside of the couple, even more specifically the heterosexual couple. The benefits, such as legal rights and privileges that one accrues through marriage, cannot be realized by those who do not practice and engage in coupled relationships. Polyamory, while not a new practice, is both a new concept and a compelling sociological issue for those interested in analyzing heterosexually based social structures, institutions, and beliefs.

Danielle Antoinette Hidalgo and Kristen Barber

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Domestic Partners/Civil Unions; Family Law; Heterosexual Privilege; Institution, Gender as; Marriage Promotion Act; Monogamy; Mormons, Gender Roles and; Polygamy; Queer; Queer Studies; Same-Sex Marriage

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POLYGAMY

Polygamy is marriage that involves more than two persons. The marriage of one man to more than one wife is termed *polygyny.* The marriage of one woman to multiple men is termed *polyandry.* A marriage involving multiple men and multiple women is frequently called a *group marriage.* While in many parts of the developed worlds, the idea of polygamy is not socially or legally accepted. we do see the existence of serial monogamous marriages in which a person is married, divorced, or widowed and remarries.

Globally, various forms of polygamy have been found in a majority of world cultures. When examining global cultures, polygyny in some form is commonly exhibited in 78 percent of cultures. Comparatively, only about 21 percent of cultures practice pure monogamous marriages, and less than 1 percent practice polyandry. When comparing the global cultures, it is important to note that many small, traditional, low-tech cultures with small populations are taken into consideration along with cultures with large populations. Polygyny is found in an especially high number of cultures in Africa, and to lesser degrees in Central and South America and Asian/Pacific Island groups.

While many cultures demonstrate the presence of polygamy, this does not mean it is widely practiced. In societies practicing polygynous marriage, only wealthy men are able to support multiple wives. These societies typically demonstrate occurrence rates of polygynous marriage of less than 10 percent, with no more than 25 percent to 35 percent occurrence at most. Generally, most polygynous marriages include two wives. While the reasons to marry more than one woman vary, one noted path to multiple wives is the marriage of a man to a sister-in-law after his brother's death to provide economic support and maintain familial ties.

Polyandry, while not a common practice, can be an adaptive approach to an environment with limited resources. Polyandry tends to be found in societies with nomadic herding traditions where men may travel frequently to graze their animals. Frequently, polyandry occurs between a woman and brothers, thus keeping all children and resources within the same family. Polyandry limits fertility rates because the woman may have only one child at a time despite having multiple male sexual partners. On the other hand, polygyny tends to increase fertility rates, as a man can impregnate multiple women simultaneously.

Living arrangements of polygynous families vary across cultures. While, in some cultures, wives may share one residence with their husband, separate residences are more common when economically feasible. Frequently, these separate residences are located close to each other and may even share communal spaces, such as gardens, yards, or even parts of homes; however, the separate spaces enable the husband to share a dyadic marriage pattern with each wife and reduce conflict between wives. Variations occur, however, particularly once children are present from multiple wives. The familial responsibilities of housekeeping and child care may prompt wives to share spaces and redistribute resources and children by gender and age within a family setting; for example, all female children from the multiple wives may share a single bedroom.

Religion has a strong affiliation to polygamy. While the Bible depicts multiple wives among Old Testament patriarchs, the Catholic Church rejected polygamy during the 16th century. In contemporary times, the Mormons have a noted affiliation with polygamy.

Mormonism, a relatively young religion, was established in 1830 in the United States by Joseph Smith. While polygyny did not appear in significant numbers during the initial years, it was increasingly common by the 1850s, after Mormon groups established a settlement in the Salt Lake Valley of Utah (1847). Mormons made a distinction of marriage "for time" and marriage "for time and eternity," the

affiliation of religious sacrament encouraged and enforced polygynous marriage. During the 1800s, 15 percent to 20 percent of Mormon families had practiced polygyny at some point. The greatest levels of polygyny were seen during the Mormon Reformation of 1856 to 1857, with a 65 percent higher occurrence rate than any other 2-year period. During the 1860s and 1870s, federal legislation began to address polygyny and Mormon political independence via the Morrill Act (1862) and the Edmunds/Tucker Act (1887). In 1907, the Mormon Church publicly denounced polygyny. Thereafter, polygyny did not disappear entirely but was practiced only by fundamentalist Mormons.

Over the course of the 1900s, fundamentalist Mormons practicing polygyny faced the threat of social and legal persecution. This threat resulted in many families migrating to Canada and to Mexico during the first half the century. Alternately, polygynous families were spread out geographically and moved frequently to avoid authorities, resulting in many families seeing their fathers/husbands only intermittently. Today, while there is little fear of persecution for polygyny, most bigamist men keep their polygynous marriages secret socially, particularly within the work arena.

As polygamy is illegal in the United States, most polygamous marriages are not legally constructed. Frequently, the marriage of a man to his first wife will be a legal marriage, while consequential marriage will not be legal, but will be religious and perhaps social in nature. The housing situations of polygynous families vary but may be broken into three primary types: dyadic, communal, and mixed. In *dyadic* housing situations, each wife has a separate residence, and the husband spends time separately with each wife. *Communal* housing situations, which are common particularly during the early years of marriage to a secondary wife due to economic reasons, occur when multiple wives share one residence, though they will almost certainly have separate bedrooms. *Mixed* housing situations occur in a combination of dyadic and communal; for example, a husband may have one home for his first wife and one home shared by his second and third wives, though there are innumerable manners of manifesting mixed housing. While many polygynous marriages may initially begin within a communal setting, they will frequently transition to dyadic within the later years of marriage. These same housing patterns were common in the

1800s for pioneer polygamous families. How husbands distribute time among their wives/children includes laissez-faire structures, flexible structures based on need, and least commonly, a rigidly structured schedule.

Daniel Farr

See also Marriage; Monogamy; Polyamory

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POOR WOMEN'S GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States have had a long and active history, only loosely documented. One of the difficulties in gathering data on such organizations in America is the ambiguity over the term *grassroots.* The term usually implies freedom from political constraints, in some cases in direct opposition to the formal government. Grassroots movements are primarily concerned with localized movements and how they affect everyday people. Such movements have an informal nature and are initially organized by people who do not have formal political affiliations and usually those who are not interested in attaining and maintaining a power base for espousing political views. Another difficulty in attaining information on poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States is due to the demographic of "poor women," who have little political, social, and cultural capital and commonly lack the desire to assert themselves as political actors or activists. Many women involved in grassroots movements arrive at these efforts through volunteer work, often associated with religious organizations. Poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States are integral in illustrating how activism can both challenge and reinforce gender socialization

Feminism and grassroots organizing among women are often linked. However, it is important to note that they are often at odds. Feminism as seen through the lens of popular culture is often depicted in the image of the bra-burning, man-hating activist, which is at odds with the reality of women who are actively mobilizing for a cause that affects their families' lives on an everyday basis.

Traditionally, the women who do find themselves engaged in poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States often assert their collective rights to protect their families from an immediate danger or perceived threat. These women are linking social need to democracy by organizing locally. The transformation involves individuals who do not label themselves as activists evolving into activists fighting for a particular cause that has affected them personally, mobilizing with other women surrounding this issue to create more permanent social change. Most of the issues that fuel poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States affect the quality or capacity for life on an everyday basis. They have a local component, which affects the actor directly. Conceptions of human dignity, rather than law, prevail.

As a preeminent scholar in poor women's grassroots movements, Temma Kaplan has used the concept of *female consciousness* to refer to certain women who demand the freedom to act based on their own understanding of their personal obligations as primarily wives and mothers. This female consciousness is shaped by early gender socialization, when many girls are taught that responsibility as a mother and wife includes providing both care and protection for their families. Certain women will take action against authority when they feel their abilities to provide food, clothing, housing, and health care for their families are either hindered or compromised. These women attempt through moral claims for justice and human rights to transform politics in democratic directions. They make direct connections between community health and moral imperatives of justice. Social networks become crucial for women involved in poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States to meet their goals.

Poor women are often lacking access to institutions through which they could exercise their will and therefore resort to creating their own practices to preserve their families. One of the most well-known instances of poor women's grassroots organization during the 20th century was centered on the Love Canal, in upstate New York, in the late 1970s. Working-class women who identified primarily as wives and mothers organized against local authorities to fight the toxic dumping in their community. Women initially involved in this movement have become icons for women of the present to organize and fight for justice.

Some of the more prominent grassroots movements involving poor women involve efforts to protect their children against pollution, disease, and homelessness. When toxic pollution threatens communities, some women will take action, willing to confront authorities to preserve life. Although grassroots organizations concerned about the environment and child safety have a longer history in the United States, more current attention is being paid to reproductive health issues, unionization of women workers, and issues pertinent to domestic violence.

One of the changes in development during the last decade is the increase in grassroots organizations of women in the United States in general, but more particularly among women of color. People of color are disproportionately represented in the lower classes, so the grassroots movements of poor women are more often than not presently made up of women of color. Women of color are creating their own organizations and agendas that prioritize race, ethnicity, class, and gender as intersecting categories that affect their daily experiences. There is also a more recent consciousness among poor women's grassroots organizations to actively refuse to identify with a single political ideology.

Many of the poor women's grassroots organizations in the United States remain localized and never receive national attention. A short sampling of some presently prominent self-identified poor women's grassroots organizations that have gained national attention in the United States include the following: Citizens' Clearinghouse for Toxic Waste, Leadership Initiative Taskforce, Women's Rights Action Watch, Love Canal Medical Trust, SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective, and Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood.

Teal Kristen Rothschild

See also Consciousness-Raising; Gender Identities and Socialization; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Women Against Violence Against Women

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Population Control

Population control is the control and management of demographic processes having to do with fertility, mortality, and migration for the sake of achieving non-demographic objectives relating to culture, politics, and/or the economy. The subject requires a gender lens particularly with regard to fertility, as women are the ones who become pregnant and give birth. States seeking to control and manage fertility may focus especially on controlling and managing women's bodies. Thus, demographic processes implicate women and men in fundamentally different ways and are hence gendered. In recent decades, population control has become an important issue of concern to feminists. It has especially become a concern in the so-called third world, where questions about the limitation of fertility as an avenue to economic advancement have become particularly important since World War II.

This entry gives a brief review of the emergence of population control as a goal within poor countries in Asia, Africa, and the Americas (for example, how "outsiders," particularly outside governments and agencies, have contributed to the ascendance of this goal); reviews how women around the world have experienced the implementation of population control; and, finally, articulates what can be called a "third-world feminist perspective" on population control.

The Emergence of Population Control as a Strategy of "Economic Development"

The ideology of population control has its antecedents in the late 18th and early 19th century writings of Thomas Malthus, who argued that population grows geometrically, while foodstuffs increase arithmetically. Thus, as population increases, the demand for food will eventually become greater than the supply for food. While Malthus did not focus on birth control as a general strategy for curbing population growth, except within very limited circumstances, his ideas were subsequently reworked by others. In particular, neo-Malthusians argue that excessive population growth is a major cause of poverty and that the limitation of fertility through birth control is a key avenue to economic prosperity.

The concerns of neo-Malthusians, particularly within the United States, became focused on the newly independent and poor countries of Asia and Africa, as well as of the Americas, after World War II. Despite its own postwar baby boom, the United States government noticed with alarm the relative fertility growth rates of "northern" versus "southern" countries, wherein the rates of the latter outstripped the rates of the former. As these countries themselves sought what has been called economic development after a long period of formal and informal imperial and colonial rule, the American public became concerned with population growth. In particular, there was concern that "excessive population growth" would contribute to and exacerbate conditions of "economic underdevelopment" and poverty, which were in turn seen as dangerous breeding grounds for communism. As a number of authors such as Susan Greenhalgh, Dennis Hodgson, and Susan Watkins have explained, the U.S. government thus became concerned with population control in poor countries as a strategy of national security. In the 1960s, this concern became central in U.S. foreign policy, and the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) launched its "inundation strategy" to broadly expand contraception and sterilization access around the world. Beyond such governmental action, the United States also provided funding to address these concerns among various national and international nongovernmental and academic organizations.

Assumptions about the lack of male interest in birth control resulted in the targeting of women within these programs. Since women in developing countries were often assumed to be irrational, ignorant, and backward, methods that did not require sustained motivation, time, or care for use, such as sterilization, injectables, and IUDs, were considered ideal. The international nongovernmental organization, the Population

Council, took the lead in developing female contraceptives like the copper IUD and Norplant. The IUD was also thought to have the additional advantage of being able to be used "privately," without the male partner's knowledge. Some argued that women would eventually realize that reducing fertility was good for the economic development of the country and also for themselves, and a number of "educational campaigns" aimed to encourage a small-family norm were also undertaken.

Over the decades, poor countries did start to incorporate fertility reduction components into their larger development programs. Nevertheless, the bulk of these countries argued against the prioritizing of population control, wanting to focus instead on the structural conditions of dependency and poverty. These tensions came to a head in the World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974. While poor countries argued that "development is the best contraceptive," the United States responded that population control was the most important avenue to economic development. This U.S. focus on population control did not break until the advent in the 1980s of the conservative administration of President Ronald Reagan, which became concerned that population control services might also include abortion services. From the late 1980s and on, however, new concerns about the detrimental impact of rapid population growth on the environment spurred additional politicization of population growth in poor countries.

The Implications of Population Control for Women

Feminists have had ambiguous and shifting relationships with the singular focus on population control over the decades. While, on one hand, the neo-Malthusian goal of expanding birth control around the world connects with the feminist imperative of increasing women's control over their own bodies and fertility, its extra-feminist and sometimes nonfeminist goals have also had problematic implications for women. In the final analysis, as Ruth Dixon-Mueller has explained, the "demographic bias" of the neo-Malthusian movement has meant that while access to birth control has been expanded to women around the world, this has not necessarily been accompanied by an enhancement of either women's health or empowerment.

One key problem with U.S.-backed population control programs since World War II is their narrow focus on limiting the fertility of women around the world. In many pro-natalist societies, where there is broad cultural and social support for having children, women's status may be enhanced as they have more children. A singular focus on the reduction of fertility, divorced from the larger context within which reproduction norms are sustained, then, can actually worsen women's positions. There is also the aforementioned concern with the use of methods that do not require sustained motivation, time, or care for use, such as IUDs, injectables, and sterilization, which also take away women's control over their bodies and reproductive health. Moreover, in their zealousness to convince women to use these methods, providers also often neglect to adequately educate them about potential side effects or other problems or to provide sufficient follow-up services. The fact that these fertility reduction programs rely on quantitative measures of success rather than qualitative ones—factors such as the "number of acceptors" or of contraceptive "prevalence rates"—exacerbates this eschewing of context.

Finally, some corporations have also taken advantage of the ongoing inequalities between richer and poorer countries and between the population control establishment and its "targets," whether through the practice of testing new reproductive technologies on women in poor countries without adequate disclosure or safety measures or through the dumping of contraceptives no longer approved for use in the U.S. domestic market (high-estrogen orals, the Dalkon Shield IUD, injectable Depo-Provera) onto the markets in developing countries. Ultimately, not only has the prioritizing of fertility reduction in a context of global class, racial, gender, and other inequalities meant the neglect of other dimensions of women's health, but it has also introduced new problems regarding women's health.

The Third-World Feminist Perspective

Feminist critiques of international population programs started to proliferate in the 1970s, both within and without the United States. Perhaps the most powerful of these have come from women in developing countries. As the Kenyan feminist Esther Wangari has explained, the focus on fertility reduction as the solution to economic decline and environmental degradation is deeply problematic because it ignores historical and contemporary relations of power between "northern" and

"southern" countries, as well as the interconnections between policies imposed by the state, international financial institutions, donor countries, and the global apparatus of resource control and power. For example, the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s have been identified as fundamental in exacerbating conditions of poverty and environmental destruction. Moreover, the consumption practices of richer countries, particularly the United States, have been considered as a much more significant contributor to contemporary concerns about the environment. From this perspective, the focus on the "lifestyles" of the poor, and especially poor women in developing countries, is the result of the intersection of hierarchies of race, sexuality, nation, class, and gender, which shifts the blame of global, asymmetric formations onto the bodies of the least powerful members of the global community. In this view, even within the "northern" space of the United States, many women of color, poor women, disabled women, and women who merely break norms of femininity live with a history of manipulated or forced submission into long-lasting, often permanent, sometimes dangerous methods of fertility control like sterilization.

A critical feminist perspective, then, suggests that programs for population control be placed and examined within historical and transnational relations of power as they intersect with more-local hierarchies and, finally, that population control not be allowed to position itself as an apolitical, technical "solution" to global and "developing-country" problems.

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See also Abortion; Body Politics; Fertility Rates; New Reproductive Technologies; Sterilization; Transnational Development, Women and

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Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream

Once a relatively small-niche market, pornography in recent years has become a mainstream, technologically sophisticated multi-billion-dollar industry, one that plays a significant role in shaping our ideas about gender and sexuality. Like many complex and politically contested concepts, pornography can be defined in a number of different ways. While some define *pornography* simply as any sexually explicit written or graphic material, others include additional criteria, such as that the material be produced for the purpose of sexually arousing its audience or that the material convey certain (typically sexist and degrading) ideas and attitudes about women, men, and sexuality. While these varying approaches to defining pornography raise questions worth exploring, for most practical purposes, it is sufficient to delimit the boundaries of the concept by pointing to the products of a specific and identifiable industry. This entry discusses the production and content of contemporary mainstream pornography, the effects of pornography consumption, and contemporary legal issues concerning pornography.

The Contemporary Pornography Industry

While sexual images in some form have long been a part of human experience, the existence of pornography as a mainstream commercial industry dates back only

to the 1950s. The advent of *Playboy* magazine in 1953 was followed in the late 1960s and 1970s by *Penthouse* and *Hustler.* These three magazines and their many imitators constituted the mainstream of the industry into the early 1980s. Since then, continual technological innovations combined with changes in social norms have produced enormous changes in the pornography industry's content, structure, and delivery methods.

Perhaps the most notable change is in the sheer size and reach of the industry. According to the adult industry's trade magazine, fewer than 2,000 hard-core titles were released in 1988; by contrast, in 2005, the number of such titles had reached 12,971. The annual revenues of the pornography industry are estimated to be $13 billon in the United States and $97 billion globally. Pornographic content is now delivered via multiple avenues, from print magazines to videos, DVDs, Web sites, game systems, and mobile phones. As each technological innovation, from the camera to the video camera to the Internet, has brought pornography closer to the consumer—privatizing the experience of consuming pornography, making it cheaper, more directly and constantly accessible, and more anonymous—the levels of pornography consumption have drastically increased.

Contemporary pornography is deeply intertwined with mainstream media corporations, many of which heavily cross-promote pornographic content across their media holdings, including books, network and cable television programs, and mainstream men's and women's magazines. A number of major multinational corporations, such as General Motors and AT&T, make significant profits from pornography via venues such as satellite TV, broadband cable channels, and hotel pay-per-view. Given these profits, mainstream media outlets often convey a legitimizing and glamorizing set of messages about the pornography industry.

Mainstream Pornography: Content and Themes

While there are numerous pornography niche markets, including films and sites aimed at gay and lesbian audiences, those marketed as "alternative," and those explicitly marketed as sadomasochistic, this entry focuses on the content and themes common in contemporary mainstream pornography aimed at a heterosexual, predominantly male audience. Such pornography is divided into two main genres: features and gonzo.

Features have relatively high production values and bear some resemblance to mainstream Hollywood movies, with characters, dialogue, and plotline providing some context for the explicit sex scenes. The performers in features are typically better paid than those in gonzo, and some of the women performers can make additional money on the strip bar circuit. The content of features is typically less aggressive and extreme than the content of gonzo, although as gonzo increasingly defines the industry, its more aggressive content starts to spill over into features as well.

Gonzo films, also called "wall-to-wall," are simply a succession of recorded sex scenes, without characters or plot and with an emphasis on more extreme activities. Because of its appeal to consumers and its relatively low production costs, gonzo is extremely profitable and is the fastest-growing sector of the pornography industry. Gonzo films are typically marketed as "reality" porn; that is, the consumer is meant to believe that the individuals depicted are not paid performers. Often the male performers or the cameraman will interview the woman about her putative sexual desires before the sexual activity begins, and in many gonzo films, there is continued audible comment and instruction from cameramen. Most gonzo films include a standard sequence of sex acts, including vaginal, oral, and anal penetration of one woman by one or more men, ending with what is known as the "money shot" of male ejaculation in the woman's face or on her body.

The sexual acts most common in gonzo pornography films are of a more extreme and degrading nature than those in features. Penetration is often quite aggressive and is often accompanied by the man or men slapping, spanking, or choking the woman; pulling her hair; spitting on her; or most commonly of all, calling her abusive names. Gagging has become an increasingly prominent theme, with many scenes that feature oral penetration emphasizing the discomfort being caused to the woman. Films featuring anal sex, similarly, are often marketed as involving pain or damage to the woman's body. Some sexual acts common in contemporary gonzo pornography were essentially invented by the industry. The double penetration or "DP," in which a woman is penetrated vaginally and anally by two men at the same time, has become very common, and as consumers become bored and desensitized, the industry has progressed to even more extreme multiple penetrations, such as double vaginal, double anal, and even triple anal.

There are numerous important subthemes within contemporary mainstream pornography. One is the sexualizing of racial and ethnic inequality, with subgenres of pornography focusing on women (and men) of different racial and ethnic groups, emphasizing the stereotypes attached to those groups. As many as 1 in 4 new pornography films belong to the so-called interracial genre, which depicts African American men having sex with white women. These films are often marketed with an emphasis on the damage supposedly being caused to the white woman's body by the African American man's penis, thus reinscribing racial stereotypes with a well-established history in American culture.

Another common theme in mainstream pornography is the sexualizing of children and adolescents. In addition to the vast quantities of bona fide child pornography on the Internet and elsewhere, there is an enormously popular genre of legal, mainstream pornography sometimes called "pseudo-child," in which very young-looking women are depicted in childlike ways. The iconography of childhood is deployed (pigtails, schoolgirl uniforms, teddy bears, lollipops, and the like), and the women are depicted as "innocent" but nonetheless craving sexual activity with adult men.

Finally, there is a growth market in amateur pornography, particularly given the recent advent of Web sites like YouPorn and PornoTube, in which users upload their own pornographic content. On these sites, users sometimes upload paid and copyrighted material for others' consumption, but they also create their own material, which other consumers can then access for free. The recent slight downturn in industry profits may be attributable in part to the success of these sites.

Production

As the industry itself has changed—from an underground market largely controlled by organized crime to a mainstream and hugely profitable industry intertwined with the rest of corporate America—some of the dynamics of the production of pornography also have changed. Perhaps the most significant change has been the relative ease with which young women are recruited to the industry. Because the industry is so often portrayed in mainstream media in legitimizing ways and because of the enormous cultural visibility of

"crossover," porn stars, such as Jenna Jameson, many young women, especially those without college educations and with limited economic opportunities, see participation in the pornography industry as a viable, glamorous, and lucrative career option. In recent years, many new agencies have begun to specialize in recruiting young women to the pornography industry.

Partly due to this glut of available labor, women in the industry face increasing pressure to engage in more extreme and disfavored activities, so as to keep working when many other women are ready to take their place. The fact that such activities are more highly paid results in additional economic pressures driving women to agree to perform them—pressures often exacerbated by increased financial benefits for their agents and managers. The physical and psychological toll of such participation, combined with the tendency of the industry to constantly seek new faces, means that most women's careers in the pornography industry are short-lived.

While there is little reliable research on pornography performers, substantial testimonial evidence suggests that substance abuse and addiction are rampant in the industry and that many women in the industry experience major bodily damage. Furthermore, anecdotal and testimonial evidence suggests that as with women involved in prostitution, women in pornography are disproportionately survivors of sexual abuse as children and teenagers. Thus, while questions about the free choice and consent of women in these industries are complex and difficult, there is little doubt that sexist social pressures, abuse histories, economic needs, and other factors continue to constrain and influence women's and girls' participation in pornography, as in other sectors of the sex industry.

Effects of Pornography Consumption

There is a substantial social science literature on the effects of pornography consumption. For instance, studies have indicated that after viewing pornography in laboratory conditions, men are more likely to report decreased empathy for rape victims, to report believing that a woman who dresses provocatively deserves to be raped, to report anger at women who flirt but then refuse to have sex, to report decreased sexual interest in their girlfriends or wives, and to report increased interest in coercing partners into unwanted

sex acts. While such research has its place, its limits must also be acknowledged, given the many significant differences between laboratory conditions and real-world pornography consumption: short-term versus long-term use, quantity and intensity of use, magazine and video format versus Internet technologies, and the fact that consumers in the real world do not "just watch," but rather masturbate to orgasm.

As pornography has become increasingly mainstream and pervasive, some feminists and other critics have also raised concerns about its effects on people's relationships and on the culture generally, emphasizing the ways in which pornography's commodification of sexuality and intimate life breeds isolation, disconnection, and often disinterest in sex with real partners. Some psychologists have contended that for some consumers, a compulsive interest in pornography can become a form of addiction, with predictable negative consequences for the addicted individual's finances, relationships, and overall well-being. Finally, some critics have pointed to the role of pornography in constructing and sustaining a form of masculinity that is toxic not only to women, but to the boys and men whose sexuality and identity it constructs.

Contemporary Legal Issues

In the United States, as in most of the world, the production, distribution, and possession of child pornography is illegal. Pornography featuring adults is governed by obscenity law; obscene material is not protected by the First Amendment. In the 1973 case *Miller v. California,* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a work is obscene and thus may be subject to state regulation if three conditions are met: First, "the average person, applying contemporary community standards" would find that the work appeals to the prurient interest; second, the work depicts sexual conduct in a patently offensive way; and third, the work lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. While in theory, a great deal of contemporary pornography could plausibly be prosecuted under these standards, in fact such prosecutions are rare.

Some feminists opposed to pornography have supported an alternative legal strategy that employs civil rather than criminal law to combat the industry's harms. The 1980s and early 1990s saw several local efforts to pass the Anti-Pornography Civil Rights Ordinance, which would have allowed individuals and groups who

had been harmed in one of several specified ways by the production, distribution, or consumption of pornography to sue the producer or distributor of the pornography in question for monetary damages and/or an injunction against the pornography's sale. While this particular legislation was overturned as unconstitutional, some critics of pornography believe that some version of this legal approach—emphasizing civil rather than criminal law, and harm rather than offense—still holds promise.

The powerful lobbying arm of the pornography industry, the Free Speech Coalition, tracks all state and federal legislation affecting the industry and its products and combats all attempts at increased regulation. For example, in 2002, the Free Speech Coalition successfully fought a federal law that made it a crime to display virtual child pornography—that is, computer-altered images that appear to represent actual children engaging in sexual activity. In *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition* (2002), the court overturned this law, thus effectively rendering such images legal. More recently, the coalition has led the fight against tightened new regulations requiring pornography producers to maintain age records on all performers.

In recent years, the migration of much pornography to the Internet has created unprecedented legal and technological challenges for those attempting to impose controls on the industry. For instance, although the production and distribution of extremely violent pornography has long been illegal in Britain, the government found that the global accessibility of Internet pornography rendered this restriction largely meaningless, as many British consumers downloaded such material that had been produced elsewhere. Thus, partly in response to a campaign by the mother of Jane Longhurst, who was murdered by a man addicted to violent Internet porn, the British government proposed a new law banning the downloading or possession of images of extreme sexual violence. It remains to be seen whether similar legal initiatives will be undertaken elsewhere and, if so, what their consequences will be.

Conclusion

While certain themes in pornography remain relatively constant over time, contemporary pornography is in some respects unprecedented: As technological changes have yielded a multitude of delivery methods, consumers' escalating demands have led to an emphasis on more extreme content. As the industry expands and its

cultural influence continues to grow, there is an acute need for more research on pornography's production; its central themes and messages; and its effects on individuals, relationships, and the culture at large.

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See also Feminist Sex Wars; Gender and the Internet; Pornography, Legal and Political Perspectives; Rape; Rape, Statutory; Sex-Radical Feminists; Sex Work (Prostitution)

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Pornography, Legal and Political Perspectives

Written descriptions, still images, and film representations of sexual activity designed to incite erotic emotions and behaviors in persons are generally considered pornography. Many additional social and subjective elements factor into the real-world manifestations of pornography, however, rendering it considerably more complex than this basic definition suggests. Because a universal conceptualization of *erotic* and/or *sexually stimulating* does not exist, what exactly constitutes pornography is complicated by era, region, religion, sexual orientation, gender, political perspective, and so on. All texts and visual images are polysemic, with meanings contingent upon viewers' particular subjectivities. Consequently, any representation that can be considered even obliquely sexual has the potential to be considered simultaneously banal, artistic, erotic, pornographic, and obscene to different audiences. The existence of pornography and pornographic material is thus due largely to the individual perspectives of persons experiencing a particular depiction.

Pornography in the United States

Technology, jurisprudential regulation, and amorphous cultural climates are only some of the factors contributing to the social and historical evolution of pornography around the globe. Cultural particularities unique to the United States have had a significant impact on the country's developing relationship with pornography since the 1930s. In the United States, pornographic materials in various forms have consistently been in high demand from consumers. At the same time, pornography and its hypothesized effects on human beings have been hotly contested in various spaces at different times.

Regardless of this love/hate relationship, the vast majority of all pornographic materials are currently made in the United States. This has been the case for some decades. Consequently, the following section speaks to the history, development, and current state of pornography in the United States specifically.

Pornography, Obscenity, and Free Speech

English common law rulings from the 1800s provided the basis for the conceptualization of obscenity in the United States. Graphic and literary depictions in any form that seem to infuse individuals' minds with immorality and/or depravity were considered "obscene." Myriad works of art and literature were

deemed obscene and banned under these rulings in England and in the United States.

Obscenity is not protected as free speech under the U.S. Constitution. As the pornography industry began to emerge as a burgeoning, albeit clandestine, industry in the 1930s, producers of erotic texts and images were subject to a number of criminal charges. As standards for determining what exactly constituted obscenity, depravity, or immorality had not been articulated in the United States, common charges brought against pornographers included arbitrarily determined obscenity. Two cases—*Roth v. United States* (1957) and *Miller v. California* (1973)—eventually established the basic guidelines for obscenity in the United States, which have had a significant impact on pornography and the industry that produces it.

The case of *Samuel Roth v. the United States* (354 U.S. 476) took the first significant step toward defining obscenity in the United States. According to the *Roth* decision, a material that predominantly contained themes appealing to an average person's "prurient" (sexually unwholesome) interests would be considered obscene. Contemporary "community standards" (local norms) were used to determine whether or not a material actually appealed to said prurient interests. Although *Roth* was reliant on the very vague and subjective concepts "unwholesome" and "community," this decision represents the first attempt in the United States to capture the concept of obscenity and establish a legal standard for its definition.

The vague quality of *Roth* became apparent as a litany of obscenity and obscenity-related cases emerged. Who and what constituted the community, and thus who or what had the capacity to determine prurience in average persons, was a common sticking point in these cases. The case of *Marvin Miller v. the State of California* (413 U.S. 15) further clarified obscenity, repudiating the *Roth* decision and establishing the three-part "*Miller* test" for obscenity. On the basis of *Miller* and the *Miller* test, a material can be considered obscene if (a) an average person applying contemporary community standards finds the work appealing to prurient interest, (b) the material depicts or describes sexual conduct in a patently offensive way as defined by applicable state law(s), and (c) the work lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

As was the case with *Roth,* the *Miller* standards for obscenity are muddled by vague and subjective concepts, including the concept of "community." The

notion of community has become particularly relevant in the contemporary age of virtual pornography and online communities. Regardless of these problematic elements, the *Miller* test continues to stand as the benchmark of obscenity today.

Several other court cases and jurisprudential acts have had a significant impact on obscenity and pornography in the United States. For example, the *New York v. Ferber* case from 1987 (458 U.S. 747) established that pornographic depictions of underage persons could be banned without first being established as obscene. Congress subsequently defined *child pornography* with reference to the *Ferber* case until the passage of the multipart Child Pornography Prevention Act (CPPA) in 1996. Under the CPPA, any visual depiction including any photograph, film, video, picture, or computer-generated image that is, or appears to be, of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct and any material presented in such a way that gives the impression that a minor engaged in sexually explicit conduct were prohibited. These two components of the CPPA were determined to be both overbroad and unconstitutional by the *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition* decision of 2002 (535 U.S. 234).

Today, pornographic material depicting actual real children is prohibited regardless of obscenity. Pornographic material that, for example, alludes to the involvement of underage persons, presents various media representations of underage persons (i.e., cartoons or drawings), or depicts youthful-looking adults engaging in sexual activity is not prohibited. Such materials are subject only to the *Miller* test.

Debates Among Feminist Scholars and Activists

Debates over pornography have divided U.S feminist scholars and activists for decades. Historically, two dominant perspectives on pornography exist: the antisex/pro-censorship and the pro-sex/anti-censorship. According to the first perspective, *anti-sex/pro-censorship,* society is organized hierarchically such that men dominate and women submit. Pornography functions to illustrate roles of domination and submission in the context of sex and sex behaviors. Consequently, persons allied with this perspective assert that the tendency of pornography to represent gender inequality as sexually desirable is inherently harmful to women. Antipornography feminist

activist Andrea Dworkin claimed that because pornography shows women as "vile whores" while simultaneously being considered representative of realistic and desirable sex behaviors, all pornographic depictions function to demean and degrade women. Other feminist scholars and activists allied with this perspective include Gail Dines, Robert Jensen, and Catherine MacKinnon.

The second persepective, *pro-sex/anti-censorship,* also claims that society is organized hierarchically such that men dominate and women submit. Persons allied with this perspective, however, assert that pornography functions to attenuate the sexual repression of women and other sexual minorities by reconceptualizing the essential function of sexual activity to be physical, genital pleasure rather than emotional intimacy. Consequently, pornography in all forms is regarded as a progressive, or at least destabilizing, social force. Pro-sex academic Camille Paglia argues that pornography illustrates individuals' most primal desires for sexual expression, regardless of how un/popular, ab/normal, or politically in/correct they may be. According to Paglia, women pornographic actors are powerful entities actualizing a feminist reconceptualization of the essential function of sex. Other feminist scholars and activists allied with this perspective include Laura Kipnis, Nadine Strossen, and Linda Williams.

Some scholars have begun to offer critiques of these perspectives of pornography. One common critique asserts that the tendency of feminist scholars and activists to focus on particular aspects of pornography has resulted in the production of dichotomous either/or scholarship. Feminist scholarship that describes pornography as either liberating (pro-sex) or oppressive (anti-sex) for women is now commonly considered to be inaccurate, limited, and reductive. Rather than taking an either/or approach to pornography, contemporary critiques suggest that pornographic material should be considered to be both oppressive and liberating. Consideration of a multiplicity of pornographic content and genres and analysis of their subsequent meanings from a variety of perspectives is considered necessary to develop a "both/and" perspective. Feminist analyses of pornography are also critiqued for their tendency to presuppose universal values and norms regarding human beings, their experiences, sex, and sex behaviors. Contemporary critiques of "either/or" scholarship also suggest

refraining from presupposing universal values, norms, and meanings in all contexts.

Antipornography Activism During the 1980s: Feminists and Conservatives Allied

During the 1970s, the popularity of pornographic films and the cultural phenomena of "porno chic" seemed to indicate a general increase in society's acceptance of pornography, and the advent of Sony's videocassette recorder technology markedly increased its accessibility. The apparent popularity of pornography that emerged during the 1970s was unsettling to some feminist activists and scholars and to some conservative politicians. Consequently, antipornography activism was common in both feminist and conservative circles during the 1980s.

For example, attorney Catharine MacKinnon and activist Andrea Dworkin saw the increased popularity of pornography as a threat to women's sexual equality. In 1983, MacKinnon and Dworkin coauthored a city ordinance stating that pornographic materials violated the civil rights of all women in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and consequently should not be permitted within the city limits. This ordinance, later deemed unconstitutional, was presumably drafted on behalf of the sexual and human rights of all women. In another example, in 1984, former President Ronald Reagan announced his intention to study the effects of pornography on society. He assigned Attorney General Edwin Meese the task of conducting the investigation, and Meese appointed 11 persons to an investigatory task force in May 1985. Members of the "Meese Commission" were then given 1 year and approximately a half-million dollars to investigate the effects of pornography on society. It has been speculated that the actual purpose of the Meese Commission was to overturn the findings of the 1970s Presidential Commission on Pornography, which stated that there was no identifiable link existing between sexually explicit material and criminal and/or violent behavior.

Although instances such as these two examples were presented as noble endeavors designed to ensure women's rights, the dangers they posed to freedoms of speech and expression were quickly identified. The Minneapolis ordinance's proposal to quell pornography's wholly negative effects on

individuals through limited access ignored the repressive quality of censorship and did not consider individuals' rights to sexual expression. The Meese Commission's attempt to protect women and reformulate the presumably liberalized boundaries of sexual acceptability masked intentions to reassert arcane standards of obscenity and morality on the culture.

The Current State of Pornography: The U.S. Adult Entertainment Industry

Pornography and the ways it is produced, marketed, and consumed in the United States have changed dramatically since its unofficial legitimization with the *Roth* decision. Widely viewed films like *Deep Throat* (1972) and *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973) fed the cultural phenomena of "porno chic" in the early 1970s. The changing cultural climate, coupled with the development of the *Miller* test for obscenity in 1973 and the introduction of Sony's videocassette recorder technology in 1975, ushered in the "golden age" (1975–1983) of pornographic filmmaking. According to adult film historian and director Jim Holliday, some of the best films of the entire pornographic genre were made during these years.

As was previously discussed, the 1980s brought forth a rash of antipornography activism from some conservative and feminist activists, and the industry was subject to a rash of legal prosecutions in various forms. One of the most commonly cited cases used to castigate the pornographic film industry occurred in the 1980s. In the mid-1980s, a 15-year-old girl named Nora Kuzma used a borrowed birth certificate to obtain a California driver's license. With legal documentation stating she was of age, Kuzma worked under the pseudonym "Traci Lords," becoming one of the most popular adult film stars of the decade. Although Lords misrepresented her true age and no persons in the pornographic film industry were ever convicted of creating or pandering child pornography in this instance, the Kuzma/Lords case is still commonly cited in discussions of child pornography.

The Kuzma/Lords case can be clearly linked to the eventual passage of 2257 regulations. According to U.S. Code Title 18, 2257, anyone producing sexually explicit visual media depictions after November 1, 1990, must "create and maintain individually identifiable records pertaining to every performer portrayed." The intended purpose of this law was to document the

legal ages of persons performing in sexually explicit productions and prevent underage persons from engaging in recorded sex performances. Although many sectors of society focused on pornography for some time during the 1980s and the upkeep of 2257 records is still required today, changing political and cultural climates during the early 1990s eventually shifted attention away from the adult film industry.

Twenty years after the beginning of the "golden age," adult entertainer Danni Ashe identified the Internet as a viable marketing venue for pornographic material. The creation of "Danni's Hard Drive," a picture-enhanced directory to adult-themed Web sites and an even more private way to access and consume adult material, revolutionized the industry. Aside from necessary regulations monitoring children's access to adult content, the Internet continues to allow the pornography industry to operate largely unchecked by existing obscenity law. In the virtual world, the demand for particular products and services is clear, and amorphous "community standards" have become even more difficult to identify.

Today, the contemporary pornography, or adult entertainment, industry is a massive and diverse entity that includes all cable, satellite, and pay-per-view services providing adult content; all Web-based sites and services that provide adult content; phone sex services; sex toy sales; and sexually explicit print publications. The industry generated an estimated $10 to $14 billion worth of revenue in 1998 and $12.9 billion worth of revenue in 2006.

Studio production of professional pornographic films is the most significant and prolific single component of the adult entertainment industry. The sale and rental of adult DVDs and videos accounted for 28 percent of all adult entertainment industry revenue generated in 2006. With film production commanding such a large percentage of revenue, it is not surprising that the adult film industry produces a substantial amount of films. To put this in context, Hollywood filmmakers produce approximately 400 films per year; adult industry filmmakers produce over 11,000. Exactly 12,971 adult films were produced in 2006. These numbers and amounts would be substantially higher if amateur adult films were included.

As was previously mentioned, there is a tendency for scholars and activists to focus on particular niche subgenres of adult films when making cases for or against pornography. Often niche films cited as exemplars do not reflect pornographic material in general. There are,

however, particular pornographic subgenres that are more fully representative of the vast majority of adult film material produced. According to an *Adult Video News* survey conducted in 2004, 90 percent of the adult films produced by 500 production companies surveyed are "features" or "all-sex" films. All other subgenres (niche films) collectively make up the remaining 10 percent. Features include sex depictions couched within an overarching plot and/or developing narrative. All-sex films depict sex scenes only, with no overarching plot or overtly developing narrative. The all-sex film category is made up of "gonzo" and vignette films. Gonzo films incorporate the use of a "talking camera," as the person filming a particular sequence or scene is also playing an active, integral role in the film. For example, a person may be holding the camera while giving directions or making comments to people performing in a sex scene. Vignette films string sex scenes together with an overarching concept. For example, the sex scenes in a vignette film may be connected by a costume/visual theme or by the continued presence of particular talent.

Pornography Outside the United States

The pan-European pornographic production industry is the U.S. industry's closest peer, although the content and quantity of materials are not directly comparable. Some Asian countries also produce a sizable amount of pornographic material. Asian pornography contains unique images and tropes that distinguish it even further from U.S.-generated materials. With the exception of films and content made by visiting U.S. and European producers, not much pornography is produced in Latin America. Pirated copies of myriad pornographic materials, however, are abundant and accessible. In some global regions, such as most of the Islamic world, production and possession of pornography is strictly forbidden.

Conclusion

Regardless of region, pornography has had a very contested and dynamic history. Although not reflective of every country and culture's dealings, consideration of pornography in the United States reveals much about the predominant component of what is normatively considered the contemporary pornographic adult entertainment industry.

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See also Feminist Sex Wars; Gender and the Internet; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream; Rape; Rape, Statutory; Sex Work (Prostitution); Sex-Radical Feminists

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POSTCOLONIAL/SUBALTERN FEMINISM

Postcolonial theory is a growing and a contentious field. While postcolonial scholars are divided over the precise definition of the term *postcolonial* and what it encompasses, this theory deals with the ways societies have been colonized, centering on the key concept of *otherness,* also referred to as the *subaltern.* Postcolonialism emphasizes that colonized subjects are highly diverse in their characteristics, conventions, and traditions and belong to cultures that are constantly evolving. Consequently, they are not only "other" to the colonizers but also are different from one another and from their own pasts and should not be generalized into a single group. The rise of postcolonialism in the West has often been attributed to the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism,* published in 1978, which is a critique of Western conceptualizations of the Orient. However, modern postcolonial theory essentially emerged out of the writings of Indian subaltern theorists. These scholars used the particular experiences of colonialism in India as a model to understand contemporary

relations of domination and subjugation but in many cases also sought to maintain a strong bond with the culture of the ex-colonizer.

Postcolonial scholars believe that all contemporary racial, ethnic, and cultural oppressions can be attributed to Western colonialisms. Postcolonialism addresses the ways colonized people have served the interests of colonizers, how knowledge of colonized peoples is produced and used, and the ways the literature and practices of the colonial powers are used to justify colonialism through binary oppositions stemming from the European colonial era (for instance, the colonized being portrayed as emotional and decadent, the West being portrayed as principled and progressive). Instead of simply reversing this negative polarization, postcolonial theories focus on reempowering subjects who were marginalized by colonial rule. Consequently, they have been eager to seek structural similarities, continuities, conjunctures, and alliances between the postcolonial oppressions experienced by people, both in formerly colonized populations in developing countries and among immigrant populations in the West.

Postcolonial Feminist Theory

There are several similarities between feminism and postcolonialism. Both concepts are essentially concerned with the theories of marginalization and the construction of a "subaltern" colonialism and/or male-dominated gender differentiation. Terminology is a central concern of both postcolonial and feminist theories because both these philosophies have analyzed issues of "the silent voice" and "marginalization," as a result of the way the female or the colonized subject has been driven to articulate selfhood in the terms of the oppressor. Additionally, both philosophies question the notion of universalization by rejecting the binary structures of patriarchy and colonialism and suggesting alternative areas of focus. However, postcolonial feminist theory has departed from mainstream postcolonial theory by highlighting the importance of gender to understand concepts of colonialism and nationalism. This theory states that oppressions relating to the colonial experience—particularly racial, class, and ethnic oppressions—have particularly marginalized women in postcolonial societies. Postcolonial feminist scholars have argued that postcolonial theory thus far has been a rather male-oriented field with a nearly exclusive analysis of male subjects. These gender dynamics were instrumental in

maintaining the colonial enterprise. The following discussion will highlight some of the main themes of postcolonial feminist theory.

Critique of Western Feminisms

While there is considerable diversity within what can be broadly described as "Western feminist thought," postcolonial feminists have criticized the emergence of feminism from white middle-class Western women who have tended to downplay issues of difference. Like scholars of color in the West who have criticized the liberal color-blind position of Western feminism, postcolonial feminists argue that gender discrimination is neither the sole nor perhaps the primary locus of the oppression of women around the world. They criticize the narrowly defined feminism that isolates gender from all other forms of oppression and assumes that eradication of gender discrimination is the route to ending oppression of all women. They have resisted the universalist and globalizing tendencies of the Eurocentric paradigm of feminism, which emphasizes women as a group with a common shared humanity produced by global patriarchy, obscuring real differences between women and denying the possibility of heterogeneity.

Second, postcolonial feminist scholars contest the Eurocentric gaze that privileges Western notions of liberation and progress and portrays women in developing countries as victims of restrictive cultures and religions. Scholars like Chilla Bulbeck (1997) argue that Western feminist philosophy posit white feminists as more advanced and liberated, with the underlying assumption that women all over the world want to be more like Western women or that their ideal is to gain the same rights as men. In these characterizations, little attention is paid to history and difference; Western feminism becomes the norm against which all other women are judged.

In fact, postcolonial feminist scholars have resisted the tendency of Western feminists to characterize women in developing countries as an essentialized, homogeneous, and unified entity. This was the primary focus of Chandra Talpade Mohanty's influential essay "Under Western Eyes" (1991). She was one of the first to critique the "women in the third-world" series of scholarly publications by European scholars who used their own cultures as the norm to represent indigenous and women in developing countries as the "other," defining them in terms poverty,

illiteracy, and community victimization. Since then, several postcolonial feminist scholars have argued that the terms *third world* and *women in developing countries* are by no means established categories. Rather, these terms are a locus of contention in the diverse and complex sphere of postcolonial feminism because they raise a barrier, not only between Western feminisms and women in developing countries, but also between women in developing countries themselves.

Overall, postcolonial feminist scholarship has articulated powerful criticisms of the ethnocentrisms of Western feminism, its amnesia about the brutal history of colonialism, and its tendency to reproduce colonial modes of representation. Postcolonial scholars have contributed to the larger movement of transforming feminist theory from a rather parochial concern with white middle-class English-speaking woman to a focus on women with different national and cultural contexts.

Knowledge Production and Standpoint

Another key issue in postcolonial feminism is the issue of knowledge production and the lack of voice given to issues of women in developing countries. The question of "voice" was first raised by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, in her groundbreaking essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988). In this essay, Spivak analyzes the relations between the discourses of the West and the possibility of speaking of (or for) subaltern woman. Spivak argues that those individuals in the most extreme positions of marginalization have no way of having their voices heard or of becoming visible through any process of self-representation. She argues that the potent combination of patriarchy and colonialism makes it very difficult for the subaltern to speak, as she is oppressed both by the colonizing white men and by the native men. While some elite native colonized men might find a way to voice resistance, women rarely, if ever, verbally oppose their oppression. If they do, Spivak argues that their act of representation is not heard and recognized by the listener because it does not fit what is expected of the representation. Therefore, representation is nearly impossible.

Thus, several postcolonial feminist scholars have attempted to transform feminist methodology and social analysis by prompting Western feminists to think about who they are speaking for when they speak of "woman" or "women" and to scrutinize the very act of speaking for someone else. They emphasize the significance of producing knowledge "for ourselves" by addressing issues of subjectivity, experience, identity, and agency. Overall, they have attempted to articulate a nonuniversalizing feminist epistemology and methodology to better understand the interrelationships and standpoints of differently located people.

Gender, Colonialism, and Nationalism

Feminist scholars in the West have always asserted the importance of gender as the primary area of focus in terms of nationalism. While nations, nation-states, nationalism, and national identity have also been discussed by postcolonial theorists, they have emphasized the legacy of imperialism and colonialism to provide a new framework for the study of nationalism. They point out that anticolonial nationalism differed from earlier forms of nationalism in Europe and the New World because the colonizers saw the colonized as barbaric and uncivilized. Western notions of gender, family, and sexuality were often used as the yardstick for civilization, and any deviation from this norm became the proof of the backwardness of the colonized people. For instance, postcolonial theorists such as Ashish Nandy and Uma Narayanan have highlighted that colonialism exploited practices such as *sati* (widow burning) in India to discredit the cultures of the colonized and to validate colonial or quasi-colonial domination. Similarly, scholars such as Mrinalini Sinha and Gayatri Spivak emphasize the politics of "colonial masculinity," in which white British masculinity was constructed as being different from the more feminized or more effeminate native male population. White British men were portrayed as protectors of females (both native and white women) from the alleged assaults of native men. This real or imagined threat, they highlight, was seen as a justification for the dramatic demonstrations of white imperial masculinity in the colonial domain.

As a result, in direct response to the negative characterizations of their cultures, the anticolonial nationalism that emerged sought to construct its own nationhood as one that was different and superior to the modern West. In doing so, gender difference was often used as a way to construct a distinct yet modern nationhood in relation to the West. The discourse on Indian nationalism, for example, introduced the figure of the "modern Indian woman" as the unique symbol of Indianness and of the nation's absolute difference from the West. Thus, as symbols of the nation, women needed to be modern, but

they could not mark a complete break from tradition. Similarly, postcolonial scholars have also studied the image of motherhood, both in terms of "nation as the mother" and in women's roles as "mothers of the nation," which, they argue, has been among the most powerful and exalted image of the feminine in the nationalist discourse. The dominant construction of women as mothers—as objects of national reverence and protection—has been the most important way through which women have been integrated into the various nationalist projects.

While nationalist constructions of woman, femininity, and masculinity have been subjects of much attention of postcolonial scholars, they have also highlighted important questions about the compatibility of feminisms and nationalisms. Scholars argue that the feminist movements for universal suffrage and other rights in Europe and the United States emerged after the nation-state came into existence and were informed by the racial politics of their respective nation-states. In contrast, in many colonized regions, feminism and nationalism were often self-consciously connected. This is because empowerment of women was seen as an important concern of the national rejuvenation and social reform projects of nationalist movements. Mrinalini Sinha critically reviews Katherine Mayo's book *Mother India,* published in 1920, in which the author describes India as a place where all women are subordinated by child marriage, early sexuality, and child widowhood. Sinha highlights that the counterattack to the book in the form of writings that portrayed India in a more positive light expanded the nationalist agenda to include women and empowered women's movements.

Globalization, Gender, and Agency

Postcolonial feminist theorists have also analyzed the growing effects of globalization on the newly industrializing countries of the world. They have specifically looked at questions of race and gender and how they have attained a new significance due to the large-scale incorporation of poor "third world" women into the multinational labor force. Scholars like Aihwa Ong, Chandra Mohanty, Sassia Sasken, and Valentine Moghadam have analyzed how gender is institutionalized in economic restructuring and globalization in which governments and transnational corporations have become the main actors. World markets relocate in search of cheap labor and find homes in countries with unstable political regimes, low levels of unionizations,

and high unemployment, and women are the ones who overwhelmingly constitute the labor force. Other scholars have shown how restructuring of the industry has led to women losing their jobs and being forced into low-paying and insecure informal sectors. They highlight how the marginalized sections are being further exploited in the interests of global capital.

While postcolonial scholars have been instrumental in highlighting gendered impact of global capitalism, postcolonial feminist scholars have also highlighted women's response to globalization as positive, as it is leading to women's labor-organizing initiatives and transnational feminist networks. Scholars specifically highlight women's agency in these countries and argue that women are anything but passive victims of their circumstances, as they have succeeded in organizing themselves in the context of global restructuring. In Tanzania, for example, women chose to work in the informal sector rather than multinational corporations, and in Mexico, women used their wages from *maquiladoras* (factories) to start a women's center that provided legal assistance. Therefore, postcolonial feminist scholars argue that there is a need to overcome the dominant framing of globalization, which uses a simplistic characterization of weak, undefended countries and poor "third world" women against the powerful and irreducible forces of Western capital. They insist that there is a need to acknowledge powerful strategies of feminist and other social movements and alternative forms of resistance to globalization.

Gender and Immigration

Finally, feminist theorists also highlight that the global-level classification of the industrialized/postindustrial West and the rest of the world as nonmodern and traditional are also applied uncritically to groups of immigrants. Although the conflation of tradition and women in undeveloped countries has increasingly been challenged by a number of scholars, such assumptions continue to be used in the recent literature on immigrant women. Traditions—participation in rooted ways of life that influence norms and behaviors of individuals in ways that mitigate against individual empowerment—are assumed to be deeply ingrained in immigrants who reproduce traditions in modern host countries. Thus, a persistent idea that is evident in much of the feminist work on immigrant and ethnic women is that females from other countries come in contact with ideas of gender equality after migration

and subsequently get a chance to improve their status within their communities in Western countries. Therefore, the more recent scholarship empirically examines whether migration actually improves such access for women.

A body of work has suggested that migration can lead to inequality. Aihwa Ong has argued that the power of families in socioreligious institutions is replaced by the patriarchal power of large multinational corporations. Oyeronke Oyewumi has argued that bureaucratization often creates simplified categories of males and females as primary identity criteria, overriding nuances of masculinities and femininities that are organized through age, family relationships, and other formulations. In her study on Bangladeshi garment workers in London and Dhaka, Naila Kabeer demonstrated how racial minority immigrant women in modern Western societies suffer from greater gender disadvantage than their sisters (of the similar or lower classes) in the "traditional" home countries.

Other scholars argue that precisely this process of transformation is key for constructing power relations in ethnic communities in ways that create new gender distinctions. Women become subjects of extra scrutiny precisely because the groups that are able to rise to power in the new structural circumstances are more patriarchal. Given their minority status and the relative absence of choice, women become subject to heightened control and scrutiny. Thus, this set of literature highlights that the processes of gendered racialization that define majority-minority positions within modern nation-states enhance hierarchies.

Conclusion

Postcolonial feminists are still in the process of contesting the Eurocentric notion that promotes Western concepts of female liberation and progress and portrays women in developing countries primarily as victims of ignorance and restrictive cultures and religions. The key objective of postcolonial feminists is to encourage thinking in new, nonoppressive ways. As part of this effort, several postcolonial scholars have advanced to including a transnational lens to feminist theory and methodology, with the objective of moving beyond the binaries of East/West, first world/third world, tradition/modernity. While the question of how to analyze and respond to transnational forces is not new to postcolonial feminist scholarship, the emergence of transnational feminist theory offers new possibilities for thinking differently about colonialism, which allows for a better study of the emergence of multiple nodes and forms of oppression.

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See also Economy: History of Women's Participation; Transnational Development, Women and

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Postmodern Feminism

Postmodern feminism: These two words together can be read in several ways, partly because the first word is a kind of hybrid term whose meaning has been much contested and partly because the second word is the name for a variety of practices, both intellectual and activist, that have developed out of the history of women's struggle for equal rights, liberation, and self-definition. Thus, *postmodern feminism* can sound like the felicitous conjunction of two powerful forces. Or the combination may seem to generate varying degrees of irony. Last, and in the worst case, the phrase may appear oxymoronic, a contradiction in terms that hinders or even negates feminism.

To describe the different ways that *postmodernism* partners with *feminism,* one must begin provisionally with a basic definition of the term *feminism,* despite its internal variety and the different countries and contexts in which it has a history. Feminism may be characterized as both a theoretical critique and a social movement. That is to say, feminism is both intellectual and interventionist. On one hand, it attempts to expose and criticize the fundamental division between male and female on which patriarchal societies organize themselves—a hierarchy of power in which women must occupy positions and conform to roles that are subordinate, invisible, and "other." On the other hand, feminism also seeks to push forward to the point of all its social criticism and historical interpretation. That point, to adapt one of Marx's theses on Feuerbach, is to change the world. Feminism is deeply committed to a transformation of those structures and institutions that determine women's identities and to a political activism that seeks to free women (and men) from an oppressive social system.

When the prefix *postmodern* is added to this critical and emancipatory project, the ambition of feminism to effect a change in social relations is modified, as are the methods proposed to bring about such change. In the first case, where feminism and postmodernism seem consonant with one another, this alteration has been seen as an improvement upon previous waves of the women's movement. For instance, first-wave feminism focused on universal suffrage and equality under the law. Second-wave feminism was concerned with showing how, in a famous phrase of Carol Hanisch, "The personal is political": to expose the connection between the way women are determined politically and the way they live their lives personally. In the evolution from first to second wave, the world that women wanted to transform was enlarged to include the hitherto unpoliticized realms of everyday domestic life. As a result, much emphasis was given to the unveiling of the long-unrecognized lives of women, the legitimation of their experiences and social contributions as equally important as men's, and the promotion of a solidarity built on a shared female identity. For postmodern feminists, these emphases seemed to imply that feminism was really an extension of liberal humanism, distributing its rights to, and shining its lights on, that half of the population who happened to be overlooked as whole persons. When feminists began to feel that the problem was the liberal-humanist framework itself and began to think that the world they wanted to change was mounted on a foundation of unexamined beliefs, values, and systems of knowledge, postmodernism seemed a powerful ally.

Postmodernism as a concept, method, and historical condition has as many meanings as it has interested theorists, but what matters here is the way feminism constructed postmodernism for its own purposes. Calling on poststructuralist theory and thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, Michel Foucault, Julia Kristeva, and Hélène Cixous, feminists enlisted a postmodernism that was highly oppositional. Poststructuralism was a development of, and departure from, Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralist treatment of language and meaning. Instead of thinking of meaning as the essence of the word or of the signified as the anchor of the signifier, Saussure argued that meaning was the result of the differential relationship between signs. Poststructuralism made

the gap wider between signifier and signified, claiming that in such an opening lies the free play or dissemination of differences untethered from the world of referents. Subjectivity, likewise, was not the grounding or anchor for meaning; indeed, self-consciousness was itself "spoken" by and in language. Feminism saw in this so-called linguistic turn a way of challenging the essentialism that had confined women to fixed social positions and a subversive style of talking about exclusionary systems and their structures of power. Feminism had begun an attempt to move beyond becoming visible within the system and telling women's stories. It had begun to interrogate the misogyny at the heart of subject formation and the production of meaning.

Side by side, feminism and postmodernism attacked the foundations of humanism and the fixed truths of Enlightenment rationality as "phallogocentric," as centering on the phallus and establishing masculine values as normative. Together they worked to decenter the male term and to rescue the repressed of patriarchal logic. Incredulous now of all "grand narratives"—not just the ones in which equality is based on universal human reason but also those stories in which human history is described as marching toward some great goal—both forces deconstructed and demystified all things posing as natural, essential, true, and unified. Nature, essence, truth, and unity were not to be thought of as ground, but as effect: they were the result of the suppression of differences. Postmodern feminism worked to dismantle identities and categories that had banished this difference to the margins.

In this process, feminism had also begun to think about its own operations and practices. For some critics, postmodernism's antifoundationalism, deconstruction, and decentering of subjectivity created serious problems for feminism, problems that range from the ironic to the contradictory. The ironies of feminism's union with postmodernism were several. One was the postmodern incredulity toward metanarratives and repudiation of deep structures, paired with feminism's need to retain models of large-scale social analysis, such as Marxism. Another was the widening of the distance between the increasingly academic and jargon-filled critical discourses and the primary beneficiaries of feminism: ordinary women who could no longer access the insights of such complicated interrogations. Another was the alliance of the utopian impulses of feminism with the pessimism of thinkers like Foucault, or at least the realization that

based on postmodernism's situated perspectivism and self-strictures, the feminist project could now only be negative—only in the process of negating what already exists.

These latter ironies, in which the activism of feminism was giving way to theory and its agency to analysis, were perhaps a consequence of a more debilitating contradiction in the partnership of feminism and postmodernism. While postmodernism aided feminism in the critique of epistemological foundations and cultural representations, it also served to destabilize feminism by calling into question the very category on which feminism relies, that is, the category of *woman* itself. For some postmodern feminists, such as Judith Butler, the poststructuralist death of the subject, and with it the passing away of "woman," was not crippling at all. Quite the opposite, it was the natural result of criticizing identity categories as "instruments of regulatory regimes." The deconstruction of gender as a performance not rooted in sex allowed for a critique of the ways in which "woman" was the theater of heterosexuality, and it led the way for the transformation of women's studies into gender studies.

But for many, the loss of a shareable concept of woman, like the loss of universal ideas of personhood and justice, spelled disaster for the feminist project. As Linda Alcoff maintained, postmodernism cannot serve as a foundation for feminism or any other discourse of liberation. Postmodernism was attractive to feminists because it promised the freedom of differences while taking apart the prison houses of culturally constructed subjectivities. The destruction of the essence of woman, whether in Kristeva's undecidable and strategically negative woman or in Cixous's "volcanic" feminine excess, seemed both subversive and heroically evasive—a disruption of binaries as an escape from patriarchal definition. But according to Alcoff, without a positive conception of women, there could be no way to make demands in their names and no way to oppose sexism. Furthermore, in this view, postmodernism ultimately strips women of epistemic authority by debunking their personal and lived experience as mere phallogocentric construction or ideological site. By displacing experience as the foundation for social theory, says Alcoff, we take away authority only from those who are most oppressed.

Likewise, Nancy Hartsock believes that feminism must begin from the experience and point of view of the dominated. Arguing against postmodernism as a

danger to the marginalized, Hartsock turns postmodern incredulity against itself, asking her now famous question, "Why is it that just at the moment when so many of us who have been silenced begin to demand the right to name ourselves, to act as subjects rather than objects of history, that just then the concept of subjecthood becomes problematic?" This right to self-naming and the continued need for some version of identity politics has led to a multiplicity of feminisms, especially as they intersect with racial and economic understandings of social organization.

Although many critics have admonished postmodernism for its theoretically disabling and politically inadequate treatment of agency and change, the current enlargement of feminism by other agents of change—queer theory, ethnic studies, cultural materialism, and postcolonial studies—may be seen as a result of postmodern thought. The emphasis on positions and standpoints that are the products of historical experiences and material practices is at least partly a consequence of postmodernism's deconstruction of the universal and objective view from nowhere. Indeed, as African American critic bell hooks has cautiously pointed out, postmodernism's challenge to universals, essences, and fixed identities allows us to affirm the multiplicity of identities and the variety of experiences. It opens up new ways of asserting agency and constructing subjectivity. And last, for hooks, postmodernism can provide the space for a new variety of social bonds. While the current postmodern pluralism may have made solidarity, and therefore feminism's expeditious activism, much more complex and difficult, this state of affairs may also simply be the mark of a more just world.

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See also Feminist Methodology; Misogyny; Phallocentrism; Queer Studies; Sexism; Standpoint Theory; Women's Social Movements, History of; Women Studies

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POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

Though post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has long been observed in survivors of interpersonal violence such as sexual assault and military combat, it was not until 1980 that PTSD was officially codified in the psychiatric nomenclature. The current diagnosis of PTSD requires (1) exposure to a traumatic event accompanied by (2) intense feelings of helplessness, horror, or fear followed by (3) more than 1 month of (4) clinically significant distress arising from (a) *reexperiencing symptoms* (e.g., nightmares, flashbacks), (b) *avoidance and/or numbing symptoms* (e.g., effortful evasion of trauma reminders, emotional detachment), and/or (c) *elevated arousal or arousability symptoms* (e.g., hypervigilance, exaggerated startle reactions).

Epidemiology and Gender

PTSD is one of the most common psychiatric disorders in the United States. Between 15 percent and 24 percent of trauma-exposed adults and 7 percent to 10 percent of the general adult population will likely have PTSD in their lifetimes. PTSD disproportionately affects women, and women consistently report double the rates of the disorder and longer symptom duration than men. Epidemiological studies have found heightened rates of PTSD in women (vs. men) in lifetime prevalence (11.3 percent vs. 6 percent) and in total current prevalence (3 percent vs. 1 percent).

Gender and ethnicity may interact in contributing to PTSD rates. One study found that gender disparities in PTSD following a natural disaster were greatest for Mexican Americans (43.8 percent in women, 14.4 percent in men), moderate for Caucasians (19.4 percent in women, 5.9 percent in men), and smallest for African Americans (men and women reported

statistically equivalent rates). The authors suggest that cultures that favor traditional gender roles may produce the greatest gender disparities in rates of PTSD. More specifically, cultural norms of passivity and compliance among Mexican women may undermine successful coping with trauma. The results corroborate other findings of relatively low rates of PTSD in African American women in comparison to Caucasian women, despite higher exposure to poverty and community violence in African American samples.

Gender Differences in Trauma Exposure

The types of trauma that qualify for the PTSD diagnosis include experiencing, witnessing, or learning about an event involving serious injury, threat to physical integrity, and/or death. Risk for PTSD rises with increased frequency, multiple victimization, severity, and type of trauma exposure. Traumatic events involving interpersonal violence are particularly likely to lead to PTSD. For instance, in individuals who have been exposed to combat, physical or sexual abuse, violent crimes, or refugee experiences, PTSD prevalence rates can be as high as 65 percent, compared with rates of under 8 percent in those exposed to disasters or accidents, or who learned of traumatic events happening to others.

Though males and females report approximately equal exposure to other types of trauma (e.g., accidents, natural disasters), males report higher rates of exposure to most types of interpersonal violence, such as combat and physical assault, with the notable exception of sexual assault, to which females report more exposure. Paradoxically, with the exception of sexual assault, which triggers higher rates of PTSD in men, other forms of interpersonal violence, such as domestic violence, are more likely to trigger PTSD in women. Specifically, one study found that over half of PTSD cases in women were due to interpersonal violence, compared with approximately 15 percent in men. Another study found that whether or not sexual assault history was accounted for, about one third of women exposed to interpersonal violence developed PTSD, compared with 6 percent of men. On the other hand, another study found that gender differences in PTSD were fully accounted for by qualitative differences in trauma exposure, such as whether sexual abuse had occurred, whether

trauma had occurred in childhood, and whether trauma had been recurrent or a single event.

Gender Theories of PTSD

There are several competing theories as to why women may report more PTSD than men. Some have noted women's greater tendency to respond to interpersonal violence with avoidance and numbing symptoms, which are thought to prolong other categories of PTSD symptoms. Interpersonal violence, such as childhood sexual abuse and intimate partner violence, disproportionately affect women. Several authors theorize that the continued necessity to remain in contact with one's assailant for the resources that the assailant provides (care, food, money, etc.) elicits higher incidence of post-trauma denial, dissociation, and memory impairment. In these cases, the victim is forced to balance the difficult position of being at continued risk for revictimization with the simultaneous need to engage in a relationship with the assailant, while wrestling with the difficult cognitive and emotional task of making sense of betrayal by an intimate caregiver or partner. Finally, authors have argued that women's vulnerability to PTSD may be related to more cognitive factors, such as women's higher endorsement of self-blame and other negative self-beliefs following trauma and/or psychophysiological factors, including greater physiological reactivity to stress, which may potentiate conditioned fear responses that are thought to play a major role in the development of PTSD symptoms.

Treatment of PTSD

PTSD is commonly treated with either medication or psychotherapy. Among psychopharmacologic treatments, selective serotonin-reuptake inhibitors (such as Paxil or Zoloft) are commonly prescribed. All psychotherapies potentially offer a supportive and collaborative relationship, which has been shown to contribute to recovery. However, different types of psychotherapy also offer specific techniques that target particular problems associated with PTSD. *Behavioral therapies* (e.g., prolonged exposure, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing), *cognitive therapies* (e.g., stress inoculation training), *psychodynamic therapies* (e.g., time-limited dynamic therapy), and *transpersonal therapies* (e.g., holotropic breathwork) have all been used to treat PTSD. When

comparing the effects of all treatment modalities, it has been suggested that women respond as well or better to treatment than men. Authors have suggested that women's responsiveness to treatment may be related to women's greater comfort with emotional expression and interpersonal intimacy, better overall social support, and facility with a wider array of coping strategies. In addition, anger has been shown to negatively predict treatment outcome and is more frequently observed in men following trauma.

Conclusion

PTSD is a common mental disorder that disproportionately affects women. The influence of gender on PTSD may be moderated by ethnicity, and trauma type and other factors may also contribute to gender disparities in PTSD. Nonetheless, women show equal or better chances of benefiting from known treatments for PTSD.

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See also Depression; Mental Health

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POVERTY, FEMINIZATION OF

Beginning in the 1950s, the face of poverty in the United States became disproportionately female. This shift in the demographics of the U.S. poor also came at a time when women in the United States were beginning to enter the paid labor force or competitive labor market in significant numbers. Nevertheless, poverty in the United States was becoming a growing reality and potentiality for women. Diana Pearce identified this emerging social phenomenon as the "feminization of poverty." This entry provides an overview of how the feminization of poverty has been conceptualized, and outlines the key social, economic, and political factors identified as producing and reproducing the feminization of poverty.

Identifying the Feminization of Poverty

The feminization of poverty as an ideological construct is informed by both empirical and theoretical evidence. Early writings on the feminization of poverty used statistical data or demographic trends to identify that women, relative to men, constituted a significant portion of the poor in the United States. Generally using conventional measures of poverty in the United States (such as the "poverty threshold"), scholars of the feminization of poverty noted that from 1950 to 1970, the overall rate of poverty in the United States was declining but the number of women in poverty was both higher than and surpassing the number of men. What appeared to be a glaring contradiction could be explained by a number of socioeconomic and sociohistorical factors. Although the average or overall poverty rates of both men and women were decreasing during this era, the poverty rates for men were declining at a faster pace than the poverty rates of women; therefore, a greater number of women remained in poverty or below the poverty line. The gap in the poverty rate between men and women was translated into or calculated as a *sex-poverty ratio,* which became widely associated with and a measure of the feminization of poverty.

Aside from the sex-poverty ratio, the feminization of poverty is often described in terms of sociocultural perceptions of women and women's value. More specifically, many feminists argue that as a result of their devalued status within society, women have a greater potential or likelihood of becoming poor than do men. In a patriarchal society, which values and privileges both men and masculinity, women are often forced to become subordinate to and dependent on men. The socially prescribed sex roles that exist in the United States have long been associated with cultural and biological assumptions that have sought to distinguish

between feminine and masculine social roles or role expectations. These assumptions were central in creating distinctions between occupations more befitting of or appropriate for women compared with men. As noted by many radical and socialist feminists, the distinguishing between femininity and masculinity, in particular men's and women's work, is a social construction that has allowed for men to derive power, prestige, and dominance over women in a patriarchal and capitalist society. Such a social arrangement, moreover, has prevented the majority of women from gaining access to the valued resources and life opportunities needed to become self-sufficient and upwardly mobile. In other words, the feminization of poverty acknowledges that women have a high probability of being poor or experiencing poverty given their disadvantaged status in society. This key assumption of the feminization of poverty is a position linked to various schools of feminist thought and theory.

While dating back to the middle of the 20th century, the feminization of poverty remains a valid yet imperfect framework for assessing poverty both in the United States and throughout the world. By bringing attention to the changing sex demographics of poverty, the feminization of poverty has introduced a more woman-centered or feminist standpoint into research and analyses of poverty. In particular, scholars of poverty over the last 50 or more years have become more cognizant and critical of how poverty is defined, how it is measured or operationalized, and the rationales and predictors associated with maintaining poverty.

Rationales for the Feminization of Poverty

Although the feminization of poverty signifies the statistical shift in the sex demographics of the poor in the United States, this social phenomenon is more emblematic of the social, economic, and political changes that occurred during the latter half of the 20th century. These changes continue to have a disproportionate impact on women's social status. In an effort to understand the societal forces behind the feminization of poverty, many scholars have deduced three overarching themes from their analyses and theorizing: (1) changes in the institution of the family, (2) changes in the U.S. labor market, and (3) changes to social services or benefits. These changes do not mark the origins of women's poverty in the United States; instead, they are linked to the exacerbation of

women's poverty and the increased likelihood of women becoming and possibly remaining poor.

Changes in the Institution of the Family

The institution of the family underwent considerable changes during the latter half of the 20th century. Both the composition and definition of the U.S. family became revolutionized as a result of the many sociocultural and economic changes of this era. For many women, these changes were essential to their independence and empowerment within a patriarchal capitalist society, but ironically, many of these changes to the institution of the family were also central to the feminization of poverty.

In no particular order, the changes to the institution of the family can be divided into five categories: delay in marriage, rise in divorce, children born out of marriage, increase in nonfamily houses (or one-person households), and increase in the life expectancy of women. These trends are highly interrelated and connected to larger social, economic, and political factors. In particular, the gains made by the women's movement during the 1960s and 1970s allowed women to have more autonomy and choices both within and outside of the institution of marriage. In other words, many women were afforded economic, educational, and legal opportunities of which they had been deprived prior to the 1960s, therefore making the necessity for marriage or, further, a male partner, less of an obligation. Although women were making a number of economic, educational, and legal gains that allowed them to either exist outside of the often repressive institution of the family or become more empowered within their various roles in the family, their gains did not allow the same degree of self-sufficiency and autonomy that most men had and continue to have. As a result, many women lived with the constant reality or threat of being poor.

During an era when women were becoming liberated from the often repressive institution of marriage or from family, a woman's liberation could also enhance her chances of becoming and possibly remaining poor. What accounts for this paradox? The answer stems from myriad social, economic, and cultural forces. Most women during this era derived their economic "security" from the institution of the family and, to be more specific, their husbands. In a peculiar way, the ability of most women to evade having to live in poverty or being classified as poor was linked to their marital status or

their existence within an institution that many feminist scholars have identified as repressive for women. Therefore, the rise in divorce and separation, or the death or desertion of a husband, was extremely devastating to the economic security of women. The empowerment of individual women to either delay marriage or choose to live a single life was confronted by an economic reality that made it almost impossible for a woman to exist without having a husband or some male benefactor.

Of all categories of women, those who either were single parents or had children outside of the institution of marriage became most likely to live in poverty. Given the extremely male-centered social, economic, and political arrangement of this era, single mothers—especially those who never married—were almost predestined to become poor. The strain on such women of having to provide for themselves and their children without an income or financial resources comparable to those of most men forced many female-headed, single-mother households into poverty: hence, the explosion of the feminization of poverty.

Changes in the U.S. Labor Market

During the historical period now associated with the rise in women's poverty, the United States also experienced considerable growth in its economy and paid labor force. The ascendancy of the United States as an economic superpower was influenced by the growth of industrialization as well as an economic system that benefited from cheap and disposable labor, primarily the labor of new immigrants and blacks. This era also marks a significant influx of women—especially white middle-class women—into the competitive or paid labor force.

For centuries, many classes of women in the United States were excluded from the public sphere, the paid labor force in particular, as a result of prevailing sociocultural norms and mores regarding appropriate gender roles. Women were often seen as innately or genetically more nurturing and domesticated than men; therefore, some classes of women were prohibited from working outside of the home, or the *private sphere.* This dichotomous relationship between the public and private spheres was essential to regulating women's labor force participation as well as their degree of autonomy and independence in U.S. society.

Beginning with World War II, the presence of some classes of women in the formal or paid labor market began to expand. This shift in the labor force participation rates of women is a combination of two key socioeconomic forces. First, this era in the economic history of the United States was marked by the growth in manufacturing and assembly line production; therefore, the labor market developed a demand for low-skilled and inexpensive workers. Second, this historical juncture is linked to a number of social movements and mass mobilizations for workers' rights, civil rights, and women's rights. The confluence of these two social and economic forces created a number of unprecedented opportunities for women in the formal labor market. These changes, both in the economy and in women's labor force participation, were not divorced from the sociocultural norms, mores, and sexual stereotypes responsible for relegating women to the unpaid and devalued arena of domesticity.

Although the age of U.S. industrialization did provide greater economic independence for most women, the paid or competitive labor force reproduced many of the patriarchal and sexist practices that privileged men and ultimately prevented women from garnering complete autonomy and self-sufficiency. These newfound opportunities for employment and economic access did not eliminate the potential for working women, compared with similarly situated men, to become poor or impoverished. As women began to enter the formal labor market, they encountered a reality characterized by policies and practices that promoted occupational sex segregation; an inequity in the pay or wages of men and women; and a greater likelihood that women, compared with men, would be employed as part-time or contingent workers and become unemployed.

Because these sex disparities in the labor market have continued over time, many women—especially those who are either single or single mothers—may be only one paycheck from poverty or members of what many social scientists refer to as the "working poor."

Changes to Social Services or Benefits

Although the U.S. economy was expanding during the middle of the 20th century, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a "War on Poverty." While the national rates of poverty were declining during the period of the 1950s to the 1970s, there was considerable growth in the levels of poverty among black, urban centers and in particular black single mothers and their

children. In an effort to mitigate this increasing poverty, a number of federal programs (such as food stamps, public housing, housing vouchers, job training, etc.) and needs-based or income-tested benefits (such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or AFDC, now Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF) were increasingly being invested into inner-city communities. Despite these efforts, the rate of poverty for women—especially women of color—continued to escalate during the War on Poverty.

Although many social service programs and benefits are essential to supplementing the income and economic stability of many women, the configuration of these supplemental programs has been less successful in raising many women and their children out of poverty. As pointed out by various scholars of the feminization of poverty, a number of the financial aid programs have been deficient in eradicating women's poverty because these programs have assessed need-based benefits on male-centered norms of poverty. These programs have ignored and misdiagnosed the unique nature of poverty for women, especially single mothers and their children. It has also been noted that a number of need-based programs and benefits have provided many women and their families with an amount of financial aid that is both meager and inadequate in meeting the economic demands of an increasingly global, high-tech economy. During the 1980s, a number of public and social services were becoming underfunded and slowly eroded at the federal level. With the passage of the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, the oversight of many needs-based programs or benefits was transferred from the federal level to the state, which in some cases further dismantled welfare benefits for women and their children. In short, these changes to social services have removed a guaranteed social safety net, hence making the probability of becoming poor or impoverished more likely for women.

Conclusion

The rationales for the feminization of poverty are neither mutually exclusive nor independent of each other. The social, economic, and political forces behind the changes to the institution of the family also underlie the changes that have taken place in the formal labor market and the erosion of social services and benefits in the United States. While the forces affect all women's chances of becoming or remaining poor, they have a profound impact on women of color.

To fully comprehend the feminization of poverty, it is important to examine the plight of women of color within a patriarchal capitalist society. For each of the aforementioned rationales of the feminization of poverty, demographic and trend data show that women of color often are most likely to be affected. Many women of color, especially black women, are least likely to be married, a fact that some social scientists have associated with the low percentage of *marriageable males,* or men considered to be fit for marriage in terms of characteristics such as age, race, income, and occupation, available as husbands for black women. Moreover, women of color may also lack access to male partners or breadwinners due to the lack of marriageable men of color with the financial means to prevent a family from becoming or remaining poor. In addition, cases of out-of-marriage births and single motherhood have been more pronounced in communities of color.

Further, the experiences of women of color in the formal labor market have not provided them with the same degree of financial and employment opportunities as other demographic groups. The work performed by women of color has often been relegated to low-paying, menial, and temporary sectors of the labor market. As a result of racial discrimination, many women of color have also been barred or prevented from having equal access to highly valued occupations as well as opportunities for upward mobility. As a result of these factors, most women of color earn less than any other demographic group—even when employed in the same professions and with everything else being equal.

Finally, a high percentage of women of color have relied on various public and social services or benefits to make ends meet. Given the many changes to and discontinuation of services or benefits over the years, many women of color have found their social safety net removed from under them, hence making their chances of becoming or remaining poor a greater probability.

In summary, the feminization of poverty, or the increasing proportion of women in poverty, reflects a wide range of larger social forces that have impacted the lived experiences and life chances of women since the 1950s.

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See also Comparable Worth; Gender Wage Gap; Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender; Occupational Segregation; Welfare Reform

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PREGNANCY

Pregnancy and birthing are both natural physiological processes and socially and culturally mediated experiences. Cross-cultural differences in the expectations and practices of pregnant women highlight the social construction of reproduction. Race, class, region, and other differences among women shape our access and interest in medical and technological interventions, our employment rates, and our health and well-being during pregnancy. Structural and cultural forces also shape reproductive rates, including age at first pregnancy, number of pregnancies, chances for live births, and termination of pregnancies. Furthermore, while women experience pregnancy and childbirth as physical changes to their bodies, the meanings derived from the experience are influenced by cultural discourses, expectations, and access or lack of access to important resources.

Demographics

Most American women experience pregnancy at some point in their lives. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) estimates that approximately 10 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 44 experience pregnancy each year. Eighty percent of women have children by age 44 (women who became pregnant but experienced pregnancy loss are not included in this number). On average, women in the contemporary United States birth 2 children, down from 3.5 in the 1950s but increasing from the low of 1.8 in the 1970s. In 2000, an estimated 6,401,000 pregnancies resulted in 4.06 million live births, 1.31 million induced abortions, and 1.03 million fetal losses. It is estimated that half of all pregnancies are unintended and half of those pregnancies occur despite contraceptive use.

Despite the historical constancy of a woman's likelihood to become pregnant at some point in her life, modern American women experience pregnancy quite differently than our great-grandmothers. Six trends mark the shifts of the last century: Pregnancy is safer than ever, women are delaying childbirth, teen pregnancy is declining, abortion rates are declining, women are increasingly bearing and raising children outside of marriage, and women are bearing fewer children. Access to nutritious food, clean living conditions, and overall healthier living have helped women experience safer and healthier pregnancies in the late 20th and early 21st centuries than in previous generations. Less than .01 percent of women die because of pregnancy or childbirth-related complications in the 21st-century United States, compared with about .07 percent in 1950. The death rate increases as women age. Maternal mortality remains a significant problem worldwide. Twenty percent of pregnant women in the United States are without prenatal care in a given year (down from 30 percent in 1990). Ninety-nine percent of American women give birth in a hospital setting, but home births and freestanding birth clinics are regaining popularity as some women challenge the medicalization of pregnancy. In 2004, 29 percent of births took place by cesarean section.

On average, women in the United States bear their first child at the age of 25 (up from age 21 in 1970). The median age for women's first birth is 27. In part, the average age has increased because of a decline in teen pregnancies (from 37 percent to 25 percent of annual pregnancies) and in part because women over 30 now account for 22 percent of all births, up from 7 percent in 1960. The emergence of comprehensive sexuality education and accessible, reliable birth control have lowered the teen pregnancy rate in the United States. Similarly, the abortion rate has declined as women have experienced fewer unwanted pregnancies.

Between 1990 and 2000, the pregnancy rate for teenagers fell to 84.5 per 1,000. Nevertheless, approximately 7 percent of white women, 16 percent of Hispanic women, and 14 percent of African American

women between the ages of 15 and 19 have had at least one child. Young motherhood may be both a culturally positive experience for low-income women and an obstacle to economic security. On the other end of the spectrum, new reproductive technologies help women maintain fertility into their late 30s and early 40s (and occasionally beyond). As middle-class women have experienced increased access to higher education and professional careers, they have delayed childbearing until achieving a modicum of financial and career stability.

A third demographic trend is a steady increase in pregnancies and births to single women. In 2004, 35.7 percent of all births were to unmarried women, and the percentages increased for all age, race, and Hispanic origin subgroups. Some of these pregnancies are intentional and speak to women's independence and the separation of motherhood from marriage. For example, in 1992, the fictional pregnancy of "Murphy Brown" on the television show by that name highlighted the cultural emergence of the older, single mother and drew intense criticism from Vice President Dan Quayle and others. Kathleen Edin and Maria Kafluis argue that many teen pregnancies occur for similar reasons: Young, poor women with little opportunity for educational or career achievement experience pregnancy and motherhood as a way to be special, important, and achieve status within their communities. Although the two groups differ greatly in terms of age, education, and class status, they share a desire to mother and do not see marriage as essential to fulfilling that goal. This cultural shift, caused in part by the women's movement, in part by changes in the economy that have decreased certain pools of marriageable men, and in part by the emergence of no-fault divorce in the 1970s, has normalized single motherhood. Nevertheless, public policy remains focused on a 2-parent family structure, and single mothers and their children are disproportionately likely to live in poverty. The George W. Bush administration launched a multi-billion-dollar marriage incentive program in 2006 to address this demographic change.

Medicalization of Pregnancy and Childbirth

Early medical detection and routine prenatal testing emerged in the 1970s. The first home pregnancy tests became available in 1978. The legalization of abortion made early detection of pregnancy important for women seeking termination of their pregnancies. Early detection also led public health advocates to increase research on and educational campaigns about lifestyle changes and health concerns in early pregnancy.

The development of technology to monitor pregnancy has increased the surveillance of pregnant women by medical professionals. Modern pregnancies are marked by regular visits to an obstetrician or midwife. Women's health is monitored, as is that of the fetus. Examples of prenatal tests include ultrasound, amniocentesis, chorionic villus sampling (CVS), and electronic fetal monitoring during childbirth. As technologies develop, new tests are introduced and become routine aspects of prenatal care.

The medicalization of pregnancy and birth has led to fewer maternal deaths, fewer infant deaths, and less pregnancy-related complications. However, feminists argue that medicalizing pregnancy redefines women's reproduction as a source of pathology rather than as a normal function; that technology and medical professionals, rather than pregnant women themselves, become the "experts" on pregnancy; and that some women suffer from emotional and psychological problems associated with prenatal testing. The increasing use of technology to monitor both pregnant women's health and the health of the fetus can create an "incubator" model, in which pregnant women are viewed as simply a reproductive container, rather than a complex human being. Furthermore, this model can pit the perceived needs of a fetus against that of the mother, rather than emphasizing a connected experience of pregnancy.

From *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* to *What to Expect When You're Expecting*

In 1970, the Boston Women's Health Book Collective published the first edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves.* The authors argued that women's reproductive health was not a medical mystery and that women could become experts on their own bodies. Challenging the medical discourse surrounding women's health in general and pregnancy and birthing specifically, the Boston Women's Health Book Collective urged readers to think of pregnancy and birthing as natural and healthy rather than a source of pathology.

In 1995, Heidi Murkoff published *What to Expect When You're Expecting. What to Expect* quickly became an essential primer for middle-class mothers

seeking information about pregnancy. With advice ranging from "the best-odds diet" to "the best stroller," *What to Expect* emphasized a woman's responsibility to manage her pregnancy and make pregnancy her greatest focus. *What to Expect* brought medical information into the hands of everyday women but also reconstituted pregnant women as consumers. Marketers exploited this sensibility, creating heightened anxiety about pregnancy and offering products to soothe pregnant mothers' worries.

In 2004, Susan Douglas and Meredith Michaels responded with the book *The Mommy Myth*. They argue that the media bombards women with ridiculously idealized notions about pregnancy and motherhood, encouraging women to seek individual solutions, largely consumer based, rather than political change. The emergence of blogs and Internet support groups gives pregnant women even more access to information, marketing, and conversation about their experience of pregnancy. These sites are increasingly commercialized. Advocacy groups such as http://www.momsrising.org seek to organize mothers to agitate for political change.

Pregnancy Loss

Approximately 1 out of 6 pregnancies are aborted each year (although the rate of abortion has been decreasing in the United States since the early 1990s), and the same number are lost due to miscarriage or stillbirth. The majority of abortions occur in the first trimester. A survey by the Guttmacher Institute argues that the primary reasons women give for terminating pregnancies are that having a child would interfere with their education, work, or ability to care for dependents (74 percent); that they "could not afford a baby now" (73 percent); and that they did not want to be single mothers or were having relationship problems (48 percent).

Approximately 15 percent of recognized and possibly up to 50 percent of all pregnancies end in miscarriage, defined as unintended pregnancy loss before the fetus is viable outside of the womb. Nevertheless, miscarriages are not widely talked about. Grief associated with pregnancy loss is undertheorized, and we know relatively little about cultural and historical changes in women's experiences of pregnancy loss.

Protective Legislation

Pregnancy poses a unique problem for public policy. On one hand, feminists argue that pregnant women have a right to autonomy and privacy and that fetuses have no constitutional rights. On the other hand, the government has public health and public welfare concerns for the health of the fetus-cum-baby. Protecting pregnant women from potentially toxic chemicals while respecting their right to autonomy creates tensions in the law. In the 1970s, researchers coined the term *fetal alcohol syndrome* to address medical problems facing children who were exposed to excessive amounts of alcohol in utero. This research opened the door to an ongoing debate about the relative right of privacy for pregnant women in relation to the state's interest in the health of a fetus.

Women's behavior while pregnant has been subject to many policy interventions. As of 2006, 16 states considered substance abuse during pregnancy to be child abuse under civil child welfare statutes, and 3 considered it grounds for civil commitment. 12 states required health care professionals to report suspected prenatal drug abuse, and 5 states required them to test for prenatal drug exposure upon suspicion of abuse. Nineteen states had either created or funded drug treatment programs specifically targeted to pregnant women, and 7 provided pregnant women with priority access to state-funded drug treatment programs.

On April 1, 2004, President George W. Bush signed the Unborn Victims of Violence Act, which gives a fetus legal standing if it is injured or killed in a federal or military crime. Twenty-eight states have "unborn victims of violence" laws as well. Feminists often oppose these laws because they give a fetus the rights of a person, a move that undermines the logic of abortion rights. Furthermore, the Unborn Victims of Violence Act focuses entirely on the fetus without regard to violence against the pregnant woman (domestic violence in pregnancy is discussed below).

Work

Combining work and pregnancy and early motherhood creates one of the greatest challenges for contemporary women. On one hand, economic pressures to work for pay are great. On the other hand, pregnancy, childbirth, and infant care require a tremendous amount of energy. Both maternal and infant health are endangered when a woman is forced to return to work immediately after childbirth.

Changes in laws and social norms in the 1970s combined with changes in the economy have led to a significant increase in the number of working mothers

in the United States. In the late 1990s, 67 percent of women worked during pregnancy, with 56 percent working full-time (in the early 1960s, 44 percent of women worked, with 40 percent working full-time).

Prior to the 1970s, protective legislation limited women's job opportunities because of their chance of becoming pregnant. Most pregnant women were required to leave their jobs. In 1978, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act was passed as an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This law requires that workplaces treat pregnancy as they would any other similar illness or short-term disability. Pregnancy discrimination claims are the fastest-growing category of claims handled by the Employment Opportunity Equal Commission (EEOC). In 2005, 4,730 claims were received by the EEOC, resulting in settlements of $11.8 million. Some feminists argue that coupling pregnancy with other illnesses and disabilities leads to the stigmatization and medicalization of pregnancy.

Family Leave

Class shapes women's experiences of pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum. The United States is one of two industrialized countries that do not provide parents with paid family leave (Australia is the other). Working pregnant women engage a number of strategies for childbirth leave. About 25 percent quit work entirely, 42 percent qualify for paid leave, 45 percent take unpaid leave, and 3.6 percent take no childbirth leave at all. Almost two thirds of women return to work within 6 months of childbirth. In 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, guaranteeing 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers who have been employed with a company for at least a year and limited to companies that employ 50 or more people. In 2004, California became the first state to offer paid family leave through a statewide disability insurance program. Private short-term disability insurance provides partial pay for some working women as well. Advocacy groups argue that paid family leave is essential for the health of mothers and infants and for bonding between parents and babies. Paid family leave is also seen as an essential step toward pay equity for women in the workplace.

Domestic Violence

Up to 10 percent of pregnant women experience physical violence during their pregnancies, and a much greater number experience psychological or economic abuse. Two thirds of women who report domestic violence during pregnancy also report that their partners sabotaged their birth control; 70 percent of physically abused mothers had unplanned pregnancies. Violence during pregnancy increases health risks for the fetus and for the pregnant woman, including risk of miscarriage, preterm labor, cesarean sections, and fetal distress or demise. Domestic violence is the leading cause of death for pregnant women, and teens are at particular risk. Advocates emphasize the importance of health care interventions for all women who seek prenatal care.

Breastfeeding

Breastfeeding rates have increased steadily over the last 20 years, with 66 percent of women breastfeeding in 2000. Older and better-educated women are more likely to breastfeed than younger women and women without access to higher education. Less than half of women who are younger than 20 and/or have not completed high school breastfeed, compared with 80 percent of women over 30 at the time of birth and/or women with a bachelor's degree or higher. New research examines the cultural pressures to breastfeed and the structural barriers for many women who need time and resources to adequately nurse or pump breast milk at the level encouraged by public health officials.

Trends in the Research

Questions about the cultural pressures regarding intensive mothering, attachment theory, and "good enough" mothering are current themes in sociological inquiry. Researchers are also examining variations in women's experiences of reproduction and mothering based on social location, generation, region, and other cultural factors. A surge of personal narratives about women's experiences negotiating motherhood and other social identities, as well as women's experiences of pregnancy, pregnancy loss, and reproductive technologies, enriches our understanding of contemporary women's reproductive lives. The Association for Research on Motherhood provides a clearinghouse for the growing academic and popular interest in motherhood as a political, historical, and socially constructed phenomenon.

Kimberly Simmons

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Guttamacher Institute: http://www.guttmacher.org
Mothers Movement Online: http://www.mothersmovement.org

PREMENSTRUAL SYNDROME

Premenstrual syndrome, commonly referred to as PMS, is considered by many in the West to be a treatable medical condition characterized by complex physical and psychological/behavioral symptoms, cyclically affecting women of reproductive age. While the exact causes of premenstrual syndrome have yet to be established, existing theories suggest that it may result from a combination of hormonal changes or fluctuations, neurochemical changes within the brain, nutritional deficiencies, and/or stress. The duration and severity of PMS symptoms vary widely in women affected by the condition, but in general, symptoms begin anywhere from 1 to 2 weeks prior to menstruation and end within about 24 hours of the onset of menstruation. Treatment options include changes in diet and exercise, pharmacological solutions, psychotherapy, and stress reduction.

PMS: A Brief Diagnostic History

The complex of physical, psychological, and behavioral symptoms that have come to be characterized as PMS have been studied since the beginning of the 20th century. As early as 1931, American gynecologist R. T. Frank wrote an article in the *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* about a condition he called "premenstrual tension," but it was not until the 1950s that the symptoms that have come to be known as PMS were given their current label. The term *premenstrual syndrome* was coined in 1953 by British physician and endocrinologist Katharina Dalton, who later established and ran a clinic for over 40 years at London's University College Hospital to treat PMS. Dalton believed that many women are prone to hormonal imbalances in the phase of the menstrual cycle directly preceding menstruation, resulting in progesterone deficiencies, and that progesterone treatment would aid in the reduction of tension and irritability in women reporting premenstrual symptoms. Though clinical trials have yielded mixed evidence with regard to progesterone treatments for PMS and they have not been universally accepted by the medical community, they still remain a treatment option today.

Despite several decades of research on the topic, there are still controversies over the definitions, causal agents, and diagnostic criteria for PMS. In the absence of medical consensus on its etiology and diagnostic pathway, psychiatric or gynecological PMS remains a loosely defined condition, lacking any standardized definition, diagnostic criteria, symptomology, or agreed-upon course of treatment.

Symptoms

Symptoms of premenstrual syndrome are wide-ranging—over 150 have been identified—and can be roughly divided into two categories: physical and psychological/behavioral. Physical symptoms typically include but are not limited to headaches, migraines, cramps, backache, bloating, constipation, diarrhea, weight gain, fatigue, fluid retention in the breasts and abdomen, acne, nausea, difficulty sleeping, and tenderness of the breasts. Psychological/behavioral symptoms include depression (ranging from mild to severe), tearfulness, difficulty concentrating, mood swings, anxiety, confusion, difficulty sleeping, lethargy, binge eating, irritability, anger/aggression, panic attacks, and loss of energy and/or sex drive. Most women who are affected by premenstrual syndrome experience only a subset of these

symptoms, and those who experience symptoms are affected by them to varying degrees and for varying lengths of time. Of course, the list of symptoms is both wide-ranging and elastic, and many women may experience any number of these symptoms without being diagnosed as suffering from PMS. A typical indicator of the presence of PMS is a repeated, or cyclical, recurrence of symptoms on a monthly basis, usually 1 to 2 weeks prior to menstruation.

Treatment Options

While the causes of PMS are still unknown, several treatment options available to alleviate the symptoms have been identified with the condition. Conventional treatment options involve a combination of education, dietary changes or nutritional therapy, implementation or alternation of exercise routines, and stress management. Sometimes drug therapies are used in conjunction with changes in lifestyle or behavior. These may consist of over-the-counter nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs or prescription antidepressants. In some cases, oral contraceptives are also prescribed for women experiencing PMS. For women experiencing extreme depression or other serious psychological symptoms, psychotherapy is sometimes recommended. In addition to these more traditional treatment options, there are other less conventional forms of alleviation, including acupuncture, homeopathy, and other forms of complementary and alternative medicine.

Critical Perspectives

Although the Western medical community generally agrees that PMS is a diagnosable health condition, there are some—most notably feminists and social scientists—who argue that the condition has been socially constructed. Premenstrual syndrome has also been argued to constitute an example of a culturally bound syndrome: a condition that has been locally recognized and categorized as a dysfunction or disease requiring professional intervention in some societies but not others. Those who argue that premenstrual syndrome is socially constructed and culturally bound suggest that many of the symptoms of PMS correspond to traditional notions of femininity in the West and serve to reinforce cultural beliefs about women as occupying fragile, emotional, irrational, and hormonally erratic bodies in need of regulation. While advocates of the social construction argument

do not deny that women may experience many of the physical or psychological symptoms associated with PMS, they argue that the current categorization and treatment of these symptoms serves to proliferate cultural stereotypes about women as "hysterical" or "histrionic," medicalize women's experiences, and minimize the emphasis on social and emotional support for women.

Ryan Claire Reikowsky

See also Depression; Gynecology; Hormones; Menopause; Menstruation; Mental Health

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PRIMETIME COMEDY

Television emerged as a popular and increasingly accessible form of entertainment at a time when women's roles in society were increasingly being contested. Since the beginning of television, the representations, or lack thereof, of women on television have been at the center of debate. While the media have contributed to myriad gender representations, television is a particularly important site for a number of reasons. The television is physically located in the home and is an activity in which families often participate together. In this sense, television can be seen as

providing a means of gender socialization for children and adults alike, as well as a shared cultural text by which to relate to each other and discuss the world. Being located in the home also meant that television could be an important venue for momentary escape or fantasy for many women who mostly existed within the private sphere.

Primetime comedies, also known as "situation comedies" or "sitcoms," started with a focus on the family and, while expanding their content, have continually revisited this area. Sitcoms are important sites for considering gender because although they often deal with politically and culturally sensitive issues, they can also be written off as merely humorous and value-free. In fact, this is what lends television programming much of its potency: The transparency and contemporaneity of the technology allows the content to appear as if it were a "slice of life" or a reflection of reality. Shows can be prescriptive, whether harkening back to an idealized past or presenting a vision of a more stable, understandable future. They often introduce representations of controversial or progressive social roles and situations, showing the leading edge of change relating to political and social movements in progress.

The majority of early sitcoms were set in the home and focused on a single nuclear family. In these shows, such as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave it to Beaver,* the father worked outside the home, provided a comfortable upper-middle-class lifestyle for his family, and managed the problems of the family inside the home. The wives/mothers were immaculately made-up homemakers who doted on their children and deferred to their husbands. The plots centered on the private, domestic problems and often avoided larger social contexts. These families represented the postwar ideal, if not the reality experienced by a majority of families, with suburban homes, new appliances, men gainfully employed, and women back in the house.

As the various social movements fought for change over the decades, television slowly, if unevenly, began to reflect these changes. Sitcoms in the 1970s introduced the workplace, outside the home, as a primary site of identity and community for both sexes; incorporated more social issues; and portrayed single mothers and stepfamilies. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show,* which first aired in 1970, marked a major departure by focusing on a young single woman who moves to the city on her own after deciding not to get married. Shows such as *All in the Family* and its spin-off, *Maude,* were known for incorporating controversial issues of the day, such as feminism and racism; a controversial episode of *Maude* addressed abortion.

Although these examples, as well as others, represented changes in gender norms and roles that were occurring in real life, some believed the representation of progressive lifestyles or perspectives were tantamount to encouraging or permitting them. In the mid- to late 1980s, a backlash occurred. Women were drastically underrepresented in primetime, completely cut out of a number of family-based sitcoms, such as *Full House, My Two Dads,* and *Punky Brewster.* Around the same time, a number of shows brought new dimensions of women's lives to the screen. *The Golden Girls* bucked television norms by showing women past reproductive age as active, sexual, and vibrant. *Designing Women* portrayed strong, independent, and vocal career women and dealt with issues like domestic violence as well as directly addressing the sexual harassment trial of Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

In 1988, both *Roseanne* and *Murphy Brown* premiered. *Roseanne,* featuring comedienne Roseanne Barr, was groundbreaking for centering on a strong, loud, even crude, working-class woman. *Roseanne* represented a more realistic version of the experience of many women. Her character was overweight, often angry, and made the decisions rather than deferring to her husband. Their house was not new or perfectly kept, and they never had enough money or time. Roseanne, the character and the comedienne who embodied her, drew contempt, and a "Bar Roseanne Club" was formed mostly by men who couldn't stand her less-than-traditionally-feminine character representation. The TV show *Roseanne* offered a different and cutting-edge take on family life in the United States, and Roseanne herself was in direct opposition to the traditional portrayal of mothers on television. Some might argue that she offered a more realistic version of family life in the United States and certainly changed American television from that point on. *Murphy Brown* centered on a fictional television news anchorperson, played by actress Candace Bergen, who held her own in the "old boys" network. While the show is notable simply for portraying an intelligent, well-respected, single career woman, in 1992, it became controversial during the season finale when Brown discovered she was pregnant and decided to keep the child and raise it on her own. Vice President Dan Quayle chose to use this fictional character as an example in a speech about unwed mothers trampling

family values. The show addressed Quayle head-on in the next season, with Brown dedicating a section of her news program to highlight single mothers.

In the 1990s, explicitly homosexual characters were introduced into the world of primetime comedies. *Ellen,* starring comedian Ellen DeGeneres, premiered in 1994, and in 1997, the lead character (and the actress herself) came out as a lesbian. The show was canceled the next season due to declining ratings. The same year, *Will and Grace,* a show featuring two gay men and their two straight female friends, premiered and continued through 2006. The public response to these two shows begs the question of whether society has become less homophobic or whether people are more comfortable with men (i.e., acceptance for homosexual men) rather than women having a range of roles and identities.

Many popular sitcoms of the 1990s and early 2000s, such as *Friends* and *Sex in the City,* managed to make their shows more contemporary by including birth control, infertility, assisted reproductive technologies, and adoption in their plots, while still addressing age-old gender roles, such as wanting to be a wife or mother. *Sex in the City,* racier than many of its kind because it aired on the premium cable channel HBO, was both celebrated and criticized for showing women "acting like men." In other words, the portrayal of sexually aggressive women or women who were simply open about their sexual desires was still a controversial, or at least surprising, occurrence on television.

The endurance of reality shows and the ever-growing number of niche cable channels has reduced the number of people watching primetime network programs. Primetime comedy, however, is still a prominent genre for delivering social texts that address domestic and public interactions of men, women, and children, targeting an audience that includes a range of ages, genders, and lifestyles. The serial nature of the programming allows for viewer's emotional investment in the characters' lives. Primetime comedies can be long-running programs, and audiences often take the lives of the characters to heart. The real-life reactions to *Roseanne, Murphy Brown,* and *Ellen* highlight the importance and power of these representations and the continuing evolution of gender roles in society.

Stacy Weida

See also Advertising, Gender Images in; Gender Roles on Television Shows; Gender Stereotypes; Media and Gender Socialization; Primetime Drama

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PRIMETIME DRAMA

The two words *primetime* and *drama* combine to form a phrase whose meaning refers not simply to peak-time periods in television screening and viewing but also to the genre of drama itself. The consumption of this output and the dramatic representations themselves often reflect the specific gendered contexts of cultural reception as well as the wider social situations in which the output is received. *Primetime* refers to the period when television viewing numbers are at their highest in any one day. In the United States, in the Eastern and Pacific time zone, audience levels are at their highest between 8:00 p.m. and 11.00 p.m., and in Central and Mountain time zones, primetime is 6:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. The hours that usually have the highest HUT (homes using television) are 8:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m., though this can vary slightly depending on news reports, time of the year, and national holidays. These are commonly the times when people are watching television drama and when broadcasting networks air such output. A specific time slot in program scheduling, then, has long been defined in relation to primetime drama, with diverse locations and narratives that bring together the public and the private, the past and the present, and the social and the domestic.

The rise of other televisual output (particularly reality television) and the emergence of relatively inexpensive mass-digital and new media (such as the Internet and mobile technologies) have not seriously undermined primetime drama so much as they have challenged networks, producers, and writers to be more imaginative and challenging in terms of such output. Primetime drama continues to be written, and it manages to hold on to its audience share. Moreover, television drama in America, Australia, Britain, and Canada continues to attract audiences in

high numbers in ways that both reflect and refract many of the cultural and political changes that have occurred in the last 30 years.

Primetime drama, then, refers to dramatic output broadcast on television and usually at times that aim to maximize viewing figures. While primetime more generally has historically been associated with the commercial channels and television networks, state-funded broadcasting organizations have also been forced to compete for audience ratings. To maximize viewing figures or to attain the highest number of HUT, the drama usually has to conform to popular conventions rather than those associated with high or alternative culture. However, when the more serious rather than the highly popular generic conventions are adopted, dramas nonetheless have traditionally been constructed in relation to heterosexual gender norms. Conventional dramatic settings frame the most popular narratives, and characters are commonly constructed around and in relation to discursive regimes associated with medicine (*Marcus Welby, MD,* 1969–1976, ABC; *Grey's Anatomy,* 2005–present, ABC), the law (*Cagney and Lacey,* 1982–1988, CBS; *Prime Suspect,* 1991–2006, ITV/Granada), history (*Upstairs Downstairs,* 1971–1975, LWT/UK; *Elizabeth R.,* 1971, BBC/UK), and politics (*G. B. H.,* 1991, Channel 4, U.K.; *The West Wing,* 1999–2006, NBC).

Gender norms are dramatized in output whose main plot lines concern male-female relations. However, primetime dramas tend to use subplots as a way of integrating issues surrounding gender and sexuality into the dominant narrative. Prior to the 1990s, television drama was often written and broadcast for mass audiences, and the generic conventions that structured the dramas sometimes affirmed and at other times questioned hegemonic beliefs and values. While the primetime drama *Roots* (1977, ABC), for example, asked audiences to consider the history and implications of slavery, it did this through dramatic devices that were predominantly male and wholly heterosexual. *Roots* addressed and represented a very particular history, that of African American slavery. However, it took a much longer period of time for primetime television drama to question gender norms in the way that *Roots* questioned American identity. For example, lesbian and gay identities were either not represented or were denied representation altogether. Gender and sexual relationships, nonetheless, have underpinned many of the subplot developments in primetime dramas. Media and audience research additionally confirms that primetime output has almost invariably been consumed on a gendered and sexualized basis.

Primetime dramas during the "golden age" of television from 1965 to 1985 were watched by audiences composed of a wide demographic but often addressed through traditional discourses of marriage, the family, and domesticity. Since the 1990s, the trend has shifted toward the programming of primetime drama in ways that address and reflect the diversity of cultural and social life. This output has much more directly depicted the cultural politics of personal relations. Consequently, dramas aired at primetime have as their main focus gender politics, sexual identities, and nonnormative personal relationships. *Tales of the City* (1993, PBS), *Angels in America* (2003, HBO), and *Queer as Folk* (1999–2000, Showtime) are examples of dramas that have attended to sex and gender relations, at the same time focusing on the wider social and political situations in which these identities and identifications are formed. They have also been consumed by audiences in ways that reflect the changing cultural contexts in which drama is both produced and received.

In January 1977, the U.S. television channel ABC broadcast the miniseries *Roots* over eight consecutive evenings. Executives at the channel thought the series would flop, partly because it was deemed controversial and partly because of its use of broadly realist modes. Despite the extended scheduling, about 130 million viewers in America watched most of the eight broadcasts. Today, dramas continue to be produced and consumed but in ways that suggest that identity is rooted in narratives that are concerned not simply with race, but with sexuality, gender, and age.

Tony Purvis

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Roles on Television Shows; Media and Gender Socialization; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Primetime Comedy; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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PRISON AND PARENTING

The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that there are currently over 2 million offenders incarcerated in jails and prisons and the use of jails and prisons for punishment in the United States has been increasing over the past several decades. Additionally, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that a majority of male and female state and federal prisoners were the parents of a child under the age of 18. While a precise number of children affected by their parents' incarceration is unspecified in research reports, researchers have estimated that approximately 1.7 million children have a father in prison or jail and roughly 200,000 children have a mother in prison or jail.

Difficulties for Incarcerated Parents

One of the greatest difficulties experienced by incarcerated parents is the loss of contact with their children, which occurs for several reasons. First, incarcerated parents find it difficult to communicate with their children or receive visits from their children due to the complexities of incarceration. Prison rules limit the number of phone calls an inmate can make or how often they can receive visits from those on the outside. In addition, if the incarcerated parent has a family member taking care of her or his children and the family relationship is strained due to the parent being incarcerated, this may further add to the difficulties for the inmate seeking contact with her or his children. If an incarcerated parent has children in the foster care system, he or she may find it difficult to establish and maintain contact with caseworkers who are handling the placement of the children into a new residence. Second, prisons typically are located in rural areas. Because offenders are likely to come from impoverished backgrounds, visits from family members are uncommon; often, family members find it difficult to visit these rural areas, as they may not even own a car. Thus, if family members are taking care of the prisoner's children, continued physical contact with the children can be difficult.

There are a few correctional facilities, such as Bedford Hills Correctional Center for Women in New York, that allow incarcerated mothers to keep their children with them for up to 2 years. These parenting programs require mothers to care for their children 24 hours per day in a specialized parent unit, under the careful supervision of program administrators. The specialized parenting programs offer activities that increase bonding between the parent and child, teaching techniques to help make the mother become a better parent, and education for parents on how best to reconnect with their child when they are released. The Washington State Corrections Center for Women offers a unique residential parenting program to pregnant minimum custody inmates. The Washington State Department of Corrections collaborates with the Puget Sound Educational Service District to offer a residential parenting program with an Early Head Start component. The incorporation of an Early Head Start component into its programming is unique and rare. Currently, no residential parenting programs exist in the United States for incarcerated fathers.

Another difficulty experienced by incarcerated parents is the altering of their parenting styles. If a parent was involved in the lives of her or his children prior to incarceration (e.g., providing guidance, making decisions about the well-being of the child, and discipline), this is indeed altered due to the nature of incarceration. Some incarcerated parents seek to reunite with children they did not have much contact with prior to incarceration. Often these children are not receptive to any form of guidance from a parent who has not been present in their lives for years. Thus, these parents will need patience when rekindling contact with their children and recognize that their advice will probably not be heeded.

Incarcerated parents also experience emotional difficulties. For example, they may experience anxiety regarding how their children are being cared for, jealousy that their children are bonding with other people, and depression due to the separation. Parents may also experience frustration due to institutional rules that do not allow them to maintain contact with their children as much as they would like to.

How Children Are Impacted by Incarceration

Children experience many emotional difficulties when their parents are incarcerated. For instance, separation from a parent can be very traumatic for a child, and the uncertainty of the current living situation can foster

stress and anxiety. Other emotional responses include loss of self-esteem, sadness, depression, guilt, rejection from others, and shame. Additionally, children may develop both behavioral and educational difficulties in school. Children may not pay attention in class or find it difficult to concentrate in class, fail to complete assignments, get into fights, or begin skipping school. Other behavioral responses include the use of drugs and/or alcohol or becoming involved in criminality.

Conclusion

With the rising number of males and females being incarcerated in the United States, more and more individuals are finding themselves parenting from behind institutional walls. Researchers have found that parents who are part of parenting programs within those institutions that encourage parents to maintain contact with their children (e.g., letter writing, phone contact, and visitation) have children who are better able to adjust to their parents' incarceration and experience lower anxiety levels about their parents' well-being. Policies implemented at the institutional level can foster contact and communication between parent and child. Additionally, such problems can be addressed by continuing to expand residential parenting programs for mothers and developing residential parenting programs for incarcerated fathers.

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See also Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Prison Culture and Demographics

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PRISON CULTURE AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that there are currently over 2 million offenders incarcerated in jails and prisons and the use of jails and prisons for punishment in the United States is burgeoning. Citizens in the United States tend to equate prison with punishment, while viewing other forms of punishment, such as probation, as a slap on the wrist. This view is fueled by the crime control model of justice, which focuses on the victim and encourages harsh punishment for offenders. The men and women who find themselves incarcerated create their own culture within the prison walls as a mode of survival. This entry discusses the demographics of those who are incarcerated and examines the inmate culture as well as offenders' adaptation to prison life.

Demographics

The prison population is growing. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported in 2005 that the number of incarcerated women rose 3.4 percent from the previous year and the number of incarcerated men rose 1.3 percent. Overall, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that there are more men than women incarcerated in state and federal prisons (e.g., approximately 1.4 million versus 106,000, respectively). Specifically, approximately 1.3 million offenders are being held in state prisons and 180,000 in federal prisons. In state prisons, men are more likely to be incarcerated for violent offenses, whereas women are more likely to be incarcerated for nonviolent offenses, such as property crimes or drug offenses. In federal prisons, both male and female inmates are more likely to be incarcerated for drug offenses than for other types of offenses.

When examining the racial and ethnic makeup of incarcerated populations, an overwhelming overrepresentation of minorities may be seen. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that for both genders, African Americans are more likely to be incarcerated than Hispanic Americans or whites. In the general population, African Americans represent approximately 12 percent of the U.S. population; however, this group represents more than 40 percent of those who are incarcerated. Hispanic Americans of both genders are also overrepresented in the correctional populations compared with their numbers in the U.S. population. Several researchers have explored this finding to determine whether this is because members of certain races are committing more crime. Upon inspection of self-report surveys, in which individuals anonymously report their involvement in crime, researchers have found that African Americans and Hispanic Americans

do not report more involvement in crime than do whites. That is, whites, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans report similar involvement in all types of crimes, even though incarceration rates differ.

For male offenders, those who are incarcerated are more likely to be young, specifically between the ages of 25 and 29. Female offenders are more likely to be incarcerated between the ages of 35 and 49. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that the age of those incarcerated is consistent regardless of an inmate's race or ethnicity. Additionally, those who are incarcerated in state and federal prisons are undereducated; the majority have not obtained a high school diploma or GED (general educational development credential).

Prison Culture

Prison populations, like other social groups in society, have their own cultures. The prison culture is communicated through language (i.e., prison argot) and gestures passed down from older inmates. Many inmates are lacking in education, resulting in limited vocabularies, and profanity and slang are commonly used methods of communication. Upon entry into prison, the prisoner, or "new fish" in inmate slang, will experience institutionalization, the process whereby the prisoner learns the formal rules of the correctional institution. The process of institutionalization occurs as soon as the newly admitted inmate enters the prison. Once admitted into prison, the offender will be strip-searched, stripped of her or his name and assigned a prison number, given approved prison clothes to wear, and assigned to a cell. Other examples of institutionalization include appearing in one's cell for a mandatory cell count, complying with mandatory cell searches, and understanding in what instances an inmate may be strip-searched, when meals will be served, when they may visit with visitors, and what behavior is expected of them by their correctional guards. With so many new rules to follow, new entrants often report feeling a loss of identity.

While prisoners learn the formal rules of the institution, they also become quickly acquainted with informal rules, or norms and values, put forth by their fellow prisoners. These informal rules are the "inmate code." The inmate code specifies the norms, values, language, and attitudes that all prisoners are expected to follow. Keeping one's word, not exploiting other inmates, and being tough are examples of the inmate code. Less-benign examples of the inmate code include the acceptance of racism, retaliatory violence, and the adoption of predatory attitudes. Many newly admitted prisoners do not readily accept the inmate code at first. Often, new prisoners will rebel against both the formal rules of the prison and the informal rules put forth in the inmate code. Their adjustment to prison and their eventual acceptance of both the formal and informal rules are referred to as "prisonization." The prisonization process may take several months to several years for some inmates.

Prisoners often form cliques whereby inmates organize themselves based on their sexual preferences, religious beliefs, ethnicity, personal interests, and the offenses for which they are incarcerated. For some inmates, membership in a clique, such as a gang, stems from their need for protection. In male prisons, it is not uncommon for the inmates to "hook up," or partner with other inmates. Oftentimes, inmates' membership in these cliques is coerced. A male inmate may engage in sex with another member of his clique not by choice (i.e., he defines his sexual orientation as heterosexual), but out of fear that he will be sexually assaulted by other inmates outside his clique. Thus, the male inmate must decide to partner sexually with another male inmate or face repeated sexual attacks from the general inmate population. The partnering of male inmates offers members of the clique protection from both sexual and physical assaults.

Female cliques formed in female correctional institutions are referred to as "pseudo-families." Unlike cliques in male prisons, where membership may be the result of coercion, membership in a female clique is consensual. In pseudo-families, members of the family network adopt roles such as the mother figure or sister figure. Pseudo-families provide female inmates with protection from other inmates, substitution for family relationships broken by imprisonment, financial support, and emotional support. Since female institutions are often located far from family and friends, they may not receive the emotional support they need to adapt to prison life. Pseudo-families assist female inmates in coping with the demands and stresses of prison. For both genders, there is a hierarchy in prison whereby inmates who have committed crimes against children, such as rape, are at the bottom stratum of the prison structure. These offenders are not welcomed into existing cliques and are often targeted for victimization. Because of this, pedophiles are often segregated from the general inmate population.

Even if inmates are aligned with cliques, whether or not it is consensual, prison violence is indeed a part of the prison culture. Given prison overcrowding, understaffing, inexperienced correctional officers, inmate boredom, and inmates' violent backgrounds (e.g., prior gang involvement), it is not surprising that violence is a pervasive part of the prison culture. In regard to overcrowding, several researchers have explored the link between overcrowding and violence. Specifically, researchers have found overcrowding to have a damaging effect on inmates, resulting in violence, increases in disciplinary infractions, and increases in assaults. Other behaviors that commonly incite violence include homosexuality, snitching, money, and property disputes.

While gangs are the source of much prison violence, inmates are at risk of being assaulted not only by other inmates but also by correctional officers. Formally, correctional officers are permitted to assault or injure inmates only when necessary to self-protection. However, violence does occur under other circumstances. Researchers have found that correctional officers often do not possess favorable attitudes toward inmates, and some researchers have stated that violence inflicted on inmates by correctional officers is encouraged by fellow officers and is part of the guard subculture. Correctional officers also work long hours and experience a large amount of stress on the job, which can lead to taking their stress out on the inmate population. In 2006, the Commission on Safety and Abuse in America's Prisons reported that the rates of riots and homicides in prisons are lower than they were a few decades ago; however, the commission stated that violence is still a pervasive part of the prison culture.

Some researchers posit that the prison culture reflects the deprivation and severe conditions of the institution. After all, according to this *deprivation model,* inmates are deprived of many things, including autonomy, contact with family and friends, power, security, and most material possessions. Researchers argue that these deprivations and frustrations can impact the inmate's personality or sense of self-worth. On the other hand, some researchers support the *importation model,* whereby the prison culture is merely reflective of the criminal culture outside the institutional walls and the culture is not developed in prisons (i.e., inmates enter prison with their own personality characteristics that shape prison subcultures). For example, thieves and rapists may bring with them

a set of values upon entering prison. Much empirical research has been conducted that supports both models. It might be that both socialization and the criminal culture existing outside the prison walls are responsible for the development of the inmate culture.

Gender Similarities and Differences in Adaptation

For both genders, adapting and adjusting to incarceration can be difficult. For instance, both male and female prisoners may experience racial conflict and bias to a greater extent than they did outside the prison walls: Both assimilate to the prison economy, in which items such as cigarettes can be exchanged for illegal substances; both have families and often children who they can no longer see or speak with regularly; both may experience a loss in social support; both face the lack of quality medical and dental care; and both face difficulties in psychologically adjusting to prison.

As a result of poverty and substance abuse, newly admitted inmates are not a healthy population. Men and women who are incarcerated are susceptible to contracting diseases, such as tuberculosis, hepatitis, and HIV. Medical care for inmates, however, generally is not of the highest quality. Due to the cost, inmates will likely not receive the latest drugs on the market to treat these diseases. Routine screenings that males and females receive outside of prison, such as examinations for prostate cancer or PAP smears, are not commonly performed in prisons. Not all states test for AIDS or HIV when admitting the inmate into the general population. The majority of prisons do not employ a doctor full-time. Usually, there is a full-time nurse on duty. In addition to medical care being substandard, dental care is also subpar for both genders. While some correctional institutions offer dental cleanings for inmates, this is not the norm. Thus, many inmates are not receiving the proper oral care they need. Due to the cost, if an inmate has a decayed or damaged tooth, the tooth will be pulled, as opposed to having the cavity filled or a root canal. Most prisons require inmates to pay a nominal fee to see a medical staff member. This procedure is a result of the abuse of medical services by inmates who seek medical attention in hopes of obtaining prescriptions drugs, such as narcotics. Charging inmates a fee for medical services has resulted in a smaller demand for such services.

Researchers also have reported the phenomenon of overmedicating and undermedicating the female

offender population. In some cases, female offenders are coerced to consume medication as a method of controlling their behavior. At other times, women in need of medication may be refused treatment because the staff feels that the inmate is not truly sick, but in pursuit of prescription medications. Additionally, many women are pregnant when they enter the prison system. Researchers have reported that some inmates are forced to carry their babies to term even if they request abortions, while other female inmates are forced to have abortions. The forced abortions occur mostly in the juvenile populations when the prisoner is coerced into taking a drug that will cause her to abort her baby; and in many cases, the prisoner is unaware that the drug will cause harm to her fetus. Prenatal care is often lacking in prisons, and often female inmates do not receive the proper vitamins, meals, or necessary prenatal medical screenings that are the norm for pregnant women outside of prison.

While there are quite a few similarities between the genders in adaptation to prison, there are several striking differences. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that a majority of male and female state and federal prisoners have children under the age of 18; and one significant problem for a female offender is ensuring that her children are taken care of while she is incarcerated. Approximately 75 percent of all female offenders who are incarcerated are mothers. Unlike their male counterparts, who commonly rely on family members to take care of their children while incarcerated, female offenders are more likely to place their children in foster care (e.g., 10 percent for female offenders, compared with 2 percent for male offenders), as many female offenders come from broken homes and do not have a strong family support system. It is not uncommon for female offenders to enter prison pregnant or become pregnant while incarcerated. Most correctional facilities do not allow female offenders to keep their babies, and their babies are surrendered to family members or the foster care system shortly after birth. There are a few correctional facilities, such as Bedford Hills Correctional Center for Women, in New York, that allow incarcerated mothers to keep their children with them for up to 2 years. Being separated from their children causes a lot of strain and depression for female inmates, which interferes with their adaptation to prison. Additionally, many states have only one prison for female offenders. Often, this results in a prison that is located far from the offender's home

and family. Because female offenders are likely to come from impoverished backgrounds, visits from family members are uncommon; often, their family members find it difficult to visit, as they may not even own a car. Female offenders are often more isolated from their families and friends than are their male counterparts, which results in female inmates experiencing depression more than male offenders and having more difficulties than male inmates adjusting to their new lives in the prison.

As mentioned above, many female offenders become pregnant while incarcerated. Female inmates face sexual exploitation from male correctional staff. According to the Corrections Compendium, approximately 40 percent of all staff in female institutions is male. Researchers have reported that female offenders have been coerced into sexual encounters with correctional officers in exchange for privileges (e.g., visits with family members, food) or they are exploited when officers pat them down when doing searches. Incarcerated juveniles are most at risk for this form of assault, and many of these assaults occur when female inmates are placed in solitary confinement. It should be noted that male offenders also are at great risk for being sexually assaulted by other inmates. In 2001, the *New York Times* estimated that more than 290,000 males are sexually assaulted while incarcerated each year. The Rape Elimination Act of 2003 addresses the pervasiveness of sexual assault in prisons. It promotes identification of the victims and perpetrators of prison rape and of the prison institutions with high numbers of these incidences.

The stress of imprisonment can lead to suicide, escape, psychological withdrawal, rebellion, sleeping problems, continued drug abuse, high levels of anxiety, and depression. When examining the physical characteristics of prison environments, structural factors such as double-bunking and the lack of privacy have been associated with increased pathology in inmates. Overcrowding in prisons also has been found by researchers to be linked to increased psychiatric commitments, self-mutilation, and suicide.

Conclusion

With the rising number of males and females being incarcerated in the United States, more and more individuals are struggling with their adaptation to prison culture. Some feel that policies should be implemented at the institutional level to assist

offenders in successfully adapting to prison life, specifically for female offenders, and that addressing policing and court-level components of the criminal justice system could reduce the overrepresentation in the correctional system of minorities and those with lower education levels.

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See also Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Prison and Parenting

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PRIVATE/PUBLIC SPHERES

The *private/public sphere dichotomy* generally refers to domains within which one exercises influence and dominance, if not authority. In the field of gender studies, this schema commonly refers to the home as the *private sphere,* in which women retain the bulk of decision-making prerogative for the family, and the world of work and politics beyond the home as the *public sphere,* in which men tend to exert greater if not undisputed influence. Gender theorists generally agree that these separate spheres constitute a basic yet artificial division between the productive and reproductive functions of society and that this division is fundamental to women's subordination. This entry explores the contours of the public and private distinction, examines its problematic nature, and describes how it is implicated as power relations continue to change over time.

The Contours of the Spheres

The breadwinner-homemaker family model that has been referred to as the "traditional" family arrangement seems to reinforce not only the analytical relevance of considering public and private spheres but also its seemingly "natural" quality. Popular culture further finds traction in references to household chores as "womanly" and anything outdoors—beyond the threshold of the home and not related to fixing its physical structure—as "manly." Thus, we often hear references to laundry, cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and vacuuming as "womanly work." In contrast, mowing the lawn, shoveling the driveway, fixing the roof, and painting the house clearly fall in the realm of the "manly." Fixing the kitchen plumbing and configuring the VCR, though inside the house, also seem to clearly fall within the purview of the man, since they involve maintaining the physical structure and technology, both manly things. When it comes to making decisions such as what drapes, carpet, couch, or chandelier to purchase, the woman's perspective takes precedence, while deciding on what lawn mower or electronic devices to buy would be deferred to the man.

These conventions are by no means written in stone, and they can certainly vary considerably from family to family. However, as patterns, they are identifiable, and violation of such norms may create a sense that some form of transgression has occurred.

Beyond the immediate home, the spheres continue to hold sway. Men more often tend to pursue careers (with somewhere in the order of 1 percent serving as stay-at-home dads), and women tend to ensure that child caregiving is seen to as a first order of business (with close to 33 percent of all mothers with non-school-age children serving as stay-at-home moms). When families move for jobs, it is likely for the man's job, and when families choose which schools to send their children to, it is most likely the woman who has the last word. Hence, though such patterns may not be present or even preferred in one's own family, in popular culture, on balance, these patterns emerge as the contours of the public and private dichotomy.

A Problematic Distinction

While from a distance, the public/private dichotomy seems a logical, even natural analytical lens through which to examine families, authority, and social

importance, on closer look this lens may be troubling. As early as Marx and Engels, theorists have noted the problem with the division between public and private aspects of families. Marx and Engels noted, upon studying the functions of modern capitalism, that the "public" work men do in factories to provide for their families would not be possible if not for women staying at home to tend to fundamental matters of survival, such as food, shelter, and reproduction. In other words, providing financially for the family may seem like a one-way exchange in which wives and children are dependent on male breadwinners. However, in reality, it is a two-way exchange, in which the entire economy depends on the necessary work of those in the private sphere to maintain the health and motivation of those who work in the public sphere. If shirts were not laundered and ironed and workers were not fed and tended to emotionally, the workforce would most likely fall apart. In this sense, work done in and around the home, traditionally by women, is far from "private." Its implications are just as public as the work of those who leave the home to labor in other locations within the economy.

Contemporary sociological analyses have maintained this awareness, even breaking the family into public and private components. For instance, where such things as intimacy and love and caring and happiness might be considered private aspects of family life, caring for children and elderly dependents so that the government does not have to are considered to be public functions of the family. Most notably, reproduction and raising children to become educated, competent, and law-abiding members of the future economy who will work hard and pay taxes has been noted as a central public good that families produce but from which everyone in society benefits. Imagine a society that simply refused to reproduce and raise children. In less than a generation, it would likely fall apart. Older workers would never be able to retire; there would be no one to take care of them; and the infrastructure on which they rely (for example, roadways, technology, commerce, food production, and delivery) would quickly evanesce.

In this way, families and the work they do surrounding feeding, sheltering, and raising children may in our initial consideration of public and private spheres clearly fall within that of the private; however, in actuality, this work straddles the private and the public. This is evident in such pronatalist public policies as presently enacted in Russia and in other places

following wartime, in which governments have sought to avert crises by offering such incentives as marriage and procreation bonuses and childbearing tax exemptions. This is further evident in U.S. tax policy, which offers a series of tax exemptions and tax credits for childbearing. Through such a lens, it can be seen not only that families can be both public and private but also that drawing the line between these two can be tricky and is always tentative. For instance, intimacy and love and caring and happiness, often labeled by social scientists as being private aspects of family life, can quite easily become public concerns if they stop occurring. Witness the tremendous public concern with divorce, domestic violence, and neglected children, and it is not surprising that recent public policy has addressed itself to encouraging marriage, discouraging divorce, and ameliorating domestic violence and neglectful parenting.

A History of Changing Power Relations

Not surprising given its problematic nature as a means of distinction, the public/private spheres dichotomy has undergone significant changes over time that have reflected as well as reinforced its role in social power dynamics. Earlier incarnations since the colonial period in the United States, involving such cultural manifestations as the cult of domesticity and the cult of true womanhood, posited proper roles and domains for women that were restricted for the most part to the private spheres. Though women were responsible for much of the work crucial to reproducing society, women were not to be seen, or at times to be seen and not heard, in the public domain. Women were not granted the right to vote until decades after black men. Thus, the public/private distinction enforced a patriarchal social structure that outlasted even slavery in the United States. Women who failed to constrain themselves within the private sphere were structurally stigmatized by adherents to hegemonic norms, and breaking such boundaries was seen at times as a justification for beating, harassing, and in other ways perpetrating violence on wives.

Tied into this was a long history in which, in addition to the vote, women were routinely denied other public rights, such as the right to own and inherit land, a primary source of livelihood and power. Furthermore, the work that women were largely responsible for (for example, feeding, caregiving, child rearing, and keeping house) was by virtue of its private designation rendered

invisible in the public world, not compensated with wages, and in general devalued in relation to any and all work conducted in the public sphere outside of the home. Such patterns, however, change with the wider political economy.

Conclusion

In recent years, particularly since the feminist movement of the 1960s, the public-and-private-sphere dichotomy has undergone a dramatic transformation, both as a way of organizing society and as a lens for analyzing it. Most notably, steadily increasing numbers of women are entering the labor force and remaining in it throughout their childbearing and child-raising years. Corresponding with this shift, women are doing considerably less housework, and men are doing only slightly more. This state of flux has also involved the rise in use of paid child care, which disrupts the assumptions that caregiving is provided in the private sphere without remuneration and out of love. Such changes promise to make the public/private spheres dichotomy both a fascinating location of future research and an exceedingly complex aspect of life within a global economy.

Frank Ridzi

See also Caregiving; Economy: History of Women's Participation; Family, Organization of; Family Wage

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PRIVILEGE, MALE

Male privilege is a special status conferred on males in societies where male supremacy is the central social organizing feature. Such patriarchal societies confer broad social, economic, and political assets on men because they are male. These privileges are based on beliefs about the superiority of male biological sex and gender.

Male privilege is blatant, subtle, and pervasive. The seeming naturalness and invisibility of male privilege is challenging and difficult to confront. Peggy McIntosh, one of the first feminist scholars to write about male privilege, describes it as an "invisible backpack" of rights and privileges that all males carry, often unaware, and usually unacknowledged. She and others analyze the contents of the "backpack" and show how societies at large, and males in general, take the assumed rights and privileges of males for granted and perpetuate them. Another helpful metaphor for the ubiquitous nature of male privilege describes it as the imperceptible "wind at the back" of all males.

A primary challenge in addressing and eliminating male privilege is its pervasive and invisible nature. Male privilege is a long-standing, accepted, but unacknowledged effect of patriarchy that has been fortified over many generations. Its unquestioned and unrecognized power makes it difficult for the males reaping the dividends of their privilege to see, understand, or acknowledge. It can lead them to think that they obtain their status (e.g., job, socioeconomic class, education, political appointment, partner, wife, etc.) solely by individual achievement and merit.

The invisibility of male privilege can be illustrated with a simple example showing the way the salaries of men and women are usually compared. To quantitatively demonstrate employment and wage inequities in the workplace, the comparison between men and women is usually stated from the perspective of the relatively less privileged or underpaid female. For example, in 2005, women's wages were 76 percent of men's wages in the United States; in other words, women earned 76¢ for every $1.00 earned by men. Reframing this example and making the same comparison but with men as the reference point shows the dividend of male privilege: In 2005, men's wages were 32 percent higher than women's wages (32 percent male dividend), or men earned $1.32 for every $1.00 earned by women ($0.32 male dividend).

Research on male privilege looks critically at this social construct to describe and define the privilege—but more important, to identify it and make it visible. The goals are to increase awareness, deconstruct male privilege, decrease oppressive behaviors, and create more productive interactions that break long-held biases that are predicated on patriarchal assumptions about gender.

Self-Awareness of Privilege

The earliest works in the study of privilege began to appear in the 1970s, as feminist researchers in women's studies confronted forces that opposed gender equity. McIntosh wrote about both white privilege and male privilege. As mentioned, her provocative article on privilege used the metaphor of the "invisible knapsack" to describe the power, damage, and unconscious acceptance of privilege on the part of the "knapsack bearer." McIntosh listed 50 privileges of whites that she recognized through a self-analysis of her experiences as a white heterosexual woman, including the following:

1. I can arrange to be in the company of my race most of the time.

10. I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.

41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.

44. I can find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.

50. I will feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social.

More recently, researchers have begun to explore how privileges related to race, gender, class, sexuality, and other forms of social classification intersect and overlap and work in similar ways to create often unrecognized special status for some and victimization or oppression for others.

Privilege can be classified as having either positive or negative advantages, depending upon how that privilege potentially impacts the entire society. Positive advantages result from privileges that should be granted to everyone, such as adequate nutrition, shelter, safety, and health care. Negatively advantaged privileges, on the other hand, are those that are oppressive and not beneficial to the broader society. Building on McIntosh's list of white privileges, Steven Schacht describes 25 negative advantages that accompany male privilege, including the following:

1. I can be reasonably sure that with most jobs I might apply for I will not only have a better chance of getting them than a comparably qualified woman, but I will be paid more than a woman doing the same job.

7. I am not expected to spend my discretionary income on makeup, skin lotion, and age-defying potions to cover my flaws, nor am I expected to spend money on dieting products (unless severely obese), all so I can be seen as attractive and socially acceptable.

15. When venturing out in public I can reasonably rest assured that I will not be sexually harassed or sexually assaulted.

17. Should I feel the desire to search for positive role models in positions of authority, nearly everywhere I look I can easily find a male to fill this need.

Varying Degrees of Male Privilege

Upon hearing about male privilege, many men will say that they do not feel privileged. They may say they are struggling to find a decent job, get an education, pay the bills, find a girlfriend, and so on. That is, they do not feel that they have any unearned breaks. These points raise some of the more complex issues related to male privilege, which are being studied by masculinity studies scholars.

Robert Connell, Michael Kimmel, and other masculinity scholars describe a widespread masculinity norm, or hegemonic masculinity, that is pervasive and dominant but that is for the most part an unattainable societal fiction. The norm has generally been constructed as white, heterosexual, stoic, wealthy, strong, tough, competitive, and autonomous. This is the assumed natural, biological male at the foundation of patriarchal society and on whom the most male privilege is bestowed. The increasingly media-saturated culture of the past 70 years is largely responsible for the proliferation and amplification of masculinity norms. The masculinity norm is pervasive and unrelenting in television, movies, videos, advertising, computer games, print media, pornography, and other forms of cultural entertainment.

All males reap some benefit from male privilege based on the hegemonic norm. But males who differ from the norm, such as men of color, gay men, men with less-than-perfect bodies, elderly men, poor men, and men who are not strong, may not benefit from full male privilege in some contexts. This is particularly true when these less privileged males are with other men and their status is visibly marked by skin color, body build, clothing and other signs of wealth or lack of wealth, and behaviors and gestures that can be read as signs of normative or nonnormative masculinity.

For example, a white, heterosexual, 36-year-old, highly educated, upper-middle-class, well-dressed, and physically fit man with nicely trimmed brown hair carries an invisible knapsack with a great array of privileges in U.S. society. He has the "full wind at his back." A white, homosexual, 56-year-old, out-of-shape, working-class, poorly dressed man with shaggy gray hair also carries an invisible knapsack of male privilege, but it is filled with a much more limited set of privileges. Likewise, a black, heterosexual, 24-year-old, well-dressed, and fit man of means carries an invisible knapsack with a very different array of more limited privilege. Male privilege benefits all men, but the men who most closely mimic the societal norm are the ones who usually reap the most advantages from male privilege.

Men Working Against Male Privilege and Sexism

Some men have identified as feminists and committed to antisexist work on behalf of men and women. Jackson Katz, a masculinity scholar and pro-feminist, antisexist male leader, produced a video titled *Tough Guise,* which describes the many ways that men have had to shape and mold themselves to support the patriarchal fiction of hegemonic masculinity and assumed male privilege. Katz speaks to boys, men, and women around the United States about the social costs of male privilege and about the relationship between male privilege, sexism, male power and control, and male violence against women.

Acknowledging that every man intentionally and/or unintentionally perpetuates male privilege, men working against sexism agree that male privilege and the oppression of women are inextricably linked. These activist men are helping men to reject male privilege. Moreover, they are encouraging all men to challenge oppressive behaviors, while challenging the notion that these behaviors are inborn biological

characteristics of males and arguing instead that they are firmly entrenched cultural residue, taught and learned in a patriarchal cultural. Men working against sexism and male privilege believe that every man should be at the forefront of creating a respectful, safe environment for men and for women.

Research on Male and Other Privileges

While research in male privilege originated in women's studies programs, the critical analysis of privilege has broadened to many disciplines and professions where respectful and successful client interactions are central, such as business, education, nursing, psychology, and medicine. In addition, interesting work in the area of male and race privilege is occurring in college classrooms, where students are encouraged to unearth invisible privileges and unearned advantages in their lives. The educational hope is that in making male, race, and other forms of privilege visible, students will gain personal insights that will assist them in contributing to a more just society.

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See also Hegemonic Masculinity; Heterosexual Privilege; Male Feminists; Masculinity Studies; Patriarchy

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Promise Keepers

The Promise Keepers (PK) is a Colorado-based conservative protestant, nondenominational organization. Founded in 1990 by former football coach Bill McCartney, PK focuses primarily upon Christian men's negotiation of gender roles, family, and spirituality. The group first drew major national attention with its 1993 Promise Keepers Conference, in Boulder, Colorado, which attracted over 52,000 men. The high point of the movement was the 1997 conference, "Stand in the Gap," which boasted close to 1 million men in attendance.

Members of this group adhere to the seven "Promise Keepers Core Values" (listed below as retrieved from http://www.promisekeepers.org/about/7promises):

1. A Promise Keeper is committed to honoring Jesus Christ through worship, prayer, and obedience to God's Word in the power of the Holy Spirit.

2. A Promise Keeper is committed to pursuing vital relationships with a few other men, understanding that he needs brothers to help him keep his promises.

3. A Promise Keeper is committed to practicing spiritual, moral, ethical, and sexual purity.

4. A Promise Keeper is committed to building strong marriages and families through love, protection, and biblical values.

5. A Promise Keeper is committed to supporting the mission of his church by honoring and praying for his pastor, and by actively giving his time and resources.

6. A Promise Keeper is committed to reaching beyond any racial and denominational barriers to demonstrate the power of biblical unity.

7. A Promise Keeper is committed to influencing his world, being obedient to the Great Commandment (see Mark 12:30–31) and the Great Commission (see Matthew 28:19–20).

Scholars such as Jean Hardisty, Michael Messner, and Rhys Williams claim that this movement fits within the broader context of the Christian Right and antifeminism. The Promise Keepers have been linked to James Dobson's Focus on the Family, as well as Operation Rescue. PK can also be understood as a part of a broader trend of Christian men in the last few centuries who have resisted the perceived feminizing of Christianity and Christian men.

The group claims on its Web site that it is not in any way affiliated with the "Religious Right" and that it is not political in nature. PK also maintains that it does not address women's roles, only men's. Sympathetic evangelicals feel that PK offers men a platform for change and a way to better respect and serve their wives and families. Within Protestantism, some fundamentalists have criticized the movement for its ecumenism, promotion of "self-love," acceptance of Catholic fellowship, and the admittance of homosexual men to PK events.

Other critics have condemned the group's lip service to racial reconciliation, particularly because of its largely white membership. They claim PK leaders urge members to deal with racism on an individual level but fail to acknowledge institutional and political structures that uphold racism.

PK faced significant financial issues shortly after the "Stand in the Gap" conference. After a few years of organizational and financial restructuring, the group has reemerged. The movement still exists but is significantly less visible and holds much lower membership than in the previous decade.

Stacia Creek

See also Christian Coalition; Christianity, Status of Women; Fatherhood Movements; Masculinity Studies; Men's Movements; Million Man March

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Promise Keepers, Men of Integrity: http://www.promisekeepers.org

Psychoanalytic Feminism

Psychoanalytic feminism seeks to gain insight into the ways our psychic lives develop, in order to understand and eliminate women's oppression. The basic

foundation of psychoanalytic feminism asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to suppress women. From this perspective, the root of men's impulse to dominate women and women's minimal resistance to subjugation lies deep within the human psyche. This creates a pattern of oppression that is integrated into society, producing and sustaining patriarchy. Societal change, or a "cure," can be developed through discovering the source of domination in men's psyche and subordination in women's, which largely rests unrecognized in an individual's unconscious. Psychoanalytic feminism asserts that through the use of psychoanalytical techniques aimed at examining how gender is constructed, as well as differences between men and women, it is possible to alter socialization patterns at the early stages of childhood, primarily before the age of 3.

Psychoanalytic feminism developed out of cultural feminism. *Cultural feminism* is one of the earliest forms of feminism, and it seeks to examine the differences between women and men in order to understand women's place in society. Psychoanalytic feminists focus on exploring childhood development, viewing the first years of life as solidifying our beliefs and practices connected to gender. They examine how gender is understood and the ways it operates on individual, familial, and societal levels. The foundational theoretical framework is based on Freud and Lacan's theories of the human psyche, particularly on psychosexual development.

There are two main branches of psychoanalytic feminism. Both focus on a range of issues related to gender and society, seeking explanations as to why men continue to repress women. The first section studies differences between men and women on a microlevel, primarily within families, focusing on women's psychology and the environment in which the personality of a child develops. Researchers investigate childhood learning, early sexuality traits, and parental relationships. Additionally, they explore the relationship of identity and personality combined with conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Generally, from this perspective, men are viewed as needing to create something that outlasts them, to establish an heir; this is derived from the combination of a fear of mortality and as a means to dominate women and children.

The second area focuses on exploring the construction of gender, continuing the use of psychoanalytic techniques on a microlevel combined with a macrolevel analysis. In addition to continuing the

study of masculinity and femininity, there is an analysis of the emergence of adult sexuality, including recognition of the female libido and the continual reinforcement of patriarchy throughout society. Societal institutions such as the economy, arts, language, science, and knowledge are also studied. This section of psychoanalytic feminism posits a need for men to create permanency through larger social structures, such as the development of business, science, art, architecture, and the amassing of wealth. This results in the establishment of a patriarchal system that serves to dominate and oppress women.

Both branches place an emphasis on studying women's roles as mother and daughter, viewing mothering as a means for understanding the continual production and reproduction of the status quo. While raising a daughter, the mother imagines her life as a child and her experiences with her own mother. This results in a deep bond with her daughter. This is also where the baby learns her identity as well as gender, through her mother, through representations of sameness. Theoretically, this creates less individuality in girls, whereas boys have more individuality, as they signify the "other" to the mother. For boys to develop their masculinity, they must separate from their mothers. It is believed by psychoanalytic feminists that if men took a more active, personal role in child rearing, a transformation would occur in our understandings of masculinity and femininity. This would also create changes in gender construction, diminishing men's domination over women and women's subordination, and increasing women's independence.

One criticism of psychoanalytic feminism is the central role played by heterosexuality and the nuclear family model. Women are presented as "naturally" wanting to be mothers and to take the central role as caretakers, whereas men are presumed to want physical and emotional distance from their families. Assumptions surrounding status, such as one's race/ethnicity, class, nation status, ability, and other issues that affect family structure, childhood, and parenting, also largely remain unacknowledged and unexamined. There is no accounting for ambiguity in gender or that sexuality and sexual differences are not necessarily related to gender. By placing the focus of change on individuals, larger societal institutions and systems that create, produce, and reproduce oppression continue without criticism.

Applying this body of theory to the macrolevel, experiences from the pre-oedipal and oedipal stages of life shape our conceptions of science and philosophy.

Western approaches to knowledge are founded on a male worldview. Within this body of research, uncovering the male biases inherent within the practices and structures of science and philosophy, these scholars offer a solution through the reformulation of epistemology and metaphysics in our society. There is an acknowledgment of the need to change dualistic thinking. The split between subject/object and mind/body must be replaced by thinking that accepts differences without creating a hierarchy of superiority. However, by framing the examination of women's subordination on the differences between genders, the either/or split that is being challenged by psychoanalytic feminism is actually being reified. Scholars within psychoanalytic feminism are actively working to answer these criticisms and therefore expand this body of feminism. This includes integrating concepts of gender that are more fluid, ambiguous, and expansive.

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See also Freud, Sigmund; Patriarchy; Postmodern Feminism

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Q

QUEER

The term *queer* has traditionally meant "odd" and "not normal." Not coincidentally, it has more recently been used as a way to think about sexualities that do not fit into society's assumptions of feminine or masculine heterosexuality. More contemporary meanings of *queer* have been picked up and used by activists and academics to mark movements within sexual identity politics and theoretical frameworks for understanding gender and sexuality. *Queer,* however, is a contested term. Scholars and activists constantly disagree on what *queer* means and the way in which it should be used, as described in this entry.

Queer is often used as an umbrella term to denote sexual identity within a particular community. A queer community may be made up of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, and so on. Some find *queer* an easy way to describe such a large community. Labeling people whose sexual identities fall outside of heterosexuality may create solidarity among people based on commonality, which may in turn encourage them to identify with one another and create a community in which they find support and organize to initiate a political movement.

Besides sexuality, *queer* is also used to describe a particular gendered community. This is a community made up of people who fall outside society's prescribed male/female and masculine/feminine dichotomies. Their gender identities and the way they embody and perform gender do not coincide with either the fixed biological notion of sex or societal notions of gender. Queer communities may have political agendas; they may fight to be accepted by heterosexist mainstream society or resist assimilation into the heteronormative culture. Critics argue that such a usage of *queer* may indeed bring solidarity to a marginalized group, giving them power in numbers. However, these critics warn against ignoring differences among people and groups. That is, lumping everyone who falls outside of social norms under the category of queer ignores the differences between them and thus may misrepresent them as the same. Labeling a group as *queer* could also reinforce gendered and sexualized dichotomies by creating *queer* in relationship to and opposition with all others who represent "normal" heteronormative society.

Dismantling Binaries

Queer theory argues that academics and activists rely on and reinforce dichotomous notions of sex, gender, and sexuality within their work. These binaries may be male/female, man/woman, masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual. Queer theory problematizes these binaries by arguing that they reify difference and hierarchy and, as a consequence, reinforce the notion of the minority as abnormal and inferior (for example, homosexual desire as inferior to heterosexual desire, acts of femininity as inferior to acts of masculinity). Thus, queer theory is a call to transgress conventional understandings of gender and sexuality and to disrupt the boundary that separates heterosexuality from homosexuality. Instead, queer theorists argue that the heterosexual-homosexual division must be challenged to open space for the multiple identities, embodiments, and discourses that fall outside assumed binaries.

In this light, queer is understood as something that is outside the "normal," something fluid and unfixed, something not definable by society because it now operates within a dichotomous system of knowledge where one is *either* a man *or* a woman. *Queer* is a category that represents all and therefore nothing. Consequently, much queer theory suggests it is completely "un-queer" to define *queer.* However, other theorists disagree with the idea that queer should not and cannot be defined. Some argue that if what is queer is not defined but, rather, simply understood as a label of meaning without definition, understood as fluid and ambiguous, then queer theory will become nothing more than an idealistic, politically charged fad that eventually dies out. These theorists suggest that if *queer* is defined, then it becomes something tangible that can be identified and incorporated into people's lives and understandings of the world, and only then can *queer* blur the boundary between what is heterosexual and homosexual, what is masculine and feminine. Whether *queer* should or should not be defined, the point of queer theory is to challenge and disrupt binaries with the hopes that doing so will simultaneously dismantle difference and inequality.

On a transnational level, the term *queer* has been both used and challenged. Some scholars and activists argue that labeling emerging sexualities and genders as queer in contexts such as Southeast Asia or Latin America, for example, marginalizes and misinterprets how sex, sexuality, and gender are played out in contexts that are not European American. Transnational scholarship therefore calls for more sensitive and nuanced accounts of how queer either assists readings of transnational genders and sexualities or overlooks key issues that queer cannot account for. The historian Peter Jackson, for example, complicates the use of *queer* in Thailand by arguing that key texts such as Michel Foucault's (1978) *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* that queer theorists use to develop their theories, studies, and scholarship are necessarily based on Western notions and histories of sex, sexuality, and gender. Consequently, although *queer* has been a useful term and identity marker for those who challenge European American binaries, its application is increasingly approached with caution when these binaries are not taken for granted in other cultural contexts.

Conclusion

At this point in history, *queer* connotes a new meaning and political commitment. Since the widespread emergence of biological and social notions linked to sexuality and gender, *queer* has been used to challenge the pervasive inequalities that stem from this recent historical shift in constructions of heterosexuality and homosexuality. Although queer has opened space for resistance, transnational research and debates have also challenged it. Despite these challenges, queer remains a concept, form of activism, and theorizing that continues to push and disrupt established boundaries and binaries.

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See also Androgyny; Gender Outlaw; Gender Performance; Genderqueer; Gender Transgression

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QUEER STUDIES

Queer studies is an emerging interdisciplinary academic subject that combines empirical research and theoretical accounts of gender and sexuality. The term *queer* characterizes both the object of study as well as the unique theoretical approach developed within this perspective. Many scholars use *queer* as shorthand for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people and communities. The term is often used instead of the terms *gay* or *lesbian* or the acronym LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual) to represent the variety of ways in which people experience their gendered and sexual selves. For many, hearing the term *gay* evokes an image of a white, upper-class, college-educated man and his political and social interests, which represents only a minor fraction of sexual minorities. On the other hand, the term *queer*

may suggest a range of identities from a black non-operative transgender prostitute to a bisexual dominatrix to an intersexed child. The open nature of "queer" recognizes the multiple forms of oppression experienced by the gender-variant and sexual minorities and the many ways in which each identity is experienced.

The term *queer,* however, is more than an umbrella for all forms of gender and sexual diversity. *Queer* is also the basis for the theoretical framework of queer studies, called queer theory. In queer theory, scholars make distinct claims about gender and sexuality that are openly critical of previous theoretical approaches. The first tenet of queer theory is that sex is fundamentally social. Human sexuality is not a biological fact, but a cultural concept. People are not born sexual beings, but learn how to become them by acting cultural roles and scripts. The second tenet of queer theory is that, although claiming a sexual or gender identity may feel liberating, such identities are also forms of social control. For example, coming out as gay may feel personally liberating, but the idea of being gay or lesbian also serves as a model of how individuals are supposed to act. Categories are disciplinary and regulatory structures because they are inherently exclusive. Taking on the identity of "homosexual," for example, is not a liberatory act. The term *homosexual* functions as a prescriptive model that defines specific bodies, relations, and behaviors, while excluding a whole range of other possible desires and acts. Thus, identities serve a major function in organizing people's bodies and sexual selves. The last key assertion made by queer theorists is that sexual behaviors and identities are imbued with a larger social and moral significance. Certain sexual behaviors and identities are seen as normal, natural and healthy whereas others are deemed sick, pathological, and criminal. Those who hold higher moral status are rewarded with material and social benefits whereas the degraded sexualities are often penalized. More important, this hierarchy includes all sexual behaviors and is not limited to just looking at heterosexuality versus homosexuality. Thus, one can see how all types of sexuality are regulated in society and how sexuality, in general, may be both individually freeing and a form of social control.

Queer studies scholars aim to challenge both the dominance of normative forms of heterosexuality as well as categories of gender and sexual identity in general. The goal of queer studies, as described in this entry, is to make visible the diverse histories, experiences, and cultures of gender and sexual minorities while concurrently offering a theoretical critique of identity categories and the repressive forces that they evoke.

Foundations of Queer Scholarship

Sexuality and gender have been studied in academia since the late 19th century, beginning with what became known as *sexology.* Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Magnus Hirschfeld, and Havelock Ellis pioneered the scientific study of gender and sexuality focusing on biological and psychological characteristics of sex and gender deviants. Since then, the study of gender and sexuality has slowly become institutionalized and now exists in some form in most colleges and universities in the West. Currently, there are more than 40 certificate and degree-granting programs in the United States with at least 5 institutions offering an undergraduate major that fit under the queer studies rubric. Although many are titled *queer studies,* the term has not been embraced by all gender and sexuality programs, often labeled *sexuality studies* or *LGBT studies.* The curricula for these programs are heavily interdisciplinary, offering courses from biology to English. Queer studies has many roots in feminism, the humanities, psychology, and the social sciences. The multiple approaches to studying gender and sexuality are testaments to its broad range of subjects and critical theory. The social and academic foreground for queer studies can be seen in the development of two disciplines that highly influence its current content, gay and lesbian studies and women's and gender studies.

Critique of an Ethnic Model: Gay and Lesbian Studies

During the 1960s and 1970s, scholars were influenced by a civil rights movement that championed gays as having a distinct and positive social and political identity. In academia, there was a notable shift at this time from a biological and psychological model of sexuality to what is now the basis of gay and lesbian studies, the presentation of sexuality as a social fact, one that involves roles, institutions, and moral hierarchies. Sexuality was no longer presented as an innate or inherent characteristic of humans but, rather, as learned behaviors and identities that structure individuals' daily lives. One's culture dictates what bodily sensations and experiences are sexual and their meaning. In viewing sexuality as a social fact, scholars began to ask and

answer such questions as, When did the category of "homosexual" emerge and how has same-sex eroticism changed across time and cultures? In exposing the historicity of contemporary gay and lesbian identities, academics focused on reclaiming gay histories and communities and presenting them in a positive light.

Nevertheless, scholars focused on gay and lesbian experiences predominately of upper-middle class, educated whites. This narrow academic exposure paralleled social and political representations of gays and lesbians promoted by the civil rights movement of the 1980s. During the 1980s and 1990s, gays and lesbians moved from the periphery into mainstream society, becoming increasingly visible in culture and politics. In response, the gay and lesbian movement changed from a model of liberation and lesbian separation to social integration, paralleling other ethnic minority models. The ethnic minority model was promoted in academia and in lesbian and gay organizations, often by white, upper-middle-class, educated gay scholars. However, with the notion of a shared gay identity and social integration came an increase in regulating sexual and gender practices within the larger gay community. The movement advocated a mainstream gay and lesbian identity that mirrored heterosexual norms such as monogamy, strict gender roles, and conservative politics, thus excluding many alternative identifications and practices. Moreover, lesbians and gays of color were expected to prioritize politics regarding their sexual identity over their racial identity.

The movement exercised these exclusionary and regulatory practices to appear unified and strong against the oppression of the dominant culture. However, gays and lesbians were not prepared for the extreme homophobia expressed as a political backlash to the gay and lesbian movement and in response to HIV/AIDS. As AIDS ravaged the gay and lesbian community, segments of the dominant culture retreated from acceptance to extreme stigmatization of gays as sick and predatory disease carriers. Identity-based politics and the current focus of scholarship were ill-equipped to handle this turn of events in gay and lesbian communities. The response from academics and activists is what is now called queer theory.

The Limits of Identity: Women's and Gender Studies

The women's movement, especially radical feminists, of the 1960s and 1970s similarly moved away from biological and psychological accounts of the differences between men and women, instead focusing on how society was organized around these purported differences. Women wanted to account for their differences regarding wage, child rearing, education, and access to the public sphere. Influenced by Karl Marx, many feminists argued for a standpoint theory of women, claiming that women's lives are structured differently than are men's. In particular, men control women's bodies, specifically regarding sexuality, labor, and procreation. For example, the overlap between the public/private division and the masculine/feminine binary characterizes certain sectors of the economy as gender specific. Jobs that do not create a "use-value" and are seen as natural domestic acts such as nursing, child work, and social services are feminized and compensated less, if at all, in one's society. Similarly, occupations that require a "learned" skill or that include manual labor are masculinized, more highly paid, and often exclude women. Thus, it was argued that gender structures the world, and male domination is the fundamental form of oppression for all women. In turn, the notion of "womanhood" emerged, unifying women across the globe as sharing common values, behaviors, and psychology because of their shared oppression by men. The universality of women's experiences formed the basis of contemporary perspectives on women's and gender studies in academia.

In the 1980s, the direction of women's and gender studies reached intense criticism rising from the voices of black women and lesbians who claimed that their interests were not being addressed. Feminist scholarship and politics were organized around the idea of womanhood and the claim of shared experiences as women, yet the leadership rested in the hands of white, upper-middle-class, educated, heterosexual women. The privileged standpoint of these leaders clouded their ability to see other women's positions. Lesbians and black women argued that not all women share the same experience of being a "woman" because of multiple intersecting identities, articulated in social theories of intersectionality by Patricia Hill Collins. Collins defined intersectionality as the notion that identity categories cannot be analytically separated from one another and that issues of race, class, gender, sexuality and so on, are intertwined. Women cannot be spoken of as a unified group because they have differing experiences based on their social position in other identities. Likewise, power does not come from the top down as exercised by men on women, for example, but exists as

a larger network of interlocking oppressions. Collins, and other critics of early gender studies, exposes the limitations of claiming one common identity. In other words, identity constructs cannot be theorized as stable entities because they are not inclusive of the multiple ways in which they are constructed. Akin to gay and lesbian studies, different interests are often submerged or silenced under larger generalized categories of gender identity. Yet, marginalized identities became a significant focus of gender and sexuality scholarship partially through the theory of intersectionality.

Queer Theory

Queer theory is a critical approach to studying sexuality and gender, often used as the basis for queer studies curricula. Queer theory emerged from several distinct criticisms to the approaches made to studying gender and sexuality, as previously outlined in the history of gay and lesbian studies and women's and gender studies. The groundbreaking works of Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and Gayle Rubin provide the foundation for the three main theoretical positions of queer theory today.

Producing the Sexual Subject

The theoretical underpinning of gay and lesbian studies changed dramatically with Foucault's work. His revolutionary work, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1,* is the foundation for queer theory and queer studies. Foucault argues that "sex" is not innate or natural, but an object of knowledge invented in the 19th century. Many historians mark the Victorian era as a time of sexual repression, exemplified in tales of married couples copulating through holes in their bed sheets. This repression, prohibition, and censorship was used to exemplify power as a dominant regime. Yet, for Foucault, power is not just about domination and repression, but also about the production of subject. Foucault argues that during the Victorian period there was a proliferation of knowledge and discussion about sexuality. Historically, the Victorian period is marked by scientific endeavors aimed at discovering universal truths about human nature. Thus, scientists immersed themselves in classifying and categorizing "sex," sexual desires, thoughts, behaviors and relationships, all to chart human sexuality. Foucault contends that these scientists did not discover human sexuality, but in turn produced "sex" as something to be studied and controlled. Sexuality became a way to control bodies and behaviors. Once these scientific discourses and knowledges of sexuality were put into law, medicine, and psychology, sexuality was classified by normal and abnormal desires, acts, and types.

Foucault illustrates the productivity of power by historicizing the invention of the "homosexual." He claims that with the proliferation of discourses about sexuality came an incorporation of categorizing the sexually perverse in medical and psychological discourses. In canonical codes, sodomy was nothing more than an illicit sexual act. The behavior was condemned and the actor punished. However, in the 19th century, the act became a sign of a distinct human type or identity, the homosexual or the lesbian. Thus, the homosexual was created, and this product became part of a larger network of regulatory and oppressive institutions.

Queer theorists view identities such as homosexuality and heterosexuality as a discourse or language that gives meaning to bodies, practices, and desires. It is not that one's behaviors fashion sexual identities, but that these identities control how people understand their desires and relationships. Foucault argues that it is not the proliferation of identities that leads to sexual liberation but, rather, the separation of acts and feelings from those identities. Instead of claiming an identity for one's desires and acts, Foucault favors using one's desires to create new pleasures, relationships, networks, and cultural and political practices. In other words, it will be liberatory to simply desire, feel, and act, to just be sexual, rather than to attach those behaviors to larger cultural meanings.

Gender as Performance

Another crucial component of queer theory is performance theory, established by Butler in her book *Gender Trouble.* Performance theory is primarily a critique of identity theory and politics as well as a way of explaining the multiple ways that women and men understand and express their gender in contemporary society. In *Gender Trouble,* Butler critiques feminist theorists for not just claiming a universal identity as "woman" but for continuing to rely on gender differences as being innate. For feminists to analyze cultural manifestations of power and oppression, sex, the biological, is often separated from gender, a set of cultural meanings and signifiers. This way, the way culture produces systems of power that oppress women can be analyzed, rather than relying on a biological deterministic view of female oppression. However, doing so

presupposes that sex is neutral, naturally and culturally. In other words, gender is seen as an expression of something internal to a person, such as a core masculine or feminine identity. Because men and women often have distinctly different appearances, behaviors, and expectations, most people in society have not questioned gender roles. Yet, because of changing family and economic structures in the 1990s, there was a similar shift in gender dynamics. Men and women began exploring their gender identities with an increasing flexibility. For example, women were experiencing more economic success and mainstream fashion pushed androgyny and power suits. Women and men began to question the "nature" of their gender expression.

Butler contends that one's gender is not an expression of an innate sense of masculinity or femininity, but it is a process or performance people undertake in their everyday lives. Starting as children, people behave by imitating what they see, specifically men's and women's roles. In turn, individuals act out these roles to meet societal expectations and norms. However, this acting is not voluntary in any sense. Individuals are not choosing how to express their gendered selves, but stepping into roles as man or woman that already exist in society. In the constant repetition of this performance, individuals convince others and themselves that their behaviors, desires, and expressions come from something internal to the individual. Although these everyday actions are meaningful to these individuals, in a sense gender is not real in the sense of natural. Moreover, because individual gender performances are not rooted internally, they are inherently unstable and can only be reinforced through acts of role-play, specifically those acts that highlight the differences between men and women. The internal coherence of gender for men and women relies on strict enforcement of this binary system, thus women must be defined in opposition to men. Similarly, before heterosexuality can be a solid identity, homosexuality must be characterized as a stable and universal identity that is defined in its opposition to heterosexuality. Consequently, any gender or sexuality expressions or identities that are incoherent or intelligible reveal the disjunction between sex, gender, and desire. Thus, queer studies tends to focus on these identities that destabilize norms of gender and sexuality such as intersex and transgender individuals.

Sexual Hierarchy

Another key theoretical perspective in queer theory is that sex acts and identities are organized around a hierarchical system of moral value. As a society, we believe that sexual acts for the purpose of reproduction are natural, normal, and hold the highest moral value because procreation is fundamental to our species and holds great religious significance. However, it is not just procreative heterosexual intercourse that is given a high moral value in our culture. Other sexual behaviors and desires such as monogamy and sex in private are given high moral accord. In her groundbreaking essay "Thinking Sex," Rubin outlines a theory of sexual oppression that accounts for the way society creates and maintains this sexual moral hierarchy.

Rubin presents similar critiques to feminism as Butler did in that like gender, identity theorists claim that sexual practices are natural and reflections of something innate in humans. Yet, Rubin's focus is not on the performance of sexual identities, but on the meanings and significance one attaches to sexual acts. Rubin contends that in our society sexual acts are burdened with an excess significance. Sex acts on the "good" side of sexual hierarchy such as heterosexuality, monogamy, reproductive, and private sex are deemed by our culture as normal, natural, healthy, and even holy. In opposition, sex acts on the "bad" side of the sexual hierarchy such as transsexuality, sadomasochism, and sex for money are deemed abnormal, unnatural, pathological, and sinful. Somewhere in the middle sit long-term homosexual couples, masturbation, and unmarried heterosexual couples. Rubin argues that although this hierarchy may seem to be stable over time, it shifts in response to social conflicts regarding sexuality. Thus, some behaviors such as premarital sex or non-procreative sex have ascended in the hierarchy over time.

Sex acts are more than burdened by excessive moral significance; they are also attached to social and legal rewards and penalties that mirror the moral hierarchy. Individuals whose behavior is high on the scale are rewarded with mental health, legality, and material benefits. For example, heterosexuals are given the benefits of marriage, adoption, and until recently when sodomy laws were deemed unconstitutional, the only legal form of consensual sex. Procreative couples are also given more health insurance benefits in accord with their lifestyle such as coverage for fertility drugs and procedures whereas health insurance often does not cover the cost of birth control or abortions for non-procreative sexual practices. Correspondingly, individuals whose sexual behavior is low on the scale are subject to the

presumption of mental illness or criminality and may be penalized for their behaviors. To illustrate, sex workers and sadomasochists are often jailed or fined for their consensual sexual practices. Those in the middle of the scale such as long-term monogamous gay couples may find a certain amount of social acceptance, yet lack benefits such as marriage and adoption rights. Accordingly, Rubin's argument is that the sexual system controls all sexualities, because sex acts are not simply expressions of feelings or desire, but rather they are attached to social and legal rewards or penalties.

Conclusion

To summarize, queer studies begins with the assumption that sex is social. Its meaning, form, and origin are all socially shaped. Yet, queer studies does not deny that biology is involved in the shaping of sex and sexuality. However, sex is undeniably imbued with political and social significance beyond the material body and sex acts. In our society, not all sexual desires, behaviors, and identities are placed on a moral hierarchy where certain acts are accepted and supported whereas others are stigmatized and in some cases criminalized. Ultimately, queer studies goes beyond simply challenging the norm of heterosexuality and is about challenging these hierarchies. It challenges the norms of "normal" sexualities and genders.

Reese Carey Kelly

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Gender Performance; Queer; Transgender Studies; Women Studies

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QUILTING

Quilting is a sewing method done either by hand, sewing machine, or longarm quilting system. The process uses a needle and thread to join two or more layers of material together to make a quilt. Typical quilting is done with three layers, the top fabric or quilt top, batting or insulating material, and backing material. Quilting is done on bed spreads, art quilt wall hangings, clothing, and a variety of textile products.

In their most rudimentary form, quilting and piecing (patchwork) are as old as humankind itself: Hunters put together animal hides to make clothing and bedding, and in every corner of the world and every era, sewing together painstakingly collected pieces of fabric or other materials was a response to pressing practical and economic needs. Furthermore, various ancient peoples, including the Chinese, believed that one's spirit dwells in one's attire, which is why fragments of worn out clothing were recycled and put to new uses, preferably in the family home. Necessity, thrift, and superstition permeate the global history of quilting. Since the 19th century, the craft has acquired associations with good housewifery, feminine creativity, and the celebration of matrilineal family traditions. In the 1960s and 1970s, quilting was rediscovered by the civil rights and women's movements as a popular domestic art form that expressed and validated marginalized identities and experiences. Nowadays, it is widely recognized and respected as an art form with a rich tradition integral to social history and folk culture, and an exciting future.

It has been argued that quilting first developed into an art in North America. With no embroidery silks or water colors available, pioneer women channeled their creativity into designing quilt patterns inspired by European traditions but also shaped by the landscape

of the new country, as is indicated by certain pattern names (e.g., "Rocky Road to California"). Whereas traditional English and Welsh quilts consisted of three layers of textile sandwiched together, with the stitched quilting making up the sole design, American quilts were usually patched together out of small blocks of fabric, which were easier to handle and allowed women to make the most out of scarce fabric supplies by using up remainders or recycling fragments. Quilts were made to be passed on from mother to daughter and often evoked historical events and community and family histories. Wedding quilts were made from blocks individually sewn by the friends and female relatives of the bride-to-be, with the traditional love-themed designs often supplemented with personal dedications. Blocks would then be sewn together at quilting bees, woman-only social events that would normally last all day long.

Women and especially feminist artists who have used quilting in their practice have a particularly complex relationship with the medium, which is negotiated within—and thus forms part of—their artwork. The use of traditional domestic craft skills has been deemed simultaneously empowering, because it relies on a woman-to-woman intergenerational apprenticeship and validates female culture, but also compromising, because it perpetuates the gendered and implicitly hierarchical division between the public and the private/domestic spheres, handicrafts, and the fine arts. Feminist quilts express ambivalence toward the domestic associations of quilting because, in feminist analysis, the home no longer merely stands for comfort and intimacy but can also represent drudgery, confinement, and victimization. Denise Mucci Furnish's *Friendship Quilt* (1991) is made with dryer lint collected by the artist's friends over a decade: This is simultaneously a humorous protest against women's unpaid labor in the home and a tender tribute to female friendship.

African American artist Faith Ringgold (b. 1930) combines quilting with the established fine art medium of canvas painting. Her often-autobiographical story quilts, quilted paintings accompanied by text, are eloquently and thoughtfully engaged in American politics of race, including notably the history of slavery and the Black Power movement. *Street Story Quilt, Parts I–III: The Accident, The Fire, and the Homecoming* (1985) is an ambitious triptych that follows an African American boy, Abraham Lincoln Jones (a.k.a. A. J.), from childhood through adolescence and into success and fortune in adulthood. A. J. overcomes the death of his mother and the addiction of his father with the help of his remarkable grandmother, for whom he returns to the tenement in his white Cadillac driven by a white chauffeur. Creative, inspirational and fearless African American women dominate Ringgold's work, as in the pieced 1983 quilt *Who's Afraid of Aunt Jemima?,* an antiracist tribute to her mother Willi Posey, a successful fashion designer and dressmaker who collaborated with Ringgold on the quilt but passed away around the time of its completion.

Contemporary quilters and artists who use quilting in their work are indebted to traditional quilting and piecing not simply in technique and design but, perhaps more significantly, by recognizing the ingrained aptitude of this craft to commemorate, convey emotion, foster and maintain attachments across generations, tell stories that would otherwise have remained untold, and even give expression to social and political protest. The *Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt,* the largest public art project in the world, exemplifies many of these qualities. Conceived by gay rights activist Cleve Jones in 1985, the principal aim of this community artwork was to commemorate and celebrate the lives of those who died of AIDS. More than 46,000 three by six foot quilted, appliquéd, and painted fabric panels including more than 91,000 names (approximately 17.5 percent of all U.S. AIDS deaths) have been contributed by personal friends and family of the dead, and some have also been devoted to public figures. The project, which is too large to exhibit in whole and is still growing, was displayed for the first time in the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in 1987. Nominated for the Nobel Prize in 1989, its impact on the public imagination cannot be overestimated, having already been the subject of numerous documentaries, scholarly writings, and theatrical performances.

Intriguingly, it has been argued that the use of color and design in traditional quilting by usually anonymous, almost certainly female makers anticipated many of the aesthetic breakthroughs of Modernist abstraction. Nevertheless, the pervasive hierarchy that places fine art above the crafts in combination with the gender of their makers ensured that quilting innovation remains largely ignored within the discipline of art history.

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See also Black Feminist Thought; Domestic Labor;
Women Artists

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RAMABAI, PANDITA (1858–1922)

Pandita Ramabai was an important social reformer in the late 19th and early 20th century in India. She was born to Anant Dongre and Lakshmibai, who were Brahmans; her father was rejected by his community for educating his wife in Sanskrit. He and his family wandered from town to town, narrating the *Puranas* (Hindu religious folklore). He and his wife died during a famine in 1874.

Anant Dongre had given his son and daughter a classic Vedic education, and Ramabai was unique for the level of education she achieved at the time. She and her brother made their way to Bengal after their parents' death, and she was welcomed by Hindu reformers and celebrated for her scholarship. They gave her the title *Saraswati* (Goddess of Learning). While in Calcutta, she met and married Bipin Behari Medhvi, a lower-caste Bengali lawyer, and they had a daughter. Ramabai's marriage was considered radical because it was intercaste. After she was widowed, she returned to Maharashtra and pursued social reform to better women's education and the status of widows, and to fight caste barriers.

In 1882, Ramabai established the Arya Mahila Sabha, where women could meet to discuss issues affecting them. She gave testimony before the Hunter Commission, arguing for better educational facilities for women and for teacher training. She also fought the social restrictions placed on high-caste Hindu widows, which compelled them to withdraw completely from society. She herself defied such strictures by actively working in the public sphere.

In the 1880s, Ramabai was drawn toward Christianity, and in 1882, she published *Stri Dharma Niti* (Prescribed Laws and Duties on the Proper Conduct of Women), to fund a trip to England. She traveled to England in 1883 for education and there converted to the Episcopalian church. Her conversion created a firestorm of controversy in India. Although she saw Christianity as a means of personal spiritual fulfillment and an opportunity to pursue social reform, she was also critical of the Episcopalian Church and fought racism and patriarchy within it.

From 1886 to 1888, Ramabai traveled extensively in the United States to raise funds for a school for widows. She also wrote *High Caste Hindu Woman* at this time, to raise funds for her school. In Bombay, in 1889, she founded Sharada Sadan, a school for child widows. She later founded Mukti Sadan in Kedgaon, where women and children were educated, taught different skills, and given work so they could be completely independent and integrated into the community irrespective of caste.

Toward the end of her life, Ramabai translated the Bible into Marathi after learning Greek and Hebrew. Ramabai's dedication to women's education, her commitment to alleviate the suffering of widows, and her fight against caste injustice make her a pioneering feminist in India.

Nalini Iyer

See also Asaf Ali, Aruna; Caste; Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini Nehru; Naidu, Sarojini

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Rankin, Jeannette (1880–1973)

Jeannette Rankin, the first female member of Congress, was born in Missoula, Montana, on June 11, 1880. Throughout her life, Rankin was involved with numerous political causes, such as the suffrage movement, and she also fought against the United States entering World War I. Rankin was elected as the first female member of Congress in 1916, winning a seat in the House of Representatives for the state of Montana. Rankin is an extremely important figure in U.S. history because she opened the doors of Congress not only to other women but also to discussions about women's issues and women's rights.

Rankin's Life

Rankin attended the University of Montana at Missoula and graduated in 1902, before attending the New York School of Philanthropy (later called the School of Social Work) and becoming involved with social work as a profession. Rankin first became heavily involved in political activism when she later studied at the University of Washington in Seattle; there, she was also exposed to the suffrage movement. Within a few short years, Rankin was hired by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and moved to New York to begin work with that organization.

Rankin later returned to Montana and helped launch a successful suffrage campaign in Montana in 1914. Around this time, as World War I began, Rankin, a Republican, became very interested in pacifism and fighting for peace. It was at this time that she decided to run for one of Montana's seats in the House of Representatives. She was successfully elected as the first female member of Congress in November 1916. During her time as a representative, Rankin introduced many women's issues onto the House floor, such as birth control and equal pay. Her radical views of these issues, in addition to her pacifism and vote against the United States entering World War I,

are seen as the primary reasons she was not successful in her next campaign for the Senate in 1918. Rankin then spent several years lobbying for various causes in Washington, D.C., before being reelected to Congress in 1940, largely based on her antiwar stance. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, she was the only member of Congress to vote against entering the war. During the congressional vote, Rankin stated, "As a woman, I can't go to war and I refuse to send anyone else. I vote 'NO.'" This made her very unpopular with many Americans, given the political climate, but her vote serves as a testament to her strength and resilience in the face of very difficult environments.

Rankin did not run for reelection when her term was up, but she stayed politically active through the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War and for various other causes. Rankin died in 1973 of natural causes, and she willed her estate to help "mature, unemployed women workers." Following those wishes, the money from her estate served as startup money for the Jeannette Rankin Foundation, which continues to give educational grants to low-income women in the United States.

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See also Contraception; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage Movement; Woman's Peace Party; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Ransome-Kuti, Olufunmilayo (1900–1978)

Olufunmilayo Ransome-Kuti is best known as a political activist fighting for women's rights in the early 1900s. She was born in 1900, in Abeokuta, Nigeria. She attended the Abeokuta Girls Grammar School and in 1919 studied in Manchester, England, returning

home in 1923. In 1925, she married Reverend Ransome-Kuti, who later became a director of the Abeokuta Grammar School.

Ransome-Kuti moved women's activism to a new level, and she did so with a spirit of nonviolence. She is reported to be the first Nigerian woman to drive a car in Nigeria. In 1944, along with other educated women, she developed a movement built on the existing organization of Egba women, the Abeokuta Women's Union (the Egba are a subgroup of the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria). The union had approximately 20,000 financial members. The organization's primary campaigns were for education, to thereby obliterate illiteracy; objection to the flat-tax rate; and enforcement of sanitary regulations, and against paying water rates. Combining all of these initiatives, Ransome-Kuti worked with the intention of raising living standards for women and ultimately eliminating the causes of hardship.

In addition to her work on women's rights, Ransome-Kuti also worked on the cause of Nigeria's independence from Great Britain. She published protest notes against corruption of the office of the Alake Ademola II of Egba and led peaceful demonstrations. In 1950, Ransome-Kuti was appointed to the Western Nigeria House of Chiefs, one of only three women. She became more active politically, including serving as an independent candidate in the 1959 Zentralegba elections, in which she received 17.6 percent of the votes. Through her various board and organizational memberships and political activism, she obtained many international contacts, including women's organizations in China and the Soviet Union and various politicians. However, after independence, Ransome-Kuti returned to focusing on women's rights and dedicated her time to the development and establishment of educational facilities for women. She received several honors throughout her life, including the Lenin Peace Prize in 1970, for her efforts toward friendship and cooperation between Nigeria and the Soviet Union.

Ransome-Kuti had three children, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Olikoye Ransome-Kuti, and Beko Ransome-Kuti. During a protest against the military for the unjust arrest of her son Fela, her leg was injured, and complications of the injury later led to her death in 1978.

Jennifer Jaffer

See also ABANTU for Development; Military, Women in Relation to; Transnational Development, Women and

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RAPE

Although the anti-rape advocacy and research literature have improved the overall responsiveness of health, legal, and social service systems in the United States, rape remains a major public health problem that is not randomly distributed across all individuals in society. Rape is a form of gender-based violence, according to the disproportionate number of assaults reported by women. Adult women are about 10 times more likely than men to be raped. Most perpetrators of sexual violence are male, and the sexual violence field has primarily focused on female survivors. New studies, however, highlight the occurrence of male rape and indicate that the consequences of rape are similarly devastating for male survivors as they are for females. Topics that are discussed in this entry include prevalence, risk factors, physical and psychological consequences, economic costs, prevention, and intervention.

Definitions

The definition of *rape* has evolved over the past 30 years, in part due to statutory rape reforms. Federal and state governments currently use definitions of rape that recognize the diversity of types, contexts, and victims of sexual violence. Most jurisdictions define *rape* as nonconsensual completed or attempted intercourse involving vaginal or anal penetration by a penis, hands, fingers, or foreign object; oral penetration by a penis, with the use of force or threat of force; or inability of a victim to provide consent as a result of age, intoxication, or other factors. Many states have also established statutes criminalizing other physical and verbal sexual acts. The term *sexual assault* often refers to the entire continuum of criminal sexual behaviors, including completed or attempted unwanted sexual contact that may or may not include force, such as intentional grabbing or touching of the genitalia, anus, groin, breast, inner thigh, or buttocks. Noncontact behaviors, including voyeurism and sexual harassment, typically are also defined as sexual assault.

Prevalence

Estimates of lifetime rates of rape in the United States among adult women range from 2 percent to 97 percent, with most estimates converging around 15 percent. Estimates of rates of male sexual assault vary between 3 percent and 28 percent. The variability in prevalence rates across studies are often attributed to differences in sample characteristics and assessment methods. Higher estimates of rape have been documented among women who were surveyed in health care settings, college campuses, and military bases, as opposed to national samples. Higher rates of male rape have been documented among gay and bisexual men and men who reside in correctional facilities. The use of behaviorally specific questions/responses (e.g., A man put his penis in my vagina; Someone inserted fingers or objects without my consent by pinning me down) is associated with higher reporting rates, as opposed to questions that rely on jargon, such as *rape* and *sexual assault,* about which even researchers disagree. The use of such terms contributes to underreporting among survivors who do not label their experiences as rape due to the lack of force, familiarity with the perpetrator, or impairment by alcohol or drugs. Prevalence rates based on crime victimization surveys underestimate the magnitude of the problem because few survivors appeal to the criminal justice system for assistance. Many survivors, especially men, avoid seeking help from law enforcement and health professionals because they believe they will be blamed for the assault or will receive negative responses or no help at all. Such experiences often heighten distress among survivors, a phenomenon known as *secondary victimization.*

Risk Factors

Survivor Characteristics

Women first experience rape at a young age, typically before age 18. Marital status, low socioeconomic status, and low levels of education are also risk factors for sexual victimization. American Indian women are more likely to experience rape compared with other races; however, findings are largely based on studies that collapsed data across different tribes. Tribal comparisons have shown that some tribes, but not all, have higher estimates of rape against women compared with the general population. Racial and ethnic differences are subject to the effects of minority status in the United States, including exposure to poverty and traumatic life events and limited access to educational and employment opportunities, and thus are interpreted with caution. Female survivors are more likely to report a history of sexual victimization, emotional difficulties, substance abuse, and certain personality traits. Male rape survivors have many of the same characteristics. They are typically young, single, Caucasian, and have a history of sexual victimization. Male survivors also tend to be unemployed, homeless, and impoverished at the time of the assault and are more likely to have physical, psychological, and cognitive disabilities. Gay and bisexual men are at heightened risk of rape, in part because they spend more time with men.

Perpetrator and Assault Characteristics

The majority of female survivors are assaulted by individuals they know, most of whom are current or former male intimate partners. Rapes are also committed in romantic relationships of lesbian and transgender individuals. The most common perpetrator of male rape is less clear. Some studies indicate that most assailants are acquaintances, whereas others document high rates of male rape by strangers. Current and former intimate partners are frequently the perpetrators of assaults against gay and bisexual men. Men are at increased risk compared with women of being victimized by multiple assailants and having weapons used against them. Men are also more likely to suffer an anal assault or be forced to have oral sex or perform oral sex on someone.

Sociocultural Factors

Ecological models of sexual violence consist of interactions between individual, relationship, community, and societal influences. Environments that promote violence against women include college campuses with high rates of binge drinking and specific social groups, such as college fraternities and athletic teams. Fraternities at increased risk of sexual aggression are characterized by a culture of excessive drinking, peer support for sexual violence, hostility toward women, and stereotypical views of masculinity and heterosexuality. Men are vulnerable targets of rape in correctional facilities; however, it remains unknown whether the structure or organization of such settings or characteristics of the individuals contribute to the increased risk. Communities with homophobic attitudes and antigay violence promote sexual victimization among gay and bisexual men.

Consequences

There are a wide range of short- and long-term health consequences of rape, and they vary by individual and gender. Some survivors experience chronic, long-lasting psychological symptoms, whereas others report few or no symptoms at all. Survivors' responses to rape are influenced by the nature of the assault, history of psychological difficulties, prior victimization, life stressors, coping skills, social support, and other resources.

Physical Consequences

Acute Injuries

About a third of female rape survivors sustain some type of injury. Between 25 percent and 60 percent of male survivors sustain injuries. Men are more likely than women to sustain physical injuries from assaults and have more severe injuries. Physical injuries include scratches, bruises, lacerations, broken bones, head and spinal cord injuries, genital or anal bruising or tearing, muscle sprains, internal injuries, and dental damage. In the most extreme cases, rape is accompanied by death; however, rape-related deaths are rare.

Chronic Health Problems

Survivors are susceptible to long-term physical health problems, including gastrointestinal disorders and chronic pain located in the back, neck, head, face, and jaw. Rape is also associated with increased risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). HIV and other STDs may go undetected because survivors tend to refrain from disclosing the sexual content of the assaults to health care professionals. Common rape-related gynecological problems include chronic pelvic pain, premenstrual symptoms, irregular vaginal bleeding, painful intercourse, infertility due to untreated STDs, and unwanted pregnancy.

Psychological Consequences

Immediate Responses

Immediately following a rape, survivors may respond with intense fear, shock, humiliation, embarrassment, anxiety, confusion, denial, helplessness, withdrawal, guilt, and shame. Male survivors are more likely than females to report anger and hostility after a rape. Some men keep their initial reactions controlled and express little emotion. Many survivors avoid sexual intimacy and experience sexual dysfunction, including diminished sex drive, reduced arousal, and difficulty achieving orgasms shortly after the assault. In some cases, these initial difficulties may persist for several months or years.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

One of the most recognized psychological outcomes of rape is *post-traumatic stress disorder* (PTSD). As defined by the American Psychiatric Association, a PTSD diagnosis is based on an exposure to an identifiable traumatic event that produces intense fear, helplessness, or horror and the presence of specific symptoms, such as recurring recollections of the event, persistent avoidance of trauma-related stimuli, numbness, and increased alertness to potential threats. Estimated rates of PTSD among female rape survivors are between 30 percent and 65 percent. Similar rates have been documented for male survivors. Some survivors report PTSD symptoms immediately after a rape, with alleviation within a few months, whereas for others, the symptoms become chronic and remain elevated for months or years. Some researchers and clinicians argue against using PTSD as a primary diagnosis, noting that it inadequately captures the complex responses reported by some survivors. It is particularly ill-fitting for women who have experienced repeated or escalating forms of sexual violence. Alternative diagnoses include *complex PTSD* and *disorders of extreme stress not otherwise specified* (DESNOS).

Other Psychological Responses

Rape initiates or exacerbates many other forms of psychological distress, including low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, disordered-eating behaviors, physical symptoms in the absence of existing medical conditions, and severe preoccupations with physical appearances. Lack of treatment contributes to increased risk of suicide attempts. Some survivors engage in self-mutilation and other risky behaviors, such as alcohol and drug abuse and sexual promiscuity. Strained relationships and increased likelihood of subsequent sexual victimizations are also common outcomes. Some survivors change their perceptions of themselves and the world around them after being raped. Male survivors may become confused about their sexual orientation. To regain a sense of control, survivors may hold themselves more responsible for the assault. This and other types of distorted and

negative beliefs may worsen the effects of rape and delay recovery.

Men may suffer long-lasting effects of rape as a result of quiet resignation or denial of the assault and may refrain from seeking support or treatment because of traditional gender role expectations and homophobic attitudes. Victim blaming of males who have been raped is supported by societal stereotypes such as the following: Men should be able to fight or escape from the situation; men who are sexually assaulted are gay or bisexual; and men experience few emotional consequences from rape.

Economic Cost

In 2003, economic loss due to rape and sexual assault in the United States was $42 billion. Economic costs are attributed to medical care and mental health expenditures, victim services, criminal justice system responses, and lost productivity from injury and other consequences. Economic burden of rape is also associated with high rates of poverty and unemployment following the assault.

Prevention

Three levels of prevention in public health may be applied to rape. *Primary prevention* seeks to reduce the occurrence of initial victimization or perpetration. Current primary prevention strategies are largely influenced by ecological models and target attitudes, beliefs, societal norms, laws, and policies that accept violence and support gender inequality. This is often accomplished with sexual violence prevention and education programs that promote rape awareness, healthy relationships, and self-defense and resistance techniques. Programs are tailored for different groups, including men, adolescents, parents, teachers, and college students. Prevention programs for boys and men address rape myth acceptance, rape empathy, power dynamics, relationship expectancies, coercive sexual behaviors, and consent. Prevention programs are effective in increasing rape knowledge and altering rape attitudes, but the long-term effectiveness on behaviors and incidence of sexual assault remains unknown. *Secondary prevention* efforts attempt to reduce the short-term impact of rape after it has occurred and consist of violence screening practices and early intervention approaches. Violence screening tools facilitate early detection of victimization and treatment referrals.

Tertiary prevention consists of treatment services to minimize the likelihood of chronic problems and long-term disability. Tertiary strategies also include sex offender treatment interventions.

Prevention and intervention approaches for male perpetrators are beyond the scope of this chapter; however, a brief comment is provided to hold perpetrators accountable and emphasize the role of the criminal justice system. Prevention strategies attempt to reduce the likelihood of repeat offenses and minimize escalation among those who have already perpetrated an illegal sex act. Efforts by the criminal justice system to deter offending consist of prison terms, probation, mandatory registration, community notification, and civil commitment. These approaches are rarely applied. Rape is the least reported, least prosecuted, and least convicted major crime of violence. The conventional criminal justice system does little for most victims, and many feel revictimized by this.

Alternative justice responses involve survivors, offenders, and community representatives achieving a resolution to sex crimes. Such programs aim to increase the involvement of survivors but face resistance by individuals in the antiviolence movement who believe that punishment by imprisonment is the ideal outcome and that continued advocacy to change laws and train criminal justice system personnel will eventually result in meaningful levels of accountability for rape. There has been contrary evidence over the past 30 years, however, suggesting that these advocates underestimate what the criminal justice system can accomplish and whether it satisfies what victims define as their justice needs.

Intervention

Treatment Approaches

Treatment approaches have almost entirely focused on female survivors. For women, no single therapeutic approach has been shown to be dramatically more effective than all others in rigorous scientific investigations. There are documented benefits associated with cognitive and behavioral techniques. Cognitive approaches attempt to reduce distress by helping survivors identify and change negative thoughts related to the traumatic event. Behavioral approaches typically consist of exposure techniques that guide the survivor in reliving memories of the traumatic event and other difficult experiences that developed during

the aftermath. Alternative treatments, such as *eye movement desensitization and reprocessing* (EMDR), are also shown to alleviate distress among female survivors but have not yet undergone extensive scientific testing. To date, there is no known data on the effectiveness of these interventions with male survivors.

Advocacy and Public Policy

Improvements in services for rape survivors are largely the result of victim advocacy work and legislation on violence against women. Rape work began as a grassroots movement in the 1970s that led to the development of rape crisis centers, state coalitions, and national organizations to address the inadequate responses offered by medical providers and law enforcement. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994, the first legislation on violence against women, recognized the serious harm inflicted on survivors of physical and sexual violence and allotted resources to assist survivors, children, and families. Two reauthorizations into law include VAWA 2000 and 2005. VAWA 2005 addressed development of programs for underserved communities (e.g., homeless, disabled, elderly, Native Americans, ethnic minorities, legal immigrants, and survivors from rural areas) and emphasized violence prevention.

Support and assistance for male rape survivors is about 20 years behind that which is available for women. Many agencies restrict their crisis services to female survivors, and fewer than 5 percent of all sexual assault programs in the United States have programs tailored for male survivors. Although rape is a form of gender-based violence, the unique vulnerabilities of male survivors underscore the importance of establishing laws and services to assist these individuals.

Conclusion

Given the current period of limited funding, there is a need to consolidate efforts in the sexual violence field. Popular recommendations include strategies for combining resources and coordinating community responses among health care, criminal justice, and policy systems. Increased communication and integration of community services is especially relevant for populations of women who have limited access to specialized victim services, including women who are homeless, from ethnic minority backgrounds, or live in rural areas. Coordinated responses are also critical

for dispelling stereotypes and misconceptions about male rape and removing barriers to proper diagnosis and treatment of male survivors. Together, the sum of collaborative efforts may accelerate progress in creating a society that is safer and more responsive to survivors, so that they have the resources to recover from the trauma of rape.

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See also Domestic Violence; Gender Stereotypes; Homophobia; Prison Culture and Demographics; Rape, Statutory; Violence Against Women Act; Women Against Violence Against Women

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Rape, Statutory

Statutory rape is generally defined as nonforced consensual sexual relations between an adult and an individual who legally is not old enough to consent to the behavior. It differs from rape because it is mutually

consenting. Laws, though variable, define when an individual is capable of making sexual activity decisions. The topic of statutory rape is particularly relevant for understanding gender and society because it raises important issues of consent, sexual activity, and optimal societal response. This entry will describe statutory rape laws, cultural norms, risky behaviors, reporting, and prosecution.

Statutory Rape Laws

Statutory rape was first considered a crime because of concerns about the ability of a minor to make decisions about sexual activity. Moreover, there is an assumed developmental power differential between a minor and an adult. The laws about statutory rape are complex and diverse. Most address the age at which a minor can agree to sex (consent), the acceptable age difference for sexual relations between a minor and adult, and to what extent the adult is in a position of authority (e.g., teacher, coach) over the child. Although laws first arose from concern about girls below specified ages having sexual intercourse, most laws now are gender neutral.

The United States has defined a higher age of consent than in most other countries for a minor to have sex with an adult. In most states, a 16-year-old can legally give consent for sex with an adult. Some states also specify that to qualify as statutory rape, in addition to the victim being under the age of consent, there needs to be an age difference of at least 2 to 5 years between the youth and adult. Generally when a youth is 12 years old and younger, the sexual activity is considered child abuse. In contrast, in half of the jurisdictions in Europe, a 14-year-old can legally give consent for sex with adults.

Cultural Norms

Different cultural norms further complicate society's perception of and response to statutory rape. In some cultures, it is completely acceptable for young girls to have sexual relations with older adult men. When adults are interested in sexual relations with minors, they may give gifts and money to youth and their families, and this is perceived as acceptable and a sign of attention or love. In contrast, in other cultural circles, this same behavior is often described as "grooming the victim," or seducing a minor by forming a bond with her or him and then introducing a sexual component to the relationship. Furthermore, some minors may not view themselves as victims, often saying that they are in love with the adult and therefore do not think a crime has been committed.

Risky Behaviors

A number of potential risky or negative behaviors are associated with statutory rape. First, unmarried teenagers whose partners are 6 or more years older have higher pregnancy rates than those whose partners are within 2 years of age. Second, other studies show that adolescent girls who have older partners do not consistently require the use of condoms and are more likely than adolescent girls with similar-aged partners to contract sexually transmitted diseases. Third, adolescent girls who have older partners have more family disadvantages, such as low socioeconomic status; parents with low educational levels; and more symptoms of poor psychological adjustment, such as drug and alcohol use and low self-esteem. There is less research on the characteristics of adults, typically men, who become sexually involved with adolescents. Some research indicates that these adults may have feelings of inadequacy and may be developmentally similar to younger boys.

Reporting

Unlike child sexual abuse, which historically has a reporting requirement, statutory rape historically has no reporting requirement. Some jurisdictions are moving toward mandatory reporting laws, but reporting of statutory rape tends to be voluntary. Mandatory reporting can cause dilemmas for counselors, who may not believe that reporting a rape is the best way to help a minor. Some counselors may not ask the minor's age, to avoid mandatory reporting requirements. Voluntary reporting can also cause a dilemma because it is often not clear in which situations it would be best to report an incident to authorities.

The most researched type of statutory rape involves an adolescent female and adult male. Overall, a small minority of adolescent females are sexually involved with older men. However, younger girls (13 or 14) are more likely than older girls to have an adult male sexual partner. Also, girls who have first intercourse at a younger age (13 or 14) are more likely to have adult males as sexual partners.

Prosecution

Historically, there has not been a strong criminal justice response to statutory rape. Within the past decade, however, this has changed somewhat, and there is an increased interest in prosecuting these types of cases. This interest mostly has stemmed from (a) concern that older adult men account for a large percentage of teenage pregnancy, (b) increased awareness of adults (teachers and coaches) being sexually involved with minors, and (c) youth meeting older adults on the Internet.

Conclusion

Limited research has examined the extent to which statutory rape occurs, why adolescents engage in sexual relations with adults, and why adults engage in illegal sexual relations with adolescents. More research is needed that explores ways to prevent these types of relationships from occurring and what is the most appropriate societal response to this crime.

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See also Rape; Sexual Activity: Age at First Intercourse; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Teen Pregnancy

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Rehabilitation

The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that as of early 2007, over 2 million offenders were incarcerated in jails and prisons. The result of this growth has culminated in a correctional system that is more focused on maintaining security and administering punishment than on rehabilitation. This entry discusses the history of the usage of rehabilitation in the correctional system and the challenges of using rehabilitation in the correctional system.

History

Borrowing from European practices, the foundation of the penal system in the United States was based on the concept of punishment. Many early penal institutions were plagued by overcrowding and physical punishment of inmates that often left the inmates mutilated. It was not until the end of the 17th century that penal institutions began to incorporate rehabilitative components into their operations. William Penn, a Quaker, is credited with revising the Pennsylvania criminal code to outlaw the physical punishment and humiliation of offenders. While Penn was successful in having offenders serve their time in hard labor and paying restitution to their victims, his efforts were short-lived. Upon his death in 1718, Penn's reforms reverted back to strict and brutal punishment for lawbreakers. The Quakers continued Penn's efforts despite the setback and were successful in establishing the Walnut Street Jail in 1790, which focused on reforming offenders. The journey to incorporating rehabilitation in the correctional system has not been smooth, and there have been many challenges and successes.

Rehabilitation Implications

Rehabilitation: Continued Challenges

Although Penn's efforts were readopted into the penal system, not everyone agreed with his method of correctional operation. Other states, such as New York, chose to run their prison systems a bit differently, with slightly more focus on deterrence. It was not until the National Prison Association Meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1870, that rehabilitation began to be reconsidered as a means for reforming offenders. The Progressives pushed for rehabilitation in all aspects of the correctional systems (i.e., from probation to parole) at the end of the 1800s and early 1900s. Rehabilitation then dominated the correctional system as the primary correctional goal until the 1970s. In 1974, Robert Martinson declared "Nothing works" in his research article with regard to rehabilitation. This article incited the public, who subsequently demanded a "get tough on crime" approach toward offenders, as they felt that offenders were being coddled by the

system. Rehabilitation now took a backseat to punishment and became a secondary goal in the criminal justice system.

Rehabilitation: What Does Work?

Despite Martinson's claims (he did later recant), rehabilitation can indeed work. Evidence that treatment can be successful for offenders can be found in meta-analyses of multiple studies, single-program studies, and narrative reviews. Treatment programs that are based on cognitive-behavioral, behavioral, and social learning theories and target the criminogenic needs of high-risk offenders demonstrate the most promise. Major factors strongly associated with criminal behavior and offender recidivism include antisocial attitudes, beliefs, and values; procriminal associates; personality factors; low levels of education; and unemployment.

Several criminogenic needs must be addressed when assisting females. It has been identified in the literature that what sets female offenders apart from their male counterparts is prior sexual abuse. Thus, rehabilitation addressing prior sexual abuse is important in their recovery. Another need that must be addressed for females involves therapies to combat their low self-esteem and problems with the abuse of alcohol and/or drugs. Researchers assert that multimodal interventions may be the most successful, because not all treatment modalities may be useful for all offenders.

Rehabilitation Challenges: Women

Rehabilitation for female offenders has largely been unaccepted by society. Typically, it is believed that women should be punished for the crimes they commit because they depart from their ascribed feminine role. Historically, rehabilitation has not been included in female institutions as prevalently as in male institutions. When women offend, it is often perceived that they are stepping out of their feminine role and thus punishment should be applied for this aberration. Prison overcrowding is another factor that contributes to lack of focus on rehabilitation for female offenders. Overcrowding has proved problematic in both male and female institutions and has caused a strain on the financial resources of the correctional institutions. Monetary funds are channeled toward offenders' basic needs, such as food and clothing, and

away from rehabilitation programs and the creation of new programs.

Many deficiencies in correctional programming for females are the result of policymakers not requiring correctional facilities to offer treatment services. Many policymakers have argued that it is unnecessary to mandate laws that require treatment services for female offenders because females make up only a small proportion of those who are incarcerated. Rehabilitation is also difficult to achieve because much of the correctional programming within female institutions is gender stereotypic (e.g., cosmetology, sewing). While vocational training is useful, training in gender-stereotypic occupations that are often low-paying professions will not allow women to reap financial independence. The lack of future financial independence is problematic, since about 75 percent of females who are incarcerated are mothers. Upon release, these women will need employment to support their families.

Conclusion

With the rising number of males and females being incarcerated in the United States and the fact that the majority of those incarcerated will be released back into society, there is a need for rehabilitation programs to be implemented and expanded in prison, including those that target criminogenic risk and need factors. In addition, there is a need for teaching vocational skills in prison that will realistically help offenders secure employment upon release.

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See also Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Prison and Parenting; Prison Culture and Demographics

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RELIGION, GENDER ROLES IN

Religion, gender, and the spaces where the two meet are undergoing transformation. *Religion* in this context refers to systems and institutions that provide for the development of individual and collective spiritualities. This entry focuses on major organized religions broadly writ. These world religions, the largest today being Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism, have long-established traditions but are also changing as new generations of adherents work out how to practice their faith in different locations. Although inhabitants of Western countries often see religions as privatized arenas, religions are also intertwined with social life, especially in non-Western contexts in which religious concepts of gender are central to society. Migration and travel, especially more recently, have brought religious diversity to countries with singularly focused religious histories. In Western countries, the emergence of new forms of Buddhism and the growth of Islam through migration, conversion, and higher birthrates are two significant phenomena.

The activities and identities of men and women that constitute gender roles show continuity and change and vary in different cultures. Generally, religions advocate and are the source for traditional teachings about gender roles that assert differences between men and women. Religions tend to adopt traditional gender roles, asserting that it is the place of men to be leaders in the family and religion and identifying women with the body and sexuality. But this is not always so. For one thing, religions tend to comprise a core of spiritual equality and liberation from social roles. Also, religions have been challenged by calls for gender equality and are experiencing movement in this direction. Furthermore, newer groups within the major religions, new religious movements, the New Age, and neopaganism are making gender equality integral to their spirituality. Nevertheless, gender roles in religion are in flux, and new developments are as likely to move in restrictive as in liberating directions. This essay traces some of this history and contemporary patterns with regard to male dominance, religious authority, home and family, and the body and sexuality and also discusses recent feminist responses and levels of religious participation.

Equality or Male Dominance?

In some world religions, for example, Judaism, male dominance was evident from the outset. Other major religions began with comparative equality for men and women, but as texts and traditions developed that were generally authored and led by men, women become subordinated. For example, when Islam began, its five pillars of religious practice were directed equally to women and men. Women prayed in mosques; Mohammed's wife Khadijah was the first Muslim; and history portrays another woman, Aisha, as strong and active in the public sphere. The Qur'an includes statements of both equality and male dominance, while the later *hadiths,* or narratives, including descriptions of the actions and sayings of the Prophet, contain some more-negative statements about women. Interpretations of these texts became progressively patriarchal, with Qur'anic verses interpreted in a way that enforced the later female practices of veiling and seclusion. Only recently have women's movements opened up possibilities that are not limited by gender.

Gender roles emerge from holy texts and images of the divine and from traditions and social practices. Sacred texts generally depict deities as masculine. In the monotheistic religions, although God is not ontologically male, language usually depicts God as masculine. Hindus revere both gods and goddesses. Female goddesses in Hinduism are an important example of valuation of the feminine. For Hindus, Devi is the great goddess, or mother of the universe, who appears in various different female forms, for example as Shakti, the divine cosmic energy. But most divinities are in the male form, and in the West, it has taken an alternative spirituality movement to reimagine the divine in female form.

When religious texts discuss men and women, they sometimes maintain that the genders are different in nature. Men may be described as rational and women as emotional. Scriptures can also balance concepts of gender difference. In the Bible, an important example is St. Paul's declaration to the Galatians that in Christ, there is no longer gender and all believers are one, a statement less well-known than those indicating gender restrictions.

The most sacred aspects of the religion are not always equally available to both genders. In Hinduism, the doctrine of *karma* (actions) is an important example; it is widely understood that being born a woman

is a result of negative actions in a past life and that the soul may obtain salvation only following rebirth in a future life as a male.

Three principal areas illustrate religious attitudes to gender: religious authority, the home and family, and the body and sexuality.

Religious Authority

Some religions consider religious authority a male preserve. Women are not allowed to be Roman Catholic priests or Muslim *imams* (leaders), and in mainstream Hinduism, women cannot take the *Shankara-acharya* role (as leaders and ritual specialists). Other religions consent to gender equality in religious authority but do not actively promote it; consequently, religious leaders are mostly male. Often, gender roles in wider society carry through to the religious community. Leaders often have to work long hours, and this may not be conducive to women, on whom the bulk of domestic and caring responsibilities fall. When religions are connected to migration, social roles in the country of origin impact those established by the religious group in the country of destination; this is common when South Asian religions take root in the West.

Men outnumber women on religious leadership committees, but women can and do take on these positions. And while women tend to take on the religious tasks associated with child care and hospitality, men are also involved.

Spatial gender demarcations feature in some places of worship. The greatest separation occurs in mosques that deny entrance to women. In other mosques and in Orthodox Jewish synagogues, women and men sit apart; sometimes women sit behind a partition. These spatial differences exemplify the different obligations for women and men in these religions. For Muslims and Jews, a woman fulfils her primary religious obligation through her family role.

Women's exclusion from religious leadership has been contested, with positive results, especially since the 20th century. Now, progressive synagogues do not separate the sexes in prayer and support women's ordination as rabbis. Similarly, many Protestant Christian denominations have opened their leading roles to women. In Buddhism, although male monks possess the highest status, women have become nuns and teachers.

Home and Family

When men generally lead the religious community, the home is a mainly female sphere. Women's domestic authority is not necessarily greater than their husbands', since men are often seen as heads of households. Nevertheless, women spend more time at home and invest more time and energy in domestic and caring tasks than men do. Most religions, especially Judaism and Islam, consider marriage the ideal and expected adult state. This is not surprising, since the family is the most powerful setting for socializing children in religious values. Marriage is generally preached to be monogamous and lifelong. Some sacred texts allow polygamy, but it is no longer practiced except in some Islamic countries. Religions tend to discourage divorce, which is sometimes easier for men to obtain. In Islam, a husband obtains a divorce by repeating three times, "I divorce you." A Jewish woman can get divorced only if her husband agrees to grant her a *get,* or bill of divorce in Jewish law.

Religious men often adopt a "breadwinning" role; this is vital for the economic survival of religious families, especially those who discourage women from doing paid work. Employment is an important site for the development of masculinity. Work can conflict with spiritual demands or can enjoy a sacred status. The evangelical Protestant Promise Keepers movement believe that men achieve masculinity by accepting responsibility for spiritual leadership and economic provision within the family.

The work religious women do is, conversely, located mainly at home. This is not to suggest that religious women are absent from the paid workforce. In Western countries, women from some religious communities (particularly Christianity) show levels of labor market involvement comparable with those of nonreligious women. Nevertheless, the jobs of many women of faith are part-time and offer low remuneration. Muslim women in the West are unlikely to work outside the home; given the low earnings of Muslim men, this can lead to deprivation for Muslim families.

Doctrines about wifely submission are common in most religions. In Christianity, St. Paul directed women to submit to their husbands as if to Christ; the Hindu Manusmirti scriptures instruct women to serve even a bad husband as if he were a god. But submission doctrines have been reinterpreted; Muslim feminists exercise considerable energy refuting the Qua'ranic verse that permits a husband to beat his wife.

Confinement to subordinate family roles may make women especially vulnerable to violence. *Dowry,* whereby the family of the bride give money or gifts to the groom's family, is a case in point. Violence against the wife and her family is not uncommon if they are unable to provide the funds the groom's family desires. Where dowry combines with the concept of karma in Hinduism, the consequences can be particularly bad, since girl children may be considered to signify bad karma and place a financial burden on their parents. There are many cases of women aborting after discovering that they are to give birth to a girl. Although India prohibited dowry in 1961, it continues among some Sikh and Hindu families. The bases of these practices may be cultural rather than religious, but religion can facilitate or intensify them.

The Body and Sexuality

The body and sexuality is a third important factor in religious gender roles. Dualistic views separating the mind or soul from the body are common in religion. The mind is regarded as spiritual and masculine, the body as material and feminine. Associated with the body, women become both sites of uncleanness and the cause of uncleanness or sexual transgression in others.

Jews and Hindus consider menstruation and childbirth polluting to those who touch the "unclean" woman. Orthodox Jews forbid sex during and 7 days after menstruation and until the woman has taken a ceremonial *mikveh* bath. In Hindu temples in India and sometimes in the West, entrance is forbidden to menstruating women. Women are not exclusively associated with uncleanness—for Orthodox Jews, men's bodily discharges also require purification—but most fears of bodily pollution are attached to women.

Sexual self-control is an important religious theme. When religions want people to control their sexuality, they sometimes promote celibacy. In other contexts, they consider celibacy neither possible nor desirable, especially in view of the high place they give to reproduction and family life. In these instances, proper use of sexuality requires it to be channeled and controlled within marriage. Exceptions to these two patterns are found in some of the new religious and spiritual movements that depart from either celibacy or marriage-confined sex.

The most elevated roles in some religions, notably Buddhism and Roman Catholicism, are held by celibate men. For these men, renunciation of sexual activity and family roles frees them for spiritual activities and service to the religious community. There are also roles for celibate women, or nuns, but their religious authority is limited in comparison with that of celibate men.

Celibacy is not valued by all religions, and even in those where it is valued, it remains a minority position. The normal pattern for sexual activity is within marriage. Homosexuality is outlawed by all major religious traditions, with the exception of some progressive sections within them and some alternative spirituality groups. Some religious groups place further restrictions on when and for what purpose husband and wife can engage in sexual activity. Understandings of men and women's sexuality can differ. Muslims and Protestants advocate marriage as a vital outlet for men's sexual desire but do not consider married women to possess comparable desire. Despite this, the old dichotomy that portrays women as chaste or promiscuous, virgin or whore, still pervades religion. Women's sexual behavior is subject to scrutiny to ensure that they keep within the given boundaries and, additionally, that they take responsibility for sublimating and protecting themselves from men's desires.

Clothing is a spiritual issue in most religions. Often, religions adopt forms of dress that are modest versions of the surrounding culture's approach. Sometimes, religious ceremonies and rites of passage require distinctive dress. For some of the most religious, especially ritual specialists and religious leaders, dress symbolizes purity of faith and initiation into the most sacred aspects of religion. In general, men's religious dress is more likely to signify their elevated spirituality, whereas women's signifies their conformity to traditional family roles.

In recent Islamic history, women have increasingly adopted the *hijab* (veil) to conform to particular interpretations of Qur'anic modesty codes. Debates about the appropriateness of women's veiling abound, and some argue that women who veil are choosing an Islamic identity against the sexualized dress of non-Muslims. Others suspect that veiling represents a form of patriarchal control of women that the Qur'an does not require. It is important to consider the cultural context in which this occurs and to what extent women are free to choose to reject veiling. In Western societies, the hijab may be chosen, but in Islamic states, such as Iran, it is enforced, and women who abandon it may be severely punished. What appears a

liberating choice in one context may seem the opposite in another. There are fewer dress-related expectations for men, but some forms of Islam advocate wearing a beard to distinguish them from "infidels."

Sikhism provides an interesting example of the relationship between religion, gender, and dress in contemporary societies. Traditionally, *khalsa* (baptized) Sikhs are required to keep to the "five Ks," one of which prohibits them from cutting their hair. Women can receive initiation into the khalsa as well as men, but traditionally only men have adopted the turban. Recently, however, especially among North American Sikhs, large numbers of women have opted for initiation. They have taken *amrit* (holy water) as a sign of their faith and have donned turbans. Their adoption of turbans signifies not only that they are true and faithful Sikhs but also that they believe women have equal rights to initiation alongside men.

Egalitarian and Feminist Transformations of Religion

For those supportive of equality, the gender-based restrictions concerning religious leadership, family roles, and treatment of the body may make religion seem unappealing. Several points counter this initial perception. First, official religious teachings are frequently dispensed with in practice. For example, while most evangelical Christians affirm that the husband is head of the family, studies of evangelical families reveal that the husband's authority is mostly notional; women have considerable influence in the family domain. Second, many spiritual practices are egalitarian, and religions can be sites for the subversion of the gender roles in the surrounding society; the early history of Christianity and Islam exemplifies this. Third, despite the exclusion of women from most sacred roles, traditions of female spirituality have developed. Hinduism provides a good illustration of this.

In the Hindu tradition, the *bhakti movement* included women poets who believed in the universality of God's love. While femininity is often associated with bad karma and women may receive *moksha* (salvation) only through rebirth as a man, in the bhakti tradition, women can achieve moksha through intimate dedication to a personal deity. Additionally, women have been at the forefront of new religious groups and spiritual practices. The neo-Hindu Brahma Kumari movement, founded in the 1930s and popular in the West, is supported principally by women. Other

new religious movements, including the Rajneesh movement, have been similarly popular with women.

Fourth, feminist movements have made significant inroads into the transformation of religion. Feminists within religion have a range of beliefs and strategies. They can be divided into three broad groups: reformists, revisionists, and revolutionaries. *Reformists* are committed to existing religious doctrine and structures but seek equal opportunities and greater public roles for women. They believe religious texts are not intrinsically sexist, but have been misinterpreted in a way that disadvantages women. *Revisionists* are more critical of doctrine and scriptures. They look for a liberating core within the religion, examining religion through the lens of women's experiences in order to find it. Once found, they reject the remaining patriarchal aspects. They are interested not just in challenging religion but also in transforming patriarchal aspects of society. *Revolutionary* feminists offer the most trenchant critiques. They reject traditional religions, believing they are inherently patriarchal. Yet they do not necessarily reject spirituality and have created new, women-centered rituals and practices that affirm women's bodies and honor the feminine divine.

Gender Differences in Religiosity

Women's religiosity is not always easy to quantify, since traditional measures of religiosity, such as attendance at places of worship, do not capture women who live out their faith commitments either at home (as many Muslim or Jewish women do) or through individual and small-group spiritual practices (as those engaged in goddess worship might). Nevertheless, the measures available indicate that despite women's exclusion and marginalization in religion, they commit themselves to religion in greater numbers than men.

So far, attempts to explain why men are less religious than women focus mainly on Western societies. Some theorists look at individual characteristics, pointing out that feminine traits like submission, emotionalism, and sociability are more accepted in religion than are masculine attributes like independence and rationality. Feminine characteristics are held most often by women, so women are the ones who will be more religious. Other theorists stress structural issues: Women are more religious because of their social position. Since modernity's separation of life into public and private spheres, religion has become a private phenomenon. These separate spheres have been

gendered, with men earning money in the public realm and women devoting themselves primarily to domestic activities. As religion has been located in the private sphere, it has been harder for men to be involved, other than as leaders. But the move to a postindustrial society and the influence of feminist movements have shaken gender patterns. Women are increasingly committed to paid employment, and thus their patterns of religiosity, or of secularization, are becoming more similar to men's.

Conclusion

Organized religion is central to many people's lives and will continue to be so. Even in places where it is declining, such as Europe, new forms are emerging, some of them radical or fundamentalist. Gender roles in religion are likely to remain varied. Traditional patterns will continue in some areas, equality will spread through others, while the newer fundamentalist forms will reassert male authority and gender-differentiated roles. Gender is formed, lived, challenged, and reformulated in contexts that are profoundly social. Organized religion is one very significant social context with both historical and contemporary influences on gender roles and expectations.

Kristin Aune

See also Christianity, Status of Women in; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Judaism, Gender Roles and; Mormons, Gender Roles and; Nuns; Promise Keepers; Veiling; Women and Islam

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REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

See NEW REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

RESEARCH, GENDER BIAS IN

Gender bias in research is as old as science itself. Although gender bias is less pervasive in research in the 21st century than it was in the past, it persists in some scientific fields. In the context of social and medical research, the term *bias* refers to a systematic error that can occur at any level or stage of empirical investigation, which is caused and goes undetected by the researcher. Gender bias in research occurs because researchers' stereotypes and prejudices about gender become implicitly, and hence unknowingly, but systematically infused with the research process. Such biases typically support the unfair preferential treatment of masculine characteristics (enhances men) and unfair negative treatment of feminine characteristics (derogates women). Gender bias in research is therefore undesirable and to be avoided.

The kind of prejudice that has existed in research since the beginning of science is known as *androcentrism.* The andocentric view holds men and masculine characteristics as the norm and as the standard against which all people are compared. From an androcentric view of the world, women who do not act in accord with the beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviors predicted from androcentric theories and researchers are judged to be incorrect, aberrant, inferior, and so on. Androcentrism in science and research is in part a by-product of the male majority that exists in some realms of science. With mostly men occupying nearly every domain of science until relatively recently, the androcentric bias permeated theories and interpretation of data, and hence gender bias in research was a result of mostly men and too few women conducting research.

A brief review of the basic elements of the research method and the scientific process helps to clarify the creation and persistence of gender bias in research. The scientific method is by itself a useful tool that helps scientists to study nature and reality more closely than the human senses and imagination allow on their own. While the scientific method itself aims to be bias-free, it is not impervious to errors in human judgment. At each stage of the scientific method, the

scientist is personally challenged with making decisions that are ultimately educated guesses about reality and, more specifically, about human life.

The scientific method and research process typically proceeds through the following six stages: (1) formulation of a research hypothesis that is informed by a theory; (2) development of a research design suitable to address to test the hypothesis; (3) selection of tests, measures, and procedures that are relevant to testing the hypothesis; (4) sampling and data collection; (5) selection and implementation of statistical procedures to test the hypothesis; and (6) interpretation and reporting of the results. At each of these stages, the scientist's own subjectivity, personal biases, and prejudices may become entangled with the research. Thus, without careful scrutiny and peer review, any research product that involves human data is vulnerable to gender bias.

For example, at the first stage of research, the conceptual level before data collection begins, the researcher is responsible for reviewing literature relevant to the research question. While reviewing the literature, the researcher must choose which theory or theories will inform the hypotheses to be tested. When the predictions to be tested involve individuals, the researcher must consider the extent to which gender differences are relevant to the scope and aims of the study. If gender differences could be an issue, the researcher must decide which theories will accommodate hypotheses that involve gender. Regardless of the researcher's personal opinions or beliefs about gender, the theory or theories will guide how the researcher formulates a hypothesis. However, the researcher is free to choose any theory that he or she deems relevant. There are no rules for how to review literature or how to select a theory; this is by itself not necessarily a problem. The problem related to gender bias is such that some theories are more prone to gender bias than others. For instance, at least two different types of gender-related biases, known as alpha bias and beta bias, may result at the first stage of research.

An *alpha bias* results when the researcher selects a theory that assumes the existence of sex and gender differences. Alpha biases are built into some theories, and they exaggerate gender differences that simply may not exist or if tested empirically may be considerably less robust than the theory suggests. In this case, the researcher's interpretation of a theory works in accord with the assumption that men and women are more different from each other than they may actually

be. Consumers of research that is imbued with alpha biases may be left with the misguided impression that real gender differences exist when the data may be, at most, only suggestive of differences. Due to the fact that many older theories were posited by men, and hence androcentric, the impression left from alpha biases tends to reinforce masculine and feminine stereotypes, which may or may not actually be true.

A *beta bias* results when the researcher selects a theory that assumes more similarity between men and women than may actually be the case. Research that is guided by such theories tends to frame the primary question in terms that minimize gender differences. In this case, the researcher's interpretation of theory fosters the formulation of a hypothesis that potentially masks real differences between men and women. Hence, consumers of research that contains beta biases may be left with the erroneous impression that men and women are more alike on some attribute than they really are. With potentially real gender differences muted, important aspects of either men's or women's personality or intelligence may be construed as a nonissue and may go unexamined for an unknown period of time.

The selection and implementation of research methodology are also susceptible to the researcher's subjectivity and hence could lead to gender bias. While currently less of a problem in social science research (e.g., psychology), some medical research still suffers from biased sampling. For example, rather than including an equal number of men and women in a study, far more studies have examined only men or a disproportionate number of men. The results from such studies, then, become incorrectly generalized to both men and women. As described earlier, this is an example of an androcentric bias.

A basic assumption of inferential statistics is such that data taken for a research sample is representative of a larger population. That is, if a researcher expects to make an inference about a population based on the results from a smaller sample, the sample must be as representative of the population as possible. For instance, consider a researcher who wishes to study the effect of a new drug on hypertension. To test how well the new treatment works, the researcher designs a study with two groups: a treatment group (individuals who receive the new drug) and a comparison group (individuals who receive the old drug). Participants who are eligible for the study (individuals diagnosed with hypertension) are randomly assigned to one of

the two conditions. For the sake of example, suppose that the researcher works at a hospital or clinic where the average hypertension patient is a middle-aged Caucasian male. Due to sampling convenience and sampling scarcity, the researcher samples the individuals diagnosed with hypertension, despite the obvious fact that more men than women will be in the sample. Suppose that the new drug for hypertension was designed to work for both men and women but the clinical trials of the drug treatment are performed mostly on men. If the new drug is shown to help those with hypertension compared with those who received the old drug, the researcher is limited to generalizing the effect to middle-aged Caucasian men. The research sample failed to include a balanced number of men and women. In this scenario, the researcher is at risk to overgeneralize the effectiveness of the new drug to both men and women. The research would be gender biased, because the research sample clearly underrepresented everyone other than middle-aged Caucasian men, yet the conclusions drawn from the study would be imparted to consumers as effective for all who take the drug.

Another example of gender bias in research methodology concerns the achievement tests administered in educational and organizational contexts. For example, many schools around the world administer achievement, aptitude, performance, and other tests of skills acquired as a result of formal education. It is reasonable to expect educators to demonstrate that their students show progress in school. To show the extent of the students' progress, many schools opt to administer a standardized test of, say, reading comprehension and arithmetic skills. Psychometricians and other measurement scientists suggest that some standardized tests may covertly but systematically advantage male examinees and disadvantage female examinees. The possible reasons some tests may be inherently unfair vary widely and go beyond the scope of this entry. However, it is worth noting that new statistical tools exist for detecting biased items and biased tests that could help prevent gender bias in research.

For example, a psychometric theory of tests and measurement known as *item response theory* offers techniques for assessing the extent to which items and tests produce biases. One group of techniques called *differential item function* (DIF) is said to occur when examinees from different groups, such as gender, possess equal knowledge on a skill but display different probabilities of success (and failure) on an item. Put

another way, male and female examinees at the same skill level will show different success rates on biased items, for instance, in the direction favoring male examinees. An item flagged as DIF by itself does not suggest a gender-biased test, but the flagged item may be used as evidence to support the idea of gender bias. However, while DIF techniques are not new to psychometricians, they are still under development, are criticized for committing too many false positives, and are not readily available to the larger testing community.

Gender bias in research is less of a problem in the social sciences than it once was, in part because such sciences have for decades acknowledged the problems that androcentric views in research cause and have put forth effort to examine and reduce issues that contribute to gender biases. However, gender bias in research is by no means a thing of the past, as it persists in sciences where androcentric views are either tolerated or researchers' gender stereotypes go unquestioned and unexamined, or both.

Timothy D. Ritchie

See also Androcentrism; Gender Stereotypes

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REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN

The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) was founded in 1977, in Kabul, Afghanistan, by a group of Afghan women intellectuals. Their initial purpose was to encourage the use of democratic processes, but they changed their focus to direct political resistance after the 1979 Soviet takeover of Afghanistan. Throughout 30 years of various political regimes, RAWA has tailored its objectives to address the country's changing situation. Since the 2001 ousting of the Taliban by the American military, RAWA has been drawing attention to the human rights violations committed by the fundamentalist Northern Alliance governing party. Because RAWA is still considered an illegal organization, many of its activities remain underground, and members' identities are usually concealed. RAWA's main founder, Meena, was assassinated in 1987 by Afghan agents of the KGB, and a number of other members have disappeared since then, confirming the potential threat to members' lives.

RAWA remains consistently committed to the principles of democracy and secularism. The organization contends that Afghan women can actualize their goal of equality only within a democratic system, and it conducts all RAWA activities through a fully democratic process of collective decision making. Additionally, the organization argues that a United Nations peacekeeping operation is needed to address the armed conflict that continues in the region. RAWA also identifies fundamentalism as the cause of a great deal of women's oppression and advocates the separation of legal and religious matters. Generally, RAWA stands for women's choice in matters such as marriage, religion, and wearing the veil, although members refuse the latter in many situations as a symbolic rejection of fundamentalism.

RAWA engages in many forms of activism in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has opened 15 schools in Pakistan for refugee children and has held hundreds of literacy classes throughout Afghanistan and Pakistan, believing that literacy is a crucial aspect of women's liberation. In 1986, RAWA opened Malalai Hospital in Pakistan to provide health care for refugee women who could not otherwise afford medical treatment, but inadequate funding and conflicts with the Pakistani government forced its closure several times, and it was moved to Khewa refugee camp in 2005. RAWA runs mobile medical units in Afghanistan and Pakistan, offering free health care to refugees in both countries. The group has also founded orphanages, run food distribution projects, provided services for prostitutes, held countless demonstrations, and aided in Afghanistan's reconstruction. One of RAWA's most important projects has been Internet activism, using their Web site as a platform to bear witness to the international community about atrocities in Afghanistan. The comprehensive Web site, available in several languages, contains a number of documents, news stories, songs, poems, and other items related to Afghan women's liberation, as well as an appeal for others to help RAWA achieve their vision.

Adriane Brown

See also Arab Feminist Union; Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era; United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; Women Against Violence Against Women

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RIVERA, SYLVIA (1951–2002)

Sylvia Rivera (born Ray Rivera) was a Puerto Rican drag queen and street hustler who was influential in the visibility of early radical transgender activism. Rivera was best known for her involvement in the

Stonewall riots in 1969 and her activism on behalf of gay, lesbian, and transgender street kids and prostitutes.

Sylvia Rivera was born in 1951 and due to a difficult home life began living on the streets of New York City at the age of 10 years old. The events in Rivera's early life on the street are documented in her biography *Before Stonewall.* When Rivera was 18 years old, she was involved in the infamous Stonewall riots, which began when police tried to crack down on the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, where gay people often gathered. According to bystanders and Rivera herself, she was one of the bar clients who "threw the first punch." The Stonewall riots are often considered to be the beginning of the radical gay liberation movement in New York City and nationwide.

Rivera quickly became a political presence in the radical gay liberation movement due to her involvement in the newly formed Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) and her creation of the Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries (STAR). Rivera formed STAR with African American drag queen Marsha Johnson in 1970 in response to exclusionary tactics of the GAA. GAA formed to provide a more political focus than the culturally focused radical organization the New York Gay Liberation Front. Within the GAA, there were many early disputes over the role of transvestites, drag queens, and street kids within the organizations. As part of their involvement in STAR, for several years in the early 1970s, Rivera and Johnson maintained a household, STAR House, which existed to provide housing and community for homeless transvestites, drag queens, and prostitutes. Rivera consistently created visibility for economically and socially marginalized members of the lesbian, gay, and transgender community, including her infamous speech at the 1973 New York City Gay Pride Parade on behalf of imprisoned minorities.

Rivera's work continued long past the 1970s. Variations on STAR House continued until the present day, including Tiffany House in the 1980s and the formation of Transy House in 1994 by Rusty Mae Moore, Chelsea Goodwin, and Julia Murray. Rivera died of liver cancer in 2002, at the age of 51. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project was formed in 2002 by Dean Spade in Rivera's honor. This legal organization focuses explicitly on legal, social, and medical issues for transgender and transsexual individuals.

Amy L. Stone

See also Drag Queens; Sex Work (Prostitution); Transgender Political Organizing; Transgender Studies; Transsexual

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Romance and Relationships

Romantic relationships play an integral role in people's lives, serving as both a source of and a remedy for stress. For this reason, social scientists traditionally view love as a cognitive and social phenomenon, focusing on how we interpret our relationships with other people. This entry provides a social science perspective on love and romance, focusing on three main questions: (1) Why do people fall in love? (2) Why do we stay in relationships? (3) How do men and women differ in their approaches to relationships?

Research on Romance

Biology of Close Relationships

Researchers in the biological sciences tend to focus on the physiological processes associated with falling in love. This work suggests that feelings of romantic attraction are associated with a number of neurotransmitters, including dopamine and serotonin, which act on the brain's "pleasure" centers. These chemicals facilitate romantic relationships by rewarding contact with that special someone. However, the sustained release of these chemicals typically drops off after 2 to 3 years in a relationship. What insight can biological perspectives provide into long-term relationships?

One compelling explanation involves the neurotransmitter *oxytocin,* which is responsible for blood circulation and smooth-muscle contractions in specific areas of the body, for example, the lactation reflex in nursing mothers and uterine contractions while giving birth. Oxytocin is also involved in processes of social bonding and affiliation. It is released during orgasm in both sexes and exists in higher concentrations when people are in love. Administering oxytocin triggers

increased trust, maternal behavior, and sexual arousal. Oxytocin also has a number of antistress functions, such as reducing blood pressure and stress hormone levels and increasing pain tolerance. One interpretation of these results is that oxytocin acts to increase long-term bonding and sustain romantic relationships beyond the initial attraction stage. These results also suggest that close relationships, romantic or otherwise, play a valuable role in helping people cope with stress and improve their overall health.

Psychological Perspectives

Psychology of Attraction

Researchers in psychology take a different approach to questions of love and attraction, focusing on features of the situation that predict the objects of our affection. This research has identified five factors that reliably predict an initial attraction to another person. First, the single best predictor of a first date is physical proximity between two people. This seems like an obvious point but works on a remarkable microlevel. In the 1950s, Leon Festinger studied friendships in a student housing complex and discovered that 41 percent of friendships were between next-door neighbors.

Second, we tend to become attracted to people with whom we are more familiar. Robert Zajonc refers to this phenomenon as mere exposure and finds that repeated contact with something is sufficient to increase its perceived attractiveness. In one study, female confederates were sent to a weekly seminar class 0, 5, 10, or 15 times during a college semester. At the end of the semester, students in the class rated pictures of the women and showed a near-perfect relationship between attendance and rank-ordered attractiveness. Incidentally, this effect works only up to a point and works only if we do not start with a strong negative reaction.

Third, people are more likely to enter into and remain in relationships with people who are similar in terms of age, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, education level, family background, personality traits, and values. Attempts to show that cases of "opposites attract" almost invariably fail. Similar people are especially appealing because they help to validate our personal characteristics and beliefs. Fourth, we are attracted to people who reciprocate our affections rather than playing hard to get. Elaine Walster and her colleagues discovered the highest levels of attraction toward those who are selectively hard to get—easy for us, hard for others.

Finally, and least surprisingly, we are more attracted to those we consider physically attractive. When asked to rank order the characteristics that they find important in a partner, men and women place physical attractiveness down around fifth or sixth on the list (men place it slightly higher). However, physical attraction is the single best predictor for both men and women of whether two people will go on more than one date. Attractive people are seen as more friendly, socially competent, interesting, and popular. These biases extend beyond the context of love and romance. When fifth-grade teachers were given pictures and identical descriptions of children, attractive kids were judged as more intelligent and more likely to do well in school. In an interesting twist, several studies suggest that attractive people may be treated in ways that make these stereotypes come true.

Psychology of Love

According to an early theory of love by social psychologists Ellen Berscheid and Elaine Walster, having passionate feelings about another person requires two things: (1) feeling physiologically aroused and (2) interpreting this arousal as caused by the other person. This view fits well with existing knowledge about the nature of emotions but has been criticized for offering a rather one-dimensional perspective on love.

Psychologist Robert Sternberg has argued that romantic relationships involve varying amounts of three components: passion, commitment, and emotional intimacy. Sternberg's theory implies that different combinations of the components result in qualitatively different kinds of relationships. For instance, a relationship with high levels of passion and intimacy could be described as "romantic." In contrast, a relationship with high levels of intimacy and commitment (without passion) could be described as "companionate."

In contrast to both of these approaches, several researchers have argued that our investment in relationships involves weighing our relative costs and benefits with those of our partners. According to equity theory, the most satisfying relationships are those that feel balanced—what a person puts into a relationship matches the benefits they receive from it. This theory draws heavily from rational choice theory within

economics and has been criticized for the assumption that people always make the most rational choice.

Bad Relationships

Why Do People Stay in Bad Relationships?

Researchers who study romantic relationships have long been intrigued by the paradox of people staying in relationships that are unsatisfying, maladaptive, or outright dangerous. One theory, proposed by Carolyn Rusbult, is that the decision to stay in a bad relationship depends on three things: (1) how *satisfied* a person is with the relationship, (2) perceptions of the *alternatives* if they leave the relationship; and (3) the level of *investment* in the relationship. Rusbult's biggest contribution was to add investment to the equation. *Investment* is defined as anything people put into a relationship that would be lost if they leave the relationship, including financial support, emotional support, and children's welfare.

Rusbult's investment model has been supported in several studies. When a sample of college students were asked to keep track of their levels of satisfaction, alternatives, and investment, all three of these factors predicted level of commitment to the relationship, which, in turn, predicted the stability of the relationship. In a study with John Martz, Rusbult interviewed women at a battered women's shelter about their abusive relationships. As the theory would predict, the researchers found greater feelings of commitment to the relationship among women who had poorer economic alternatives and a higher degree of investment in the relationship (e.g., children, shared finances). Thus, people may stay in bad relationships because they feel that they have much to lose by leaving.

William Swann's work on self-verification suggests a different approach to the question of why people stay in bad relationships. A perpetual debate exists in the scientific literature over whether people prefer positive or accurate feedback about themselves. The choice comes down to a sense of positivity or predictability. For individuals with high self-esteem, it is possible to have both, because positive feedback is consistent with their self-views. For individuals with low self-esteem, however, the choices conflict, because positive feedback is perceived as inaccurate. According to Swann's self-verification theory, people prefer to seek information that is consistent with their existing self-views. This means that a person with low self-esteem will seek out negative feedback over positive feedback, because it makes the world feel more predictable. This theory has been supported in two decades' worth of empirical studies. When given a choice to interact with one of two people, low-self-esteem participants tend to pick the one who views them negatively.

This counterintuitive choice has interesting implications for romantic relationships. Because we prefer interacting with people who "understand" us, people should be happier when their spouses' views of them are consistent with their self-views. And, in fact, this is exactly what happens. People rate their marriages as more intimate if their spouse sees them as they see themselves. Interestingly, this pattern appears unique to marriage. In a study with Chris DeLaRonde and Gregory Hixon, Swann discovered that people want to be viewed positively by their dating partners but accurately by their marriage partners—regardless of their level of self-esteem. Thus, another reason a person may stay in a bad relationship is that it confirms her or his negative self-view.

Predicting Divorce

John Gottman has spent more than a decade examining conflict and divorce in married couples. One of the main goals of this research is to understand the factors that contribute to the failure and success of marriages. In a paper with psychologist Robert Levenson, Gottman examined the consequences of an unhappy marriage. Couples were divided into "regulated" and "nonregulated" categories, based on how well they dealt with conflict in the relationship, and were asked to discuss an "unresolved issue" in their relationship. The differences between these groups help to shed light on the elements of an unhappy marriage.

While discussing an unresolved issue, nonregulated couples displayed more conflict, defensiveness, anger, and withdrawal, and less affection, joy, and interest in their partners. On a questionnaire, they also reported being less healthy and having more severe marital problems. In a set of follow-up studies with these couples, Gottman discovered that divorces tended to occur and found two predictable time spans for the relationships, which occurred for different reasons. Half of the couples divorced within the first 7 years, and this divorce was best predicted by negative emotions in the couples' interactions. The second critical period for divorce occurred when the first child turned 14 and was best predicted by a lack of positive emotions.

Gender Roles in Romantic Relationships

Perspectives on Gender Differences

Evolutionary Psychology

Evolutionary psychology explains gender differences, romantic relationships, and other phenomena using a functional view of behavior. This approach argues that the best way to understand human psychology is to think about the function it serves and whether it had adaptive value for human ancestors. According to Leda Cosmides and John Tooby, evolutionary psychologists at the University of California at Santa Barbara, the human mind consists of a number of "evolved psychological mechanisms" (EPMs) that predispose humans to respond in ways that helped our ancestors solve adaptive problems. Proposed EPMs include relatively uncontroversial processes, such as vision processing, and more controversial processes, such as detecting infidelity.

Evolutionary psychology gained public attention by discussing differences in sexual attitudes between men and women. Within this line of work, there have been two key claims: (1) that men prefer more short-term partners while women prefer long-term partners and (2) that men become jealous over suspected sexual infidelity while women become jealous over suspected emotional infidelity. According to David Buss and other researchers, these tendencies are the result of differences in parental investment. Because women have to make a longer commitment to raising children (9 months of pregnancy plus nursing), their genes are best served by partners who are likely to help with these responsibilities, and they should be wary of signs that their partners might invest in others. In contrast, because men make a much shorter minimum commitment to raising children (a matter of minutes), their genes are best served by a greater number of short-term partners, and they should be wary of signs that their partners are carrying someone else's child.

Both of these claims have received some empirical support in studies involving a range of cultures and nationalities. However, there is also significant variation between cultures in some samples, and this variation correlates highly with the amount of *power distance* in a culture. That is, the proposed gender differences are largest in cultures where men hold more power. This pattern of findings has inspired a number of researchers in various disciplines to criticize the assumptions of evolutionary psychology.

Social Role Theory

One of the main criticisms of evolutionary psychology is that it presumes biological explanations for cultural phenomena. Two social psychologists, Alice Eagly and Wendy Wood, have written several articles that attempt to integrate biological and social explanations for gender differences. Eagly and Wood's social role theory argues that gender differences can largely be traced to differences in the social roles of men and women. Furthermore, they argue, sex differences tend to be universal because masculine and feminine roles are remarkably similar around the world.

In an extension of this original theory, Eagly and Wood argue that social roles assigned to women originally developed out of a combination of biological sex differences and the economic and social context. Specifically, biological differences in reproductive role, size, and strength may have led to a division of labor along gender lines. This division, in turn, may have led to the creation of social roles and expectations for men and women. In other words, women's necessary commitment to childbirth may have led to the creation of "domestic" roles, which may have led to the expectation that women will fill these roles.

Gender and Relationship Satisfaction

Several lines of work suggest that gender roles also play an important role in the stability of a relationship. Swann has been examining individual differences in how quickly people will say what is on their minds. A person high on the "BLIRT" scale (for Brief Loquaciousness and Interpersonal Responsiveness Test) will immediately speak out if he or she has something to say, whereas a person low on this scale will tend to refrain from speaking out impulsively. In a number of studies, Swann and his students have explored the implications of this individual difference for romantic relationships.

According to their results, couples are less satisfied and more likely to break up when men are low on the BLIRT scale and women are high on the BLIRT scale, a pattern that Swann refers to as the "precarious couple." Interestingly, the opposite is not true. Relationships involving a high-BLIRT male and a low-BLIRT female

are no more likely to break up. Similar gender differences have been found in Gottman's research on divorce. One of the best predictors of divorce in his studies is a conflict pattern in which the wife is aggressive and assertive and the husband withdraws.

Men and women also differ in the ways that they benefit from marriage. Men's overall mental and physical health is considerably better when they are married. Women, in contrast, benefit only from a marriage that they perceive as satisfying. In other words, men need only get married to live longer, and women require a good marriage. In fact, rates of mental illness are higher for married women but lower for married men.

Several studies also suggest that women report more problems in their romantic relationships and more loneliness in the context of marriage. According to social psychologists Anita Vangelisti and John Daly, this trend could reflect one of two things. One option is that men and women exist as different cultures, placing value on different things in relationships. This is a common view in relationship best sellers such as *Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus,* by John Gray. Another option is that social roles lead men and women to have different experiences in their relationships. That is, men and women may place equal value on flexibility, but traditional gender roles dictate that the woman should be more flexible. According to this perspective, women are less satisfied in relationships because of the discrepancy between expectations and outcomes.

To distinguish between these two explanations, Vangelisti and Daly asked a sample of men and women to rate the importance of several relationship dimensions (e.g., trust, flexibility, integration as a couple), as well as the extent to which these needs were being fulfilled. If men and women differed in their ratings of importance, this would support the "different cultures" model. However, if men and women differed in the discrepancy between ratings of importance and fulfillment, this would support the "different experiences" model. The results of their study overwhelmingly supported the "different experiences" model. Women reported more discrepancy in every one of the relationship dimensions that was measured. This suggests that the problem lies not in what women have been socialized to value, but in the ways that men and women behave in their romantic relationships.

Matt Newman

See also Cohabitation; Courtly Love; Courtship; Divorce; Marriage

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ROMANCE FICTION

Romance fiction typically must have two elements: (1) a central love story and (2) an emotionally satisfying and optimistic ending. Romance fiction is particularly relevant to gender and society for issues of content—how it reinstates or challenges traditional gender expectations—and for how readers use it in social space. Romance fiction, which can be traced back to novelists such as Jane Austen and the Brontë

sisters, is a genre of fiction/literature that is primarily associated with women; this has subsequently shaped people's interpretations and willingness to take the genre seriously.

History

Romance fiction can be traced back to "gothic novels," including those by such authors as Ann Radcliffe, in the 19th century. The works of Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters (Charlotte, Emily, and Anne) have come to be recognized as literature in more recent times, and they continue to serve as templates for many modern romance novels. Though there were periodic "racy" or romantic novels in the mid-20th century, they became increasingly popularized in the 1970s, with what are referred to as "category" romances, especially flourishing in the 1980s in lines such as those by Harlequin and Silhouette publishers. There are currently many subgenres, the newest of which is referred to as "chick lit," but also including contemporary, historical, inspirational, multicultural, paranormal, regency, romantic suspense, and Westerns.

In the mid-1980s, Janice Radway's study of women's reading practices of romantic fiction altered how many viewed the genre, demonstrating how the time women carved out for themselves was an important aspect of understanding the importance of the genre. Particularly during its early popularity, romance fiction commonly involved rape encounters between the "hero" and "heroine," thus challenging potential feminist affinities for the genre. This has become less and less common (one might say it is currently out of favor), as increasingly, "modern women's issues" are incorporated into the genre, especially in contemporary and "chick lit," but even at times in historical romance fiction. Still, aggressive male sexuality and resistant, inexperienced heroines are common.

Conventions of Romance Fiction

The Heroine

Outside of the required romance and optimistic ending, many variations on the plot may occur. The heroine is usually described as beautiful and may be "willful," "tempestuous," "stubborn," or "fiery" (to include just a few of the adjectives often used). She may have some social power or status but find herself in a vulnerable position, whether in terms of reputation, finances, or physical danger. In contemporary romances, she may be generally self-sufficient and put in an unusual position requiring some degree of rescuing; and in historical romances, her vulnerability is often more explicitly tied to her social status and the realities of the time (such as a woman alone on the American frontier in the 19th century). She may be resistant to the hero in some way, whether emotionally (this is more commonly the primary resistance in contemporary fiction), through independence, or even physically. While rape scenarios between hero and heroine were far more common in previous decades, especially in historical romance, some degree of resistance remains common today, whereby the heroine must be "overcome" and "taught" about her sexuality by the hero through encounters that are portrayed as uncharted territory for her. Of course, variations on these themes, such as sexually experienced heroines, are some ways that authors reshape the possibilities of romance fiction.

The Hero

The hero is usually portrayed as strong, "masculine," brave, and sometimes stoic, if also prone to anger. Strong jaw lines, broad shoulders, capable hands, and thick hair are common characteristics. The hero is usually portrayed as emotionally resistant to the heroine and his growing feelings for her, but somewhat ruled by his sexual urges. The romance may be something he at first sees as "against his better judgment." The hero is usually sexually experienced and, depending on the historical setting, may be called a "rake." It is his relationship with the heroine that is seen to tame his wild ways. As such, the romance primarily tames the hero's behavior and primarily tames the heroine's emotions or will.

The Encounter

The first encounter between hero and heroine is usually one in which there is an apparent spark or mutual attraction but also conflict, thus setting the stage for passion (presumably outside the control of both hero and heroine). They are usually drawn together by external circumstances—perhaps out of the necessity of "saving" the heroine from her vulnerable position—in which the hero is in a position to rescue her, for example, by accompanying her on some voyage to keep her safe or marrying her so that

she need not marry someone unscrupulous. As such, some popular settings for romances include journeys in the Old West or on ships at sea. But if a romance stays localized in one place, there may still be a sense of danger that must be escaped. The circumstances thus somehow place the hero and heroine outside of their familiar settings—and the social rules that accompany it—and encourage the development of physical and/or emotional intimacy. Some romance novels take the couple only as far as one passionate kiss (perhaps chaste, but with great promise); others are extremely explicit in their descriptions of repeated sexual encounters. Some go so far as to be referred to as *Romantica,* or erotic romance.

Common Plotlines

Whether explicit or implied, there is usually some degree of "danger" involved in the romantic plotline. Some romance novels meld thriller or mystery elements almost as completely as the romance, and others may be more focused on the emotional journey of the hero and heroine (especially the heroine), where the "risk" is constructed as one of the heart. Where the danger is more external, the heroine is usually set upon by unscrupulous men, perhaps even within her own family; forced to marry; chased for her possession of some family jewel or heirloom; desired as a bride for the land, money, or prestige she would bring; or sought as a conduit for getting revenge on her father or other family member.

Romance fiction is generally heteronormative, though some GLBTQ (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, queer) romance is becoming more common in the genre. The novels also tend to be rather traditional about conventions such as virgin heroines, promiscuity, and a double standard of acceptable sexual behavior for women and men. As previously mentioned, rape was not uncommon in historical romance fiction in the past, but has become increasingly unacceptable. Some authors are more deliberate in taking a critical stance about violence against women, racism, and sexual orientation, though there remains a great deal of silence on these issues as well.

Romance Fiction in Cultural Space

Because of its focus on romance, romanticized sex, and emotions, romance fiction has often been marginalized in relation to "great" literature. Although, as mentioned, many novelists and fans of romance trace its origins back to Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters, these novels are nonetheless criticized for not tackling important or serious issues, for reflecting patriarchal assumptions of women's issues, and for private space not being shown as important as masculinized public space. Thus, a critique of the dismissal of romance fiction can operate on two levels: (1) privileging the private sphere in the *content* of the writing and (2) acknowledging the *practice* of romance reading as potentially resistant.

On many levels, and certainly in its early incarnations, romance fiction can be very traditional in its portrayal of heterosexual romance. However, the centering of women's experiences and emotional subjectivity can be seen as an untraditional move. The claiming of that reality as important and worth documenting is particularly interesting in light of the fact that the genre began to flourish during the 1970s, at the same time second-wave feminism was in its heyday. Furthermore, scholarly inquiry reveals that women use the practice of reading as a way to resist or escape their own daily lives: As wives and/or mothers, time spent reading romance novels (or any reading) is often approached as a way of claiming time for oneself.

Additionally, it cannot be assumed that women read these novels uncritically. As much of the work in reception studies demonstrates, the ways that people read, relate to, or consume culture is not necessarily a direct or straightforward process. Some scholars recognize that the practice of reading may be a critical and self-defining process, whereby the readers make sense of themselves in relation to the heroes and heroines of their favorite novels, noting what they like and dislike, what they might do differently, and lodging their own critiques of the content. Thus, the role of romance fiction in social and cultural space is more complex than the content might suggest. However, it is also a space in which to chart the resilience of traditional gender and sexuality norms and track the pace and path of social change.

Joanna R. Davis

See also Compulsory Heterosexuality; Gender Stereotypes; Rape; Romance and Relationships; Virginity

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Romance Writers of America: http://www.rwanational.org

ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR (1884–1962)

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City, on October 11, 1884. The niece of President Theodore Roosevelt, she married her fifth cousin Franklin Delano Roosevelt ("FDR") on March 17, 1905. Between 1906 and 1916, the couple had six children.

From a shy woman, Roosevelt transformed herself to help her husband in his public service career and subsequent political career. She learned to make social calls and drive an automobile. In 1920, she started to travel with FDR on his campaign trails. After he was stricken with polio in 1921, she became more active in politics, advancing his political career and helping him to an unprecedented four terms as the president of the United States, from 1933 to 1945.

Following FDR's election as the president of the United States, on March 6, 1933, Roosevelt began to transform the role of the First Lady at the White House. She was the first wife of a president to hold all-female press conferences. She traveled to all parts of the country and during World War II traveled to the South Pacific to boost soldiers' morale. A prolific writer, she wrote several books and articles. She gave lectures and radio broadcasts and expressed her opinions candidly in a daily syndicated newspaper column, "My Day," which she began in 1939 and continued until her death.

Roosevelt had always been active in social service work. At 18, she joined the Junior League and taught at a settlement house. Although following her marriage, she focused on her family, she later became active in the American Red Cross and volunteered in navy hospitals when the United States entered World War I. She also volunteered at the International Congress of Working Women in Washington, D.C.

After the death of FDR on April 12, 1945, Roosevelt continued with her public service. In 1945, she was appointed to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. In the 8 years she was with the delegation, she was also the chair of the Human Rights Commission during the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. She also initiated the creation of Americans for Democratic Action, a group that had focused on domestic reform and the developing cold war.

In 1953, Roosevelt resigned from the U.S. delegation but was reappointed to the United Nations in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy. He also appointed her as the chair of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Over the years, Roosevelt became a stateswoman in her own right. She was a strong advocate of the role of women in the political process and also campaigned against U.S. segregation laws.

Roosevelt died in New York City on November 7, 1962, at the age of 78. She is buried alongside her husband at their estate at Hyde Park, New York. Roosevelt had lived according to her own motto that "life was meant to be lived, and curiosity must be kept alive. One must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life."

Rosalind A. Lazar

See also United Nations Decade for Women; Universal Human Rights

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Web Sites

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ROSIE THE RIVETER

"Rosie the Riveter" is the media icon associated with female defense workers during World War II. Beginning in 1942, as an increasing number of American males were recruited for the war effort, women were needed to fill their positions in factories. Initially, women workers were recruited from among the working class, but as the war production needs increased, it

became necessary to recruit workers from among middle-class women. Since many of these women had not previously worked outside of the home and also had small children, the government not only had to convince them to enter the workforce but also had to provide ways for the women to care for their households and children. To accomplish this end, the U.S. Office of the War produced a variety of materials designed to convince these women to enter into war production jobs as part of their patriotic duty. Rosie the Riveter was part of this propaganda campaign and has since become the symbol of women in the workforce during World War II.

The first image of Rosie the Riveter was created by J. Howard Miller in 1942 but was titled "We Can Do It!" and had no association with anyone named Rosie. It is believed that this initial drawing was part of the Westinghouse war production campaign to recruit female workers. Miller portrayed a woman in a red bandana with her bent arm flexed, rolling up her shirtsleeve. In 1943, the song *Rosie the Riveter,* by Redd Evans and John Jacob Loeb, was released. This song touts the patriotic qualities of the mythical female war employee who defends America by working on the home front:

> Keeps a sharp lookout for sabotage
> Sitting up there on the fuselage
> That little girl will do more than a male will
> do . . . Rosie the Riveter . . .

The song also reinforced the idea that women who worked in the factories were helping to protect the men who were away fighting in the war:

> Rosie's got a boyfriend, Charlie
> Charlie, he's a marine
> Rosie is protecting Charlie working overtime
> on the riveting machine . . .

Following the release of this song, Norman Rockwell's drawing of his version of the female defense worker appeared on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post,* on May 29, 1943. This version of Rosie was a much more muscular depiction of a woman in a blue jumpsuit, with a red bandana in her hair, eating a sandwich. Rockwell placed the name "Rosie" on the lunch box of the worker. Following this publication, the media began interviewing women named Rose who were at work in the shipyards and other defense industries, and thus Rosie the Riveter was solidified in the American memory.

Since the 1940s, Rosie the Riveter has stood as a symbol for women in the workforce and for women's independence. Rockwell's depiction of Rosie is copyrighted, but the "We Can Do It" print by Miller is not. Accordingly, the latter image continues to be mass produced and is the one that most often comes to mind when people think of this cultural icon.

Carrie L. Cokely

See also Domestic Labor; Economy: History of Women's Participation; Military, Women in Relation to

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Rosie the Riveter: http://www.rosietheriveter.org

Rosie the Riveter: Real Women Workers in World War II: http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/journey/rosie-transcript.html

S

SADOMASOCHISM

Sadomasochism (S&M) represents the synthesis of two terms—*sadism* and *masochism*—associated with sexual arousal derived from inflicting or receiving physical or psychological pain or other acts that involve dominance and submission (D&S). The word *sadomasochism* for many people conjures up images of "whips and chains" or a man or woman clad in black leather ready to enact a dominant or submissive role. When practiced, sadomasochism involves a wide range of behaviors and fantasies whereby S&M participants, or "SMers," enact scenarios they consider "safe, sane, and consensual."

The terms *sadism* and *masochism* were first coined by psychoanalyst and sexologist (sex researcher) Richard von Krafft-Ebing in 1885. Sadism was named after the writer Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) because of his sexualized fictional accounts *Justine* and *Juliette,* which contained numerous acts of torture (usually against young women). Masochism was named after historian and author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895), who had written *Venus in Furs,* which told of a submissive man in love with a sexually powerful woman. Contemporary sexologist Vern Bullough argues that Krafft-Ebing attempted to describe sadism and masochism as two of four categories of sexual variation whereby the sexual desire to either inflict pain or to suffer from pain are pathological expressions of "normal" masculinity and femininity. During the same period, Sigmund Freud concurred with Krafft-Ebing that masochism in males was psychologically more problematic than it was for females.

The next generation of sexologists, most notably English sexologist Havelock Ellis, continued to examine sexual behaviors through a more relativistic lens. Ellis in particular attempted to divorce most types of sexual behavior from pathology. He argued that sadism and masochism relate more closely to one another as sadomasochism (he used the term *algolagnia*) and can be found in one individual. In other words, participants of S&M are "switchable or flexible" and not restricted to one role or the other in their adult sexual relationships.

Although historical evidence suggests that in many cultures lovers have engaged in behaviors such as biting, pinching, or wrestling, today those same behaviors might be labeled sadomasochism. Although exact numbers of SMers are not known, various studies since the mid-20th century have attempted to record individuals' actual participation or willingness to engage in some type of S&M behavior. Though definitions of S&M vary from study to study, one Kinsey Institute estimate is that 5 percent to 10 percent of the adult U.S. population participates in some type of S&M activity.

Contemporary social scientists such as Thomas S. Weinberg have reframed sadomasochism as social behavior, and SMers stress that their scenes are scripted together. Many use the shorthand "BDSM" (BD for bondage and discipline) to represent a wide range of behaviors and fantasies that could include age play, role playing as "master/mistress and slave," spanking, whipping or caning, hot wax, restraint with rope or leather, corseting, cross-dressing, and body modifications such as tattooing and piercing, in addition to various types of intercourse. Nonphysical acts can include verbal humiliation, degradation, or name-calling.

Although sadomasochistic behaviors might sound harmful, practitioners of S&M believe it is a misunderstood set of behaviors rather than an exchange of power between consenting adults. There is also a range of participants in sadomasochism. Some SMers are in love relationships; some participate in specialized clubs or groups such as the National Leather Association International; some engage in it commercially; and some participate continually as "lifestylers." Finally, there are a host of specialized implements to assist in SMers' scenes: certain leather garments, whips, paddles, blindfolds, cuffs, and collars with studs or rings identify the dominant from the submissive.

Sadomasochism is also found in the commercial sex industry. In the 19th century, European brothels offered S&M activities through "flagellant brothels" that today would be called dungeons. S&M remains a prevalent feature of the sex industry. Customers of a professional dominatrix (or "pro-dom") can obtain a set of activities known as "commercial fetishism" whereby the client pays the dominatrix to engage in fetish acts such as foot worshipping, babyism or infantilism, housecleaning, cross-dressing, or forced feminization. Writers on S&M and sex work argue that the most common request is for male subordination by a female dominant.

In the mid-1950s, a book entitled *The Story of O* written by French journalist Anne Desclos under the pseudonym Pauline Reage appeared. The story is about a young woman, O, who becomes the slave of her lover through sexualized physical and psychological torture. Intended to be more of a figurative fantasy rather than literal guidebook, the author later commented that if the S&M found in the book were carried out in real life, serious harm would result. Nonetheless, the book still holds meaning for many SMers who often replicate aspects of the novel.

Not all perspectives on S&M are positive, especially by feminist critics such as Jessica Benjamin and Lynn Chancer. Benjamin argues that an orientation to sadomasochism sustains a long-standing association of sadism with masculinity and masochism with femininity whereby the male separates from the other, the objectified female. Chancer's argument is that through sadomasochism male/female relations become eroticized as dominant/subordinate relations, which leads to heterosexuality becoming institutionalized in sexual politics. Gender relationships, according to Chancer, reflect routinized patterns of power and powerlessness that permeate many aspects of day-to-day life.

Kathleen Guidroz

See also Gender Transgression; Krafft-Ebing, Richard von; Sexology and Sex Research

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Safer Sex

Safer sex refers to a culturally defined approach promoted by public health and state health organizations for reducing the risk of exposure to bodily fluids (semen, vaginal secretions, blood, and saliva) exchanged during sexual activity. The term *safer sex* emerged in response to objections raised by a variety of public health organizations to the term *safe sex.* Critics questioned the effectiveness of latex barriers as preventive in the transmission of HIV and thought the term *safe sex* gave a false sense of security in exposure to sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Epidemiological studies have consistently demonstrated latex condoms porosity, or effectiveness of latex condoms in preventing the breach of HIV from one partner to another. Unfortunately, the ineffectiveness of barrier methods in preventing the transmission of some STIs through skin-to-skin contact (e.g., genital warts [HPV] and herpes [HSV]) has been substantiated. This entry discusses the critiques of, practices and history of, factors affecting, and policies and messages relating to safer sex.

Critiques

Moral critiques of "safer sex" approaches mainly come from organized religion representatives who question whether safe sex education promotes unsanctioned sexual activity outside of marriage or non-heterosexual relationships (such as homosexuality and bisexuality). Religious institutions (such as congregations and religious leaders) have redefined practices as safe only if they stress abstinence or monogamy.

Practices and History

Safer sex practices include barrier devices such as latex and polyurethane condoms (male and female), gloves and finger cots, dental dams, and a host of sexual practices that limit exposure to body fluids such as masturbation (solo and with a partner), erotic massage, singular use of sex toys, and abstinence. The idea of safer sex practices can be traced back to sanitary and public hygiene campaigns that were geared toward reducing rates of syphilis and gonorrhea in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Promotion of condoms was especially targeted toward male service personnel in times of war and occupation. Although safer sex practices are also promoted as forms of contraception by a variety of women's health and public health organizations, this emphasis has ebbed and flowed according to larger cultural debates about abortion and reproductive rights for women. Safer sex messages for the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community can be traced to the early 1980s when a variety of nongovernmental organizations such as the Gay Men's Health Crisis and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, as well as federal public health organizations, began social marketing campaigns to encourage condom use among identified and non-identified gay men.

Gender and Sexuality Factors Affecting Safer Sex Rhetoric

As the AIDS epidemic became more diffuse in the populations that was affected and infected, safer sex messages became tailored toward additional populations such as lesbians, people of color, heterosexual women, injectable drug users and their partners, adolescents, and transgender populations. Currently in the United States, state-run "abstinence-only" programs are the primary "safer sex" messages promoted and supported for teenagers and young adults in their twenties.

Safer sex messages have been problematized by a variety of competing and often-contradicting ideas and messages about bodies, gender, and sexuality. For example, John Legone suggested in a 1985 *Discover* magazine article that HIV entered the bloodstream through vulnerable areas in the body, like the anus and the urethra, rather than through the vagina. At the time of the publication, this theory explained the disproportionate incidence of HIV-positive gay males versus females in the United States. Current studies indicate that females are more biologically susceptible to the disease because the virus easily penetrates vaginal mucus during intercourse.

As media and public health focus has shifted to a more global perspective, safer sex interventions have called for a more comprehensive examination of gender roles and power issues within sexual or domestic relationships. The ability to consent to sexual activity is challenged by age, domestic violence, sexual assault, nonconsensual polyamorous arrangements, substance use, and local or global cultural practices (e.g., male and female genital cutting or mutilation, sex trafficking and survival sex, and marriage)

Safer Sex: Work and State Policies

Safer sex practices have also been state-mandated for individuals employed in legal sex industries. In 1986, the state of Nevada authorized mandatory condom use for prostitutes employed by licensed brothels. Safer sex practices are also encouraged but not required for performers in the adult film industry. Although prostitution is the only formal occupational in the United States that mandates safer sex practices between a practitioner and client, other occupations that deal with body fluids (doctors, dentists, law enforcement officials) fall under occupational health and safety regulations that require barrier methods for employee protection. Additionally, several states have passed laws making it illegal for individuals to fail to inform partners about their positive HIV/AIDS status or to fail to engage in safer sex practices when aware of their potential risk for transmission. Criminal charges can include attempted homicide, assault, and aggravated assault.

Safer Sex Messages: Public Service and Media

Safer sex practices have an uneven history with the media. One of the earliest publications on safer sex in the United States was Richard Berkowitz and Michael Callen's 1984 text *How to Have Sex in an Epidemic.* This publication offered advice for gay men who wanted to engage in sexual practices that put them at less risk for acquiring sexually transmitted infections. This risk reduction approach challenged traditional public health venereal disease campaigns that played upon long-standing stereotypes about certain individuals and groups, such as prostitutes, as the contagions of disease. Safer sex messages were eventually adapted into a variety of public health educational materials such as pamphlets and other public service announcements for the general public. Unfortunately, even as safer sex techniques have been disseminated to a larger audience, certain populations, such as lesbians and the elderly have been characterized as being a low-risk group for STIs. This classification denies high-risk behaviors and downplays the need for safer sex techniques.

Although safer sex messages have been prominent in public health and service materials, they are sporadically included in mainstream and adult media sources in the United States. According to a 1987 study of prime-time television, STI prevention messages were verbally mentioned less than 20 times on four major networks combined (ABC, NBC, CBS, and PBS). A replication of this study conducted 5 years later showed that the amount of safer sex messages in major networks had decreased by a third. Almost 10 years after the initial study of sexual messages in media, a 1999 study showed that less than 1 of every 10 shows with sexual content emphasized sexual risk or safer sex responsibility throughout the program. Within the adult film industry, the use and promotion of safer sex messages has a mixed history. In the 1980s, the gay male film industry responded to the AIDS epidemic by internally imposing a latex condom code. Recently, the gay pornography industry faces the dilemma of trying to both maintain its role as a source for safer sex instruction and education, yet capitalize on the growing market for unsafe sex representations.

Conclusion

When the concept of "safer sex" first emerged, it was a practical and effective response to an epidemic with a substantial mortality rate and as a way to stem a rising moral panic. As the AIDS pandemic has become endemic to the world, cultural, political, economic, medical, scientific, and religious/morals factors have shaped the manner in which safer sex messages are delivered and accepted. Yet, for those individuals and populations who lack economic, social, and political power, safer sex techniques remain problematic to implement and maintain.

Cheryl L. Radeloff

See also Contraception; Masturbation; Sexually Transmitted Infections; Sex Work (Prostitution)

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SAME-SEX FAMILIES

The term *same-sex families* denotes relationships formed by partners of the same sex, and often other expressions are used, such as lesbian or gay couples, gay parents, same-sex marriage, or partnership. Relating to many different spheres of a personal, political, and emotional life, it may be easily confused or misused (accidentally or intentionally). Family is a function of social relationship and is established when certain conditions occur (e.g., common living, sharing resources and responsibilities, mutual help). Parenting can be defined as a social role in charge of securing

responsibility for those who are too young to lead independent lives. Marriage, on the other hand, is a legal (civil) or a ritual (religious) institution, combining these functions and roles, and building upon their ethical and moral dimensions.

Therefore, to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of same-sex families, this entry discusses same-sex families through the prism of several categories, important for the families themselves, as well as for those who draw theoretical reflection on them.

Definitions of Family

The fiercest debates about same-sex families have their roots in a problematic notion and the use of the term *family*. In general, it is possible to distinguish two, traditional and liberal, mutually exclusive approaches. Within the first one, informed and shaped by traditional, religious, conservative, and exclusive ideologies, definition of a family is restricted to the relationship between man and woman and their children. Ideally, such relationship should be legalized in the form of a marriage, and be recognized—blessed—by a religious organization (church), to which husband and wife belong. There may be variations to this configuration; however, the nuclear family, with its labels (husband and wife), and recognition bodies (legal and cultural), remains the most popular and desirable model of the relationship in the modern Western world. In other words, "a family" is formed by the following: (a) two (b) adults (c) of opposite sex, (d) heterosexual and (e) able to procreate and support each other (f) materially and (g) emotionally. Having defined a family in such terms, same-sex families challenge at least three of these pillars, highlighting the need for the notion to be readdressed. Nonetheless, there are other ways of forming interpersonal relationships present in our society, as well as across the globe in non-Western cultures. Conservative stances will usually disregard nonnuclear families as being impaired forms of the main family type, and non-Western forms of the societal organization as "The Other," not having much or anything in common with the Western culture. This characteristic strategy, presented often by conservative viewpoints, is also the point of reference for the liberal opponents.

The second perspective, the liberal one, takes a different direction when defining the modern family. Liberal attitudes put more trust into the nonnuclear formations and are willing to see those as legitimate forms of the existence of family. However, these nontraditional families are still recognized as subordinate to the nuclear model—which means that it is still in the center of the ideal. Among others, in Western societies the presence of families without children, extended families, and single-parent families can be observed. They all break the fundamentals of the traditional family organization, and the chain of interdependencies between the number of participants, genders and (hetero) sexuality—they open a potentially accommodative space for completely new (and as such, queer) family types, such as same-sex or non-kinship-based families (families of choice).

Same-sex families bring the need to reevaluate contemporary relationships and their ethical, moral, and social dimensions. First, these families undermine popular stereotypes linking homosexuality with immorality (promiscuity of homosexuals and the lack of ability to form a stable and long-term partnerships), build the new and positive (according to dominating norms) image, and challenge the unwritten social rule that sexuality should be evaluated in ethical categories. The existence of same-sex families implies that the quality of the emotional bonding (love or harm) upon which partners act accordingly should be ethically scrutinized, rather than personal preferences (gender, sexuality, age, etc.). Furthermore, same-sex families defy traditional gender norms of Western societies. Outside "husband" and "wife" or "mother" and "father" categories, same-sex families open the field to question the need for a bipolar organization of social norms. In accordance with previous moral implications, the social breadth entails the need to reconceptualize the normative character of a social behavior within the emotional bonding of family members. Overall, the claim of same-sex couples to be considered "the family" disturbs traditional understanding of family relations in the major fields of rationality (definition and purpose) and normativity (dimension and context).

Children

Parenting is another important issue surrounding same-sex families, because both perspectives, traditional and more modern, see having (or not) children as one of the key elements for the proper establishment of the family. Opponents of same-sex parents believe in a damaging character of such configuration on a child and fiercely deny any possibility of lesbian and gay parenting. Main arguments are developed around the stereotype of homosexuals being pedophiles, the

confusion of gender roles, and social ostracism that children might face.

Homosexual parents point out that the first reason reveals its patriarchal character in the homophobia and the lack of consideration given to women (a universal discourse about "all homosexuals," but really only about men). In addition, the reason is confusing sexuality with unlawful behavior (and vectors of desire toward, respectively, the same gender and different age group with lack of consent).

The second justification involves the belief that the proper development of a child can only occur within traditional gender division. However, it fails to acknowledge that modern societies have developed and they are no longer solely based on the accommodation of genders, nor that socialization in the present day is largely occurring outside of the family.

The third rationale stresses the possibility that children of same-sex couples would be exposed to bullying in a school or peer ostracism. Having acknowledged that, same-sex parents highlight that this kind of behavior originates in attitudes of adults and the values they teach their children. Therefore, proper education and information about alternative lifestyles are able to successfully eradicate the danger of such antisocial behavior in schools, other peer groups, and in society.

Interestingly enough, the public debate about gay parenting concerns mostly the problem of "new" children; that is, adoption and artificial insemination. Less attention is given to parents who at some stage of their lives decided to live their lesbian or gay identity. In such cases, their ability to fulfill parental duties is not questioned, as it has already proved itself. However, the gay community is not without blame itself; the gay community reifies a hierarchy in the type of parenting. Many discussions about same-sex families are dominated by patriarchal discourse, present also within lesbian and gay communities. For example, there is noticeably less effort and struggle to support lesbian women in getting easy access to artificial insemination. Most of the attention about children in gay families is focused on adoption rights—the explanation could be the influence of patriarchal thinking over gay communities, putting the interest of men above women, gay men above lesbian women.

Domestic Violence

There is another field where same-sex families contribute to current debates about the shape of modern Western societies and families. Domestic violence is usually considered a problem related to heterosexual couples, strongly relying on patriarchy. From the feminist point of view, it is seen as a physical embodiment of power—when men act out a symbolic gender hierarchy of domination and submissiveness on women.

However, current studies of domestic violence, together with police reports, bring to the surface that it is not a phenomenon exclusively related to married couples and always of the same gender roles. Domestic violence is present between gay partners, both men and women; hence, the gender appropriation of roles loses its legitimization. There is a need to find new explanations and methods of dealing with this sort of aggression. Sociologists of same-sex families have to look behind the simple (gender) explanation, and ask why two people of the same sex—already facing the possibility of social ostracism and discrimination (symbolic and physical) on the ground of their sexuality—use aggression against their partner and other members of a family.

Criticism and Queer Alternatives

The idea of "the same-sex family" is also a subject of disagreement within lesbian and gay communities. Queer approaches, usually taking more nonconformist standpoints, stress the need for rethinking the current model of same-sex families. Queer perspectives insist that same-sex families in the current shape need to be dismantled because they supplicate patriarchal nuclear structure. Same-sex families are seen as an accommodation to the middle-class ideal, strengthening such categories as "normal" and "desirable," instead of proposing new alternatives and acting on new models of family life. Queer asks why having children is seen as a necessary element of every family, also the gay one; why not abandon the idea of kinship and build families of choice, based on a voluntary participation? Finally, why not open space for a reconfiguration of the number of participants, with different levels of emotional, sexual, and rational attachments between members? Yet, what is implied by those stances is the need of the radical and groundbreaking revision of social bonds, as the response to the ongoing cultural process that significantly shifts and challenges institutionalized forms of traditional relationships.

Robert Kulpa

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Same-Sex Marriage

Same-sex marriage is the union of two people of the same sex that is sanctioned by the state. The term is often deployed to talk about legally registered same-sex civil unions or cohabitation. In everyday usage, the term is sometimes employed to denote unregistered same-sex partnerships that have been marked by commitment ceremonies. Same-sex marriage became a high-profile social and political topic in the 1990s. For some commentators, the topic symbolizes the historical moment of lesbian and gay equality or citizenship; for others it is symbolic of the demise of the institution of marriage. Same-sex marriage can be viewed in conflicting ways with respect to what it signifies about changing gender and sexual relations. Some commentators interpret it as the triumph of heterosexual norms that privilege the kind of privatized couple relationships and that, in turn, promote the subordination of women in modern societies. Other commentators interpret it as a radical challenge to the cultural privileging of the heterosexual couple and as potentially queering of the institution of marriage itself. Research on lesbians and gay men suggests a more complex picture than these dichotomous views promote, especially where it highlights the personal-political ambivalence that many lesbians and gay research subjects express about the issue. Recent research and theory on the changing nature of heterosexual marriage also suggests the need to look beyond the dichotomous frame (emphasizing either normalization or queering) of the debates about same-sex marriage, to grapple with its more complex significance. In this entry, the legalization of same-sex marriage; the political, social, and cultural impacts; and the differences in same-sex marriage are discussed.

Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage

Globally, only a relatively small number of states currently recognize same-sex marriage, and the tendency is to legislate some exemptions from the automatic rights and responsibilities afforded heterosexual married couples (for example, with respect to adoption rights). Civil unions and registered cohabitation are more common ways of legally sanctioning same-sex relationships. They offer some of the symbolic and material advantages associated with marriage, but with more restricted legal status. Currently, however, most same-sex partners must rely on affirmation and commitment ceremonies they create themselves, or on spiritual blessings where they can be accessed. The unwillingness of many states to allow same-sex couples to marry their partners of choice—often argued to be a basic human right—is viewed by many as symbolizing lesbians and gay men's second-class status as citizens. Same-sex marriage is therefore an important social and political issue because it raises the significance of marriage as a route to sexual citizenship. But this is also a contentious issue, not least because marriage has historically been bound up with the regulation of gender and the reproduction of gender inequalities.

Political, Social, and Cultural Impacts

There is an ongoing debate in the lesbian and gay literature about the value and implications of same-sex marriage and about the political, social, and cultural significance of marriage. The core debate is articulated around dichotomies of normalization and resistance, and is concerned with the extent to which same-sex marriage is the basis for a radical challenge to heteronormativity or if it represents the hegemony

of heterosexual norms and values. Marriage, some argue, is the legitimate aim of lesbian and gay politics and is the most effective strategy for full lesbian and gay citizenship. This view conceptualizes marriage as symbolizing an economic, affective, and psychosocial bond that is freely entered into and understands heterosexual and same-sex relationships as essentially identical in nature. Advocates of this position sometimes argue that the legitimizing same-sex marriage could facilitate the modernizing of the institution of marriage in keeping with gender and sexual equality.

In contrast to this view, many feminist and queer critics argue that same-sex marriage represents the cultural dominance of heterosexual norms and values and ultimately threatens the creativity of lesbian and gay cultures of relating. Feminist critics argue that positing marriage as the indicator or facilitator of lesbian and gay citizenship is a naïve political strategy. They point out the role that the institution of marriage has historically played in the reproduction of patriarchal structures and unequal gender relations. Same-sex marriage, some feminist and queer critics argue, is an extension of social regulation and the desire for marriage, from this perspective, is rooted in outmoded and dubious ideals of commitment that enlightened and egalitarian heterosexual couples would themselves reject. Ultimately, some argue, same-sex marriage might lead to normative constructions of socially responsible (married) and irresponsible (unmarried) homosexuals, in much the same way as marriage has traditionally promoted gendered ideologies about how responsible men and women should act and relate, which have in turn supported men's economic and social dominance over women. Critics of same-sex marriage point to the danger of imposed rules that could stifle the creative potential for undoing gendered norms of relating that they see same-sex relationships as enabling.

Existing research illuminates the personal-political dilemmas that marriage presents for lesbians and gay men themselves. Although some same-sex couples embrace the idea of same-sex marriage for symbolizing and validating their relationship, other couples reject it on the basis that it mimics heterosexual models of relating. Others still express considerable ambivalence about the issue. Research suggests that such ambivalence stems from desires for creativity and validation that are sometimes experienced in conflicting ways. Many lesbians and gay men, for example, are keen to avoid mimicking heterosexual

marriage and want to maintain the sense of personal agency and freedom they perceive their relationships to allow. At the same time, however, they want to have their relationships recognized and treated as equal to heterosexual ones, and because marriage-like arrangements are the traditionally sanctioned ways for recognizing relationships, their attraction is powerful. The ambivalence stemming from this is underlined by research that suggests that although most of its lesbians and gay participants wanted the *right* to marry, a majority would *not* marry given the opportunity. Ultimately, this ambivalence can be viewed as the precarious balance of perceived potential losses and gains: although marriage might facilitate a personal sense of recognition validation for the individuals and couples involved, it might also entail a loss of agency with respect to the ethics and practices of relating that has been hitherto necessitated by the lack of institutional supports and cultural guidelines.

Changes in Tradition: The Differences in Same-Sex Marriage

Many studies suggest that the lack of existing supports and guidelines promotes the adoption of friendship ethics in same-sex couples. This in turn encourages a commitment to mutuality, independence, and equality that is argued to be distinct from an ethics of interdependence assumed in heterosexual relationships. Studies also suggest that sexual and emotional exclusiveness as the basis of commitment, and the primacy of the couple, tend to be more open to negotiation and less likely to be assumed in same-sex relationships. The issue of how same-sex couples affirm their commitments has also been studied, where the focus has been on ceremonies, traditions, and rituals that couples create themselves. These studies emphasize the theme of creativity, but also the issue of ambiguity. Although elements of conformity are evident in how same-sex relationships are celebrated and ritualized, couples often appear to challenge traditional ways of doing things. Some studies illustrate how lesbian and gay commitment ceremonies simultaneously indicate conformity to wider values (associated with heterosexual couple and family commitments) and introduce "queering" messages at crucial points. Studies also point to contradictory ways in which self-made ceremonies and rituals can be simultaneously normalizing and empowering.

Same-sex marriage represents relatively new social and personal possibilities, and it is impossible to say what its political and cultural impact or implications will ultimately be. But research on self-made rituals highlight the need for a nuanced analysis of how same-sex marriage might support or undo traditional (gendered) meanings of marriage or otherwise. In analyzing the issue, the changing nature and significance of heterosexual marriage itself should be considered. Several recent studies of family and intimate life have pointed out how the historical separation of marriage from the needs of reproduction have combined with women's increasing economic independence from men to—potentially at least—transform the meanings of heterosexual marriage. Some theorists cite statistics on divorce, cohabitation, single parenting, and solo living as evidence of the demise or fragility of the institution of heterosexual marriage. These statistics are, for some, indicative of how processes of detraditionalization and individualization have made marriage a "zombie" institution. For others, these statistics indicate how marriage is becoming merely one choice among others for how commitments in the late modern era are recognized and practiced. In this era, some theorists argue, heterosexual relationships are becoming more like homosexual ones in that they are relationships between economic, social, and intimate equals.

Conclusion

The relationship between how same-sex marriage has become a high-profile political issue and the changing nature of heterosexual marriage can be interpreted in various ways. On the one hand, some interpret the recognition of same-sex marriage as an attempt to reinvigorate or reinvent an ailing institution. From a related perspective, some suggest the issue can only be understood as one of the various ways in which welfare states are shifting social care responsibilities back onto individuals and their families "post" women's and sexual liberation. On the other hand, some view recognition of same-sex marriage as tacit cultural acceptance of how all kinds of relationships—heterosexual and homosexual, married or otherwise—must be defined and made anew by those who enter into them. Others still view recognition as movement from acknowledging how citizenship is gendered, to a deeper sense of understanding about how citizenship is also determined by positioning with respect to sexuality. Irrespective of

how it is interpreted, the issue of same-sex marriage is becoming increasingly significant to debates about changing sexual and gendered relations in late modern societies.

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See also Homosexuality; Lesbian; Marriage; Same-Sex Families

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Sanger, Margaret (1879–1966)

Margaret Sanger dedicated her life to securing reproductive rights for women. She was born in 1879 in Corning, New York, to Michael and Anne Higgins. From her father, she inherited radical roots and the courage to fight for what she believed in. Her mother, who was pregnant 18 times (11 births, 7 miscarriages) and often ill, helped to spark Sanger's interest in nursing and reproductive rights. Sanger studied at Claverack College and the Hudson Institute; she also attended a nursing program at White Plains Hospital in 1900.

At this hospital she met her first husband, William Sanger, whom she married in 1902. They had three children. The Sangers lived in New York City, where both William and Margaret Sanger were members of the New York Socialist Party Local No. 5. Sanger was

working with women in extreme poverty on the Lower East Side and became increasingly angered and concerned about their living conditions. In response, she began publishing a column about reproductive concerns in the magazine *New York Call.* These articles were censored under the 1873 Comstock Laws on the grounds that they were obscene. In 1911, she published a magazine titled *Women Rebel,* which was full of information on reproductive rights. This magazine was also censored, and she was arraigned on obscenity charges in 1914.

Sanger was opposed to the Comstock Laws and continued to write, distributing thousands of family-planning leaflets. She evaded her trial by moving to Europe for almost a year, where her fame blossomed. Upon her return, her youngest daughter Peggy died from pneumonia at age 5. Shortly thereafter, charges against Sanger were dropped.

In 1916, Sanger opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. The clinic was shut down within 9 days, and Sanger was arrested and served a 30-day sentence. During her trial, the judge found that only certified physicians were allowed to distribute contraceptives to their patients. She sought to bring mainstream attention to contraceptives, and in 1929, formed a committee solely responsible to lobby for birth control rights. She was able to get the courts to allow physicians to distribute contraceptives. After Sanger's release, she opened a new physician-run clinic named the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, which later joined with the American Birth Control League to form Planned Parenthood.

In the 1920s, Sanger worked to increase awareness about reproductive health internationally. She traveled through out Asia and Europe. She lectured extensively about birth control rights in Japan and helped to form the first conference on World Population Control in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1927.

In 1921, Sanger published her second magazine, *The Birth Control Monthly,* still in the hopes of drawing more attention to reproductive rights both nationally and internationally. Sanger remained the head of Planned Parenthood until 1942. She worked hard to form the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and was president of that organization until 1959. Sanger still continued to work for reproductive rights up until her death on September 6, 1966, at the age of 86.

A controversial figure throughout her life and even after her death, she remains one of the most influential figures in the battle for reproductive rights in the United States. Sanger helped give certain groups of women a voice when they had none, and to make reproductive health an issue not worth ignoring. Sanger fought hard for women's reproductive health and was a role model for many other ongoing programs.

Christina Burton

See also Planned Parenthood Federation of America

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Sarria, José (1923–)

José Julio Sarria, born in December 1923, also known as Absolute Empress I, the Widow Norton, and Mother José, is a drag queen entertainer, political activist, founder of the International Imperial Court System, and the first openly gay person in the United States to run for public office. He also worked for the creation of the League for Civil Education in 1960 and the Society for Individual Rights in 1963.

Sarria was a veteran of World War II working as a waiter and greeter at the Black Cat Bar when he started his career as a drag queen performer in the 1940s. Before long, he changed this bohemian place into a world-famous gay bar and a place of solidarity for queer people. This was of significant importance in the age of McCarthyism. As the political elements in his shows increased, Sarria became a pioneer in gay political theater and a well-known political activist.

In 1961, with support from the San Francisco Tavern Guild, Sarria ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Thus, even though his unavoidably quiet campaign was not ultimately successful, he became the first openly gay person in the United States to run for public office. As a pioneer, he paved the way for later successful campaigns by openly gay candidates such as Harvey Milk who won the same political office 16 years later. Sarria was the first person to sign on to support Milk's campaign.

Because of police pressure, its straight owner closed down the Black Cat Bar in 1963. That year 12 of the 30 gay and lesbian bars in the city were closed down either by their owners or the police. In early 1965, owners from the San Francisco Tavern Guild organized San Francisco's first large, public drag ball where Sarria was named the Queen of the Ball. Yet, Sarria preferred to claim the title "Empress" instead of "Queen" and proclaimed himself the Empress of San Francisco. He also appropriated the legend of the Emperor Joshua Abraham Norton, a 19th-century San Franciscan miner and rice baron who had proclaimed himself the Emperor of the United States and Canada, and Protector of Mexico. The Tavern Guild continued these drag balls.

Sarria created the Imperial Court of San Francisco, a group that organized drag shows and other events to raise money, primarily for gay charities. Later, the organization extended its work to include other issues, such as HIV/AIDS. The International Imperial Court System has spread to nearly 70 areas in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Today, it is the second largest gay and lesbian organization in the world, after the Metropolitan Community Church.

Sarria lives in Palm Springs, California, but he keeps contact with San Francisco. He is still the head of the International Imperial Court System.

Rustem Ertug Altinay

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SATI

Sati is the custom of widow burning or self-immolation where a widow shares her husband's funeral pyre upon his death. A sati could purify her husband's deadliest sins by burning with him. Her reward would be to live happily with him in heaven. Some of the earliest epigraphic evidence of sati in the Indian subcontinent was in the 5th century CE, although it took another 200 years before it was extolled. Sati was mostly practiced by Rajput Kshatriyas, the warrior caste. Therefore, most of the traditions surrounding sati are from Rajput traditions. Hindu scriptures do not demand sati, and there is an explicit proscription banning Brahmin widows from practicing it. Nevertheless, it did spread to nonwarrior castes later, probably as a means of elevating social status or for practical financial reasons. Sati has always been the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, the common meaning of *sati* is a chaste woman who is devoted to her husband whereas the custom of sati is called *satipratha.*

The mythology of the Goddess Sati is often evoked to explain the origins of the custom. In epic and Puranic sources, Sati is the wife of the God Shiva. When her father, Daksha, insults her husband by excluding him from a great sacrifice, she enters the fire herself. Thus, she displays her ultimate loyalty to her husband whose grief and anger at her death causes him to destroy Daksha's sacrifice. However, the link between *satipratha* and Sati's sacrifice seems tenuous at best because Shiva does not predecease Sati nor does she burn. The motif of self-immolation is also absent from various forms of the myth. In some, Sati withdraws into a yogic coma to give up her life.

Another, perhaps more feasible explanation is that the custom of sati had its origins in the practice of *jauhar,* where royal women collectively self-immolated to avoid capture after defeat in a war. Thus, the intent was not to follow husbands to their deaths; rather, it was to avoid rape and pillage by the victors. This entry describes the history and moderns uses of sati.

Sati During the Colonial Period

There was a dramatic increase in sati during the early 19th century. During this time, the number of satis fluctuated between 500 and 600 annually. Western travelers and civil servants often described satis that they had seen in India. Their accounts generally reveal a dichotomy of horror and admiration. A sati was either seen as a pathetic victim forced to die a horrible and painful death against her will, or as the heroine courageously dying for love. During colonial times, Brahmin women were burned as regularly as Kshatriya women were. A plausible explanation of why there were more incidents of sati in Bengal than anywhere else during this period could be the

Dayabhaga law in Bengal that gave a widow limited inheritance rights over her husband's property upon his death. Sati could therefore have been a way of eliminating a potential inheritor. Women were taught from the time that they were very young that sati was their duty and that it was the only way to absolve themselves and their husbands of their sin. Widowhood did not leave much to be desired for most women in India, and therefore suicide might have become preferable to the alternatives.

The increase in the number of satis sparked intense debates among the pro- and anti-sati lobbies. In 1828, Rammohun Roy was a founder of the *Brahma Sabha,* which engendered the Brahmo Samaj, an influential Indian socio-religious reform movement. He is best known for his efforts to abolish the practice of sati, and he first introduced the word *Hinduism* into the English language in 1816. For his diverse contributions to society, Roy is regarded as one of the most important figures in Indian history and is hailed as "the father of modern India." He used a wide variety of ancient scriptures and texts to show that nowhere did it say that a widow should commit sati upon her husband's death. Instead, he recommended ascetic widowhood over sati as being more meritorious. Meanwhile, sati proponents tried to justify the custom on the basis of women's incapacity for virtue and wisdom. They argued that momentary pain followed by heavenly rewards was better than lifelong suffering in ascetic widowhood, which women were incapable of sustaining anyway. Proponents also cited ancient texts and even argued that the absence of explicit language banning sati was as good as support for sati.

The British colonial policy on sati was formulated at various levels of the criminal justice system in Bengal. After extensive reading of Hindu texts and scriptures, the provincial court, or the Nizamat Adalat, initially clarified that a widow of any caste is permitted to burn herself provided she is not pregnant, does not have infant children, is not under the age of puberty, and is not in a state of uncleanliness. Eventually, the British were able to make the argument that the oldest texts did not condone sati and that scriptures overrode custom. So the prohibition of sati would actually restore the "natives" to their original faith. Sati was officially abolished in Bengal on December 4, 1829, by the British.

Sati in Modern India

Satis are illegal and rare in modern India. Therefore, they usually take place with little advance notice. There have been about 40 cases of sati in the decades following India's independence in 1947, mostly in Rajasthan, the home of the Rajputs. The single case that caused a public outcry was that of Roop Kanwar, an 18-year-old Rajput girl who became a sati on September 4, 1987, after being married for only 8 months. The early accounts of the incident state that she voluntarily decided to become a sati. She stepped onto the funeral pyre of her husband, took his head in her hands, and calmly went to her death by fire. Many spectators immediately elevated her to divine status by believing that the force of her inner truth lit the pyre.

There was an intense public outcry after Kanwar's sati. Feminists and other activists marched in protest. There were later reports that Kanwar was drugged into submission. Her parents were not notified until after she was dead. Some of the debate focused on whether the act was voluntary or not. Pro-sati advocates find nothing wrong in a widow committing sati, as long as she is an authentic sati and was not coerced into it. Young Rajput men have been particularly strident about linking sati to religious freedom and disassociating it from violence against women. Proponents of sati are also careful to distinguish between the concept of sati, which glorifies the ideal woman and elevates her to divine (*satimata*) status, and actual sati as a custom to be followed by widowed women with any regularity.

Feminists are unified in denouncing the practice. There is no confusion about whether or not an authentic sati occurred. The meaning of consent in a patriarchal society is hard to assess. Coercion or consent is not really relevant given the social context in which this event occurs. All sati constitutes violence against women. Feminists reject the glorification of sati, and they rejected the glorification of Kanwar as the ideal Hindu woman who was so devoted to her husband that she chose to sacrifice her life for him.

Following the public outcry over Kanwar's death, the 1829 colonial legislation banning sati was reviewed and revised to strengthen the laws against sati. Before 1988, there was no explicit mention of sati in the Indian penal code. It was assumed that laws against abetment to suicide and murder would cover every contingency. In 1988, specific anti-sati legislation was enacted that also bans the glorification of sati (such as festivals worshipping the *satimata*) in any way.

Sunita Bose

See also Domestic Violence; Femicide

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SCIENTIFIC MOTHERHOOD

Scientific motherhood refers to a practice of mothering informed by expert knowledge. The practice evolved as medicine and science replaced other traditionally feminine domains of knowledge including practices related to fertility and birth. The movement to scientific motherhood redefined the child and child raising. The movement also altered women's identities from producers to consumers of mothering knowledge.

Industrialization and urbanization in the late 1800s reorganized the Western family from a site of production to a site focused on consumption. An educated, white, male upper class drove the rise of positivism and modern medicine. Women, as the keepers of the private sphere, were confronted with elevated expectations regarding household maintenance and child rearing.

Before industrialization, children were conceptualized as miniature, untamed adults. From an early age, each child made significant contribution to the family as she or he worked alongside siblings and adults. In the postindustrial period, the child became a project, a work site, and a vocation for women.

Scientific motherhood developed in parallel with the rise of domestic science. Although germ theory via domestic science education elevated the expectations for housework, science and medicine replaced a long history of women's knowledge in relationship to mothering. New levels of intensity developed around researching and enacting "the good mother." Expert knowledge became the domain of men in white coats.

Psychology's efforts to be recognized as a science played an important role in transforming the field of raising children into a science. By the end of the 19th century, early psychologists, mothers' movement leaders, and leaders in domestic science began to frame childhood as serious business requiring professional training. Research institutes and government conferences became centers for studying and doing something about the child. Women's magazines and child-raising books and manuals became central mechanisms for spreading the new behaviorist theories on the subject. The early tone was one of restraint and regularity.

The orientation of the expert advice changed when Benjamin Spock popularized a child-centered approach with the publication of *The Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care.* Against the backdrop of behaviorism, Spock's ideas were revolutionary. If sales are an indicator of reception, it appears that parents around the world were pleased with the new message from the science of child development. The book went through seven editions, was translated into 39 languages, and sold more than 50 million copies. Earlier parents had been told that holding a crying child only spoils him or her. Spock encouraged parents to go with their instincts, cuddle the crying child, be flexible, more focused on the individual needs of each child, and have fun parenting.

The struggle between child-centered, permissive parenting and more restrictive parenting did not end with Spock. Parents today often find themselves caught between experts and the politics of gender and science. They might read attachment-oriented books such as *The Baby Book* by Martha and William Sears. This approach draws on non-Western child-rearing practices such as the "family bed" that emphasize physical and emotional closeness between parent and child. At the same time, parents may reference Richard Ferber's *Solve Your Child's Sleep Problems,* which emphasizes child independence and self-comfort. This formula provides for progressively increased lengths of letting the child cry to train the child to fall asleep on her or his own.

The politics of race, class, and gender marked the discourses around scientific motherhood. Jacquelyn Litt in *Medicalized Motherhood* (2000) chronicled the experiences of African American and Jewish women born between 1894 and 1930. Socially respectable, good parents relied on physicians for expert advice on child health and education. Although the social networks of Jewish women afforded them multiple avenues to expert knowledge, African American women's access was restricted. As African American

women continued to rely on informal networks and traditional knowledge, they framed their barriers to expert knowledge beyond gender stratification to issues of civil rights. And although they advocated for access to medical expertise, they remained wary of modern medical practitioners.

Scientific motherhood is linked at an international level to the growth of the infant formula industry. Corporate marketing strategies manipulated the discourse of good mothering associating formula feeding as the new and improved method for caring for one's infant. In developing countries, where women do not have access to clean drinking water needed to constitute the powdered formulas and sanitize bottle products, millions of babies have died from diarrhea, the leading cause of death for children worldwide. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that 1.5 million children could be saved each year with improved breastfeeding practices.

Although many infant formula corporations engage in international marketing, UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO) have identified Nestlé as particularly notorious in the effects of marketing tactics and its resistance to the *International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes,* which originated in 1934 by the World Health Assembly.

The aspects of child development and behavior subject to medicalization continue to expand. With this expansion, the project of "good mothering" becomes increasingly complex and politicized. As just one example, the psychiatric profession developed what is now known as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) as a diagnostic category in the 1950s. Ritalin (methylphenidate), the drug most prescribed for ADHD, is estimated by WHO to be given to "10 to 12 percent of boys between the ages of 6 and 14 in the United States," according to Peter Breggin. As a practicing psychiatrist, parent, and author of *Talking Back to Ritalin* (1998), Breggin has been critical of the extensive use of the drug as well as of families and physicians who, in too many cases, have not examined the context of the child's life for change.

The politics and practices of motherhood weave through the intersections of race, class, and gender stratification. Scientific motherhood, like parallel practices around fertility and birth, was a Western masculinist project that displaced women's knowledge about mothering. Scientific motherhood generated a space for intentionality and reflection concerning parenting. Yet the space was filled with knowledge external to the lived experiences of women (and most men). So scientific motherhood affected how children are raised, and it affected the identity of women and their power in negotiating the development of their children into adults. Although all mothers face difficulties in negotiating the discourses and practices of scientific motherhood, poor women and many women of color face greater structural disadvantages in negotiating and resisting the experts.

Mary E. Virnoche

See also Breastfeeding; Midwifery; Motherhood

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Self-Employed Women's Association

The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is a trade union based in India of women who work informally (outside of a traditional employer-employee relationship). SEWA was founded in 1972 by Ela Bhatt and a small group of women whose unique needs as poor, female, informal textile workers were not being met by conventional labor unions. Since that time, SEWA's membership has grown to include approximately 800,000 poor women, representing a variety of castes and ethnic groups. These women work in a number of different occupations, including agriculture, street vending, home-based work, manual labor, service provision,

and small-scale production. SEWA's primary goals are full employment and self-reliance of its members. SEWA views itself as both an organization and a movement for social change, drawing on Gandhian principles and situating its efforts at the intersection of the labor movement, the cooperative movement, and the women's movement.

SEWA believes that local-level organizing by its members is the primary way to alleviate poverty and achieve development. As a result, SEWA members are organized locally into workers' cooperatives, producers groups, rural savings and credit groups, and social security groups. Although many of these groups are organized by occupation, they also address other issues, including education, housing, health care, child care, and violence against women. Although SEWA is identified as a trade union, the organization recognizes that women's economic needs cannot be separated from other aspects of their lives; SEWA thus functions similarly to a grassroots organization that addresses women's needs in a variety of areas.

Recognizing that local organizing is necessary but not sufficient for poor women's empowerment, SEWA functions at the state and national levels to provide access for its members to markets, training, technical inputs, and policy making. At the national level, SEWA also works with paraprofessionals and trained members in the areas of capacity-building, communications, research, and leadership training. Additionally, SEWA runs a bank that provides access to savings and credit for its members, who, because of their poverty, employment status, and illiteracy, have traditionally been unable to access these services in other ways. One of the important organizing principles of SEWA is member participation, so it is staffed and run at all levels by women who are members of the organization and have been trained for leadership positions. SEWA is democratic in its organizational structure, such that local groups elect village representatives, who elect district representatives, and so forth.

SEWA's participatory approach to promoting women's empowerment, its focus on self-reliance, its ability to meet needs through local organization, and its incorporation of women from a variety of backgrounds, have all resulted in it being widely recognized as a model of a successful grassroots women's development program.

Risa Whitson

See also Microlending, NGOs and Grassroots Organizing

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SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem can be defined as feelings of self-worth stemming from the individual's positive or negative beliefs about being valuable and capable. One of the most iconic of advertisements is Nike's "If you let me play" campaign, promising greater self-confidence to girls who play sports. The message implies that girls who play sports (and, coincidentally, wear Nike products) garner high self-esteem, which enables them to fight off a plethora of negative life events, ranging from depression to domestic abuse. Events surrounding the 2007 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) women's basketball championship playoff seem to support this idea. The Rutgers University team gained the country's respect when team members eloquently responded to, and supposedly overcame, racial and sexual disparagement by a commentator who referred to them as "nappy-headed hos." But, why girls? Most scholars agree that self-esteem is gendered, but what does that mean? Contemporary gender theory asserts that self-esteem is a social practice, rather than simply a personal attribute. This entry examines how self-esteem becomes gendered in two areas, math anxiety and sexual permissiveness.

Math Anxiety

In 1992, the American Association of University Women published *How Schools Shortchange Girls,* drawing attention to classroom disparities in treatments of girls and boys. Attention soon focused primarily on two elements: "the fall," a phenomenon first asserted by Carol Gilligan, referring to a precipitous drop in self-esteem for adolescent girls, and a gender gap in which boys outpace girls in math and science curricula. Self-esteem was soon tied directly to academic performance for girls, especially to "math anxiety."

What is known now? Most studies agree that the gender gap is narrowing in both self-esteem and math performance, the result, perhaps, of a host of

factors including gender-sensitive curricula, testing standards, and more sophisticated analysis. However, despite a meta-analysis by Janet Hyde that showed no huge gap in self-esteem for girls and boys, boys still outperform girls on SAT math scores by more than 30 points. Further, the *link* between self-esteem and math accomplishments differs by sex. A recent University of Texas study demonstrates that girls adjust their self-perceptions with relation to math through internalization of negative feedback from others (such as grades or comments by teachers), whereas boys respond to status-oriented feedback (such as a learning-disability diagnosis). The *pathways* are gendered. Even more important, the drop in self-confidence precipitated a truncated math trajectory for both boys and girls. When students internalize negative feedback, they lose important resources to success, including motivation and enrollment in demanding curricula.

How does the self-esteem/math connection become gendered? Actors engage in interaction with other actors, all of whom respond to gendered expectations. Rewards and sanctions reinforce these interactions, slotting boys and girls into gendered pathways, which take place within institutions that also exhibit gender-stratified patterns. For example, mathematical reasoning is seen as a male domain and, in turn, its adherents become channeled into relatively lucrative career tracks such as computer science. Higher rewards in male-dominated careers then reinforce self-perceptions of worth for men and women.

Sexual Permissiveness

The popular book *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* characterizes women as centered on relationships (and not sex) and men as incommunicative (except when seeking sex). Such generalizations reinforce the idea that men are more sexual by nature and that women, on average, are less interested in sex. Similarly, girls who are sexually permissive are characterized as "bad," but boys who engage in sex are rewarded status as "studs." Both connect to self-evaluation.

Recent figures show teen sex (and pregnancy) dropping, but about one half of high school students report sexual activity. One third of girls report their first sexual experience as "unwanted," and early onset is associated with diminished feelings of self-worth, typically expressed through depression and suicide risk. Among sexually active girls, 25 percent report

being depressed "a lot," compared with 7.7 percent of those sexually inactive; comparisons for boys are dramatically lower (8 percent versus 3 percent).

Some studies associate sexually permissive girls as "suffering" from low self-esteem, who must seek worth by giving sexual favors, thus reducing autonomy in sexual-behavior decisions. However, recent qualitative data suggest that, increasingly, girls assert themselves in sex and relationship decisions, and boys are more likely than ever before to say they want relationships, not just sex. Although no direct links have connected these current trends to changes in self-esteem, many scholars see hope in increased education and empowerment.

Conclusion

Discourse about self-esteem reveals gendered cultural beliefs and, for Americans, reflects an individualism that often neglects the power of the situation. The brief review connecting self-esteem to gender differences in math anxiety and sexual permissiveness demonstrates that sex differences are often exaggerated. However, as individuals "do gender," conceptions of self-worth also become gendered. Whether or not science sufficiently measures self-esteem, pathways remain a deeply gendered process.

Research on self-esteem has paid scant attention to context. Black women and Latinas exhibit markedly different self-evaluation than do white women, but little is known about the process itself. Virtually no studies address links between self-esteem and other categories of difference such as other races/ethnicities, immigrant groups, sexual minorities, body-ableness, and ways in which these statuses intersect with social class.

Now what? Self-identity theories should focus on practices within constraints of a gendered system. Certainly, the nation admired the young black women scholar-athletes from Rutgers, talented and ambitious, as they assertively resisted the derogatory label thrown at them. But, focusing singularly on them or one transgressor detracts from the larger social context in which humans develop their sense of self. Within the current political climate in which women's programs and, in particular, Title IX come under attack, the focus must remain on dismantling structural barriers to positive self-esteem for individuals, whether male, female, intersexed, or transgendered.

L. Susan Williams

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Intersectionality; Sexual Identities and Socialization; Standpoint Theory; Title IX

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SENECA FALLS CONVENTION

On July 19th and 20th, 1848, 300 people gathered in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls to hold what would later be known as the Seneca Falls Convention, the event that marked the beginning of the modern U.S. movement for women's rights. One of the few notifications for this event was in the *Seneca County Courier* on July 11—the event was one that was organized quickly and received little publicity. Although the event itself was orchestrated by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the combination of her mobilization of numerous social networks via their leaders and a supportive, opportune climate brought everyone together. This was a convention not of national figures, but of local people of varying ages. Out of the convention came the Declaration of Sentiments, a document that received widespread attention partly because the organizers chose to couch their grievances in the same rhetoric that was used in the Declaration of Independence, ensuring it would catch the attention of many Americans. However, also contained in this document was a "subversive" element that reminded readers that when a government destroyed freedom, citizens were under no obligation to offer their allegiance to it.

The first major event that set the stage for the Seneca Falls Convention was the passage of the Married Women's Property Act in April 1848. This act was of great interest to Stanton; before her marriage to Henry Stanton, she worked in her father's law office, where she met such legal reformers as Ansel Bascom and became involved in the legal debates about the right of married women to own property, as well as the right of women to participate in government. Although the revised statutes of New York State in 1828 left married women's legal status in doubt, there was a shift in the discourse by the mid-1830s, which culminated with the passage of the Married Women's Property Act. The passage of this act provided a supportive climate in Seneca Falls for further action.

Beyond the Married Women's Property Act, the rise of the Free-Soil political party played a role in setting the stage for the Seneca Falls Convention. The Free-Soilers arose out of the debate over allowing slavery in the territories. In Syracuse in September 1847, the radical Barnburner wing of the Democratic Party stormed out of a meeting with the conservative Hunkers wing when the Hunkers refused to support resolutions condemning slavery. In May 1848, the national Democratic Party nominated Lewis Cass, who was an advocate of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, for president. The Barnburners, in response, called a Barnburner state convention on June 22 where they, along with members of the Whigs and the Liberal Party, laid the groundwork for the Free-Soil party, a party that opposed the expansion of slavery in the territories. Many people in Seneca Falls considered slavery to be a moral evil, and there was hope that this new party could do something about it. Some Free-Soilers went a step further and took the idea of equality seriously enough to apply it beyond race to gender and therefore attended the Seneca Falls Convention. Of the 26 families from Seneca Falls who signed the Declaration of Sentiments, 18 of them included a Free-Soil advocate.

Added to these two networks were the Congregational Friends, which arose out of a group of dissident Quakers who walked out of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1848 after a sermon given by Lucretia Mott on June 11 in Waterloo, New York. Numerous disagreements led to the walk out, but the main issues were related to stances on abolitionism as well as authority within the Quaker meetings. Mott was also a colleague of Stanton; the two had met in London at the World Anti-Slavery Convention during Stanton's honeymoon. Also through Mott, Stanton was connected with the Garrisonian abolitionists, who embraced total equality for all people. Members of the Congregational Friends were the largest group to sign

the Declaration of Sentiments, with at least 23 signers. These signers were brought to the event because of Mott's influence in Quakerism, rather than because of Stanton's call.

With the concurrent excitement created by the Married Women's Property Act, the Free-Soilers, and the Congregational Friends taking place, Mott and her sister attended a meeting with a Quaker woman to which Stanton was also invited. In this meeting, Stanton provided the impetus for having a convention on women's rights with the notice being drafted that evening and published on July 11 in the *Seneca County Courier* and in other area newspapers on July 14. Stanton, through her connections to Ansel Bascom and his legal reform colleagues Jacob Chamberlain and Charles Hoskins as well as her husband, to the Free-Soilers, and to the Quakers of Waterloo via Mott, was able to link the necessary social networks for the Seneca Falls Convention to take place.

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See also Declaration of Sentiments; Married Women's Property Acts; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage Movement

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Sentencing, Gender Differences

The U.S. criminal justice system has been marked by striking increases in incarceration for both men and women during the past two decades. The public has grown increasingly aware of the disproportionate numbers of young African American men charged, convicted, and sentenced in state and federal courts. At the same time, the public remains less attentive to the gender disparities in convictions and sentences despite the emphasis placed on eliminating unequal treatment under the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 and federal sentencing guidelines. As early as the 1970s, sentence reformers sought to eliminate the discretionary practices allowed under indeterminate sentencing that favored whites and women. Under indeterminate systems, court actors (i.e., prosecutors, probation officers, and judges) could consider "extralegal" factors, such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, and family circumstance when meting out punishment. With the advent of determinate sentencing, those discretionary considerations, although forbidden, reemerged in nuanced forms. Despite the public's inattention, social scientists have paid considerable attention to the disparities in criminal processing between women and men offenders.

In the 1970s and 1980s, research focused on questions of whether courts treated women differently than men at the sentencing stage and, if so, whether those differences reflected different sorts of criminal conduct by women and men or leniency for women apart from their offense? Findings were consistent: Female offenders received lighter sentences than like male offenders did. For like situated offenders, women were less likely than men to receive suspended sentences or probation, but men were more likely to be incarcerated. (In cases of serious offenses, or long sentences, incarceration decisions for women and men were more similar.) Many studies since the sentencing reforms continue to reach the same conclusion—that women are treated preferentially in sentencing.

Several arguments have emerged to explain gender disparities in sentencing. In the criminological literature, women are the marked gender category of offenders, but men are the unmarked norm (even though men are equally gendered). As a result, discussions often center on the preferential treatment of women because of their physical and emotional characteristics, and their social roles. According to the chivalry/paternalism thesis, stereotypes about women lead to their special treatment in the criminal justice system. The sexist view of women as weak, passive, submissive, childlike, and dependent on men stipulates their need for protection rather than punishment. However, research indicates that the criminal justice system extends chivalry disproportionately to middle- and upper-class white women. Additionally, women offenders whose criminal behaviors violate stereotypical views of women may receive harsher punishment than similarly situated men offenders. Not all researchers agree that chivalry and paternalism explain the differential sentencing associated with gender, although most accept that it plays a role in the

patterned responses of judges at sentencing. Judges may see women as less threatening to their communities, less likely to reoffend, or even less blameworthy because of men's greater participation in violent behavior, including violence against women. Perhaps even more revealing is the informal social control women experience in the family context because of their caretaking responsibilities. When researchers controlled for whether offenders were married with dependent children, the gender disparity disappeared in decisions to incarcerate.

The oversimplified finding that women have and continue to be treated more leniently by the criminal justice system than similarly situated men is unsatisfactory. Critical race theorists increasingly question the favorable treatment of women based on racial differences. They argue that minority women did not benefit from the same preferential treatment as did white women under indeterminate sentencing because of conflicting stereotypes at the intersection of gender and race, nor do they today under the determinate sentencing reforms that were instituted to alleviate disparities. For example, white women are less likely to be arrested in similar crime situations than are their black women counterparts, and young black men receive harsher sentences than any other group does. Furthermore, feminist legal theorists have identified the negative unintended consequences for women and their children under the sentence reforms and guidelines. Women tend not to be violent or repeat offenders. However, under today's sentencing guidelines, more women are being incarcerated, and their sentences are growing longer. Feminist scholars are rightly apprehensive about the stereotypical thinking about women offenders. At the same time, feminist criminologists identify the difficulties posed by the sentencing of women defendants under the gender-neutral federal guidelines that do not account for pertinent gender differences in life biographies and crime context. These differences include pregnancy, family ties—most single parents are women—history of coercion or domestic violence perpetrated by male codefendants, and a subordinate role in the criminal offense.

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See also Crime and Criminal Justice, Gender and; Domestic Violence; Gender Stereotypes; Gender Transgression; Patriarchy

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Sex Education

Few topics elicit as much controversy as sex education does. The sex education debate reveals a range of societal attitudes, values, and beliefs about children, adolescents, sexuality, and gender. This entry considers the practices of sex education in their historical context and will conclude by outlining key contemporary concerns.

Historical Overview

Significant material changes, such as those associated with urbanization, at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries made it necessary to warn adolescents of the dangers of sex. The concern at that time was that the risk of disease (syphilis and gonorrhea), exploitation, prostitution, and unwanted pregnancies

in urban areas would disrupt the successful transition from adolescence to adulthood. Although literature was provided to parents to warn their children about the dangers of masturbation—the erosion of self-discipline and self-control that would inevitably lead to poor health, disease, and even death—professional experts were also considered necessary to respond to this potentially precocious adolescent sexuality. Educators in schools used botany and nature study to discuss reproduction and, through this emphasis on the science of sex, resolved the anxiety and tension that existed between the need to discuss sexual matters and the fear of putting undesirable ideas into young minds.

Soaring rates of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) among soldiers during World War I and the fear that disease would spread into the civilian population led to an intensification of the school project. Lectures by early social hygienists who visited schools emphasized the horrors of STDs. Their slide shows depicted the worst possible physical consequences of syphilis and gonorrhea with the hope that fear would lead to responsibility, discipline, and good moral character. The prevailing strategy at the time was to control male sexuality, to elevate men to the standard of female purity and chastity while providing women with only basic information on menstruation and the dangers of sex.

A new youth culture of the 1920s and 1930s—marked most notably by changes in female dress and dancing as well as some access to birth control by married couples, the popularity of marriage manuals, and premarital sexual activity ("petting")—challenged the idea of an innate chastity and innocence of girls. These social changes led to a shift in educational strategy. Although the physical, social, and emotional consequences of sex were still emphasized, the idea was to foster a desire for sexual fulfillment but only within a married relationship. Adolescents were educated to practice premarital chastity.

The discovery of penicillin as an effective treatment for syphilis and gonorrhea and the presumed promiscuity of civilian women who were giving sexually transmitted diseases to soldiers during World War II (rather than the prostitute women of World War I) provided a new focus for educational efforts: promiscuity and safeguarding the family. Education on marriage, home economics, and the family relationship through discussions on courtship, mate selection, and prenatal growth and childbearing solidified the proper place of sex: in a married relationship. Premarital sex carried certain risk, including STD and harm to future relationships.

With increasing access to birth control—particularly the arrival of "the pill"—and abortion services as well as an increasing age of first marriage, adolescents of the 1960s questioned or were against the taboo on premarital sex. Liberal legislation and court decisions on contraception and homosexuality as well as an increased incidence of extramarital and premarital sex and out-of-wedlock births of the 1970s contributed to what was considered a sexually permissive culture. The sexual revolution, however, also led to what was deemed an epidemic of teenage pregnancy as well as soaring rates of STDs among young people. Once again, sex education efforts were challenged—could they could adequately respond to these changes or would they add to the culture of permissiveness? Ultimately, sex education efforts emphasized abstinence but also provided information about contraception.

A backlash in the 1980s against women's liberation, gay rights, and adolescent sexuality led conservatives to charge that sex education encouraged sexual activity, and that there was a correlation between premarital sex and the broader provision and availability of sex education as well as contraception and abortion services. Teenage pregnancy was defined as a social ill and linked with poverty, immorality, and promiscuity. The AIDS crisis furthered politicized sex education. AIDS dramatically changed sex education. Indeed, AIDS forced the sex education agenda into classrooms.

Sex Education in the Time of AIDS

The advent of AIDS significantly influenced sex education in two ways. First, the AIDS crisis pushed advocates and supporters of the school project to articulate sex education as a right: a right to information, a right to health, and a right of citizenship as articulated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action, and the United Nations Guidelines on HIV/AIDS and Human Rights. Second, many governments have developed policies and guidelines for the development of sex education programs and services (though implementation greatly varies from school to school). Where sex education was once haphazard, sporadic, or nonexistent, the intention of these policies is to make it a part of the schooling process.

Although there are differences across and within countries, there are a multitude of approaches to sex education programs. Countries such as the

Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark—all reputed for low rates of teenage pregnancy and sexually open cultures—have adopted a comprehensive sex education approach. By considering a broad range of sexuality issues as well as the negative and positive consequences of sex, comprehensive sex education aims to provide information and foster behavioral skills. For example, the Dutch program, "Lang leve de liefde" (Long Live Love) focuses on the biological aspects of reproduction as well as on values, attitudes, communication, and negotiation skills to encourage young people to make their own decisions regarding their health and sexuality. Class visits to family planning and birth control clinics encourage acquisition of birth control and contraceptive knowledge.

At the other end of the spectrum is the abstinence-only approach adopted in the United States. The federal government began supporting abstinence promotion programs in 1981 with the Adolescent and Family Life Act (AFLA), but since 1997, programs funded under the AFLA must have as their exclusive purpose the promotion of abstinence until marriage and cannot discuss contraceptive methods except to emphasize their failure rates. Although abstinence-only programs have not proven to be effective—the United States continues to have one of the highest teen pregnancy rates in the developed world—these programs continue to be highly funded ($176 million in 2006). The abstinence-only approach reflects concerns that sex education encourages sexual activity even though no research supports this claim.

Some countries perceive sex education as Western ideas that have been imported to their communities and at odds with their cultural and religious beliefs. For example, in Jordan, sexuality is a taboo subject and there is, essentially, no sex education in the schools. Given the strong influence of the Catholic Church in Peru, there is a high rate of unintended pregnancy and a lack of political commitment to sex education. Other countries have found ways of reconciling cultural norms and the need for young people to have sexual information. For example, in Vietnam, although sex education has mainly focused on imparting information about anatomy and conception, largely because of traditional beliefs that sexual matters are rarely discussed, a Red Cross program aims at circumventing this discomfort by using community elders to impart information on HIV/AIDS, sexuality, and contraception. In South Africa, a country hit hard by the AIDS crisis, the Planned Parenthood Association of South

Africa provides education to young people on issues of leadership, self-esteem, assertiveness, responsible decision making, and negotiating safer sex.

Contemporary Challenges

Taken in its historical context, sex education has been and continues to be a gendered and heteronormative project. The assumption is that the student subject is heterosexual and, as such, key messages (wait for sex until married, use contraception, get your boyfriend to use a condom) and strategies (prevent pregnancy, prepare for marriage) support an implied, if not compulsory, heterosexuality. Greater recognition of sexual diversity is necessary to meet the needs of all students. In Canada, for example, the legalization of same-sex marriage has provided a social and cultural context in which to discuss homophobia in the classroom; anti-homophobia education is part of many Canadian sex education and safe schools/anti-bullying programs. However, moving toward a discussion of sexual identity formation as well as the inclusion of behaviors, contexts, and choices for gay youth is, in the mainstream culture, yet to be realized.

Sex education practices also organize gender in specific ways. Sexual scripts—that boys are active agents with an insatiable appetite for sex and girls are either passive/uninterested in sex or promiscuous/too interested in sex (the double standard)—are reflected in sex education programs. Young women are educated away from positions of sexual self-interest and, as a result, young men secure certain gains through such subjectivities. Sexual desire in males is deemed normal and natural, and males assume a sense of entitlement to sex. Although it must be recognized that unequal power relations between women and men may render young women vulnerable to coerced or unwanted sex, it must also be recognized that framing young men as sexually aggressive is detrimental to their self-esteem and poses an anxiety about whether they are behaving within the ethical parameters of what is wrong or right conduct. Sex education programs need to both challenge these gendered sexual scripts and discuss how they play out in the day-to-day lives of young people.

At the same time, there is concern that sex education programs are not sufficiently targeting boys and young men. Information on pregnancy, contraception, abortion, and condom negotiation has largely been targeted to young women because they are most implicated and

affected by pregnancy. Although young women will continue to need this information and access to corresponding clinical services, there is increasing recognition that young men also need information about contraception, pregnancy, and condom use, and that they have an equal part to play and a responsibility in preventing unintended pregnancy and STDs.

Finally, current practices taken in their historical context also illustrate how sex education initiatives tend to emphasize the unhealthy, dangerous, and negative consequences of sex. Teen pregnancy continues to be a concern, particularly as an economic and health issue, as are STDs as demonstrated by recent concerns about the human papillomavirus (HPV) and its link to cervical cancer. Changes in social contexts, including changes to the family, a sexually explicit media, and technological advances such as Internet access, elicit anxiety about adolescent behavior, as seen in concerns about an "oral sex epidemic" and online predators. Taken together, sex education is informed by society's overall discomfort with adolescent sexuality and sexual behavior; the focus is one of health-risk-morality rather than one of sexual socialization and sexual development. With the incidence of premarital sex increasing and becoming the norm throughout much of the world, sex education practices will have to adapt to this, as well as to the other realities and experiences of adolescents.

Erin Connell

See also Chastity; Compulsory Heterosexuality; Contraception; HIV/AIDS; Sexuality and Reproduction; Sexually Transmitted Infections; Sexual Rights and Citizenship; Teen Pregnancy

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SEXISM

Sexism usually refers to prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender, especially against women and girls. Its origin is unclear, but it was first found in the *Merriam Webster Dictionary* in 1968 and is most likely modeled after the civil rights movement's term *racism,* which refers to prejudice or discrimination based on race. Having emerged from second-wave feminism that occurred in the 1960s to 1980s, *sexism* has a parallel function to *racism,* which describes ideological and material practices of individuals, collectives, and institutions that maintain white supremacy. Sexism is an ideology or practices that maintain patriarchy or male domination. This mode of oppression in society usually takes the forms of economic exploitation and social domination based on sex or gender. Often, it is conceived as behaviors, conditions, or attitudes that perpetuate stereotypes of social (gender) roles based on one's biological sex. Sexism can be a belief that one sex is superior to or more valuable than another sex. It imposes limits on what men and boys can and should do and what women and girls can and should do. Sometimes, sexism is also used to refer to misogyny or hatred of females and misandry or hatred of males. The ideology of sexism views intersexual and transgender people as abnormal for not following the traditional path of the binary sex-gender system, where there exist only two biological sexes—male or female—and whereby biological male subjects will acquire appropriate gender roles to become straight or heterosexual men and biological female subjects will acquire appropriate gender roles to become straight women. That is, one's biological sex determines one's social and psychological gender and one's sexual orientation, which is defaulted as heterosexual. Sexism, thus, overlaps with three other related concepts: homophobia, an aversion to homosexuality; an aversion to bisexuality; and heterosexism, the notion that heterosexuality is the only normal option of human sexual behavior. Simply put, one's gender role expectation is

a specific heterosexual one. For example, when a boy or young man does not conform to the expected masculine gender role of being a "real man," he might be teased and beaten up for being a "fag," "sissy," or "girl," statuses that are less than being a man. These derogatory terms are to socialize him to become a real man who will be homophobic and misogynist. Sexism, originally conceived to raise consciousness about the oppression of girls and women, has evolved to refer to oppression of any sex, including men and boys, intersexual people, and transgender people. This entry describes issues relating to sexism.

Relevance

A feminist study of gender in society needs concepts to differentiate and analyze social inequalities between girls and boys and between women and men that do not reduce differences to the notion of biology as destiny. That is, the inequality between men and women and between boys and girls is not a biological inevitability. Sexism becomes an important sociocultural explanation for differences in income, academic achievement, occupation, and so on. Prejudice and discrimination based on sex or gender are social barriers to women's and girls' success in various arenas rather than biological inferiority, sexism explains. To overcome patriarchy in our society is to then dismantle sexism in our society. Denaturalizing sex, the concept *sexism* suggests the solution to gender inequity is in changing our socially sexist culture and institutions.

Sexism and Feminism

Feminism achieved a remarkable feat when it disentangled sex from gender, claiming that one's biological sex does not predict anything about one's ability, intelligence, and personality (one's gender roles). Extracting social behavior from biological determinism frees women and girls from stereotypic gender roles and expectations. Feminists can then focus on how the social world bars women from advancement by discriminating and limiting them based on their biological sex or their sociocultural gender role expectations.

Pointing to economic exploitation of women in forms of lower pay for equal work, unpaid domestic work, or devalued feminized work, the term *sexism* captures these different unequal perceptions and treatments based on gender and sex in the realm of work and occupation. A related concept to sexism and occupation is a phenomenon called "the glass ceiling." This refers to women in the corporate world who are seeking upward mobility but are facing an invisible barrier, the glass ceiling, where they can see the top but are blocked from reaching it. In the domestic sphere, women do most domestic work but are not paid for it. When this unpaid work is accounted for, women make up the largest unpaid labor force in the world. The ideology of sexism, however, manifests in our work and home life, and it pervades our whole society and culture. The perpetuation of traditional gender roles portrayed and reinforced in the media are examples. Male-centric language or sexist language such as "mankind" is used to describe a diverse human population.

U.S. socialization teaches traditional gender roles that differentially condition one's sense of identity and abilities. U.S. society teaches (with citations from the Bible or pseudoscience) that women and men are opposites and that women are the weaker sex and less capable than men, especially in the realm of logic and rational reasoning. Women are relegated to the domestic realm of nurturance and emotions and, therefore, cannot be good leaders in business, politics, and academia. Although women are seen as naturally fit for domestic work and are superb at being caretakers, their roles are not valued or devalued when compared with men's work. For example, although women do most of the cooking to feed the family, only men are great chefs—to believe in this male superiority ideology would be to be sexist or male chauvinist.

At the extreme of this male chauvinism is misogyny, or the hatred of women. The hatred or uncaring of women causes high rates of brutality against women in forms of domestic violence, rape, and the selling and abusing of women's bodies that are seen as mere commodity, vessels for men's pleasures, homemakers, or baby machines. In other words, women's role is to serve men. The degree of misogyny varies from one society to another. Whether seen as property, subhuman, or second-class citizens, sexist thinking are usually accompanied by sexist action that leads to the mistreatment of women and girls at the individual as well as institutional level. For example, a woman who is victim of rape (individual or personal) might be told buy a judge and jury that she had asked for it by dressing provocatively (institutional).

In a male-dominated society or patriarchy, sexism, as ideology and practices, is the culprit of the

maintenance of male domination. Sexism creates preferential treatment for men and boys and disadvantages for women and girls through socialization and coercion. Thus, the feminist movement fought for the abolishment of sexism and the establishment of women's rights as equals under the law. By addressing sexism in institutions and culture, women would gain equality in political representation, employment, education, domestic disputes, and reproductive rights.

Reverse Sexism

As the term *sexism* gained vernacular popularity, its usage evolved to include men as the victim of discrimination and social gender expectations. In a cultural backlash, the term *reverse sexism* also emerged to refocus on men and boys and their disadvantages, especially under affirmative action. Opponents of affirmative action argued that men and boys are now discriminated against for jobs and school admission because of their sex. This appropriation of the term *sexism* infuriates many feminists who stress the structural and historical inequality of gender. Proponents for men's rights even conjure the notion of misandry or hatred of men as they fear a new world order or a return to matriarchy, a female-dominated society. As women's studies have helped document women's oppression and resilience, the men's movement reasoned that it was time to document men's oppression. Proponents called for research to address the limitations of gender roles on both sexes. More critical work on men began to examine how gender role expectations differentially affect men and women and have since begun to focus on the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity to address the oppressive aspect as well as the agency aspect of gender conformity and resistance.

Sexism and Intersexuality

The original conceptualization of sexism also was based on binary thinking that assumes only two genders (men/boys and women/girls) and two sexes (males and females). Since the political and theoretical advancement in transgender and intersexual studies, the term *sexism* has expanded in its coverage of victims. Sexism against intersexual people refers to the chauvinist thinking that there exist only two sexes and ignores the reality of intersexual people. Commonly known as hermaphrodites, intersexual people are starting a new

movement of self-determination against an old practice of doctors surgically "correcting" the ambiguous genitalia of an intersexual baby. The existence of intersexual people and their voices have begun a critical reexamination of what is often taken for granted as the biology of sex. A Western, industrial society's understanding sees only two biological sexes, male or female. In reality, the naturalization of the biological sex into two categories is what is limiting and restricting to people who are born naturally with ambiguous genitalia. Western societies deem this naturally occurring phenomenon as "abnormal" and that such occurrence must be "corrected" surgically by experts. In a phallocentric world, male babies with "micro-penises" are often surgically "corrected" to female babies because "It is easier to poke a hole than to build a pole." Intersexual advocates claim that this is no less barbaric than the past when people with ambiguous male and female characteristics were put in the freaks section of the circus. The existence of people with ambiguous genitalia suggests that the notion of "biological sex" is also socially constructed. Aside from male (XY) and female (XX), there are cases of Turner (X0), metafemale or trisomy (XXX), Klinefelter (XXY), aneuploidy (XYY), de la Chapelle (XX male), and Swyer or XY gonadal dysgenesis (XY females) syndromes. Yet Western culture primarily sees two sexes, male or female. Western culture facilitates the ridicule, disgust, hatred, and physical harm of people not deemed as "a normal male" or "a normal female."

Sexism and Transgenderism

Facing a similar plight to intersexual people, transgender people struggle with a heterosexist, binary-sex-gender system that allocates them as "abnormal" for not following the "normal path" of becoming men and women. Transgenderism is a condition in which one feels trapped in the wrong body and identifies the gender of the opposite sex. For example, a female-to-male (FTM) or transmale is someone born with female genitalia but identifies as male. This person can pass as a man by binding the breasts and dressing in male clothing. He may go a step further of regularly injecting hormones (testosterones) to physically grow facial hair, increase his body mass, and deepen his voice. A step further would be to have surgical removal of the breasts so he could have a flat chest. The last step, which many may not take because of cost and health risks, is the "bottom surgery" to achieve male-looking

genitalia. Even after their transitions, transmen are often not accepted at "men-only" events and transwomen are often not accepted at "women-only" events because transmen and transwomen are not seen as "real men" and "real women." Within the gay, lesbian, transgender, and intersexual community, this type of prejudice and discrimination is referred to as *transphobia.* Transpeople face constant threats of physical harm if their transsexuality is uncovered. For some transgender individuals, who identify as genderqueer, they do not identify with the mutually exclusive categories of male/female or masculine/feminine and prefer expressing both feminine and masculine elements in their lives. U.S. society is even more uncomfortable with such nonconformity and considers these people as "freaks." These types of discrimination against transpeople can be seen as sexism based on binary gender-sex thinking.

The pathologizing or stigmatization of transgender people is a modern phenomenon of Western, industrial society. In precolonial India and Hawai'i, transgender people were revered and had a high status in society, often acting as consultants to kings or as healers. It appears that Western, Christian binary thinking and the advance of medicine have constructed only two possible sexes. This contrasts with the Native American tradition of two-spirited people or India's hijras or "third sex" people. Even in such sexually conservative countries as Iran and Vietnam, governments make official statements allowing for the surgical transition of transpeople into their "intended" or "natural" gender. In contrast, although money can buy one any type of surgeries in the United States, sex reassignment surgeries are considered pitiful decisions by confused people.

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See also Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Glass Ceiling; Heterosexuality; Misogyny; Patriarchy

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Sexology and Sex Research

Sexology is an interdisciplinary science that focuses on diverse aspects of human sexuality, studying human sexual development, relationships, and intercourse, sexual malfunctions, sexually transmitted diseases, and pathologies such as child sexual abuse or sexual addiction. It has still not been fully recognized as a separate professional field but is most often found as a subdiscipline within fields such as biology, psychology, anthropology, medicine, sociology, epidemiology, and sometimes criminology. Sexology as it exists today emerged as one of the fields of inquiry of Western science during the second half of the 19th century. However, interest for the management of human sexuality has been present for centuries in various cultural traditions that greatly differ in levels of sexual tolerance and ways of defining socially acceptable modes of sexual behavior. This entry describes the history of sex research.

From Antiquity to the Enlightenment

Human sexual behavior, reproduction, education, ethics, and treatment of sexual malfunctions were studied by Greek philosophers and physicians, such as Aristotle, Galen, Plato, and Hippocrates. The age also saw the appearance of works that instructed on the art of seduction and lovemaking, such as *Ars Amatoria* written by the famous Roman poet Ovid (circa 1 BCE), and the *Kama Sutra,* the work of the Indian scholar Mallanga Vatsayana. In the Western tradition of protosexology, classical Greek ideas remained dominant until the 19th century, when the general development of science instigated the change of ideas about human sexual behavior and the establishment of what today is considered the science of sex and sexuality. Arabic and

Jewish scholars preserved and further developed the sexological knowledge of antiquity, bringing it back to Europe in the early Middle Ages. Thus, the Arabic scholar Ibn Sina (Avicenna) brought back to Europe Aristotle's idea of the inferiority of female generative power in relation to male, which was first adopted by St. Albertus Magnus and then further elaborated by his disciple St. Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century. The influences of Plato, who in his later works questioned the benefit of sexual pleasure and distinguished procreative and nonprocreative sex, helped shape the Christian approach to sexuality that began with *Paul's Epistle to the Romans* and was later elaborated in the works of St. Augustine and Aquinas. The Middle Ages witnessed the appearance of two other significant works on human sexuality: the Chinese handbook on sex entitled *Su-Nui-Jing,* and *The Perfumed Garden,* a love manual written by the Tunisian Sheikh Nefzaoui, who dedicated one of the chapters of his work to homosexual love.

The Renaissance brought about the revolution in the field of human anatomy, and along with that, new insights into the nature and characteristics of human sexual organs and sexual behavior. For the first time, some internal sexual organs were exposed to the scrutiny of the human eye. The legacy of Renaissance anatomy pioneers such as Leonardo da Vinci was later taken over by other European scholars, who made important discoveries in the field of anatomy of human sex organs. For example, Regnier de Graaf discovered the Graafian follicles and female ejaculation, and Caspar Berthelsen (Bartholinus) and William Cowper discovered, respectively, Bartholin's and Cowper's glands.

The 18th century testified to the birth of the fear of too much masturbation, with sexuality research focusing largely on the issues of adolescent sexual education and masturbation. In 1760, a physician named Samuel Tissot wrote *Onanism,* an influential book about the assumed dangers of masturbation. This marked the beginning of a great war against masturbation, based on the supposed correlation between masturbation and deviance. Three decades later (1787), the Marquis de Sade secretly, during his imprisonment in the Bastille on charges of immorality, wrote his masturbation fantasy entitled *The 120 Days of Sodom.*

19th Century

The 19th century represented an extremely important period in the development of sexology and was marked by several significant discoveries related to different aspects of human sexuality. In 1827, the egg cell was discovered, and the process of vulcanization of rubber from 1844 on enabled the mass production of condoms. *Psychopathia Sexualis,* appearing in 1843 and written by the Viennese scholar Heinrich Kaan, presumed the connection between sexual behavior and diseases of the mind, using the terms such as *perversion* and *degeneration* in his discussion of nonprocreative sex. French physician B. A. Morel further developed the concept of degeneration, which remained a key concept in sociopolitical and medical debates about sexuality until the beginning of the 20th century. The second half of the century saw a proliferation of works on same-sex erotic attraction, beginning in 1863 with the first book to represent male homosexuality as a natural expression of a "female soul in a male body," written by the German lawyer Karl-Heinrich Ulrichs. Ulrichs named the phenomenon *uranism,* and the individuals affected by it *uranians.* The term *homosexuality* was created shortly afterward (1869) by the Hungarian writer Károly Mária Kertbeny (Benkert), who carried on Ulrichs's plea against the Paragraph 175 of the Prussian law that criminalized male homosexuality. In the following year, the first medical history of same-sex erotic desire was published in the journal *Archive für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankenheiten.* All medical histories that followed represented the homosexual desire as a psychiatric illness. The Italian physician and anthropologist Paolo Mantegazza was the first to introduce some moral relativism on this topic, providing in his work *Trilogia dell'amore* (1872–1885) a number of cross-cultural observations of homosexuality and social attitudes toward it.

Sexology From 1896 to World War II

Richard von Krafft-Ebing is most often considered the founder of sexology as known today. His famous work *Psychopathia Sexualis* came out in 1886, later going through several editions. This work provided a detailed psychiatric classification and analysis of sexual disorders. In his attempts to taxonomize the types of sexual perversion, Krafft-Ebing coined and used the terms *masochism, sadism,* and *fetishism,* and he labeled as *perversion* every form of desire that was not directed toward procreation. However, the experience of getting to personally know and work with a great number of homosexual individuals brought him to the conclusion

that most of his subjects were physically, mentally, and morally healthy, and that homosexuality was not the result of mental illness. These insights lead him to support campaigns for decriminalization of homosexuality. Krafft-Ebing recognized homosexuality as one of several possible forms of sexual desire, completely unrelated to mental illness. This acknowledgment of homosexual desire as just one kind of sexual desire became one of the most important legacies of Krafft-Ebing's work. His attempts to depathologize certain types of sexual behavior was further carried on by the Berlin dermatologist and erudite Iwan Bloch. In his study, *The Sexual Life of Our Time,* published in 1907, Bloch pointed out the necessity of founding a new science that would focus on the study of human sexuality, which he named *Sexualwissenschaft*—sexology. He pointed out the shortcomings of the exclusively medical approach to the study of human sexual behavior, stressing the importance and benefits of anthropological and historical research, and arguing for the science of sex that would include both natural and cultural sciences. Only one year later, Magnus Hirschfeld, another Berlin scientist, started the first journal of sexology named *Zeitschrift fur Sexualwissenschaft.* Hirschfeld, who had worked on statistical surveys on homosexuality, founded the world's first gay rights organization in 1897, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, and in 1928, he established the World League for Sexual Reform, calling for the legal and social equality of the sexes, the right to sex education and contraception, as well as the reform of sex legislation.

In Berlin in 1919, Hirschfeld opened the world's first institute for sexology. However, the Nazis closed it down on May 6, 1933, publicly burning its library 4 days later. Hirschfeld's important contribution to sex research was his doctrine of "sexual intermediaries"— the idea that homosexuals constitute an intermediate sex, between the heterosexual male and the heterosexual female. His view was that a human being was neither woman nor man but both, in unique and, hence, unrepeatable proportions. He also introduced the term *transvestite,* distinguishing in that way for the first time transvestites from homosexuals.

Apart from this primarily empirical and activist sex research, focused on collecting data about various everyday sexual practices as well as on the legal reforms regarding sexuality (Ellis, Hirschfeld), there existed another one as well—more interested in the nature and consequences of sexual behavior and attitudes explored through laboratory experiments or psychiatric case studies (Krafft-Ebing, Freud). In 1905, the Viennese physician Sigmund Freud published his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sex.* He described the "normal" development of human sexuality as well as the "deviations"; that is, behaviors that do not follow the norm. His approach to human sexuality was based on the doctrine of psychoanalysis— the examination of mind. Freud launched the theory that became influential, claiming that the sex drive undergoes through a process of "maturation," growing through oral, anal, and phallic phases toward reaching mature "genitality." About three decades later, Wilhelm Reich combined psychoanalysis and the philosophy of Karl Marx in his book *Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf* (the first version appeared in 1930, and was later rewritten in the United States as *The Sexual Revolution,* in 1936). Gradually, however, biological interests would prevail in Reich's work, resulting in 1942 in the publication of *The Function of the Orgasm,* in which he elaborated his theory of an "orgone energy." Reich proposed a four-stage model of the human sexual response: mechanical tension, bioelectric charge, bioelectric discharge, and mechanical relaxation. He founded a special orgone energy research institute.

The first decades of the 20th century testified also to the appearance of ethno-sexology, represented by the work of the Viennese ethnologist Friedrich Salomo Krauss who in 1904 began publishing his yearbook *Anthropophyteia,* which brought for the 9 years of its existence a wealth of folkloristic material about sex that Krauss had personally collected in the Balkans. Anthropological works that followed, such as Bronislaw Malinowski's study *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (1929) and later the work of Margaret Mead and others, offered further significant insights into various sexual practices characteristic of non-Western societies. In the same year Malinowski's book appeared, Katherine B. Davies published her massive study *Factors in the Sex Lives of Twenty-two Hundred Women,* revealing the data about masturbation before and after marriage, the use of contraceptives, and various aspects of sexual intercourse.

Modern Sex Research

Modern sex research appeared with the work of Alfred C. Kinsey, a zoologist at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, in the United States. Shortly after the end of World War II, Kinsey established the

Institute for Sex Research, where he continued his predominantly sociological studies of human sexual behavior begun in 1938. For defining a person's homosexual to heterosexual behavior, Kinsey created the scale from one to six. In 1948, he and his collaborators Wardell B. Pomeroy and Clyde E. Martin published their first major study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* which was followed 5 years later by *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Both studies were based on personal interviews conducted with more than 12,000 individuals from all over the United States. In the same year the first Kinsey study was published, the physician A. P. Pillay started in Bombay *The International Journal of Sexology,* which in 1950 published the groundbreaking article on female ejaculation by Ernst Gräfenberg, who called attention also to a female erogenous zone in connection with the paraurethral glands—the so-called Gräfenberg spot (G-spot). The following year saw the development of the first hormonal contraceptive, which became widely available at the beginning of the 1960s. Homosexual liberation organizations appeared, such as the first American gay liberation organization, the Mattachine Society (1951), and the first lesbian emancipation organization in the United States, called the Daughters of Bilitis (1957). The sexuality research was further conceptually enriched in 1953 when the physician Harry Benjamin, a friend of Hirschfeld's, introduced the term *transsexual,* distinguishing for the first time transsexuals from the transvestites. In 1966, he published the first book on the subject, entitled *The Transsexual Phenomenon.*

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir published her sociocultural and historical study *The Second Sex,* arguing for the end of discrimination of women. The book became a highly significant work of literature for feminist movement worldwide. Betty Friedan's work *The Feminine Mystique* followed in 1963, articulating a rebellion against the imposed traditional housewife role. The American medical psychologist John Money introduced important distinction between sex and gender (1955) that gave an important further impetus for the research of diverse aspects of human sexuality. Since the 1960s, there has been an enormous expansion of research into sex and gender, with an ever-growing number of publications.

The sexual revolution brought about a gradual improvement of political, legal, and social attitudes toward homosexuals. Yet, the American Psychiatric Association did not strike the diagnosis *homosexuality* from its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* until 1973. In the same year, the American sociological sex researchers John Gagnon and William Simon published their book *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality,* in which they dismissed the notion of a universal human "sex drive," stating instead that sexual behavior was culturally shaped, with patterns often contradictorily formed by social institutions, family, and peer groups.

A new behavioral sex therapy came into practice after the publication of *Human Sexual Inadequacy,* a study of sexual dysfunctions written by the American gynecologists William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson, the founders of the Reproductive Biology Research Foundation, which was renamed the Masters and Johnson Institute in 1978. In the same year, Fred Klein published *The Bisexual Option,* a groundbreaking psychological study of bisexuality, based on the so-called Klein Sexual Orientation Grid, a multidimensional system for describing complex sexual orientation that measured a number of vectors of sexual orientation and identity separately allowing for change over time. Two decades later, Klein established the American Institute for Bisexuality (AIB), to support further research and education about the subject.

The contemporary sex research has been mostly influenced by feminism as well as the appearance of AIDS/HIV in the 1980s. The last two decades of the 20th century witnessed the appearance of a great variety in the study of gender and sexuality: Feminist scholarship, cultural studies, developmental research, and postmodern psychoanalytic theory have all contributed to enlarging knowledge on various forms and aspects of sexuality. The study of homosexuality, bisexuality, and transsexuality/transgenderism, encompassed now under the umbrella term *queer studies,* became an established subject field in academia.

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See also Bisexuality; Homosexuality; Krafft-Ebing, Richard von; Transgender

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Sex-Radical Feminists

Sex-radical feminism refers to a specific branch of feminist thought that aims at theorizing and combating sexual oppression rather than oppression based solely on gender (as more traditional feminist factions have). In an effort to politicize sexuality, sex-radical feminists attempt to reclaim "outlaw" or counter/nonhegemonic sexualities as valid political, cultural, and sexual identities. By resisting criminalization, medicalization, and moral demonization of these "outlaw" sexual identities, sex-radical feminists actively and overtly challenge dominant cultural conceptions regarding so-called sexual minorities. Sex-radicals have engaged in debates regarding a variety of issues ranging from pornography, sex work, and non-"vanilla" or "kinky" sex practices including but not limited to cross-generational sex, multiple partner sex, bondage and discipline sadomasochism (BDSM), and public or anonymous sex to the construction, conceptualization, and performance of gender and sexuality. Sex-radical feminists have also been referred to as sex-positive feminists, anti-censorship feminists, or simply sex-radicals.

A discussion of sex-radical feminism is relevant to the study of gender and society because, in many ways, sex-radical thought has had a profound impact on how feminists engage with, theorize, and study expressions of human sexuality and gender. Additionally, sex-radicalism has provided scholars with useful frameworks for better understanding human sexuality. Finally, sex-radicalism renewed interest in the study of sexuality as a valid feminist (as well as academic) undertaking. This entry describes the beginnings of sex-radical feminism and its theoretical implications.

The Birth of Sex-Radicalism

By the late 1970s, definite feminist "positions" on issues such as pornography, sex work, and sadomasochism had been born. As conversations turned to heated debates, the issues of pornography and sex work became platforms upon which women voiced their viewpoints.

One group of feminists argued that porn, commercialized sex, and sadomasochism were forms of sexual violence against women. Yet as these feminists began lobbying for heightened governmental control and criminalization of sexually explicit materials and performances, more rigid anti-pornography laws targeting producers and distributors, and social scientific studies on the behavioral effects of viewing pornography, another group of feminists were mobilizing around issues such as women's sexual agency and empowerment, entitlement to sexual pleasure, and anti-censorship initiatives. The former were referred to as radical feminists, and the latter as sex-radical feminists.

Radical Feminists

Radical feminists argued (in varying degrees and with varying success) that pornography, penetration, BDSM, and commercialized sex practices were patriarchal, and that it would be impossible to know "true" female desire as long as women's sexuality was wedded to patriarchy.

Additionally, some argued that women's sexuality was inherently gentle, loving, sensual, and nonviolent, but men's sexuality was aggressive, genital, nonemotional, and lustful, thusly constructing gender as dichotomous and conflating gender identity with sexuality. More critically, prominent radical feminists argued that all heterosexual sex practices constituted institutionalized rape, and the oppression of women by men was due primarily to sexual and reproductive capabilities rather than the sexual division of labor.

Finally, pornography was theorized as the means by which all men commit violence against women. Pornography, they argued, informed all viewers that women were mere objects that could be beaten, abused, raped, and tortured at will, and any woman who participated in pornography (either the production or the consumption) did so either against her will or in anti-feminist collusion with men. In a theoretical move to further problematize sexuality under patriarchy, American feminists attempted to causally link violence against women to both pornography and sexualized depictions of women in the media.

Sex-Radical Feminists

Sex-radical feminists challenged radical feminism's assertion that, without exception, all sexual identities and practices were constituted vis-à-vis patriarchy. For sex-radical feminists, all sexual expression did not necessarily equate to exploitation, nor did all sex equate to violence, and hence, they questioned the usefulness of such an overarching analytic frame. Sex-radical feminism, then, grew out of a direct response to radical feminism's over-determined and rigid framework.

Compared with radical feminism, sex-radical feminism conceptualizes power as more diffuse. Rather than power residing in specific, solitary systems of oppression based on race, class, or gender, sex-radical feminists argue that power shifts over a variety of locations—across time and space. In other words, power is neither static nor tangible but, rather, is constructed and understood contextually. Although sex-radicals acknowledge the role of institutions in forming and regulating hegemonic beliefs regarding sexuality and gender, they also argue that power resides in the creation and interpretation of text, symbol, discourse, and meaning. By using both postmodernist and social constructionist perspectives, sex-radicals have argued, for instance, that there is no inherent meaning in the commodification of the sexual body. Rather, what is significant is the recognition of the ways in which sexual exchanges for payment are mediated, signified, and constructed differently in different discourses. For sex-radicals, contexts *as well as* bodies matter.

Sex-radicalism's conceptualization of sex closely mirrors that of queer theory in its focus on both gender identity and sexuality. Compared with radical feminists, sex-radicals are far more constructivist in their approach, elucidating not only the performative

and dramaturgical elements of gender identity, but also underscoring the importance of human interaction in meaning-making. Given this, it can be argued that sex-radicals conceptualize sex, gender, and sexuality in far less theoretically rigid ways than do radical feminists. Sexuality is not linked to biological drives but, rather, is a product of social forces. However, and most importantly, according to sex-radical feminists, individuals have the agency to choose to challenge and resist those societal pressures that would keep them on the "straight and narrow"—both sexually and politically. Sex-radicals acknowledge sex as a cultural tactic used to either destabilize or reinforce race, class, or gender-based inequalities. Sex-radicalism's emphasis on human sexual agency allows sex-radicals to theorize around radical feminism's overarching patriarchal system of sexual domination.

Sex-radical's framing and treatment of sexuality, then, differs greatly from that of radical feminists. First, sex-radicals move beyond the radical feminist analysis of gender oppression, and take up the issue of sexual oppression. Second, sex-radicals frame their analyses of both the feminist sex wars and sex work more generally within the contexts of sex-positivity. Sex-positive thought can be understood as an educational and advocacy-based feminist position that opposes censorship, supports the decriminalization of prostitution, and supports the rights of individuals who choose to engage in sex work, while emphasizing the existence of diverse experiences within the sex industry. Third, operating under the belief that sex itself is widely feared, denigrated, and medicalized in Western society, sex-radicals attempted to redress this issue by embracing sexual desire, and "reclaiming" sexuality (especially female sexuality) as a valid means of empowerment, liberation, and politicized expression. Finally, sex-radicals have worked to legitimate a variety of counterhegemonic, "outlaw" sexual practices and have fought to recast them as tactics of resistance to patriarchal oppression.

Theoretical Implications

For sex-radicals, the problem is not solely one of decriminalizing all forms of sex work or of legitimating socioculturally transgressive sexual practices but, rather, investigating and problematizing the larger social, cultural, and political milieu in which specific types of sexual practices and identities are devalued, medicalized, and criminalized. Further, sex-radical

feminism questions why pornography and prostitution have become central tropes in the feminist debates over the meaning of sexual desires, acts, and identities.

In attempting to address these issues, feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin wrote a compelling article entitled "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality." In "Thinking Sex," Rubin charged current feminist theory with being inadequate for theorizing human sexuality. She argued for the development of a radical theory of sexuality that considered the varied historical, cultural, and political specificities of people's lived experiences, as well as aided in combating the erotic injustices and sexual oppressions within them. For Rubin, all sex had a history, and that history was always political.

In "Thinking Sex," Rubin charted the evolution of the history of sex-negative thought in both the United States and England. Drawing comparisons between the contemporary conflicts over sex and those religious debates of centuries past, Rubin articulated that disputes over sexuality, like religion, were likely to function as vehicles for transferring greater social anxieties. "Thinking Sex" was also responsible for defining several key concepts later taken up by sex-radicals, including sex-negativity and sexual essentialism. Sex-negativity can be defined as the tendency in Western cultures to view sex with suspicion and moral condemnation, especially when it occurs outside of socially sanctioned bonds such as hetero-monogamous marriage. Sex is portrayed as a negative social force, one that all citizens of that nation-state (but especially minors and women) must be protected against. Sexual essentialism, on the other hand, refers to the idea that sex is an unchanging natural force, unmediated by social life and institutions.

Advocating for the abolition of sex-negative thought and legislation, Rubin incorporated political and legal theory into her argument by way of discussing current and historical sex laws and their relation to what she described as the "hierarchical system of sexual value." This system categorizes sexual behavior on a scale from "valued" to "despised," with married, reproductive heterosexuals on the top, and sex workers and individuals who engage in cross-generational sex at the bottom. By providing a detailed analysis of the ways in which laws targeted individuals deemed sexually "inappropriate," Rubin provided the framework for the articulation of erotic injustice and sexual oppression.

Rubin has been cited as one of the most influential scholars on current sex-radical feminism. By insisting that the politics of sexuality be pushed beyond the boundaries of radical feminism, she validated sex-radical concerns regarding issues of sexual pleasure, power, and agency. Additionally, never before had a branch of feminism so readily incorporated the voices and bodies of sex workers. By including sex work into her analysis, Rubin paved the way for the inclusion of sex worker perspectives into both sex-radical feminist theory and praxis.

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See also Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE); Patriarchy; Pornography, Legal and Political Perspectives; Postmodern Feminism; Queer Studies; Sex Work (Prostitution)

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SEX TOURISM

Sex tourism refers to sexual service industries catering to tourists. The development of the sex tourism industry is largely rooted in providing sexual services to military personnel during war. The availability of women for sexual use by American GIs during the Vietnam War is one of the most prominent examples. Since the wars in the mid to late 20th century, sex tourism has rapidly expanded. Today, Southeast Asian countries including Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines, India, and Sri Lanka are the most popular destinations for tourists traveling to foreign countries

to procure sexual encounters. However, because of more recent restrictions imposed on the sex tourism industry in these popular destination countries, an increasing number of sex tourists have looked to Latin American and South American countries such as Brazil, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Honduras, Costa Rica, Trinidad, and Tobago.

Additionally, some West African destinations, such as Gambia, have experienced increased demand for the sex tourism industry. Based on a recent estimate by the International Labor Organization, 1.39 million people are involved in forced commercial sexual exploitation, with children comprising 40 percent to 50 percent of that figure. Although estimates do not distinguish the number of people exploited by the sex tourism industry specifically, the sex tourism industry has a significant contribution to number of victims of commercial sexual exploitation, both by itself and through its influence on other forms of sexual exploitation. For instance, the widespread expansion of sex tourism has significantly contributed to the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and children worldwide. Because of sexually transmitted diseases, poor health, and aging, the demand for desirable individuals to provide sexual services to tourists is high, and thus recruiting individuals from other areas is relied on to keep up with the demand on the sex tourism industry.

Sex tourists are the patrons of the sex tourism industry. Sex tourists travel to foreign countries for the purposes of engaging in sexual encounters. Predominantly from developed, Westernized nations, such as Western Europe, North America, and Australia, sex tourist are typically males, but they come from a variety of backgrounds and income brackets. Often sex tourists are looking to escape the illegality of prostitution and sex with children in their own countries. Foreign women and children are also eroticized as exotic, subservient, and eager to please based on ideologies of race, gender, and sexuality.

The individuals that provide sexual services to travelers are most commonly male and female children, or young adult females. Conditions of extreme poverty, minimal education, and absence of social and economic opportunities make the sale sexual services one of few options for survival. In so many of these countries, a culture of materialism equates money with both status and power, and thus the need for financial resources for impoverished individuals is critical to both their physical and social livelihoods. Additionally, the cultural devaluation of

women, and in some cases children, even further restricts the already limited opportunity structure for those who end up working in the sex tourism industry. Family values centered on reciprocity and filial obligations in many of these countries leave individuals faced with few external opportunities and resources, but many internal responsibilities. Individuals embedded in a framework of extreme poverty, cultural devaluation of vulnerable populations, a lack of social and economic opportunities, and political instability are easily exploited to feed the growing sex tourism industry without having access or claim to any of the profits generated through their sexual labor.

One of the biggest challenges in responding to sex tourism is the need to disentangle the network of various political and economic factors that both promote and profit from the sex tourism industry. As a result of the implementation of Western growth strategies, globalization, the expansion of capitalist ideologies, and the increasing presence of multinational corporations, tourism is a widely adopted growth strategy for developing countries. In 2000, the United Nations World Tourism Organization identified tourism as the "single most important global economic activity." Indeed, as a result of international power imbalances and established imperialist relations, developing countries have found the service industry, and particularly the tourism industry, as an important source of economic growth and an avenue for participation in the global market. Based on a study conducted in 1998 by the International Labor Organization, between 2 percent and 14 percent of the gross domestic product of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand is generated by sex tourism. A study conducted on Thailand specifically found that prostitution made up the largest underground industry and accounted for 10 percent to 14 percent of the country's gross national product. In his examination of prostitution and sex work in Thailand, Kevin Bales found that a single brothel in Thailand produced a net monthly profit of US$88,000. Thus, sex tourism, as part of a larger system of commercial sexual exploitation, is an extremely lucrative industry. Although the causalities of the commercial sex industry, and the sex tourism industry in particular, are formally acknowledged by both international and domestic governing bodies, the substantial contribution of sex tourism to the economic growth of the country makes intervention an unappealing prospect. Even when the governments do impose measures to reduce sex tourism, the

enforcement of such policies is unlikely because of widespread police corruption in many countries.

Ultimately, the economic and political benefits in tandem with many cultural ideologies surrounding race, gender, and sexuality have prevented effective responses to sex tourism. Many nations, particularly those with long-standing problems with commercial sexual exploitations, are making more concerted efforts to address the social injustices stemming from sex tourism. For instance, Sri Lanka is attempting to increase awareness and impose more threatening prison sentences for sex tourists seeking sex with minors as a part of its two-year "zero tolerance" campaign. Efforts such as the "zero tolerance" campaign in Sri Lanka represent movement in the right direction; however, keeping in mind the larger structure supporting sex tourism is essential in understanding and addressing the problem. In addition to the complex interrelation of political and economic factors that shape the sex tourism industry's development and growth, as discussed earlier, cultural factors also play an important role in sex tourism. The sex tourism industry relies on the cultural assumption of male sexual entitlement as a part of a larger paternalistic framework. Through this lens, ideologies about race, gender, and sexuality further contribute to the way people understand the issue of sex tourism. Although changes in policy are critical to reducing the injustices rampant in the sex tourism industry, fundamental changes in cultural, political, and economic structures and beliefs are essential to produce lasting change in sex tourism practices.

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See also Comfort Women; Sex Work (Prostitution); Transnational Development, Women and

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Sex Toys

The uses of sex toys changed greatly during the 20th century. Sex toys were created, before the development of pharmaceuticals that addressed the same problems, to treat various sexual dysfunctions, such as erectile dysfunction in males and vaginal dysfunctions in females. Today, sex toys are widely marketed for individual sexual and private pleasurable practices. This entry will explore the historical origins of sex toys and their modern uses and describes the various sex toys available today.

Birth of Sex Toys

Sexology, the study of the naturalized state of human sexuality and desires, began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sexologists assert that sexuality is biologically driven and that there is a normalized type of sexual behaviors. Healthy, normal, sexual citizens were those who observed appropriate sexual desires and behaviors within the constraints of heterosexuality and institutions such as marriage. Sexologists uncovered the naturalness of desires that men have for women and women have for men. Furthermore, sexology claimed that sexuality is an integral part of human identities and that sexual needs are as natural as the need to clothe or feed oneself. Sexuality drives humans to be attracted to one another in an organized, patterned, and heterosexual manner.

Individuals who varied from "natural" sexual behaviors and normal, heterosexual desires were seen not as perverse but, instead, were declared as mentally ill by sexologists. Sexual deviants and types were created in opposition to naturalized ideals of heterosexuals and gendered sexual roles. Those who did not fit into these "healthy" categories were seen as in need of treatment to help restore them to their original and natural sexual states.

Women who did not fit into the subordinate, feminized sexual roles at the time were treated in various ways, including medications, shock therapies, and sex toys. Vibrators became a way to treat hypersexual women, in the hopes of lessoning their desires. Today, the sex toy industry aims to aid sexual pleasures. Although sex toys were originally created to address various male and female sexual dysfunctions, they are now widely used by both heterosexual and homosexual couples and are used by all sexes and genders. In some areas of

the United States, the sale of sex toys is regulated and, in rare cases, even banned. However, as with sodomy laws, sales of sex toys are rarely enforced, despite community pressures to keep pornography and sex toy shops away from residential areas.

Types of Sex Toys

Modern sex toys are typically made from silicone, which is nonporous and easy to clean. Toys that simulate skin are made from silicone and plastic, and are soft and lifelike. Referred to as jelly toys, rubber-based toys are porous and harder to clean. Latex toys are also used, but are also hard to clean thoroughly and can cause allergic reactions.

Clitoral Stimulators

Vibrators can resemble phalluses or rocket shapes (giving rise to the terminology "pocket rocket") and are used to stimulate the clitoris directly. They can be used internally and externally and have various shapes and sizes. Today, vibrators are widely accepted for both vaginal and anal stimulation and penetration. Vibrators can be made from hard plastic or soft silicone or jelly materials. They can also be waterproof.

Penile Enhancements and Stimulators

"Masturbators" are made to simulate vaginal and anal penetration. Cock rings are rubber rings that go around the base of a penis to provide extra stimulation and to prolong erections. Penis sleeves are designed to fit over the penis to provide extra feeling and stimulation to the person being penetrated, and can be used to increase girth. Penis extensions are hollow, dildo-shaped toys that fit on the end of the penis to extend length. Docking sleeves are devices such as masturbators that allow two penises to penetrate at once.

Vaginal Stimulators

Dildos are toys that are intended for vaginal and anal penetration. They can be made of any silicone or rubber material or are made of tempered glass to allow for freezing and heating. Dildos can be used in conjunction with strap-on harnesses to allow hands-free use. A variation on the traditional dildo is the double-ended dildo, which are extended dildos that have two ends to accommodate two partners. Ben Wa balls were intended to strengthen female Kegel muscles, but are now used to enhance orgasms for women who have difficulty in reaching internal orgasms.

Anal Toys

Butt plugs and anal beads are used for direct anal penetration. In men, they tickle the prostate, encouraging ejaculation. For women, they stimulate the dense nerve receptors located in the anus. Butt plugs are often smaller versions of dildos, less phallic, and are made of harder plastics. Anal beads are often connected by a string and are pushed up the anal canal to provide extra stimulus.

Apparatuses

Harnesses can be used with dildos or vibrators for the use of vaginal or anal penetration. Sex swings, fisting slings, and various cushions and pillows provide different positioning for intercourse. Bondage apparatuses include handcuffs, whips, blindfolds, masks, gags, and various nipple and penis clamps. Medical apparatuses in vaginal reconstructive surgery use dilators to create or sustain a vaginal cavity suitable for penetration.

Conclusion

In modern American society, sex toys have morphed from their medical beginnings to being a multibillion-dollar industry centered on sexual pleasures. Sex toys range from aiding in masturbation to enhancing intimate relations between sexual partners. Rather than being seen as treatments in sexual dysfunctions, sex toys are welcome additions to sexual relations across the nation.

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See also Cybersex; Hysteria; Masturbation; Penile Erectile Dysfunction; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream; Private/Public Spheres; Sexology and Sex Research

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SEXUAL ACTIVITY: AGE AT FIRST INTERCOURSE

First intercourse, or losing one's virginity, traditionally has meant engaging in vaginal-penile penetration. However, younger individuals are much more likely to view virginity loss as including a range of sexual activities, such as oral sex. Most scholarly research, including that presented here, defines "first intercourse" as the first-ever vaginal-penile penetration. Although engaging in intercourse tends to imply a heterosexual couple, it should not be confused with heterosexuality. Researchers have consistently found that most lesbian, bisexual, and gay adults have engaged in vaginal-penile intercourse at some point in their lives. Likewise, engaging in first intercourse is often not the same as first sexual activity. Many young people who have not engaged in intercourse have engaged in other genital sexual activities with a partner such as masturbation or oral sex. This entry discusses first sexual intercourse and its implications.

First Sexual Intercourse

Much media and scholarly attention has been devoted to the decreasing age of first sexual intercourse since the 1970s. Although the decline in age is well documented, there is less consensus regarding the causes of this decline. Explanations often include historical changes (such as the "1960s sexual revolution") and an increase in the age of first marriage because most young people do not wait until marriage to engage in first intercourse, as once commonly believed. Additionally, a decrease in parental supervision is often noted in accounting for teenagers' younger ages of first intercourse. With both parents frequently working outside the home, adolescents are less likely to be supervised, particularly in the after-school hours. Increases in the divorce rate and single-parenting also likely mean less supervision for adolescents and a greater likelihood that teenagers may be exposed to their parents' role-modeling in their own dating and sexual relationships.

The average age of first intercourse is between 15 and 18 years old. Robert Michael and his colleagues report that more than 80 percent of 20-year-olds in the United States have engaged in intercourse and that teenage sexual experiences tends to be episodic and less frequent compared with adult sexuality.

Race, ethnicity, social class, and gender are some of the more powerful factors that consistently differentiate early from later debuts of sexual intercourse. Studies consistently find African Americans engage in sexual intercourse at younger ages than do whites or Latinos, even when controlling for other factors. Persons from lower social classes are more likely to become sexually active at younger ages compared with individuals from higher income brackets. Regarding gender, males tend to report a younger age of first sexual intercourse than do females. Women are more likely to report they engaged in first sex to strengthen a relationship, but men are more likely to cite physical pleasure as the reason for engaging in first sex.

The first sexual intercourse typically occurs within a dating relationship and is described as a spontaneous event. An increasing number of adolescents use contraception, with the condom reported as the most common method at first intercourse. The Allan Guttmacher Institute reports that contraception use has doubled since the 1970s, with nearly 80 percent of adolescents in 2007 using contraception at the first intercourse.

Implications

Adolescent sexual behavior, especially for women, often carries a negative connotation. Researchers and policymakers often make the connection between a younger age of first sexual intercourse and increased risks of unwanted teen pregnancy rates, increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV/AIDS, ineffective sex education programs, and a harsher "reputation," especially to young women.

Research has found that persons who have sex at a younger age tend to have more nonvoluntary sex partners, to have more sex partners, to have more frequent intercourse, to be less likely to use effective contraception, and to be more likely to cite that they were too young to have sex. Many of these consequences are as a result of having more opportunities for risk-producing behaviors (such as more chances of unwanted pregnancy).

Because adolescent sexuality is often viewed as a negative health risk, policymakers have tried to use various strategies to delay teenagers' first sexual event. Tactics include relying on abstinence-based sex education programs or encouraging adolescents to sign virginity pledges. These pledges, or written vows to remain (or become) celibate often until marriage, offer the hope that young people will delay intercourse. However, researchers have found that most young people do not keep their virginity pledges. Teens often misreport their sexual history, or deny ever pledging their virginity.

A later age of first sexual intercourse is correlated with women indicating that they wanted the sex to occur. About one quarter of women report that their first intercourse was voluntary, but not wanted. Wanting to engage in first intercourse is significant for quality of life factors; the meaning of sexuality in U.S. society is that it is a pleasurable event, rather than a chore, that people choose to engage in. Additionally, women who are more likely to want the first sexual intercourse to take place are more likely to report using contraception.

Conclusion

Engaging in first sexual intercourse marks an important life experience for most youths. It is an event that most will remember throughout their lives, for good or bad. Examining the age of first intercourse provides insights into how it affects other behaviors and risks. However, examining the context of first intercourse can also influence future relationships. Later sexual experiences and future relationships may be seriously influenced by first sexual experiences.

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See also Heterosexuality; Homosexuality; Sex Education; Teen Pregnancy; Virginity

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SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment refers to unwanted sexual attention that occurs at work or in school. Specific behaviors that may qualify as sexual harassment include unwanted touching or sexual advances, invasion of one's personal space, offensive sexual joking or other remarks, and the display of offensive sexual materials such as posters or calendars. Although sexual harassment may occur in settings outside school or work, legal and scholarly definitions of the term typically refer to one or both of these domains. Sexual harassment is relevant to the topic of gender and society because its manifestation demonstrates that gender is a social category that shapes the structure of everyday lives. Women and men are valued differently in U.S. society, as are masculinity and femininity, and sexual harassment is one way that such value differences are expressed and made visible.

Sexual harassment also highlights the ways that heteronormative masculine expressions of gender are privileged over all other expressions of gender. Although both men and women may be victims as well as perpetrators of sexual harassment, those who do not adhere to mainstream norms of masculinity, either because they are not male or because they do not (or choose not to) adhere to such norms, may be at greatest risk for experiencing sexual harassment. Mainstream expectations about masculine behavior may help explain why male victims are often reluctant to report inappropriate behavior or label such actions as sexual harassment. At its core, sexual harassment is a gendered expression of power through which those in dominant positions wield their power over others through sexual intimidation tactics.

This entry describes legal and scholarly definitions of sexual harassment in the workplace, outlining the historical development of sexual harassment law in the United States, and presents information on the prevalence of workplace sexual harassment. Each of the two legally recognized types of sexual harassment is also described. Then, this entry presents definitions of and policies regarding sexual harassment in schools, along with discussion about the prevalence of school-based sexual harassment.

Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Workplace sexual harassment has received a great deal of attention in popular culture, scholarly discourse, and the law. As the second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s took shape, activists and scholars brought into public view what many knew privately but did not discuss: Some workplaces were fraught with problematic sexualized interactions shaped by a dominant gender ideology in which men asserted and maintained sexual and other dominance over their women colleagues. These kinds of workplace interactions were labeled sexual harassment. Subsequent scholarly work, together with key legal cases, helped push the issue further into public view and place it on the political and legal agenda. Perhaps most notably, the confirmation hearings of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas in the early 1990s brought national attention to the social problem of workplace sexual harassment. In her testimony during the hearings, Professor Anita Hill reported that Thomas had subjected her to severe and pervasive sexual joking and explicit talk of pornographic films and sex acts after she had refused his advances while working for him at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

As attention to workplace sexual harassment has increased, so too has the recognition that workplace sexual harassment is a gendered expression of power to which a range of individuals, including women and men of all ages, may be subjected. Though most sexual harassment targets are women, recent research shows that men may also experience nontrivial rates of workplace sexual harassment. Men file 15 percent of sexual harassment claims made to the U.S. EEOC. Though reported prevalence rates vary widely across studies, some find that as many as 70 percent of women and 45 percent of men have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace. Yet even with increasing numbers of complaints by male victims, sexual harassment is best conceived as a gendered phenomenon.

Sexual harassment is gendered in that it privileges a particular construction and expression of gender. Individuals who do not adhere to our culture's dominant, heteronormative vision of masculinity may be most likely to be targeted, whereas those who perpetrate sexual harassment, usually men, do so within a culture that views such violence as a normal part of "being a man." By virtue of their sex, women are automatically placed into the category of potential targets because the possibility of expressing themselves as normative heterosexual males is simply not an option. Many men also do not adhere to the privileged model of heteronormative masculinity. This may be the case because they choose not to behave in ways that are considered normatively masculine or because their sexual identity or other characteristics do not conform to expected forms of masculinity. For example, in the 1997 case of *Doe v. Belleville,* a federal appellate court considered the case of a young man who was physically harassed and threatened with sexual assault by his male coworkers because he did not behave, dress, or carry himself in a way that conformed to his coworkers' view of appropriate masculine behavior.

In the United States, workplace sexual harassment is considered a form of employment discrimination. Though not initially included as part of Title VII, the sex discrimination portion of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress eventually amended Title VII to include sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination. The EEOC has also adopted regulations on sexual harassment. Most notably, the development of sexual harassment law in the United States has been shaped by federal courts that, from the 1970s on, reviewed an increasing number of sexual harassment cases. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court first recognized sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination under Title VII in the case of *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson.* In this landmark case, Michelle Vinson sued her employer, Sidney Taylor, vice president of Meritor Savings Bank, for sexual harassment after he repeatedly forced her to perform sexual favors and engage in other nonconsensual sexual relations. Most recently, the United States came to legally recognize sexual harassment in same-sex cases. In the 1998 U.S. Supreme Court case *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services,* Joseph Oncale testified to numerous sexual humiliations, attacks, and threats of rape by his male coworkers.

Today, the courts recognize two categories of sexual harassment: quid pro quo and hostile work environment. The phrase *quid pro quo* is taken from the Latin phrase meaning "something for something." The courts also recognize hostile work environment sexual harassment as a separate but related form of workplace sex discrimination. Each of these forms of sexual harassment is described in more detail.

Quid Pro Quo

In the case of quid pro quo sexual harassment, sexual demands are made, or threatened to become, a condition

of employment or a basis for employment decisions. For example, a manager who promises a subordinate a promotion in exchange for sex has committed quid pro quo sexual harassment. Likewise, an employer who threatens to fire someone unless a sexual demand is met has also committed this form of sexual harassment. To make a quid pro quo harassment claim, victims are usually expected to show that the sexual behavior to which they were subject or threatened was unwelcome and made the basis for some employment-related decision. Quid pro quo harassment first drew activists' and the public's attention to the problem of sexual harassment, but it is not the most common type of sexual harassment.

Hostile Work Environment

Most sexual harassment complaints fall under the category of hostile work environment harassment. This form of sexual harassment occurs when sexual conduct or materials in the workplace unreasonably interfere with a person's ability to perform her or his job or, at the least, when such conduct creates a hostile, intimidating, or offensive working environment. For example, an employee who is regularly forced to view pornographic, sexually explicit, or sexually degrading images in the workplace against her or his will may be experiencing hostile work environment harassment. Hostile work environment harassment may also be experienced by an employee whose coworkers subject her or him to ongoing sexual taunts, joking, or other lewd remarks.

To qualify as hostile work environment harassment, a pattern of unwelcome sexual conduct must typically be shown. For this reason, one-time incidents that may be the result of confusion or misunderstanding are usually not considered instances of hostile work environment harassment. In rare cases, a single incident may qualify as hostile work environment harassment if the event is particularly severe. This exception usually applies when physical sexual harassment such as unwanted sexual touching or groping has occurred.

Sexual Harassment in Schools

As in the workplace, multiple forms of sexual harassment also exist in schools. Within the school setting, quid pro quo sexual harassment occurs when students are coerced into engaging in sexual conduct in exchange for receiving a certain grade or participating in school activities. More typically, sexual harassment in schools occurs when the behavior of an individual or group within the school creates a hostile or intimidating environment for one or more students. Such an environment prevents victims from having equal access to education. Today, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 protects students in educational programs and activities that receive federal funding from sex discrimination. Title IX was designed to ensure that male and female students would have equal access to educational opportunities and be protected from sexual harassment. Before the implementation of Title IX, female students were overtly discriminated against in coursework, scholarships, and access to higher education. Since the statute was mandated, the amount of funding and other opportunities for female education and extracurricular activities, including athletics and various student organizations, has increased dramatically. Female representation in traditionally male-dominated fields of study, such as math, engineering, and biology, has increased because of more conscious efforts to encourage female students and implement gender-neutral curriculum. Not all Title IX intended effects have been realized, however.

Despite regulation intended to eliminate sexual harassment in schools, the phenomenon still appears to be common in schools today. The 1992 Supreme Court case of *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools* led to public exposure of sexual harassment in schools. By appealing a previous district court ruling, it was determined that the plaintiff was entitled to monetary damages under Title IX even though the perpetrator, a teacher at the school, had resigned. The Supreme Court decision resulted in widespread reconsideration of sexual harassment policies in educational institutions, as well as a dramatic increase in the number of sexual harassment cases filed in court.

Reports by the American Association for University Women Education Foundation (AAUWEF) found that four of every five public school students in Grades 8 through 11 and nearly two thirds of college students say they have been sexually harassed. Of those who were harassed in college, more than one third said the victimization occurred in their first year. In middle and high school, girls are slightly more likely than boys to be sexually harassed, and high school girls are twice as like as boys to fear being sexually harassed. In college, women and men are equally likely to experience sexual harassment. Even though males and females

experience similar rates of sexual harassment in schools, they face different forms of harassment and they respond differently to harassment. For example, male and female students are both most commonly exposed to nonphysical sexual harassment in schools but the type of nonphysical harassment they experience varies by gender. In college, women are more likely than men to experience sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks. Men, on the other hand, experience higher rates of homophobic name-calling than women do. At both the high school and college level, female students are more likely than male students to feel embarrassed, self-conscious, and insecure as a result of sexual harassment. Boys are three times more likely than girls to label their sexual harassment experience as not upsetting at all.

As in the workplace, whatever the gender of the victim, harassers are more often male, though some female students also admit to sexually harassing their peers. The most common reason cited by both male and female harassers for their behavior is that sexual harassment is not a big deal, or it's just a natural part of the school environment. Harassers are much more likely to be students, though sexual harassment perpetuated by teachers or administrators does occur. In both the 1994 case of *Doe v. Petaluma City School District* and the 1999 case of *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education,* the courts determined that schools can be found liable for monetary compensation for student-on-student sexual harassment if it is shown that school officials were aware of the harassment yet failed to take appropriate action to end the mistreatment.

Individuals who do not adhere as strictly to rigid gender norms may be at greater risk for experiencing sexual harassment in schools, as they are in the workplace. In schools, students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender are more likely than are their heterosexual peers to be harassed. According to recent studies, levels of sexual harassment also vary by race and ethnicity with black and Hispanic students less likely to report having been harassed compared with white students. In any case of school-based sexual harassment, such treatment undermines students' opportunities to learn and is likely to have an impact even beyond a student's years in school.

Conclusion

Those who experience sexual harassment are often reluctant to report the harassment because of fear of job loss, retaliation, or stigmatization. In many cases, the harasser is in a position of power over the victim, making reporting potentially even more difficult. Although sexual harassment may be culturally or popularly represented as a misunderstanding or overreaction, research shows that it is a powerful tactic used by some individuals to exert gendered power over others through sexual intimidation tactics. Sexual harassment has serious consequences culturally and for individuals and organizations. Most scholarly research on sexual harassment focuses on harassment that takes place in the workplace or in schools. Sexual harassment in either environment can take shape in one of two forms: quid pro quo sexual harassment, which refers to employment consideration or decisions in exchange for sexual favors, or hostile work environment sexual harassment, the presence of explicit material or sexual behaviors that make a work environment uncomfortable or intolerable.

The cost of sexual harassment in settlements and lost productivity for businesses, schools, and the government is extraordinarily high. In addition, perpetrators may face punishments of job loss or monetary compensation. Sexual harassment can also result in severe emotional distress or financial loss by a victim. Those who are subject to sexual harassment may experience depression, anger, feelings of self-doubt, decreased school or work performance, or even career loss. Given estimates that a large proportion of incidences of sexual harassment go unreported, the current outlook is especially grim. At the same time, the increase in legal protections for victims of sexual harassment and the prevalence of sexual harassment policies within workplaces and schools indicate that the climate for victims may be improving. Nevertheless, many gender scholars warn that until women and men, and all expressions of gender, are valued equally in all realms of society including the workplace and schools, sexual harassment and other forms of gendered violence will continue to occur.

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See also Affirmative Action; Education: Gender Differences; Gender Discrimination in Employment; Hegemonic Masculinity; Hostile Work Environment; Rape; Sexism; Title IX

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Sexual Identities and Socialization

The term *sexual identity* has a long and varied history in the study of gender and society. Psychologists and, eventually, sexologists, used the term to describe individuals' sex characteristics—the biological body, female or male, with which individuals identify. Sexologists in particular have researched the different processes by which individuals form their sexual identity. In this sense, sexual identity addresses the inner psychological state of male or female of individuals. Today, *sexual identity* primarily refers to sexual orientation, either "gay" (homosexual), "bi" (bisexual) or "straight" (heterosexual). Researchers often examine sexual identity in correlation with gender identity, which addresses the social regulation of sexes based on assigning roles to each gender through assumptions of the natural, innate abilities or differences within one sex or the other (such as femininity in women and masculinity in men). Sexual identity, however, works outside of gender identities (but sometimes in conjunction with gender issues).

Sexual identities in the United States and abroad are increasingly of concern in public political debate. Some Western European nations, including Spain and the United Kingdom, have begun legalizing same-sex marriages and unions for the first time in contemporary society. The civil rights issues of same-sex couples have received increasing media coverage, as more and more political and celebrity figures divulge their same-sex partnerships. Political debates about sexual identity in contemporary society make it especially important to understand the historical contexts of sexual identities, how views on sexual identity in contemporary cultural contexts are changing, and why these changes are happening now. This entry includes an examination of sexual identity in the United States, various approaches to studying sexual identity, and contemporary theoretical and political debates surrounding sexual identity.

Heteronormativity and Compulsory Heterosexuality

Modern theorists argue that U.S. definitions of sexual identities operate within a binary system that consists of homosexuals/bisexuals and heterosexuals. The naturalness of masculinity/femininity in male/female relationships is an assumed part of individual sexual identities. This naturalization of gender binaries, called heteronormativity, is the foundation of sexual identities in society. Heteronormative definitions of sexuality shape social institutions. This binary system assumes that desire, behavior, and identity are the same and that sexual desires and behaviors match up with overall sexual identity categories. For example, masculine men desire and have sex with feminine women, and feminine women who have sex with men are heterosexual. Identities that stray from the

gendered ordering of sexual identities are known socially as homosexual.

Historically, the stated rationale behind heterosexuality has been the successful operation of required reproduction, because women could not reproduce without men, the most suitable relationships were considered to be between men and women. The institution of marriage furthered the goal of controlling individual sexualities by providing a way for governments to motivate couples to reproduce and build worker populations that would drive national economies and help secure economic competitiveness. Many have attributed a biological basis to heterosexuality and the commonsense rationale of female/male partnerships: Sexuality is natural; everyone has a need to reproduce. This assumed "natural" heterosexuality and its accompanying institutions have been a unifying force behind building heterosexual identities.

However, many social scientists and theorists have questioned this naturalness, arguing that the cultural norms governing heterosexuality have changed greatly over time. This change suggests that, rather than being a biological drive that is inherent in the human populations, sexual identity is more intricately and socially produced. Furthermore, scholars argue that heterosexuality has become compulsory in U.S. society. Individuals are socially compelled to adhere to the norms that govern heterosexuality, so they continually reproduce heterosexual expectations through their representations of their inner sexual identity. This compulsion drives the assumptions of heterosexuality in U.S. society. All people are assumed to be heterosexual until they "come out of the closet" and disclose their identity to be outside heterosexual expectations. Feminist and sociological scholars have looked into the functions of compulsory heterosexuality as producing the continual marginalization and oppression of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) communities.

Studies done on intimate sexual behaviors, personal identifications of sexuality (homosexual, bisexual, or heterosexual), and sexual desires have shown sexual identity to be more complex than individual assertions of identity might suggest. Even though people may define themselves as heterosexual, they may have had same-sex relationships or intimacies in the past. Likewise, individuals who may sleep with the other sex can have erotic fantasies about people of the same sex. This has led to the development of the social constructionist approach to sexual identities. Some social construction theories assert that sexual identities are unique products of specific historical and cultural moments that are themselves continually changing.

Social Construction and Sexual Identity

In sociology, the explanation of how sexuality and gender become culturally defined is called social construction theory. Social construction theory addresses the reciprocal relationship between individuals and the social environments in which they live. In the case of sexuality, people continually form their sexual identities within the specific cultural definitions of their environment. Currently, social constructionism is widely recognized in academia as fundamental to individual sexual identities. In U.S. society, the binary definitions of sexuality limit the fluidity of sexualities by recognizing only those behaviors that fall within heterosexual or homosexual definitions and gendered desires. Any relationship that is not heterosexual (opposite sexed and monogamous) belongs to the category of homosexual. Rather than being an identity by itself, homosexuality has become a label that adheres to any sexual behaviors that fall outside of the normative definitions of heterosexuality, including bondage, sadomasochism, and polyamorous communities.

Within studies of sexuality, there remains a division in how the social construction theory applies to sexual identity. Many theorists (including some sexologists and psychologists) have asserted that all individuals are born with innate, biological, and natural sexualities. Heterosexuality becomes the dominant sexual category because it is based on physical drives to procreate. However, these naturalized sexualities are socially constructed by the culturally distinct norms that govern their practices. For example, social norms determine which sexual acts are appropriate for heterosexuals, and which are appropriate for homosexuals and bisexuals. Sodomy laws, aimed at regulating and controlling homosexual behaviors, reflect and enforce these constructed norms. Similarly, late 19th- and early 20th-centuries laws that deemed nonheterosexual cohabitation illegal (and therefore deviant) similarly participate in this construction. Race, ethnicity, and age are also at issue in notions of appropriate sexual identities. These norms are enforced through formal and informal sanctions. For example, in the early 20th century, black and white women and men were not able to legally wed. Sodomy laws also regulated what sexual acts were legitimate and suitable to partake in.

Moral issues and religious beliefs have shaped informal controls and constructions of sexual identities. Sexual identities are inextricably linked moral parts of individuals. Heterosexuals are validated in U.S. society as being wholesome, natural, and integral to a moral society with strict and necessary limitations on sexual behaviors. Homosexuals and bisexuals continue to be viewed in the larger society as immoral. Michel Foucault argues that historically, these changing norms have produced both internal and external sanctions for individuals to mold their own sexual identities to the acceptable moral models that have been presented by societies and academia as natural.

Modern theorists have worked against this initial social constructionist view of sexual identity, questioning the presumed natural state of sexuality. Queer theorists in particular have asserted that there are no natural gender or sexual identities. These theorists argue that individuals are not born with predetermined sexual preferences or gendered selves. Rather, humans have an endless potential for experiencing sexual pleasure and attraction. Sexual identities are formed in social interactions, where individuals learn what constitutes their sexuality and how sexual experiences are bounded. Through these interactions, people learn what is sexual and sensual; they also learn to attach moral meanings to sexual behaviors and practices. Individuals become pressured to conform to categories that have specific meanings rather than viewing sexuality as part of a fluid human experience. Sexuality, in this sense, is not part of individual identities at all but, rather, involves individual pleasurable experiences that do not imply morality on individual characters.

Sexuality has socially been linked to identity through social construction. Today, and throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries, sexual identities are portrayed as revealing an inner truth about individuals based on their sexual identity of homosexuality or heterosexuality. Much as gender has been argued to attach expected behaviors and types (feminine and masculine) to women and men respectively, sexuality has become used as an indicator of femininity and masculinity in women and men. Bisexuality has been viewed as being indecisive and sexually confused, whereas homosexuals are stereotyped as masculine women (in the case of butch identities) and feminine men (such as "sissy boys"). The deconstruction of sexual identities has disproved these stereotypical associations and asserts that sexual desires and behaviors fail

to suggest anything about individual identities. What follows is a presentation of different theoretical frameworks for understanding the role of gender and sexual identities in society, and the different role heteronormativity and compulsory heterosexuality has been theorized to play in the formation of sexual identity.

Gender and Sexuality

Feminist and queer theorists have long examined the relationship between sexuality and gender. For both theoretical frameworks, gender and sexuality are politicized and policed by the larger U.S. culture. The naturalness of the masculinity/femininity, male/female binaries is an assumed part of U.S. culture. This naturalization of gender binaries, or heteronormativity, is at the foundation of society and has come to shape expectations of individual behavior. One of the difficulties for queer and feminist theory has been effectively fighting heteronormative discourses to make spaces for new identities that can operate outside female/male binaries.

Some theorists have asserted that gender binaries continue to be pervasive in definitions of sexual identities because compulsory heterosexuality has been able to continually reproduce male/female binaries despite changing cultural normative sexual behaviors. This idea has been a common thread among gender and sexuality theorists. Gender and sexuality are argued as being highly regulated through the biased lens of compulsory heterosexuality, where social institutions present a rigid set of expected behaviors and appropriate roles for women/men and homosexuals/heterosexuals. However, there are variations among feminists and queer theorists about the relationship between sex, sexuality, and gender, and the usefulness of each category in challenging the status quo of sexual identity in contemporary society.

Feminist Perspectives

Monique Wittig, a French feminist, condensed gender into the category of sex (gender as referring to the social meanings of being female and male; that is, masculine behaviors are the gender of men, and feminine behaviors are attached to the gender of women). Sex is argued to function as an ordered language, where male and a naturalized hierarchy of difference orders female social roles. These oppositional sex categories become the basis of a relationship for the oppressed (women) and the oppressors (men). Sex

becomes politicized by its ability to socially define dominant society as heterosexual. Many feminists conceptualize sex as a by-product of compulsory heterosexuality. Furthermore, their associations in the domestic realm define women by the assumption of being caregivers based on biological reasoning.

Stevi Jackson, a materialist feminist, went further to make distinctions between gender and sexuality. Materialist feminism argues that heteronormativity has become a way of life in contemporary culture. Gender and sexuality are governed by normative compulsory heterosexuality. These normative expectations are interwoven with the institutionalization and evolving meaning, practices, and accepted roles within heterosexuality. In this argument, cultural distinctions between men and women are at the core of differentiating gender. Gender is bounded by roles, yet becomes experientially different in the social division among class, race, and ethnicities. Sex, then, refers to sexuality and the realm of eroticism; its fluidity becomes limited by what is socially defined as acceptable. It is theorized that sexuality exists within social life, but it is not bounded by binary distinctions of gender. The role of compulsory heterosexuality is in orienting meanings of sexuality. Although it does structure social roles, compulsory heterosexuality is involved in the formation of the self. Heteronormativity attaches meanings to different sexual identities and stigmatizes individuals to create socially deviant sexual identities.

One of the critiques to these feminist perspectives has been that they assume gender identities to be fixed within society and that they fix gender categories not in historical frameworks, but in preexisting biological differentiations. However, feminists have continually argued the importance of studying and understanding sexuality outside the regulating powers of gender. Eve Sedgwick, for example, has theorized that reducing sexuality to gender is dangerous because sexuality, although regulated by gender norms, varies within personal experiences. Other feminist scholars argue that sexual identity is culturally based on genitalia. It has further been asserted that sexuality in society is unique because of the myriad experiences of sexuality within gendered constraints

U.S. culture, in particular, has had a pervasive definition of sexualities based on the gender of object-choice; heterosexual women desire and have intimate relations with men, bisexual women desire and have intimate relations with women and men, and homosexual women desire and have intimate relations with women. Feminist scholars have sought, with different reasoning, to challenge this cookie-cutter image through the renegotiation of gender in ways that it becomes less reinforcing of heteronormativity. Feminist examinations of the role of gender in sexual identities have put forth the idea that nonnormative sexual identities can be used to deconstruct cultural definitions of gender by creating new ways to experience gender relations through intimate practices.

Queer Theory Perspective

In stark contrast to feminist theories of gender, sexuality, and identity, queer theorists have moved from local, physical distinctions of gender binaries to thinking about social constructions of differences and markings of human types through discourses. Queer theorists have sought to explain the dissonances in sexual identities, desires, and behaviors through the performative aspects of gender norms. Judith Butler argues that if key practices define people as homosexual or heterosexual, then there must be key practices that become primary indicators of sexuality. Coming out, for example, proclaims the dominant sexual attraction to people of the same sex. Even though there may be discrepancies between sexual acts and sexual identification, the practices that are repeated the most categorize individuals as homosexual or heterosexual.

Queer theory understanding of identities based on repetitive practices point to the diversity in sexual experiences despite the usage of rigid binary sexual categories. Primary practices, such as gender preference, become the basis for sexual identification. Other theorists in this field have sought to examine the alignments between sexual identity and gender identity. They argue that compulsory heterosexuality creates gendered social and cultural practices through social coercion. That is, by adhering to normative expectations of gender and sexual practices, people are allowed access to social and political privileges (such as marriage and certain social, economic, and political advantages that are denied to homosexuals and bisexuals by discrimination). Compulsory heterosexuality is argued to assign and create individual gendered and sexual identities by enforcing and pressuring individuals to partake in repeated, normalized gender acts that are recognized as legitimate in U.S. society.

Gender and sexuality are separate identities, but the cultural coding of behaviors as female or male leads

sexuality to be closely linked with gender because different genders are expected to have different sexual roles. This is evidenced by the dissonances in sexual identities. Queer theorists who utilize performative arguments of sexuality and gender assert that such slippages deconstruct the natural assumptions of sexuality with the argument that if gender and sexual categories were natural, there would be no need for individuals to partake in the repeated practices that mark individuals as innately heterosexual or homosexual.

Riki Wilchins has also deconstructed feminist definitions of gender, sex, and sexual identity. Genderqueer theorists have examined how gender is interrelated to both sex and sexuality and theorized that normative (or expected) behaviors of women and men define and oppress individuals who fall outside these social norms (such as masculine women and homosexual men). The specifically coded practices of gender are behind individual sexual identities of homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual. Gender behaviors are an integral part of the aesthetics and eroticism behind intimate relations. Perceived femininity, masculinity, or androgyny (individuals who are not identifiable as completely female/male or feminine/masculine) is argued to provide the erotic basis for individual desires. Individuals become attracted to one another based on the femininity/masculinity, or combination of these associated characteristics (androgyny). Sexuality, in these theories, becomes inextricable from gender, both regarding attraction and in the actual categorization of sexual identities on the basis of gender.

Other theorists have explored the role of femininity and masculinity in sexual identities. Judith Halberstam explores expressions of masculinity outside of the male body and argues in part for a sexual discourse that addresses the myriad of acts that have come to make up genderqueer identities. Theories that explore sexual identity from the standpoint of masculinities and femininities assert that the discrepancies between intimate desires, behaviors, and self-identification based on gender preference hide and silence the fluidity of individual sexuality on the basis of naturalizing masculine associations with only men, and feminine associations with only women. This argument is focused on the standpoint that once recognized and legitimated (instead of being medicalized and deviated by social and medical institutions), identities that function between masculine and feminine can create new spaces for sexual practices and identities. Sexual identities that

encompasses both master traits of femininity and masculinity (such as the "stone butch") have been pointed to as a way to function outside heteronormative discourses of gender binaries and to open sexual identities to new expressions and experiences that do not depend on binary definitions of gender or sexual identity.

Gender Experience in Sexual Identity

Other queer theorists have examined the different ways lesbians and gay men have come to explain their sexual identities. Vera Whisman found that there were three separate rationales for the basis of homosexuality among men and women. The rationales included homosexuality as a choice, homosexuality as a natural born condition, and narratives that were mixed between the two. Biological explanations for homosexuality were found predominately among men, and acted to legitimize homosexuality by accounting for same-sex desires as a naturalized condition. In U.S. society, there are several different accounts of homosexuality. For example, some argue that homosexuality is based in biology, and that people are born heterosexual or homosexual. These views are called determinative explanations of sexuality. Others, including psychologists, have asserted that outside factors and life experiences shape sexual identities by affecting individual attraction. Some psychologists argue that people who have negative associations with men may be more likely to be attracted to women. Queer theorists argue that there are no natural genders or sexualities. Instead, individuals become pressured to adhere to being heterosexual and ascribe to their particular genders by social coercions and societal expectations. Feminists point toward the role of heteronormative society (and its repetition through compulsory heterosexuality) in creating these categories that have become marginalizing factors to women and homosexuals.

Experiences in sexual identity vary among racial, class, and gendered lines. A common thread is that individuals are forced to legitimize their sexuality by conforming to social ideals of natural sexual identities. Still, different gendered sexual experiences have led feminist scholars to hypothesize that homosexual/bisexual women face added marginalization on the basis of their gender, which defines their sexuality as deviant and underscores their subordinate status to men. Women are argued to experience more fluidity in their sexuality than men do. Some claim that this

research indicates that female homosexuality is in some ways less threatening and more acceptable than male homosexuality is. This has been supported by assertions that male homosexuality is more threatening to concepts of masculinity than female homosexuality is to concepts of femininity.

This has led to the theories that the increased discontinuity in sexual experiences by women further marginalizes and negates the legitimacy of same-sex female relationships. The loss of legitimacy in female same-sex relationships has forced many homosexual women to name their desires (for other women) to be considered "real lesbians" at all (as opposed to openly exploring different attractions). Others have argued that female homosexuality bypasses patriarchal control entirely by its nonreliance on men. For some theorists, same-sex relationships among women have become the ultimate form of feminist ideals and virtues. Still, other academics see the flexibility of lesbian identities as indicating that women have more control over their sexual experiences because they are socially based on desires rather than on biological attributes.

Male homosexuals often experience more violence and severe reactions from same-sex relationships. Although collectively, individuals in same-sex relationship experience more risk of violence, suicide, and drug and alcohol abuse from the marginality of their position in society, men face increased stereotypes of being less masculine based on their attraction to other men. This has created additional barriers for homosexual and bisexual men to be accepted in society. Related is the increased rate of men to explain their same-sex attraction as biological, and therefore not as a choice. Added social pressures on men have created different explanations by men for their homosexuality/bisexuality.

Just as experiences among women and men differ, two particularly oppressed communities, racial minorities and gender-variant community members have faced added increases in violent behaviors and stigmatization based on their sexual identities. Different racial communities have faced different stereotypical sexual traits such as increased libidos, "size," and bestial depictions of sexual identities. In early films, black women were portrayed as being loose and sexually manipulative, but men were portrayed as having sexual prowess. These stereotypes have made it harder for the queer racial communities to gain recognition within the queer and heterosexual community and gain equal access to civil rights.

Similarly, the gender-variant community has faced increased difficulties in the acceptance of sexual identities. At first, some sociological and gender theorists argued that transgender individuals reinforced normative sexualities by continuing to observe heterosexual expectations after reassigning gender identities. However, today, it is widely recognized that the gender-variant community has a myriad of sexual identities and experiences. Just because an individual changes gender and sex identity from male to female (MTF) does not ensure that individual will only be attracted to men, just as female to males (FTM) do not necessarily have relations only with other women.

Contemporary sexuality and gender theorists have hopes that sexuality identity will eventually be socially defined by unique individual experiences, desires, and practices, rather than by gender makeup of relationships. Some argue that by focusing on sexual acts and varying desires, sexual identities will be seen as less rigid, and therefore more encompassing and welcoming of varying expressions. This, in turn, works against strict binary definitions that oppress and marginalize homosexual and bisexual communities. Many stress the need for social and legal recognition of the plurality of sexual experiences and lifestyles, so that no sexual identity is more right or wrong than another in the eyes of state and federal laws. Many have called for additional studies into the slippages in desires, pleasures, sexual acts, and self-identifications to unmask the role that social discourses of sexuality have in regulating sexualities on an individual basis.

Sexual Identity and Politics

Opposition to homosexuals and bisexuals in modern society has stemmed from religious arguments of the immorality of same-sex relationships. As mentioned earlier, this view uses the natural role of heterosexuality for reproductive purposes. This argument has become widely politicized in the current cultural debates of same-sex marriages. In 2001, the Netherlands was the first country to legalize same-sex marriages, with Belgium (2003), Spain and Canada (2005), and South Africa (2006) soon following. As of 2008, Massachusetts and California were the only two states in the United States to perform legalized same-sex marriages. Three other states have civil unions: Vermont, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

Although civil unions have been proclaimed by many to be a step toward sexual identity equality,

LGBT political organizations in the United States have pointed to civil unions as affording a second-class citizenship to same-sex partnerships by denying full and equal rights that heterosexuals have. More than being seen as providing rewards for being heterosexual, marriage has been argued by religious institutions to maintain its sanctity only between women and men, despite the various religious affiliations that fully support same-sex marriage. Supporters of same-sex marriage argue that marriage goes beyond religious affiliations and is an institution recognized outside of the church that should be open to all U.S. citizens, regardless of the gender of individuals in sexual partnerships and relationships.

Civil unions differ from marriage in several ways. Civil unions afford legal protection for couples at a state-recognized level. They omit the federal protections and benefits of marriage and are not recognized outside state borders. Specifically, more than 500 state benefits are awarded to civil union partnerships, whereas marriage awards these same state benefits along with the 1,138 federal benefits, including tax breaks and recognition of partnerships nationwide. Many couples obtaining civil unions take the precaution of obtaining other legal paperwork to allow for hospital visitation rights and power of attorney across state lines. Marriage is not the only politicized debate surrounding sexual identity. Adoption is also widely debated. A viable option for many same-sex couples to start a family involves adopting children. Not all states allow adoption to same-sex couples, and many couples face further discrimination in the children they are awarded custody of. Children with severe behavioral problems are often specifically given to same-sex couples, rather than the choices that heterosexual couples are given when adopting.

Queer theorists have begun examining discrimination in public policies regarding citizenship. The gender-variant community, in particular, faces discrimination from U.S. legal institutions. To change birth certificates and driver's licenses, two important documents needed to claim citizenship and necessary to obtain jobs, insurance, and passports, female-to-male transsexuals (FTMs) and male-to-female transsexuals (MTFs) are required to document full sexual reassignment surgery. However, because of the discriminations the gender-variant community faces in society, it is often impossible to pay for these surgeries, which insurances do not cover. Similarly, to proceed with surgery, they need psychological permission to go through with their choice to change their sex physically. Much like same-sex couples and marriage rights, the gender variant faces additional challenges in being fully recognized in the eyes of the U.S. government.

States have provided protections against discrimination on the basis sexual orientations and sexual identities in employment, and many are now facing pending decisions on gender nondiscrimination clauses that would provide protections for the gender-variant community in job and public discrimination lawsuits. Although these issues have only become widely debated since the 1990s, today the widespread recognition of inequality, and the strong backlash from religious sectors of society against the unnaturalness of sexual and gender identities that stray from normative conceptions of heterosexuality, has become mainstream in its political debates and has been an important issue for political candidates to address.

Conclusion

Discrimination based on sexual identity may only be experienced by one of the smallest populations in the United States, but it is important to remember that although heterosexuality has historically been assumed as natural and predetermined, there are many other explanations for the development of binary definitions of sexuality. These include, but are not limited to, the assertion that sexual identities are formed not from biological factors, but have become socially defined across various historical periods and cultures worldwide. Acceptance rates of homosexual relationships have been indicated to be rising in U.S. society, along with media representations and portrayals that acknowledge "alternative" lifestyles. However, violence against same-sex couples and discrimination based on sexual and gender orientation continue to pervade contemporary society.

Nicole LaMarre

See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Heterosexuality; Homosexuality; Sex Versus Gender Categorization

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SEXUALITY AND REPRODUCTION

In patriarchal cultures, the concepts of sexuality and reproduction are often tightly intertwined, making it difficult to imagine each as occupying different social, moral, emotional, and physical terrain. From the perspective of feminists and human rights advocates, reproduction should be seen as a distinct human experience from sexuality, with both categories meriting individual rights-based protection. From the perspective of social conservatives, reproduction must remain tied to the center of human sexuality; to loosen this position would mean the unraveling of traditional family, community, and religious structures. This entry highlights key agendas, tactics, and implications of loosening or tightening the relationship between sexuality and reproduction within given historical eras in the United States. Specifically, this entry will offer definitions of sexuality and reproduction, contrast social conservative with feminist, critical, and queer perspectives on sexuality and reproduction, and describe several political and legal issues related to access of sexual and reproductive services, nonnormative sexuality and family formation, sexuality education, and U.S. policies on sexuality and reproduction.

Implications of Sexuality and Reproduction

In the United States and elsewhere, sexuality and reproduction are fundamentally gendered. In other words, both are components of a larger social institution of gender: sexual norms, beliefs, and practices structure differential experiences for women and men and systematically privilege men over women.

Although variations to this pattern of sex difference and male privilege exist in the United States, mainstream cultural practices and institutional policies continue to reinforce the idea that women and men are naturally selected into inherently different social spheres and have different natures, desires, and sexual needs. A large portion of the production of sex difference and male privilege is fueled by mainstream cultural practices and institutional policies around sexuality and reproduction.

Sexuality is conceptualized by critical, feminist, and postmodern scholars as a range of desire and body-based actions, thoughts, and sensibilities. Sexuality is viewed as simultaneously shaped by cultural and institutional forces as well as created by individuals as acts of resistance or compliance. Sexuality can be expressed in the physical presence of one or more people, in interaction with others via multimedia technologies, or by oneself. Because critical, feminist, and postmodern theorists tend to view sexuality as constructed within social contexts, these theorists do not search for an intrinsic meaning of sexuality or sexual acts; instead, they ground their sexual ethics in the critical evaluation of the power relations, intentions, and outcomes of any given sexual exchange. In this way, the categories of *normative* sexuality (e.g., between a married heterosexual couple) and *nonnormative* sexuality (e.g., between two men) are far less relevant than the degree to which the exchange allows equity, integrity, and a lack of social, cultural, and personal coercion for all parties.

Reproduction, or the act of reproducing human life through the successful connection between an egg and a sperm, is a matter that may or may not overlap with sexual desire or routine bodily practices. Indeed, human reproduction can be completed through a number of configurations including consensual heterosexual penile-vaginal intercourse, coerced penile-vaginal intercourse, inter-uterine and in vitro fertilization, intercourse between cross-sex friends, and intercourse between committed monogamous heterosexuals.

Key Perspectives on Sexuality and Reproduction

For contemporary social conservatives, conceptualizations of both sexuality and reproduction differ quite dramatically from those suggested previously. Rather than seeing all sexual expression as an interplay between structural and institutional constraints

and opportunities, cultural mores, and individual strategies, social conservatives see only *nonnormative* sexual expressions as affected by social context, with the remaining (heterosexual) expressions reflecting expressions of a universal natural order. In this universal natural order, men and women are believed to be natural dichotomous opposites that complement one another, pairing up into monogamous units to produce and care for biological offspring (although historical and cross-cultural versions of natural law have also sanctioned polygamy and male infidelity). When variations on this contemporary ideal of monogamous heterosexuality and nuclear family reproduction exist, social conservatives provide an explanation that does not recognize that the natural order has a diverse array of sexual and familial expressions. Rather, those who take a conservative standpoint on marginalized sexualities may feel that the natural order has been corrupted by the social.

This realm of the social that has been and remains at the crux of the so-called culture wars in the United States. Not all culture wars are organized around sexual or reproductive issues, but they have in common a disagreement about the degree of cultural pluralism that can or should be welcomed into American institutions (e.g., based on immigration status, national origin, preferred language and religion, and sexual practices). From the perspective of social conservatives, social, legal, and cultural institutions must work to reinforce the union between sexuality and reproduction, particularly the practice of monogamous, married heterosexuality. If one were to loosen this union, it would allow nonnormative sexual practices and childbearing to gain a foothold into mainstream culture (a position that nearly contradicts the belief in the natural male and female heterosexual).

In contrast, feminist, queer, and human rights activists see the legal and cultural protection of sexual and reproductive rights as central to creating sexual justice and sexual health for all. From these perspectives, social, legal and cultural institutions must work to decouple the union between sexuality and reproduction, thereby allowing the same sexual and reproductive rights to people with nonnormative sexuality, such as unmarried but sexually active heterosexuals and same-sex couples. For these activists, this is an issue of justice and an issue of expanding cultural definitions—beyond married heterosexuals—of who counts as a good sexual citizen.

Cultural Conflicts Surrounding Sexuality and Reproduction in the United States

In the United States, several arenas have become sites of cultural conflict, including access to sexual and reproductive information and services, and legal protection of nonnormative sexual unions, reproduction, and family formation. Since the mid-1990s, social conservatives (sometimes referred to as the "religious right") have successfully advanced patriarchal, heteronormative, and conservative religious ideals on various policies, institutions, and cultural practices. Simultaneously, feminist, queer, and human rights activists have also seen some success in advancing protection for the rights of people engaging in nonnormative sexuality. Notions of "appropriate" or "tolerated" sexuality are central to the social order of any group, so many contemporary cultural wars have focused on contesting and redefining dominant sexual ideologies and practices.

Access to Sexual and Reproductive Information and Services

The issue of who can receive information and services around women's sexual and reproductive functions has long been a source of controversy in the United States. In 1873, the Comstock Act banned the mailing of material considered obscene, which included pornography and any contraceptive devices or any informational materials about sexuality, reproduction, and contraception. Margaret Sanger, one of 11 children of a devout Irish Catholic woman, defied these laws in her work to bring reproductive options and information to America's poor immigrant women. Sanger was first charged with obscenity in 1916 for operating a birth control clinic in New York City, but the charges were later reversed on the basis that contraceptive devices may aid in disease prevention. In 1932, Sanger was responsible for smuggling the first diaphragms into the United States, a case that eventually lead to the 1936 federal court ruling that doctors should be free to provide contraception devices and information to their patients.

Sanger was a champion for birth control and reproductive rights for all—with her diligence eventually inspiring the development of Planned Parenthood—but her legacy has also underscored debates in the classed and racialized politics of reproductive health. Namely, Sanger's promotion of birth control as a form

of eugenics (practices to limit the reproduction of genetic "defects" and to ensure the reproduction of "good genes") has been labeled by some critics as both racist and classist. Regardless, Sanger remained steadfast in her belief that contraceptive practices should remain in the control of women, rather than the state or any other source of authority.

Sanger's insistence on self-determination—being able to access accurate information about one's body and to make choices based on that information—became the fundamental logic of the second-wave (1960–1980s) feminist women's health movement. Decades after Sanger's work, a collective of 12 women who identified with the emerging feminist movement of the 1970s in Boston, Massachusetts, wrote and published *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (originally published in 1970 under the title, *Women and Their Bodies*). In 1973, the landmark abortion rights case, *Roe v. Wade,* was established by the U.S. Supreme Court, inscribing a woman's right to abortion into the Federal Law.

Since *Roe v. Wade,* the legality of abortion has been met with continuous opposition by conservative church-based groups. This opposition to abortion continues to raise debates about (a) a woman's right to choose (b) when a fetus can be considered a person, and (c) how to balance the right to life with the right for a woman to enact self-determination about her body. Although feminist groups such as National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), National Organization for Women (NOW), Planned Parenthood, and others have worked in tandem to preserve *Roe v. Wade,* social conservatives, often organized through conservative Protestant churches, have also created effective political lobbies. One such success was the South Dakota 2006 decision, which banned all abortions including cases of incest and rape, except when the woman's life is in danger.

Legal Issues and Nonnormative Sexuality

Women's reproductive freedom is but one of several topics that have illuminated and crystallized the stakes of social conservatives and their feminist and human rights opponents. These include sodomy laws, legal recognition of same-sex couples, welfare reform, and sex education; all of which are arenas that affect the legal and cultural reinforcements of heteropatriarchy. Sodomy laws, which make it illegal

to engage in sexual activity that cannot result in human reproduction, are deeply connected to heteropatriarchal systems, which require men to both desire and lead women as heads of households. The 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* Supreme Court decision signifies a legal and cultural shift away from the idea that nonreproductive sexuality, and in particular men engaging in sexual practices with one another, is a "crime against nature."

Political fights over same-sex marriage have had a similar electrifying impact on cultural debates and institutional policies. After the near success of same-sex marriage in Hawai'i, the Defense of Marriage Act was signed by otherwise "gay friendly" President Bill Clinton in 1996, making it illegal for same-sex couples to receive federal benefits of marriage, regardless of whether same-sex marriage was sanctioned by individual states. Regardless, several cities, counties, and states, and dozens of corporations, in the United States have established same-sex benefits. As of this printing (2008), Massachusetts and California are the only U.S. states to officially recognize same-sex marriage, with identical responsibilities and rights to heterosexual marriage. On a global scale, five countries currently accord this right: The Netherlands, Canada, Belgium, South Africa, and Spain.

Central to the conservative opposition to both same-sex marriage and single parenthood is the idea that reproduction should only occur within the context of heterosexual marriage. Thus, simultaneous to marriage restrictions for those not able to reproduce within monogamous dyads, national political forces since the 1980s (with the rise of the Religious Right) have worked toward encouraging coherent nuclear reproductive units among reluctant and poor heterosexuals. As part of this cultural and political turn, the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (known as "Welfare Reform") tied marriage instruction as well as abstinence training to its benefits. Rather than assuming that all citizens are worthy of housing, food, and medical care, this legislation helped institutionalize the idea that social welfare should be contingent upon normative sexual as well as work practices.

Consistent with this stance is conservative opposition to same-sex couples adopting and raising children. Because the realm of adoption is one of greater surveillance than reproduction (adoptions must go through institutional channels whereas reproduction only needs an agreement between friends), same-sex

parents can be and are often subjected to greater institutional and legal barriers.

Sex Education

Sex education for school-age children and young adults has emerged as another contemporary cultural drama in which sexuality and reproduction play starring roles. Although information about bodies, sexuality, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and reproduction is widely available in a variety of popular cultural sources such as the Internet, magazines, television, and films, information about these topics have long been highly regulated and restricted within the context of the U.S. public educational system. School-based access to sexual information has become further restricted with the onset of abstinence-only federal funding in the United States, which intensified under the 1996 Welfare Reform act.

Evaluating the successes or failures of sex education partly depends on one's political and moral position, but rates of STIs, HIV/AIDS, and pregnancy are outcome measures of concern for people across the ideological spectrum. A bulk of growing evidence indicates that abstinence-only education is less successful than comprehensive sex education is for reducing unsafe sex or STIs. Further, evidence from other countries with far more liberal sex education such as the Netherlands demonstrate much lower STI rates than the United States has. Nevertheless, there has been a decline in the number of pubic schools offering comprehensive sex education from the mid-1990s into the 2000s. Given that abstinence until marriage standards became institutionalized as the highest form of human conduct for those affected by public school sex education curriculum as well as welfare to work policies, some argue that this standard reveals clear assumptions about who can and cannot be considered moral sexual citizens. But beyond concerns of morality, institutionally sanctioned messages about sexuality and reproduction, including when to have sex and with whom, and whether or not marriage is desirable or even possible, signify deep politics around the intersection of class, sex, sexuality, and race.

Global Implications of U.S. Sexual and Reproductive Politics

U.S. sexual and reproductive politics also have enormous global influence, with some U.S. policies becoming exported to nations who rely on U.S. funds—at times reflecting a more conservative edge than is possible within the social and legal framework of the contemporary United States. For example, the Global Gag rule, otherwise known as the Mexico City Policy, denies federal funding to international nongovernmental organizations that provide abortion information or services in countries outside of the United States. Republican President Ronald Reagan instituted the Global Gag Rule in 1984, a time when abortion rights were protected domestically by *Roe v. Wade* but were also increasingly being challenged by anti-abortion activists. Meanwhile, women and men living in countries dependent on U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) funding continue to feel the impact of shifting U.S. political leadership; although Democratic President Clinton revoked the ban in 1993, Republican President George W. Bush reinstated it in 2001.

Global USAID funding for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS is similarly framed by domestic sexual and reproductive politics. For example, the USAID President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (Pepfar) program, instituted by President Bush in 2003, stipulates that 33 percent of all HIV/AIDS education must include abstinence until marriage training. Pepfar funding is also denied to any organization that does not officially oppose prostitution and trafficking, and Pepfar will not fund organizations that provide needle exchange for IV drug users. With most Pepfar funding being allocated to treatment and care for people living with HIV/AIDS, the restrictions make it difficult if not at times impossible to provide prevention and harm reduction information to populations at high risk for contracting HIV/AIDS.

In sum, on issues such as abortion, abstinence, and AIDS, some scholars argue that without the protection of a global supreme court, the sexual and reproductive politics of U.S. leaders may have a more immediate impact on citizens of poorer nations than they do on many Americans. However, U.S. domestic policies have great impact on U.S. citizens as well, especially those who are poorer (welfare receiving) and younger (education receiving).

Conclusion

Despite contentious domestic and international sexual politics, women's increasing rates of HIV/AIDS infection on the global scale has led international public health workers to amplify their support of gender equity and empowerment of girls and women. The

connections between health and economic, educational, and political empowerment are clear, and sexual empowerment and sexual rights are increasingly being acknowledged as also critical to overall health. Scholars argue that expanding the language of reproductive rights to a broader arena of sexual rights and sexual health promises new possibilities for critically evaluating the global political stakes (and mistakes) of institutionalizing a strict heteronormative monogamous intertwining of sexuality and reproduction.

This entry has articulated several rationales for, and implications of, loosening or tightening the relationship between sexuality and reproduction. The cultural wars described in this entry between social conservatives and feminist, queer, and human rights activists show no sign of ending; the political, legal, cultural, and health stakes of these issues—access of sexual and reproductive services, nonnormative sexuality and family formation, sexuality education, and U.S. policies on sexuality and reproduction—remain high both domestically and internationally.

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See also Abortion; American Birth Control League; Contraception; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Sanger, Margaret; Sex Education; Stratified Reproduction

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SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED INFECTIONS

Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are a major public health concern. STIs are sometimes referred to as sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Despite the many health initiatives to diagnose and treat these various infections, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) reports that approximately 19 million new cases of STIs are acquired annually. The most common STIs are chlamydia, gonorrhea, syphilis, herpes (HSV), human papillomavirus (HPV or genital warts), and trichomoniasis. Infection rates vary annually and demonstrate variation as a factor of gender, age, race, and psychosocial risk factors such as alcohol and illicit drug use, number of sexual partners, age of first coitus and interpersonal violence, which often are interrelated. STIs have long-term implications for an individual's health. According to the CDC, women have higher rates of STIs overall, and women and infants are most commonly affected by the long-term consequences of these infections. STIs may increase a woman's susceptibility to HIV infection, which has implications for many long-term health effects for women and infants, such as cervical cancer, pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), infertility, and ectopic pregnancies. An infant exposed to STIs during a pregnancy or a delivery is at risk of physical and mental disabilities, pneumonia, blindness, deafness, various neonatal infections, and death. This entry discusses the prevalence, prevention, and psychosocial risk factors of STIs.

Prevalence

The 2004 sexually transmitted infection national surveillance data published by the CDC indicates that rates of STIs have increased from previous years,

which may be attributed to better means of identification and diagnosis. The CDC identifies demographics such as gender, race, and age are important indicators in the prevalence of STIs. Higher rates of certain STIs are found among women, specifically African American women. Adolescents who are 15 to 19 years of age have the highest rates of infection, followed closely by young adults who are 20 to 24 years old. Women of these age groupings are at higher risk of infection because of physiological factors involving the mucosa around the cervix.

Chlamydia is the most commonly diagnosed STI, with women more than three times as likely to be diagnosed as men; specifically, black women demonstrate the highest prevalence and are more than seven times as likely to have reported rates of infection when compared with white women. Gonorrhea is the second most commonly diagnosed STI, and prevalence rates are noted to be highest in certain populations, such as African Americans, women, and individuals aged 15 to 24. The most recent report by the CDC indicates a 4-year trend of higher gonorrhea rates found among women.

Syphilis rates historically are higher for men; however, for the first time in 10 years the rate of infection for women flattened, with rates for men continuing to show a downward trend in incidence. Race remains a notable demographic factor in the prevalence rate of syphilis, with an occurrence five times as great for individuals who are black compared with those who are white.

There are two different HSV infections: HSV-1 and HSV-2. HSV-1 is usually the cause of infections in the mouth or on the lips and can be a cause of genital herpes (HSV-2). HSV-2 infections are more common in women, affecting approximately one in four women; this appears to be a factor of male-to-female transmissions being more probable than female-to-male transmission. Transmission of this infection occurs during sexual contact with someone who has a HSV-2 infection with or without an active breakout of sores.

Trichomoniasis, commonly called trich, is the most common curable STI in young, sexually active women. This STI's prevalence appears to increase with age and can be difficult for women to detect because most infected women are asymptomatic. Those infected with trich are frequently diagnosed with other STIs. Infection of trich can spread by penis-to-vagina contact as well as by vulva-to-vulva contact. The parasite causing the infection can also live outside the body for as much as 45 minutes, so infection can occur through a damp or moist medium. Empirical evidence suggests infection with trich during a pregnancy can lead to preterm delivery and low birth weight.

Numerous forms of HPV cause STIs, and it is estimated that at least 80 percent of women will have acquired an HPV infection by age 50. HPV is highly infectious and can be contracted by oral, vaginal, and anal sex with an infected partner. The most recent research reports evidence that certain forms of HPV have been linked to cervical cancer, and according to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, women should engage in regular pelvic exams and pap smears for the early identification and treatment of this infection.

Prevention

Empirical literature identifies infection rates for STIs to be influenced by psychosocial factors such as number of sexual partners, age at initiation of sexual activity, alcohol or illicit drug use, and violence. The best means of preventing the transmission of an STI are the following: abstinence from sexual activity, monogamous relationships, and the use of latex condoms. Prevention efforts can be complicated when issues such as interpersonal violence and illicit drug or alcohol use are present or have influenced an individual's development. These high-risk psychosocial factors are often interrelated and are a unique concern for women in their influences on sexual relationships and practices.

Sexually Transmitted Infections and Psychosocial Risk Factors

Correlates of STIs among women have been identified as age at first sexual encounter and number of sexual partners. These factors are influenced by race, education, and socioeconomic status, but what is pronounced within the literature is how these factors are influenced by interpersonal violence and alcohol or drug usage. Prevention efforts against STIs are complicated when a woman is currently experiencing interpersonal violence or has been a victim of interpersonal violence during childhood, adolescence, or adult years. The relationship between STI transmission and interpersonal violence is an issue at all ages, for all sexual relationship types (heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual) and is found among diverse

racial, ethnic, and cultural communities all over the world. As demonstrated in the current body of empirical literature, the relationship between violence and STIs is a unique problem for women given the high rates of sexual abuse, coercion, and violence perpetrated against them by an intimate partner, acquaintance, family member, or stranger.

STI transmission has been related to a history of childhood sexual abuse. Childhood sexual abuse (CSA) has been linked to many high-risk sexual behaviors in adolescence and adulthood, such as sex with multiple partners, sex without a condom, sex while impaired by drugs or alcohol, and sex for shelter, money, or drugs. The long-term psychological effects of CSA are palpable with the negative health consequences evident in research and its influence on CSA survivors' sexual decisions that put them at risk for multiple STIs.

Sexual abuse or assault may be perpetrated by an intimate partner, family member, acquaintance, or stranger. When this assault or abuse is perpetuated by an acquaintance or stranger, there is an increased risk for STI transmission because of the potential unknown sexual history of the assailant coupled with the probable lack of barrier protection. Sexual assault has further implications for the future psychological functioning of the victim influencing future sexual decisions with subsequent sexual encounters that may put one at risk for exposure and infection of STIs.

The connection between STIs and intimate partner violence (IPV) is evident with sexual violence, but is also a factor with emotional and physical violence. Issues of power and the imbalances power are frequently discussed in relation to interpersonal violence among couples. The literature suggests that those who are victims of violence—emotional, physical, or sexual—despite their ages are in a position that leaves them compromised to assert or negotiate for themselves, putting themselves at risk of various forms of violation and harm. This compromised state of power puts victims at risk of many health and mental health consequences such as increased rates of sexually transmitted infections. Victims of IPV express fear of engaging in the discussion of condom use or safe sex practices because of potential physical, sexual, or emotional violence ensuing.

STI transmission is also influenced by ethyl alcohol (ETOH) and drug use. Infection susceptibility is influenced by decreased inhibitions with ETOH and drug use and poor decision making when impaired by these substances. ETOH and drug use or abuse are interrelated with interpersonal violence in various ways. Many victims of violence demonstrate higher incidence of using drugs or alcohol as a means of coping with victimization, and substance use has long been established as a risk factor for the perpetration or victimization of violence, in particular IPV. Temporal order of violence and ETOH or drug use have not been well established; however, what is most important to consider is that the use of ETOH or drugs puts a victim at risk by impairing their ability to consent or make good decisions regarding safe sex practices and has influence on coerced or forced sexual activities, which leads to an increased risk and transmission of sexually transmitted infections.

Conclusion

STIs are ongoing public health concerns that have particular long-term implications for women. Prevention and early diagnosis of STIs are essential for the health and well-being of women in particular. Given the clear correlation and implications of the various psychosocial risk and STI transmission discussed here, it is important to consider interventions aimed at preventing and treating the various risk factors that may impede prevention efforts for women.

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See also Domestic Violence; HIV/AIDS; Safer Sex

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Sexual Rights and Citizenship

The concept of citizenship came to the fore in 1980s and 1990s discussions of political activity, involvement, and action. In these discussions, "citizenship" refers to the collection of rights and responsibilities that establish political membership and enable people's access to benefits and resources. Western notions of citizenship have traditionally followed a liberal model that stresses individual rights alongside minimum state intervention and market freedom. Citizenship is a contested and culturally and historically specific concept. Neoconservatives argue that the balance between rights and duties is weighted too heavily in favor of the former, but critics have pointed out that the rights of dominant social groups are often protected at the expense of marginal groups. This entry will describe the concept of citizenship; sexual citizenship; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) rights and sexual citizenship; intimate citizenship; and same-sex relationships and citizenship.

Citizenship as a Concept

The concept of citizenship needs to account for the social positioning of different groups and their corresponding inclusion and exclusion from social processes. For example, research on citizenship and ethnicity has illustrated that traditional models of citizenship have failed to acknowledge ethnicity and nationality. Feminist work on citizenship has drawn attention to the ways that a traditional model of citizenship has neglected women's interests by focusing on the "public" (paid labor) rather than the "private" (domestic), thus marginalizing women's interests in the latter—for example, in unpaid caring work. Feminist scholars have also challenged traditional assumptions of the citizen as male.

Ruth Lister draws attention to the ambiguities of citizenship for feminism: On the one hand, citizenship offers the possibility of access to rights central to (liberal) feminist goals, yet, on the other hand, women have been historically excluded from citizenship debates and inequalities remain. Many commentators have revealed the ambiguities, tensions, and contradictions in pressing for rights within the existing heteronormative social order, while recognizing the necessity and pragmatism in working within existing frameworks of inclusion, rather than seeking to radically transform notions of who is and can be a citizen. This tension lies at the heart of many understanding and struggles over sexual rights and citizenship. Diane Richardson argues that traditional notions of citizenship imply, even enforce and regulate, heterosexuality so that the domain of citizenship, far from being neutral, is itself profoundly heterosexualized.

Sexual Citizenship

Writers in sexuality studies have addressed how traditional models of citizenship mask difference, discriminating against those who variously live outside the heterosexual norm. The concept of "sexual citizenship" has drawn attention to the relevance of sexuality, which has often been excluded from "public" notions of citizenship and relegated to the "private" sphere.

In one of the first discussions of "sexual citizenship," David Evans maps the relationship between sexuality, morality, and the capitalist market. Economic capital becomes a prerequisite as well as boundary for inclusion, a form of consumer citizenship creating and sustaining disparities. Before the state can capitalize on the economic power held by some sexual minority groups—for example, middle-class gay men—minimal legal rights are granted at the expense of political and social transformation. Although the "male homosexual citizen" holds economic rights, he remains an "immoral" citizen, only partially accommodated and "tolerated." Evans believes that "consumer citizenship" has led to the commodification of sexuality, sacrificing its political edge through the branding of sexual identity as "lifestyle." Sexual minorities who hold little economic capital are further marginalized and granted neither economic nor political citizenship.

This idea of citizenship as a material or cultural battlefield has been covered in Judith Butler's and

Nancy Fraser's discussions of the disputed shift from the "politics of redistribution" to the "politics of recognition": the former refers to injustices of class, the latter to injustices of status, with the position of lesbians and gay men primarily considered as a matter of recognition, rather than a matter of economics. Although Fraser contends that there is no hierarchy between these two injustices and that issues of status are material, Butler objects to the distinction between "redistribution" and "recognition" on the grounds that it renders issues of sexuality as "merely cultural" in contrast with the substantive and material issues of class. The intersection of class and sexuality takes attention beyond the politics of visibility and recognition to the significance and interconnection between cultural and economic aspects of citizenship. Here sexual citizenship articulates sexual rights, alongside wider rights and their impact on sexuality.

LGBT Rights and Sexual Citizenship

Jeffrey Weeks contextualizes sexual citizenship in relation to broader social shifts, naming respect for diversity and the consideration for the claims of minority groups as prerequisites for sexual citizenship. Weeks suggests that these requirements are in sight, pointing to the democratization of sexual relationships, an increased reflexivity about sexuality, and the emergence of new sexual subjectivities in contemporary society. Others, however, are less optimistic. The granting of lesbian and gay rights may lead to the privatization and circumscription of these sexual identities, whereby "tolerance" is granted so long as lesbian and gay citizens stay within the boundaries of such tolerance. In such circumstances, heteronormativity remains invisible and unquestioned. Notions of citizenship are heterosexualized, so such boundaries of tolerance depend on rights-based claims (such as the right to marry) that fit with a heterosexual and classed model of the "good citizen."

Many authors have pointed to the perils of articulating lesbian and gay rights through the concept of citizenship, as aggravating a distinction between "good gays" and "bad queers," with the former still excluded from citizenship. Sexual citizenship implies a set of rights-based claims—for example, the right for lesbians and gay men to marry and to serve in the military, which in turn entails a set of duties. Such a "duty" has been criticized as assimilatory, reinventing a binary between the good assimilating homosexual and the bad dissident queer.

John Binnie proposes queering citizenship to acknowledge and celebrate the ways in which nonnormative sexual practices and arrangements (for example, nonmonogamy) challenge the institution of heterosexuality and traditional conceptualizations of citizenship. The difference between heteronormativity as a structuring force as against the practices and behaviors of individual heterosexuals, who may or may not be included as citizens depending on their locatedness across various and combined axis of class, gender, and race. Not all heterosexualities are equally validated or legitimized, and to acknowledge the structuring presence of heterosexism should not mask the plurality of heterosexualities and their acceptable or unacceptable formations—for example, the much derided figure of the single mother, represented as idle, dependent and ignorant, economically inactive, and in need of education, rather than as an entitled, tax-paying citizen.

The Concept of Intimate Citizenship

A further way that the relationship between sexuality and citizenship has been considered is through the notion of intimate citizenship, which offers a framework for discussing rights and responsibilities emerging from the diversification of intimate life. Ken Plummer defines *intimate citizenship* as the rights concerning people's choices about their bodies, emotions, relationships and desires; Plummer proposes adding intimate citizenship to the traditional models of political, social, and civil rights. He charts the explosion, even queering of sexual stories, a happening now equally at home on morning television as it is within academic discourse or on the street corner, but which crucially relates to other material contexts. Although some sexual stories are legitimated, easily circulated, and heard and the process of "falling in love" affirmed and celebrated, others are not and are subject to criticism. There is a persistent and official monitoring of the "correct" ways of telling sexual stories.

For Weeks, intimate citizenship concerns matters that relate to intimate desires and pleasures. Assertion of one's right to desire and intimacy is not without problems. Feminism has long argued for a politics of sexuality, unpacking discourses of individualism and entitlement, where sexuality becomes a matter of rights. Discourses of rights and entitlements are sexualized, racialized, classed, and gendered. There is, for example, a potential conflict between men's demands for sexual pleasure and

women's rights against sexual exploitation, coercion, and objectification. Also, lesbians' and gay men's continued demands for inclusion into mainstreamed human rights agendas may not be regarded as a collective, equal and liberalizing "coming out" but instead as one that potentially perpetuates exclusions.

Same-Sex Relationships and Citizenship

There has been increasing recognition of same-sex relationships across Western Europe and elsewhere, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, with the December 2005 introduction of the civil partnership in the United Kingdom, effectively mainstreaming same-sex rights, mirroring heterosexual marriage. With this act has come the proliferation of new sexual stories, taking up much coverage in the lesbian and gay press and international media. Although some evangelical Christian groups have disapproved of civil partnerships, given that they supposedly parody and make a of mockery of traditional heterosexual marriage, others question why lesbians and gays would want to adopt the conservative values of marriage in the first place, given that it places sexuality in its "proper" place: within the private, monogamous (tax-paying, dual-income) household. There have been extensive feminist critiques of marriage as an institution that perpetuates gender and sexual inequalities, yet the Civil Partnership Act, in transferring this model of monogamous coupledom to same-sex relationships, perhaps fails to "undo" hierarchies of intimacy, possibly aggravating the distinction between acceptable and unacceptable lifestyles, the good/bad sexual citizen.

Many commentators have documented a re-orientation of lesbian and gay politics away from issues of sexual liberation and community building toward creating and protecting families. At the same time as Rosemary Hennessy, like Evans before her, critiques the commodification of queer sexualities, the steadfast incorporation of "new families" into the marketplace, authors such as Chet Meeks and Arlene Stein challenge feminist and queer accounts of same-sex marriage for their anti-assimilationist critiques, where same-sex marriage is a "virtually normal" sell-out or a parodic resignification. Instead, same-sex marriage is theorized as part of a post-queer struggle, seen as dynamic and changing rather than static, in which associations are entered into and exited from for their own sake. Yet, the economic, moral, and social binds of marriage are still fully in place.

Perhaps then the effects and consequences do not lie in the de-centering of heterosexuality, through pluralizing forms of sex, intimacy, and emotional commitment, but rather in renewed de-legitimation, especially for those who cannot re-package as new families.

Conclusion

Work on feminist, sexual, and intimate citizenship has addressed how traditional definitions and requirements of citizenship neglected the complex features of gender and sexuality. Broadening the notion of citizenship in this way enables the recognition of difference and problematizes the public-private dichotomy. Yet this work largely assumes a gender binary that acknowledges only male and female categories. The ways that existing models of citizenship work within a gender binary system that presumes the citizen is either male or female have been brought to light. A gender binary model of citizenship has discriminated against gender diverse people in the "public" (employment and welfare rights) and the "private" (the rights of self-identification in gender of choice and of partnership recognition). In the United Kingdom, the Gender Recognition Act (GRA) (2004) is important in enabling transgender people to change their birth certificates and to marry. Additionally, employment and welfare rights for transgender people increasingly occupy a place on the public agenda. Such moves represent a dramatic shift in conceptual understandings of "gender" as distinct from "sex" and indicate how feminist and, to some extent queer, scholarship has entered the mainstream public and political agenda. In unpacking current debates about transgender citizenship, caution can be exercised against a perceived trajectory of progress in relation to sexual and (trans) gender transformation and social change. Normative binary understandings of gender that often underpin legislation mean that some are excluded from these new citizenship rights while others remain unrecognized.

Yvette Taylor

See also Heterosexuality; Homosexuality; Intersectionality; Same-Sex Marriage; Transgender

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SEXUAL SLAVERY

The bicentenary anniversary of the abolition of slavery in 2007 has stimulated the awareness of a contemporary form of slavery with deep historical roots: sexual slavery. Sexual slavery is a form of domination over individuals or a group of individuals, often children and women, through the control of sex or sexuality. Sexual slavery is considered an extended form of rape. Its global extensiveness and the specifically gendered nature of its violence have made sexual slavery one of the key political and theoretical concerns of gender studies today.

Although slavery and sexual exploitation has existed throughout history and in various societies, sexual slavery is a sociohistorical condition that is distinctive in modern societies in which gender, sexuality, and the body are regulated. It is found in various modern social contexts, but since the issue was first recognized in the 19th century, it has been mainly referred to in relation to the forced prostitution that often involves trafficking and takes place in a commercial environment. Since the 1990s, more organized sexual slavery in the context of international, national, and regional conflicts has attracted attention, and sexual slavery has increasingly become addressed as a human rights issue. This type of sexual slavery is exercised as a military strategy to destroy the identity and reproductive capacity of enemies, and to control and maintain masculinity in the perpetrators' own military and community. Sexual slavery is, therefore, a power that operates to reinforce social injustice and oppression that is based on gender, race, ethnic, and class difference. This entry describes the development of the concept, the human rights discourse regarding sexual slavery, comfort women, and the arising issue from the language of sexual slavery.

The Development of the Concept

Katherine Barry's *Female Sexual Slavery,* published in 1979, was one of the early major attempts to expose the sexual and class-based form of oppression that resulted from ("forced") prostitution and trafficking, in which the victims are rarely visible. Forced prostitution and trafficking is one of the worst examples of the violation of human rights, and from the 1980s on, a key feminist political struggle to end it has been slowly growing. However, the association of sexual exploitation of women through prostitution and trafficking with slavery was originally made in the 19th century in Britain, when Josephine Butler and other abolitionists challenged state-regulated prostitution. The operation of such sexual exploitation was referred to as "white slavery," to differentiate it from the earlier and contemporary black slavery.

With such a historical background, until recently sexual slavery was generally understood in the context of prostitution. Prostitution causes various social issues, whether it is state regulated or globalized through sex tourism and a commercialized sex industry. The intensifying commodification of women as a result of the deployment of the extensive military force in the context of the cold war, and rapid industrialization in the developing countries in the second half of the 19th century, resulted in the expansion of sex industries. In a recent trend, as industrialization of a society intensifies, prostitution is also industrialized. This is accompanied by a more extensive and organized system of trafficking, and exploitation of women from the lower socioeconomic class who are more likely to fall into prostitution. These women are often subjected to severe sexual exploitation, are typically homeless and stateless, and have nowhere to ask for help. They frequently suffer physical and mental injuries.

On this basis, feminists and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) support women who are the victims of prostitution. However, there has been a prevailing assumption that prostitution is forced and not chosen freely, a distinction that goes back to Butler's time. As the term *white slavery* suggests, Butler and her contemporaries held a limited belief that the victims of this form of slavery are white, young, and innocent, and forced into prostitution against their will. They

problematized only forced prostitution and trafficking and did not attack prostitution itself as a system that causes the oppression of women—the view that was carried over in the discourse on prostitution in the 20th century and beyond.

Sexual Slavery in the Human Rights Discourse

Despite feminists' awareness of the issue of sexual slavery since the 1970s, it took some decades for the issue to be officially integrated into the mainstream international human rights discourse. The 19th-century abolitionists movement to tackle anti-white slavery and trafficking in women led the way to the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which legislated against trafficking, pimping, and brothels. However, when the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women legalized international principles on the rights of women in 1979, it did not make any specific provision for gender-based violence, which encompasses sexual slavery. Although it was understood in various international women's human rights' forums that violence against women is a fundamental aspect of the 1979 convention, not until the 1990s were all forms of violence against women acknowledged as fundamental human rights' issues rather than as matters for the private sphere or small groups of women. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1993 recognized gender-based violence as a human rights issue.

The awareness of sexual slavery as one form of gender-based violence was raised with the increasing focus on the violence against women, but also enhanced by the international political environment of the 1990s. During the conflict in Yugoslavia, women were systematically raped as part of the military strategy of "ethnic cleansing." This led to the recognition that sexual slavery occurs in conflict situations and that such violence against women during war is not the unfortunate, accidental, and invisible consequence of war, but is a structural violence against human rights based on gender, race, and ethnicity. This view was strengthened by the emergence of the issue of comfort women, which came to public attention because of its extensively organized form of sexual slavery.

Comfort Women and the Issue of Sexual Slavery

The issue of comfort women—military sexual slavery during World War II by the Japanese Imperial Military—became widely known when the women who had survived the experience started to give their testimonies in the 1990s. The issue was raised in the United Nations for the first time in 1992, at the Commission on Human Rights, and has since been discussed in various international forums. This illuminated the international interest in systematic rape, sexual slavery, and slave-like practices in armed conflicts. The Beijing Declarations and Platform of Action in 1995 acknowledged that gendered slavery—such as forced prostitution and pimping, trafficking in women, and systematic rape in armed conflict—is a violation of human rights. This highlights the international climate in which sexual violence against women in armed conflicts, including rape, sexual slavery, or forced pregnancy, is recognized as a crime against humanity that would be prosecuted in the international criminal court. The result was that the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was encouraged to give priority to the consideration of such systematic rape and sexual slavery; various UN reports on sexual slavery in armed conflicts were published; and the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal took place in Tokyo in December 2000.

Sexual slavery in armed conflicts has also raised the issue of racial and ethnic oppression, which is entangled with gender-based violence and the role of the military in causing such violence and oppression. Systematic rape of women or sexual slavery is a powerful means to humiliate the enemy and the colonized, as well as to destroy the reproductive capacity and integrity of communities. Therefore, sexual slavery needs to be understood as the intersection of gender, ethnic, and class violence.

The Arising Issue From the Language of Sexual Slavery

Growing interest in the issue of sexual slavery has resulted in raising awareness of sexual oppression as the violation of human rights based on race, ethnicity, and class, as well as the issue of gender. The development of the concept of sexual slavery has its origin in challenging the state regulation and licensing of prostitution, and in freeing victims who have fallen into prostitution.

However, as was apparent in the abolitionist movement in Britain led by Butler, there has been a strict distinction between "free" and "forced" prostitution. The vocabulary of sexual slavery was often used to distinguish those who are forced into prostitution from those who supposedly enter prostitution knowingly and by their own will. For example, the comfort women prefer the term *sexual slaves* to be used to refer to them rather than *comfort women,* which implies that they were prostitutes. These women stressed the importance of the usage of *sexual slavery* to differentiate those who are forced into prostitution from voluntary or paid military prostitutes of their time.

The modern gender ideology was founded on a dichotomy between good and bad women, which basically parallels social class as well as racial and ethnic divisions. The system of modern prostitution has been sustained by this distinction between good and fallen women. The assumption that sexual slaves are young and innocent has reinforced the social stigma surrounding women who do not meet these criteria but who are also sexually exploited. The term *sexual slavery* can mask the reality that, regardless of the receipt of payment or the existence of women's will, prostitutes, both forced and nonforced, are subjected to control based on sexuality, gender, and class, as well as race and ethnicity.

Maki Kimura

See also Comfort Women; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Ethnic Cleansing; Military Masculinity; Rape; Sex Tourism; Sex Work (Prostitution); Torture

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SEX VERSUS GENDER CATEGORIZATION

Sex and gender, though related, are two distinct concepts. *Sex* is a biologically based classification scheme that is determined on the basis of one's primary sex characteristics. *Gender,* on the other hand, is a socially constructed phenomenon. Though the two terms are often popularly used interchangeably, most social scientists agree that gender is distinct from sex in that it is derived from culture rather than biology. Gender refers to the meanings ascribed to the sexes and to the beliefs, values, and norms that are attached to masculinity, femininity, and other expressions of gender. The sex versus gender categorization scheme is relevant to the topic of gender and society because it highlights the ways that social interaction and cultural context shape gender and shape the meanings and values that are ascribed to differently gendered individuals.

Sometimes the differences between sex and gender are described as parallel to the differences between nature and nurture. Scholars have developed a host of theories to describe and explain the differences and relationships between sex and gender. Two perspectives in particular are key to understanding the sex versus gender categorization scheme: the social constructionist perspective and the essentialist perspective. The social constructionist perspective emphasizes the importance of nurture in shaping gender, but an essentialist perspective emphasizes the role that nature plays in shaping gender. This entry describes each perspective.

Social Constructionist Perspective

Most contemporary social scientists understand gender as a social phenomenon. This means that the differences between males and females are created through social interactions and experiences rather than being determined by one's hormones, chromosomes, or sex organs. Social constructionists note that experiences,

opportunities, and burdens are differentially available to men and women because of social views about what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman. Because social constructionists view gender as culturally conceived, they understand gender and gender differences as neither innate nor stable. For example, although social norms of previous generations may have dictated that masculine fathers were those who served as breadwinners for their families, new norms are being created today that allow fathers to stay at home to care for their children rather than taking on the breadwinner role and still be perceived as masculine. The socially constructed nature of gender can also be seen in the ways that parents raise their children. For example, research shows that even though boys and girls under the age of 2 show little difference in their toy preferences, parents nevertheless decorate their young children's rooms in ways that teach them how to "be" their gender. Girls' rooms are more likely to be decorated in pink and stocked with dolls whereas boys' rooms are more likely to be decorated in blue or red and stocked with toy vehicles, tools, and sports gear. This means that even from a young age, individuals learn cultural gender norms and differences. Because individuals learn their culture's gender norms from such an early age, socially constructed gender differences are sometimes mistaken for natural differences.

Essentialist Perspective

Although scholars have increasingly come to understand the strong role that culture and socialization play in shaping gender, most do not overlook biological factors entirely. Someone coming from an essentialist perspective is likely to be interested in examining how hormonal patterns vary in women and men or the extent to which people of different sexes behave differently. An essentialist interested in gender (as opposed to sex) might consider how an individual's social and cultural surroundings draw out particular behaviors that have in the past been linked exclusively to sex. In general, though, essentialists are likely to be most interested in the concept of sex, but social constructionists more likely examine the concept of gender.

Conclusion

Ann Oakley, one of the first scholars to distinguish the term *gender* from the term *sex,* conceived of gender and sex as separate but related: Oakley argued that

gender parallels the biological division of sex into male and female as the division and social valuation of masculinity and femininity. During the past several decades, an increasing number of scholars have come to view gender as a social construction that may or may not rely on biological divisions between males and females. Scholars in recent decades have also begun to recognize the complexities of both sex and gender. Though most typically conceived of as a dichotomous concept, medical research has shown that sex cannot be described by the categories of male and female alone. For example, some infants are born with a chromosomal pattern that does not perfectly fit the male or female pattern. Likewise, gender is not limited to a "two and only two" classification scheme. Instead, individuals vary in the extent to which they are perceived (or perceive themselves) to be masculine or feminine. Thus, the categories of *woman* and *man,* although useful starting points, may not adequately describe all possible categories of gender. For example, some societies operate with an understanding of three, rather than two, categories of gender. In other societies, the term *transgender* is used to refer to people who cross sex and gender boundaries.

The social construction of gender can be seen when individuals, groups, or societies ascribe particular traits, statuses, or values to individuals because of their sex (or their presumed sex). Yet gender is more than the sum of the biological sexes. As individuals express their gender, they act out their culture's beliefs and norms at the same time that they create and sometimes challenge those ideas. Gender is a fluid concept that may change during an individual's life or during a society's history.

Amy Blackstone

See also Biological Determinism; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Performance; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Genderqueer; Institution, Gender as; Nature/Nurture Debate; Sexual Identities and Socialization

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SEX WORK (PROSTITUTION)

The term *sex work* encompasses a wide range of commercial endeavors in which sexual acts, images, or conversations are traded for money, goods, and services. Sex work can include, but is not limited to, prostitution, pornography (print and video), stripping, telephone sex, dominance and submission, and fetishism, and combinations and permutations of all these are now available on the Internet. Except in rare cases of "sacred" prostitution found in ancient societies, in most eras and geographical locations, "respectable" members of society have stigmatized sex work and characterized sex workers as sinful, morally bankrupt, intellectually weak, drug or alcohol addicted, or victims of incest, rape ("seduction"), or sex traffickers. In reality, however, most sex workers fit none of these negative stereotypes easily. Rather, women, and to a lesser extent men, who have entered into sex work typically come from working- or middle-class backgrounds, possess average intelligence and education, and work under the moral assumptions and biases of their era, religion, and ethnic or racial backgrounds. Just as taxi drivers, waitresses, receptionists, computer programmers, and CEOs sell their time and expert services, so do sex workers.

This entry focuses heavily on prostitution because it is the form of sex work most easily recognizable in historical sources, although prostitutes are more often seen through the lens of reforming men and women and the courts than their voices are heard in the historical record. After discussing some of the reasons women sell sex and the conditions under which they have sold it, the entry turns to the less well-known worlds of women consumers of sex and male prostitutes. Finally, a brief discussion of the scholarship of sex work concludes the entry.

Prostitution

Often referred to as the "world's oldest profession," prostitution may also be the world's most stereotypically *gendered* profession. Until recently, the assumption has been that only women sell sex and, conversely, that only men buy it. Indeed, *john,* the generic term applied to a prostitute's customer in the United States, is also one of the most common names for men in that country, speaking to how commonplace it has been for men in the United States (and

around the world). Indeed, subcultures of men have abounded in many communities wherein losing one's virginity to a prostitute and frequenting brothels before (and often after) marriage has been considered acceptable and even desirable masculine behavior. Although most commercial sex exchanges in the past fit the model of woman as seller and man as buyer, the truth is more complicated. Women have sold sex to men, men have sold sex to men, women have sold sex to women, men have sold sex to women, and people of both sexes have performed sexual acts for the viewing or listening pleasure of customers, who sometimes also participate in those acts. Furthermore, gay men, lesbians, and sex workers of either sex historically have been lumped into similar categories as "sexual deviants." The communities and histories of these groups of men and women became linked in significant ways, most notably as outcast groups perceived by society to be in need of detection, regulation, and, occasionally, eradication.

It is almost impossible to determine how many women actually practiced prostitution in the past. It was illegal and stigmatized, and women often did not consider themselves full-time prostitutes, even if they occasionally sold sexual favors for money or traded sex for entertainment, food, drugs, shelter, or protection. The number of clandestine prostitutes has always been more common than historical data reveal. Some working-class women turned to prostitution to supplement meager wages, viewing it as a temporary form of employment they would cease to perform when they found a higher-paying or higher-status job or, more often, a husband.

The most common reasons women have become prostitutes are economic dependence, low social status, and a gendered sexual double standard. Such conditions have persisted through different cultures around the world in all recorded eras. In the 19th- and 20th-century United States, for example, a woman was dependent first on her father, then on her husband, and then on her sons or sons-in-law (if they were widowed) or a new husband. This cycle was the only morally acceptable option for "nice" girls, except for spinsterhood, which carried a stigma and dependency of its own. Women who could not find a husband depended on other family members to support them or else had to find work.

Both single and married women faced a certain paradox when looking for work outside the home. The white, middle-class assumption of most North

Americans was that married wage-earning women neglected their families and single working women were susceptible to seduction or rape by the men with whom they worked. Jobs were scarce, low paying, and limited in scope, and although there was a hierarchy of respectability among wage-earning jobs—from department store girls to factory workers to domestics— all wage-earning work was considered potentially dangerous to a woman's morality. Social convention held that the best place for girls and women no matter what their age remained in the home, preferably with a related man or her husband in charge of the household. Women who found themselves outside domestic confines and male control, whether they actually were selling sex or not, often were suspected to be prostitutes.

The sexual double standard, in which men are allowed sexual license with impunity but women are vilified for sexual activity outside marriage, has been another purveyor of prostitution around the world. The Victorian attitude toward prostitution, for example, was that it was a "necessary evil," which protected the virtue of "pure" women, who were thought to possess little or no sexual desire, while allowing men (and their poor, put-upon wives) an outlet for the supposedly superheated male libido. This double standard created a subculture throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th that supported and even promoted male patronization of prostitutes as "protection" of female virtue.

Same-Sex Prostitution

Same-sex prostitution has been either less prevalent or less publicized in the United States than in some large Western European cities. London's vibrant male commercial sex subculture was in existence since at least the Renaissance and "molly houses," as male brothels were known in that city, abounded during the Enlightenment period; Paris reportedly sported brothels that catered to female patrons in the early 20th century; and, during the Weimar Republic in Berlin, prostitutes were said to accost wealthy women on the street for sex, either paid or free.

Female-to-Female Prostitution

Historical evidence of women purchasing from or selling sex to other women is much harder to find than that for men. However, solid and anecdotal examples exist in sexological literature of the 19th and 20th centuries and in other sources about sexuality. For the most part, evidence suggests that same-sex sex acts between women was either something female prostitutes engaged in with other prostitutes or their girlfriends for pleasure outside of work or as one of a repertoire of sex services that male customers might purchase. Far fewer are examples in the past of women selling or buying sex from women.

As with male prostitution (discussed later), stories of female-to-female commercial sex acts reported in American sources almost always originated in Europe. While surveying prostitutes and examining Paris's regulated brothel district in the late 1830s, French sexologist Alexander Parent-Duchâtelet determined a significant number of prostitutes were what he referred to as "tribades" or women who had sex with other women. Although many of the women he surveyed denied this behavior, Parent-Duchâtelet estimated that nearly 25 percent of Parisian prostitutes engaged in homoerotic acts or had homoerotic tendencies. American texts often quoted the findings of European researchers when it came to evidence about female-to-female commercial sex. Through at least the first quarter of the 20th century, well-known sexologists whose work was widely read in America such as German Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Briton Havelock Ellis, and American James G. Kiernan parroted Parent-Duchâtelet's estimated percentage of lesbian prostitutes. Furthermore, they often gave his explanation for same-sex behavior among prostitutes: disgust for male customers, which ostensibly drove them to have sex with women.

With the advent of psychoanalytical explanations for behavior, which came about with the advent of Freudian psychology in the 20th century, American sexologists and their European counterparts blended earlier explanations for why prostitutes became disgusted with male customers and turned to female lovers with new ideas that so-called lesbian tendencies in women compelled women to become prostitutes in the first place. Sexologists of the day argued that "latent homosexuality" drove women to sell sex to men and that many if not a majority of prostitutes were lesbian. Although there was evidence that some prostitutes had male lovers with whom they experienced orgasm and to whom they were emotionally attached, such cases were believed by many to be uncommon. More likely, others argued, female prostitutes' inclination toward homosexuality was not

congenital but, rather, directed at other prostitutes and stemmed from the legendary solidarity among prostitutes that led to friendship.

Historically, many madams have been known to be lesbian or to have sexual relationships with their "girls." Prostitute and later madam Nell Kimball, whose 1970 autobiography described her younger years as a prostitute in a number of American towns, described the sexual preferences of a German madam for whom she worked as being for the young women who worked under her direction, even though she was married to a man. Mixed-race New Orleans madam Emma Johnson, known as "The Parisian Queen of America," was reported to be a lesbian. Johnson's house became famous for the so-called sex circuses that occurred there in the first decades of the 20th century, where women and men reportedly had sex with other women and men in any combination imaginable.

Eminent sexologist Alfred Kinsey noted in 1948 that the rarest type of prostitution involved women selling homosexual sex to other women. For the most part, women in the United States had neither social access to nor the financial means to purchase the services of prostitutes, even if they had the desire to do so. And, indeed, romantic friendships, at least until the early 20th century, provided for many women acceptable, private access to passionate emotional and physical relationships with other women, thus negating the need for a public sexual outlet. Prostitutes' writings and sexological studies of the 20th century, however, reveal the possibility that female "johns" may have purchased sex from female prostitutes. In a study of "homosexual" men and women incarcerated on New York's Blackwell's Island in the 1920s, a gay male informant reported that his friend, a 26-year-old addicted female prostitute, averaged $200 per week in a New York brothel and that there were more than 200 such homosexual female (and 100 male) prostitutes in New York City at the time. These numbers are likely overstated, but indicate that a woman of means could likely purchase sex from a woman if she knew where to look.

In the postwar period in the United States, scrutiny increasingly fell on lesbians (and gay men) and prostitutes, and efforts to control all forms of deviant sexuality were tied to ideas of national security and the nuclear, heterosexual, patriarchal family. During this time, both lesbians and prostitutes exemplified uncontained female sexuality and became linked in the popular imagination. Although sexual attitudes regarding all forms of so-called deviancy had become increasingly lax by the late 1960s, in the 1970s and 1980s, feminists returned social focus to prostitution and pornography, which they linked directly to male sexual exploitation and objectification of women. Perhaps ironically, feminists of the time (many of whom identified as lesbians) worked hard to disconnect prostitutes and lesbians as a way to desexualize lesbians (and thus gain them social legitimacy). In so doing, feminists alienated a large number of lesbians who worked as sex workers.

Male-to-Male Prostitution

Examples of male-to-male prostitution behavior in the United States, especially before the 20th century, are few. Most historical evidence of male prostitution in the United States comes from court records and vice investigations, such as the late 1600s Windsor, Connecticut, case in which a resident reportedly offered money in exchange for an oral sex act. In an 1878 case in Montana Territory, another man was found guilty of a "crime against nature" with a 14-year-old boy. Upon appeal, the guilty party testified that the 14-year-old was a "boy prostitute" and insisted that the court had allowed evidence of unrelated sex acts between the two into the case. The court was unconvinced and upheld the original conviction.

Male-to-male prostitution became either more commonplace or more visible toward the end of the 19th century in America. This was partly because of the growth of large urban areas, where sexual subcultures began to coalesce. Concomitant to the rise of sexual communities was an increase in public concern with and attempts to ferret out so-called sexual deviants and control their sexual behavior, including commercial sex contacts. New York City possessed perhaps the most well-known gay subculture during this time and a burgeoning population of male prostitutes. In 1892, for example, moral reformer Charles H. Parkhurst visited the Golden Rule Pleasure Club, where he was appalled to find that the young "women" occupying each room of the house were actually men wearing dresses and makeup and speaking in falsetto. At the Bowery district's Paresis Hall, large numbers of male prostitutes—as many as 50 at a time—plied their trade. Referred to at the time as "fairies," these men solicited other men at the tables for sexual acts and received commissions on the drinks they sold. Similar services could be found in other cities in the late 19th century. In Chicago, German sexologist and early gay advocate Magnus

Hirschfeld was approached in 1893 by an African American girl who turned out to be a male prostitute. Male prostitutes also reportedly worked in a Turkish bath in San Francisco's Barbary Coast in the 1890s.

During the 20th century, male prostitution became inextricably intertwined in the fabric of commercial sex in urban areas around the United States. British sex researcher Havelock Ellis reported in 1915 that male prostitutes in New York and Philadelphia wore red neckties as a symbol of their profession. By the 1930s, New York City's 42nd Street was well known as the city's primary cruising site for male and transvestite prostitutes. Although they were not as visible in smaller urban areas, male prostitutes also existed in such municipalities as Denver, Colorado, and Portland, Oregon. During both world wars, men selling sex to men became increasingly visible, partly because of increased concern about soldiers' contracting venereal disease from sex workers, male or female.

In contemporary times, male prostitutes have become ubiquitous. Men sell sex to men either openly as men or dressed as women in every community in the United States, from Jackson, Mississippi, to Columbus, Ohio, to San Francisco, California. Still other men make a living as drag performers or striptease artists, selling sexual fantasy and occasionally sexual acts on the side. Although the rise of HIV/AIDS brought with it a public health focus on all prostitutes who might transmit the disease, male sex workers, who are especially vulnerable to the virus, have come under especially intense scrutiny.

Conclusion

Scholars of literature and history have paid close attention to prostitution in the past. Studies abound of frontier prostitutes in the 19th- and 20th-century U.S. West and Alaska, as well as brothel prostitutes, crib workers, call girls, and streetwalkers in urban centers and municipalities in North and South America (New York, Chicago, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and Vancouver, to name a few), Europe (London, Paris, and Amsterdam), and to a lesser extent, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Literary scholars have examined erotic literature (and the business of publishing and censoring it) from such disparate times and places as imperial Japan, modern India, ancient Greece, and 19th-century Britain. Beginning in the 1960s, however, sociologists, anthropologists, ethnographers, and cultural historians began to ask quantitative and qualitative questions about more recent manifestations of sex work, as well as to look more closely at the customers, critics and supporters, and businesses surrounding sex workers themselves.

This research emphasizes the considerable distinctions among types of sex work as well as the contexts in which it occurs. Accordingly, contemporary scholars suggest that understanding both sex *workers* as a category of person and sex *work* as a form of employment involves a complex story with important lessons to relate about the history of class, race, gender, empire, and geography, as well as mention desire and sexual response, deviance and "normality," and heterosexuality and homosexuality. Contemporary research thus offers a more nuanced understanding of sex work, the sex industry, and society that moves beyond the world of prostitution and uncovers the many variations of commercial sex for sale today.

Heather Lee Miller

See also Call off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE); Kinsey, Alfred C.; Krafft-Ebing, Richard von; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream; Sexology and Sex Research; Sex Tourism

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SHAARAWI, HUDA (1879–1947)

Huda Shaarawi was a key figure in early-20th-century Egyptian feminism, serving as a feminist national activist, philanthropist, orator, and writer. She had a significant impact on women's lives in Egypt and in the Arab world. Born June 23, 1879, into a prosperous family in Minya, Egypt, she was educated in traditional gender roles. The early years of her life in Egypt were shaped by other international social movements, primarily led by women, including the woman's suffrage movement, the international peace movement, and the movement against legalized prostitution. She spent her early years in a harem, being born into the system as a member of wealthy, upper-class society. She was married at age 13 to her older cousin, Ali Shaarawi, already in his late 40s. Though separated from him for 7 years after his breach of their marriage contract, she reconciled with him under family pressure in 1900. They had two children together, a daughter, Bathna, and a son, Muhammad.

In 1908, she created the first philanthropic society operated by Egyptian women for the purposes of providing social services to underprivileged women and children. She was a proponent of female-run organizations and social projects because she believed that through this type of activity women would gain valuable knowledge and experience while dispelling the myth that women cannot be independent of a man's care and protection. She went on to found the Intellectual Association of Egyptian Women in 1914 and became the president of the Wafdist Women's Central Committee in 1920.

After the death of her husband, she no longer had a primary male figure influencing her life because her father and older brother were also deceased. At this time, she turned her efforts from the political independence movement and focused on women's equality. Her focus included education, voting rights, and marriage laws. Her arguments for women's equality were focused on historical facts proving that in ancient Egypt women were given status equal to that of men and this privilege ceased only through foreign rule. She also argued that Islam holds the equality of men and women, yet misinterpretations of the Koran had resulted in inappropriate treatment and application of Islamic law.

In 1923, she founded the Egyptian Feminist Union, serving as president until 1947. Shaarawi was a member of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, serving as vice president in 1935, and was the founding president of the Arab Feminist Union (1945–1947). Other significant contributions include her support of the founding of *al-Mara al-Arabiyya,* the newsletter of the Arab Feminist Union (1946) and founding the magazines *l'Egyptienne* (1925) and *al-Misriyya* (1937).

She is most widely known for the act of publicly removing her veil in 1923 at a Cairo train station following her return from a conference of the International Alliance of Women in Rome. At the time, this was considered a bold and symbolic act, yet ironically, not necessarily a key component of her work nor a primary focus of her affiliations. Shaarawi died December 12, 1947.

Jennifer Jaffer

See also Arab Feminist Union

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SHAKTI SHANTHI

Shakti Shanthi can be best understood as worship of the goddess in her various forms throughout the religions of South Asia. Generally speaking, the Hindu tradition can be divided into three categories: Vaishnavism, devotion to Vishnu; Shaivitism, veneration of Shiva; and Shaktism, worship of the goddess. The roots of the Shakti tradition can be found mainly in two Puranic texts, the Devi Mahatmya, or "The Specific Greatness of the Goddess," and the Durga-Saptashati, or "The Seven Hundred Verses of Durga." Both texts detail the great exploits of the goddess in her various forms. For example, the Devi Mahatmya relays the myth of the goddess's birth and her epic battle against the Buffalo Demon. In this text, the goddess takes on a wrathful persona, Kali, to finally overcome the demonic army. This story and the Durga-Saptashati form the textual basis for Shakti veneration in the Hindu tradition.

Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of devotees worldwide, there have been traditionally large populations of adherents in northwest India, where the texts were believed to have been originally composed, and in the eastern state of West Bengal. Shaktism tends to take on three distinct forms: Folk Shaktism, Tantric Shaktism, and Bhakti Shaktism. Although the texts cited do form the doctrinal cornerstones of this movement, there has been a long folk tradition of Shakti worship. In rural villages today, there are shrines devoted to the goddess Ambika, an ancient local deity who has the power to bestow blessings and curse enemies. Stories even tell of her murti, or image, leaving her shrine because she was unhappy with the veneration and offerings she was receiving.

Tantric Shaktism has its traditional home in West Bengal, but because of increased politicization of anything Tantric, most modern practitioners are reluctant to publicly acknowledge their connection to the tradition. The practices of Tantra rely heavily on the use of ritual and meditation to gain a spiritual connection with the goddess. In this tradition, physical objects and places can contain energy that is considered spiritually potent. Through the use of mantras, yantras, and other implements of ritual along with the guidance of a qualified guru tantrikas, Tantric practitioners strive to create and maintain a relationship with the goddess. This often causes the manifestation of spiritual powers such as precognition, extrasensory perception, and even sometimes possession by the goddess herself.

The term *Bhakti* translates to devotion. It is the final category of worship. This involves: chanting of sacred texts, mantras, and the goddess's name; singing of bhajan, or devotional love songs; making offerings to the goddess's murti; visualizations of the goddess; and prayers to her. These types of practices help the devotee establish particular relations with the goddess. Some foster a mother-child relationship, but others may opt for a teacher-student encounter with the goddess.

As Shaktism began to encounter modern Western culture, its appearance and practice evolved. June McDaniel, author of *Offering Flowers, Feeding Skulls,* points out that there are three emerging trends: First, Shakti tantra has become a practice of hedonism wherein sexuality alone is the spiritual path. Second, Kundalini Yoga is now a means of staying physically fit. Third, the veneration of Hindu goddesses is limited if practiced at all. Despite this, Shaktism is much alive and well in India. It is still practiced in its traditional modalities abroad, regardless of how it has been changed by modern popular culture.

Jessica Marion

See also Deities, Gender Images and; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini Nehru; Nuns; Religion, Gender Roles in; Sati; Theology, Feminist

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Shari'a

Shari'a is the methodology by which justice is determined in Islamic societies. Shari'a translates most closely into the English language as "the way" and achieved a definitive literary form in the late 12th century with the Hidaya. When properly understood, this methodology explains the continuity and change in which Muslims embrace the world as they reconcile the inner or spiritual life with the outer or public life. Four criteria are employed to find the way to proper living and allow understanding of Islamic gender roles, social, and familial relationships.

The Hidaya serves as a framework on which to base judicial decisions but is not a definitive set of rules. As a collection of previous decisions, the Hidaya enables analogy to guide Islamic scholars of jurisprudence toward the way of truth. Shari'a is often misinterpreted by Western society as Islamic law, but that is not accurate.

Islamic societies can be found throughout the world. Any normative Islamic law must be rejected as a description applied to peoples from the position of 19th- and 20th-century Orientalists from Western cultures applying modern concepts of progress, religion, civilization, law, and religion where those concepts have never before been understood with such rigidity. Sources of law as understood in Islamic societies as the way to find truth or justice are found in the Qur'an, the hadith or sayings of the prophet, the ijma' or collective input of schools and community, and by qiyas or reasoning by analogy.

Shari'a requires using all previous knowledge from these sources. By drawing from this fourfold source, much diversity in interpretation and application of law is possible. The pluri-cultural nature of Islamic societies allows for even more dynamism in decisions that apply to matters of law as written or as it occurs. For example, Sunni Muslim scholars are more concerned with the philosophy and practice of jurisprudence and procedure than do the members of the many Shi'a sects. Moreover, the Sufis are concerned with the personal experience of truth because each individual can understand it differently.

Therefore, any description of gender roles in Islamic societies can be understood as a matter of traditional roles that have undergone reexamination, reinterpretation, and reification. As described by the Prophet, by centuries of scholastic discourse, by reasoning through stories concerning men and women passed down from generation to generation, and by a reading of the Qur'an, gender roles are capable of continuity and change. Although Egyptian scholar Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghazali described the proper public behavioral norms for women in the 1950s and revised them in the 1980s based on his use of the methodological framework of Shari'a, no definitive legal restrictions exists for sexual or gender behaviors.

Shell Majury

See also Honor Killings; Religion, Gender Roles in; Veiling; Women and Islam

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Shepard, Matthew (1976–1998)

Matthew Shepard (born December 1, 1976, in Casper, Wyoming) was attacked on October 7, 1998, in a widely publicized anti-gay hate crime in Laramie, Wyoming. He was severely beaten in a remote area, tied to a fence, and died from his injuries on October 12. At the time, he was a student at the University of Wyoming with hopes of entering the foreign service.

Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson were arrested for the robbery and murder of Matthew. Matthew's shoes, wallet, and the gun used to beat him were found in their possession. McKinney and Henderson changed their story three times. Initially, the two men said they had been with their girlfriends, but their girlfriends did not support that alibi. During the trial, McKinney and Henderson used the "gay panic defense," claiming that Matthew made advances toward them and this angered them. After

their imprisonment, they changed their story and claimed in a *20/20* interview they were high on drugs and their plan had been robbery but not murder.

Henderson pled guilty and testified against McKinney to avoid the death penalty. He was sentenced to two consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole in 1999. McKinney went to trial and was found guilty of two counts of felony murder. He also received two consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole after Matthew's parents intervened and requested he not receive the death penalty so that he had "life in memory of one who no longer lives."

Response by media and the public was remarkable. Candlelight vigils were held while Matthew lay unconscious in intensive care. The Reverend Fred Phelps picketed Matthew's funeral and the trial, holding anti-gay signs such as "God Hates Fags," and "Matt Shepard rots in Hell." In a creative counter-protest, a friend of Matthew's, Romaine Patterson, organized a group wearing white robes and angel's wings to block the protestors from view.

This murder galvanized lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) groups and supporters of hate crime legislation. There are three movies and countless songs about Matthew's death. His murder raised the profile for efforts to pass hate crimes legislation. In 1999, President Bill Clinton tried to have sexual orientation incorporated into federal hate crime legislation, but this effort failed. Hate crime legislation varies by state, and in May 2005 the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA) was introduced into both houses of Congress to expand federal protection to sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, and disability. In 2007, the act was renamed the Matthew Shepard Act, and on May 3, the bill passed the House of Representatives, 237 to 180, and the bill passed the Senate on September 3. As of this printing (2008), the act is still waiting to be signed into law by the executive branch of the U.S government.

Matthew's parents, Judy and Dennis Shepard, founded the nonprofit Matthew Shepard Foundation at the end of 1998 to honor Matthew and to increase public visibility around issues of respect and dignity.

Lori B. Girshick

See also "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"; Heterosexual Privilege; Homophobia

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SINGLE-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

According to the U.S. Population Resource Center, during the past 50 years, the structure of the American family has been undergoing enormous change; there has been a dramatic increase in divorce, nonmarital births, and single parenthood; and these increases cut across class, race, and religion. Today, in the United States, and increasingly around the world, being raised by a single parent is not uncommon. In 2000, for the first time, less than one quarter of U.S. households (23.5 percent) were made up of nuclear families, a married man and woman and their children, down from 45 percent of households in 1960. This entry discusses issues relating to single-parent households.

Rose Kreider and Jason Fields argue in their 2005 report on the living arrangements of children that if today's family and household structures are compared with family and household structures since the late 19th century, the data from 1880 to 1970 at 30-year intervals show that the distribution of children's living arrangements changed little. During this entire period, the proportion of children who lived with only their mothers increased merely from 8 percent to 11 percent, and between 83 percent and 85 percent of children lived with two parents. Major shifts in living arrangements occurred between 1970 and 1990, however, when the proportion of children living only with their mothers doubled from 11 percent to 22 percent. Since 1990, the changes in children's living arrangements have leveled off.

Divorce and nonmarital births now account for the majority of single-parent households. Currently, nearly half of all marriages end in divorce, and each year more than one million children see their parents separate or divorce. Although the divorce rate leveled off during the 1990s, divorce among couples with children continues to increase as roughly 60 percent of remarriages are projected to end in divorce. Today, one in three children is born to unmarried parents.

Single-mother families increased from 3 million in 1970 to 10 million in 2003, and the number of single-father families grew from less than half a million to 2 million. In 1960, only 9 percent of children under age 18 lived in single-parent homes; in 2003, the percentage rose to 26 percent. According to the 2003 U.S. Census, there are currently 12 million one-parent families.

Roughly half of all children born today in the United States are expected to live apart from a parent before they reach age 18, and this is not only because of divorce and nonmarital births, but also because of death, separation, imprisonment, abandonment, single-parent adoption, donor insemination, and egg donor/surrogate motherhood. For example, there has been a steep increase in the number of parents imprisoned, as nearly 1.5 million children—roughly 2 percent of all children in the United States—have a parent in prison. More than 90 percent of prisoners in the United States are men, and according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, most prisoners (55 percent) have minor children whose average age is 8.

Single-Mother Households

Approximately 85 percent of all single parents in the United States are women and about one third of custodial mothers have never been married. In the United States, an astonishing 40 percent of children who do not live with their fathers have not seen their father during the past year. In the 1990s, female-headed households increased five times faster than married-couple households with children and grew by 25 percent. According to the 2001 Population Resource Center executive summary, the percentage of babies born to unwed mothers has increased sixfold since 1960, and reached its highest rate in 1999 when 33 percent of all births were out-of-wedlock. Single-mother families are two-and-one-half times more likely than custodial father families are to live in poverty. Employment is an important factor: although many single mothers have jobs, in 2001 7.4 million children were living with a single mother who was unemployed or not in the labor force. Children of never-married mothers were twice as likely (59 percent) to have their mothers unemployed or not in the labor force as were children whose mothers were divorced (29 percent). The increase in the number of single-parent households affects more minority than nonminority children. In 1999, in the United States,

the rates of nonmarital births for Asian woman was 15 percent, for European American women 22 percent, for Latinas 42 percent, for Native American Indian women 59.3 percent, and for African American women 68.8 percent.

Single-Father Households

Kreider and Fields's 2005 report on the living arrangements of children points out that the proportion of children living with only their fathers increased from 1970 to 1990 to levels that do not differ much from those recorded 100 years ago. In 2001, 71 percent of the 72.5 million children under age 18 lived in two-parent households, 26 percent lived in single-parent households, and the remaining 4 percent lived in households without either parent. Approximately 79 percent of the 18.5 million children with unmarried parents resided only with their mother (16.3 million), and 11 percent of children living with unmarried parents lived with their father without their mother present (2.2 million children). U.S. single fathers are increasingly likely to be younger than 30, to never have married, and to have low income. The proportion of all children living in a father-only family rose from about 1 percent of all children in 1960 to approximately 4 percent in 1990. Most children living in a father-only household had a father with no more than a high school education (67 percent). According to the 2004 U.S. Census, there are currently 2.3 million single fathers, up from 400,000 in 1970, and 2.2 million in 2001. Single fathers are more likely to cohabit (33 percent) than single mothers (11 percent) are.

Poverty in Single-Parent Households

The median income for married-couple households ($56,827) was much higher than for male-headed households ($41,838) and female-headed households ($26,164) in 1999. The number of families in poverty with a female householder and no husband present increased from 3.5 million in 2001 to 3.6 million in 2002; these families made up half of all families in poverty. The 2004 U.S. Census Supplementary Survey finds that the lowest number of single-parent families with children who live below the poverty line is in Alaska (17 percent) and the highest is in Mississippi (48 percent). Two major obstacles to overcoming

poverty are collection of child support and insertion of low-income fathers into the workforce. The proportion of custodial parents in full-time, year-round jobs grew from 45.6 percent to 53.7 percent in 2004. Approximately 89 percent of single fathers are in the work force, and 77 percent of single mothers work (approximately 30 percent work part-time, with custodial mothers more likely to work part time than custodial fathers).

Policy changes could be made in the United States to help single parents, especially single mothers, escape poverty. Measures that help single parents combine paid employment and child rearing and support the access of women to paid work are fundamental to improving the security of single-parent families. The extension of compulsory social security to all employees, including domestic and part-time workers, and the recognition of unpaid child-rearing work through work credits under contributory systems or through the provision of universal benefits, for example, would increase the security of single-parent households.

Child support is important as income is higher and poverty lower for custodial parents receiving full child support payments. Approximately 59 percent of custodial parents have child support agreements (62.2 percent of custodial mothers have agreements, 39.2 percent of fathers have agreements). There are 4.6 million fathers who provide child support (84 percent of child-support providers are men). Custodial mothers received an average of $3,800 in 1999; those who received their entire support payment averaged $4,900. One trend the U.S. Census has made clear is that young fathers frequently make little money at the time of their child's birth but often experience steady increases in income; studies point out that teenage fathers who live apart from their children have personal incomes that tend to double between 18 and 26 years of age. Strong arguments have been made that more flexible support orders need to be available so that child support can grow as income grows and also to ensure that noncustodial fathers do not accrue support debts that are so staggeringly high, they opt out and work under the table where income is hidden.

Welfare-related changes in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) replaces Aid to Families with Dependent Children with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). TANF grants end when families have received assistance for 60 cumulative months and requires recipients to find jobs after 2 years on aid but

allows states to be flexible with as much as 20 percent of their caseload. According to a 2000 report by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the median income of people leaving welfare is between $8,000 and $12,000. The changes in federal welfare policy recast child support as an essential income source for preventing child poverty and establishing paternity has become a priority for the state. Genetic technology has made determining paternity easier but the sheer number of cases has grown, as many states are currently experimenting with ways to have fathers acknowledge out-of-wedlock births at the hospital where their child is born so they appear on the child's birth certificate. In situations where the noncustodial parent has not been identified, cannot be found, or is unable to pay support, child support assurance programs are needed so the state can make up the gap between the support that is actually paid by a noncustodial parent and a minimum level of support.

Unfortunately, U.S. single-parent families experience significantly higher levels of poverty than do their counterparts in other affluent Western nations. Analysis of the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), which considers households poor when their family income falls below 50 percent of their country's median income, reveals that in the mid-1990s more than 45 percent of U.S. single mothers were poor compared with single mother's poverty rates in France (13 percent), Sweden (5 percent), and Finland (5 percent). The LIS cross-national measure of poverty shows that even if U.S. women had extremely low rates of single motherhood, their poverty rates would still be higher than those of women in other affluent Western nations because of the prevalence of poverty-wage jobs and the failure of government social welfare programs to take citizens out of poverty. When working full time (at least 35 hours a week), more than 40 percent of U.S. single mothers earn wages too low to escape poverty, which is in striking contrast to the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Sweden where working full time pulls most single mothers and their families out of poverty.

The countries best able to reduce poverty for single-parents have social policies that include employment supports such as subsidized child care, paid-leave programs, generous welfare benefits such as child allowances that all parents receive, and guaranteed pensions. It is also clear from the LIS that family or welfare policies do not increase nontraditional families. Iceland, the Netherlands, and Australia, for example, have more generous welfare

support systems than the United States does but also have lower poverty rates, lower teenage fertility rates, and a lower percentage of single-parent families. By contrast, the United States, with the least generous welfare system and few pro-family policies, has higher teenage fertility rates and a higher percentage of single-parent families living in poverty than do other affluent Western nations.

Children and Education in Single-Parent Households

One in two children will live in a single-parent household at some point during their childhood and nearly half of all single-mother households include more than one child. Whether the single parent is divorced or never married may be an important indicator of the quality of life for children in these families. According to the 2003 U.S. Census, children living with divorced single mothers typically have an economic advantage over children living with those who never married because divorced parents are, on average, older, have more education, and have higher incomes than do parents who never married. Non-Hispanic white single-mother families were more likely to be the result of a marital disruption (49 percent were divorced) than an out-of-wedlock birth (31 percent were never married); black single mothers were the least likely to be divorced (20 percent) and the most likely to be never married (62 percent); and Hispanic single mothers were more likely than were non-Hispanic white single mothers or black single mothers to be in a related subfamily (22 percent, compared with 13 percent and 15 percent, respectively).

Sara McLanahan and Gary Sandefur demonstrate in their book *Growing Up with a Single Parent* that on average children of single-parent households do far worse than children of two-parent households on variables such as high school and college dropout rates, and the authors show that the low income of single-parent households accounts for a substantial portion of the difference. Donna Ginther also found poverty to be a crucial factor when examining single-parented children's educational outcomes. In a 2004 article in *Demography,* she argues that when examining the differences between children in traditional nuclear families (i.e., families in which all children are the joint children of both parents) and children reared in other family structures (e.g., single-parent families) using descriptive

regressions (rather than simple correlations) to control for other variables, the relationship between family structure and children's educational outcomes is often statistically insignificant.

Penn State researcher Dr. Suet-ling Pong and his colleagues examined the disparity in science and math performance between children in single-parent households and those in two-parent households and found the disparity greatest for single-parented children in the United States compared with single-parented children in 10 other similar industrialized countries such as Canada, Norway, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Austria, Scotland, England, and Ireland. Even after adjusting for family resources and other variables, the U.S. single-parented students score lower than do similar Australian, Icelandic, and Dutch students in math and score lower than Austrian, Australian, Icelandic, Irish, Dutch, and Norwegian students in science. Dr. Jaap Dronkers, Pong's colleague at the European University Institute, points out that the differences between single-parent families and two-parent families in income and parent-child contact time is compensated for in countries with stronger family policies, such as child or family allowances, sliding scale child care costs, and paid maternity leave.

A Global Perspective on Single Parenting

Across the globe, single-parent homes are common because of the changing roles of women in society, AIDS, and migration patterns. Currently, one quarter of the world's households are headed by women. According to the United Nations in *The World's Women, 2000: Trends and Statistics,* compiled by the United Nations, female-headed households account for 42 percent of all households in southern Africa, 10–24 percent in Asia, 22 percent in Latin America, and 30 percent in developed regions. The Clearinghouse on International Developments in Child, Youth and Family Policies at Columbia University found that 19.3 percent of all households in 2001 in Canada with children were single-parent households; in Australia in 2001, it was 31 percent; in Japan in 2000, it was 8.3 percent; in Denmark in 2001, it was 18.4 percent; and in France in 2000, it was 17.1 percent. Currently, about 25 percent of children in the United Kingdom live in single-parent families. Poverty rates for households headed by a

single mother are at least three times higher than for two-parent households in Australia, Canada, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, and the United States.

Single-parent families represent nearly a quarter of all Russian households, nearly all of which are headed by women, half of whom live with adult relatives who help share domestic and child care duties. Before economic reform in Russia, single-mother households and their children were somewhat protected from poverty by welfare programs such as income support, subsidized child care and preschool, and full employment guarantees. Unfortunately, economic reform in Russia has reduced government welfare and left single mothers at increased risk of poverty.

In many parts of the world, it is not divorce or choice that creates single-parent households but, rather, women's reproductive role, parental death because of AIDS, and armed conflicts. According to a UN population study conducted in 1998 titled *Too Young to Die,* the principal causes of avoidable female deaths are associated with women's reproductive role, as well over 500,000 pregnancy-related deaths occur around the world every year, and developing countries account for 99 percent of them. A 2002 Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS report estimated 13.4 million children under the age of 15 in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean had lost a parent to AIDS. By 2010, the number of children who will have lost a parent to AIDS is projected to reach 25 million, and most of these children will live in sub-Saharan Africa. Projections for Asia indicate that by 2010, 4.3 million children will have lost a parent to AIDS. Many children who live in single-parent households lose access to basic health care, clothing, housing, and education. For children, the death of a parent can mean greater responsibilities in caring for siblings, tending to the fields, or earning an income. This burden falls disproportionately on older women and girls.

Conclusion

The demographic shift from two-parent to one-parent families has many causes. In the United States, a larger proportion of births occurred to unmarried women in the 1990s than in the 1960s and 1970s, and thus increased the number of single parents. Also, the delay of marriage has increased the likelihood of non-marital births as has the growth in divorce among couples with children. Of the 12 million one-parent families in 2003, the 10 million maintained by women were more likely were than the 2 million maintained by men to include more than one child (45 percent compared with 37 percent) and to have family incomes below the poverty level (32 percent compared with 16 percent). These trends may affect the well-being of children and should affect the programs and policies that relate to welfare, family leave, child care, and other areas of work and family life.

Single parenthood has risen sharply in almost all developed nations, which suggests complex and deeply structured causes that defy simple explanation. For example, some of the explanations for the increase in single-parent families include the following: the transition from a manufacturing economy to a postindustrial information economy that has resulted in diminished economic opportunities for lower-skilled men, especially in cities; the women's movement and greater women's participation in the labor force that has weakened their economic dependence upon marriage; the sexual revolution and advances in contraception and expanded reproductive rights; welfare policies that have discouraged marriage; and "no-fault" divorce laws. The rise in single parenthood suggests an increase toward individual autonomy, the weakening of marriage as a lifelong institution, and a growing disconnect between childbearing and marriage.

Lynn Comerford

See also Caregiving; Child Support; Deadbeat Dads; Divorce; Domestic Labor; Family Law; Fatherhood Movements; Gender Discrimination in Employment; Motherhood; Prison and Parenting; Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; Welfare Reform

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U.S. Population Resource Center: http://www.prcdc.org

SOCIOLOGISTS FOR WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Founded in 1971, Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS) is a U.S.-based, international, nonprofit scientific and educational organization of more than 1,000 social scientists. It emerged from the hard work of the women sociologists who walked out of the 1969 American Sociological Association (ASA) meetings and organized, publicized concerns about the status of women in sociology and in society in general, and demanded and instituted change.

The goals of SWS include the promotion and dissemination of research about and by women, educating others on the implications of this research; helping women establish careers as sociologists; providing a network of friendship, support, and professional mentoring; and taking political action to improve women's lives and create feminist social change. In 1987, SWS founded *Gender & Society,* a top journal in sociology and women's studies that publishes scholarship with a social and structural analysis of gender perspectives, as well as articles and book reviews. To educate policymakers, assist educators, and promote social activism, SWS creates, publishes, and disseminates fact sheets on such issues as intersex, poverty and welfare reform, immigration, health, and family, and publishes *Networknews,* the organization's official newsletter. SWS has nongovernmental organization (NGO) status at the United Nations, and has a commitment to participating in public debates of feminist concern.

In addition to professional development and significant informal mentoring, SWS has a formal mentoring program that connects a member needing assistance on a project with a member with expertise in that area and a willingness to commit her time to this endeavor. The organization supports young scholars by awarding the Barbara Rosenblum Cancer Dissertation Scholarship, the Cheryl Allyn Miller Award for scholarship on women and work, the Beth B. Hess Memorial Scholarship to a graduate student who began her or his work at a community college or technical school, and the Women of Color Dissertation Scholarship to support women scholars from underrepresented groups who study the concerns of women of color, and by contributing to the ASA Minority Fellow program. SWS assists women's legal battles against discrimination with financial as well as emotional and professional support. The winners of SWS's Feminist Activist and Feminist Lecturer Awards travel to campuses to share their expertise, and the SWS Mentoring Award recognizes the significance of mentoring work.

SWS actively works to bring women of color; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, and queer (LGBTQ) women; and other marginalized women to the center of the discipline by supporting their scholarship, activism, and professional success. SWS has partnered with the Association of Black Sociologists (ABS) to build a strong coalition of women scholars concerned about the status of all women, and sponsors membership and participation for international scholars (particularly from developing countries).

SWS is a voluntary organization with elected officers and committees and a paid executive officer. The organization meets twice annually to conduct its business, share research, provide mentoring and professional development, and give members an opportunity to foster relationships.

Heather Laube

See also NGOs and Grassroots Organizing

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SODOMY

Sodomy refers to a number of sexual acts that have traditionally been referred to as "crimes against nature." In contemporary society, *sodomy* most commonly refers to anal sexual intercourse between two males. More broadly, it refers to other behaviors that have been classified as sexually immoral or deviant, including oral sex (fellatio or cunnilingus), any type of sexual penetration by a body part or object other than penetration of the vagina by the penis, and bestiality. Sodomy reflects dominant assumptions about what is socially and culturally acceptable in the context of sexual relations. The roots of these assumptions reflect what is thought to be "natural" and "normal," and the idealization of penile-vaginal sexual intercourse for the purpose of procreation.

The word *sodomy* has meaning in both religious and legal contexts and derives from references to the ancient city of Sodom in the book of Genesis in the Bible. The story of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah tells of the visit of two angels to the house of Lot. Lot invited the angels to stay with him and he provided food for them, but before the angels went to bed, a crowd of men arrived at Lot's house, aggressively demanding to "know" the visitors. In some interpretations, "know" is translated from Hebrew as meaning "to have sex with." The story continues by reporting that God destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah by raining burning sulfur down on them because of their sinfulness. This series of events has widely been cited as a key example of the condemnation of homosexuality in the Bible. Other scholars have challenged the interpretation of "to know" and instead argue that the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah concerned inhospitality or disrespect for God's messengers. However, the former of these conflicting interpretations—alongside a small number of other biblical references to homosexuality—has been extremely influential in shaping laws, policies, and social attitudes in relation to homosexuality.

In a legal context, laws that prohibit sodomy between consenting adults have a long history worldwide. Sodomy laws were first introduced in America by colonists from England, where sodomy or buggery was at the time a crime punishable by death. The first colony to introduce these laws was the Virginia Colony in 1610. This crime carried the death penalty, but only applied to males. Other colonies followed suit in introducing sodomy laws, and by the time the United States had formed, each state had its own sodomy laws. The specific acts that these laws included and the maximum punishments varied between states.

Historically, sodomy laws reflected a Christian emphasis on preserving the sanctity of sexual intercourse to achieve procreation, and as such, often focused on heterosexual sexual behavior. However, in the latter third of the 20th century, sodomy laws started to target homosexual sexual relations. Some states repealed the section of sodomy laws that applied to sexual relations between a man and a woman, while upholding sodomy laws for same-sex sexual relations. The first state to repeal sodomy laws in their entirety was Illinois in 1961, and 20 other states did so in the 1970s. These changes typically formed part of a general modernization of criminal law, marked partly by the exclusion of sodomy from the American Law Institute's Moral Penal Code in 1955. These changes also reflected pressure from gay rights organizations, and the attention that civil liberties organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union drew to the importance of freedom and privacy.

In 1986, however, *Bowers v. Hardwick* attempted to overturn Georgia's sodomy laws, and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states should be able to choose to uphold laws that criminalized consensual sodomy. The messages conveyed by this ruling were that sodomy was immoral, that gay men and lesbians did not have the right to have freedom of choice over their sexual behavior, and that arguments that stated that sodomy laws violate privacy were misplaced. Significantly, this ruling had wider implications for gay men and lesbians, by governing their sexual behavior and by justifying employment discrimination and preventing lesbians and gay men from being awarded custody of their children.

By 2003, sodomy laws remained in place in 14 states. In four states (Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas), these laws exclusively concerned same-sex sexual relations, whereas in the remaining 10 states (Alabama, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia) the laws applied to heterosexual sexual

relations too. Sodomy laws became unconstitutional throughout the United States on June 26, 2003, following the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on *Lawrence v. Texas.* This ruling stated that adults should be free to choose what types of consensual sexual relations they enter into when in the privacy of their own homes, and thus overturned the earlier 1986 ruling on *Bowers v. Hardwick.* The *Lawrence v. Texas ruling* was a highly significant victory for the gay rights movement and the civil liberties movement, both of which had actively campaigned for the sodomy laws to be repealed. However, terms such as *sodomy* and *deviant sexual conduct* continue to be used in some states' legal statutes in the context of nonconsensual sexual acts. This suggests that although sexual acts outside of penile-vaginal intercourse have been decriminalized, distinctions between what is thought to be natural and what is considered unnatural remain.

Rebecca Barnes

See also American Civil Liberties Union; Christianity and Homosexuality; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Sexual Rights and Citizenship

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Sperm Donors

A man who gives or sells his sperms for sperm donation is called a *sperm donor.* Sperm donation is a process in which donated sperm of a man are used for making a woman pregnant. The people who use sperm donation for having a baby include infertile men, men with genetic diseases, and lesbian couples that want to have a baby.

The act of sperm donations is done via sperm banks that provide sperm donors with facilities to store donated sperm. The process in which donated sperm extracted from semen are used for impregnating a woman is called "artificial insemination." Since 1965 when the first sperm banks were established in the United States and Japan, there have been many discussions regarding medical, ethical, and legal issues of sperm donation.

Sperm banks are the institutes in which sperm donation is done via specific regulations. Selective breeding is possible in a sperm bank, which means that the parents can specify the characteristics of the baby they like to have. The storing of sperm in a sperm bank requires special conditions, but the time sperm can be kept is not limited.

In the United States, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is responsible for making guidelines for sperm donation, sperm donors, and sperm banks. There are also some specific regulations in individual states. In other parts of the world, various organizations deal with sperm donation regulations. The FDA estimates that there are more than 500 centers with reproductive tissue establishments in the United States that are subject to regulations of collection, processing, storage, and distribution of human gametes or embryos.

The sperm donors can be known or anonymous to the individuals receiving the sperm. The donated sperm and sperm donors undergo medical tests to ensure the status of their health. In another process, called posthumous sperm retrieval (PSR), sperm are extracted from semen of a man who has suffered brain death. These sperm can be used for artificial insemination for the purpose of sperm donation or other purposes.

The relationship of a sperm donor and the child born from the donated sperm has been discussed a great deal; the biologic and genetic relationship between the child and the sperm donor is certainly a challenge. Some people have suggested the term *sperm donor* be replaced by the terms *biological father* or *genetic father.*

Sperm donors can earn money with the donation of their sperm and financial matters are one of the most common reasons for sperm donation. There is an effort in all countries that have sperm banks to limit the number of sperm donations by one person, and the sperm banks try to decrease the number of offspring from one man. Besides sperm donation via official sperm banks, there are private sperm donations by individuals via the Internet. This unofficial sperm donation has caused many problems regarding controlling and monitoring sperm donations, and some sperm donors have donated sperm privately via

the Internet besides having had sperm donations in different sperm banks.

In the official process of sperm donation in a sperm bank, the sperm donors enter into a contract for selling his sperm. In most cases to qualify as a sperm donor, one must be an age in the range determined by sperm donation authorities, have an acceptable medical history, and have high-quality semen samples. Donors are evaluated via laboratory screening, medical history, and physical examinations. In different countries, official organizations monitor the health of the sperm donors. In the United States, Human Cell and Tissue or Cell and Tissue Bank Product (HCT/Ps), which is established by the FDA, is used for the identification of the health status of sperm and sperm donors.

The anonymity in the sperm donation process has been a matter of great importance. Despite the attitude toward knowing about their own biological identity among children born from sperm donation, some studies have shown that many sperm donors prefer to be anonymous and nowadays anonymity in sperm donation is viewed from various perspectives in other countries.

Despite recent developments in sperm donation, many limitations regarding ethical and legal issues remain. There is no international guideline for sperm donation and a variety of different legal issues exist in different countries, so the process of donation and the export of sperm between different countries still has many issues and has its own limitations. In many countries (for example, many Islamic countries), sperm donation is still strictly prohibited. Development of sperm donation as a medical challenge will depend on the establishment of regulations that cover all ethical and legal issues.

Iman Tavassoly

See also Fertility Rates; Infertility; New Reproductive Technologies; Surrogacy

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Donor Sibling Registry: http://www.donorsiblingregistry.com

Sperm banks in the United States:
    http://www.SpermBanker.com

Sperm Donors Worldwide:
    http://www.sperm-donors-worldwide.com

Sports and Homosexuality

Sports are an important vehicle for the transmission of dominant values and systems of privilege, particularly those built upon race, class, gender, and sexuality inequality. One of the many ways this is accomplished is through the erasure of homosexuality from sport and sports culture. In both men's and women's sports, homosexuality is routinely sanctioned and silenced, such that the number of "out" collegiate and professional gay athletes remains markedly low, even as homosexuality becomes less stigmatized in other social arenas. For men, sports are often used as a way of fortifying masculinity and asserting male dominance. Open homosexuality is perceived as a threat to these social accomplishments and is thus suppressed. In women's sports, homophobia coincides with a history of gender discrimination in sports to create a hostile environment for lesbian athletes. Despite the oppressively heterosexist environment that sport engenders, a number of athletes and activists have begun to challenge homosexual invisibility in sport. Although sports and homosexuality continue to be held in ideological tension, recent institutional and social changes suggest the promise of a more accepting environment for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) athletes and fans. This entry discusses the relationship between masculinity, sports, and

homophobia, the relationship between lesbians and gender discrimination in sports, and some contemporary responses to homophobia in sports.

Masculinity, Sports, and Homophobia

Most social scientists consider masculinity and femininity to be socially constructed achievements. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is used to describe the normative characteristics of masculinity that all men are expected to strive toward (and yet most, if not all, fall short of). These characteristics include aggression, strength, drive, self-determination, and lack of emotion. Because the standards of hegemonic masculinity are so difficult to meet, men engage in a variety of strategies to help shore up their masculine identities; among these, sports play a key role. Through engaging in sports that emphasize these characteristics, men find one potent avenue toward the achievement of the masculine ideal. The historical relegation of women to the sporting sidelines in roles such as cheerleaders bolsters the importance of sport to masculine identity construction.

One of the most enduring features of hegemonic masculinity is its association with heterosexuality. The hegemonic man is supposed to be heterosexually oriented above all else. For sports to continue to serve as a venue for hegemonic masculinity building, homosexuality must be actively suppressed. As such, homophobia is an abiding hallmark of sports culture. Further, it has been suggested that many men enter sports to protect themselves against the "threat" of their own potential homosexuality. This is a common theme in the narratives of the professional male athletes who have come out as gay or bisexual. Some scholars of sport have used Marcuse's theory of sublimation to assert that the interpersonal physicality of many sports serves as a release valve for latent same-gender desire. The intimate (and often violent) use of touch in sports can be read as a socially acceptable way for men to manage homoerotic feelings and related fears.

Lesbians and Gender Discrimination in Sport

Unlike sports and masculinity, which are seen as inherently compatible, sports and femininity are seen as incongruous. Historically, women were banned from many sports, which were seen as damaging to their "naturally" delicate constitutions. Even though women have been granted entrée to several sporting activities, women's sports have yet to achieve the same status as men's sports. One of the ways that women's sports have become legitimized is through social reassurance of the femininity of female athletes. Women's teams are often named a diminutive form of their men's counterpart (such as "Lady Tigers" or "Tigerettes"). Sports media coverage of women's sports emphasizes traditional depictions of femininity, such as showing female athletes in wedding dresses, with children, or dressed as heterosexual sex symbols.

Because sports participation and femininity are considered to be at odds, women who do engage in sports are often labeled *lesbians.* This stereotype is used to discourage women's participation in sport and to denigrate female athletes as unnatural and deviant. Such a stereotype is especially pernicious for lesbian athletes, who may feel considerable pressure to "disprove" the validity of the stereotype. In this way, homophobia in women's sports operates in an opposite but equivalent manner as it does in men's sports—although gay men feel pressure to remain "closeted" because men in sports are not supposed to be homosexual, lesbians feel pressure to remain "closeted" because women in sports are *assumed* to be homosexual. In either case, the effect of this gendered oppression is the continued invisibility of gays and lesbians in sports.

Challenges to LGBT Invisibility in Sport

Despite the pressures to remain closeted, gay and lesbian athletes have come out in greater numbers in recent years. The visibility of high-profile lesbian and gay athletes has challenged heterosexist assumptions and brought attention to the problem of homophobia in sports. In 1977, David Kopay became the first NFL-associated player to come out as gay. Because football is one of the most aggressive and physically demanding sports, his coming out was a powerful counter to the assumed incompatibility between sports and gay men. Other professional athletes to break the silence about their homosexuality include Greg Louganis, the Olympic diver; Bob Paris, a former Mr. America and Mr. Universe; and, most recently, John Amaechi, the first former NBA player to come out as gay. These public examples of gay athletes have offered a significant challenge to the taken-for-granted relationship between sports, masculinity, and heterosexuality.

In the realm of women's sports, Billie Jean King and Martina Navratilova, both professional tennis players, were among the first openly lesbian athletes when they came out in the early 1980s. They have since become important advocates for gender equality and gay rights in sports and society. Sheryl Swoopes made history in 2005 by becoming one of the first active professional team sport athletes to come out publicly as gay. She is an Olympian athlete and a player in the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA). Additionally, transwoman Renée Richards made history in 1977 when she fought for and won the right to participate in the U.S. Open and other professional women's tennis events—a major landmark for transgender and gender-variant athletes.

One of the most important sporting events dedicated toward gay visibility in sport is the Gay Games. Tom Waddell, a gay Olympian athlete, founded the Gay Games in 1982. The Gay Games were originally dubbed the Gay Olympics. However, the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC) sued event organizers, prompting some gay activists to cite homophobia as a motivation for the lawsuit, given that the USOC did not sue similar events (such as the Special Olympics or the Police Olympics). The Gay Games are held every 4 years in various host cities. There are no qualifying competitions for the Gay Games; they are open to all interested participants. According to the Federation of Gay Games, the purpose of the games is to promote gay pride and social acceptance for LGBT people. The participation in the Gay Games has grown significantly—more than 11,000 LGBT athletes participated in the 2006 Chicago games.

Institutional and Social Change: Looking Ahead

Recently, sporting organizations have begun to publicly address the issue of homophobia in sport. In 1999, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) added sexual orientation to its charter's nondiscrimination policy. In recent years, the NCAA has also included a panel on the concerns of gay student-athletes in its yearly convention. In 2006, gay former NFL player Esera Tuaolo led a rookie orientation session on homosexuality and homophobia for the National Football League. Further, a 2005 survey conducted by *Sports Illustrated* magazine demonstrated significant public support for gay athletes. Most of those polled said that

it is acceptable for openly gay athletes to participate in sports. Additionally, 76 percent of the participants said that their support of various athletes would not be affected if they were to come out as gay.

Although these changes suggest a growing acceptance of homosexuality in sports, athletes and gay rights activists say that homophobia and discrimination continue to be a significant problem for lesbian and gay sports participants. Prominent professional athletes, particularly in men's sports, have gone on record to say that they oppose gay participants in team sports. In addition to finding support for gay athletes, the *Sports Illustrated* poll also found that 68 percent of fans believed that coming out as gay would negatively affect a sports player's career. These opinions illuminate the difficulties still faced by LGBT athletes considering the prospect of coming out.

Catherine Connell

See also Cheerleading; Gender Stereotypes; Heterosexuality; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Masculinity Studies; Tomboy/Sissy

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STANDPOINT THEORY

Standpoint theory is a feminist theoretical perspective that argues that knowledge always stems from social position and that to get the best vantage point about the world, inquiries need to be based in the lives of women and other marginalized people. The perspective denies that traditional science is objective and suggests that research and theory has ignored and marginalized women and women's ways of thinking.

The theory emerged from feminist consciousness-raising and the Marxist argument that people from an

oppressed class have special access to knowledge that is not available to those from a privileged class. In the 1970s, a few feminist writers inspired by this Marxist insight began to examine how inequalities between men and women influence knowledge production. Their work is related to epistemology, a branch of philosophy that examines the nature and origins of knowledge. A feminist epistemology stresses that knowledge is always socially situated. In societies stratified by gender and other categories, such as race and class, one's social positions shape what one can know.

Feminist theorist Sandra Harding coined the term *standpoint* to categorize some feminist epistemologies that emphasize women's ways of knowing, including the writings of Dorothy Smith and Nancy Hartsock. Building on this work, Harding argues that the lives of people at the top of social hierarchies delimit what they can understand about the world and themselves, so it is easy for these people to lose sight of real human relations and the true nature of social reality. For this reason, these privileged people—who have more access to the academy and other sites of knowledge production and policy making—miss critical questions about the social and natural world. In contrast, Harding argues, the lives of people at the bottom of social hierarchies give them a unique standpoint that is a better starting point for all scholarship. Although the lives of such people have been ignored or made invisible, their marginalized positions actually make it easier to define important research questions and explain social and natural problems.

Smith's work has shaped this perspective, particularly within sociology. In her book *The Everyday World as Problematic,* Smith argues that sociology has ignored and objectified women, making them the "Other." She claims that women's experiences are fertile grounds for feminist knowledge. By grounding sociological work on women's everyday experiences, sociologists can ask new questions about women's and men's lives. For instance, Smith posits that because women are responsible for caring for the bodies of everyone in society, men (particularly powerful ones) are able to dedicate their energy to thinking about abstract concepts that are viewed as more valuable and important. Women's activities are made invisible and seen as "natural," rather than as part of human culture and history. But if sociologists start from women's lives, they can ask concrete questions about why women are assigned to these activities, and what the consequences are for social institutions such as education, the family, government, and the economy.

Standpoint theorists also question objective empiricism—the idea that science can be objective through rigorous methodology. They argue that this ideal obscures the power that shapes science. For instance, Harding states that scientists have ignored their own androcentric and sexist research methods and results, despite their claims of neutrality. Therefore, recognizing the standpoint of knowledge-producers makes people more aware of the power inherent in positions of scientific authority. To standpoint theorists, all knowledge is produced from social standpoints; privileged positions are more likely to be obscured. Thus, as standpoint theorist Donna Haraway argues, when one starts from the perspective of women or other marginalized people, one is more likely to acknowledge the importance of standpoint and to create knowledge that is embodied, self-critical, and coherent.

In her book *Black Feminist Thought,* Patricia Hill Collins proposes a form of standpoint theory that emphasizes the perspective of black women. Because of what Collins terms the *matrix of oppression*—an interlocking system of race, gender, and class oppression and privilege—black women have a distinctive point of view from which to understand their marginalized status. She calls this position "outsider-within" and suggests that black women can contribute something special to feminist scholarship. Collins shows how black women have been suppressed by the economic exploitation of their labor, the political denial of their rights, and the use of controlling cultural images that create damaging stereotypes. This oppression has led black women to become invisible or dehumanized, so that their ideas do not matter. Collins calls for inclusive scholarship that rejects knowledge that dehumanizes and objectifies people. She argues that people's positions in social institutions are mediated by the "matrix of opposition," which must be recognized by standpoint theory.

Thus, Collin's work adjusts standpoint theory to address critiques that it is essentialist because it claims that women's standpoint is universal. To respond to these critics, standpoint theorists have also focused on power and the political aspects of social position by emphasizing feminist standpoint, rather than women's standpoint. Recent work has also been careful not to lump women together and has extended Collin's perspective to embrace the diverse standpoints of many marginalized groups (categories of

race and ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, nationality, and citizenship status, and so on).

Elizabeth Borland

See also Androcentrism; Consciousness-Raising

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STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY (1815–1902)

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) was born November 12, 1815, in Johnston, New York, to wealthy judge and lawyer Daniel Cady and wife Margaret (Livingston) Cady. Stanton's class privilege allowed her access to advanced education at the Troy Female Seminary. After graduating, Stanton studied legal and constitutional history and visited her cousin, reformer Gerrit Smith. Through Smith, she met Henry Stanton, an abolitionist employed by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Their 1840 marriage ceremony parted ways with tradition as Elizabeth struck the word "obey" from her vows and was introduced by her own name, declining the customary "Mrs. Henry Stanton."

The couple attended the World Anti-Slavery Conference in London and witnessed female abolitionists such as Lucretia Mott being refused the right to speak. This offense led Mott and Stanton to plan a conference upon their return to the United States; this resulted in a meeting of women and like-minded supporters that would become the first conference for woman's rights. This plan was realized in 1848 at the Seneca Falls Convention. Stanton formulated the rewriting of the Declaration of Independence to include the rights of women, labeling it the Declaration of Sentiments. Included in this document was a list of grievances suffered by women, aimed at illuminating the tyranny of female oppression. Stanton's radical demand for female suffrage, while supported by noted reformer Frederick Douglass, was met with misgivings by many fellow abolitionists.

Also among Stanton's beliefs was that marriage was an institution maintaining the sexual oppression of women; she fought for fair divorce laws that would provide redress against abusive husbands. Stanton challenged the Victorian notion that men and women belonged in separate spheres and was aided in her battles by close friend and feminist activist Susan B. Anthony. The two women formed and led numerous reform organizations such as the American Equal Rights Association (1866) and the New York State Woman's Temperance Society (1852). Most famously, Stanton and Anthony created the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869 after a bitter split occurred between feminists and abolitionists over the issue of black male suffrage. Frustrated with abolitionists' belief that women's suffrage could not be realized before black male suffrage, Stanton and Anthony insisted that universal voting rights constituted an urgent necessity. Following the rift, Stanton and Anthony were often accused of racism and elitism. The branches merged in 1890 with the formation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In later years, Stanton elucidated her critique of the inequalities inherent to organized religion. This culminated in the 1895 publication of *The Woman's Bible,* a controversial feminist commentary on the Old Testament. She participated in the publishing of *History of Woman Suffrage* and her autobiography *80 Years and More.* Stanton's death in 1902 meant that she did not live to cast a legal vote of her own, but her lifelong contributions to the first wave of the women's rights movement continue to identify her as a founding author of feminist thought and action.

Laura Harrison

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STERILIZATION

Sterilization, including involuntary sterilization and mass sterilization campaigns, has been a primary and direct means of population control. Improper breeding—too much, too little, too early, too fast, and so forth—is claimed as the cause of many national ills—poverty, welfare, high school dropout rates, crime, divorce, breakdown of moral values, miscegenation, and the corruption of young women. A eugenics movement in the 1920s and 1930s resulted in sterilization campaigns at the state and federal levels that were supported by and in service to racism, classism, ideals of progress and modernization, and fantasies of globalization and empire. Sterilization of women in particular was seen as a method for combating fears of racial dilution, over-reproduction, and female sexuality. This entry describes the historical perspective, sterilization campaigns, and the differential effect of these campaigns.

Historical Perspective of Sterilization

Sterilization in the early decades of the 20th century was widely believed to be the surest route to national prosperity through the elimination of the "unfit" and the prevention of "race suicide" for healthy whites. More than a single procedure, sterilization can be tubal ligation or hysterectomy for women and castration for men to prevent pregnancy and childbearing of "degenerates," the genetically inferior, criminals, and all others, especially the poor or immigrants, who posed a threat to ideals of the family and entrenched race and class boundaries. Equated with patriotism as a citizen's duty, sterilization was seen as a cure for poverty, overpopulation, and promiscuity. Thousands of parents sent their teens and young adults to state homes for sterilization in the 1920s and 1930s, but a sexual double standard was practiced. Wendy Kline, in *Building a Better Race,* proposed that there were differential benefits for men and women to be sterilized. Traveling museum exhibits on physical fitness, the growth of eugenics societies, and the publication of eugenicist journals and college textbooks all indexed broad public support of sterilization at that time.

Sterilization Campaigns

Mass sterilization campaigns were carried out at the state and federal levels often without informed consent and with the use of coercion. Beginning with Indiana in 1907, many states introduced or expanded bills permitting forced sterilization as cost-effective alternatives to social welfare programs in the face of economic recession. Writing the majority opinion for the Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* in 1927, which upheld the constitutionality of Virginia's 1924 forcible sterilization law, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., said, "It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind." The record number of sterilizations in California, recorded in *Sterilization for Human Betterment: A Summary of the Results of 6,000 Operations in California 1909–1929* by eugenicists Paul Popenoe and E. S. Gosney, was later hailed by Nazi Germany.

By the 1950s and 1960s, poor women and women of color were the targets of mass sterilization campaigns. Fannie Lou Hamer, a poor sharecropper from Mississippi, made her forced sterilization—often referred to as "Mississippi appendectomies" because they were considered routine and commonplace—part of her political platform for civil rights. Biographer Chana Kai Lee in *For Freedom's Sake,* articulates the necessity of understanding the symbolic power and meaning of reproduction, especially in relation to race, class, and gender. As late as 1964, Mississippi proposed a sterilization bill that would have criminalized women on welfare for having additional children while receiving aid. Those convicted could submit to sterilization in exchange for jail time. Throughout the South, sterilization abuse was significant. The Southern Poverty Law Center exposed the enormity of this abuse

when it filed a class action lawsuit in federal court seeking a ban on the use of federal funds for sterilization after 14-year old Minnie Lee Relf and her 12-year-old sister Mary Alice Relf were sterilized without their parents' consent in Montgomery.

In addition, Native women and Puerto Rican women were targets of sterilization campaigns. Bureau of Indian Affairs hospitals were known for egregiously sterilizing women while they were still incapacitated and without their consent just after they had delivered their second or third baby. By the 1980s, one third of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age had been sterilized, according to Laura Briggs in *Reproducing Empire.* Casually referred to as "la operacion" because it was so common, the sterilization of women in Puerto Rico was supported by both nationalists and mainland population policy advisors as a way to cure the island's "culture of poverty" and presumed overpopulation problem. Furthermore, fetal protection bills in the 1960s and 1970s enforced sterilization as a condition for employment for women working in industrial or technology jobs known to cause birth defects.

Differential Impact of Sterilization Campaigns

Sterilization campaigns have affected white women differently than women of color. White girls' and white women's sterilization show how ideals of white womanhood are central to national concerns about racial purity and superiority. According to noted legal scholar Dorothy Roberts, "bad girls," "wayward girls" or "problem girls"—as young white women who were considered sexually promiscuous or who failed to display sexual aversion to black men were called—were often sterilized. For example, Carrie Buck, the 21-year-old defendant in the infamous 1927 Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell,* may have been sterilized for being what might be considered "white trash" today. Thus, racism demands that white women do more than give birth to more whites, they must propagate the right type of whites (i.e., middle class and respectably sexual). In addition, Kline, in her discussion, "A New Deal for the Child: Ann Cooper Hewitt and Sterilization in the 1930s," examines news coverage of the legal case over the sterilization of a would-be wealthy young woman who was deemed "moronic" to prevent her rightful inheritance. This case presents sterilization as a "family-centered solution" to the problem of female sexuality.

It is important to differentiate between the involuntary sterilization of millions of women in U.S. history in service to racism and other systemic forms of oppression and the voluntary sterilization women sought out as permanent forms of birth control for themselves. Yet, such differentiation is difficult to assess given the financial and social pressures often put on women to control their bodies and the size of their families. When sought as an individual solution to fertility, sterilization often reflects racial politics. White middle-class women struggled to find a doctor who would sterilize them, notes Roberts regarding how sterilization politics had shifted during the early reproductive rights movement just before the legalization of abortion in 1973.

Conclusion

Opposing coerced sterilization became a primary goal of the reproductive justice movement by the 1980s. Led by women of color in organizations such as the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), the movement expanded the limited focus on abortion and birth control to a broader activist coalition. "We do not forget the forced sterilizations and forced starvations on the reservations," writes award-winning novelist Alice Walker, who delivered her haunting polemic poem "What Can the White Man Say to the Black Woman?" about the reproductive control of women throughout U.S. history at the May 22, 1989, March for Women's Equality and Women's Lives in Washington, D.C. Sterilization scholarship has surged recently with a number of new and important critical books. As of 2007, supported by federal funding through Medicaid alongside increasing restrictions on abortion access, sterilization remained the most common form of birth control.

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See also American Birth Control League; Castration; Eugenics; Hysterectomy; Women's Health Movements

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STEROIDS

Steroids are small, organic molecules that are widely distributed in nature and perform a great diversity of biological functions. Among the naturally occurring steroids that are important for humans are cholesterol, vitamin D, aldosterone, cortisol, and sex hormones. As scientific research has resulted in an understanding of steroid functions and techniques to make naturally occurring steroids or similar substances synthetically, they have become important pharmacologic agents for humans. These uses sometimes are controversial or illegal and include birth control, sex reassignment, hormone replacement therapy, and enhancement of muscular and skeletal development. This entry describes different types of steroids and their uses.

Naturally Occurring Steroids and Their Functions in Humans

The defining structural feature of all steroids is a skeleton of carbon atoms arranged into four fused rings called the steroid nucleus. The cellular ability to form the steroid nucleus is found principally in more complex nucleus-containing cells, rather than in bacterial cells, which lack a nucleus. Steroids are found in fungi, plants, and animals.

In humans, steroids perform various important functions. Among them are the control of membrane fluidity by cholesterol, the facilitation of calcium absorption by vitamin D, the regulation of mineral excretion by aldosterone, and the establishment of stress responses by cortisol. Sex hormones are steroids. Androgens are male sex hormones. Estrogens are female sex hormones. The major androgen is testosterone; the major estrogen is estradiol.

The primary effect of sex hormones is the development of the gonads to enable the formation of the reproductive cells—spermatozoa in males and oocytes in females. The secondary effects in females are breast development, broadening of the pelvis, increased fat beneath the skin, and growth of pubic and armpit hair. In males, the muscle mass increases, the skeleton gets bigger and stronger, the larynx enlarges and the voice deepens, the skin coarsens, and hair growth occurs over much of the body.

Some steroids can be made naturally by humans, chiefly in the ovaries or testes with smaller amounts formed in the adrenal glands. Transformations of sex hormones are sometimes important. One of the most surprising is that male brain development, which is initiated by the presence of testosterone, occurs after it is converted to estradiol. Aldosterone and cortisol are synthesized in the adrenal glands. Sunlight drives the formation of vitamin D in the skin. Then the liver and kidneys transform it into the biologically useful form. Too little vitamin D may be synthesized during the short days of winter, so additional vitamin must be acquired from food or supplements.

Pharmacologic Uses of Naturally Occurring and Synthetic Steroids

Ovulation in human females is inhibited by high levels of estradiol and progesterone, which block the release of hormones from the hypothalamus and the pituitary to promote ovulation. Natural or synthetic hormones may be used to prevent ovulation, thus making pregnancy impossible.

Pregnancy Control and Termination

Synthetic steroids are available to interfere with the ability of an embryo to maintain its attachment to the uterus. One such steroid is mifepristone, which was originally known as RU-486. It is available worldwide, gaining approval in the United States in 2000 for use until 49 days of gestation. This and other "morning-after pills" remain controversial.

Sex Reassignment

Individuals who experience a mismatch between their biological sex and their psychological gender identity and elect to undergo sex reassignment are treated with sex hormones to assist them in establishing their reassigned sex. Some secondary sexual characteristics involve skeletal development, which is poorly reversible. However, breast development, facial and body hair distribution and amount, subcutaneous fat, muscle mass, and, to some extent, voice pitch respond well to hormones.

Hormone Replacement Therapy

A frequent use of hormone replacement is for the treatment of menopause. Originally, estradiol or a similar female sex hormone was administered alone. When this therapy was linked to an increased risk of cardiovascular disease, combination therapy, which added progesterone or a similar hormone, became the standard treatment. Low levels of testosterone may also be treated by hormone replacement therapy.

Enhancement of Muscular and Skeletal Development

Steroids that promote skeletal and muscular development are called anabolic steroids. They are either androgens or similar to androgens and have at least some androgenic activity, which includes the development of the secondary sex characteristics of increased skeletal mass and density and increased muscle mass and strength. Some steroids are more effective at promoting skeletal and muscular development than other androgenic outcomes; these are the desirable steroids for the bodybuilding effects that are intended to produce enhanced athletic performance. The use of androgenic steroids is prohibited in professional and amateur sports. Nevertheless, athletes in several Olympic specialties, including weightlifting, track and field, and swimming, have lost medals after failing the post-competition drug test. Professional sports now pay more attention to steroid use as American professional baseball responded to media claims that records, such as Barry Bonds's home run record, were tainted by steroid use. The Mitchell report of 2007 found widespread use in professional baseball of anabolic steroids and a metabolic precursor, androstenedione, which is converted in the body to testosterone. Adverse effects of androgenic steroids include atrophy of the testes, kidney and liver damage, heart attack, stroke, and enlarged breasts in men. Because a prescription is required to acquire anabolic steroids legally in the United States, athletes and bodybuilders determined to get steroids resort to domestic black markets or access through countries that do not regulate them.

Less well known are the medical uses of anabolic steroids. People who have a wasting component to their illness, as may occur in AIDS or cancer, take anabolic steroids to prevent the loss of lean muscle, especially heart muscle, and to stimulate the appetite.

Anti-Inflammatory

Naturally occurring and synthetic steroids that have activities of the steroids of the adrenal gland cortex are called corticosteroids. Although they have a variety of medical applications, one of the most important and frequent uses is to control inflammation. Some examples of anti-inflammatory steroids are prednisone, cortisone, dexamethasone, and fluticasone.

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See also Gender and the Brain; Gender Identity Disorder; Hormone Therapy; Menopause; Morning-After Pill; Premenstrual Syndrome

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STONE BUTCH

The term *stone butch* originated in the 1950s lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) bar culture and is used to refer to a particularized expression of female masculinity. The female counterpart to the masculine role of the stone butch was typically the femme, a feminized role of a lesbian. Although the stone butch has

been typified as a top, sexually aggressive relationship role, social roles of stone butches have varied greatly in their significance in queer subcultures.

The stone butch is typically referred to as an expression of female masculinity in same-sex, female relationships. However, its experience varies greatly from relationship to relationship. *Butch* often refers to masculine lesbians. The title *stone butch* is linked to a masculine, impermeable exterior. Historically, the stone butch has been characterized by a distinct form of gender performance, where one is defined as not being treated sexually as a female. Although not the same for all stone butches, many do not receive sexual stimulation associated with female sexual organs. Sexual pleasure is derived through other forms of contact, often through friction and wearing dildos. Some stone butches have sexual reassignment surgery, but do not necessarily identify as transgender. Others exhibit masculinized gender expression, taking a dominant position in relationships. The partner to the stone butch, traditionally, is a femme, a softer, feminized lesbian persona. A distinction of the stone butch from a sexual replication of male sexuality is the centrality of the femme's pleasure. Some stone butches prefer the use of masculine pronouns, but others do not. Similarly, some identify with the LGBT community, although not all. Stone butches today are not confined by the butch-femme relationships. Instead, there has been an emergence of stone butch relationships that are experienced within a continuum of masculine expressions. Although it was once frowned upon in the 1950s and 1960s bar social environment, it is today more acceptable and even common to see different types of butch performance in both sexual partners, rather than masculinity embodied in only one half of relationships.

Socially, the stone butch has been one of the least understood and deviated forms of sexual identity. Stone butches were often singled out by their masculine attire and hard exterior by police and openly harassed and shunned in the public eye. However, academia has praised the reversal of traditional gender roles and the incorporation of masculinity into an entirely new form of lesbian expression that is neither wholly female nor male; thus transcending binary gender roles all together.

Nicole LaMarre

See also Androgyny; Butch/Femme; Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Performance; Genderqueer; Gender Stereotypes; Homophobia; Homosexuality; Queer Studies; Sex Versus Gender Categorization; Transgender

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STRATIFIED REPRODUCTION

Stratified reproduction posits that certain categories of people in a society are encouraged or coerced to reproduce and parent, but others are not. This theory suggests that the capacity to control one's reproductive abilities is unequally distributed in society and is stratified along gender, sexual orientation, racial and ethnic, and economic class lines. Scholars point to social policies, ideologies, and private corporate practices as evidence of this stratification. This entry addresses historical and contemporary issues surrounding reproductive technologies, social policies, and ideologies that support stratified reproduction primarily in the United States, as well as globally. From the forced sterilization of Native American and black people to the current reproductive control of women who receive public assistance, the United States has a long history of controlling reproduction. Newer reproductive technologies create opportunities for social change, yet ideologies that support the control of certain groups' reproductive abilities remain the same. This entry discusses how various reproductive services and technologies stratify reproduction among social groups and create reproductive inequality.

Reproductive Technologies and Stratification

Several birth control technologies exist today. These include barrier methods (male and female condoms, diaphragms, cervical caps, spermicides, and sponges); hormonal methods that can be delivered through pills, skin patches, or injections; or through intrauterine devices, sterilization, and abortion. Although an increasing number of technologies exist, access to these technologies continue to be stratified because of high costs, inadequate or nonexistent health care coverage, lack of transportation, restrictive legislation, and women's lack of decision-making power with regard to their own fertility.

Sterilization

Sterilization is a surgical procedure that alters some portion of the reproductive system to prevent conception. As with many forms of birth control, sterilization typically allows individuals to choose when and under what conditions to conceive and, as such, provides a significant level of personal choice and autonomy. However, for many of its advocates, sterilization is viewed as a viable population control method and solution to social problems.

Early advocates of sterilization framed their discussions of sterilization with explicit reference to a (constructed) genetic hierarchy. Within this hierarchy, wealthy whites, assuming themselves to be the most intelligent and possessing the best social character, reigned supreme. During the 1960s and 1970s, the social hierarchy was built on a slightly different premise: cultural inheritance of socially (un)desirable traits. In this construction of social desirability, wealthy whites were still at the apex. Blacks, American Indians, the poor, single mothers (particularly those receiving government assistance), criminals, the chemically addicted, and the mentally ill were marked as the socially unfit. Most forced sterilization during the 1960s and 1970s occurred in the southern states and among poor women of color.

Questionable sterilization practices persist today. For example, the use of public money to fund abortions is banned (see later), but public money can and does fund sterilization among the welfare population. Another example of this is the California-based nonprofit Children Requiring a Caring Kommunity (CRACK), which posts large billboards in poor black and Latino communities offering $200 to people with substance abuse problems who can document that they have been sterilized or are using long-term birth control. Since CRACK's founding in 1997, the organization has serviced thousands of clients.

Abortion

Abortion, a procedure in which an embryo or fetus is expelled from the uterus, also has had a long and complex history in the United States. In the 19th century, women were able to use abortifacients until the moment of quickening, or feeling the fetus move. Early in the 20th century however, abortion was made illegal after increasing medicalization and concern that it led to decreased childbearing among native-born, Protestant white women.

Abortion was illegal until the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision gave women the right to terminate their pregnancies early on without government interference, but wealthy women were often able to arrange for abortions with private doctors, whereas poor women resorted to illegal, self-performed, and sometimes-dangerous abortions.

Today, it is estimated that more than 40 percent of U.S. women have had an abortion. Most women who seek abortions are younger than 25 and unmarried. Black women and Latina or Hispanic women are significantly more likely to seek abortions than are white women. Abortion access has become more restricted in recent decades through parental notification laws, lack of geographic proximity to providers, and Medicaid funding restrictions for abortions. Additionally, the Hyde Amendment (1997) prevents public money from being used to fund abortions, meaning poor women do not have equitable access to this service.

Current U.S. policy, known as the Global Gag Rule, bans any foreign nongovernmental organizations from receiving financial support from the U.S. Agency for International Development if the groups do any abortion advocacy work, including counseling clients on abortion, referring clients for abortion, or lobbying governments to make abortion legal or easier to obtain. The Gag Rule denies funding to these groups even if all of these services are legal in the country, and even if they are paid for with other, non-U.S. funds.

Infertility Options and Stratification

In addition to technologies and services available to prevent or end pregnancy, there is a booming industry that assists individuals and couples who are unable to become pregnant on their own. These services include in vitro fertilization, artificial insemination, egg donation, surrogacy, and adoption.

Fertility Treatments

The use of reproductive assistance services became popular in the 1980s following the success of experiments to conceive "test tube babies," or pregnancies conceived through artificial means. Since then, several medical procedures and technologies have been developed to aid couples that are unable to conceive on their own. Increasingly, gays and lesbians, who are unable to "naturally" achieve a pregnancy without assistance, use these services.

All of these services are relatively costly, and in the United States, some insurance companies do not cover fertility treatments. Increasingly these treatments are being covered by insurance companies, but not all people in the United States have health insurance. Other fertility services such as surrogacy, egg donation, and adoption are also costly and usually the couple or individual must pay for them. The expense of these technologies and the lack of public, and in some cases insurance company, funding for them suggests that the wealthy are entitled and encouraged to reproduce even if it means spending large amounts of money, but the poor are not entitled to because they cannot afford it. In fact, the welfare reform act of 1996 makes it possible for states to deny benefits for children who are born while their mothers are receiving welfare (the "child cap"), sending the message that poor people should not reproduce. By 2007, more than half of states had enacted this policy.

Adoption

Adoption is the permanent placement of a person under 18 years of age with a caretaker who is not the child's biological parent. Adoption can also be costly, though in the United States, there is a tax credit available to some adopting parents to offset the cost. There is more of a demand for white children by adoptive parents, even though a disproportionate number of minority children are available for adoption. This has led to some adoption agencies charging more for adoptions of white children than for minority children, which implies to some that white children are more valuable than are children of color. International adoption has grown in popularity in the United States, even though many U.S. children need adoption. However, the increased acceptance of single parenting and the availability of abortion have led to a decrease in U.S. children needing adoption in the early 21st century.

Health Care Access and Health

Prenatal care has been shown to lead to better health outcomes for both mother and child. However, many pregnant women do not receive prenatal care. In the United States, many women do not have health insurance and thus cannot afford prenatal care. In 2006, more than 15 percent of the U.S. population had no health insurance. Additionally, those in poor communities may not be located near doctors that and may not have transportation to a doctor regularly. This also affects overall health, which in turn, affects pregnant women and their children. This has a particularly significant impact on minorities, who have been shown to have high morbidity and mortality rates as well as more complications from pregnancy and childbirth.

Stratified Reproduction and Men

Men are involved in reproduction and parenting, though women are seen to have a more primary role. Because men are viewed as having strong reproductive systems and as secondary to the reproductive process, little attention is paid to men's reproductive issues. However, men do have reproductive systems and corresponding health problems. Increasing evidence indicates that workplace and occupational hazards can negatively affect men's ability to reproduce healthily. For example, men who go to war or work in heavy industry may be exposed to chemicals and workplace conditions that can reduce their fertility or cause birth defects. Men in these occupations and in the military are disproportionately men of color and poor men, which further marginalizes them.

Conclusion

Differing abilities of individuals and couples to reproduce on their own coupled with unequal access to reproductive technologies and services foster the stratification of reproduction in a society. In U.S. society, the affluent, who are predominantly white, have the most freedom to choose from a wide variety of reproductive technologies and services to reduce or increase their fertility. This array of options is not available to poor couples and individuals, who are disproportionately people of color.

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See also Abortion; Contraception; Population Control; Sexuality and Reproduction; Welfare Reform

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SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The organized women's suffrage movement, originating in the middle of the 19th century and culminating in successes during and immediately after World War I, struggled for the right of women to vote. The suffrage movement's origins, as well as its various ideologies and practical strategies to gain the franchise, took different shapes according to the specific pressures and historical forces of its various local and national contexts. A social movement of primarily middle-class and professional women took place in Britain, the United States, and Canada, among others. The Enlightenment vision of the expansion of democracy and deliberative parliamentary reforms, the publication of early notable tracts such as Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), numerous local struggles of women in various sectors of social and working life, and important political interventions by male parliamentarians were important catalysts for the movement. Using Britain as the primary historical example, this entry describes the origins and the struggles that underlie the suffrage movement.

Background Related Movements

Before a recognizable suffrage movement took form, middle-class women had been active for decades in church groups and local societies that tried to improve the conditions of the poor, wrought by the devastating effects of industrial capitalism, intensive urbanization, and epidemics. Additionally, women were active in associations that attempted to "morally reform" the victims of exploitative working conditions in urban centers. Women of means formed organizations to intervene, philanthropically, in the most visible results of the intensification of squalor and destitution. Temperance societies formed to combat what was seen as the failure of moral rectitude among the poor and working classes. More recent scholarship has afforded an expanded view of the links between the Victorian philanthropy and social purity movements and its links to the suffrage movement.

The suffrage movements' ideology, converging with what some scholars describe as the "first wave" of feminism, and fueled by the largely bourgeois cultural developments of the "new woman," was a mixture of maternal feminism, traditional "separate spheres" doctrines, and more radical thinking on gender and sexual emancipation. Often characterized as a middle-class movement of elite white women, the suffrage movement also reflected sharp divergences in its strategies, ideologies, and political maneuvering, resulting in sharp disagreements and factions among its members and diversity in their demands. Although the movement was ostensibly and explicitly oriented toward the goal of women gaining equal or democratic franchise, many saw this strategy in terms of a wider concern to expand the influence of women's vision toward a society freed from gender structures that inscribed itself in economic, social, legal, matrimonial, sexual, educational, and religious realms of experience. A dominant ideology among many suffrage organizations was the idea of women's inherent moral superiority, made politically and strategically practicable by women's ability to rise above the quarrels of male politicians.

The suffrage movement, largely associated with Anglo-European national contexts, occurred during the zenith of British imperialism and the intensification of colonial trade and the aggressive expansion of overseas markets. As an example of one of the most bitter and protracted struggles, this entry will mainly focus on the British experience of the suffrage movement, calling attention to the complex terrain of organizations and the pressure brought to bear on political maneuvering during a time that historian Eric Hobsbawm has called the "age of empire."

British Women's Suffrage Movement

The British women's suffrage movement, spanning from 1865 to 1928, can be described as achieving an astounding degree of success as a social movement on its own terms, having achieved a qualified objective in 1918 with the passage of the Representation of the People Act, which was followed by equal franchise in 1928. It was also the largest mass mobilization of women in British history. From the beginning, the suffrage movement, containing diverse political and ideological strategies from constitutional reform to militant direct action, was also concerned with broader goals of overturning gender oppression in all its forms more generally.

In 1865, John Stuart Mill included women's suffrage in his election platform when he was elected to Parliament. This announcement spurred the development of local suffrage societies, most notably in London and Manchester, to prepare petitions thereupon submitted to Parliament in 1866. Additionally, precedents for women's franchise were set through the passing of municipal bylaws enabled by the Education Act of 1870, granting women the right to vote for local school boards.

Issues of party loyalties and political opportunism framed the suffragists' demands from 1870 through the 1890s. A major stumbling block was the couverture doctrine doctrine, which stated that married women were to be excluded from voting under property qualifications. The issue of married women was a source of division between conservative and radical components of the suffrage societies, particularly between London and Manchester. The split in the societies regarding married women eventually led to the formation of the Women's Franchise League in 1889 created by Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. The issue was really a class issue regarding property qualification for all persons. The Women's Franchise League endeavored to bring working-class women and the Labor movement to its cause. Members of the Women's Franchise League held that women's labor in the home or workforce was organized by the same set of exploitative conditions that men endured, thereby entitling them to full citizenship as contributors to the collective social and economic welfare.

After 1890, the suffrage movement attracted more working-class activists, and in 1894, the Women's Cooperative Guild endorsed women's suffrage. The 1894 Local Government Act removed the couverture restriction, which made all women potentially eligible to vote regardless of marital status. This also enabled a convergence of previously split suffrage groups to come together under the umbrella organization of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS).

The NUWSS was formed in 1897. Its leading activist and founder, Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929), was elected as the organization's president in 1907. Between 1897 and 1910, the NUWSS coordinated the work of the independent women's suffrage associations, oriented largely toward representing the movement's demands to Parliament. The shape of the organization and its goals mainly derived from the concerns and experience of middle-class women from London; by 1910, however, they had made attempts to expand its base of support nationally and to include representation along class, religious, and ethnic lines. Nevertheless, tensions emerged within the organization between more conservative and radical factions and between the NUWSS and other democratic "suffragettes" of the more militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). This tension, which became a constant feature of the suffrage movement more generally, arose from divergent strategic aims. More conservative associations chose to influence national elections to support candidates who would push for equal suffrage. This strategy, shorn of wider gender emancipation goals, was conceived as the best chance to influence the all-male Parliament into upholding the basic principle of granting women the vote. However, this strategy did not challenge the property and age requirements for franchise, thus marginalizing poor and working-class women. Members of the NUWSS, advancing a maternal feminist notion of women's innate moral goodness and peaceful nature, objected to the more militant methods the WSPU adopted after 1906.

The WSPU, founded in Manchester in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), was initially allied with independent labor organizations but began to move away from its working-class support. Calling themselves "suffragettes" to distinguish themselves from other suffragists, the WSPU members' lapidary motto was "Deeds, not words," and their acts of civil disobedience included withholding taxes, disrupting party meetings, mass demonstrations, window-breaking, using arrests for publicity, hunger strikes, and arson. Christabel Pankhurst (1880–1958), Emmeline Pankhurst's eldest daughter, introduced militant methods into the organization after 1905 as an attempt to inspire more women to join the movement and as a concerted effort to challenge and transgress Edwardian gender roles and expand women's freedom. Women militants were often treated violently by men and by police during demonstrations. When imprisoned suffragettes went on hunger strikes in 1909, the government ordered forced-feeding, a procedure that was often painful, humiliating, and tantamount to rape. On June 21, 1908, the WSPU organized one of the largest mass demonstrations in support of women's suffrage. An estimated 250,000 people marched through London streets and assembled at Hyde Park for a mass meeting.

World War I (1914–1918) brought pressure in its wake for major suffrage organizations. This marked a

time of quiescence and sub-rosa organizing. Although many suffragists felt that women should stand for peace and oppose the war, leaders such as Fawcett thought that votes for women could be gained by openly supporting the war effort. This further sharpened tensions within the movement. With continued pressure, 1918 brought a conservative measure, The Representation of the People Act that granted the vote to women over the age of 30 who were married to local government electors or were themselves local government electors. The act also enfranchised all men age 21 or older or 19 if they had served during the war. Ten more years passed before the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act gave women age 21 and over the vote in March 1928.

Conclusion

The women's suffrage movement in Britain and other countries has undergone critical assessment by scholars since the 1970s. The suffrage movement in Britain was shaped by nationalism, the intensification of colonial markets and unequal exchange, and the opportunity afforded by the widening of work, at least for professional and middle-class women. Liberatory socialist, labor, and radical feminist strands of thought helped shape a recognizable feminist solidarity and social movement. "For the first time in history," writes the feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, "women were to be seen taking action as women."

The fight for women's equality and suffrage continues. Some women continue to be denied the right to exercise full citizenship through legal writ, and many countries continue to bar women from full active citizenship. The social struggle to expand democratic participation continues, as can be seen when one considers that in Canada, which granted the franchise in 1918, the right to vote for various groups was not attained until late in this century: Quebec women in 1940, Canadians of South-Asian and Chinese ancestry in 1947, Japanese Canadians in 1949, First Nations in 1960, and psychiatric patients and those in residential care as recently as 2000. In 1866, when John Stuart Mill introduced the idea of women's franchise to Parliament, it was reported that some members of Parliament found it so ludicrous they laughed. This reaction may seem crazy today, but one may also wonder, today, how seriously proposals to advance the franchise for children and youth would be received.

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See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan B.; Maternalism; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; *Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A*; Women's Social and Political Union; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Suicide

Suicide, from the Latin, *sui* (of oneself) and *cidium* (to kill or murder) denotes the action of intentionally killing oneself or taking one's own life. *Suicide* may also refer to the person who has died by suicide. This entry considers the relationship between gender and suicide and summarizes patterns of suicide among males and females in the United States and in other countries where suicide exhibits significant alternative societal patterns by sex. The final section emphasizes sociological understanding of suicide as a social act.

Suicide Rates

More than 30,000 Americans commit suicide every year. Annually, more Americans die from suicide than homicide, and suicide ranks as the eleventh leading cause of death in the United States. In addition, suicide is the third leading cause of death for adolescents and young adults and the second leading cause of death among college students. On a global level, recent figures from the World Health Organization (WHO) estimate that approximately one million suicides occur worldwide annually.

Rates of suicide shift dramatically across several demographic categories including gender. In the United States, for instance, suicide risk is highest among white males, especially males older than 65 years of age. Conversely, for women, the risk of

suicide peaks between 45 and 49 years of age and then declines with age. Overall, male suicide deaths are four times greater than those of females. A high incidence of suicide is observed in Native American and gay youth. In the United States, firearms are the most common method of both young and older male suicides, but females tend to use less lethal and aggressive methods.

Suicide scholars emphasize that official suicide rates in the United States generally underestimate the true rate of suicide by as much as 30 percent. It has been suggested that the likelihood of suicide death being misclassified is greater for female than for male suicides because of societal attitudes about femininity and suicide. For example, female suicides are more likely to be misclassified as accidental because of greater ambiguity of suicidal intent associated with less immediately lethal methods exhibited by females such as drug overdoses and poisoning. Furthermore, studies find that social attitudes toward female suicide are more negative such that female suicide is rated as more wrong, foolish, and weak than is male suicide. Women's suicides are also more likely to be attributed to familial problems, so family members might be more motivated to hide a female relative's suicide, whereas men's suicide is deemed a response to social conditions outside of the family such as economic opportunity and rapid social change.

Gender Paradox

Although no official U.S. data are collected, it is estimated that 810,000 suicide attempts occur every year. Here, suicide patterns shift significantly by gender with female *attempts* outnumbering male attempts by a rate of 3 to 1. Suicide researchers refer to this as the *gender paradox,* whereby females are more likely to attempt suicide but males are more likely to complete suicide. According to suicidologists, this pattern holds true for most Western countries and is not an artifact of biased data collection. Feminist suicide researchers argue that the association of nonfatal suicidal behaviors with the social construction of gender, particularly femininity, may contribute to the gender gap observed in suicide attempts. For example, this association may inhibit nonfatal suicide behavior in males because of stigma connected to males engaging in nonfatal suicidality perceived as exhibiting feminine gender traits. Similarly, the gender system may encourage nonfatal

suicidality in females because of the association of these behaviors with femininity. However, the gender gap between completed and attempted suicides narrows significantly in cultures outside the United States, and in some locations, ethnic, religious, and minority groups within the United States. This narrowing gap might be partly explained by culturally dominant or hegemonic (i.e., white, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual) expressions of femininity and masculinity being inaccessible to members of nondominant, minority groups. In Western biomedical culture, major depression is the single greatest predictor of suicide. It is estimated that as many as 15 percent of individuals suffering from depression will ultimately commit suicide. In addition, high depression and low suicide rates exhibited by females in contrast with low depression and high suicide rates in males represents another contradictory wrinkle related to gender in suicide patterns.

A significant exception to the gender paradox pattern is found in China. Here, patterns of depression and suicide contradict the gender paradox as well as Western understandings of the causes of suicide. For example, female suicide rates exceed male suicide rates in both rural and urban areas of Chinese society. Additionally, the prevalence (i.e., the total number of cases of a health problem that exist at a given time) of depression, the leading cause of suicide in the West, is approximately 100 times lower in China than in North America. This evidence challenges the universality of Western biomedical categories and reinforces the role of social phenomena, particularly the varied organization of gender across cultures. Thus, although suicide appears to be a highly personal and private act, patterns in Chinese suicide rates emphasize the importance of Émile Durkheim's foundational sociological work.

Conclusion

In his key sociological study, Durkheim demonstrated that suicide was associated with societal pressures and influences, specifically an individual's integration into society and acceptance of group regulation. When these societal dimensions were too strong or too weak, Durkheim observed a correlation with higher rates of suicide in various European countries. A contemporary example illustrating Durkheim's hypothesis is unfolding in India where, aggravated by globalization, a plague of suicides has occurred among rural farmers. Unable to pay off high-interest,

exploitive loans taken for pest-resistant crop seeds engineered in the United States, poor male breadwinners in these families have been dying from suicide at alarming rates. Although suicide rates vary significantly by gender, these patterns differ across cultures and appear to reflect complex social factors that place men and women at differential risk of suicide.

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See also Depression; Hegemonic Masculinity; Homosexuality; Mental Health

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SUPERHEROES

Most comic book historians agree that superheroes were born in 1938 when *Action Comics #1* introduced the world to Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster's Superman. Superman embodies many features of a classic superhero—an individual who uses her or his fantastic powers against malevolent antagonists. The powers of a superhero may involve great mental or physical ability as well as the use of magic or superior technology. Often superheroes wear costumes, in part to conceal a secret, mundane identity. The adventures of superheroes dominate the contemporary U.S. comic book marketplace, which seems to rely for its success on a small and insular group of retailers and hobbyists. In recent years, however, comic book superheroes have reentered public consciousness through the film industry and successful movies such as *Spider-Man* and *Batman Begins,* which have grossed hundreds of millions of dollars. From their humble beginnings, superheroes are now an integrated part of the entertainment industry, with key superheroes generating revenue through licensing in movies, television shows, computer games, toys, and other products (e.g., underwear). Although in the early 21st century, superheroes are popular with the American public, the appeal of superheroes has waxed and waned throughout their seven decades of existence. The fortunes of female superheroes may be especially revealing of U.S. culture's ambivalence about powerful women. This entry describes early superheroes, the decline and rebirth of superheroes, and contemporary superheroes.

Early Superheroes

With the success of Superman, DC Comics introduced Batman in 1939 and then other male heroes (such as the Flash and Hawkman in the early 1940s). One of the earliest female superheroes developed by DC (and the most successful) was Wonder Woman, who first appeared in *All Star Comics #8.* Wonder Woman was created in 1941 by the Harvard-trained psychologist William Moulton Marston. From the beginning, Wonder Woman acted in assertive ways; Marston wanted her to be a role model for how a strong woman behaves. After the passage of 70 years, Superman, Batman, and Wonder Woman continue to occupy a privileged place in DC's publishing schedule.

During the early 1940s, other comic book companies joined the bandwagon and developed their own superheroes for the reading public (e.g., Fawcett Publications' Captain Marvel). Because comic books are produced monthly, they are often responsive to the social environment. Thus, during World War II superheroes joined the war effort in their fictional exploits, fighting Axis powers abroad and at home. Perhaps reflecting the integration of women into the workplace at this time, many female superheroes were created. Superheroines such as Black Cat, Miss Victory, Pat Patriot, and Liberty Belle fought the Axis powers just as their male counterparts did. During the war years, superhero comics featuring such top characters as Superman and Captain Marvel were selling one to two million copies each month. (By comparison, in the 2000s, a successful comic book will sell 100,000 copies.) Sales were closely tied to the war effort. Indeed, by the end of the war in 1945, sales for superhero comics were declining, and most superhero titles were canceled by mid-century.

The Decline of Superheroes

During the 1950s, superhero comic books were replaced by genres such as westerns, romance, and crime, which reflected the interests of postwar America. At the same time, partially in response to U.S. Senate hearings on the contribution of comic books (especially crime comic books) to juvenile delinquency, the Comics Magazine Association of

America wrote a restrictive statement about the type of content not permitted in comic books. For example, people in authority such as police officers and judges should never be presented in an unflattering light. This self-censoring code reflected anti-Communist fears and conformity pressures and had the effect of limiting the kinds of comics produced. The only prominent female superhero at that time was Wonder Woman. As the 1950s turned into the 1960s, DC Comics found success selling comics based on new versions of older heroes (such as Flash and Green Lantern). Superheroes had the advantage of being paragons of virtue who did not violate the Comics Code.

The Rebirth of Superheroes

Watching the success that DC was having with superheroes, Stan Lee and Jack Kirby at Marvel Comics developed a new team of heroes. *Fantastic Four #1* was published in 1961 and featured a cast of astronauts who gained super powers through cosmic radiation. During a creative period in the 1960s, Marvel Comics introduced many superheroes with long-standing appeal, including the Hulk, Spider-Man, the X-Men, and reintroduced Captain America. The heroes of Marvel Comics often had personality or physical flaws that distinguished them from the generic type of hero that gained ascendancy after the Comics Code, and seemed to appeal to a wider audience.

With the exception of the continuously published Wonder Woman, all of the new superhero titles in the early 1960s starred male characters. Female superheroes could only be found in anthology titles, as a backup feature, or as a member of a team. For example, the Fantastic Four had one female character—Invisible Girl—who could turn invisible. This power was noticeably mild compared with the flamboyant powers of her male teammates (e.g., one teammate could burst into flame and throw fire). The original five X-Men also featured one female character—Marvel Girl—who could move things with her mind. In the 1960s, many female superheroes were placed in subordinate roles (e.g., the Invisible Girl served coffee to her teammates; Marvel Girl fainted if she tried to move something too heavy). The heroines at DC such as Batgirl and Supergirl also failed to offer strong models of heroic women comparable to their male counterparts.

After the influence of the second wave of the women's movement, however, female superheroes at Marvel and DC became stronger both physically and

mentally. By the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, several female heroes were appropriately assertive and competent. For example, the Invisible Girl renamed herself the Invisible Woman and made better use of her abilities, which by now included the power to create mental fields of force that could be used defensively and offensively.

Although female superheroes were once again as strong as their male counterparts, another trend emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. Superheroes have always been known for their idealized bodies. However, many female superheroes began to be drawn in provocative poses and with exaggerated sexual characteristics (e.g., large breasts). This trend by some artists continues and may reflect the perceived interests of the largely adolescent and young male target market.

Contemporary Superheroes

Top-selling contemporary U.S. comic books lack genre and readership diversity. Most comic books that feature superheroic characters are purchased by boys and men. Figures are hard to come by, but males probably make up 90 percent of the comic book audience. There is some diversity within the superhero genre. For example, some female superheroes are strong and provide positive role models for men and women. Conversely, the trend noted earlier for hyper-sexualized female characters continues to be prevalent. Because comic book titles frequently change writers and illustrators, even a single title such as *Wonder Woman* varies in quality over time. On a long-range scale, the inherent flexibility of comic books produced monthly makes them ideal for studying changing societal mores. For example, research shows that during threatening historical periods, superheroes become more aggressive and less introspective.

In recent years, comic book heroes have leaped from the printed page to integrate themselves into many aspects of the entertainment industry. Indeed, comic books are perceived by some as a cheap testing ground for ideas that might be leveraged into film for big money. Comic books themselves are selling at relatively low historical levels. However, the parallels between the popularity of comic book superheroes during World War II and the popularity of superheroes in film and television during the current protracted war against terror in Afghanistan and Iraq may not be coincidence. The study of comic book superheroes and how they reflect the social values of

their times (especially changing gender roles) remains a ripe area for further investigation.

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See also Art, Gender Images in; *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*; Wonder Woman

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Surfing

Women's presence in the sport of surfing has received increasing attention in popular culture during the past 5 years as demonstrated by media such as the Hollywood film *Blue Crush,* about the drama surrounding a women's surf contest in Hawai'i, and the fashion and lifestyle magazine *Surf Life for Women.* Images of women with their surfboards are now seen widely in print and on television, used to advertise items ranging from clothing, hotels, vacations, cars, and sunglasses to perfume. Women are currently the fastest growing segment of the sport. However, their presence in the sport is typically depicted by sexualized images of female surfers and their involvement in the lifestyle aspects of the sport, rather than their athletic abilities on waves and knowledge of the ocean. Although image and lifestyle are viewed as important for men in surfing, men are depicted as athletes focused on competition and conquering waves.

The sport is male-dominated and women are considered latecomers, but gaining ground. On the whole, mainstream media has paid little attention to the women pioneers in surfing who fought for the right to be in the water with men, the growth of the women's surfing professional circuit, and the awe that is inspired by some of the world's finest female athletes facing the most challenging waves on the planet, which until recently was only done by male surfers.

This perspective on surfing, and women's involvement in it, is grounded in women's cultural and historical position here in the United States. A competing perspective on the role of women in the sport comes from the viewpoint of Native Hawaiian women, where women have been surfing in Hawai'i for at least a thousand years. This entry considers both perspectives to give the fullest understanding of the sociohistorical context of women in surfing.

Popular Culture's Story of the History of Women in Surfing

From a popular culture perspective, the beginning of the history of the sport of surfing started in Southern California in the late 1950s. The mass-marketed 1959 film *Gidget* brought the prototypical notion of the California surfer-girl: white, young, thin, blonde, bikini-clad, and dim. She could surf, but the significant thing was her image as a surfer rather than her athletic abilities. The famous melodies and lyrics of Southern California's Beach Boys reinforced the role of the surfer-boy as focused on waves, skilled in the ocean, driving fast cars, and enjoying the company of good-looking surfer-girls. Surfer-girls were imagined mainly on the beach in their bikinis, rather than on their surfboards on the waves. This set in motion the gender roles and stereotypes for women and men in surfing in pop culture.

Toward the end of the 1950s, boards were being made out of foam and fiberglass, which was light and could be easily mass-produced. More people could afford to own a board, and the popularity of the sport exploded nationally. Along with this growth came greater interest in surfing as a competitive sport, where the goal was to conquer waves and defeat your opponents. An outgrowth of this was a professional class of athletes competing for prize money and sponsorship deals with surfboard and clothing companies.

Women were participating in small numbers on the margins of the growth of the sport and its competitive and professional turn. In the competitive arena, women's athletic ability and achievements in the waves were noticed within the sport, but not widely

publicized, although the competitive male surfers became iconic figures used to sell products to an ever-expanding base of male wannabes. Competitive surfing still reflects wider societal gender-bias: When surfing competitions air on television, women's competitions rarely get airtime. Prize money offered to females competing in surfing competitions is approximately one third, and sometimes less, of men's prize money in the same competitions. Professional female surfers also find it more challenging to get sponsorships from companies than their male counterparts do and are paid substantially less than men for sponsorship deals. In pop culture, women's contributions to the sport are still characterized by their embodiment of surfing fashion and as participants in "the lifestyle," which includes partying on the beach and entertaining male surfers, rather than their skill in surfing.

Globalization and Commercialization

From its roots in California, the sport expanded progressively into a worldwide industry concerned with commercialization, competition, sponsorships, lifestyle, fashion, tourism, and surfing gear. Thus, the conceptualization of surfing is situated in a highly globalized and commercialized version of the sport.

From the pop culture standpoint, surfing, and its associated culture, is seen as one ubiquitous culture, existing all over the world. For example, surfing communities in places as diverse as Japan, Costa Rica, South Africa, Hawai'i, and Australia are thought to be the same. Even though these places are quite different in their location, language, culture, and so on, they are all viewed as sharing the same surf culture, which supersedes any local differences in culture. So, a surfer from the United States could go to Costa Rica to surf and would easily understand and navigate the local surf culture because it would have the same music, fashions, magazines, brands, surf legends and icons, values, and norms as any other location. This notion of a globalized surf culture sells magazines, films, posters, and tourism.

Global surf culture is specifically targeted to women via surf tourism advertising. Again, the idea here is that women can go to any surfing community on Earth and still be at home because of the shared surf culture. Much of surf tourism for women reinforces the view that women's main role in surfing is in fashion, hanging out with boys, and partying, rather than the athletic aspect of the sport. The exception to

that rule is the marketing of yoga and surfing camps for women, which has expanded dramatically during the past 5 years. These vacations focus on the theme of mind-body unification, spirituality, and empowerment in the waves.

Body Image and Women's Surfing

The images of today's female surfers found in advertisements in surf magazines directed to both men and women, echo the earliest stereotype of the California surfer-girl. They are almost invariably women who are white, young, wearing a bikini, and not actually surfing, although now they are much thinner than their 1950s predecessors, with hip bones and collarbones jutting out from their bikinis. The women seen in these ads are models, rather than actual surfers. It is standard practice that the companies who sponsor top competitive female surfers to promote their products do not put these athletes in their ads. Instead, models replace surfers. The exception to this rule is when a female competitive surfer happens to be indistinguishable from a model, and then she appears in the ad for the product. In the case of images of male surfers appearing in advertisements, it is routine for top competitive male surfers to appear in ads for their sponsors. No male model substitutions occur.

The message women receive from these ads is that the actual female surfer is not good enough to represent the company's product in print ads. What is being shown is that the image of a real female surfer's athleticism and ability on waves isn't appealing. Interestingly enough, the opposite image is touted as appealing. The image that is chosen is of a woman who is not capable of paddling out to catch a wave.

Another Look at the History of Women in Surfing

This highly commodified notion of women in the sport is but one narrative on the subject, which is grounded in a North American perspective, based on a short history spanning from the 1950s to the present. However, if one looks at women in surfing from an expanded cultural and historical perspective, a different narrative about the role of women emerges.

The history of women surfing in Hawai'i goes back at least 1,000 years. Traditional Hawaiian myths and legends describe female gods as having extraordinary surfing skills in challenging waves throughout the

islands. These surfing women are seen as spiritually, as well as physically, powerful and commanding great respect. Pele, the renowned volcano goddess, was known as a surfer of big waves.

Women of all ages, abilities, and classes were surfers in traditional Hawaiian culture. During the time of the monarchy in Hawai'i, men and women surfed together and shared waves. Chieftesses, princesses, and queens were recognized as formidable surfers. The most famous surfer of this period was Ka'ahumanu, the wife of King Kamehameha (1758–1819). Ka'ahumanu is known to have been an expert surfer and an influential woman. In an engraving of her dated to 1822, the image shows a tall and quite voluptuous woman. This image, and her legacy, is the antithesis of the mass-marketed version of the pop culture surfer-girl. In the late 1800s in Waikiki, Princess Ka'iulani (1875–1899) was known to ride a wooden long board, a particularly heavy and demanding board, in big surf. These women were noted for their prowess on the waves and power.

Hawaiian Culture and Surfing

Surfing historically had a profoundly spiritual base, anchored to the central myths and legends of Hawai'i. It was also employed as a healing practice—known to help people via their relationship with the ocean, salt water itself, and the focus it requires to surf. The ocean is seen as a living thing that one has a relationship with. Given this, people have a responsibility to care for the ocean. Women's surfing centered on cooperation, community, spirituality, and environmental stewardship

Colonization's Impact

During the 1890s, surfing in Hawai'i was nearly wiped out by the presence of missionaries and colonizers who found surfing to be an indication of barbarism, along with numerous other Native Hawaiian practices. Surfing nearly died out in Hawai'i during this period; however, there were some who resisted the pressures of colonialism and continued to surf, thus retaining the tradition. Most of the surfing that remained was concentrated in Waikiki.

Waikiki-based surfer and swimmer Duke Kahanamoku won a gold medal in swimming in 1912. His popularity had a big influence on reestablishing surfing in Hawai'i, and he became a spokesperson for the sport as he traveled around the world doing demonstrations. This era led to more women getting back to surfing in Hawai'i.

Renaissance of Surfing for Women in Hawai'i

Native Hawaiian surfer Rell Sun changed the visibility of women in surfing dramatically during the early 1970s. She was a founder of the Women's Professional Surfing Association, which established the women's pro surfing circuit. She was an outstanding competitive surfer who was deeply connected to her culture's values of spirituality in surfing, caring for the ocean, and engagement with the community. She was known as the "first woman of surfing" and has given many female surfers a role model of a successful surfer concerned with athleticism and a deep knowledge of the ocean. When she passed away from breast cancer in 1998, she left behind a reminder of Native Hawaiian women's centrality in the history of surfing. Other Native Hawaiian women have followed her lead, reclaiming the knowledge that surfing was traditionally an equal opportunity sport where women and men both surfed difficult waves.

The Next Frontier: Big Wave Surfing

Big wave surfing means surfing waves that are higher than 20 feet. Few surfers are actually able and willing to surf these dangerous waves. This has been an area in which female surfers have experienced some of the greatest discrimination. Routinely they aren't seen as brave or competent enough to surf these waves; thus, they have not been able to access mentoring and training. However, there have been some recent successes by women penetrating some of the most daunting, men-only waves. In 1996, Andrea Moeller and Maria Souza, both Brazilians, were the first female team to tow themselves in via Jet Ski, to a massive wave known as "Jaws" in Maui. In 1998, Sarah Gerhard, a chemistry professor in California, was the first woman to surf Mavericks, the notorious monster wave near San Francisco, and she was pregnant when she did it.

Conclusions

In tension with pop culture, there is a long and rich history of women's surfing, which dates back at least 1,000 years in Polynesia. Women have long played a central role in surfing. As the sport of surfing

exploded into a global industry, the sociocultural and sociohistorical genesis of the sport was lost. The egalitarian gender tradition in the sport was replaced with stereotyping, which served marketing interests. For most of the history of the sport, women have been seen as equals, with an emphasis on athletic abilities and a deep understanding of the ocean needed to successfully and carefully navigate surfing in challenging surf. The Hawaiian myths about female surfers focused on women's social and physical power, in contrast to the popular culture version of the surfer-girl stereotype.

Elizabeth Strober

See also Body Image; Gender Stereotypes; Traditional Healing

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SURROGACY

Surrogacy—also called surrogate motherhood, surrogate parenting, and contract pregnancy—refers to the practice of a woman becoming pregnant and bearing a child with the intention of giving the child born from the arrangement to another couple or person to raise. In what is now referred to as traditional surrogacy, the surrogate mother becomes pregnant with her own ovum, usually via insemination with the sperm of the intended father. This is the type of surrogacy arrangement that was involved in the 1980s Baby M case, the first official case of surrogacy. With the increasing success of in vitro techniques in the decades since Baby M, most surrogacy transactions are now what is referred to as gestational surrogacy—the birth mother has no genetic tie to the baby she bears because she is implanted with an embryo usually conceived from the egg and sperm of the intended parents. The phenomenon of surrogacy has caused much debate among feminists and others about whether the practice furthers or diminishes women's reproductive rights, whether it challenges or reinforces traditional notions of family, and what the state's role should be in regulating the use of assisted reproductive techniques.

Surrogacy's emergence in the late 20th century as a new way to produce babies and families is often discussed in relation to the rise of assisted reproductive technologies, from in vitro fertilization to preimplantation diagnosis. As with public reaction to other new reproductive techniques, there was initially much discomfort about the seemingly unnatural processes involved in these new family formations and concerns about the impact such transactions would have on women and children. Some religious groups, particularly the Catholic Church, vigorously oppose surrogacy as breaking the sacrosanct bond between husbands and wives by undermining the marital union's sacred purpose of procreation through sexual intercourse. Meanwhile, many feminists are concerned about the commodification and exploitation of women's reproductive capacities, and some view surrogacy as a form of reproductive prostitution. Connected to these concerns, feminists critical of the practice believe that poor women's and women of color's bodies will be used to replace the reproductive labor of white, middle-class women, as wet nurses did in previous eras. Another feminist critique of surrogacy is that its focus on producing biological children reinforces a narrow notion of family as solely determined by genetic ties. Additionally, with traditional surrogacy—the form most transactions took in the beginning years—some feminists argue that the practice solely benefits men's patriarchal desire for biological progeny. Those opposed to surrogacy view legal bans on commercial surrogacy as an appropriate political solution to discourage the practice.

Yet, from the beginning, there was support for the practice, particularly from infertile couples that saw it as an important reproductive option that could provide them with a desired child. There were also feminists who viewed surrogacy as a practice that could potentially challenge essentialist ideas that link women's biological capacity to reproduce with assumed innate female characteristics associated with the caring of children. Some feminists saw as liberating the separation of biological motherhood from women's social roles and obligations as mothers in the raising of

children. As a result, feminists that support the practice view it as expanding definitions of who can be a mother and what constitutes a family. Some liberal feminists also view bans on the practice as demeaning to women as they define procreative freedom as the ability to choose what to do with one's body, including becoming a surrogate. Those more supportive of surrogacy view state regulation of the practice as a way to make sure these transactions proceed with as few problems as possible while protecting the rights of all parties involved.

On the legal front, most countries have banned commercial surrogacy. As with other developments in new reproductive and genetic technologies, the United States has been much slower to develop policies in response to the practice of surrogacy. In the wake of the Baby M case, many states put forth proposals to ban commercial surrogacy, but most states in the end did not enact laws. Of those that did, most did ban commercial surrogacy. California is often viewed as the state most open to the practice because of the precedent-setting California Supreme Court decision, *Johnson v. Calvert* (1993), in which custody of a child born via gestational surrogacy was decided in favor of the genetic parents using the criterion of intentionality.

In the end, the initial discomfort about surrogacy seems to have largely given way to a general acceptance by the U.S. public of the practice, despite remaining concerns and criticisms by some feminists.

With the increasing popularity of gestational surrogacy, more gay men and couples are making use of surrogacy to create families of their own, confirming both the fears of the religious right about the decline of the so-called traditional family and the hopes of some feminists who foresaw the transformative potential of this reproductive practice for ideas about gender, parenting, and family.

Susan Markens

See also Family Law; Feminist Bioethics; Infertility; Motherhood; New Reproductive Technologies; Pregnancy; Sperm Donors

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T

TEA ROOMS

In the late 19th century, a handful of tea rooms and shops emerged as public places of refreshment in the United States, marking the movement of a tradition of the home parlor into the marketplace. Often run by women and patronized largely by women, tea rooms provided employment, helped define the feminine in dining customs, and assisted in integrating women into public life.

By 1910, tea rooms could be found clustered in cities, towns, and resort areas of the Northeast and upper Midwest and also throughout the rest of the United States; for example, Memphis, Louisville, and Reno. By 1935, there were 18,000 tea rooms nationally, accounting for 12 percent of all restaurants.

The earliest enterprises were the creation of "gentlewomen in reduced circumstances," who saw a chance to make a living with their hostess skills and social connections at a time when women of means were beginning to seek leisure outside the home. Even today, an aura of upper-class elitism, often interpreted as British, surrounds the custom of afternoon tea and the tea rooms in which it is consumed. In addition, the tea rooms of today have remained resolutely feminine, with owners acting as hostesses who welcome guests as though in their own homes.

Women have always made up the primary customer base for tea rooms. Except for some hotels, department stores, and candy store chains that operated tea rooms, most have been run by women. Tea rooms have furnished attractive business opportunities for traditional women, whether home based or trained

in home economics. Another sign of their social and economic significance is that in the 1920s, the rapidly expanding restaurant industry paid close attention to tea rooms, by then grown into small restaurants, as a way of learning how to cater to increasing numbers of women patrons. Tea rooms helped establish popular features of restaurants, such as outdoor dining, candles, flowers, hostesses, specialty breads, novelty names, themes, and costumed servers.

Historically, the appeal of tea rooms for women have paralleled those of taverns or saloons for men: Both offer a "license" for self-indulgence and an escape from the world. The meals and refreshments provided by tea rooms are traditionally out-of-the-ordinary luxuries that are special in their ingredients, preparation, and presentation. As a space, the tea room has been appreciated as a quiet, charmingly decorated, and immaculate setting, offering a refuge from the grit, commercialism, and aggressive environment of the city. A singular aspect of the tea room in its early years was that it was alcohol-free. This, along with women managers, servers, and customers, allowed respectability for women unescorted by men at a time when lone women were assumed to be morally suspect or engaged in prostitution. By the 1920s, women could go anywhere, and tea rooms expanded into lunchrooms, with patronage that included working women and some men. Even after the repeal of Prohibition in the 1930s, many tea rooms declined to serve alcoholic beverages.

Generally, tea rooms were conceived as catering to "ladies," or the cult of "ladyhood," traces of which can still be found in tea culture today. A lady was known for having a delicate appetite and refined tastes. The food

that best epitomized this was the thin, crustless lettuce sandwich, sometimes tied with pink ribbons. Tea rooms have always served meat dishes, but meat that is large, messy, or bloody is unlikely to appear on a menu. Other common characteristics of food in tea rooms are small portion size, whiteness, creaminess, lightness, and copious garnishing. Fancy salads and desserts, once thought incapable of being made properly by any-one but a lady, have long been tea room staples.

In actual practice, tea rooms often departed from the norms, sometimes challenging them outright. When they became fashionable after 1905 in cities such as New York and Boston, they became crowded and noisy places to parade new gowns and engage in gossip. There, teapots and cups were perfect for dis-creetly serving cocktails. The proprietor of one fash-ionable place in Chicago declared in 1915 that society women would not patronize her because she refused to serve cocktails. Many tea rooms were associated with the arts, and that proved to be a draw for bohemi-ans, especially young women who were eager to throw off the restraints of Victorian ladyhood. In the teens and 1920s, Greenwich Village, New York, in particular became a site for a new kind of tea room, which stayed open all hours, admitted men, and hosted "new women," who dressed in wild colors, smoked, marched in suffrage parades, and kept their own names after marriage. This style of tea room spread to other cities and inspired a spirit of playful-ness even in more conservative establishments.

Yet another departure from the conventional ideal of ladyhood, which was presumed to be "lily white," occurred when black women began to open tea rooms. Black women generally were not welcome in white tea rooms, not even in many large department stores. The establishments run by black women were quite similar to those run by white women, although they rejected bohemianism and remained fiercely proper. A "blue book" of African American society in Chicago listed five tea rooms in 1923, one named "The Delmonico."

Since tea rooms promoted women's culture, there were undoubtedly tea room proprietors and patrons who were lesbians, but other than a few places in Greenwich Village, little evidence of this has turned up.

As the popularity of tea rooms spread beyond high society, a degree of diversity crept into menus, styles, and patronage. Before World War I, tea rooms still had a fairly elite patronage, particularly the roadside tea rooms outside cities and in resort areas visited by people wealthy enough to own cars. By 1920, they had spread into shopping districts and become popular with downtown shoppers of all but the neediest ranks of society. Gradually, the customer base widened, and tea rooms were also found in suburban areas catering to families or as snack shops near colleges.

Jan Whitaker

See also Economy: History of Women's Participation

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TEAROOM TRADE

Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places, by Laud Humphreys, was first published in 1970. The text examined the subject of men who had had sex in public restrooms, or "tearooms." The prize-winning text was immediately controversial and has remained so, becoming essential for students of sociology and readers of sociology and research methods texts. The text's infamy owes more to the research methods deployed by Humphreys, rather than the results found, with Humphreys's text cited as an example of covert and deceptive research methods that may have endan-gered subjects.

Humphreys described in *Tearoom Trade* how his PhD advisor had asked him in 1965, "But where does the average guy go just to get a blow job?" Humphreys's search for an answer to that question led to his study of impersonal sex, which was conducted over 2 years, commencing in the spring of 1966.

Humphreys had previously made informal obser-vations of tearoom activities in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Des Moines, Tulsa, Denver, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, but for *Tearoom*

Trade, he focused on a series of public park tearooms in St. Louis, Missouri. For 2 years, he acted as a voyeur/lookout or "watch queen." In this role, Humphreys warned those engaged in tearoom sexual activities of approaching individuals and presented himself as someone deriving pleasure from observing others engaging in sexual acts. Through this role, Humphreys was able to remain within the tearoom as an accepted observer without engaging in sexual acts himself. In turn, this allowed him to observe the encounters and record copious field notes.

In addition to producing field notes, Humphreys also recorded the details of 134 participants' automobiles. He then used this information together with public records to find the addresses of the plate owners and visited them in person. He posed as a survey interviewer on mental health, having changed his appearance from his earlier tearoom observations. Humphreys completed 50 interviews in the year after his initial observations. These controversial interviews and issues of privacy have remained the focus of much criticism.

As a result of these observations, Humphreys identified a series of ritualistic gestures that took place in order for successful sexual activity to occur. These stages began with "approaching," in which a man circled the outside of the tearoom or observed it from a distance, in order to see other individuals entering the venue. Upon entering the tearoom, an individual undertook the "positioning" stage, choosing a urinal or cubicle to occupy. This was then followed by "signaling," in which a man moved a little back from a urinal or through eye contact signaled his interest to another man and the role he was seeking to perform. Then, the stage of "maneuvering" took place, in which a man changed his position in the room, for example, moving closer to another restroom occupant. "Contracting" was the next stage, in which a form of commitment took place, typically involving touching the other man's penis or stepping into a lavatory stall. This stage was sometimes followed by "foreplay," to maintain arousal. The final stage was the "payoff," consisting of the final sexual act, which may or may not have involved anal penetration. This ritualistic framework was important for establishing that men were not coerced into sexual activity within a restroom.

Humphreys also developed a taxonomy for tearoom participants. These included "trade," men who were or had been married and typically undertook the "inserter" role (i.e., penetration); "ambisexuals," who were typically unmarried and might switch between the role of inserter and receiver; "the gay," who was unmarried and openly participated in the gay community; and finally the "closet queens," who were unmarried and did not reveal their homosexual identities to the wider community and also tended to play the inserter role. Within the text or his writings, Humphreys developed the concept of the "breastplate of righteousness" as an attempt to explain why, of the 50 tearoom participants he interviewed in his home, 54 percent were married at the time and 8 percent were divorced or separated but engaged in seeking sexual encounters in tearooms. The phrase "breastplate of righteousness" is drawn from the Bible and refers to "the armor of God," or a protective shield that has a particularly shiny quality and tends to blind the audience to certain of its wearer's practices. In Humphreys view, his interviewees were similarly seeking a "defensive shield" to ward off social disapproval.

In addition to being a must-read for students of methodology, Humphreys's text has remained the main reference for research on "cruising" and public sex, although it has been followed by additional work by a small number of academics. These studies include other types of public spaces, such as commercial sex venues and highway rest areas, while others have sought to replicate Humphreys's study in the examination of communities through the use of law enforcement data. Further studies have examined similar issues in a historical context, while recent years have seen notable new material produced in North America, Europe, and Australasia that examines such subjects in the context of the information society.

Chris Ashford

See also Bisexuality; Homosexuality; Tea Rooms

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Teena, Brandon (1972–1993)

Brandon Teena was born on December 12, 1972, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Born Teena Ranae Brandon, a biological female, Brandon lived his life as a male and was known as such to his friends, intimates, and family. On December 31, 1993, he was murdered by John Lotter and Marvin Thomas Nissen, two men whom he had befriended through his intimate relationship with Lana Tisdel. Upon "discovering" the "real sex category" of Brandon, Lotter and Nissen raped and beat Brandon a few days before they murdered him. Brandon Teena and his story have been at the center of academic and public debates concerning gender and sexuality rights both within and outside the United States. While Brandon did not identify as transgender, transgender advocates and scholars have hotly debated the nuances of his story and claimed his embodied experiences as indicative of the continuing struggles of lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) communities.

Brandon's Story

Brandon's story has been told through a number of media, such as documentary and mainstream filmmaking, biography, music (Pet Shop Boys' *Girls Don't Cry*), academic articles and books, and much more. Brandon was the subject of the Academy-Award–winning film *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), directed by Kimberly Pierce and starring Hilary Swank as Brandon and Chloë Sevigny as Lana Tisdel.

Brandon's Archive

It has been argued that Brandon's large archive has created a "new Brandon" that often situates queer life in small-town America in a misleading light. Indeed, as one researches Brandon's life, the images, stories, and documents share a static quality, and without thoughtful reflections on the dynamics of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and nation, they seem to make up a superficial analysis of the ways Brandon's ordeal continues to have an impact on current gender/sexuality debates.

Brandon's story highlights a shift in how gendered and sexualized embodiments are being discussed and debated. He was situated as "other," a nonnormative "fe/male" body, and the violent actions against his body and the continuing dialogue concerning his life and identity represent how gender and sexuality are experienced in everyday interactions. Institutional gendered and sexualized constraints are inextricably linked to the embodied constraints Brandon dealt with on a daily basis. This ongoing conflict resulted in real and tragic consequences: Brandon lost his life, and therefore the right to embody space and express desire in his own way. Because he was marked as "nonnormative," he lost access to the rights and privileges that "normative" people take for granted.

Danielle Antoinette Hidalgo

See also Gender Outlaw; Institution, Gender as; Rape; Sexual Rights and Citizenship; Transgender; Transsexual

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Teen Pregnancy

Teen pregnancy is commonly defined as a pregnancy by a woman who has not reached the age of majority in her country. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest teenage pregnancy rate in the world at 143 per 1,000 women, while South Korea has the lowest at 3 per 1,000 women. The United States has the highest teenage birthrate in the developed world at 53 per 1,000 women and also has a high rate of teenage abortion.

Teenage pregnancy has always occurred, but in recent years, many in the United States have defined it as a serious problem. Teen pregnancy is associated with negative outcomes for both mother and child. It is also associated with contested political and moral ideologies. The history of the concept of teenage pregnancy, the outcomes of teen pregnancy, and social policies all inform how U.S. society treats the issue.

Historical Constructions of Teen Pregnancy

Teenage pregnancy was, in fact, more common in the United States before 1950 than it is today. Though teen pregnancy in the United States has decreased since 1950, with a sharp decline since the 1990s, it has been increasingly defined as a social problem, with lawmakers and citizens convinced that something needs to be done to reduce the number of children born to teenagers and unmarried women. In many societies around the world, marriage is a primary measure of whether a woman is "ready" to have a child. In societies in which the average age of marriage is younger, teenage pregnancy is not seen as a social problem, since most pregnant teenagers are married. In the United States, people now delay marriage well beyond the teenage years. Thus, what is considered an acceptable age for pregnancy has continued to rise. Also fueling the concern is the association between teenage pregnancy and poor women of color. African Americans and Latinas have higher rates of teenage pregnancy; they are also more likely than white women to contend with racism, poverty, and the stigma attached to teenage pregnancy. Despite these social inequalities, individual explanations and remedies for this problem predominate political discourse. Structural understandings and solutions to these racial and class disparities receive much less attention.

Outcomes of Teenage Pregnancy

Health

Fewer teenage pregnancies in the United States, 34 percent in 2002, are ending in abortion than in previous decades. Thus, more teenage pregnancies now end in teenage parenthood. There are mixed medical opinions as to whether being a teenage mother alone creates health problems for the mother and child. Premature birth, low birth weight, and risk of death following pregnancy are more common in teenage mothers worldwide. However, many medical experts believe this is attributable to pregnant teenagers being far less likely to receive medical care and proper nutrition. While this is a problem in the United States, it is an even greater problem in developing countries. Most health problems that teenage mothers and their children experience worldwide are due to lack of access to high-quality health care and socioeconomic factors.

Social

Teenage mothers are more likely to drop out of school. However, recent studies have found that a majority dropped out prior to becoming pregnant, once again raising the question of whether negative outcomes can be directly attributed to teenage pregnancy and not to social conditions like poverty. After all, teenage mothers are also more likely to be impoverished, less likely to be employed, and more likely to apply for welfare or other government assistance programs. Children of teenage parents have been shown overall to do more poorly in school than children whose parents are older. They have also been found to have higher rates of behavioral and developmental problems. Some attribute this to a lack of parenting skills and knowledge on behalf of young parents, not solely the age of the mother.

Teenage Pregnancy and Poverty

Some scholars use a *culture of poverty* theory to explain the disproportionate number of teenage pregnancies among poor, minority women. This theory posits that people in poor communities, especially people of color, have different ("deviant") values from those of the middle-class. Some of these supposed differences are that teenage and unmarried pregnancy is encouraged, or at least not looked down upon; marriage is not sought after or valued; promiscuity is accepted; and children are not closely supervised.

Academic studies of teenage pregnancy and parenthood paint a picture quite different from the one culture-of-poverty theorists offer. Research consistently finds that teenage girls want to get married but find it difficult for a number of reasons. They also find that few pregnancies are planned but that teenage mothers are often excited and view their children as a blessing. Motherhood is one of the few ways poor

women can prove their worth and feel that they are doing something important, since educational and job opportunities are scant in poor communities.

Cause or Consequence?

Teenage pregnancy has been viewed in the United States as a major cause of poverty. Teenage mothers are unlikely to finish school or get jobs that will be able to support their families. However, some scholars argue that teenage pregnancy is more a consequence of poverty than a cause. They argue that because of limited opportunities elsewhere, poor teenagers may aspire to be parents at young ages in order to feel like adults and that they are doing something worthwhile. Scholars also point out that poor teenage mothers would likely not be any better off if they delayed parenthood. They claim that the correlations between low educational levels, low job attainment, and teenage parenthood are all a result—not the cause—of poverty. Further, because of their status as impoverished, most of these teenage parents would have low educational attainment and few job opportunities even if they remained childless.

Social Policy and Teenage Pregnancy

Welfare Policy

According to 1996 welfare reform, teenage parents must live with their parents or legal guardian in order to receive cash welfare payments. Prior to welfare reform, teenage parents could live independently with their children and receive benefits. This policy forces parents of teenage mothers to assume responsibility for the perceived amorality of their daughters and to establish and maintain close supervision over them. The reforms also require the teenager to go to school, attend a training program, or obtain a general educational development credential (GED) to receive benefits. The absences that this participation necessitates further burden members of the teenage mother's family by pressuring them to care for her child for free. These policies make it difficult for teenage mothers to receive welfare despite being significantly impoverished.

Sex Education

In addition to making the requirements stricter for teenage mothers to receive welfare, politicians attached a provision to the welfare reform bill that stated that federal money allocated for sex education programs could be used only for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs. These programs must meet strict requirements, which include not teaching about contraception, safer-sex methods, or sexually transmitted diseases, and emphasizing that marriage and self-sufficiency are prerequisites to sexual activity. The ideology behind this is that comprehensive sex education, which teaches about contraception and safer-sex practices, encourages teenagers to become sexually active. Thus, teaching abstinence-only will discourage teenage sexual activity.

Some criticize this approach and argue that teenagers will likely still engage in sexual activity and should be equipped with the knowledge to make better choices. Critics argue that this may increase the teenage pregnancy rate (and sexually transmitted diseases, or STD, rates) because teenagers will not know how to prevent pregnancy, protect themselves from disease transmission, or obtain abortions. Studies show that students who receive abstinence-only education are just as likely to be sexually active as teenagers as those who receive comprehensive sexual education.

Abortion Policies

In some countries, such as Canada and Sweden, people consider abortion a strictly medical procedure and do not treat abortion differently than they do other types of surgeries, regardless of age. Because these countries have universal health care, the government absorbs the costs of abortions. In the United States, however, abortion is a morally contested issue, and special laws have been enacted to regulate this procedure and restrict women's access.

Though *Roe v. Wade* (1973) gave women in the United States the right to abortion, parental notification and consent laws restrict teenagers' access to abortion. All but four states require parental notification or consent before a minor can receive an abortion. Such policies have the potential to deter many pregnant teens who want an abortion but are afraid to seek one out. Such deterrence likely leads to an increase in teenage parenthood rates. It also may lead teenagers to try dangerous home abortion techniques that could cause injury, death, or permanent infertility.

Finally, the Hyde Amendment bans the use of public funds to fund abortions, meaning that poor, pregnant teenagers are at a further disadvantage for receiving this service should they be approved for it.

Though policymakers and politicians state their concerns about teenage pregnancy rates, U.S. abortion regulations are seen by some to encourage teenage parenthood once a teen becomes pregnant.

Conclusion

Teenage pregnancy is common worldwide. In countries in which most teenagers are married, teenage pregnancy is not seen as a serious problem. In the United States, teenage pregnancy is associated with poverty, poor health and social outcomes for mother and child, and amorality. Government interventions tend to be punitive and focus on deterrence. However, once a teenager is pregnant, regulations and policies make it difficult for her to terminate the pregnancy. This has led some to believe that new ideologies and policies are needed to address the lower-economic and health status of teenage parents in the United States and around the world.

Megan Reid

See also Abortion; Contraception; Morning-After Pill; Motherhood; Pregnancy; Sex Education; Stratified Reproduction; Welfare Reform

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TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) is a means-tested program that provides families living in poverty with cash assistance and other forms of aid. TANF replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent

Children (AFDC), Emergency Assistance (EA), and Job Opportunity and Basic Skills (JOBS) programs when the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was passed on August 22, 1996. Intended to "end welfare as we know it," the act transformed the welfare system in the United States from a federally funded and regulated "entitlement" program into a federal block grant that gave much discretion and regulative power to state governments with "no guarantee of benefits" for those eligible. In addition to shifting control of welfare to individual states, the act mandated several changes that significantly affected individuals receiving assistance, including time limits on aid, mandatory work requirements, and the exclusion of certain persons from receiving aid.

With the passage of PRWORA, states were required to implement a 5-year lifetime limit on welfare receipt; as of 2002, 17 states had shorter limits. Families with an adult who reached the limit are banned from federal cash aid for life; states may elect to provide aid beyond this time limit with state funds. TANF recipients were also required by federal law to spend at least 20 hours per week in an approved work activity. The number of hours gradually increased over time. In 2006, the work requirement was 30 hours for single-parent families and 35 to 55 hours for two-parent families. States may exempt only 20 percent of their caseload from these work requirements in cases of hardship. After that 20 percent limit is reached, persons not enrolled in such activities must be turned away from aid in order for the state to continue to use the federal block grant. Common exemptions include the care of a young child, disability, care of a disabled individual, domestic violence victimization, and lack of available child care. Certain types of persons were banned from receiving assistance altogether, including many immigrants and anyone convicted of a drug felony. Unmarried minor parents who do not reside with an adult or "in an adult-supervised setting and participate in educational and training activities" are not eligible for aid.

The impacts of welfare reform are mixed. As intended, TANF dramatically reduced the welfare caseload and increased rates of employment among low-income families. Between 1996 and 2002, the number of individuals receiving welfare decreased from 4.2 million to 2.1 million, and the proportion of low-income single parents who were employed increased from 56 percent to 61 percent. However, TANF has been criticized because recipients are often

forced into low-wage jobs with few benefits and little opportunity for advancement. For example, between 1996 and 2002, there was no rise in the proportion of low-income single parents who were employed full time or had health insurance provided by their employers. In addition, while there was a decrease in poverty between 1996 and 2000, since that time, the number of children and families in poverty has increased.

Alesha Durfee

See also Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Poverty, Feminization of; Violence Against Women Act; Welfare Reform; Workfare

Web Sites

Administration for Children and Families, Office of Family Assistance: http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa
House Committee on Ways and Means Green Book (data on state and federal TANF funding by fiscal year): http://www.gpoaccess.gov/wmprints/green

THEOLOGY, FEMINIST

Feminism, much like theology, encompasses a wide range of concepts, theories, and politics. Feminist approaches, or to be more accurate, *feminist critiques,* of theologies in traditional Abrahamic religions (e.g., Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) are taking center stage in the newly emerging global academy. The purpose of this entry is to introduce the reader to the development of what can be generally referred to as *feminist theology*. The term *theology* is used by feminist theologians to mean a reflection on the divine that is undertaken in feminist terms and/or from a feminist perspective. This essay includes four distinct yet connected sections. First, feminist theology is examined by addressing the root sources of any systematic theological premise: biblical hermeneutics (interpretations) and subsequent religious authority. Second, the dominance of the academy in the construction of feminist discourses is discussed in order to illustrate the liberatory potential that is found in the university/college setting. Third, future directions for feminist theologies are considered. Fourth, conclusions are drawn within the framework of the changing nature of God/ess and religious truth.

The Bible and Religious Texts

Feminist theologians have long established that the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qur'an were written within systemic patriarchal cultures. Patriarchy cannot be limited to sex-gender systems of inequality (i.e., male domination). Rather, the notion of patriarchy has been expanded to include not only sexism but also racism, colonialism, classism, and homophobia. Such oppressive conditions include the use of grammatical gender in religious texts, sacralizing the experience of Man, and making invisible the struggle of all "Others" without power or privilege (e.g., women, racial/ethnic, sexual, and socioeconomic minorities). This andocentric language inherently marginalizes women and is designed to protect patriarchal interests in society; namely, property wealth and control over economic conditions. It comes as no surprise, then, that for centuries, the prominent interpretations of religious texts, and the texts themselves, have been male centered. This is partly because these texts are written in a dichotomous kyriarchal structure that juxtaposes positions of power and powerlessness (e.g., rich/poor, owner/laborer). The role of feminist theologians is to subvert patriarchal biblical hermeneutics through methodological suspicion, historical reinterpretation and reconstruction, and recovering a library of religious works written by women.

Abrahamic religions arose within patriarchal social environments. Thus, the patriarchy often associated with these religions is more a product of the social conditions in which the traditions developed than any particular tendency toward patriarchy within the theology expressed in these traditions. A critical feminist approach to a biblical hermeneutics for liberation free from patriarchal tendencies takes its form in deconstructing the ideological inscriptions found in scripture. For example, by placing women and all Others in the center of early Christian struggles and history, a "New Historicism" is created in the spirit of a discipleship of equals. Historical positivism is rejected in favor of a "consciously constructed narrative" based on feminist historical reinterpretation and reconstruction. Women are able to act as subjects of interpretation and become resisting readers, choosing not to reinscribe and internalize painful andocentric interpretations. Prominent feminist theologians have argued that biblical hermeneutics are best viewed as rhetorical discourses. In other words, interpretation is based in part on the structural location of the reader.

This challenges the theological assumption that the Bible and the Qur'an speak with divine authority. Such claims to authoritative truths construct normative religious identities without any self-reflection or critical thought required. By problematizing patriarchal archetypes upheld by the writers of ancient religious texts, truth and authority become relative entities in relation to how, when, and why a person engages each text.

Finally, feminist theologies expressed by and through critical biblical hermeneutics are gaining access to and offering unwavering critiques of mainstream or "malestream" theologies. To be sure, religious truth has been owned and operated by white, Euro-American (Western), heterosexual, class-privileged men. This is especially true following the Enlightenment and the push for value-neutral scientific methods, where biblical stories have been recast to act as scientific data and objective facts. By exposing the incomplete, stagnant, and often oppressive andocentric structure of the Bible, feminist systematic theologies are able to discern the wide range of truths to be found in a single biblical narrative.

The Production of Feminist Theologians

Access to "malestream" theology has by and large been accomplished through the establishment of academic feminism and women's participation in the construction of religious and theological discourses. It is important that these discourses be seen as discourses of domination, replicating systemic kyriarchal (lord/servant) human relations that are labeled as "scientific." The presence of Others' voices within discourses of domination disrupts the very notion of science, truth, and emotional detachment from social scientific data. The professionalization of religious and theological studies reinforce male-dominated avenues of credential processes and kyriarchal systems of learning. In other words, most universities promote a teacher/student, master/disciple pedagogical approach to knowledge with minimal critical reflexivity, and students are socialized to ignore the marginalization that certain forms of theologies create.

Feminist theologians seek to provide a new paradigm to transform these traditional educational practices. Instead of basing theology within the framework of a hidden revelatory truth to be discovered within "divine" texts, feminist theology is based on the premise that discourses about divine revelation are rooted in historical reconstructional analyses that create symbolic universes of meaning. In short, since meaning is constructed according to individual socioreligious location, or religious *habitus,* there should be multiple competing definitions of social reality, including several authentic truths and divine revelations. Thus, systems of meaning about the world cannot be reduced to one overarching, or monocultural, dominant religious discourse. The search for truth, then, is not an epistemological journey, but a spiritual one. This can have a profound impact on pedagogical and communicative approaches to producing future theologies and preparing theologians, whether feminist, queer, or some combination of various standpoints.

A radical democratic model of theological education invites critical self-reflection and active participation with other students and colleagues in order to experience their symbolic universes and how, why, and by what guidelines/systems they construct them. At its heart, this approach raises consciousness and decentralizes hierarchal models of academic teaching. Radical attempts to expose the andocentric nature of religious texts while simultaneously revealing the liberatory potential of biblically based theology furthers the goal of displacing malestream theological study, learning, and the production of knowledge. Although change is occurring at a slow pace, contemporary introductory textbooks to theology are beginning to reflect the acceptance of feminist theology into malestream theology, albeit reluctantly so.

The Future of Feminist Theologies

Feminist theologies attempt to articulate the marginalization of Others within systemic patriarchal religious cultures. Although often met with discomfort and masculinist resistance, minorities of all colors, nationalities, and sexualities are gaining ground. Recently, some feminists have posited that in order for theology to truly be a formidable opponent to discourses of domination, a transnational emancipatory discourse must be developed. Nationalism, understood as excessive "love of country," these scholars hold, is the organizing principle of all social discourses. Dedicated to the establishment of a global economic monoculture, nationalists (especially in the West, the United States in particular) seek to (re)naturalize patriarchal domination and mark their identities and boundaries via

kyriarchal capitalist nation-states. This nationalist tendency can be found within feminist theologies as well. Given that many conceptualizations of feminist theologies are situated in continental terms (i.e., Western, Latin American, Asian, African American, etc.), this critique finds real validity and has great emancipatory potential. If feminist theologies are to persist well into the 21st century, nationalist economic globalization and the corporatization of citizenship must be confronted, deconstructed, and transformed.

Discourses of nationalism often carry with them political interests and cultural biases. If producers of knowledge are cognizant of these territorial boundaries, then transnational feminist theologies and discourses can move beyond political contradictions into a theoretical space completely "free" of discourses of patriarchal domination. Again, critical self-reflection on individual sociopolitical location is the key ingredient to avoid reinscribing dominant patterns of human relations. This addresses the name of the proverbial elephant in the room and allows people of all cultures to recognize our commonality rather than dwelling on our discursive distinctions. This is not to say that individual historical, religious, and cultural backgrounds are to be discarded. Rather, transnational feminist theologies identify both the divergent geographic and spiritual sites of struggle for liberation from discourses entrenched in the nationalist androcentric vernacular.

Conclusion

Feminist critical biblical hermeneutics, democratic models in the disbursement of knowledge, and transnational theological discourses serve to provide an ever-changing kaleidoscope of the nature of God/ess and religious authority. Removing theology from existing patriarchal structures translates into the rejection of God as Father as well as gendered pronouns used to identify God and religious truth as masculine. In progressive Abrahamic religious traditions, this grammatical transformation is already in progress as lectionaries, ritualistic practices, and traditional confessions of faith are being rewritten to be more inclusive. It is also worth remembering that a critical feminist theological hermeneutics can be applied to any religion borne out of systemic patriarchal conditions. Discourses of domination typically dichotomize religious truth and human subjectivity; this is true regardless of the religious tradition in question.

Feminist theologians have been hesitant to employ analytical philosophy in their theology, ambivalent about the idea that truth is something that is discovered amidst multiple, contradictory discourses. Yet a critical feminist approach is desperately needed to dismantle the dualistic approach of the philosophy of religion, splitting mind and body, and logic and emotion, which in turn creates masculine models of human agency. Schussler Fiorenza has provided arguably the most comprehensive hermeneutical theological toolkit for such an undertaking. Using the metaphor of hermeneutics as a circle dance, the movement of feminist critiques creates an imagined community alive with creative power. Knowledge of God/ess becomes contextualized in radical democratic practices in the hopes of continuous change and theological transformation.

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See also Christianity, Status of Women in; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Nuns

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Title IX

Title IX was signed into law on June 23, 1972, by President Richard M. Nixon. The statute prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex for any educational institution receiving federal financial assistance. Although this is part of the Education Amendments of 1972 and applies to all areas of education, its impact in athletics has been noted as the most influential. Historically speaking, the sport domain has been

dominated by men. If girls and women did manage to enter this realm, they found great resistance and scrutiny. This law provided significant increases in sport participation opportunities for girls and women. According to the Women's Sports Foundation, 1 in 27 high school girls participated in varsity sports in 1972, and 1 in 2.5 girls in 2006. Although girls and women have gained access to the sporting world, there is still resistance and controversy surrounding Title IX. This entry includes a brief overview of Title IX, the recent developments and overall climate, and the efforts for reformation of this legislature.

Brief Overview

To determine compliance with Title IX, schools are required to fulfill a three-prong test. The first component is known as the *proportionality prong.* This assesses whether there is substantiate proportionality among the male and female athletes in comparison to the student body. Currently, schools with a 1 percent or lower deviation from this ratio are assumed to be in compliance. For example, if male students compose 50 percent of the students, they should receive 50 percent of the athletic opportunities and the remaining 50 percent should be allocated to female students.

The second and third prongs are quite similar and both deal with fulfilling the interests of girls and women. The second prong challenges institutions to show a history and continuing practice of program expansion for girls and women. Last, the third prong requires that the interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex are accommodated. These two prongs have been scrutinized by many because it is implied that women are less interested in sport than men. People concerned with the advancement of women's athletics dismiss this claim and promote the idea that if girls and women are given the opportunities, they will show their interest.

Most schools do not comply with Title IX. However, because this law is not strongly enforced, most institutions are not penalized. One way that schools have attempted to achieve proportionality is to eliminate non-revenue-producing men's sports, such as wrestling, track and field, gymnastics, and tennis. Although this is not required, schools find this avenue more attractive than perhaps taking money away from big-time sports programs, such as men's basketball and football, to support women's athletics.

Recent Developments and Overall Climate

There is no dispute that Title IX has created significant opportunities for girls and women to participate in sports. Since Title IX was passed, millions of sporting females have taken the field, and many have become nationally and internationally recognized. Prior to this legislation, excelling in sports was an irrational and unforeseeable goal for most girls and women. The gender climate has significantly changed over the past 35 years. Although girls and women have previously been discouraged from several sources (e.g., medical professionals, physical educators), they are now often encouraged to participate. Despite these progressions, Title IX has endured some heavy scrutiny, causing heated debates on this topic.

In June 2002, the 15-member Commission of Opportunity in Athletics was established by Education Secretary Roderick Paige to collect information, analyze issues, and improve Title IX in an overall sense. The commission's report consisted of 23 recommendations, and Paige rejected all recommendations and reinstated the current Title IX legislation as it read. In addition, he promised to increase enforcement efforts regarding Title IX compliance.

Subsequently, in March 2005, the U.S. Department of Education declared that institutions would qualify for compliance if they distributed an interest survey via e-mail to females to assess their interests in sport. Women who do not respond to this e-mail are counted as not interested.

This overview provides a sense of where Title IX stands today. Also, it prefaces the final section, about of the controversy surrounding this law and efforts for reformation.

Efforts for Reformation

Several advocacy groups have developed to reform Title IX. Some groups advocate the participation experiences of girls and women and suggest that Title IX needs to be vigilantly enforced to protect and increase sport opportunities. Further, they feel, expenditures on big-time sports programs should be curtailed, and more money should be allocated to women's sports. Other groups perceive Title IX to be discriminatory toward male sports, specifically Olympic sports, due to the unfortunate elimination of

many programs to comply with the proportionality prong. These constituents are focused on protecting male sporting opportunities.

Title IX has stirred much controversy over the course of its 35-year existence. The recent developments have reignited the debate over men's and women's sport opportunities. This debate will persist with continual alterations to this law.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, Title IX has created millions of opportunities for girls and women in sport. Nonetheless, resistance and obstacles are faced every day by sporting females and their advocates. Title IX has done wonders to advance the lives of girls and women, but it hasn't happened without a struggle. With the help of Title IX and changing ideologies, society can offer an equal playing field rich with empowering experiences for women and men.

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See also Biological Determinism; Gender Stereotypes; Privilege, Male; Women's Health Movements; Women's Political Council

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Tomboy/Sissy

The terms *tomboy* and *sissy* refer, respectively, to preadolescent girls and boys who adopt behaviors and play patterns culturally associated with the "opposite sex." Stereotypical accounts of tomboys describe them as eschewing frilly, feminine forms of dress for jeans and sneakers and seeking out adventurous, outdoor play in the company of boys. Sissies, in contrast, are described as shy, emotional boys who would rather play with dolls and makeup than take part in sports or masculine roughhousing. Research on childhood and gender illustrates that these labels for gender-crossing children carry different connotations. *Sissy* is a derogatory term used to police boys' behaviors, as it is closely associated with adult male homosexuality and the cultural devaluation of the feminine. While *tomboy* can be a dismissive term, it often carries a positive image of spunky, young girls expressing their independence. However, tomboys who persistently identify as boys can face parental censure, as many autobiographies of female-to-male transsexuals reveal, as can girls who continue to exhibit female masculinity in adolescence.

Early Origins

The origins of both terms can be traced back to as early as the 17th century. *Tomboy* originally referred to an aggressive boy, but the term later became applied to "loose" women. In the late 19th century, the current meaning of tomboy emerged. Tomboy had a positive connotation at the turn of the century, as demonstrated by a flood of literature about spunky, preadolescent girls. Outdoor activities sponsored by groups like the newly developed Girl Scouts were even recommended for young girls, as vigorous exercise was thought to ward off female hysteria. In adolescence, however, the tomboy was expected to mature into a gender-conforming young woman who willingly took on her womanly duties of marriage and childbirth.

Sissy originally is a derivation of *sister,* often used to refer to young female siblings. In the late 19th century, the term was applied by masculinity social reformers, such as Theodore Roosevelt and G. Stanley Hall, to what was represented as an epidemic of young boys who were sickly, timid, and too tied to their mothers. Advice books abounded that encouraged parents to root out effeminacy in boys. Mothers were especially targeted as the cause of "sissification." Boys were pushed toward hunting and camping to strengthen their masculinity. By the turn of the century, sissy was closely tied to *sexual inversion,* a sexology term for individuals who gender-crossed and had same-sex desires. While cultural beliefs about women's asexuality delayed the

pathologizing of tomboys, by the 1920s, girls who had not adopted feminine behaviors in adolescence also ran the risk of being labeled *inverts.* Countering "gender-inverted" behavior in young children became a major concern of sexologists and later psychologists. Waves of "sissy panic" aimed at young boys would continue to emerge in historical periods when masculinity was deemed to be in crisis.

Therapeutic Interventions

Since the 1970s, the National Institute of Mental Health has provided over $1 million of funding for psychological research aimed at correcting cross-gender identity problems in children. "Sissies" have made up the bulk of research participants in these studies. The Gender Identity Research Center (GIRC) at the University of California, Los Angeles, spearheaded much of this research. In the 1970s, psychologist Richard Green created the "Feminine Boy Project" at GIRC. Boys who exhibited cross-gender behavior underwent therapy aimed at strengthening their masculinity identities. Green and his colleagues used behavior modification therapy, encouraging boys to engage in stereotypically masculine behavior, such as playing with trucks rather than dolls, and to reject attitudes and playthings associated with the feminine. The goal of the Feminine Boy Project was to prevent "sissy boys" from becoming adult homosexuals. Green eventually published *The "Sissy-Boy" Syndrome and the Development of Homosexuality* (1987) from this work.

Green and his associates also did research on tomboys at GIRC. However, they observed that parents did not express as much apprehension about female masculinity unless the behaviors continued in adolescence or were accompanied by expressions of same-sex desire. These findings underscore the cultural devaluation of the feminine, as it is not viewed as pathological for girls to want to associate themselves with some elements of masculinity—a gender expression that carries more freedom and power.

Regulating Childhood Gender Identity

The burgeoning gay and lesbian movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s succeeded in having homosexuality declassified as a psychological disorder and removed from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM)* in 1973. In the 1980 edition of the *DSM,* however,

a new disorder was listed: Childhood Gender Identity Disorder (CGID). Often referred to as a "prehomosexual" or "pretranssexual" diagnosis, CGID was applied to children who exhibit strong, persistent cross-gender behaviors and identities. Once labeled with CGID, children often were put into therapy that encouraged them to return to their "natural" gender identities. CGID is still currently listed in the *DSM-IV* and has been used as a clinical justification for institutionalizing gay and lesbian teenagers who do not conform to norms of masculinity and femininity.

Tomboys and Sissies in Adulthood

Childhood gender-crossing behavior is commonly conflated with adult homosexuality and/or transsexuality. Longitudinal psychological studies of effeminate boys suggest that there is a strong correlation between being a "sissy" and becoming an adult "effeminate" homosexual or, more rarely, a transsexual. Being a "tomboy" has a weaker correlation with adult lesbianism in this research. Autobiographical accounts by butch lesbians and female-to-male transsexuals often describe childhood behaviors that fit into the category of tomboy, just as some gay men and male-to-female transsexuals recount childhood cross-gender behavior. Yet tomboys and sissies can grow up to be heterosexual, and lesbians and gay men can have gender-conforming childhoods and grow into gender-conforming adults. Sociological research on gender and sexual identity suggests that ultimately the "problem" of tomboys and sissies lies not with a disordered gender identity, but with a society that devalues the feminine, pathologizes homosexuality, and treats gender identity as a "natural" offshoot of biology.

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TORTURE

Many debate the exact definition of *torture.* Most legal definitions of torture are composed of terms such as *cruel, intentional,* or *severe,* which are in need of further definition. Advocates for human rights often argue that torture tends to be defined in an overly narrow way. More specifically, they argue that the distinctions often made between torture and euphemistically named practices such as *coercion* or *psychological pressure* serve only to provide undeserved legal protection to the violator. Some believe that the distinction between torture and *sexual abuse* is also arbitrary and ultimately of benefit not to the victim, but to the criminal. The many recent incidents of state-sponsored sexual abuse on a massive scale and the subsequent legal proceedings have given new impetus to this debate. In addition, the well-publicized incidents of sexual abuse at Abu Ghraib prison, in Iraq, by American soldiers have brought into the public consciousness the fact that practitioners of torture use gender-based humiliation as a staple technique.

Sexual Abuse and the Definition of Torture

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) condemns torture but makes no specific mention of rape. The Geneva Conventions (1949, 1977) prohibit both rape and torture but treat each separately. Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration against Torture (1975) defines torture in more open terms:

> Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or other persons. It does not include pain or suffering arising from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions to the extent consistent with the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

This definition was nonetheless much criticized. The United Nations Convention against Torture (1987) modified the definition slightly. One improvement is particularly relevant: The newer definition no longer references the "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" (with its suggestion that torture victims are always male prisoners of war). International bodies of law consistently reference these three documents (the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Conventions, and the United Nations Declaration against Torture) in the prosecution of war crimes. In 1998, in a landmark decision, the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) recognized rape as a form of torture condemned by international law.

Forms of Gender-Based Torture

Sexual torture of males includes such acts as rape, genital mutilation, forced masturbation, forcing the victim to perform homosexual sex acts, and forcing the victim to wear women's clothing. The theme of feminization underlies all these acts. In addition to such direct sexual violations of men, the systematic rape of women from a particular group may have as secondary purpose the humiliation of their male relatives.

Female victims of torture are far more likely to be subjected to sexual torture, especially rape, than are their male counterparts. While women are subjected to the same abuses as their male counterparts (electrocution, beatings, near drowning), the sexuality and reproductive capacity of women is also often targeted in state-sponsored torture of women. Sometimes sexual assault is aggravated by forced impregnation or continues over the long term as forced prostitution. The lasting effects of such torture are devastating for the victim, and the social consequences often amount to a second victimization. Victims of rape are very frequently stigmatized and in some cultures considered unmarriageable.

Some violence directed against women is systematic, widespread, and part of state or group policy but is nonetheless not universally acknowledged to be torture in the strict sense of the word, even in light of the 1998 ICTY decision. The widespread practice of

female genital mutilation (circumcision) is one such practice. Arguably, rape and domestic violence qualify as torture but are nonetheless treated as distinct offenses. Forced sterilization, forced maternity, and even arranged marriages may be considered forms of torture. Some object, however, that an overly broad use of the term *torture* will blur the distinction between state-sponsored terrorization of a group and offenses committed by individuals.

Purposes of Torture

The purposes of torture are various. In the West, torture has a long history as a legal practice. In Ancient Rome, most of the Middle Ages, and Europe up to the 18th century in some countries, the threat and (sometimes public) implementation of torture was used to obtain evidence or to deter potential perpetrators of treasonous crime. Perhaps reflecting this history, perpetrators of torture often rationalize their actions as a sort of retributive justice, exacting vengeance for some perceived inequality (as in Rwanda) or historical wrong (as in Bosnia). Other recent apologists of torture have insisted on its potential for eliciting the truth quickly from an unwilling captive. This is the most popular argument still advanced consistently and openly by supporters of the practice of torture; that is, timely information could conceivably save lives.

License to rape and access to prostitutes (often forced) has been used for the purposes of combat motivation. Rape carried out on such a massive scale can destroy the fabric of a community. Sexual torture almost always marginalizes the female victim within her own community. Males who are responsible for her protection may feel forever humiliated and "feminized." If widespread enough, these effects may act as an obstacle to women who wish to bear and raise children. The population of the oppressed group might decline as a result. Forced impregnation by the attacking group may complicate the problem.

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See also Comfort Women; Military, Women in Relation to; Rape

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TOYS

Many have argued that children's toys are more than what they seem: They have symbolic meaning and value and tell us a great deal about the larger society of which they are a part. While it is true that toys teach children cognitive and motor skills, they are also cultural products that aid children in the construction of their identities. They are an integral part of children's culture, contribute to the social and cultural landscape of childhood, and are one of the ways that children enter into a shared culture with their peers. Moreover, children come to understand their place in the world through the messages about gender, race, social class, and sexuality that are embedded in toys, which often reproduce unhealthy stereotypes.

Toys that parents select for children are significant sources of gender socialization. Research has found that adults gender stereotype toys for boys and girls of all ages but that toys geared toward infants and toddlers are stereotyped to a lesser extent. Despite this finding, children as young as 3 or 4 years old are given messages from their parents about appropriate toys for their gender. Several studies have shown that toys for girls often focus on being a mother and taking care of the house, and therefore they are given more dolls, children's furniture, and other household items to play with. Conversely, toys for boys revolve around action and adventure themes, and therefore more sporting equipment, tools, and vehicles are made available to them. This is illustrated in one particular study where a preschool boy chose to play with a tool set rather than a dish set, stating that his father would think it was "bad" to play with the dish set.

Researchers argue that adults often rate "girls' toys" as more gender stereotyped than "boys' toys," which helps to explain why boys are discouraged from, and consequently avoid, playing with "feminine" toys. These findings can also be understood in the context of the larger definition of *masculinity* in society, where boys and men are held to a fairly narrow set of standards of acceptable masculine behavior. Conversely, girls are less frequently discouraged from

playing with "masculine" toys, which can be understood as a reflection of a more flexible definition of *femininity* that allows for some cross-gender play. It is clear that parents' values influence the children's choices of toys and their gender play.

Despite these findings, parents often argue that their children prefer gender-typed toys, which is why they purchase them. While research shows that children as young as 1 year old express gender-typed toy preferences, some argue that this may be due to parental encouragement, rather than sheer desire, toward so-called gender-appropriate toys. Parents are influenced not only by their own perceptions of what are gender-appropriate toys for boys and girls but also by the pictures on the toy packaging, the gender of the model posing with the toy in toy catalogs, and the gender-specific department where the toy is shelved (i.e., major toy chains continue to segregate their toy stores by gender, shelving toys in either the boys' section or the girls' section).

It is interesting to note that scholars consistently find that women are more likely than men to buy toys for children. Mothers state that they choose toys for their children for a variety of reasons. One reason is that the toys they buy impart values and aspirations they have for their children; they use toys as a means of communicating specific goals about education, social class, and status attainment. In addition, parents also tend to buy toys that represent the race and gender of the child. Parents select toys for their children that reflect their children's racial and gender identities. Adults often want and expect their children to conform to gender norms and to express conventional gender behaviors and attributes. In this way, gendered toys do the work of socializing children into idealized masculine and idealized feminine roles.

Researchers have concluded that toys geared toward boys and toys geared toward girls foster different qualities and skills in children. Toys that are gender-typed for boys encourage discovery, manipulation, creation, construction, competition, and aggression. While gender-typed toys for girls also encourage manipulation, unlike boy toys, they foster creativity, nurturance, and attractiveness. Researchers have concluded that different cognitive and/or social skills are being cultivated in boys and girls because of the different traits and abilities fostered through these gender-typed toys.

In addition, violent masculinity and sexualized femininity dominate notions of "cool" in children's culture today, which is reflected in toys for both boys and girls. These toys reinforce the gender dichotomy, as well as gender stereotypes, into which boys and girls are socialized. There have been several studies on the effects of war toys on aggressive behavior. Studies show that violent masculinity is commonly expressed in boy-oriented toys, especially action figures, which are now targeted to children as young as 3 or 4 years old. Perhaps the most famous and popular action figure is "GI Joe." Launched in 1964, GI Joe was the first action figure for boys. As toys have a great deal of symbolic power, it has been argued that GI Joe is symbolic of the U.S. military and the scar on his face represents U.S. corporate expansion in East Asia. GI Joe fell out of popularity after the Vietnam War but was reintroduced in the 1980s with the tagline, "A Real American Hero." GI Joe again became very popular but was, and continues to be, highly criticized for promoting aggressive and violent behavior.

Sexualized femininity is perhaps best expressed in another cultural icon, "Barbie." When Barbie debuted in 1959, she was the first doll in an adult form designed for children in the United States. Emphasis was placed on Barbie's appearance from the beginning, and many argue that Barbie is an iconic image of idealized femininity in the United States. The ideal image of femininity as embodied in Barbie includes an ultra-thin physique, sexualized style of dress, and fair complexion. Barbie and her counterpart "Ken" communicate strong messages about appearance and body size, race, and heterosexual relationships.

Barbie quickly became, and continues to be, the model against which many young girls and women compare themselves. However, scholars have argued that Barbie has a variety of meanings. For instance, postmodern readings of Barbie argue that the cultural meaning of Barbie is complicated by her ambiguous sexual orientation and social class. Barbie provokes a variety of meanings, each of which are fluid and exist in a specific context. However, it is important to note that children's toys also reproduce relations of domination through the use of racial/ethnic stereotypes. One example of this is Mattel's ever-changing line of black Barbie dolls, which does not accurately represent African American women's phenotypical characteristics and physical features. In addition, while Barbie's popularly has remained steadily high, a recent line of dolls for preteens, "Bratz," preserve the sexuality of Barbie but add the element of street-smart toughness that has become defined as "cool" in children's culture today.

Toys overwhelmingly reinforce gender stereotypes about acceptable behavior and teach children about their place in the world. Toys communicate gender-normative behavior, which scholars argue may limit children from exploring and expressing a range of interests, attitudes, and behaviors. Toys are a reflection of adult culture and, as such, provide insights into the values, controversies, and social concerns about gender in a particular historical moment.

Carolyn Corrado

See also Barbie; Gender Identities and Socialization; GI Joe

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TRADITIONAL HEALING

Traditional healing is defined as the cultural practices that address human suffering in order to reduce distress and create harmony within an individual or community. Traditional healing has been a subject of considerable interest among cultural anthropologists. From the perspective of conventional cultural anthropology, healing is largely symbolic, and the anthropologist's goal is to comprehend the system of symbols related to health and healing. Cultures use symbols as the building blocks for assigning meaning to an experience of misfortune, such as illness, miscarriage, and death. Providing meaning, as well as ordering, explaining, and treating illness, is a major function of culture. Illness and suffering and the body of knowledge used to treat them vary greatly across cultures. A great deal can be learned about a culture by analyzing its healing system, since a culture's wider social structures (e.g., economic, political, and gender) are mapped onto it.

The relationship between traditional healers and their patients has been fertile ground for anthropologists, who have researched its connection to diverse issues, such as shared meaning, belief systems, symbolic healing, secrecy, the placebo effect, and altered states of consciousness. Anthropologists have also investigated the role of traditional healers in cultures and how they become healers. This entry presents some of the feminist critiques of conventional anthropological research regarding health and healing and describes examples of traditional healing that illustrate the relationship between gender, healing, and other significant cultural practices and beliefs.

Feminist Anthropology and Traditional Healing

Feminist anthropologists have critiqued the way in which cultural anthropology has investigated women's experiences in the context of traditional healing. One example of this is how conventional anthropologists have asked women about their experiences with traditional healing as it relates solely to issues like pregnancy, birth, and miscarriage. Feminist anthropologists assert that this inquiry reinforces women's linkage to the constellation of sexuality, pregnancy, mothering, and child rearing, associated with low status. Characterizing women as involved only in these low-status roles perpetuates a false duality of nature/culture in which women represent only nature. Feminist anthropologists suggest looking critically at the way in which assigning women to the category of *nature* denies them mobility in the social world and does not afford them agency to penetrate the cultural or public sphere. They are interested in investigating the micropolitics involved with female traditional healers, their situated knowledge, and how it bears on their role in culture. They ask questions such as the following: How do women healers reinforce or challenge patriarchy? What does women's power look like in a traditional healing system?

Critical Medical Anthropology and Traditional Healing

Historically, in cultural anthropology, there has not been an emphasis on researching the issues around illness, suffering, and healing in women's lives. To a large extent, women were written out of the history of healing traditions. However, *critical medical anthropology*

(CMA), an offshoot of cultural anthropology, seeks to remedy this oversight. CMA draws heavily from feminist anthropology and the critical theories of Michel Foucault and Karl Marx. The CMA approach to illness and traditional healing builds on the interests of the interpretative approach but diverges in that it poses questions about issues of power: How does an unequal distribution of resources impact women's access to healers? How do social relationships such as racial inequality influence the arena of health and illness? The approach looks at how systemic problems, which directly affect oppressed groups, are depicted in systems of illness and healing. One area of particular interest in CMA is inquiry around the role traditional healers play in cultures where women are strictly oppressed. For example, do healers in these contexts advocate for women, or do they maintain the status quo and even penalize women who are of lower status? Does it differ if healers are men or women?

The CMA perspective incorporates the critiques of feminist anthropology and seeks to understand how the arena of illness and healing can conceal social problems women face or be a site of resistance or a location for the assertion of power. CMA looks closely at healing systems in an effort to find how and where sickness and healing are potentially performing a role of resistance. Of major interest is studying how illness and healing reflect whose interests are served and whose interests are silenced. CMA suggests that an analysis of traditional healing in any culture should explore the multiple layers of suffering that women experience in tandem with an analysis of power. It asserts the need to concentrate on both women's symptoms and the social structures in which they are embedded. Additionally, CMA calls for a move toward the local and away from large generalizations about cultures. This is particularly relevant to the study of traditional medicine, where a specific culture's history with regard to subjects such as genocide, colonialism, and missionaries have a direct impact on illness and health.

Curanderismo

Curanderismo is an example of a traditional healing system in which women play a central role as practitioners. It is a traditional native healing practice found in the southwestern United States and is practiced mainly by Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants to the United States. This system blends several cultural influences together, including Native American

and Mexican pharmacology, Catholicism and the importance of saints (as it was brought to Mexico via missionaries), and the biblical conception that certain individuals are born or called to heal. Numerology (the number 9 is quite significant) is frequently incorporated into healing. Also important is a system of correspondences: the need to balance external and internal forces in order to create a balance of wet/dry and hot/cold in the body. If an imbalance is diagnosed as the cause of an illness, restoring balance heals it. A *curandera/o* (there are both female and male practitioners) heals by being a medium through which the divine is accessed. Healing takes place via rituals, which can involve incantations and spiritual cleansings, which eliminate bad energy. Soul loss, or *susto,* is a widespread illness treated by rituals in which the lost part of the patient is discovered and then reunited. Susto can be caused by trauma, grief, or loss and treated by herbal remedies. Curanderismo healing ceremonies can involve chanting, drumming, prayer, and trance states in which the healer travels to obtain whatever is necessary for healing the patient.

Women are a vital part of this healing tradition and play diverse roles in it. *Curanderas,* or female healers, are either born into a family of healers or become able to heal by receiving a gift. They have high status in the community as a result of their healing abilities. Women are also found in the highly specialized role of *yerberas,* or herbal specialists or pharmacist. *Parteras* are midwives who care for women during their prenatal, birthing, and postpartum phases. *Sobadoras* perform a type of bodywork or massage that alleviates stomach pain, digestive tract problems, and emotional concerns and provides relaxation. A *senora que cura* is a wise woman who is closely connected in the community, familiar with how it functions, and hence able to diagnose patients' problems. *Curanderas totales* are skilled at using massage, midwifery, and herbs, and therefore they are the highest-status healers.

Santeria

Another example of a traditional healing system in which women have a major position is *Santeria.* When slaves were brought to Cuba in the 18th century, many came from Yoruba, Nigeria, in West Africa. In Cuba's cane fields, several African religious and healing practices fused with Catholicism and Cuban traditions, which became Santeria. It was a religion that revolved around attempting to disguise the practice of African

traditions. Its drumming, dance, and trance possession, essential to the healing practices of the African Diaspora, made slave owners quite nervous. From Cuba, Santeria spread to the United States via immigrants and then eventually all over the world.

To understand Santeria and its power, it is necessary to recall the dynamics of fear among slave owners in Cuba. Two major things frightened them: the potential for any kind of empowerment of slaves and the radically different practices of traditional African religion and healing. Slave owners marginalized Santeria in order to maintain power and Catholic dominance. However, the hexing and emphasis on defense and attack in Santeria served to make them more tense, which in turn gave slaves a sliver of power to manipulate. Although it has always been thought of as a religion of the poor, influential leaders (such as Fidel Castro) and the privileged have been practicing Santeria secretly for quite some time.

In Santeria, women are seen as having a vast, intense power, often expressed in the idiom of heat. Elderly women are seen as having extraordinary power. Women's power is never openly discussed. Perhaps most significantly, priestesses employ their power in divination and trance rituals. Possession trance rituals are conducted to communicate with ancestors and divine beings. Divination rituals are used to look into the future and see what a person's destination looks like. Women can wield their power in clandestine ways and direct it toward constructive or destructive purposes, according to their decisions around diagnosis and treatment. This makes affords women a good deal of authority, which some find disconcerting.

Conclusion

In conclusion, systems of healing reveal other significant aspects of cultures. Various healing systems may or may not privilege women's health considerations and women's roles as healers. The cultures that do emphasize the traditional healing powers of women also tend to emphasize the relationship between women and the sacred. Historically, this relationship has also been a source of fear among colonizers, slave owners, and others seeking to remove traditional power from women. The subjugation of traditional women-centered healing systems is a consequence of these historical forces.

Elizabeth Strober

See also Divine Feminine Spirituality; Feminist Ethnography; Religion, Gender Roles in; Voodoo; Women's Health Movements

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TRANSGENDER

The term *transgender* refers to a diverse group of individuals whose gender does not match their biological sex at birth. It is an umbrella term that describes a wide range of gender-variant groups and individuals, from those who engage in transgender behavior on occasion, such as cross-dressers, to those who do so at all times.

Transgender is a word whose meaning has shifted over time. A version of the term was first used in 1969 by Virginia Prince in *Transvestia,* a magazine for cross-dressers. At that time, Prince used the term *transgenderal* to refer to a person who lived full time in the gender opposite their sex but had no desire to undergo sex reassignment surgery. With the printing of Leslie Fienberg's pamphlet "Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come," in 1992, the term took on a broader scope, as Feinberg used *transgender* to refer to all people who were gender variant. This is the meaning of the word as it is currently used. It refers to not just those who identify themselves as transgendered, but to many different groups, including cross-dressers, transsexuals, androgynes, and genderqueers.

As the definition of transgendered has changed and many different groups have claimed some kind of transender identity, it can be confusing to determine

who is being referenced by the term. The definition used here is very broad and inclusive, but some estimates use narrower definitions. Therefore, it can be difficult to determine the number of transgendered individuals. In the United States, the estimates vary from 1 percent of the population to as high as 2 percent to 3 percent.

The remainder of this entry examines transgendering in various ways. First, the differences between sex, gender, and sexual orientation are examined in order to provide a better understanding of transgendering. The second part of the entry describes three theories of gender that have been used to explain transgendering. The final section defines and describes several different groups that fall into the category of transgender: transsexuals, including male-to-female and female-to-male, transgenderists, genderqueers, androgynes, cross-dressers, and drag performers, including drag kings and drag queens.

Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation

It is important to examine the concepts of sex, gender, and sexual orientation, as these ideas form the basis of transgendering. *Sex* is the biological reproductive category in which a person is placed when born, while *gender* refers to the social behaviors and traits that are considered normal for a particular sex. A person who is transgendered experiences and expresses a disjuncture between sex and gender. *Sexual orientation* is usually defined in terms of the gender that one is typically attracted to.

Sex, whether one is born male or female, is a biological determination made at birth. There are multiple ways to determine sex, including examining the genitals at birth for a penis or a vagina; measuring hormone levels of estrogen and testosterone; examining chromosomes for XX or XY patterns; and later in life using secondary sex characteristics, such as facial hair. Sex is thought to be a mutually exclusive and exhaustive binary in that there are two and only two sexes: male and female.

Though the male-female binary of sex is considered a biological fact, this is not necessarily the case. A child can be born with any number of characteristics that make it difficult to determine its sex, such as ambiguous genitals or chromosomes that vary from XX and XY, such as XXY. In these cases, sex determination cannot easily be made as male or female,

and so the child is considered *intersexed.* An intersexed infant is typically surgically altered to fit into either the male or female sex category. In most cases, intersexed infants are turned into females. Because the definition of intersexed varies depending on the way in which sex is determined, estimates of intersexed births vary widely, though it is generally thought that in at least 1 in 2,000 births, a child is born intersexed. In addition to intersexed infants, transsexuals go through medical procedures in order to change the sex they were born with. *Transsexuals* are usually individuals born in one sex category who wish to change their sex through sex reassignment surgery. The existence of both transsexuals and intersexed individuals challenges the notion that sex is entirely biological.

Gender is a social construction based on sex, which defines the normal behaviors and traits for each sex, such as the way people are expected to walk, talk, and dress. Just as there are generally thought to be two sexes, there are generally only two genders that are considered socially acceptable: masculine and feminine. A person who is male is expected to be masculine, while a person who is female is expected to be feminine. For example, a male is expected to have shorter hair, as that is considered to be masculine, and a female is expected to have longer hair, as that is considered to be feminine. These are categories that are thought to be mutually exclusive: A person can be masculine or feminine, but not both masculine and feminine at the same time. Since gender is a social construction, what is considered appropriate masculine or feminine behavior can change over time and can differ across cultures. For example, while at one point in the United States, it was considered inappropriate for women to work outside the home, now it is more acceptable.

Transgender individuals disrupt the sex/gender binary in multiple ways. As gender is based on behavior and traits, a person who is one sex, for example, male, could learn how to be feminine and adopt the gender of the female sex. In addition, a person could combine both masculine and feminine traits and/or behaviors at the same time. Finally, a person might learn both masculinity and femininity and be able to switch back and forth between the two genders with ease.

Sexual orientation refers to the sex of the person an individual is attracted to. A person who is homosexual is attracted to those of the same sex as her or his own, while a person who is heterosexual is attracted to those

of the opposite sex. Heterosexuality and homosexuality are also thought to be a binary; however, a person might be bisexual and be attracted to both sexes or might have a sexual orientation outside of these categories.

Though gender variance is frequently associated with sexual orientation, where it is thought that a person who is homosexual will identify with and express the gender opposite her or his sex, this is not always the case. Not all people who are homosexual will be transgendered, and not all transgendered people are homosexual. Transgendered individuals may be gay, straight, bisexual, or might not identify with a particular sexual orientation. Further, a person with a homosexual orientation might be gender variant, or they might engage in normative gender behavior

Types of Transgendering

There are many different narrower categories of transgendering. Gender variance is a very broad category that includes a variety of people, some of whom display cross-gender behavior occasionally and others who do so full-time. Several different types of transgender behavior are discussed in this section.

Transsexuals

Transsexuals are individuals who decide to undergo either partial or complete sex reassignment surgery. The process of changing from one sex to another is called *transitioning.* It is possible for a male to transition into a female (MTF) and for a female to transition into a male (FTM). To transition, transsexuals need to undergo a "real-life test" administered by medical professionals, in which they show that they are able to live full time in the opposite gender. This process takes years, and throughout, transsexuals undergo psychiatric and medical evaluation. For transsexuals, there are different medical procedures that can be done in the process of transitioning. These procedures differ for MTFs and for FTMs.

MTF transsexuals undergo hormone therapy, which can include multiple hormones, such as estrogen and anti-androgens. Estrogen is a hormone that helps MTFs to develop breasts. In addition, MTFs may have their facial and body hair removed through processes such as electrolysis. Finally, multiple genital surgeries are done to construct a vagina.

FTM transsexuals also use hormone therapy, in this case, testosterone. They may undergo "top surgery,"

which involves the removal of breast tissue and reconstruction of the chest. They may also undergo "bottom surgery," in which a penis is constructed.

Both MTF transitioning and FTM transitioning may be done in whole or in part. For example, a person can undergo hormone therapy and not have any type of surgery done. There is a debate as to whether transsexuals are actually part of the transgender community or whether different needs exist in the transsexual community that do not need to be addressed in the transgender community at large. Because transsexuals change their sex to fit their gender identities, they are sometimes viewed as conforming to the sex/gender binary.

Transgenderists

Transgenderists are individuals who live full time as the gender opposite their biological sex but have no desire to change their bodies through sex reassignment surgery. A person is considered to be a transgenderist if he or she has been living full time as the opposite gender for over 2 years.

Genderqueers

Genderqueer is a more recent term that is used by people who engage in a variety of gender-variant behaviors but do not agree with the term *transgender.* Genderqueer individuals argue that because it has the root *trans,* transgender implies that a person is moving from one gender to another. Some do view themselves as part of a transgender community, while others do not. Genderqueers usually combine elements of both masculinity and femininity. In addition, genderqueer individuals might have either male or female bodies.

Androgynes

Androgynes are individuals who combine elements of masculinity and femininity. An androgyne can be either a male- or female-bodied individual who incorporates aspects of femininity and masculinity in her or his gender identity and presentation.

Cross-Dressers

Cross-dressers are those who occasionally dress as the opposite sex, though they show no desire to change their sex or to adopt cross-gendered behavior

for extended periods of time. A person may cross-dress from either sex into the opposite gender, though generally cross-dressers are thought to be men who dress as women. This is because female-to-male cross-dressing is thought to be more common and socially acceptable.

Drag Performers

Drag performers can be either female- or male-bodied individuals or those in transition; they perform onstage the gender opposite the sex they were born, in an exaggerated or campy fashion. A *drag king* is a person who was born with a female body and performs onstage in a hypermasculine style, while a *drag queen* is a person born with a male body and performs onstage as a hyperfeminine woman.

Theoretical Background

There are three main theories of gender that can be used to explain transgendering: essentialism, social constructionism, and performativity. All three view sex and gender as having differing degrees of importance in the social world. In addition to sex and gender, the concepts of gender identity and gender expression are particularly important for these theories. *Gender identity* refers to a person's self-identification as a man, a woman, or someone in between or outside of that binary. *Gender expression* refers to how a person expresses gender behavior, for example, through clothing or hairstyle. Gender identity is not something that others can view, while gender expression is visible to other people.

Essentialist theory places emphasis on biological processes and argues that gender is a fixed trait, as opposed to a social construction. This means gender is something that will not vary much over time and space, either on an individual basis or in society in general. In essentialism, transgendered individuals might view themselves as always having felt that they were actually members of the sex category opposite their biological sex at birth. Some argue that they were born transgender; for example, they state that they were born male but have felt for as long as they can remember that they were supposed to be female. In this case, they view their sex as male, but their gender identity is actually female. This is an essentialist notion of transgendering, as it relies on the idea that a person has a gender identity that he or she is born

with, as opposed to one that is constructed or developed throughout that person's life. An example of the essentialist theory is seen in the narrative given by some transsexuals. Transsexuals feel the need to change their sex to match their gender identities, seen as an inborn trait. Their narratives often involve the feeling that they were born into the wrong sex and therefore need to change their physiology to more closely approximate the sex that corresponds with their sense of gender identity.

Social constructionism refers to the notion that sex and gender are separate concepts and that both are socially constructed. Sex is thought to be socially constructed by the medical community, as doctors define who is male and who is female. Gender is also socially constructed, as gender changes over time and across cultures. Further, while gender is thought to be based on sex, there is always the possibility that individuals may break the social norms that are dictated. Transgender individuals in this case may view sex and gender as completely distinct and believe that there is no reason for their gender to be based on their sex. This leads some to break conventional gender norms and develop a gender distinct from their sex. Gender identity is still a key concept here, as it is used to describe why a person might change from one gender to another, though it is not necessarily seen as something one is born with. Rather, gender identity is viewed as something the individual develops over time and that has the potential to change in the future. A person who is a transgenderist—that is, someone who lives full time as the opposite sex but feels no need for sex reassignment surgery—falls into the category of social constructionism. Their sex and their gender do not match, but they do not see this as a biological issue as they have no desire to change their biological sex through surgery.

Performance is a third way to view transgendering. *Performance theory* is very different from essentialist notions, which rely on a gender identity, and social constructionist notions, which rely on a distinction between sex and gender. Attributed to theorists Candace West and Don Zimmerman, as well as Judith Butler, this outlook sees gender as a performance that must be done on a daily basis. This performance does not have to be based on sex or on gender identity. Frequently, it is so routine that one might not pay attention to it or think of it as a performance—rather, it is just seen as something "normal" that one does in daily life. A person's gender performance may change depending on who that person is interacting with. In

this case, transgender people might view their gender as more of an expression or performance rather than as an aspect of identity or an expression of their sex. The example of a drag queen is a good way to think about gender as a performance. Drag queens are male-bodied individuals who perform onstage as females. Though this is a very literal example, if one considers everyday life and interactions to be a broader stage on which to perform, it is easier to picture gender as a performance.

Conclusion

Transgender is a complicated term that incorporates many different types of people. A transgender individual is someone whose sex assignment at birth does not match the gender they consider themselves to be. There are many different groups that fall into the transgender category, including those who cross-dress in their private lives, or onstage, such as drag kings, and those whose cross-gender identification is so strong that they undergo medical procedures to change their sex. A person may simply identify as transgendered without changing sex and choose to live somewhere in between the masculine/feminine binary of gender constructed by society.

As sex is often used as an organizing feature in society and gender is thought to follow from sex, transgender individuals frequently face sanctions for their behavior. Individuals may face problems related to official identification, such as a passport with a sex category indicated that does not match a person's sex; issues in employment, such as being fired after having made the decision to transition to the opposite sex; and violence at the hands of those who wish to maintain a strict gender binary. Nonetheless, the transgender social movement continues to fight for the freedom of gender identity and expression for all.

Kimberly Tauches

See also Androgyny; Cross-Dressing; Gender Dysphoria; Gender Identity Disorder; Transsexuals; Transvestite

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TRANSGENDER POLITICAL ORGANIZING

Transgender people, individuals whose self-identification and/or expression challenges traditional notions of "male" and "female," have been formally organizing since the early 1950s, following the international news coverage accorded to Christine Jorgensen for being the first person from the United States publicly known to have had a "sex change." With transgender people as a whole becoming increasingly visible during the past 50 years, particularly since the early 1990s, political organizing in transgender communities has greatly expanded and diversified. The proliferation of local groups throughout the United States has led to the development of several national organizations and the growth of movements for transgender rights and for an end to violence against transgender people.

Many of the early organizations represented particular segments of the transgender community. In 1952, a small group of male-to-female (MTF) cross-dressers in Southern California published a newsletter, *Transvestia.* The newsletter lasted only two issues but was revived in 1960 by Virginia Prince and became a catalyst for MTF cross-dressers to acknowledge themselves and find each other. The following year, Prince formed the "Hose and Heels Club" in Los Angeles, the first known U.S. support group for MTF cross-dressers. It gave rise to several chapters and in 1976 combined with another cross-dressing organization to form Tri-Ess, the Society for the Second Self. As of 2007, Tri-Ess had more than 30 chapters in the United States.

The first formal organizations for transsexuals were also established in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A riot against the police by MTF patrons of Compton's, a 24-hour cafeteria in San Francisco's Tenderloin district in 1966, demonstrated the need for sustained community action, and a local group of MTFs founded COG (Conversion Our Goal, or Change: Our Goal) the following year. Although short-lived, the group laid the groundwork for other California-based organizations, including the National Transsexual Counseling Unit and the Transsexual Action Organization. Similarly, the resistance of transgender "street queens" at the Stonewall riots in New York City in 1969 contributed to the formation of STAR (Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries), by Sylvia Rivera, and the Queens Liberation Front, by Lee Brewster.

Mirroring larger societal changes, the transsexual organizations founded in the late 1970s and 1980s were more focused on support and socializing than on protest and militant activism. This more inward turn was influenced by the rise of a transphobic feminist politic that sought to exclude MTF transsexuals from the women's movement, based on the belief that they were not "real" women. The development of transsexual groups in cities beyond the more progressive U.S. coasts also reflected and contributed to a greater emphasis on personal support.

With the exception of the Labyrinth Foundation Counseling Service, founded by Mario Martino in the late 1960s in New York City, the early transsexual organizations had few female-to-male (FTM) members and rarely addressed their needs. This situation began to change in 1986 when Lou Sullivan founded an FTM support group in San Francisco that grew into FTM International, the leading advocacy organization for FTMs. Twenty years later, the group had thousands of members and affiliated chapters in 20 countries.

The renewed militancy of what increasingly became known as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in part a response to societal inattention to the AIDS crisis, inspired a younger generation of transgender activists. Transgender Nation, a group that formed from San Francisco's Queer Nation chapter in 1992, was the first of the new wave of direct-action organization that challenged transphobia within the LGBT movement and the larger society. More far-reaching organizations were Transsexual Menace and It's Time America! both of which developed chapters across the country. The Menace formed in 1994, in the wake of the exclusion of transsexual women from the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival and the brutal murder of transman Brandon Teena. Members of the group participated in Camp Trans, an annual protest outside of the festival, and held vigils to remember transgender individuals murdered because of their gender identity/expression.

The rampant and often socially unacknowledged killing of transgender people—about one individual a month is known to have been murdered since at least 1990—led to the creation of the Remembering Our Dead Web site and the Transgender Day of Remembrance in 1999. Begun by Gwen Smith, the Day of Remembrance was observed in at least 13 countries, including more than 260 events in U.S. cities in 2005.

Another sign of the growth of the transgender movement has been the creation of an increasing number of national organizations. In 1987, Merissa Sherrill Lynn founded the International Foundation for Gender Education, which publishes *Transgender Tapestry* magazine. In 1995, Riki Wilchins established GenderPAC (Gender Public Advocacy Coalition) and held the group's first National Gender Lobby Day in Washington, D.C. In the early 2000s, GenderPAC's focus on gender-based discrimination and not only antitransgender discrimination angered some transgender activists, who felt that the organization had betrayed the community. The desire for an explicitly transgender advocacy organization contributed to the formation of the National Center for Transgender Equality in 2003, led by Mara Keisling. Other leading transgender groups founded in the 2000s include the Sylvia Rivera Law Project, the Transgender Law and Policy Institute, and the Transgender Law Center.

Less visible but no less important are the many local, campus, and corporate transgender and LGBT organizations that have succeeded in gaining rights for transgender people in their communities. As of 2007, "gender identity/expression" has been added to the laws or policies of more than 80 U.S. cities and counties, more than 70 colleges and universities, and more than 110 *Fortune* 500 companies.

Brett Genny Beemyn

See also Gender Outlaw; Gender Public Advocacy Coalition; Genderqueer; Gender Transgression; Teena, Brandon; Transgender; Transsexual; Transvestite

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TRANSGENDER STUDIES

Transgender studies is an emerging interdisciplinary academic field that takes gender nonnormativity, broadly construed, as its object of study. Research and theory within transgender studies focus on the cultural representations, political movements, social organization, and

lived experience of various forms of gender nonconformity. Identities of interest to transgender studies scholars include transsexuals, cross-dressers, transvestites, androgynes, drag kings, drag queens, sissy boys, tomboy girls, butch lesbians, nelly gay men, and so on. Works in transgender studies include theorizations of transgender subjectivity, ethnographic explorations of transgender lived realities, close readings and critiques of existing knowledge about transgendered people, and the excavation and reconstruction of transgender histories. As an interdisciplinary field, transgender studies spans many disciplinary locations: history, anthropology, literature, policy studies, sociology, legal studies, cultural studies, and media studies, to name a few.

While there has long been academic research studying gender-variant people and related social institutions and cultural forms, transgender studies differs from the bulk of previous work. Many would argue that the difference lies in the specific politics that transgender studies embraces as an academic field. It has shared epistemological stakes and a moral and political vision that value transgender bodies, identities, behaviors, social collectivities, and cultural representations. Therefore, transgender studies produces knowledge with the goal of benefiting transgender people and communities. However, many would also point out that transgender studies is a contested field. People who work in the field often disagree about what should count as transgender studies.

History

Transgender studies began to coalesce as an academic field in the early 1990s, primarily in the United States and the United Kingdom. During that time, a set of diverse conditions came together that were collectively conducive to the emergence of transgender studies. Like other socially engaged academic fields, such as women's studies, ethnic studies, and queer studies, transgender studies was fueled by sociopolitical activism, primarily taking place outside of the academy. During the early 1990s, transgender and transsexual social movements were growing rapidly and becoming increasingly visible. Groups inspired by ACT UP, such as Transgender Nation in the United States, were formed and staged direct-action politics. More traditional social movement organizations, such as Press for Change in the United Kingdom, increased in number as well. Although movements and organizations such as these predated the rise of transgender studies, their scope and visibility increased considerably in the 1990s.

In addition to overt political activity, representations of transgender people were more visible in popular culture, including movies and television. Drag performances that had been part of sexual minority subcultures for many years suddenly became mainstream. TV talk shows provided a window into a sensationalized version of the lives of gender benders.

In the 1990s, ways of being gender-variant seemed to proliferate. People identified with an increasing range of gender-nonconforming identities, including many that had been around for a long time (drag queens, transsexuals, cross-dressers) and others that were new or newly visible (drag kings, boidykes, trannyfags, genderqueers). In addition, the dominant meaning associated with the term *transgender* changed. Originally coined in the 1970s by full-time heterosexual cross-dresser Virginia Prince, *transgenderist* had originally meant someone who took on the social role of the "opposite" gender without any surgical or other bodily intervention to "change sex." However, in the 1990s *transgender* became an umbrella term that was meant to include all of the manifold ways in which people step outside of normative gender. The popularization of this new meaning is generally attributed to transgender activist Leslie Feinberg's 1992 pamphlet, "Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come." It is this broad meaning of transgender that is most associated with the academic project of transgender studies.

In addition to responding to broad social changes, political movements, and cultural shifts concerning gender nonnormativity, conditions within the academy also helped foster the emergence of transgender studies. Work in feminist and queer studies provided important foundations for what would become transgender studies; they each also showed evidence of limitations to which transgender studies would respond. In addition, there was a longer history of research and theory on gender variance in a number of fields, including anthropology, sociology, and literature. It was especially the pathologizing work of medicine, psychology, and some strands of feminist studies that spurred criticism, which in turn shaped what would become transgender studies.

Challenging Existing Knowledge

Although transgender studies began to emerge in the 1990s, academics had studied transgender, transsexual, and other gender-variant people and associated phenomena for much longer. Much of this prior research

portrayed gender-nonconforming people and phenomena negatively. An important strand of contemporary transgender studies scholarship has responded to and critiqued these kinds of existing knowledge about gender-variant people. Transgender studies has responded to many negative portrayals of gender-variant people, among them three key discourses: (1) narrow, inaccurate, and pathologizing renderings of transsexual/ transgender phenomena found in psychology and medicine; (2) "false consciousness" models of transsexual/transgender subjectivity, especially (although not exclusively) found in some strands of feminist thought; and (3) gay, lesbian, queer, feminist, and gender studies' erasures and appropriations of transsexual/transgender subjectivity and history.

Prior to the 1990s, gender-variant people were most often understood through the lenses of psychology and medicine. Gender-variant people were portrayed as abnormal, deviant, sick, and perverse. Such pathologizing discourses eventually took the form of several psychiatric diagnoses, including the "gender identity disorders" of transsexuality and transvestism. According to the official knowledge produced by powerful medical and mental health authorities, such forms of gender variance were mental disorders.

Transgender studies scholars have criticized medico-psychological models for their general pathologization of gender nonconformity. These scholars have shown that medical models rely on and perpetuate overly narrow patient profiles, including a demand that transsexuals "change sex" completely, thus delegitimizing other forms of identity and embodiment. In addition, they have critiqued medical doctors' and especially psychiatrists' roles as "gatekeepers" who have too much power in deciding who should receive medical support and treatments and what those medical treatments and interventions will consist of. Transgender studies scholars also question the heteronormative assumptions that run throughout most medical models of gender nonconformity, including the demand that post–sex reassignment surgery (SRS) transsexuals will be heterosexual. They further scrutinize medical demands that transsexuals "disappear" post-SRS via "passing." Finally, they have noted the ways that medicine and psychiatry overfocus on an MTF model as the universal model of transsexualism, thus ignoring the specificities and differences of FTM transsexuals. Two common ways of responding to these medical models have been via autobiographical and ethnographic evidence that counter medical models and descriptions.

In addition to the pathologizing medical discourses of gender variance, some highly visible second-wave feminist scholarship also portrayed gender variance, and especially transsexuality, in negative terms. During the 1970s and 1980s, forms of cultural feminism dominated feminist theorizing about gender nonconformity. These strands of feminist thought posited that there are essential differences between men and women. One of these theories defined *woman* through the exclusion of "male-identified" women, including butch lesbians, MTF transsexuals, and a whole host of other gender outsiders. Janice Raymond's 1979 book, *The Transsexual Empire,* was and remains the best known of these accounts. It became an important flashpoint for budding transgender studies. Raymond argues that MTF transsexuals are the product of a patriarchal medical regime that creates "faux women," what she calls "male-to-constructed-female" transsexuals, in order to invade women's spaces and render biological women obsolete.

Raymond's is the best known within a body of work, feminist and otherwise, that implies or states outright that transsexuals are inherently conservative. In essence, these models contend that transgender people, and especially transsexuals, suffer from a form of "false consciousness." They argue that transsexuals buy into existing gender hierarchies. Instead of challenging those hierarchies, transsexuals reproduce them. In "false consciousness" models, transsexuals are construed as "dupes" of any of a variety of powerful ideologies or institutions. These ideologies and institutions—patriarchy, capitalism, and especially medicine—thus become the primary causes of transgender/transsexual phenomena. As a result, transgender and transsexual people become dupes of the ideologies and institutions that bring them into existence. The ultimate outcome, according to such models, is that transgender and especially transsexual people reinforce traditional notions of masculinity and femininity.

Transgender studies has responded to these kinds of analyses by arguing that transgender subjectivity is not merely or primarily the consequence of the ideologies and institutions associated with "sex change" technologies. For example, scholars have argued that transgender/transsexual subjectivity predates the advent of transsexual medical technologies and must be understood in a larger context than simply the realm of medicine. In addition, transgender theorists have argued that transgender identities are not by their

nature conservative. Whereas "false consciousness" models posit that transsexual/transgender subjects are by definition reactionary, transgender theorists have argued that real-life gender-variant people do not or need not necessarily follow suit.

Transgender studies has also responded to gay, lesbian, queer, and feminist gender studies' erasures and appropriations of transsexual/transgender phenomena. First, it has challenged the tendency—especially expressed in queer theory—to interpret gender variance as a means of unmasking and challenging heteronormativity; queer theory scholarship has tended to celebrate gender "transgressors" as potentially liberatory agents, poised to challenge heteronormative *sexual* systems. Another stream of existing scholarship, primarily feminist, interprets gender variance as a means of unmasking the workings of normative gender. And finally, a third stream of scholarship, primarily gay and lesbian studies, interprets contemporary and historical gender-variant figures in ways that deny or erase the possibility of transgender subjectivity, instead seeing them as either gay and lesbian subjects or in the case of "passing women" as responding to the narrow set of opportunities available for women, instead of expressing an authentic cross-gender identity.

Transgender studies scholars have responded by insisting that transgender phenomena and subjectivities cannot simply be subsumed within discussions of sexual desire, nor should they be understood primarily as outlier cases that illustrate the normative. Instead, transgender studies insist that gender nonconformity should be understood in its *multiple* forms as they are *lived*. Instead of using transgender people and phenomena as a way of understanding other structures and ideologies, transgender studies scholars insist that knowledge be produced from the perspective of transgender people themselves.

Developing New Paradigms

The critiques of existing portrayals have implicitly or explicitly called for the development of new forms of knowledge about transgender people. Foundational texts in transgender studies were some of the first to make such a call. In a 1991 essay that many cite as the founding text of transgender studies, Sandy Stone called on transsexuals to become "posttranssexual"; that is, to develop self-narratives that go beyond narrow and pathologizing

medical profiles of transsexuality. In the process, transgender people would begin to more fully and authentically express their heterogeneity. In another important early essay, transgender theorist Susan Stryker likened transsexuals to Frankenstein's speaking monster in order to show how transsexuals might both talk back to and exceed the visions of their "creators" (that is, medical doctors and psychiatrists).

These early calls for the development of new knowledge resulted in several streams of theory and scholarship. While gender nonconformity had previously been understood in terms of a few narrow categories, especially MTF transsexuality, transgender studies scholarship has theorized gender nonconformity far beyond those categories. One important strand within transgender studies has therefore been to retheorize transgender subjectivity from a transpositive point of view. For example, scholars have explored the possibilities for living outside of clear gender categories and identities at all, of "exploding" gender, and tell the stories of people who occupy post- or nonidentitarian positions. Others have analyzed the proliferation of nonconforming gender identifications, including gendered identities that remain outside of existing dichotomous gender configurations or identities that locate themselves at the point of transition between male/masculinity and female/femininity. Both of these approaches—theorizing transgender as a form of post- or nonidentity and theorizing transgender as a broad range of identities—have valorized myriad forms of gender expressed through a broad range of possible embodiments (instead of focusing only on the fully transitioning transsexual model).

An important subsection of the new theories of transgender subjectivity focuses on female-bodied gender nonconformists as well as FTM transsexuals and transgender people. Most previous psychological and medical knowledge had focused on male-bodied gender nonconformists and on MTF transsexuals. This new body of work redresses that erasure. This work has included studies of butch lesbians, FTMs, transgender butches, and transmen, among others. It has been especially important for theorizing the relationship between forms of embodiment and identity, for rethinking the ways that masculine female-bodied historical figures have been interpreted, and for investigating the borderlands where various and sometimes competing forms of gender nonconformity meet (this has especially been the case for what have been called

the "butch/FTM border wars," a set of intra- and inter-group tensions along a continuum of female masculinities and FTM transgender phenomena).

In addition to developing new transpositive theories of subjectivity, another important strand of transgender studies scholarship has moved from examining and explaining transgender people per se to examining and explaining the oppression of transgender people. Scholars have examined a wide range of institutions, policies, and cultural beliefs that are the sites of discrimination in medicine, law, housing, education and employment, among others. Transgender studies scholars have shed light on the inadequacy of HIV/AIDS research, prevention, and education vis-à-vis transgender populations; the many instances of anti-trans violence, especially murders of transgender street sex workers and transgender youth of color; discrimination against transgender people encoded in formal legal institutions and policies, including family, employment, and marriage laws; and the inability or unwillingness of sex-segregated institutions—especially penal institutions—to adequately accommodate transgender people. This body of research is generally praxis oriented, with a goal of directly improving social, political, cultural, and economic conditions for transgender people.

Tensions and Future Directions

As a contested field, with disagreements about what exactly constitutes transgender studies, it is not surprising that there are many tensions apparent within it. One such tension is between a postidentitarian politics and those with strong investments in existing forms of identity. A subset of this tension is a discussion over what forms of identity, if any, are fully valued within transgender studies. Some argue that a focus on postidentitarian subjectivities undermines and in fact denigrates traditional identities, especially transsexuality. Some transsexuals and others question the utility and effects of the new emphasis on "transgender." Some argue that it has become the dominant form of gender variance and that it implicitly devalues other, especially older, more established, forms.

Another set of tensions exists between a commitment to social constructionist understandings of sex and gender and those who adhere to biological essentialist explanations for transgender phenomena. While the bulk of transgender studies scholarship emphasizes the social construction of gender normativity and nonnormativity—that is, the ways that a given culture's definitions and social arrangements instantiate, or "create," gender—a smaller number focus their efforts on the argument that there is a biological basis for gender variation. The tension here is not only a theoretical difference concerning the "causes" of gender variance but also a political difference concerning the most efficacious strategies for achieving social benefits for transgender people.

Finally, there are also discussions about what constitutes the boundary of transgender studies, including whom and what to include within it. Questions here concern especially the degree to which intersex people and movements are the proper object of transgender studies and also whether or not people who primarily organize their identities under the rubric of *sexual orientation* (gays, lesbians, and possibly bisexuals) fit within the purview of transgender studies.

As a new and contested field, transgender studies continues to change, with new directions in scholarship constantly emerging. It will certainly continue to track new forms of gender-nonconforming identities along with the institutions and cultural forms that attend them. One area of likely future research will include more nuanced thinking about the relationship between the term *transgender,* itself a Western construct, and gender nonconformity in non-Western cultures. There already exists a long history of studying gender variance among "non-Western" and indigenous peoples, especially within anthropology. Transgender studies has primarily focused on so-called Western populations, social institutions, and cultural forms, partly as a consequence of having developed primarily in the United States and the United Kingdom. However, future studies will likely focus increasingly on the transnational linkages between "Western" and "non-Western" forms of gender variance.

Karl Bryant

See also Butch/Femme; Drag King; Drag Queen; Gender Outlaw; Gender Performance; Genderqueer; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Queer Studies; Transgender; Transgender Political Organizing

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Transnational Development, Women and

Although gender is usually considered to be an aspect of individual behavior and attributes, scholars of society note that all social processes are gendered. All the major social institutions of society manifest gender divisions and their attendant norms and expectations of behavior. This is especially the case with respect to the development underdevelopment continuum around the world. The "development regime" is an amalgam of political-economic institutions. Studying women and transnational development helps explain how access to material and political resources within this regime ultimately affects the gendered division of labor and thus cultural norms with respect to behavior deemed appropriate by virtue of one's sex.

This entry provides a historical, conceptual, and theoretical context from which to understand gender and transnational development. It begins with a discussion of the different ways scholars define *Third World* and *development.* Then, it discusses how development and thus underdevelopment are gendered, looking specifically at the economy, politics, and the body. Next, it explains the main theoretical paradigms for understanding development, starting with modernization, dependency, and world system theory, and then moves to the gendered theories; women in development (WID);

women and development (WAD); gender and development (GAD); and women, culture, and development (WCD). This entry concludes with a note on women's transnational mobilization.

What Is the Third World?

Third World is a highly contentious term. Feminist academics such as Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres are some of the pioneering scholars in critical analysis of the Third-World discourse. The *Third World* refers to Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia (excluding Japan.) The term emerged after World War II, when a large number of countries gained their independence from colonial powers. By the 1960s and 1970s, it described countries that shared a series of characteristics, namely, poor, nonindustrial, peripheral to the global system, and ex-colonial. However, since then, the Third World has grown increasingly diverse and thus the concept significantly less useful. Other terms have thus emerged. For example, economists tend to use "less-developed countries" (LDCs) in contrast to the developed countries of the "First World." For many, LDC is inadequate as it furthers the paternalistic First World/Third World relationship based on, among other things, the notion that the Third World is poor due to its own incompetence. International relations experts often use the term *South* or *Global South,* which stems from the geopolitical split that puts the more industrialized countries in the Northern Hemisphere, and vice versa. Often, *South* and *North* are preferred, since they are based on shared geography rather than oversimplified assumptions about common political and cultural characteristics. Yet these terms are also inadequate, since not all Third-World countries are in the Southern Hemisphere, and vice versa.

Cultural critics often use the term *postcolonial,* in part because it captures a shared history of colonialism. Like the others, this term has also been criticized for oversimplifying and homogenizing the diverse experiences of colonialism. For example, much of Latin America achieved independence significantly earlier than most African nations, thus minimizing the similarities in national experience implied by the blanket term. Additionally, the use of *postcolonial* has been criticized for downplaying the perseverance of a colonial presence in so-called independent nations.

Ultimately, many scholars return to the term *Third World.* Two strategies to simultaneously use and problematize the term are quotation marks and

capitalization. Quotation marks alert the reader that the author is not entirely satisfied with the word in question. Additionally, in much of the literature, academic and otherwise, *Third World* is typically lowercase, but many scholars have taken to capitalizing the term to imply that the commonality lies in a geographic one and were the individual nations of the Third World listed, they of course would be capitalized. However, some critical of the term prefer to stay consistent with the lowercase format because they argue that capitalization further entrenches the problematic assumptions about the Third World and its so-called homogeneous nature. Like *development,* despite these problems, scholars, practitioners, and activists continue to use *Third World* to refer to the colonized, neocolonized, or decolonized countries (of Asia, Africa, and Latin America), whose economic and political structures have been deformed within the colonial process.

What Is Development?

There is near consensus among development scholars that the term *development* is as problematic as *Third World.* This is in part due to the fact that there are a variety of interpretations of what is meant by development. For example, economists may equate development with industrialization or a rise in gross national product (GNP). Political scientists might see development in terms of more participation in society, or a stronger central government. To a socialist, development may mean reducing income inequality and improving the standard of living for everyone, while an environmentalist sees development as the guaranteed protection of the earth's natural and human resources. A feminist, however, might see development as a flattening of political, economic, and social inequities that perpetuate the relative disenfranchisement of women. Another reason some find the term *development* problematic is what they see as the implied perpetuation of neocolonialism. That is, development is typically perceived as something the West has mastered while the Third World still struggles to achieve. As such, Western norms of development, namely, hyperconsumption of material goods at the expense of natural and nonrenewable resources, are presumed to be the goal. Another problematic assumption of the First World/developed, Third World/undeveloped polemic is the implication that the West is the expert

while the Third World remains ignorant to effective strategies of development, as evidenced by the pervasive poverty and semifunctional infrastructures; in other words, it is a blame-the-victim interpretation. This equation, some argue, is replete with a sociopolitical paternalism that fosters First-World hegemony over the Third World and the subsequent dependency of the Third World upon the First. Others, however see development as an entirely egalitarian goal, since a "developed" society, regardless of who the development architects are, implies one that meets the needs of all of its people. Despite these serious differences in interpretation, the term *development* remains standard political, academic, and economic discourse.

As of late, the term *transnational* has become a prefix of sorts to development. In this context, transnational typically implies the interlinking of development across the world; that is, the idea that in contemporary global times, most regions/countries are networked into a larger global unit, either unwittingly or wittingly. In the 1950s, when development discourse began to proliferate through academic, economic, and political spheres, the world was less interconnected. The end of the cold war was nowhere in sight, and thus the geopolitical world divided into two disconnected and highly antagonistic camps; namely, Communists and Capitalists. As a result, for the most part, nation-states did not fiscally or politically cooperate with countries operating outside their own political-economic spheres. The end of the cold war solidified an irrevocably integrated world trade regime in which nations have no choice but to participate in transnational political economics.

How Is
Under/Development Gendered?

Women experience poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World in ways entirely different from men. In short, poverty (not only in the Third World, but everywhere) is a major catalyst to the entrenchment of the patriarchal division of labor and the continued social devaluation of women's paid and unpaid work. The gendered ramifications of poverty, however, extend beyond the economic sphere into formal and body politics as well. This section uses these three sectors to illustrate the gendered nature of under/development.

Economics

The post–cold war global political economy continues to grow increasingly more interconnected, free-market driven, and neoliberal focused. That is, state-regulated economies and social services are virtually a relic of the past. This economic development has had a measurable impact on women. One of the most significant results is the "feminization of poverty," or the increasing percentage of women living below the poverty line. Perhaps the most concrete manifestation of the contemporary neoliberal economy is the prevalence of structural adjustment programs (SAPs). SAPs were designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to permanently usher in privation with the supposed goal of reducing Third-World nations' debts. However, SAPs have largely failed in accomplishing any sort of debt reduction, rather quite the opposite, while exacerbating the already severe living conditions of many Third-World women. The IMF and World Bank refuse further loans to Third-World nations, loans where the cash is typically used to service existing debt, unless Third-World governments guarantee they will implement SAPs. SAPs require (a) cutbacks in public spending to balance budgets, (b) monetary policies like restricting the supply of money, (c) privatization of previously owned government industries like water, and (d) a shift from sustainable agricultural production to single-commodity export economies.

SAPs have had a grave impact on Third-World women. First, there has been a notable increase in the feminization of the paid labor force, with women predominating in the lowest-paid, unregulated, and unprotected sectors, like domestic work, sex work, and employment in export-processing zone factories. Additionally, women's unpaid labor in the home has also increased, as government funding for social services like health care and education has all but disappeared in many Third-World nations. Furthermore, the expropriation of farmland for factories not subject to environmental regulation has led to extensive environmental degradation and thus the reduction in resources women depend upon for survival. In short, economic hard times increase the paid (productive) and unpaid (reproductive) labor of women with no attendant increase in social or cultural value to their political-economic contributions.

Politics

Underdevelopment negatively impacts women politically as well as economically, in large part due to women's increased labor. The more time women work at both paid and unpaid jobs, the less time they have for anything else, including their own education. Education in general, and higher education in particular, is far less common for Third-World women than men. This cycle begins at an early age, when girls are required to help with domestic tasks at the expense of their own primary and secondary education, which of course closes the door to all higher education. Education is an absolute necessity for women attempting to penetrate the universally androcentric political realm. Women need not only so-called book-smart and factual knowledge obtained through study but also access to networks that universities offer. Furthermore, given the formidable obstacles to women in politics, the cultural capital gained through university access is also fundamental to gaining political legitimacy. However, poverty and underdevelopment combined with uncompromising gender norms demand that women and girls put the well-being of their families ahead of their personal aspirations, education and politics included. Furthermore, the underrepresentation of women in politics decreases the likelihood that laws that protect women's rights will be passed.

The Body

Women's bodies are also compromised as a result of poverty and underdevelopment. One of the most illustrative examples is the pressure to produce babies. "Overpopulation" is a highly debated concept, one that feminist development scholars tend to reject. Popular knowledge suggests that the Third World's "exploding" population is the primary catalyst for environmental destruction. However, the First World, specifically the United States, despite its relatively low percentage of the world population, is by far the major producer of so-called greenhouse gasses, the primary cause of environmental destruction. In other words, the correlation between higher populations and more environmental degradation is a spurious one.

Another issue that is typically left out of mainstream discussions of "overpopulation" is the question of why Third-World women have so many babies. Certainly, limited access to birth control and/or safe abortion is part of the answer. However, another reason Third-World families tend to have many more children than in the First World is again due to poverty. First, limited financial resources mean minimal, if any, pre- and postnatal

health care, so many babies die before the age of 5, if not earlier. Thus, Third-World mothers often have "extra" babies, knowing they will not all survive. Furthermore, another economic reason women are pressured to have many babies is due to the extra labor children (especially girls) provide a family. Children are especially helpful with taking care of siblings and other domestic tasks, farmwork, and supporting their mothers in the informal economy (i.e., market vendors and the like.) Finally, the absence of financial resources also means that poor Third-World families have only themselves for social security, particularly in the wake of slashed government social spending. As a result, the more children a woman has, the more likely there will be someone to take care of her in her old age, especially if she has boys. In short, poverty and underdevelopment pressure women to reproduce regardless of their own personal wishes.

In sum, under/development and poverty produce a series of circumstances unique to women. As a result, feminist scholars and practitioners have created theoretical paradigms to think through the causes, effects, and potential remedies to underdevelopment. The next section of this essay looks at those theories. For historical context, this section begins with the original, non-gendered theories of development before moving on to those concerned specifically with women and gender.

Overview of Conceptual Frameworks

In the middle of the 20th century, scholars began to address the issue of development. Like most academic disciplines, the initial explanatory theories were entirely inattentive to gender. This section addresses the main theories of development. First, it discusses the masculinist theories, modernization, dependency, and world system theories. It then discusses the gendered theories: women in development; women and development; gender and development; and women, culture, and development, which collectively confront the theoretical holes in the canonical development theories.

Ungendered Theories of Development

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory is the product of three post–World War II events, the rise of the United States as a superpower, the spread of the world Communist movement, and the disintegration of Europe's colonial empires, resulting in the emergence of new Third-World nation-states. Modernization studies were considered an academic growth area and favored and funded by the U.S. government. Modernization theorists adopted evolutionary and functionalist assumptions. The economic and perhaps most well-known approach to modernization theory comes from W. W. Rostow. Rostow studied the Industrial Revolution in Britain and came up with what he concluded was a generalizable model for the entire Third World. Rostow argued that there are five stages to development, invoking the unilinear and evolutionary framework. The first stage is the "traditional society," which witnesses little social change. Second is the precondition for "takeoff" into modernization. This phase is marked by the rise of new entrepreneurs, an expansion of markets, and a simultaneous decrease in death rate and population size. Third is the actual "takeoff," in which a stimulus is needed to push the Third World beyond precondition; that is, something akin to a revolution. Fourth is the drive to maturity, in which there is a distinct need for capital and resources. The fifth and final state is the age of high mass consumption.

Dependency Theory

Latin American theorists, specifically Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, articulated critiques of modernization theory starting in the 1960s. *Dependency theory* is rooted in Marxist theories of imperialism. Dependency theorists coined the terms *core* and *periphery* to characterize the dominant economies of the industrialized world and the dependent economies of the Third World, respectively. They argue that Latin America developed the most when trade relations with the First World had been interrupted through either world wars or depression. Thus, proponents advocate independent industrialization for Latin America in order to eliminate its import dependence on the core countries, or what they call *import substitution industrialization* (ISI). Dependency theorists argue that foreign multinationals hurt long-term prospects for development in Latin America by investing less than they withdraw. Yet their proposed solution of industrialization based on import substitution has, even in the most economically advanced Latin American countries, also created new forms of dependence and thus new sociopolitical imbalances. Additionally, at the time dependency theorists started

to articulate their theories, an independent national or regional economy was a more viable option. However, in the current era of neoliberal globalization, economies are irrevocably linked to such a degree that economic independence is largely an ideological aspiration from the past.

World System Theory

World system theory is the North American adaptation of *dependency theory*. Like dependency theory, world system theory evolved as a direct attack against modernization theory. Immanuel Wallerstein introduced the theory and term into sociology. It analyzes historical stages of development and argues that at one time, all societies were "mini-systems." World system theorists argue that the reasons for capitalism's success are complex, although two stand out: First, a new transportation technology allowed long-distance markets to be maintained, and second, Western military technology ensured the power to enforce favorable terms of trade. Initially, differences between core and peripheral nations were small, but due to exploitation, northwestern Europe expanded the gap. Thus, Wallerstein introduced the concept of *semiperipheral nations* to more accurately capture the nature of the global political economy. These categories have the same meaning as in dependency theory, with the addition of the *semiperiphery,* which refers to middle-income countries with some level of industrialization. For Wallerstein, without the semiperiphery, capitalism could not exist.

Gendered Theories of Development

The aforementioned theories do virtually nothing to explain the gendered implications of development and underdevelopment. Feminist scholars and practitioners have attempted to address this theoretical hole. According to Naila Kabeer, each development decade had its own way of addressing women. The first decade, between 1961 and 1970, was completely devoid of attention to women. The second encouraged the full integration of women in the development effort, hinting at a new consciousness (women in development). In the 1980s, women were declared agents and beneficiaries in all sectors and levels of the development process (women and development). By the 1990s, the task became to translate this greater understanding of women into different priorities and,

in turn, the empowerment of women (gender and development). The 21st century has brought with it the task of theorizing the place of culture and agency within development discourse and practice (women, culture, and development).

Women in Development (WID)

The *women in development* (WID) school of thought emerged in the early 1970s as a liberal feminist analysis closely linked with *modernization theory.* Esther Boserup's groundbreaking book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970) is typically seen as the pioneering study about women in the development process. Through the endorsement by WID of modernization theory, there is an implicit acceptance of existing political-economic institutions. Liberal feminists, and thus WID proponents, argue that women deserve equality within the existing sociopolitical system. WID practitioners assume that equality in access to economic resources is all that is necessary for women to "emerge" from underdevelopment. That is, as in modernization theory, the suggested approach is to incorporate women into existing structures. That said, advocates of WID argue for legal and administrative changes to ensure that women would be better integrated into the economic system. WID theorists and practitioners do not agitate for a change in social structure, but rather focus on better integrating women into existing development strategies. WID proponents try to demonstrate that women are as competent as men in the marketplace. Thus, WID advocates emphasize similarities between women and men, and thus women and women. Critics have pointed out that these assumptions are riddled with essentialism and thus obfuscate the power imbalances between First- and Third-World women.

Women and Development (WAD)

Women and development (WAD) is a neo-Marxist feminist approach that emerged in the second half of the 1970s. WAD, like many other critical development theories, grew out of a concern with the explanatory limitations of modernization theory. Proponents of WAD also rejected the position of WID that the exclusion of women from earlier development strategies was merely an oversight. The WAD school of thought argues that women have always been part of the development process and that scholars of the 1970s did not

"discover" them; rather, they finally began to theorize women's political-economic position. In other words, simply because academics and practitioners overlooked the presence of women does not mean that they were not part of and indeed affected by underdevelopment. WAD focuses on the relationship between women and development, rather than simply the "integration" of women into development schemes. WAD proponents, like dependency theorists, argue that local economic justice can only improve through the equalizing of international structures. However, some feminists criticize WAD (and dependency theorists) for overlooking the so-called microinstitutions like the family and other private sites of oppression.

Gender and Development (GAD)

The gender and development (GAD) theory emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to both WID and WAD. Its roots are in socialist feminism, and thus it attempts to link the relations of production and reproduction in order to account for all aspects of women's lives. "GADvocates" (as they are sometimes called) are more concerned with gender relations and the roles of both women and men in an attempt to address social organization, politics, and economics simultaneously. GAD analyzes the nature of women's labor both inside and outside the household, including noncommodity production, and rejects the public/private dichotomy that GADvocates (and others) argue undervalues family and household maintenance work performed by women. Additionally, GAD proponents argue that the state should provide social services for needs like child care and other tasks that have become women's responsibility due to the gendered division of labor. GADvocates see women as agents of change, rather than receptacles for charity. Their policies tend to prioritize legal rights, including land reform and other related issues. GAD is also attentive to the interlocking systems of oppression and thus attempts to explore the contradictions of gender, class, race, and development. Thus, GAD is not an "add-women-and stir" approach. One of the main criticisms of the GAD approach is its overly ideological framework, which makes it exceptionally difficult for development practitioners to actually design policies that reflect GAD's concerns. Thus, GAD has proved more effective in the academic and research realm rather than in the venues of practice.

Women, Culture, and Development (WCD)

The *women, culture, and development* (WCD) paradigm emerged in the early 21st century with the publication of *Feminist Futures: Re-Imagining Women, Culture, and Development* (2003). WCD scholars see their work as an amalgam of feminist studies, cultural studies, and Third-World/development studies. One of the basic and initial premises of WCD is that women's lives are an inseparable combination of reproductive and productive labor, and thus development policies and theories need to reflect this reality. Additionally, WCD scholars attempt to move away from what they see as reductive and linear assumptions about culture and the development process. WCD differentiates itself from WID, WAD, and GAD primarily through its attention to culture. WCD theorists understand culture as "lived experience." That is, culture is something that women (and men) "do" and thus is fluid and proactive rather than something that happens to a passive set of onlookers. From this perspective, WCD scholars argue, women are recognized as political, social, and indeed cultural agents and offer models for development projects that address the interconnection of reproductive and productive labor. Like GAD, the main criticism of WCD is that its framework is too politically fluid and relativistic, which makes it difficult to identify a central organizing principle to apply to real development projects. WCD scholars, however, would argue that the absence of one common tactic is the result of political-cultural heterogeneity in the Third World, which renders a one-size-fits-all approach to development futile.

Conclusion

This entry illustrates the gendered nature and implications of poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World. It shows the way development scholars have and have not accounted for the experiences of women and transnational development. Academics and development practitioners are not the only ones concerned with these questions. Women in the Third World living under the policies of the development regime also tackle the aforementioned issues both individually and collectively. As this entry demonstrates, women experience underdevelopment in (at least) economic, political, and physical ways. As a result, women have created organizations that address a host of issues, using a variety of

organizational and ideological tactics. For example, in some instances, women join together around a single theme, like women and labor, with remarkable results. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is one of the most illustrative examples. SEWA was founded in 1971 as a trade union for women working in India's informal sector. It has since expanded to represent 220,000 members and is seen as a prototype for women's grassroots economic activism.

Elsewhere, women take on single, local issues that are the result of transnational policies and thus have global implications; for example, unionization of domestic and sex workers. Women also organize explicitly as feminists to challenge the gendered power structures in their own communities/nations that are in part responsible for exacerbating already difficult circumstances. In other cases, feminists come together across borders to create transnational networks focused on globally relevant issues for women, like human rights. In short, the development regime presents a host of obstacles that touch the lives of women in a variety of circumstances. However, women have repeatedly demonstrated that they are agents of change in the Third World. They continue to challenge the institutions responsible for the setbacks and create new methods of individual and collective survival.

Julie Shayne

See also Feminist Activism in Latin America; Microlending, NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism; United Nations Development Fund for Women

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TRANSSEXUAL

The term *transsexual* originates from a 1949 article by sexologist David Cauldwell in which he refers to an individual requesting sex "transmutation" from female to male as a case of *psychopathia transexualis.* Today *transsexual* commonly refers to individuals who seek to live full time in a gender other than that to which they were assigned at birth. This transformation often is achieved with hormone therapy and surgical interventions. Transsexuals are distinct from "cross-dressers," who dress in the clothes of the "opposite sex" but do not wish to permanently change their social gender identities. Transsexuals also are not *intersexed,* a term that refers to people with various genetic configurations that give them genitals and/or reproductive systems that do not fit with expectations for male and female bodies. Finally, while transsexuals often are misunderstood as being *homosexual,* these identity categories are distinct. Being gay or lesbian has to do with the gender one is sexually attracted to. Being transsexual has to do with what gender one identifies as. Transsexuals can be gay or lesbian, but they can just as easily be heterosexual, bisexual, or pansexual.

Transgender is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of differently gendered identities, such as drag queens, drag kings, genderqueers, cross-dressers, and at times transsexuals. It comes from "transgenderist," coined by Virginia Price, the founder of the first cross-dresser organization, Tri-Ess. Originally, *transgender* was used to make distinctions between cross-dressers and transsexuals. It took on its current meaning in the 1990s, when Leslie Feinberg, a gender activist and author, used it in a pamphlet entitled "Transgender Liberation." The use of *transgender* as an umbrella term is similar to the usage of *queer* by groups like Queer Nation. The idea behind queer politics was to take apart identity categories and blur group boundaries so that bisexuals could find a common cause to fight alongside drag queens, gay men,

and transsexual lesbians. Like *queer, transgender* abandons rigid identity categories—categories often associated with medical and psychological regulation—to allow for coalitional gender activism.

Politicized Identities and Hierarchies

The history of these terms represents changing political currents, new ideas about identities, and challenges to discourses on sex and gender. The adoption of *transgender* as a political rubric spread quickly among public policy advocates and activists in the late 1990s. Using the term was inclusive, as it allowed nonprofit gender organizations to include a variety of differently gendered individuals in their mission statements. However, an outcome of this inclusivity was that the term *transsexual* became viewed as politically conservative, as it was associated with regulatory medical and psychological institutions. This criticism of the term *transsexuals* as politically unproductive has meant that many people who transitioned in the 1970s and 1980s—and who saw transsexual as an important identity category—were excluded from the "transgender" melting pot, much in the same way that some older gays and lesbians felt alienated from the use of the term *queer.* The problems associated with putting *transsexual* under the *transgender* umbrella demonstrate the effects of generational shifts, as well as changing views about political tactics, sexuality and gender, and gender identity.

Kristen Schilt

See also Androgyny; Biological Determinism; Cross-Dressing; Drag King; Drag Queen; Gender Role Ideology and Intimacy; Gender Transgression; Intersexual, Intersexuality; Queer; Transgender; Tranvestite

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Transvestite

The term *transvestite* refers to a person who dresses and acts in a manner traditionally associated with the opposite sex. In its induction, the term incorporated a spectrum of gender behaviors and appearances. The definition has changed over time, however, and is not universal in application. Although the term may be used to describe the transvestic behavior of butch women, it is most commonly applied to male-bodied persons who imitate the dress and mannerisms of women.

Transvestite is derived from the Latin words *trans,* "across" or "over," and *vestitus,* "dressed," coined in 1910 by the German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld in his book *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress). Hirschfeld's characterization of transvestites can be seen as a response to other scientists' pathologization and criminalization of gender-transgressive behavior and homosexuality. Hirschfeld believed that variations on gender and sexual expressions were forms of biological diversity. Transvestites, like homosexuals, were deemed "sexual intermediaries" who existed on a spectrum between "pure male" and "pure female." From his numerous cases, Hirschfeld noted that one's gender expression or identification could not be reduced to one's sexual orientation. For example, some homosexual men are effeminate, but this is not unanimously the case, and similarly, many transvestites do not exhibit homosexual behavior. In his book, Hirschfeld also clearly distinguished transvestitism from *sexual fetishism* and *psychopathology.* The primary goal of cross-dressing behavior for transvestites is to appear as the opposite sex, not for sexual pleasure as in the case of fetishists and not to inflict self-harm as in the case of masochists. Since the induction of the term, the definition has narrowed to make room for other classifications of gender expression and identity.

In the 1950s, Hirschfeld's work was revisited by Harry Benjamin, a medical doctor who became associated with transgender advocacy and health care through Alfred Kinsey. Benjamin believed Hirschfeld's characterization of transvestites was too broad in scope, arguing for another category of individuals, *transsexuals.* Benjamin claimed that while transvestites act out the role of the opposite sex through appearance, transsexuals have a deep-seated mental and sexual disassociation from their selves and want to become members of the opposite sex. Thus, individuals who expressed their gender outside of traditional norms could describe their behavior as a willful act of dress and expression, transvestitism, or the expression of an essential or core gender identity, transsexualism. To obtain medical treatment such as hormones and surgery to alter their sexed bodies, many transsexuals distanced themselves from transvestites and often gay and lesbian communities as proof to doctors of their transsexual identities.

Since the 1970s, many people who exhibit behavior and dress associated with the opposite gender have rejected the term *transvestite* for its strong association with deviance, homosexuality, perversion, and mental illness. For example, many people often confuse the term *transvestite* with the psychological condition of *transvestic fetishism,* a fetish for cross-dressing. The term *cross-dresser* has replaced transvestite both culturally and to some extent scientifically, and it describes mostly heterosexual men who wear feminine clothing and act or behave as women. Because men in this group are predominantly heterosexual and tend to live daily lives as men, they have historically, and still do, distance themselves from gay men and transsexuals. Often, they cross-dress only for special events or when attending specific clubs, which may be as infrequent as a few times a year.

For gays and lesbians who similarly reject the term *transvestite,* many have adopted the identity of *drag king* or *drag queen,* who impersonate the opposite gender for purposes of parodying or imitating. Often these impersonations will be of iconic figures; for example, Liza Minelli, Madonna, or George Michael. Their cross-gender presentation is for play or performance and is often part of an act on stage, which differentiates them from self-identified cross-dressers. While a cross-dresser may dress like a celebrity or icon, the drag queen or king not only dresses as such but also adapts figure as a character for drag performance. This is the primary difference between drag kings/drag queens and cross-dressers, although some alternate between identities.

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See also Benjamin, Harry; Cross-Dressing; Drag King; Drag Queen; Hirschfeld, Magnus; Transgender; Transsexual

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TRUTH, SOJOURNER (C. 1797–1883)

Sojourner Truth (whose birth name was Isabella) was born a black slave in Ulster County, New York, to her enslaved parents, James and Elizabeth. During her enslavement, she was owned by several white families, including the Hardenbergh family, at birth, and several other New York families, Neely, Shriver, and Dumont, to whom she was later resold. Isabella's experiences with physical and sexual abuse at the hands of her slave master and mistress became the basis of her opposition to slavery and her later work on behalf of abolitionism. She became emancipated in 1826 and eventually took on the last name of an abolitionist family, Van Wagenen, with whom she lived and worked as a freed person. Her experiences as a slave, her emancipation, and the eventual spiritual rebirth that resulted from her activism in Methodist movements led to her transformation into renowned the preacher, and abolitionist. She took on the name "Sojourner Truth," which appropriately describes the significance of her work during the 19th century, as a preacher of truth wherever she went.

Emancipation and Spiritual Transformation

Isabella Van Wagenen became "Sojourner Truth" on June 1, 1843, the day of the Pentecost. Prior to her sanctification as "Sojourner Truth," she had won two major legal battles as a former slave and black person in the 19th century. In 1828, she successfully proved maternity and regained custody of her son, Peter (one of her five children), who had been illegally sold into slavery in Alabama. In 1835, she also successfully won a court case in New York, in which she charged that a white

couple had committed libel against her by claiming that she tried to poison them, a claim that would have ruined her ability to acquire work as a cook. Isabella obviously had the tenacity to challenge others who discriminated against her, and this tenacity followed her through her transformation into "Sojourner Truth," when she became a preacher who actively traveled and spread the word against slavery and the abuse of women.

After her emancipation, Truth became involved as a preacher in a Methodist movement, the Millerites, named after its leader, William Miller. Through her travels in Massachusetts in 1843, she came in contact with the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who put her in contact with his publisher so she could publish an account of her experiences as a slave. This publication, which Truth paid for, promoted, and sold herself, became known as the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* a remarkable accomplishment for a former slave who was unable to read or write. In fact, two famous white feminists, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frances Dana Gage, served as her amanuenses for different publications of the *Narrative.*

Political Activism

Throughout the mid-1840s and the mid-1850s, Truth gave several antislavery speeches across New England, and she was asked by Garrison in 1851 to go on an antislavery speaking circuit. She preached to blacks about uplift, comportment, and economic independence. She also delivered several speeches at women's rights meetings in New England and the Midwest. In her famous feminist speech "Ar'n't I a Woman?" (1863), she challenged her mostly white audience at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, to embrace her as a woman despite her strong, baritone-like voice, nearly 6-foot frame, and determination to challenge being barred to speak because she was black. Prior to this speech, in 1852, Truth had had a famous encounter with the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, at the Progressive Friends conference in Salem, Ohio. She had interrupted his speech and asked him, "Is God gone?" This act attested to her feminist tenacity, as she questioned a man in public, a practice that countered gender norms about a woman's role in public affairs and a woman's deference to a man, black or white.

During Reconstruction and in her older age, Truth remained active with abolitionist causes, as she continued preaching and advocating economic development and independence among former black slaves.

Truth was involved with relief efforts of the National Freedmen's Relief Association and the Freedmen's Bureau. She later advocated in the 1870s that southern blacks form a mass exodus to the West to build their lives, and she petitioned Congress to support legislation that would allot western land to blacks. She also continued her feminist activism in the later 1860s, and she eventually joined the American Women's Suffrage Association (which also supported black male suffrage), founded by another famous black feminist at the time, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper.

Commemoration of Truth

Truth's strong persona led to her being called "the Libyan Sibyl" by Harriet Beecher Stowe. This moniker referred to a sculpture (1860) of the same name by the artist William Wetmore Story. Although Story had been in contact with Truth in 1857 and the sculpture bore a strong resemblance to her, contrary to popular belief, the sculpture was not based on her image. Story's sculpture, *Libyan Sibyl,* represented his aesthetic of blackness in general. Truth actively sought to market her own likeness through the production and sale of her signed photographs. She presented a signed photograph of herself to President Abraham Lincoln, with whom her abolitionist work had put her in contact. This meeting became the inspiration for an 1893 painting by the artist Frank C. Courter.

Truth died November 26, 1883, in Battle Creek, Michigan, and her gravesite is there. It served as the location where Shirley Chisholm, a feminist herself and the first female and first black presidential candidate, announced her candidacy in 1972. In 1981, Truth was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame, and in 1986, a U.S. commemorative stamp was dedicated in her honor.

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See also Black Feminist Thought

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Two-Spirit

See Berdache (Two-Spirit)

U

Uniform Marital Property Act

The Uniform Marital Property Act (UMPA) provides definition for the ownership of property by married people and the means to divide the property in the event of divorce or death. UMPA created a class of property that was not individual property but that belonged to the marriage rather than the individuals. This class of property encompasses all property belonging to all spouses, with the exception of a few special situations. In the event of questionable property, that is, belonging to either spouse or the general marital property in nature, UMPA presumes it to be marital property, in which case evidence to support the claim of individual property is required. Within UMPA, several components of the act, including definition and division of marital property, individual property, and specially considered property, can be examined.

Property can become defined as *marital property* through three key events. The first definition includes all property owned by either spouse for marriages in existence at the time UMPA became effective in 1983. The second definition provides that marital property comes into existence at the time of marriage. Finally, marital property is defined at the time a marital domicile is established within a given state. Without evidence proving otherwise, UMPA presumes marital property.

The definition of individual property closely follows that of marital property. Property of a spouse that is not marital property is considered individual property. Property that was acquired by a spouse before the effective date of UMPA or before marriage is considered individual property. Most property classified as individual property will fall into this category.

Other types of property can be obtained during marriage and yet remain individual property. An example is an inheritance; this does not become marital property. Likewise, a gift to a particular spouse from a third party remains individual property. UMPA specifically defines the types of property that are considered individual property.

Specific types of property are defined in UMPA. Income from individual property earned after the determination date is marital property. Yet appreciation of individual property can remain individual property. In addition to individual and commingled or mixed property and property income, insurance policies and proceeds and deferred employment benefits have specific rules under UMPA based on the acquired or paid determination date. Accordingly, UMPA provides for the processes and rules by which to solve problems arising from determination of specially considered property.

Jennifer Jaffer

Web Sites

National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws: http://www.nccusl.org

See also Married Women's Property Acts

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women

The UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was established in 1946 as an intergovernmental commission under the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). CSW concerns itself exclusively with gender equality and the advancement of women. CSW plays a critical role in evaluating progress as well as identifying roadblocks and issues related to gender equality. Annual reports to ECOSOC provide a holistic view of women's rights in economic, political, civil, social, and educational fields. Since its creation, CSW has taken on additional responsibilities, including mainstreaming a gender perspective in UN activities. Membership is represented at any given time by 45 member states of the UN, based on geographic distribution and with terms lasting 4 years.

At each annual session, the CSW's main goal or outcome is to determine the theme of focus for the next year. This theme is provided to ECOSOC for final approval. Examples of current themes embodied as a multiyear program (2007–2009) include the following:

- 2007: The elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against the girl child
- 2008: Financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women
- 2009: The equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men, including caregiving in the context of HIV/AIDS

During each annual session, attention is given to the focus theme by reviewing experiences, lessons learned, best practices, interactive panels to drive the policy initiatives, and methodologies to accelerate implementation activities. Additionally, nongovernmental organization (NGO) representatives attend the CSW sessions, are invited to attend any open meetings, and are given opportunity to speak during general debate and panel discussions.

In addition to the annual session, CSW takes responsibility for coordination and follow-up on world conferences on women in locations such as Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995). In the most recent studies, this follow-up endeavor was marked by a 10-year review of the Beijing process, identifying gaps and challenges and providing recommendations for expedited implementation of the commitments made during the conference in 1995.

One of the key strategies adopted and endorsed by ECOSOC and CSW to promote equality for women and men is gender mainstreaming. As of the most recent council resolution, 2006/36, the following conclusion was adopted:

> Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, and programs, in all areas and at all levels, and as a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic, and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

The CSW observes International Woman's Day, March 8, each year by suspending its regular sessions for 2 hours and participating in organized events.

Jennifer Jaffer

Web Sites

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women:
  http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/index.html
United Nations, Human Rights:
  http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu2/2/cswomen.htm

United Nations Decade for Women

The UN Decade for Women was held from 1976 to 1985. Included in this decade were three major meetings for women. The first UN Women's Conference was held in Mexico City in 1975, which proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year and designated the 1976–1985 period as the UN Decade for Women. The second UN Women's Conference was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1980, and the third UN Women's Conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985. The participants at these meetings discussed the issues that prevented women from receiving equality with men such as pay equity, violence against women, land holding, and basic human rights.

During the UN Decade for Women, the focus concentrated mainly on women and development. For example, women in the South were previously ignored in development projects that helped people in subsistence economies, whereas women in Africa were involved in economic and political activism during the wars of liberation from colonialization. The UN conferences helped moved these agendas for women's equality to the forefront. The emphasis on women and development focused efforts on ensuring that women received equal treatment in economic development, including education and employment. The UN Women's Conference in Mexico City produced two major documents: "The Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace" and the "World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year."

The conference in Copenhagen was used to report on progress since the Mexico City conference and produced a "Programme of Action." The last conference in Nairobi was established to celebrate the accomplishments of the Decade for Women, but also to establish an agenda that would continue the efforts to establish worldwide equality for women. The Nairobi conference adopted a document titled, "The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women." Outside the Decade for Women, a Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China, in September 1995 to accelerate the implementation of "The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women."

The UN Decade for Women and its conferences were important for establishing the legitimacy of women's issues regarding their roles as workers in the home and outside of it. The decade also brought the many inequalities women face in education, health care, and work to the attention of national leaders and the general public.

Marcella C. Gemelli

See also United Nations Development Fund for Women; Violence Against Women Act

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UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN

The UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) is the women's fund of the United Nations that was implemented in 1976. This fund was started in conjunction with the United Nation's Decade for Women (1976–1985) to further the advancement of women's human rights around the world. UNIFEM provides financial and technical assistance to implement various programs that encourage women's empowerment and support gender equality.

UNIFEM concentrates its financial and technical assistance in four areas: reducing feminized poverty, ending violence against women, reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS among women and girls, and achieving gender equality in democratic governance in times of war and peace. Reducing poverty among women and girls is a pertinent issue around the world. Women are more likely to be the caretakers of children and older relatives, to make lower wages on average than men, and to be financially worse off if divorced and raising children as single mothers; programs and activities can be implemented to help alleviate this feminization of poverty. Violence against women includes physical and mental abuse, rape, and murder. HIV/AIDS has emerged as a woman's health issue because the number of HIV-positive women has increased dramatically in the last decade. Health programs need to be implemented, particularly in developing countries where this disease is rampant. UNIFEM goals are to achieve gender equity throughout the world to ensure women can live in a safe world where they have full rights as citizens of their countries.

An example of one such UNIFEM project in regard to violence against women took place in Somaliland, Africa. UNIFEM provided advocacy materials and an intensive 3-month judiciary training program to influence government leaders regarding the condemnation

of forced marriages of rape victims. Further, the Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women provided funding to the police department in Uganda to set up special units for investigating cases of violence.

UNIFEM reaches out to women worldwide via 15 regional offices, 2 country program offices, and through National Committees in 16 countries, including Australia, Iceland, Japan, the Philippines, and the United States.

UNIFEM also provides a variety of publications including an annual report that documents the programs and activities implemented to encourage women's empowerment and gender equality, and a report providing data on programs implemented to reduce the amount of violence against women. The programs and data UNIFEM provides also aid in the implementation and fulfillment of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs were adopted after the 2000 Millennium Summit that form a common set of goals put forth by the international community. Some of the goals include eradicating extreme hunger and poverty, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, improving maternal health, and combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases by a target date of 2015.

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See also United Nations Decade for Women; Violence Against Women Act

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Universal Human Rights

Human beings have inalienable rights because they cannot abandon being human. In theory, human rights are also universal. If rights are universal, then all humans regardless of gender are entitled to the full complement of rights. Universality is debated in light of cultural differences among states supposedly bound to honor the rights of each of its citizens. Critics contend that emphasis on the individual is a consequence of Western beliefs and is not supportable in cultures where the well-being of the group is paramount. Nevertheless, international law is evolving to protect fundamental rights of individuals worldwide, including the right to life, liberty, and bodily integrity. Rights range from political and civil to social and economic. Violations vary with numerous factors such as gender, group membership, and poverty.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In response to the atrocities of World War II, the UN Commission on Human Rights, led by Eleanor Roosevelt, drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the UDHR without dissent. However, the Soviet Union and its allies, South Africa and Saudi Arabia, abstained. Saudi Arabia objected, in part, to provisions for gender equality.

The UDHR includes 30 articles, 2 of which explicitly mention sex or gender. Article 2 states that everyone is entitled to rights and freedom regardless of sex, religion, race, and more; Article 16 states that women and men have equal rights to marry and raise a family. The UDHR affirms the rights of the individual as a social being, mentioning family, community, and country. However, Article 29 also states that individual rights are limited by the rights of others for the preservation of public order and general welfare and that everyone has duties to the community.

Even though the UDHR is a central human rights document, political leaders, philosophers, and activists disagree about its nature. A major criticism is that the declaration is seemingly rooted in Western cultural imperialism (where a powerful state imposes its culture or language on a weaker one). The notion of universal rights is further criticized in light of the centuries-old principle of state sovereignty. A sovereign state is not subject to outside intervention—regardless of known violations carried out by a government against its own people, including massacres.

Gender and Human Rights Violations

Serious violations of human rights are torture and slavery. Historically, men were viewed as the preponderant victims of torture during strife and women as preponderant victims of ordinary violence, especially rape. However, rape is increasingly viewed as a violation of human rights and a form of torture, especially when mass rape occurs during sectarian violence among groups, civil war, or war among states.

Mass rape is also a form of genocide because impregnating hundreds or even thousands of women is a deliberate and systematic attempt to destroy an ethnic, political, or cultural group by introducing children fathered by the enemy. Furthermore, rape increases exposure of women to HIV/AIDS, which increases the death rate. Women marginalized by their own communities because they have been raped are vulnerable to more violence, hunger, and disease.

After strife, countries sometimes mount truth commissions to hear the testimony of witnesses, victims, and survivors (relatives of the murdered or disappeared). A truth commission is meant to document abuses and move a country forward by unearthing the facts. However, the experience of women during strife, especially of sexual violence, is sometimes ignored or underreported. For example, women stigmatized and ashamed of rape are loath to testify in public; moreover, women traditionally focus on the stories of their fathers, husbands, and sons and are uncomfortable telling their own stories. Hence, shame and social roles contravene the right to information guaranteed by Article 19 of the UDHR.

Women fleeing from intolerable domestic abuse, community violence, or poverty are feminizing global patterns of migration from rural to urban areas. In other words, relatively more migrants are women when compared with the years before World War II. Migrating women are at risk of falling prey to human traffickers who sell women into slavery as prostitutes, forced laborers, or domestic workers. Human trafficking is worldwide and includes North America, which is primarily a destination for trafficked victims. Groups most at risk of being sold are children and women.

Even given obvious differences in the lives of women and men, gender alone cannot explain the various risks for abuse that people face. Gender in combination with poverty, a disparaging community, and an oppressive state are factors that simultaneously jeopardize lives. Social scientists point out that international norms or standards as defined by documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights cannot protect people from threats and violations. Although universality of human rights is a visionary idea, in reality, the rights of women and men around the world are violated daily. Protection of human dignity and liberty for all people everywhere calls for international law to redress local abuses and agreed upon means of enforcement to support universal human rights.

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See also Genocide; Health Disparities; Rape, Statutory; Sexual Slavery; Torture

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UNWANTED BIRTHS

See PREGNANCY

V

VEILING

Veiling loosely refers to the worldwide variety of dress codes and styles associated with shielding portions of the body from view, particularly the upper body, scalp hair, and/or face. Veiling signals both difference and affiliation, variably and often simultaneously, over religious, cultural, generational, sexed, gendered, class, historical-political, and (consequently) personal lines. The relationship between gender and veiling has received much attention in recent decades but remains an important source of disagreement among feminists, scholars, and politicians. This entry provides a brief overview of the history of veiling and discusses some of the responses from feminist and gender scholars.

The spatial and temporal regimentation of veiling, unveiling, and nonveiling has at times been ritual and at other times political and is variably prescribed by local, familial, or state law or canon; scripture; or fashion. Gender-specific or sex-exclusive practices of veiling are tied to the ordering of gendered relations across domestic/public spaces (Islam and the Middle East), ceremonial occasions (e.g., funerals, weddings, consummation of the martial bond), states or offices of dedication or worship (nuns and monks), and other local concerns (e.g., protection from the sun in order to keep skin fair) or needs (e.g., as a guerrilla tactic, male Taliban fighters have been known to wear *burqas,* covering the entire body and face. Veiling has historically been associated mostly with female, married, elite, urban (or nonlaboring) status. It is often the mark of adult status; anthropologically, this means the nubile or nuptial (marriageable or married), reproductive,

and/or heterosexually alluring status considered to necessitate social regulation. In many ethnographic reports from well into the 20th century, full veiling was found to become mandatory at pubescence or slightly before. In some cases, veiling prescriptions become less strict for elderly women.

In both Christianity and Islam, ultimate functions of veiling and the conditions for its requirement have been and continue to be subject to exegetical debate as well as historical anthropological inquiry. Body parts that should be covered (*awrah* in Arabic) according to Islamic teaching lie between the navel and the knee for males, but for women, rules vary depending on their company and by consequence create the most controversy. In Islam, veiling translates to complex gendered concepts such as *purdah* ("curtain," consisting of physical segregation of the sexes and covering of the body), *hijab* ("covering," with wider connotations for both sexes of modesty and a moral sense of privacy), and *libas* ("dress," with implications of sheltering and protection). The embattlement of its contemporary meanings has often been located at the intersection of overarching historical trajectories, such as decolonization, modernization, secularization, feminism, and globalization.

Feminists have recognized the following, often polarized, interpretations: (a) gender-inflected delimitation of nondomestic mobility versus enablement of women's participation, (b) gender-exclusive eradication of identity versus optional identification with custom or law, (c) deprivation of women's autonomy versus expression of choice, (d) objectification of women versus women's political agency and personal voice, and (e) eroticization of women's bodies versus

restraint of any expressive potential. Political argument reflects eclectically on these options and usually focuses on state regulation of women's headdress in certain public offices and professions (teaching), state-sponsored institutes (public schools, universities), or secured objects (polling places, airports) rather than public space generally. Acute politicization and legal reconsiderations of the "Islamic veil" typically seen in Turkey and Tunisia and throughout late 20th century and later Western Europe can be interpreted variably in terms of a feminist-egalitarianist-democratic gesture to (migrant) women or as an appeal to male Islamist authorities—and often, by extension, as a commentary to instances of mobilization by both men and women taking place in the name of Islam. Controversies over veiling, however, are generally of mixed thematic and legal anchorage: the issue of gender, the principle of state secularity, and the right of religious expression. Gender-focused criticism may often feed tensions that ultimately have more to do with immigration and "integration" policy, national identity, multiculturalism, and perceived cultural drift ("Islamization").

European films, documentaries, artwork, and cartoons have tried to articulate and examine the gendered controversies around veiling or to subvert its conventions, usually provoking strong reactions. Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh was murdered after the screening of his short polemic *Submission Part 1* (2004). Authored by Dutch politician and Islam critic Ayaan Hirsi Ali, it featured a nude woman in a semi-translucent *niqāb* (face-covering veil), offering to Allah her lamentations of violence to women and arranged marriage.

The contemporary functional question of veiling, then, depends on what it is argued to be: a species of dress; a corollary of socialization or religious upbringing; a social or symbolic practice, statement, or symptom; or divine advice mediated by prophets, interpreters of prophets, or interpreters of interpreters. Historically, customary veiling was pre-Islamic (Assyrian and Persian) and pre-Christian, found prescribed in relation to Islam not earlier than the post-Qur'anic *hadiths* or narrations on the Sunnah of Muhammad, and is thought to be an interpretation of the Prophet's wish that his wives be secluded by a "curtain" from male guidance seekers. In biblical, Qur'anic, and wider Mediterranean references, restrictive dress codes for women were and remain considered by many to advance female interests, including privacy and protection from harm.

Overall, there is a broad consensus that controversy about and increased symbolic potential of veiling from the 19th century onward has been the corollary of Euro-American incursions into the East, both colonial and postcolonial. Organized attempts at unveiling, exemplified by Algeria under French occupation, often paradoxically made the veil a national and cultural symbol, a vehicle for resistance and identity. Increasingly, the stage for such dynamics has included countries without a historical rooting in Islam but with a substantial number of migrant families from Islam-dominant regions. Increasingly, also, such debates tend to be more and more globally articulated rather than bound to courts, provinces, states, or world regions.

Diederik Floris Janssen

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VIAGRA

See PENILE ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION

VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN, A

Five years prior to her untimely death at 38, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) made a major deposit in the historical account of Western feminism with *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (subtitled *With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*). The revolutionary nature of this polemic lay in its rejection of patriarchal conventions. Believing in the elevating power of education, Wollstonecraft sought to dispel the perception that a woman's ignorance has a girlish,

innocent quality in an age when Englishwomen (who could hold no property at all) were pregnant more often than not throughout their childbearing years. This was proof, for her, of woman's slavish dependence on man whereby, with all her "spaniel-like" affection, she is made a mere plaything of man and not his equal.

While *Vindication* earned Wollstonecraft instant celebrity—the book went through a second edition that same year—detractors dubbed her a dangerous Jacobin, a philosophizing "serpent," even a "hyena in petticoats." By integrating many of the liberal presuppositions of her radical friends—she belonged to a group that included Blake, Godwin, Paine, Barbauld, and the painter Fuseli—Wollstonecraft sought to extend the Enlightenment's faith in certain unalienable rights (to life, liberty, and the pursuit of reason) to females. In *Vindication,* Wollstonecraft holds that only rational women make virtuous women, through the acquisition of minds of their own. Accordingly, the best marriages are the egalitarian sort, in which women act as their husbands' companions (thus, a marriage of minds), not merely as subordinates.

Wollstonecraft's *Vindication* was addressed to France's educational minister, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), in the hopes of bringing about a revolution in female "manners." Outraged that the French Revolution had failed to secure equal rights for women, she protested the minister's proposal before the new Constituent Assembly in 1791 to relegate women solely to the domestic sphere by barring them from schools. (French women, meanwhile, wouldn't win suffrage until 1944.) In her rebuttal to Talleyrand's report, as well as to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), Wollstonecraft insisted that women be granted the rights to hold and distribute property and to pursue careers in law, medicine, and business.

Written feverishly in just a matter of months, Wollstonecraft's manifesto envisions the restoration of women's lost dignity, whereupon by reforming themselves, women will reform the world. Some scholars argue that while *Vindication* is ahead of its time where gender and political society are concerned, the text is a great deal more conservative on the subjects of male homosexuality and prostitution. For example, in her chapter "On National Education," she frets that when schoolboys "pig together" in the same bedchamber, sexual immorality inevitably results; and prostitutes were the very embodiment of reason-starved women, the unfortunate "wretches" whose "shameless behavior" threatened to "infest" the streets of London.

Wollstonecraft died during childbirth in August 1797. Her daughter, Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, would become the second wife of Godwin's acolyte (Percy Shelley) and go on to pen the horror classic *Frankenstein* (1818). As a vital sponsor to these and other young Romantics, Wollstonecraft promoted the extinction of patriarchy and the ameliorative function of rationality as the precondition for female freedom.

Colin Carman

See also Education: Gender Differences; Patriarchy; Wollstonecraft, Mary; Women and National Identity; Women Artists

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VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) is considered by many to be a landmark piece of legislation, calling attention to the issues of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. In 1994, the original VAWA was enacted as Title IV of the Violence Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (P.L. 103-322). In October 2000, President Bill Clinton signed into law the VAWA of 2000 as Division B of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protections Act of 2000 (P.L. 106-386). And on January 5, 2006, President George W. Bush signed the VAWA 2005 reauthorization into law (P.L. 109-162). Victims of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking have had increased ability to access services.

The VAWA seeks to provide the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) with grant programs to state and local governments.

The DOJ administers grants to prevent and address domestic violence and child abuse and fund and train victim advocates. HHS grants provide funds for

shelters, rape prevention and education, programs to address and reduce the sexual abuse of runaway and homeless youth, and community programs to educate on domestic violence. The VAWA also mandates government funding for studies of violence against women. The VAWA also includes enhancements to federal criminal law regarding interstate stalking, intrastate domestic abuse, federal sexual offenses, rules of evidence regarding a victim's past sexual experience, and HIV testing in rape cases.

Initial passing and repeated reauthorization of the VAWA was spearheaded by groups such as the National Organization for Women, the National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, the Family Violence Prevention Fund, and countless state and local organizations that worked tirelessly for this legislation.

The act initially included civil rights remedies for victims of gender-motivated crimes, also known as hate crimes, allowing individuals to sue in federal court. However, the Supreme Court declared this part of the act unconstitutional under the Commerce Clause and Fourteenth Amendment in the case *U.S. v. Morrison* (2000), in a 5 to 4 decision.

Most criticisms of the VAWA come from those who believe violence affects both women and men and both perpetrators and victims and that the VAWA addresses only women as victims. Some say that the act attempted to sideswipe grassroots organizations. Others say that the law implies women are in need of special assistance from the state in a paternalistic way. Supporters of VAWA claim that the law is not gender exclusive and can address the needs of men. They also contest that women are in fact differentially affected by violence. Proponents point to the ways in which domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking directly affect women and their communities.

Ami Lynch

See also Domestic Violence; Femicide, National Organization for Women (NOW); Rape; Women Against Violence Against Women

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VIRGINITY

The term *virginity* indicates the status of not having had a sexual relationship, and it has a variety of meanings in different contexts. In medicine, the term describes a female who has had no sexual intercourse and has an intact hymen. In general, though, virginity is the status of never having had any kind of sexual relationship and is not restricted to females having an intact hymen. Virginity has been a controversial subject in different cultures, societies, and religions. Historically, the terms *virginity* and *virgin* have generally been used for females. A virgin woman is also referred to as a *maiden.* Even today, the importance of virginity in some societies, especially religious based, has caused much controversy regarding women's rights.

As a word, *virginity* is derived from the Latin *virgo,* which means "a female created for a male." Even in modern times, virginity is still used mainly for females, though a man can also be considered a virgin based on his lack of sexual activity before marriage.

As mentioned, the virginity of a female is considered by many to be determined by the status of the hymen. The *hymen* is a membrane in the opening of the vagina, which typically is torn during the first sexual intercourse. An intact hymen generally is believed to be the evidence of virginity, while its absence is noted as the lack of virginity, but this is not true in all cases. Because the tissue of the hymen varies in shape and flexibility, for some, it is not torn during their first experience of intercourse. Further, a female with an intact hymen may have had other types of sexual relationships (e.g., anal, oral).

In rare cases, a girl may have no hymen at birth, or she may have an *imperforated hymen,* which completely blocks the opening of the vagina. An imperforated hymen usually is noticed at the time of first

menstruation, because the menstrual blood cannot be excreted from the vagina and may cause abdominal pain. An imperforated hymen is perforated in a surgical procedure called a *hymenotomy*.

The act of losing one's intact hymen via sexual intercourse is called *defloration* and is an important event in the lives of girls in many societies. Regarding cultural perceptions that are based on perceived gender roles, losing one's virginity can be interpreted as a source of either honor or shame. *Technical virginity* is a term used for having an intact hymen despite participating in other sexual acts.

Hymenoplasty, or repairing the hymen to "restore" virginity, is a common surgical operation in societies that attribute so much value to the hymen as the sign of virginity. In such contexts, girls who have lost their virginity via sexual intercourse, rape, or even an accident (e.g., in a medical physical examination) cannot marry, because virginity is of utmost importance to their future husbands. Males, on the other hand, can easily hide their own premarital sexual activities. In these societies and cultures, typically females are considered to be of lower value than males. In some cultures, female circumcision or genital mutilation is done not only to prevent sexual relationships before marriage but also because it is forbidden for females to enjoy sex.

In many religions, there is much attention given to abstaining from sex before marriage. In Christianity, premarital sex is not condoned, and it is advised against in both the Old Testament and New Testament of the Bible. The Virgin Mary and the story of Christ's virgin birth is one of the most important aspects of the Bible. In Islam, any kind of sexual relationship is forbidden before marriage, and virginity is a very important status for girls. In Hinduism, virginity has a high importance, and losing one's virginity before marriage is a sin.

Virginity is often the symbol of purity in literature and other artistic forms. In his film *The Virgin Spring* (1960), director Ingmar Bergman used the state of virginity to represent purity and holiness.

Today, cultural and religious laws continue to perpetuate taboos involving the hymen as evidence of virginity, resulting in injustice in many societies. As males show no physical sign of virginity, they are free to engage in sexual relationships before marriage—while there are often penalties for females for such behavior. The importance of virginity for women in many societies supports inequality of men and women.

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See also Death Penalty, Gender and the; Female Circumcision/Female Genital Mutilation; Gynecology; Marriage; Sexual Activity: Age at First Intercourse

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Voodoo

Voodoo is a religious practice thought to have been brought to the United States by Haitian slaves in the late 1700s, as part of the first major wave of immigration from Haiti during the Haitian Revolution, from 1791 to 1803. Throughout this period, over 15,000 people, including planters and slaves, settled in southern Louisiana, bringing with them the practices of Haitian voodoo, a mélange of West African traditions. Other émigrés (both voluntary and forced) from the Haitian Revolution settled in Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. The origins of voodoo can be traced back to the West African countries of Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria, from the religious practices of *vodun,* the worship of ancestral spirits. The heritage of many slaves brought to Haiti was West African. Haitian voodoo is considered the birthplace of New World voodoo.

Voodoo is a blend of African beliefs and French Catholicism, combining practices from both traditions. In the United States, voodoo is concentrated in southern Louisiana and coastal South Carolina and Georgia, though it can be found throughout the United States. While it is primarily associated with descendents of African slaves, voodoo practices and beliefs have influenced both black and white communities and has a following of both black and white believers. New Orleans is considered the birthplace of voodoo in the United States, and indeed Louisiana voodoo is recognized as its own subcategory of voodoo.

There are many names for voodoo in the United States: *vodun, hoodoo, conjure, vodu,* and *vodoun.* In rural coastal Mississippi and Louisiana and in the rural Carolinas and Florida, hoodoo is more commonly practiced than voodoo. Hoodoo and voodoo are often confused, as their similarities are great. Both rely on conjures (the act of creating a spell by calling

on the spirits); rootwork (use of roots in spells, particularly High John the Conqueror root, the most powerful root used to conjure); and mojos (called *conjos* in hoodoo), which are small bags containing important ingredients, such as herbs, hair, lizards, fingernails, and pieces of clothing or other objects worn or used by the person for whom the spell is directed. Mojos and conjos are the media through which spells are transmitted and are essential to both voodoo and hoodoo. The primary difference between voodoo and hoodoo is in the inclusion of Catholicism (found in voodoo) and Native American healing practices (found in hoodoo); in addition, hoodoo is practiced, for the most part, in rural areas only. Both, however, are rooted in the West African traditions of vodun.

Gender and Voodoo

Both men and women practice voodoo, yet the most well-known voodoo practitioners have been women: Sanite Dede, Marie Soloppe, and both Marie Laveaus (mother and daughter) were widely celebrated New Orleans voodoo queens of the 18th and 19th centuries. Today, many voodoo practitioners in New Orleans are women, and some are white.

Accounts of voodoo initiation ceremonies describe the *voodoo queen* as the dominant figure, exercising great authority and power. The voodoo queen generally holds her position for life, while the king is typically her husband. Research by Bodin describes the power of the queen as comparable to that of the gods, and should initiates ever break with the queen, it would be as if they were breaking with the spirits or gods forever.

In Haitian voodoo, the *mambo* is an order of female priesthood, with an extensive following. In New Orleans, the equivalent of the mambo is the priestess who has been formally trained and initiated into voodoo as a practitioner.

It is important to note that in the antebellum and post–Civil War South, voodoo offered African American women power and status in a caste system that provided little personal power for women. Voodoo priestesses were sought after by both blacks and whites and across class lines. Biographers of New Orleans voodoo queen Marie Laveau describe her

keen business acumen: After emancipation, she began charging admission to voodoo ceremonies and fees for removing and implementing spells. Voodoo provided an avenue for economic independence for newly emancipated slaves. For some African American women in particular, voodoo provided the social space to navigate racist and sexist institutional practices and afford economic security, leadership, and power in an era of oppressive social control.

The Commercial Aspects of Voodoo

Zora Neale Hurston's 1935 book *Mules and Men* examined voodoo and hoodoo in the United States. Hurston mocked the commercialized representations of voodoo in popular media at the time, particularly on Broadway. Voodoo, she reported, is a secret undertaking, discussed only by those who are part of the society, never publicly displayed or demonstrated. Media representations falsely depicted voodoo with sensational tribal dancing and drum beating, with zombies and black magic. Perhaps because of these sensational cinematic images, voodoo popularity grew. "How-to" books, candle shops, voodoo merchandise, root shops, and voodoo museums have become typical New Orleans tourist destinations and lucrative business enterprises for their owners. Mixed in with the commercial voodoo offerings in the French Quarter are trained voodoo practitioners who provide authentic voodoo knowledge. After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, however, many traditional practitioners have been displaced and are no longer practicing.

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See also in Religion, Gender Roles in; Traditional Healing; Wicca

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W

WELFARE REFORM

In the United States, *welfare* generally refers to a group of programs including food stamps, Medicaid, and cash assistance that targets low-income families and individuals. These programs primarily serve low-income single mothers and their children, making these policies some of the most important ones directed toward women. This entry describes the evolution of welfare policy, current policies, and outcomes of welfare reform, then discusses single motherhood and gender-sensitive welfare reform

Gendered Evolution of Welfare Policy

Early 20th-century Progressive Era advocates argued that women were naturally inclined toward caretaking and that the state should support women's efforts to rear their children because it benefited from those efforts. This concern translated into state-level policies ("Mothers' Pensions") between 1911 and 1920, which targeted those viewed as most deserving—poor widows with young children. When a man with a wife and children died, the state stepped in on an emergency basis to minimally fulfill his financial responsibilities to young dependents. From the onset, these policies were intended to maintain women's role as caregivers and to address the poverty of children primarily. The programs only slowly came to serve other single mothers, many European immigrants among them.

With the enactment of the 1935 Social Security Act, the United States implemented a national welfare policy, based on previous state efforts. Funded jointly by the federal and state governments, Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) embodied many of the gendered and racialized biases that existed under the state programs, including targeting aid toward the children of poor women and excluding black women. In 1950, ADC changed to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), for the first time extending assistance to adult single parents. AFDC gained entitlement status in 1965. By 1970, a series of Supreme Court decisions made in response to an active welfare rights movement affirmed this statutory entitlement as part of constitutional doctrine. National-level eligibility criteria could only reference need, though states were provided considerable administrative leeway in determining eligibility requirements and benefits levels. Changes in the 1980s included increasing child support efforts and establishing work requirements which included education and training programs

By the 1980s, however, few supported the existing AFDC program, though for different reasons. Conservative arguments against AFDC's entitlement status flourished in the discourse of the lazy dependent welfare mother, more inclined to stay at home and have babies to increase welfare benefits than work to providing for her children and improving their lives. Welfare advocates critiqued AFDC for its lack of respect toward recipients, insufficient benefits to support families, and lack of incentives and opportunities for education and training for jobs with family-sustaining wages.

Current Welfare Policies

Taking this dissatisfaction with AFDC to the presidential campaign trail in the early 1990s, Bill Clinton pledged to

"end welfare as we know it." The political discourse focused on ending the "cycle of dependency," enhancing devolutionary control for states, renewing the commitment to wage work and promoting marriage. In 1996, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) into law, despite overwhelming criticisms from centrists and progressives that it would harm more people living in poverty than it would help.

PRWORA ended welfare as a federal entitlement program for the poorest families by replacing AFDC with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and devolved more authority to the states. PRWORA also established much stricter work requirements and a lifetime time limit of 60 months' receipt of federal funds. As implemented, TANF-funded programs aim to ameliorate poverty among single-mother families by requiring mothers to obtain employment as quickly as possible. State welfare plans directly target individual behaviors around work and family life through a system of incentives and sanctions. Whether these programs have alleviated poverty or just hidden it is contested.

Outcomes of Welfare Reform

The evidence of reduction in use of TANF's cash assistance is irrefutable. The numbers of families receiving TANF have fallen substantially. In 2006, there were 1.8 million families receiving TANF compared with almost twice as many—3.2 million in 1997. Researchers disagree about whether this decline can be attributed to changes to welfare or to growth in employment and expansion of work support programs such as the Earned Income Tax Credit. Regardless, only about 30 percent of the drop in usage is attributable to moving "up" (via employment or marriage) and no longer in need of assistance. A large portion is the result of fewer poor eligible families and children getting assistance.

Employment rates among low-income single mothers have increased rapidly since the mid-1990s as has the percentage of income from earnings. However, the evidence is mixed on whether low-income families are better off materially now than they were before welfare reform. Poverty rates among single mothers have fallen since the mid-1990s from 42 percent in 1996 to 36 percent in 2005. But cost increases associated with employment and the loss of public benefits as families earn more has meant that the total resource package of poor and low-income single mothers who work is not necessarily sufficient to support their families.

Overall, a decade of research reveals a pattern of uneven changes. Although some families seem to be better off financially, a substantial percentage are actually worse off—with no access to earnings or government supports. Another group is more or less the same now as they were before major welfare reforms. Still, poverty rates among single mothers remain high, and many single mothers still report severe hardships in providing their families with needed resources.

The Dilemma of Single Motherhood

Feminist analysis of welfare and welfare reform emphasize that the changes in U.S. policies toward poor mothers have not fundamentally addressed the major causes and problems surrounding single-mother poverty. Feminists critique the discourse of dependency that pervades mainstream discussion and evaluations of welfare as belittling women for not being self-sufficient while ignoring the fact that unmarried women raising children face few alternatives than to "depend" on men or the government. Women's family roles assign them primary caregiving tasks, but the low-wages attached to women's work conspire to keep women without men or state assistance poor.

Welfare reform has resulted in a withdrawal of state support, so that poor women will need to return to relying on men (fathers, boyfriends, former husbands) or employment. However, many women have already tried both unsuccessfully—hence their need for state support. Low-income unmarried mothers are now expected to be both primary caregivers and breadwinners. This dual role raises a key dilemma that feminists have identified—the difficulty of handling full-time work at low wages and providing proper care for all family members when there is only one adult in the household with limited resources. Jobs and employment available to low-income single mothers—especially those without high levels of educational attainment—typically do not pay enough or provide benefits (such as health insurance or paid sick days) crucial for single mothers to maintain employment.

Because women are responsible for their children's care, full-time work is exceptionally difficult without extensive help. Infant care, early education and child care, and out-of-school programs are vital but hard to find and afford, even with strong family networks. As

a result, mothers can only work part time, leave older children unattended, and rely heavily on relatives and low-priced child care alternatives. These options can carry a heavy price. The dilemma of women's poor employment prospects and insufficient current care-giving policies often prevent women from becoming and staying self-sufficient. Until these are addressed, feminist scholars and activist argue, there will be little significant headway in reducing poverty within single-mother households.

Policy Recommendations for Gender-Sensitive Welfare Reform

To address the core dilemma of welfare policy—how low-wage single mothers can balance their dual roles as breadwinners and caregivers—the policy debate must focus on the institutional supports women need to work in the wage-labor market and care for their children. Low-income single mothers have too little of society's most scarce resources: money and time. Gender-sensitive policies help women maximize both. For examples, U.S. policymakers can look to the Scandinavian countries or to ongoing debates in post-Communist societies, where gender-equalizing policies were the norm. There supports include universal day care, flexible and often shortened work hours, child care stipends, paid family and medical leaves, universal health insurance, extensive public transportation, and subsidized housing.

A crucial element of reform is access to convenient, affordable, high-quality child care, both for young children in their preschool years, but also during after-school and evening hours throughout primary school. Another support is supplementing earnings for low-wage workers whose jobs do not provide adequate benefit packages so that part-time workers earn well above the poverty line. This might include packaging cash assistance with employment for longer periods. Alternatively, the state could substantially increase minimum wage (and benefits) requirements. Education and training programs for jobs that pay wages that can support a family are important, but this approach will only work if bottom-rung jobs pay better than they do now and if the market can absorb more trained workers. Finally, to address the realities of time constraints, both child care and work hours should be flexible to accommodate both.

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WET NURSING

Wet nursing is the act of a lactating woman feeding another woman's infant from her breast. The womanly act of breastfeeding has always been important to the vitality of the human species. Wet nursing has a long history dating beyond ancient Roman times and it still remains a part of the current world, though less common in developed countries.

In the past, wet nursing was an acceptable practice used for a variety of reasons to ensure an infant's health; breast milk was necessary for survival. A wet nurse would be employed to provide the nourishment the infant needed. A mother may have been unable to feed her own child because of illness, death, or inadequate milk supply. More affluent households were likely to employ wet

nurses so that the mother's fertility would return after childbirth and she could bear more children. When corsets were fashionable they would often damage breast tissue and nipples and a woman would be physically unable to breastfeed. Wet nursing did not begin to decline until the 19th century when animal milk was more safely formulated for infant consumption.

Though hospitals in the United States no longer employ wet nurses, it is still in practice. Today, breast milk is preferred over formula to provide the best nutrients to an infant. Mothers may want to provide their babies with breast milk, but are unable to do so for several possible reasons. Some mothers may need to take medication that would be passed through the breast milk and detrimental to the baby, the mother may be hospitalized or deceased, the mother may feel that she is not producing enough milk for the child, she may be working and not able to breastfeed, she may not want to breastfeed, her breasts may have been damaged because of breast augmentation or reduction surgeries, or she may have adopted a child. Cross nursing may also be used, where a woman breastfeeds both her child and another. Cross nursing arrangements are made by some mothers to breastfeed each other's child most commonly when in child care or babysitting. Organizations such as La Leche League International, a breastfeeding advocate, do not currently support wet nursing, as viruses can be transmitted through breastfeeding. Additionally, some believe there may be psychological harm when a wet nurse severs the relationship with the infant after they have likely bonded, or infants may become confused with a new person to feed from with cross nursing. In many undeveloped and developing nations, wet nursing is more common. Lack of alternate forms of nutrition and contaminated water supplies make wet nursing more critical for providing infants enough nourishment to survive and thrive. Wet nursing has had an extensive history and will likely continue for those with limited alternatives.

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See also Breastfeeding; Breast Implants; Caregiving; Household Livelihood Strategies; Motherhood

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WICCA

Wicca is one of a group of earth-based or neo-pagan religious movements centered on nature and goddess worship that have flourished primarily in Europe and North America since the 20th century. Wicca is a belief system and a way of life that emphasizes oneness with the divine and the interconnectedness of all beings, nature, and the cosmos. It is mainly influenced by pre-Christian Indo-European religions, but it also draws from many of the world's spiritual traditions. Wicca is also referred to as witchcraft, or "the Craft," and practitioners may identify themselves as either "Wiccan" or as a "Witch." Wiccans believe that the word's meaning is "to bend" or "to shape" reflecting a belief in magic as "bending" natural and cosmic forces. This entry describes Wicca as a religion and as a spiritual movement, including Wiccan views of divinity, ethics, traditions, and spiritual practice, and will close with a brief summary of Wicca's views on women and on women's standing in the religion.

Most Wiccans believe that their religion dates to Paleolithic times when the cycles of nature were celebrated in sacred seasonal festivals and a Great Goddess reigned supreme. Today, Wiccans look to the past to creatively reconstruct these ancient religions. Modern Wiccans have reacted against monotheistic patriarchal religious institutions, which they view as sexist, oppressive, and elitist. Wiccans believe that humans' separation from nature has had devastating consequences, and they seek to reestablish the human connection with nature and to restore a sacred ground to existence. Because of its alternative ideas and recent origin, Wicca is considered a new religious movement. Wicca's inclusiveness and the freedom to direct one's spiritual life lend appeal.

Wicca lacks a formal structure and is made up of many subtraditions, so it is diverse and difficult to characterize. There are, however, core beliefs that all Wiccans share. Wiccans believe that nature and all beings are sacred. The natural world comprises four elements: earth, air, fire, and water. Human beings are made up of energies associated with the elements. The spirit unites the four in harmony and wholeness. This

model of the sacred is symbolized by the pentagram or pentacle—a five-pointed star with each point representing one element and the spirit, enclosed by a circle signifying the spirit. Wiccans believe that every moment and experience is sacred and that the divine is present in all things in the here and now.

Deities are viewed as personifications of universal principles or as aspects of a singular godhead, and are imaged as both male (the god) and female (the goddess). The goddess usually has some degree of primacy because she is viewed as the source of life and of limitless power. Wiccan worship typically revolves around the goddess, who is imaged in three forms—maiden, mother, and crone. The three forms mirror the phases of the moon cycle—waxing, full, and waning. The male aspect of deity is usually represented by the "horned god" and associated with the animal world. Wiccans draw from pantheons and mythologies of the world's spiritual traditions.

Wiccans are free to worship and practice in any manner but must abide by two maxims: The Wiccan Rede and The Threefold Law. The Rede can be viewed as a moral precept, which states, "If it harm none, do as you will." The Threefold Law is the belief that anything one does will be returned threefold. Both good and ill deeds are magnified back to the actor. These principles emphasize free thought and individual will, as well as taking responsibility for one's actions while being ever mindful that all thought, speech, and deed have consequences beyond the individual actors themselves.

In Wicca, sacred time is conceptualized as circular and symbolized by the spiral. The Wiccan calendar, called the Wheel of the Year, reflects this sense of time. There are eight seasonal festivals called *sabbats*. Additionally, Wiccans mark the full and new moons with ritual celebrations called *esbats*. Moon magic is also an integral aspect of witchcraft. During the full and new moons, magic is more potent and rituals are focused on the individual's specific intentions. Wiccans also mark significant life events with ritual celebrations.

Magic and ritual are the main forms of Wiccan spiritual practice. Magic is centered on experiencing the divine and on focusing one's intention to activate and manifest transformational energies. The comingling of human and natural energies is seen as magical. Wiccans may practice the Craft in small groups called *covens* or as solitary practitioners. The concept of sacred space is an important part of Wiccan ritual. All rituals begin by "circle casting"—creating a purified space set apart from the ordinary. Altars serve as the focal point of both ritual and magical intent. Ritual tools are used and are "charged" or made sacred by placing them on the altar during magical practice.

Wicca offers women an alternative to patriarchal religion and an avenue in which to reclaim their divinity and celebrate womanhood. Whereas patriarchal religions tend to view women's bodies and sexuality as dirty and sinful, in Wicca, women are seen as having unique power and wisdom because of the special connection between women's menstrual cycles and the moon's cycles. Women celebrate their bodies as manifestations of the goddess's power. Although not all Wiccans are feminists, Wicca advocates gender equality and aims to empower women. Priestesses play a dominant role in Wiccan communities—a role that has been denied to them in most organized religious institutions. The goddess is an important and transformational symbol for spiritual women, and Wicca, as a woman-honoring religion, is for many women a sacred journey of self-discovery and healing.

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See also Christianity, Status of Women in; Deities, Gender Images and; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Religion, Gender Roles in

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WITCHES

A witch is someone who practices witchcraft, an alleged magical or supernatural power. Witches are found in the history, mythology, and anthropology of nearly every society, and their practices vary widely. The term *witch* can have a negative or positive connotation depending on the culture. For example, most post-Christian

European cultures have associated witches with evil, but other cultures view witches in cooperation with divine forces. Although the term *witch* is gender neutral, and applies to both men and women, over the centuries Western societies have associated magical powers primarily with women. This entry discusses the origins of witches, punishments for witches in European societies, and modern witches.

Origins of Witches

Since the inception of ancient societies, people related the bewildering power of nature with gods and goddesses, whom they believed had control over the earth. Humans worshipped deities such as the Mother Goddess, which was known as Astarte in Syria, Ceres in Rome, Cybele in Phrygia, Ishtar in Babylon, Demeter in Greece, and Isis in Egypt. Ancient societies held festivals to celebrate the prowess of their gods and goddesses. However, despite the revelry, gods and goddesses also proved to be unpredictable, causing famine, plague, drought, and a bevy of other problems. Human beings lamented that the gods and goddesses were not something that they could always control. To stop the chaos humans believed the gods and goddesses caused, exceptional men and women emerged in every culture to intervene. Medicine people, shamans, sorcerers, and witches invoked spells and led rituals to influence the powers that they felt controlled their world. Witches were thus often believed to be intermediaries between the spirit realm of gods and goddesses and the human realm.

In societies throughout the world, witches also worked their magic on ordinary people through their communication with spirits. Using herbs, plants, and flowers, witches invented concoctions that healed a variety of illnesses. Witches performed rituals to help cows' milk flow and rain to fall to save farmers' crops, and recited enigmatic incantations that were meant to harm an enemy's home. Numerous midwives were also known as witches and vice versa. In many societies, successfully helping a mother through childbirth meant that a witch had called on the powers of the supernatural. If the mother or child did not survive, sometimes the midwife-witch would be blamed for using her evil powers. Because of their perceived power to cause famine and plague and harm farm animals and people, witches (who usually lived in isolation) were both feared and honored in the communities in which they lived. This fear led to many gendered superstitions about witches—that they were ugly and old, kept demons in the form of farm animals, and could fly.

Furthermore, as societies shifted from open fields and land to more clustered, populated communities, the roles of women changed. Increasingly, women were considered mentally, physically, and spiritually inferior to their male counterparts. Thus, with their alleged great power to destroy or create health and prosperity, witches became increasingly threatening to male dominance. The rise of Christianity and the devaluation of feminine deities also contributed to the perception of women as spiritually inferior to men.

Punishment for Witches in European Societies

In most ancient societies, "evil" acts of witches or "maleficia" were punished. Before the Middle Ages, "evil" magic was punished usually by fines, banishment, and sometimes imprisonment. Roman law tolerated beneficial or positive magic that helped with healing. However, once Christianity spread throughout Europe, pre-Christian gods and goddesses were denounced or replaced with saints. The church was split on how to view witchcraft—some contended that witchcraft was mere superstition, but others saw it as heresy inspired by the devil. During the Early Middle Ages, church laws, more concerned with attacking gods and goddesses, were essentially lenient toward witches and did not conduct witch trials. Furthermore, despite the required conversion to Christianity in most European countries, remnants of gods and goddess worship as well as magic spells and rituals remained.

However, by the 11th century, the church ended its leniency toward witchcraft and pagan beliefs and condemned heretics to death by burning. Citing biblical passages such as Exodus 22:18, which states, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," the church supported the death sentence for those who were perceived as witches. Connections between witches and the devil were further strengthened by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) who claimed that witches were lustful women who had sexual intercourse with demons, could shape shift, and flew through the night skies. Most frighteningly, according to Aquinas, witches were only able to perform their magic through the help of demons.

During the mid-15th century, witch hunts were a cultural phenomenon in Europe and contained all of the classic traits of mass hysteria. Often, only mere

accusation was enough to get one branded as a witch, and the "witch" was tried in court and sentenced to be burned alive at the stake. The paranoid and untrue notion that witches were everywhere was furthered by two Dominican inquisitors Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger who published *Malleus Maleficarum,* often translated as "Hammer of Witches" in 1486. The book was first published in Germany, the European country that had persecuted the most witches throughout the centuries. Soon after the book was published, it was translated into nearly every European language and was second in sales only to the Bible between 1487 and 1669.

Malleus Maleficarum was the most exhaustive and famous witch hunter's guidebook. Previously, the pope had implicated both men and women for practicing witchcraft, but *Malleus Maleficarum* emphasized that magical powers were most preeminent in women. Though witchcraft had always been a gendered phenomenon, Kramer and Sprenger's book claimed that women were primarily "addicted to evil superstition." The book also contended that women were intellectually like children, more likely to waver in their faith, had insatiable carnal lust, were feebler in mind and body than men, more credulous, and more likely to lie. *Malleus Maleficarum* also advised how to get a witch to confess and how to perceive a witch's behavior during her trial. For instance, according to Kramer and Sprenger, if an accused witch did not cry during her trial, she should automatically be perceived as guilty.

There is no accurate number of how many people, mostly women, were burned at the stake by both Protestants and Catholics in Europe and America between 1450 and 1700, the height of the Spanish Inquisition. There were many gendered reasons for the large numbers of accused women during the years of the witch hunts. Few of the accused witches were ever verifiably discovered to be witches, but all had similar character traits—they were threatening to the traditional gender order. In Europe, most of the accused and convicted were older women, midwives, outcasts from society, adulterers, Jews, and Gypsies.

Between 1620 and 1725, Puritans in New England waged an investigation against thousands of women, most of whom violated traditional gender roles. Signs of female independence were enough to incite townspeople to accuse women of witchcraft. Most of the women accused of witchcraft in New England had no brothers or sons and were likely to inherit or already had inherited property. These women were frequently accused of witchcraft by male family members who felt slighted by their inheritance. Many women who were accused of witchcraft were also believed to have committed fornication, adultery, or infanticide. Thus, the fear of women's sexual and economic independence also inspired the witch trials in New England society.

By the 1700s, the power of Puritanism had declined and notions of womanhood shifted from the possibility of witches' insatiable lust and consorting with the devil to women as essentially passive and chaste.

Modern Witches

Witches are represented in modern Western societies similarly to how they have been presented for hundreds of years—often as women to fear, but sometimes as women to revere for their magical powers. However, one modern societal representation is different than previous centuries' mass hysteria concerning witch hunts: witches are sometimes represented in pop culture as comical or silly. In the 20th century, several songs emerged about witches ranging from the stereotype of the scheming witch—such as Santana's "Black Magic Woman," Donovan's "Season of the Witch," and "Ding Dong the Witch Is Dead" from the *Wizard of Oz*—to awe of the witches' influence—such as the Eagle's "Witchy Woman" and the Steve Miller Band's "Abracadabra"—to the silly, such as the song "Witchdoctor." Films such as the *Wizard of Oz* (1939) featured a common gendered dichotomy of witches and women—the "good" witch and the "wicked" witch, who must be punished. The television show *Bewitched* helped contest the stereotype that all witches were ugly, old, and used their powers for evil. Instead, *Bewitched* featured a witch who was beautiful and consistently using her powers for good, often with comical results.

The horror film *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) coincided with a societal resurgence of interest in neo-pagan witchcraft or Wicca and reinforced a plethora of stereotypes about witches. The rise of Wicca, a religion that claims to have roots in pre-Christian paganism in Europe, was popularized in 1954 by Gerald Gardner after the British Witchcraft Act was finally repealed in 1951. Wiccans, both male and female, refer to themselves as witches, believe in gods and goddesses, practice rituals, and live by a distinct code of ethics. Some Wiccan women form women-only covens, or are Dianic witches who only worship the goddess. In the 1970s, Z. Budapest, a Hungarian witch, formed the Susan B. Anthony Coven Number I, the first feminist witches coven. Hundreds of feminist-inspired, women-only

covens followed, and groups of Wiccan women proudly proclaimed themselves as witches.

In the past 20 years, the fastest growing religion in the United States by percentage is Wicca. The number of Wicca adherents jumped from 8,000 in 1990 to 134,000 in 2001. In Canada, Wicca members increased 281 percent from 1990 to 1991. Three times as many women (71 percent) as men still convert to Wicca.

Conclusion

The role of witches in society has changed drastically throughout the centuries. Though gendered from their inception, in ancient societies, witches were often revered for the integral part they played as intermediaries between gods and goddesses and humans. Fear of women's power led to superstition and suspicion of witches that culminated in Europe and America between 1450 and 1700. Thousands of women were burned at the stake for their nonconformity and threat to the economic and sexual order of Western societies. Currently, the resurgence in interest in witchcraft has culminated in the large numbers of, mostly female, converts to the religion known as Wicca.

Lindsey Churchill

See also *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*; Christianity, Status of Women in; Deities, Gender Images and; Divine Feminine Spirituality; Gender Stereotypes; Midwifery; Religion, Gender Roles in; Wicca

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WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY (1759–1797)

The forward-thinking, progressive, and talented Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) is widely considered to be one of the pioneers of feminist thought. During her career as a writer and philosopher, Wollstonecraft consistently challenged and interrogated accepted theories of education, gender, and social institutions, and offered new insight into the condition of women in 18th-century society. Her unconventional personal life frequently overshadowed her contemporary reputation, but today she is acknowledged as a major influence on the development of feminist philosophy, and an early advocate of equality between the genders.

Wollstonecraft was born April 27, 1759, in London, and suffered a difficult childhood because of her father's financial recklessness and violent temper. She spent a brief time employed as a governess in Ireland, before moving independently back to London to embark on a career as a writer. Her early commissions included translations from French and German, and articles for the *Analytical Review*. She moved to Paris in 1792, at the height of the French Revolution, where she began a relationship with the American businessman Gilbert Imlay. The couple had a daughter, Fanny, in 1794, but they never married, placing Wollstonecraft under an immense social stigma. By 1795, the relationship had disintegrated, leaving Wollstonecraft depressed to the point of making two attempts at suicide. After a period of travel in Scandinavia, she returned to England, and persisted in her writing career. She renewed an old acquaintance with the radical philosopher William Godwin, which slowly developed into a romantic affair. They married in March 1797, and their daughter Mary—the future author of *Frankenstein*—was born on August 30th. Tragically, Wollstonecraft contracted septicemia during the labor, and she died September 10, 1797. She was just 38 years old.

Mary Wollstonecraft's short career was remarkably prolific, and she left behind her novels, translations, volumes of letters, political, social and educational treatises, short stories, and literary criticisms. *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787) and *Original Stories* (1788) promote the importance of rational thought in the early education of women. *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) is an eloquent retort to the antirevolutionary Edmund Burke. Her novels *Mary* (1788) and the unfinished *Maria* (1798) both offer searing critiques of marriage as an institution. However, Wollstonecraft is rightfully best known for *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). This fusion of educational curriculum and political manifesto is driven by the succinct argument that if women have duties

to society, they must then be entitled to rights. She challenged the sentimentalized popular perception of women, and argued that wives should not be decorative playthings, but intellectual companions. There are undoubtedly limits to Wollstonecraft's conception of equality; she does not, for example, advocate women's suffrage. Nevertheless, it is a seminal treatise that helped to define the developmental stages of feminist thinking, as well as providing a worthy monument to Wollstonecraft's determination and social vision.

Siân Harris

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Woman's Peace Party

The Woman's Peace Party (WPP) was the first and longest-lasting American feminist peace organization. The organization began in 1915 and exists today as the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). WPP was originally headquartered in Chicago, but today, the organization's headquarters are in New York City. At its peak in 1916, the organization had more than 40,000 members and more than 200 local branches and affiliated organizations. The organization argues for women's right to make policy decisions (including through suffrage) on the basis of women's moral superiority in matters of peace because of their "natural" role as mothers.

After meeting with several prominent suffragists from other countries in December 1914, the women from WILPF formed the Women's Peace Party. However, Jane Addams's call for a women's peace conference in January 1915 established the organization with delegates from across the United States and from both the radical and traditional sides of the suffrage debate.

In April 1915, members of WPP met with other international women's peace activists and established the International Committee for Women for Permanent Peace, which attempted to end World War I. At the end of the war, the women met again, with delegates from more countries, and the organization became the lasting international women's peace organization WILPF.

Later that year, the Women's Peace Party became the U.S. section of WILPF. Leaders of WPP were often attacked for their peace activism by government officials, and some even lost their jobs.

In the interwar period, WPP suffered serious ruptures as many women formed other pacifist organizations with stronger nonresistance stances and after the right to vote was achieved, some women left to join mixed-sex peace organizations. Although it was the only women's peace organization to survive World War II, WPP continued to struggle with governmental attacks in the McCarthy and Hoover eras, with racism, and with attracting younger members. Today, however, the U.S. section of WILPF continues with more than 78 branches across the United States.

The organization was originally led by board composed of a president/chairman, a national secretary, an executive secretary, a treasurer, and a national organizer. Most of the activities are undertaken by the individual branches, rather than the organization as a whole.

WPP links other issues of equality, such as gender and race and recently homophobia, to peace. Leaders of the organization continue to meet with political leaders, draft educational resources, and attend protest activities to promote peace and justice for all Americans.

Lisa Leitz

See also Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women's Peace Society

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Women, Food and Agriculture Network

The Women, Food and Agriculture Network (WFAN) was formed in 1997, in central Iowa, with the mission

of linking and amplifying women's voices on issues of food systems, sustainable communities, and environmental integrity. The resolve of the founders was grounded in concern that women are not heard even though they bring valuable experience and knowledge to bear on systemic problems in agriculture and rural communities. WFAN encourages women to speak and act on critical issues in often inhospitable institutional terrain and patriarchal culture.

WFAN's goals in 2003 were to (a) promote sustainable agricultural and community structures and support communities of growers, consumers, workers, and others who strive for sustainability; (b) provide or support educational opportunities that articulate a holistic view of agriculture, instill a sense of place, draw forward useful experiences from the past, and engage participants in experiential learning; (c) connect women's issues and feminist principles by developing, supporting, and recognizing women as leaders, respecting the spirituality of the land and people, providing a safe space for self-expression, increasing effective access to and use of existing resources, and celebrating diversity; (d) advocate change by exploring alternatives and challenging the globalization of economies, cultures of domination, and institutionalized discrimination; and (e) insist on social and ecological justice for current and future human and nonhuman communities. These goals reveal the ecofeminist leanings of founding members.

WFAN sponsors face-to-face meetings, conferences, internships, and an Internet discussion group; produces a newsletter; and supports women's activism, policy work, and collaboration on sustainability and social justice issues. Although centered in Iowa, nearly 200 members hail from more than 30 states and other countries. They include women and men, farmers, urban gardeners, environmental educators, community activists, academics, and others who care about food and their environment. At a 5-year anniversary gathering in 2002, friends and members described WFAN as spiritually powerful, focused on positive alternatives, and willing to be political. It is also a place to be a part of a community and fostering cooperation rather than competition. Women connect on a universal issue of food and embrace a feminist perspective. WFAN has a strong presence of younger women and experienced women mentoring younger women. WFAN shows that feminism has taken root on farms and in rural communities.

Nearly 10 years since its founding, WFAN thrives. Changes have been made: a new mission (to link and empower women to build food systems and communities that are healthy, just, and sustainable, and that promote environmental integrity), a new membership structure (based on donation, of time or money), and an infusion of new leadership.

Betty L. Wells

See also Patriarchy

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Women, Food and Agriculture Network: http://www.wfan.org

WOMEN AGAINST VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) is a Vancouver, Canada–based feminist rape crisis center founded in 1982. All services are confidential and provided free of charge. As a vibrant and successful feminist antiviolence organization in its third decade, WAVAW has worked to maintain its feminist ideals while providing high-quality services to survivors of sexual violence. As with other similarly situated organizations, WAVAW draws directly on insights from the women's liberation movement and the antirape movement. As such, WAVAW theorizes rape and sexual assault of women as a manifestation of oppressive patriarchal relations. In other words, instead of theorizing rape as an individual violation done by bad men, WAVAW conceptualizes sexual violence against women as part of a larger political project that maintains men's dominance over women. WAVAW seek to support individual women while working to foster radical societal change. WAVAW has developed 10 core values that guide the organization's work. These values focus on

WAVAW's commitment to women's self-determination (e.g., each woman's right to make her own choices), to work collaboratively across various axes of difference, and to provide high-quality services. The name, mission statement, and values all demonstrate members' commitment to working with women and their gendered analysis of sexual violence. Members conceptualize gender as a subject of self-identification, thus including transgendered women in their work.

As with most feminist antiviolence organizations in Vancouver, WAVAW started with a collective structure from its inception in 1982. In 2001, WAVAW restructured and adopted a circular hierarchy, a hybrid model that combines hierarchical roles with significant input from all organizational members. With this reorganization, WAVAW sought to balance the needs of a growing, complex organization with its feminist values of shared leadership. As of this writing, WAVAW has 10 staff members, 3 relief (on-call) workers, 26 volunteers, and 8 volunteer board members.

WAVAW offers a range of services to support women survivors of sexual violence and their allies. These services include a 24-hour crisis line, where callers receive emotional support, information, and referrals; support groups for women dealing with the impact of sexual violence in their lives; legal advocacy to help women navigate the legal system (e.g., understand the criminal court process); medical advocacy to help women get appropriate and supportive treatment; hospital accompaniment; and outreach to aboriginal women.

In addition to these services focused on individual survivors, WAVAW offers workshops and classes for organizations and community groups. Informed by their feminist analyses of violence against women and the experiences of the survivors they work with, WAVAW's trainings aim to provide practical skills while undermining societal conditions that sanction violence against women. WAVAW also maintains an on-site library to further organizational goals. Finally, WAVAW organizes and participates in public campaigns to raise awareness of violence against women. For example, in 2006, members helped organize a candlelight vigil for two Indo-Canadian women murdered by their husbands.

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See also Coalition on Violence Against Women (Kenya); Domestic Violence; Misogyny; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Patriarchy; Violence Against Women Act

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WOMEN AND ISLAM

Islam literally means peace or submission to the will of Allah (literally, the God); Muslims, the followers of Islam, are those who submit to the will of God. One of the Abrahamic religions that emerged after Judaism and Christianity, Islam was founded in Arabia (present day Saudi Arabia) in the 7th century CE. Muslims' core belief is that there is only one God and that Muhammad is the last Prophet of God, having received and revealed the word of God through the Qur'an, the holy scriptures of Islam. The Qur'an prescribes the religious duties of Muslims, including praying, fasting, charitable giving, pilgrimage to Mecca, and witnessing to the oneness of God. To emulate the example of Muhammad's life, Muslims follow the traditions (*Sunnah*) of the Prophet, which include the collected sayings (*Hadith*) and deeds of the Prophet. In addition to providing spiritual guidance to the followers of Islam, these texts and traditions have historically influenced attitudes and practices toward women within the social contexts of marriage and family. They have also informed the development and practices of political and economic structures that affect women's roles within Islamic communities.

The emergence of Islam throughout the Arabian Peninsula brought drastic and revolutionary changes to the lives of women in that area, in comparison with the pre-Islamic era (*Jahaliyah*). For example, female infanticide, a common practice at the time, was forbidden within Islam. The emerging religion also abolished women's status as merely being the property of men and recognized marriage as a contractual agreement in which women retained full rights to their dowry to invest or use for their own profit. Moreover, Islam granted women the right to choose their husband, to apply conditions to the marriage, and to keep their maiden name.

According to the Qur'an, in the spiritual domain women have the same value and responsibilities as men, as shown in Qur'anic verses such as 3.195, 4.1, 4.32, 9.71–72, 33.35–36, 40.40, 48.5, and 57.12. In these verses, heavenly rewards are equally promised to women and men who fast, pray, give alms, and go on pilgrimage (*Hajj*). Men and women are equally reminded to remain loyal to each other. They are also encouraged to work toward justice, and to be humble and chaste.

In contrast with the spiritual imperatives outlined in the Qur'an, within social and cultural domains, women are frequently not treated as equal to men in Muslim communities. Understanding where these inequalities originated requires examining two important influences in Islam that have affected the lives of Muslim men and women. One profound influence is the Shari'a, a compilation of fixed Islamic law. Local cultural influences also played a significant role. As Islam developed and spread after the 7th century CE, Muslims encountered and sometimes adopted the social norms prevalent in conquered communities. This entry describes the influence of Shari'a and different cultures on women in Islamic societies.

Influence of Shari'a or Fixed Islamic Law

Islamic law (Shari'a) treats and addresses all Muslims as one community (*Ummah*) and is a major influence on women's experience in Muslim communities. The Shari'a was compiled and finalized in the 300 years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, and is based on three sources: (1) the teachings of the Qur'an, (2) the observed sayings (*Hadith*) of the Prophet, and (3) the recorded deeds (*Sunnah*) of the Prophet. By the 10th century CE, male jurists had codified this collection of scriptures and texts into law, forming the basis for future Islamic legal opinions. In this process, they made one of the most influential decisions in the history of the Islamic legal tradition: a restriction on innovation (*Bid'ah*) in the matter of religion. This decision, based on the Qur'anic verse 5:3 as well as one of the Prophet Muhammad's statements (*Hadith*), implies that the traditions of the Prophet and the Qur'anic verses complete the meaning of Islam as a religion. Bringing innovation into the religion through adding or changing Shari'a might imply that Islam as revealed to the Prophet is incomplete and is, therefore, forbidden according to this traditional interpretation.

The Shari'a covers all activities in a Muslims' life between birth and death, such as fasting, praying, and self-purification. The Shari'a not only provides guidance for individual men and women but also for judges who make verdicts about legal matters that directly affect the lives of women in the community, including coverage of the head and body (*hijab*), marriage, divorce, child custody, property rights, and inheritance. Under this system of jurisprudence, women in most Muslim communities adhere to the same fixed set of laws that were shaped in the Arabian Peninsula nearly 1,300 years ago, framed by the same sociocultural traditions of that time and place. Thus, the historical circumstances under which the Shari'a was compiled created the structure of normative relationships between genders, setting gender roles that are still practiced in many Muslim communities. Since the death of the Prophet, Muslims have consulted the Shari'a and emulated the behaviors of the Prophet to find answers to their individual, social, and legal questions. This modeling of Shari'a presented a conflict given the varying needs of the groups practicing it, which led to the development of five distinct schools of *fiqh,* or Islamic jurisprudence. Although these schools are to some degree different from each other in interpreting the Shari'a, they all draw from the same textual sources that legislate the behavior of Muslims. The most prevalent method to interpret the Shari'a has been to apply a scripturalist or literal text-centered exegesis. A more recent method, embraced by Islamic feminist scholars, attempts to read the texts within their historical and social context.

Scripturalist or Text-Centered Interpretation

When interpreting the Qur'an, jurists and scholars divide verses into two categories: in the first category are Meccan or universal shorter verses that are poetic in structure and carry universal messages. These verses were mostly revealed to the prophet Muhammad in Mecca before his migration (*Hijra*) to Medina in 622. In the second category are Medinian or legalistic verses. These are typically longer in structure and carry a prescriptive tone to advise community members how to treat each other and to provide guidance on daily spiritual and practical matters. Historically, these legalistic verses have been favored over the more universal verses in legal matters brought before Islamic courts of law. Text-centered interpretations of

legalistic Qur'anic verses tend to choose and implement Qur'anic prescriptions literally word for word without referring to the historical or social context when the texts were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, and without taking into account the many changes that occurred in the decades and centuries after they were written down.

Islamic feminists address the text-centered interpretation as a primary factor in the institutionalized inequalities that affect Muslim women in the areas of marriage, divorce, child custody, polygyny (the practice of having more than one wife at the same time), inheritance, and testimony in a court of law. Thus, text-centered interpreters continue practicing a tradition of legal opinions that permit polygyny, favor men over women in the matter of inheritance, and give men the right and power of simple verbal divorce from their wives as they wish.

To jurists who practice a text-centered interpretation, the Shari'a is perfect and immutable and speaks across time and space; therefore, they approach it without regard to the context of the present time. To these jurists, those who demand rights for women and changes in family law are bringing innovation into Islam, which is forbidden under their more narrow interpretation of the texts. In the present sociopolitical context, these traditionalist interpreters of the Shari'a condemn a feminist reading of Islamic Law as anti-Islamic and as a product of the West.

Influence of Different Cultures

A second important influence that has shaped Islam is the impact that social and cultural differences had as Islam spread from Arabia into the Persian Empire, and beyond. Muslim rulers in newly converted areas needed to be somewhat flexible to local norms for the continued expansion of the Islam world. Therefore, there was a need to improvise and accept cultural differences in these regions, in accordance with the Shari'a, as long as these norms were not inherently in conflict with Islamic Law.

As early as the 7th century CE, Islamic civilization was influenced by different regional customs, cultural habits, and tribal beliefs. These influences have historically been reflected in a substantial diversity that marks the Muslim world. One of the earliest of these influences was the Arabian tribal tradition which was based on a code of bravery emphasizing the importance of tribal and family honor, and respecting agreements with other allied tribes. Around 750 CE, Muslim leaders found it expedient to adopt the cultural norms prevalent in conquered lands to help spread the religion. One example was in accepting and adopting the head cover (*hijab*) for women, which was practiced in pre-Islamic Iranian and Byzantine cultures as a sign of family wealth and nobility.

Cultural appropriations are also notable during the Abbasid Period (749–1258) and the Ottoman Period (1299–1922). During the Abbasid Period, Muslim political leaders institutionalized Shari'a and succeeded in their efforts to spread Islam from Arabia in 750, to parts of Asia, Africa, and into parts of southern Europe by 1258.

When the Abbasid's power declined as a result of the conversion of the Turks to Islam in the early 13th century, the Ottoman rulers ascended. The Ottoman period is significant as a transition point from the premodern Islamic world to modern times. During this transition, nation-building in the Islamic world resulted in the disintegration of a united Islamic domain into many independent Muslim countries. This critical period of history brought about its own cultural and social impacts. One of the most significant changes of this time has been the appropriation and adaptation of European legal code and family law in newly formed Muslim countries that resulted from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the expansion of Western colonialism. Muslim countries that were formed in this post-Ottoman period have adapted Western legal models to create an Islamic constitutional framework that would legitimize their newly founded Muslim governments. This imported legal influence, along with the unique history of each culture, has brought variation to the treatment of women in different Muslim countries. It can be said that the status of women in Muslim countries depends on the degree to which their country has political power and economic strength, as well as on their social class.

A noteworthy cultural impact on Muslim women's lives is the opportunity for Muslim feminists to voice their demands for changes in areas that affect women, such as family law. Such efforts are visible in the works of middle- and upper-class Islamic feminists in Muslim countries such as Egypt, Syria, Morocco, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia, and Lebanon. This movement for gender justice is not a recent import from the West. In fact, the oldest published writings by Muslim women struggling for their rights date back to the early 19th century,

particularly in Egypt and Syria. Islamic feminists have historically had different goals than their Western feminist counterparts; however, they share a common desire to bring about social justice for women.

Feminist Interpretation

The late 20th and early 21st centuries have brought a significant wave of Muslim immigrants, as well as new Muslim converts, to Western countries. This new population of Muslims in the West has included a number of important Muslim scholars who offer a diversity of perspectives and ideas. As a result, Islamic scholarship has been greatly affected by the influx of European and North American Islamic scholars. Among these, Islamic feminists have contributed to the production of feminist scholarship with the intention to transform Islam's relationship to women from within the religion.

Islamic feminists support and promote rereading, and reinterpreting the tradition based on understanding the context of time in which a text was revealed or a legal opinion was settled, as well as the context of time in which it is being read. Islamic feminists investigate the cultural, social, and historical conditions in which different interpretations of the Qur'an took place. They argue that the Qur'an's more universal and egalitarian verses have been neglected to reinforce the institutionalized power structures that benefit men. To support their cause to promote gender justice, Islamic feminists argue that the primary reason for Islam's emergence was to create a just society. To support this argument, they offer examples of Qur'anic verses that promote an acute sense of justice in individual and social life, such as 3.18, 3.21, 4.3, 4.58, 4.135, 5.8, 6.152, 7.29, 7.33, 7.181, 10.47, 16.90, 21.47, 23.41, 25.68, 38.22, 38.26, 39.69, 42.15, 49.9, and 60.8.

Islamic feminists also argue that justice and religion are not static; thus, they should grow, improvise, and accept changes to serve the changing needs of a just society. In this framework, therefore, the fixed Islamic legal tradition is considered to conflict with the fundamental idea of Islam as a justice-seeking religion. According to Islamic feminists, codifying and fixing the Shari'a in stone only profits the agenda of the elite male of the 10th century CE.

In this reading, the Islamic feminist approach to the Islamic texts demands changes in the Shari'a and demands equal rights for women. In comparison with the scripturalist jurists, Islamic feminists argue that women's rights are not a product of modernization, secularism, or westernization. Rather women's rights are human rights, providing an example of the fundamental ethic of care and justice found in all faith traditions, including Islam.

Nayer Taheri and Suzan Parker

See also Family Law; Polygamy; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism; Religion, Gender Roles in

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WOMEN AND MILITARIZATION

See FEMINISM AND MILITARIZATION

WOMEN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Nations are built upon a shared language among its inhabitants, demarcated land boundaries, and citizenship. Historically, men primarily built and ran nations, and women were typically considered national symbols. This phenomenon ensured that women played minimal roles in the political and national arenas but were primarily relegated to domestic duties in the private sphere. A closer examination of the relationship between women and their nations reveals that all

women were not categorized as national representatives because many were excluded based on race, class, and immigrant status. The numerous factors involved in the construction of women as bearers of nationhood include gender, racial, and class differences, and most recently, the impact of globalization. Historical analysis is used to explore these themes and focus predominantly on the construction of national identity for people of the United States, though this argument generally applies to women and nations across the world. This entry discusses women and national identity.

Gender Differences

In 1886, France gave the Statue of Liberty to the United States as a gift that represents freedom and democracy. It is not surprising that it is a depiction of a majestic looking woman, because women are often framed as symbolic embodiments of nationhood. Men, on the other hand, are usually not portrayed as symbols because they actively build nations via their participation in the political and economic spheres. Many people can easily name numerous male founders of the United States but are stumped when attempting to do the same for women because they are virtually missing from U.S. historical accounts. This begs an important question: Where were the women and why were they relegated largely to being symbols of the nation?

Two sets of thinking guided early notions of gender and citizenship: Men participated in the public sphere while women remained largely in the private sphere. The predominant theme for women in the 19th and 20th centuries revolved around domestic duties, enacted through the roles of wives and mothers. Though men were seen as full citizens and women only partial citizens, groups of women were granted special status in the nation largely because they were viewed as mothers of the republic. Society lauded women as important contributors to nationhood because they were responsible for carrying out the fundamental task of raising future citizens. These duties included educating and instilling key values, such as patriotism, in children. Though women probably received more autonomy on the home front, they possessed little political or economic power in the public arena. As symbols, women were passive bystanders during the building of the United States and marginalized from politics, especially before suffrage. In sum, women were seen as the nation but had little to do with the political formation and maintenance of the nation.

Racial and Class Divisions

Many of the early ideas about women representing American identity typically applied to white middle- and upper-class women. To that end, race and national identity became conflated, thus marginalizing non-white, lower-class, and immigrant women. As a result, white middle-class women were synonymous with American nationality. As symbolic bearers of the United States, these women helped establish the norms, morality, and predominant ideology across the nation. White women enjoyed privileges, such as increased social capital through their relationships with white men. These networks opened doors to politics that were denied to other groups of women. During the late 19th century, white women began to strategically use their relationships with men in power while they lobbied for increased political rights. This subsequently became known as the first wave of the feminist movement. To appeal to the men in power, white, middle-class women rallied around the patriotism and morality they earned as domestic housekeepers and representatives of the nation.

For early feminists, whiteness garnered human capital that offset some of the penalties incurred by being female. Because of their status, white women were responsible for enforcing morality across divergent groups of women and became particularly watchful of women dissimilar to them. In this way, most white women in the suffrage movement capitalized on their whiteness rather than attempting to unify along gender lines. The feminist movement made some gains, and eventually secured the right to vote for women, but at the cost of marginalizing diverse groups of women in the country. The exclusivity of this political platform helped to emphasize differences among women rather than similarities and helped create divisions of inequality within the feminist movement that still remain today.

Like race, class became a prominent factor that established boundaries and inequalities across women. In many cases, race and class intersected, causing many nonwhites to experience economic, political, and social hardships. In fact, many minority, immigrant, and poor women could not afford the luxury of remaining in the private sphere and worked outside the home because of economic necessity. Consequently, women who maintained privileged positions in society castigated working mothers as improper and immoral.

In sum, minority, immigrant, and poor women were excluded from attaining the higher-status position of symbol representative of the nation because they were not linked directly to white male counterparts and were condemned for working outside the home. In these ways, their differences from white, middle-class society categorized them as others. As a result, these women were more politically, economically, and socially marginalized within American society than were their white counterparts and were denied the opportunity to gain some status by becoming representatives of the nation. Though the inequalities and hierarchies present among women vary by country, hierarchies often exist, and those who experience the highest status will typically be viewed as symbolic representatives of their nation.

War and Nationalism

War and military tactics throughout time provide evidence that women are symbols of nations. Historically, meddling with women (who qualified as symbolic bearers of the nation) was seen as grounds for war. One prominent example is the classic tale of Helen of Troy documented in *The Odyssey.* The capture of Helen of Troy, the wife of the king of Sparta, ignited the infamous Trojan War that lasted 10 years. The kidnapping was interpreted as a direct assault against the nation and the king because Helen represented Sparta. Likewise, soldiers who rape and inflict sexual violence against women of the enemy country are symbolically defiling the country and flaunting their power. To that end, they are conquering the people of the country, via the women, in a gesture of dominance. As a result, soldiers and nations often feel they must ameliorate this dishonor by retaliating through increased violence, thus perpetuating the cycle of war.

During the past few decades, more women admitted to suffering sexual abuse at the hands of soldiers during World War II. Unknown numbers of Filipina and Korean women were sexually exploited and assaulted by U.S. and Japanese soldiers in "comfort stations" (also known as rape camps). This is one of the many examples where women were specifically targeted for violence during war. Whether the direct intent of the United States and Japan was to symbolically disgrace these nations is contestable, but the message still comes across loud and clear—one of the best ways to defile a country is to conquer its women.

In addition to war tactics, colonization practices were also based on the premise that women were symbolic representatives of nationhood. Many colonized women suffered abuse at the hands of colonialists, whose practices were routinely racist and sexist. Native women, upon the seizure of their land, became property of the colonizers because they symbolized their conquered nation. Colonized women were typically nonwhite and frequently served as sex objects for foreign men. Alternatively, the wives of the colonizers also represented their nation and were responsible for upholding respectability and "ladylike" behavior to maintain a positive image of their home country. In these different ways, women became symbols of their nation.

Effects of Globalization and Multiculturalism

Although there are many historical examples of women being linked to nationhood, it is not as easy to draw these parallels in contemporary times. The idea of particular groups of women representing specific nations becomes less salient in an increasingly multicultural, global world. More specifically, in the United States, the tremendous social change in the later half of the 20th century began to challenge the previously held conceptions of white women as national representatives. Although whites certainly maintain a privileged position in the 21st century, groups of nonwhites have a stronger political presence. For instance, the political sphere is slowly changing as key figures representing traditionally marginalized groups play prominent political roles (e.g., Condoleezza Rice, Barack Obama, Keith Ellison, Nancy Pelosi, and Hillary Clinton). This phenomenon begins to blur the distinction between gender and racial differences, though class differences are still strongly entrenched. As women become more politically active, they are viewed less often as symbolic representatives of the nation.

Another factor that affects previous associations between women and national identity is globalization, which tends to weaken the power and boundaries of nation-states. Furthermore, the far-reaching influence and sophistication of the media helps spread global culture throughout the world. As a result, nations are less insulated and local cultures are harder to retain, thereby making it more difficult to assign individual nationality to specific groups of

women. All these factors are exacerbated by the increasingly high rates of physical mobility and travel between countries across the world.

Globalization also shapes the trajectories of women's paid labor, increasing the likelihood that women will need to relocate or migrate to secure work. For instance, many women immigrate to other countries to work as nannies or in factories. Because of their mobility, immigrant and refugee women challenge overarching paradigms of women embodying national identity.

Women still represent nations, but this phenomenon is no longer an easily assigned task in a global and multicultural world. Though women will probably continue to be viewed as symbols of nations for some time to come, new markers may take precedence over nationality where women are associated with trends or regions rather than with specific nations. One salient example may be found among Muslim women who become symbolic representatives of Islam (rather than particular nations).

Conclusion

As globalization blurs the boundaries of nations and cultures throughout the world, it may become more difficult for women to remain symbolic representatives of particular nations. In the future, women may be cast as symbolic representatives of regions (e.g., East versus West) or religions (Muslims versus Christians). One way to alter the symbolic status of women is to eradicate gender, racial, and class inequalities. Alternatively, if men continue to dominate the political and economic spheres across the world, women will remain symbols rather than active participants in national and global decisions.

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See also Gender Identities and Socialization; Gender Stereotypes; Military, Women in Relation to; Nineteenth Amendment

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WOMEN ARTISTS

There are many reasons why women should be treated as a separate group in reference to art practice, as in other social and professional spheres. Historical evidence indicates that women have been explicitly and implicitly discriminated against in the art world and its institutions, while in training, as professionals, and in the canons set up by the discipline of art history. The choices made by women artists in media, genre, aesthetic approach, and subject matter have been held responsible for their lower status. This difference may be explained as yet another ramification of the unequal social constructions of masculinity and femininity, although some have argued that there might be a particular *feminine* aesthetic. The second wave of the women's movements ushered in a variety of interventions in the art world that included aesthetic experimentation, in-depth analyses of the role of visual representations in culture and society, and the critique of institutions and the discipline of art history. The great impact and historical specificity of these interventions has led some scholars to claim that feminism, rather than femininity, should be the decisive factor in the classification of artists and their practice. Although women's movements are no longer as prominent, there are numerous indications that gender inequalities persist in the art world, requiring further action. On average, artwork by women still sells at lower prices than does the output of male artists. Most national and other major art collections include only a small percentage of work by women, though recent government incentives in some European countries are aimed at redressing this imbalance. This entry will discuss the reasons why so few women artists have been well known in their time, it will identify

some of the leading women artists, the impact made by women artists, and the emergence of a form of feminism within the art world.

Why Are There No Great Women Artists?

In her momentous essay, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," Linda Nochlin attacks the conservative defense of the canon of high art, according to which the absence of female artists from it simply reflects that there have been no (or few) great women artists. Nochlin argues that the notion of greatness, like genius, is implicitly gendered and thus discriminatory against women, and that it is attached to certain styles and genres that have become emblematic of high art, rather than involving pure aesthetic judgment. Nochlin proceeds to explain how female art students have historically been led toward minor genres of painting, such as portraiture, landscape, and still life, precluding the possibility that they might ever be recognized as "great" because of the lower status of the genres in which they worked. Female students of painting were banned from attending life drawing sessions as late as the 1890s (during which period the model would more likely be male), on the excuse that their virtue as women had to be protected. Yet because the nude was already branded as the highest category of art, and with life drawing being a prerequisite for the genre of history painting too, depriving female students of this crucial part of training placed serious limitations on their future careers. In *Old Mistresses,* the punning title of which underscores how deeply gendered the notion of the "old master" is, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock pay closer attention to the innate masculinity of the artistic genius. They argue that the sexual division of labor that places men on the side of creation and women on that of procreation pervades art training and the art world, and that the elevation of originality and innovation into the litmus test for excellence is gender-biased. There are various reasons why women artists have not been perceived as stylistic innovators, including that they may have been deliberately reacting to their contemporary avant-gardes by reviving neglected or forgotten elements of past traditions, or that they may not fit into any of the artistic movements of their time, whether progressive or conservative. Most importantly, women artists are disadvantaged by their gender, by having a limited and pejorative notion of femininity projected onto their work; Parker and Pollock explain how the persistent association between femininity and weakness, grace, conformity and decoration informs the writing of both art critics and art historians, and keeps women artists in their (marginal) place, regardless of their actual skills or accomplishments.

Leading Women Artists

Despite institutional and ideological oppression, several women artists did have successful careers, even attaining fame and fortune. The Italian city of Bologna offered greater opportunities than most, with a university that had educated women since the Middle Ages and St. Catherine, a female saint who painted and supported women's learning. Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665), a prolific and celebrated painter herself, instituted a school for the training of women artists and taught the first generation who did not come from families of painters, as was customary at the time. Sirani's output was so steady, of such high quality, and in such high demand that it led to gossip that some of it was made by her father, an accomplished but less popular painter; to quash such rumors, Sirani got in the habit of painting outside, thus publicly transcending another gender boundary. These radical acts aside, art historians have argued that in her work, which followed the taste of contemporary patrons for dramatic mythological and Biblical scenes, Sirani did not challenge dominant representations of femininity. Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652), another celebrated Italian painter did. She painted the same subjects as Sirani but in a decidedly different naturalist style, which replaced images of passive feminine beauty with representations of strength and heroism. In the 1970s and 1980s, Gentileschi was elevated to the status of a feminist icon, not so much for her art as for instigating a trial for rape, withdrawal of a promise of marriage, and theft of property against her teacher Agostino Tassi. Even with the collection and translation of the trial transcripts and their scholarly interpretation by Mary Garrard, it is difficult to determine what exactly happened. More importantly, continued fascination with the trial detracts from engaging with Gentileschi's exceptional paintings, such as *Susanna and the Elders* (1610), where she transforms the representational conventions of the scene to place Susanna centrally in the pictorial plane and cast her as the victim of a patriarchal conspiracy to which the spectator is forced to bear witness. Despite the attention she received during

her lifetime and by later art historians, many of Gentileschi's paintings were wrongly attributed to Caravaggio until the 1960s, including her self-portrait *La Pittura* (*Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting,* 1630s), in which she manages to reconcile an allegorization of her art with a representation of herself absorbed in her work.

The Impact of Women Artists

Women artists have made an impact through the ages and against the odds, inscribing their difference in their art or making a difference by their actions. They have contributed to all major art movements, although retrospective exhibitions and scholarly accounts tend to either ignore them or downplay their achievements and involvement. Even when women artists of the past are acknowledged, it is often in reference to their male artist partners, fathers, or siblings. Historically, women artists have been aware of the disadvantages that their gender imposed on them and invented different strategies to deal with their inescapable predicament. For example, Norma Broude has argued that Mary Cassatt, an American impressionist painter of domestic scenes, self-consciously adopted conventional mother-and-child subjects to facilitate her professional success, although, according to Griselda Pollock, Cassatt also managed to expose the constructedness of femininity by interrogating different stages in the life of bourgeois women from infancy to old age. Bridget Elliott has shown how early-20th-century French painter Marie Laurencin's adoption of a commercial, decorative, and stereotypically feminine aesthetic acted as a tactical interruption of the avant-garde space of Cubism. Yet, although in feminist approaches to the artistic canon, avant-garde innovation is critiqued as a gendered and thus gender-biased notion, the radical nature of certain women artists should also be acknowledged, even if it means evoking problematic criteria in the evaluation of their work. Dada historian Maud Lavin strikes an interesting balance by focusing on Hannah Höch, the best-known female Dada artist, yet reading her work through an analysis of oscillating gender positions in her photomontages and private life. Höch's innovations are shown to exceed the aesthetic, probing the limits and limitations of images of the "New Woman" in Weimar society, exposing their contradictions and recasting them against the grain of heteronormativity.

The Emergence of Feminism Within the Art World

Second-wave feminism represents a significant break in the history of women artists, insofar as it addressed such strategic difficulties and dilemmas head on: Should women artists strive for the success that has been denied them, or should they rather concentrate on overhauling the patriarchal foundations on which art institutions, the art world and, not least, the discipline of art history is founded? The emergence of feminist art history in the 1970s has been instrumental in articulating such questions, and fashioning the theoretical tools by which to interrogate not only the ways in which gender was configured in different cultural spheres, including the visual arts, from the perspective of both artists and spectators, but also debate the strategies of women artists, curators, art critics, and historians in effecting social and cultural change. Feminist art historians originally devoted themselves to deconstructing sexist representations in art and rediscovering previously neglected great women artists, but also turned their attention to their contemporary feminist artists, in collaboration with whom they fashioned new languages in writing and the visual in which feminism's combined critique of sexual politics and aesthetics could be accommodated. In its most mature phase, feminist art history turned to the analysis of the production of sexual difference in art theory and practice. Pollock has suggested that "feminist art history" should be viewed as an oxymoron because feminism is by definition placed on the outside—and as the outsider—of art history, its logic, and institutions. Whether an oxymoron or not, its importance cannot be overestimated within and, crucially, beyond the academy, in transforming how people look at art, think of women artists, and understand visual culture as a site of social and political contestation

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See also Art, Gender Images in; Education: Gender Differences

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Women in Science

Until recently, and with few exceptions, such as Marie Curie, readings in the history of science have suggested that women's role in science was limited to how they supported their husbands, fathers, and brothers by cooking and cleaning for them. However, during the past 30 years, feminist scholars have been uncovering the hidden history of women's contributions to science at the same time that increasing numbers of women are becoming scientists. Today, students at all levels are much more likely to read about the historical and contemporary accomplishments of women in science. Whether one examines women's historical contributions to, and work in, science or the work of contemporary female scientists, two central themes are indicated by all their stories—difficulties in earning credentials and the often hostile and obstacle-laden environment in which they work. The stories of these women scientists, both past and present, illustrate that, despite the advances made during the past century, women in science today often face environments and situations similar to those faced by their historical ancestors. This entry describes the practice, credentialing, environment, and future of women in science.

The Practice of Science

Generally, the practice of science occurs in three different venues—basic/research, teacher-scholar, and applied—with each having similar credentialing requirements and differing by level of credentialing needed but with strikingly similar challenges for women. The basic/research scientist focuses on studying essential disciplinary problems and issues with the goal of developing a theoretical understanding of a selected phenomenon (whether physical, social, or metaphysical). The physical scientists who work solely on research are also known as "bench" scientists, whereas others in the social sciences are known as research scientists. These practitioners focus solely on research, and their work takes place in a laboratory or field setting where their main interactions are with other research colleagues. For example, crystallographer Rosalind Franklin studied the structure of DNA while working in the laboratory and interacting with the now-famous James Watson, and biologist Barbara McClintock studied corn, grown in the fields she planted next to her house, to better understand its genetic properties.

The second venue in which scientists practice is as the teacher-scholar working in a school setting (usually college- or university-based) where their goals are twofold: to engage in research and publishing that contributes to how one understands the social, physical, and metaphysical worlds (similar to the research scientist) as well as to disseminate their knowledge to students in the classroom setting. The research conducted by the teacher-scholar ranges from the field and laboratory setting to other ways of collecting information through the use of surveys or using information collected by others. The teacher-scholar's social environment includes research colleagues, students, and school administrators. Biophysicist and acclaimed feminist scholar Evelyn Fox Keller, professor emeritus of the history and philosophy of science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, worked with other scholars from across the world in studying the intersection of gender and science while mentoring students and teaching classes.

Finally, the applied scientist's goal is to use established knowledge, developed by the basic scientist and the teacher-scholar, to create solutions to real-world problems. Engineers and physicians represent the traditionally accepted examples of applied scientists, using knowledge from a variety of the physical sciences such as chemistry, physics, and biology. From the bridges over which we drive to the computers on which we access the Internet to the pacemakers that stabilize heart rhythms, the

physical sciences allow us to literally control all aspects of our environment as well as to improve our physiological condition. For example, in the late 1800s Mary Walton invented one of the first devices to minimize pollution from the smoke being emitted by factories, and Dr. S. Josephine Baker was the first director of the New York City Bureau of Child Hygiene, the first such bureau in the country as well as the first woman to earn a doctorate in public health from the New York University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College. Additionally, the social sciences engage in applied science—in the areas of sociology, economics, psychology, political science, and anthropology—by using their accumulated disciplinary knowledge to address social, legal, and psychological problems. Most social policy is based on social science research and knowledge.

Credentialing

All three venues for the practice of science require a baccalaureate degree at a minimum for the research assistant in the chemistry laboratory, the social science student working as a staff person in her or his state senator's office, or the engineering student using computer-aided design (CAD) programs to develop basic schematics for road designs in a surveying firm. To work as a teacher-scholar or bench scientist serving as the principal investigator for new research projects requires a doctoral degree. Before the 1970s and second-wave feminism, women's interest in science—whether social science or physical science—was more often discouraged than encouraged. Although women were earning baccalaureate degrees as early as 1898 in the United States, they generally studied in those few areas deemed suitable to their gender, such as home economics and teaching. The few women who did earn degrees in the physical sciences or social sciences at any level report that they experienced relatively little support from their professors as well as active hostility from their fellow male students and their family members. Second-wave feminism, as well as the increased need for qualified researchers and applied scientists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, led to greater numbers of women earning baccalaureate degrees in the sciences. However, the gender ratio was still unbalanced with most students in the sciences being male.

Although women were no longer being excluded from studying in the sciences on the baccalaureate level, they continued to face obstacles to pursuing graduate level degrees in the sciences. These obstacles included not being able to gain admission to science programs because of their gender, or, once they were admitted, being unable to find faculty members (the majority of whom are male) willing to work with female students. In her autobiographical writing, Keller recounts that she had to search out a faculty member in biology to mentor her dissertation work because the physicist faculty members in her own program were unwilling to "waste" their time with a female student. Although these obstacles are not as obdurate today, young girls are still discouraged from focusing on science and math in primary and secondary schools, thereby limiting the number of women interested in studying science at the collegiate and graduate levels. Today, women are strongly represented at the baccalaureate level in the social sciences such as sociology and psychology (more than 60 percent of all majors in those areas), but fewer are studying in the physical sciences such as biology, chemistry, and physics (less than 40 percent of all noneducation majors in those areas). At the graduate level, the numbers of women earning credentials in the social sciences remains high (more than 45 percent of all students), but the numbers diminish further for the physical sciences (less than 25 percent of all students). The lack of support, encouragement, and opportunities for women to obtain the educational credentials to work as scientists has contributed to a dearth of female role models and mentors in the workplace.

Work Environment

Once women are able to obtain the credentialing necessary to work as scientists, they then encounter work environments that can be unsupportive, hostile, and obstacle-laden. Research in the early 1990s indicates that white women are less likely to earn advancement and recognition than are white men and are more likely to have lower levels of participation and productivity as compared with white men in similar positions. Although the popular belief was that women were less interested in achieving high status in science and more interested in starting families, the research highlighted two main contributing factors to the difference between male and female scientists—inequitable standards used to evaluate male and female scientists and the lack of resources and mentoring for female scientists compared with male scientists.

The lack of equitable evaluation standards affects female scientists in all types of scientific activity.

Scientists tend to have a set standard for evaluation leading to promotion—a certain number of publications and research funding is expected to be obtained within a particular set time, usually 6 to 7 years after starting the job. There are two specific aspects of such evaluation that negatively affect women—time needed to create and care for a family and access to resources. Women are more likely to take time away from research and writing because of pregnancy and caring for family members. Therefore, it may take female scientists longer to fulfill the scholarly expectations in their discipline and this is typically viewed as a limitation to their record, resulting in women being less likely to obtain tenure and promotion. Additionally, research has shown that women are less likely to obtain the resources necessary to fully engage with their research in money for equipment, space for research, and research assistants. This results in women having to work harder to achieve the same standards as men.

As the credentialing discussion illustrated, women are less likely to be encouraged to become scientists, and those that do pursue this dream find that there are few female mentors and role models for them. The research in the early 1990s also explored differences between men and women in the types of support and mentoring they received as graduate students and as new faculty members. The research found that female scientists were less likely to be published with their graduate school advisors than were their male colleagues, resulting in their records starting out weaker. Additionally, female scientists are less likely to receive equal resource allocation upon entering a job than their male counterparts in laboratory space, supplies, and funding for graduate students and research studies. Finally, women scientists were less likely to be successfully mentored by their senior male colleagues. These three factors all contribute to women scientists being placed at a disadvantage in productivity, which then affects their success in obtaining tenure and promotion.

The Future

Women in science face significant obstacles in obtaining the necessary credentials to gain employment, and once employed, they face similar types of obstacles in their work. Despite such obstacles, women scientists have made substantial contributions in all areas of science. Some examples include Franklin's crystallographic work that portrayed the double helix structure of DNA (stolen from her files by Crick and Watson); Albert Einstein's first wife, Mileva Maric, whose own work in mathematics is now being revealed to have made substantial contributions to her husband's work; and the original women astronauts in the 1950s who fought dozens of obstacles to becoming astronauts before finally being turned away from the space program. Women's creativity and persistence in the face of such obstacles has accomplished at least two things—first, their work directly affected the world from an applied perspective. Second, women scientists of the past including women astronauts, women engineers, and women physicians, all provide role models for young girls who might today consider studying science. When such role models did not exist, young girls were less likely to study science. As more women become scientists, it is likely that more young girls will consider science as a viable career option.

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See also Occupational Segregation

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WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is the oldest large-scale, continuing nondenominational evangelical

women's organization in the United States and worldwide. Initially established to combat the sale and consumption of alcohol and warn the public about the dangers of drinking, the WCTU emerged directly from the Women's Crusade of 1873 to 1874, when women gathered in large numbers across the Midwest to pray, sing hymns, and publicly condemn saloons. Realizing that their quest for prohibition required more extensive coordination of like-minded women, the national organization was founded to mobilize their numbers and political strength. By 1900, the WCTU had attracted nearly 150,000 predominantly white, Protestant middle-class members, all with the same objective: to ban the sale of alcoholic beverages across America. Originally located in Chicago, the WCTU's national headquarters moved to Evanston, Illinois, in 1900.

The WCTU's principal mandate—to educate the public against the consumption of alcohol and to work for legislation to prohibit its sale—has remained static since the organization's inception. However, under the leadership of founding member and second president Frances Willard, that mission became synonymous with wider efforts to promote the rights of women and children and to improve the moral health of both the country and the world. In collaboration with a number of women's associations (some political, some benevolent, some feminist, and most Christian), the WCTU officially supported women's suffrage, and the organization was invaluable to that resolution's passing in 1920. Believing that women are "natural" caregivers and nurturers, it made sense for the WCTU to tackle other areas of social reform in tandem with abolishing alcohol, including attacking poverty and pushing for the establishment of kindergartens, state reform schools for juvenile offenders, prison reform, and the participation of women in political life. Many activities held an explicitly moral agenda, including the abolition of prostitution, raising the sexual age of consent, promoting the observance of the Sabbath, and social purity.

Today, the WCTU remains predominantly focused on promoting total abstinence from alcohol, but its membership also deems tobacco, illegal drugs, gambling, pornography, abortion, and same-sex marriage (all considered harmful to family, community, and society) as pressing issues of concern. The organization also produces a quarterly journal, *The Union Signal,* to publish and disseminate information in

support of their mandate via its own publishing house, Signal Press. Joining the WCTU remains the same today as it was in 1877: members must sign a pledge of abstinence from alcohol and pay regular dues.

Candis Steenbergen

See also Abortion; Homophobia; Pornography, Contemporary-Mainstream; Same-Sex Marriage; Suffrage Movement; Women's Social Movements, History of

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WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE

The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) was a national women's organization committed to improving the status of women in the United States through legal action and lobbying for institutional and legislative change. Established and incorporated in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1968 by Dr. Elizabeth Boyer and local members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), WEAL's objectives were geared predominantly toward combating sexism in education and promoting the economic advancement of women. WEAL's membership grew from those who disapproved of NOW's inclusion of "the right of women to control their reproductive lives" in their 8-point Bill of Rights (which also included the Equal Rights Amendment [ERA]). Abortion was a volatile issue for WEAL, which concentrated

instead on the elimination of sex discrimination through education and litigation. By 1972, WEAL's membership had increased exponentially, and the WEAL Fund (a nonprofit, nonmembership organization) was established to assist WEAL financially. The two organizations merged in 1981.

The early mandate of WEAL was to support the economic advancement of women, to encourage the enforcement of existing antidiscriminatory laws, to amass resources, and to examine instances—and find resolutions to—educational, economic, and employment troubles faced by women. WEAL also promoted diverse career opportunities for girls, pressed for legal reviews of job discrimination, and worked to mobilize women for their cause. To achieve these goals, WEAL compiled complaints of discrimination on the basis of sex, filed formal grievances against colleges and universities, and advised women on how to do it on their own. WEAL lobbied for the ERA, Title IX, and the Equal Pay Act, and trained volunteers to respond effectively to public policy themselves. WEAL published a national newsletter, *The WEAL Washington Report* (which outlined federal legislation pertinent to women), and *WEAL Informed* (an update on pending legislation).

The amalgamation of WEAL and the WEAL Fund in 1981 marked significant changes in the organization and its mission. The remade WEAL was headquartered and incorporated in Washington, D.C., and its new mandate (as a charitable and educational organization) was to support economic and educational equity for American girls and women; to push for the reinforcement of existing antidiscrimination laws; to research, publish, and disseminate information; and to provide legal assistance, service, advice, or support to those discriminated against on the basis of sex, race, religion, ability, or marital status. WEAL's agenda continued to focus on workplace equity, the ERA, and Title IX, but its scope expanded to include women in the military, Social Security, violence, and health (including reproductive health).

By the end of the 1980s, securing funding for its many initiatives became more difficult, and WEAL dissolved its corporation in 1989.

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See also Abortion; Abzug, Bella; Affirmative Action; Education: Chilly Climate in the Classroom; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); National Organization for Women (NOW); Title IX

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WOMEN'S HEALTH MOVEMENTS

Gender and health are intimately connected and have inspired grassroots organizing for centuries. This entry describes periods of women's health activism in the United States between the 1830s and 1990s, locates women's health in a global perspective, and examines the emergence of an international women's health movement in the 1970s.

Waves of Women's Health Activism in the United States

The women's health movement of the 1960s and 1970s is the most well-known period of women's health activism in the United States. There have, however, been other waves of mobilization throughout American history.

Popular Health Movement, 1830s and 1840s

At this time, slavery had not yet been abolished, and voting was limited to "free men." Under these conditions, participation in social movements became a form of political participation for women, and many women joined the popular health movement. The movement challenged professional medicine and celebrated self-reliance. Movement tactics included public lectures, the formation of self-help societies, and the widespread publication of medical manuals. The women's health component of the movement focused primarily on limiting family size. Women met regularly to discuss fertility control and they advocated abstinence within marriage. This approach may have helped women gain power in their sexual relationships as well as some degree of control over the frequency of childbearing.

Late 19th Century

Following the Civil War, women's role in society consisted mainly of care work—caring for husbands and children in the home and doing charity work and engaging in social reform in the community. Many social reform efforts circled around "sexual morality" and an anti-contraception/anti-abortion movement arose. Movement participants supported abstinence as a form of birth control and thought that contraception encouraged promiscuity and prostitution. This activism led to legislation such as the Comstock Act of 1873 that restricted access to abortifacients and contraceptives.

A second component of this wave of organizing is often referred to as the women's medical movement. This movement aimed to increase the number of female physicians and challenge prevailing medical theories about women. At the time, it was believed that women's health was controlled almost entirely by their reproductive organs. This idea led to excessive sexual surgery (e.g., removing healthy ovaries to treat everything from menstrual pain to epilepsy) as well as limitations on women's physical and intellectual exertion because it was thought that too much activity compromised women's reproductive capacity.

Progressive Era, 1910s

The Progressive Era was marked by efforts to solve social problems by turning to professional experts, using scientific methods, and exercising the power of government. Along with the women's suffrage movement, two movements developed around women's health. The first was concerned with infant and maternal mortality. Women involved with this movement fought for government-supported maternal and child health programs and succeeded with the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921. This legislation provided federal funding for prenatal care and child health services. The second movement was organized around the legalization of contraception and was a direct challenge to the Comstock Act of 1873. Women such as Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood, established birth control clinics and argued that birth control was not just about women's health. It was also about women's right to self-determination.

Women's Health Movement, 1960s and 1970s

The women's health movement of the 1960s and 1970s grew out of the civil rights, women's liberation, and antiwar movements.

Health Education

In 1969, at a women's conference in Boston, twelve white, middle-class women convened for a workshop on women and their bodies. They were so inspired by the workshop that they began a collaborative project. Each woman chose a topic to research (e.g., childbirth, birth control, or nutrition), they met regularly to discuss what they were learning, and they eventually wrote papers summarizing their findings. In 1970, they assembled their papers into a booklet entitled, "Women and Their Bodies." When the book became a published book, the collection was renamed *Our Bodies, Ourselves* and was a huge success. Since its original publication, updated versions have been published in the United States and 29 translations/adaptations have been published around the world.

Self-Help Gynecology

Carol Downer was observing the insertion of an intrauterine device (IUD) when she saw a cervix for the first time. After this life-changing experience, Downer figured out how to look at her own cervix, using a speculum, a flashlight, and a mirror. Shortly thereafter, she began demonstrating cervical self-examination to groups of women around the country. In 1971, she and Lorraine Rothman started the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center. Feminist health centers around the country were teaching women how to examine their own bodies. They hoped to change routine gynecological care, giving women more control over their bodies and their health.

Abortion and Jane

Jane was the name of an underground abortion service that operated in Chicago between 1969 and 1973. Women looking for an abortion provider could call "Jane," leave a message, and receive a return phone call from a member of the organization. Initially, members of Jane simply referred women to competent and reliable abortion providers. Over time, however, they learned

how to perform abortions themselves. Their goal was to provide safe, empowering, women-centered, and women-controlled care. The abortion service ended in 1973 following the decision in *Roe v. Wade.*

Drug Safety and Political Advocacy

In the late 1960s, Barbara Seaman and Belita Cowan were simultaneously collecting information on the dangerous side effects of birth control pills and diethylstilbestrol (DES). After years of independent research, they met and decided to form the National Women's Health Network, a Washington, D.C.–based lobbying group. They pressured doctors, pharmaceutical companies, and the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) to provide information about the safety and efficacy of drugs regularly prescribed to women. Their action led to the 1970 Senate hearings on the safety of oral contraceptives and was crucial in the effort to get drug manufacturers to include package inserts detailing the risks and side effects of medications.

Diversity and Research: Dominant Issues in the 1980s and 1990s

The movement of the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by the interests of white, middle-class women. In response, the 1980s saw increasing attention paid to the diversity of women's experiences, especially by race and ethnicity. The first national conference on black women's health was held in 1983. Byllye Avery spearheaded the conference and was integral in the development of the National Black Women's Health Project (NBWHP). Inspired by the NBWHP, Luz Alvarez Martinez cofounded the National Latina Health Organization in 1986. In 1988, Charon Asetoyer and a group of women in South Dakota established the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center. Under the leadership of Mary Chung, the National Asian Women's Health Organization was founded in 1993. The underlying premise for all of these organizations was that women of color faced unique health challenges because of their specific social, political, and economic histories.

In the 1990s, women's inclusion in biomedical research became a top priority. Women's health advocates argued that women were severely underrepresented both as research subjects (e.g., a study of whether aspirin reduces the risk of heart attack included more than 22,000 men and no women) and as biomedical researchers and that this lack of representation had negative effects on women's health. This led to policy reform at many funding agencies, requiring that women be included in research protocols.

Women's Health Movements: Global Perspective

Women's health emerged as a high-profile international issue in the 1970s. The United Nations declared 1975 the International Women's Year and 1976 to 1985 the Decade for Women. This brought attention and much needed resources to women's health issues. It also forced some grassroots organizations to put aside local issues and conform to an international agenda. This is problematic because women's health needs and the issues that drive their collective action are quite context-specific (e.g., population control policies in India in the 1970s or domestic violence and trafficking in postwar Bosnia).

Women's health activism, globally, takes place in the context of dramatic inequality; inequality between men and women, inequality between countries of the Global North and the Global South, and inequality between race/ethnic groups and classes within the same country. In the 1980s and 1990s, this inequality was compounded by a shift away from thinking of health as a humanitarian issue toward seeing health as tied to economic growth and security. Related to this shift, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization recommended privatization and deregulation of health care systems around the world. Public health workers and women's health groups agree that these policies have compromised rather than improved health.

Conclusions

Women's health movements have never been monolithic. They are diverse, and they reflect local needs and historical context. They focus on issues as wide-ranging as clean water and sanitation, sexually transmitted infections, female genital cutting, and fetal sex selection. At the same time, these movements share a sociological approach. In recognizing that health is not simply a biological phenomenon, they point to the social, economic, and political determinants of health as important sites for change. Unfortunately, given the continuing trend toward privatized and for-profit health care along with an overemphasis on the biomedical model of health and

illness, there is significant pessimism regarding the likelihood of change in the near future. Undeterred, women's health movements around the world remain active and engaged, working for better health care for all.

Rachael B. Kulick

See also Abortion; Gynecology; Sexuality and Reproduction; United Nations Decade for Women; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is the oldest international women's peace organization in existence. The organization has national sections on all six of the inhabited continents with 37 member countries. WILPF is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, and has a United Nations office in New York, City. Although the organization historically shied away from the use of the word *feminism,* since it began WILPF has addressed gender equality,

worked from a "women's perspective," sought to empower women to make political decisions, and existed as a women-only organization.

Since 1915, WILPF has sought to bring women of different political, philosophical, and religious views together to publicize the causes of war and work for a permanent peace. Today, WILPF focuses on peace, disarmament, economic justice, human rights, the environment, and racial justice while paying special attention to the role of women and later gender in these issues.

In April 1915, suffragettes and peace activists from Europe and the United States established the International Committee for Women for Permanent Peace, which attempted to end World War I. At the end of the war, the women met again with more delegates and the organization formed officially as WILPF. Although the organization initially focused on ending the world wars, from the beginning WILPF sought total disarmament. During World War II, the organization was unable to meet as an international body, but wartime circulars allowed the organization to act internationally immediately following the war. Two WILPF members, Jane Addams (WILPF's first president) and Emily Greene Bache, received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Most of WILPF's activities are undertaken by individual chapters and country sections. The international board is made up of one president and four vice presidents. Although the WILPF membership has fought over racism and colonialism as well as communism and socialism, today WILPF focuses on the role of race, ethnicity, and economics in achieving peace. Since 1948, WILPF has had official consultative status with a variety of United Nations agencies and organizations, including the UN Children's Fund and the UN Economic and Social Council. WILPF monitors and lobbies the UN in addition to having a role in some policy formation, particularly in agencies that deal with women, peace, and security. The organization keeps in touch through international congresses that occur every 3 years and an international journal/newsletter.

WILPF has always struggled to attract youth, but it has stayed alive by consistently attracting women older than 50. In the United States, many members of WILPF have taken to calling themselves the "Raging Grannies" and use humorous tactics in peace protests. In 2005, the organization formed a network called "Young WILPF" to attract and support younger members.

Lisa Leitz

See also NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Woman's Peace Party; Women's Peace Society; Women's Social Movements, History of

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WOMEN'S MUSEUMS

The desire to collect artifacts and share those collections with others may be as old as humanity itself. What members of a society value enough to collect, how they interpret and display it, and who they grant or deny access to their collections both reflects and constructs collective identity and memory. The story of the evolution of museums as producers of knowledge, repositories of cultural artifacts, and conveyors of myth, therefore, is also the story of what a society values. As an accurate reflection of women's traditional exclusion from the public sphere, most museums have ignored, underrepresented, and misrepresented the stories of women. However, a critical turn that began in the 1970s has resulted in unprecedented attention to women's art, history, and their place in the social world that is demonstrated in museums throughout the United States, as described in this entry.

Museum Evolution

According to the American Association of Museums, there now are more than 17,500 museums that attract 865 million visitors a year in the United States alone. The worldwide statistics are inestimable. However, long before museums were the publicly accessible institutions they are today, they existed as private collections of art, scientific specimens, and assorted natural and human-made oddities. Often these "cabinets of curiosities" were shared with strategically selected guests as a means of flaunting personal wealth and power. During the Enlightenment, members of elite

societies commissioned scientific expeditions around the world, housing their spoils in facilities accessible only to members and their guests. Later, in the United States, these societies occasionally opened their collections to immigrant populations in large cities as tools of mass "Americanization." This chapter in museum evolution was quickly followed by enterprises such as the P. T. Barnum's American Museum in New York City (1841) that supplemented education with sideshow entertainment through exhibits featuring a mix of genuine and fake wonders.

As museums evolved, so have their functions. Today, museums reflect their rich legacy by fulfilling all the functions that characterized earlier eras, including the display of personal and collective privilege; production of knowledge; collection, preservation and interpretation of artifacts; professional and mass education; construction of civic identity; and entertainment. In addition, increasingly museums are recognized as vital tools for development programs aimed at attracting tourist dollars as a means of reviving local economies.

Museums and the Social Order

Museums have never been mere apolitical cabinets of curiosities; rather, they are ideological texts that communicate contestable messages about the structure, values, and practices of society. This is most clearly illustrated by controversies that have pitted special interest groups against museum officials. For example, outcry from veterans groups in the 1990s regarding the National Air and Space Museum's proposed treatment of the U.S. atomic bombing of Japan in World War II resulted in the cancellation of the exhibit. The Women's Museum in Dallas, Texas, has been criticized by feminists who charge that corporate interests are too prominently displayed.

From their earliest days until the mid-20th century, museums primarily represented the viewpoint of the culture's elite—white, male, and moneyed. The collection, preservation, interpretation, and display of artistic, natural science, and historical artifacts, therefore, represented and reinforced patriarchy. One powerful result of the social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s has been the movement toward the democratization of museums. This trend manifests itself in a number of ways. Many museums have added multiple voices to their formerly univocal exhibitions. Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, for example, now tells the

story of the village's slave population as well as that of its aristocratic citizens. A more radical strategy is the rise of new museums that specifically focus on the history and cultural production of groups traditionally ignored or underrepresented. For example, the 16th addition to the Smithsonian family of museums, the National Museum of the American Indian, which opened in 2004, was planned and designed in collaboration with native populations. Other museums focusing on African American experiences, various immigrant groups, Muslim culture, and women are all part of this recent "critical turn" in museum evolution.

Grassroots and Government Focus

Two goals of the 1970s U.S. women's movement were the elimination of gender exclusivity from all institutions and the inclusion of women's issues and voices in the mainstream culture. In response to pressure by women's rights advocates from higher education and grassroots activist organizations as well as by increasing numbers of women in positions of authority within government agencies, the U.S. government instituted an unprecedented focus on women's culture from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. This resulted in a number of important firsts including congressional funding earmarked for women's history initiatives; the authorization of two major federal initiatives (Women's History Education Initiative and Women's History Landmark Project), the National Women in Historic Preservation conference, a doubling of the number of women's history sites receiving National Historic Landmark designation, and the creation of state agencies to address women's history.

A significant consequence of this new focus on women's culture was the authorization of the first national park dedicated to women's history in Seneca Falls, New York. This project was followed by a wave of public and private museum initiatives that focus on women. The following sections provide brief introductions to five leaders of the women's museum movement based on attendance figures, budgets, collections, or amount of media exposure.

Women's Museums

In the United States, several museums are focused on the history and contributions of women. This section outlines a few of the most important women's museums.

Women's Rights National Historic Park (Seneca Falls, New York)

One of the earliest hallmarks of the new focus on women's culture was the 1980 designation of the Wesleyan Chapel block in Seneca Falls as a National Historic Park site. In July 1848, the U.S. women's rights movement was born there when more than 300 men and women heard Elizabeth Cady Stanton read the Declaration of Sentiments, proclaiming that "all men *and women* are created equal." This momentous meeting was followed by similar conferences throughout the country, the establishment of formal women's rights organizations, and strategic actions aimed at securing gender equality.

Between 1848 and 1980, the site deteriorated and its important role in American history was forgotten by all but a few local women's activists who were determined to preserve it. Their determination paid off when the new park opened in 1982, and again when restoration of the chapel was completed in 1988. Today, the park contains 8.47 acres and six buildings including a visitor's center museum of the history of the U.S. women's rights movement. It has become a secular shrine to women's struggle for political, social, and economic equality through its exhibits that focus on the expansion of the democratic rights to women.

National Museum for Women in the Arts (Washington, D.C.)

In the 1960s, Wilhelmina Cole Holiday began to collect art produced by women after realizing how few women were represented in museums. After 20 years devoted to collecting women's art, she established the National Museum for Women in the Arts to provide a venue for women artists in all creative disciplines and to raise public awareness of the vital role women have played in the arts throughout history. Today, the museum, the third largest in the world in terms of members, is housed in a Washington, D.C., landmark near the White House. It includes a research center, sponsors public performances, publishes books and curriculum materials, and has commissioned original works.

The Women's Museum: Institute for the Future (Dallas, Texas)

The Women's Museum, a Smithsonian affiliate, was conceived by Cathy Bonner, who used her networking expertise to assemble women in a variety of

fields to make the museum a reality in record time. In only 4 years, after making fund-raising history by securing the largest single corporate gift ever made to a women's project, the museum opened in a renovated 1936 Art Deco building on the Texas State Fairgrounds in 2002.

The primary focus of the Women's Museum is the celebration of individual effort. The exhibits are devoted to telling the stories of women from diverse backgrounds who have succeeded in a variety of fields ranging from politics to entertainment and business to religion. The affiliated Institute for the Future serves as an on-site instructional lab that concentrates on teaching math, science, and technology skills to women and girls. The first year it was open, the museum was named one of the top tourist attractions in Texas.

National Cowgirl Museum and Hall of Fame (Ft. Worth, Texas)

Despite the prevalence of fringed vests, pictures of women riding horses across the plains, and a mechanical bull, the National Cowgirl Museum and Hall of Fame insists that all women who have a "can-do" attitude, even those who wear suits and carry briefcases, are cowgirls.

Margaret C. Formby stated the museum in 1975 in the basement of a rural community library to draw attention to the overlooked contributions of women to the settling of the American West. By the mid-1990s, the collection and public interest had outgrown the original space, and a group of influential Ft. Worth women moved the museum to their city's cultural district. Exhibits feature memorabilia and entertaining interactive displays that trace the contributions of cowgirls from the open range to the Hollywood screen. A focal point is the exhibit featuring the honorees in the National Cowgirl Hall of Fame that is updated with each new class of inductees every fall.

National Women's History Museum (Washington, D.C.)

The goal of the National Women's History Museum (NWHM) is to integrate American women's history into American history, and as a first step it literally moved women into the Capitol Building. In 1995, NWHM spearheaded a successful fund-raising effort to move a 26,000-pound marble monument to suffrage leaders Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony from the basement of the U.S. Capitol Building, where Congress had hidden it from view since 1921, to the rotunda, where it is now seen by more than 4 million visitors annually.

Since 1996, the NWHM has mounted exhibits on wide-ranging topics such as women's contributions to World War II, the Olympics, the world of espionage, and industry. Because the museum does not have its own exhibition space, it sponsors exhibits in borrowed spaces and through its online cybermuseum. In July 2005, members of the U.S. Senate unanimously passed a bill, cosponsored by all 14 female senators, that would provide a permanent site for the National Women's History Museum, planned for the Pavilion Annex adjacent to the Old Post Office Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the White House.

Additional Projects

Although the museums discussed previously represent the leaders in the women's museum movement, they do not tell the entire story. Despite what a daunting task it is to establish a museum, new public and private projects are continuously announced. In 1999, plans were announced to create women's museums in Denver and San Diego. In 2000, President Bill Clinton signed legislation creating the Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Homefront National Historic Park in Richmond, California, to focus on women's civilian contributions to World War II. In 2004, California First Lady Maria Shriver successfully persuaded state legislators to change the mission of the official state historic museum to focus on women's history, and the International Museum of Women in San Francisco, California, received more than $500,000 in federal funds to build a permanent facility on historic Pier 26. In 2006, the National Women's Hall of Fame announced plans to move from their storefront accommodations in Seneca Falls, New York, into a renovated historic mill across the street.

Conclusion

This ongoing interest in women's museums reflects a number of points about early-20th-century American society. First, because the women's museum movement has been led by women, it represents women's empowerment in the public sphere. Second, it suggests an expanding interest in women's culture because no museum can exist if it cannot attract visitors and private

and public funding sources. Finally, and perhaps most important, by collecting artifacts associated with women and their accomplishments, by displaying their cultural productions, and by telling their stories, museums communicate that women's culture is of value. This is a message that contributes to the construction of a more gender-inclusive society.

Linda Czuba Brigance

See also Anthony, Susan B.; Declaration of Sentiments; Rosie the Riveter; Seneca Falls Convention; Women Artists

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WOMEN'S PEACE SOCIETY

The Women's Peace Society (WPS) was an interwar organization that based its feminist pacifism on the moral principles of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. WPS focused on total disarmament and the immorality of violence. The organization had between 1,500 and 2,500 members at its peak. Its headquarters were in New York City, New York. Many of the members gained important experiences and skills in the abolitionist and suffrage movements that they used to obtain forums for a radical peace agenda.

WPS was founded in 1919 when Garrison's daughter, Fanny Garrison Villard, and several other members of the Women's Peace Party's New York chapter (now part of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) left that organization to better focus on nonresistance and nonviolence. WPS members insisted that all life at all times is sacred, and members signed a pledge to that effect.

During a 1921 conference, WPS worked with Canadian women to form the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere. The conference was the beginning of the end for WPS. Many of the active members of WPS were unhappy with Villard's tight grip on the organization and what they believed were her weaknesses on the issue of disarmament, split from WPS to focus on the Women's Peace Union. WPS continued to work alongside the new organization, particularly on a constitutional amendment that attempted to outlaw war. In 1923, WPS along with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's Peace Union established the American War Resisters' League, which is still active. WPS spoke out against the first U.S. military air shows in 1931 and participated in congressional hearings on the antiwar amendment during the 1930s. WPS's last newsletter to its members was sent in the 1930s and the organization fell into oblivion because of World War II and the organization's failure to attract younger women.

Villard was elected the permanent chair of WPS, and she funded the organization until the last few years of her life (she died in 1928). The organization also had a vice president, and Annie E. Gray was the executive director of WPS. Gray led the organization after Villard's health failed.

WPS linked women's equality to the need for complete disarmament. The organization primarily focused its energies on educational activities, but WPS was also active in political lobbying, disarmament parades, and antiwar demonstrations. Members of the organization drafted literature, spoke at public events, and held educational contests that promoted pacifism and total nonresistance. Like many of the women's peace organizations of the time, WPS advocated an expanded role of women in international relations and particularly peace work because members believed that women's roles as nurturers made them inherently pacifist.

Lisa Leitz

See also NGOs and Grassroots Organizing; Woman's Peace Party; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women's Social Movements, History of

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WOMEN'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

The Women's Political Council (WPC) of Montgomery, Alabama, was an organization of black professional women formed to improve the situation of black citizens. Founded in 1946 by the head of Alabama State College's English Department, Mary Fair Burks, the WPC was initially composed primarily of teachers and professors who encouraged voter registration, organized adult and youth education programs, and sought to include blacks in civic groups. By the early 1950s, the WPC was recognized as a central component of black political life.

WPC is perhaps best known for initiating the boycott of Montgomery buses. In the early 1950s, the WPC—then headed by Jo Ann Robinson, another English professor at Alabama State—met regularly with city officials to discuss the poor quality of the city's segregated parks and the mistreatment of black bus riders. In 1953, Robinson and other black leaders presented three complaints to this committee: (1) black patrons were forced to stand over empty white-only seats; (2) there were fewer stops in black neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods; (3) black patrons were expected to pay fares at the front of the bus, then exit and reenter at the rear. This meeting failed to generate change, but Robinson persisted and in March 1954 achieved an increase in the number of bus stops in black neighborhoods. In May 1954, Robinson wrote a letter to Mayor W. A. Gayle politely reiterating community frustration and indicating growing support for a boycott of city buses.

In March 1955, when 15-year-old Claudette Colvin was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a city bus, the WPC helped to arrange further meetings among black leaders, the bus company, and city officials. Despite prior arrangements for a boycott, the WPC postponed these plans until they were more certain of community support. Continuing to meet with officials through 1955, it was not until Rosa Parks's arrest in December 1955 for the same offense as Colvin that Robinson and the WPC, by now with three chapters and nearly 300 members, decided to act. Robinson drafted flyers calling for a boycott on Monday, December 5, the day of Parks's trial. With the help of an Alabama State faculty member and two students, Robinson mimeographed and distributed 50,000 of these flyers throughout the city.

With the success and continuation of the boycott, leaders established an organization to manage it: the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). WPC members held all four paid staff positions of the MIA. In addition to facilitating daily management of the boycott, WPC leaders, particularly Robinson, were central in boycott negotiations. With desegregation of city buses and the boycott's end in December 1956, the WPC continued to operate with increased efforts to foster activism among young black women.

Jillian Crocker

See also Black Feminist Thought; NGOs and Grassroots Organizing

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WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), the militant wing of the British women's suffrage movement, was founded in Manchester in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, Christabel, Sylvia, and Adela. Along with the more conservative National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), founded in 1897, the WSPU sought votes for women in a country that had expressly denied women the franchise in 1832. Although English women had been allowed to vote in local elections and act on school boards since the 1880s, full political equality eluded them.

The Pankhursts' organization was impatient with the moderate NUWSS and with the intransigence of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, for whom the suffrage issue was a political football. The WSPU also found itself at odds with Britain's Labour Party, although it maintained a high level of support for working-class women. The WSPU was determined to hold the government responsible for granting the women's franchise and to blame the party in power for any delays. In 1905, the organization became aggressively militant following a Liberal Party meeting in which Christabel Pankhurst and her colleague, a factory worker named Annie Kenney, were arrested for heckling two prospective cabinet ministers. From that point, the movement attracted a lot of attention, most of it unfavorable, as its members staged huge marches and outdoor demonstrations, interrupted political meetings, chained themselves to the railings outside Parliament, and battled with the police. The public dubbed the WSPU suffragists "suffragettes," which was immediately embraced by the WSPU, therefore naming its journal *The Suffragette*.

In 1908, WSPU stalwarts began a campaign of property destruction aimed largely at the existing power structure and designed for maximum publicity. Their activities included pouring acid in mailboxes, breaking windows, defacing artwork in the National Gallery, and tearing up golf courses. One suffragette vandalized the prime minister's car. In 1913, at the Epsom Derby, suffragette Emily Davison threw herself in front of a racehorse owned by King George, paying with her life to make a statement about wealth and power.

More than 1,000 suffragettes, including Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, were imprisoned between 1908 and 1914. When arrested, the suffragettes drew additional public attention by staging hunger strikes, a tactic that prison officials countered by force feeding them. In 1913, the British government passed the "Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act," which allowed prison officials to wait until the women were truly weak and then discharge them, planning to rearrest them as soon as they got their strength back. The act earned public opprobrium, quickly becoming known as the Cat and Mouse Act because it seemed, in its cruelty, to mimic the way a cat toys with a captured mouse.

In 1914, the WSPU ceased all agitation for women's suffrage and threw its support behind the British war effort. Emmeline Pankhurst became an ardent militarist, and her followers in the WSPU were among those who handed white feathers—symbols of cowardice—to young men not wearing military uniform. In 1918, ostensibly in recognition of women's war work, the British government granted suffrage to women over 30. However, historians now believe that even partial suffrage would not have been enacted without the courageous activism of the WSPU. The full franchise was extended in 1928.

The WSPU was an inspiration to young members of the U.S. women's suffrage movement, especially Alice Paul, founder of the militant National Woman's Party. Paul had demonstrated and gone to jail with suffragettes in England between 1907 and 1910. She carried their lessons into picketing the White House in 1917, holding the party in power responsible for delays in granting suffrage, and in her own imprisonment and hunger striking.

Karen Manners Smith

See also National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage Movement; Women's Social Movements, History of

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Women's Social Movements, History of

Women have always been involved in social protest. Questions can be asked about when, how, and why women have chosen to undertake collective action, and what sort of action they have undertaken. Some of women's social movement activity is in the interests of explicitly feminist goals; other times, women are participants in activities focused on community issues not defined as feminist, to which they nevertheless bring their gendered experience. Women are also often involved in social movements related to issues

with little obvious relationship to the conditions of women's lives, movements with goals such as environmental protection, labor rights, peace, or economic justice. Each of these constitutes a unique form of gendered social movement participation. This entry focuses on the history of women's participation in social movements associated primarily with feminism and its consequences in the United States. By way of conclusion, there is a brief discussion of women's global social movements.

Analyzing Social Movements

Social movements are sustained attempts by people with common goals and bonds of solidarity to bring about change through collective action. Participants, united by common values or interests, take part in various kinds of actions and share a common identity or basis for solidarity. Social movements are generally seen as phenomena of the modern era and industrialized society. The processes of globalization, industrialization, urbanization, and technological advance allow people to collectively push for change. Large-scale changes that transform gender arrangements facilitate the emergence of social movements, and conversely, social movements foster transformations in gender relations.

Key elements of social movements include the individuals, the leadership, the organization, and the movement itself. Leading social movement scholars ask questions related to each of these elements, such as, Who can participate and who gets to lead? In what kinds of activities do women participate, and what conditions make possible women's leadership? How do race and class affect women's participation? What kinds of organizations develop, and which ones are considered part of a women's movement and which were not? What are the goals of a movement, how much agreement is there about the goals, and how are women activists incorporated into a movement publicly, politically, and organizationally? Women's social movements, and women in social movements, have changed history. Feminist scholars have defined these movements broadly, sometimes making analytical distinctions between feminist movements, nonfeminist community-based women's movements, and women's participation in mixed-gender movements. Self-consciously feminist movements, whose political agenda and social actions directly challenge women's subordination and aims at changes in gender relations,

are a relative rarity. Although women's community activism and women's participation in mixed-gender movements has been far more extensive, feminist movements are considered exceptional in that they are led by women and for women.

Feminist Social Movements in the United States

The study of the U.S. feminist movements has, until recently, been discussed in terms of two waves, the first of which arose in the 1840s, the second in the 1960s. The existence of a third wave is currently a matter of considerable debate. Each wave is characterized by a period of massive mobilization when women united around common issues, followed by a period of active organizational growth and diversification, on the one hand, and fragmentation in which women focused on organizing around key interests related to race, sexuality, or class, on the other. Each wave reflects the character of the gendered economic, political, and cultural social order of its time.

The First Wave: Gender Inclusion in the Public Sphere

The first feminist movement in the United States originated in the abolitionist movement. In its early years its alliance with the antislavery movement, and its association with other protest movements of the pre–Civil War decades, gave it a radical cast. This first wave of explicitly feminist concern focused on equal access to public institutions. The visible face of the movement began in 1848 at the Seneca Falls Convention, whose goal was to "to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman." In the Declaration of Sentiments, women objected to their exclusion from the major institutions of the society, their lack of representation, and their dependence on men. Central concerns included that women could not vote, that married women had no property rights, that husbands had legal power over and responsibility for their wives to the extent that they could imprison or beat them with impunity, that divorce and child custody laws favored men, giving no rights to women, that most occupations were closed to women and when women did work they were paid only a fraction of what men earned, and that women were barred from college or university education. These were primarily the concerns of white middle- and upper-class women.

The written history of the controversial issue of women's suffrage is studied through examination of two key organizations, the more radical National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. When after the Civil War suffrage was extended to former male slaves but not to women, a portion of the women's movement abandoned its alliance with blacks. In the last decades of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century, the women's movement narrowed its focus to winning woman's suffrage, and leading feminists often turned to racist and anti-immigrant arguments on behalf of that goal. Although other women's social activism centered on labor struggles and access to birth control, two areas in which alliances with the working-class women was possible, the mainstream woman suffrage organizations dominated the women's movement by the early 20th century.

Throughout the decades between 1848 and 1920, when the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gave women the right to vote, women also gained access to education and the professions, more favorable status in child custody matters, and some relaxation of the total control by husbands of women's physical and fiscal lives. But it would take the active demands of the second wave of feminism to gain the legislative reform to produce gender equity policy in employment, property, and marriage law as well as raise questions about the separation of public and private spheres, the unequal household division of labor, and the standing of heterosexuality.

The Second Wave: Gender Knowledge and Transformation

A broad movement with an explicitly feminist agenda did not emerge again until the 1960s. Scholars attribute the emergence of the second wave to the clash between women's experience of gendered expectations of domesticity and their increased education and labor force participation as well as to the rise of a new cycle of social movements. The second wave drew on a generation of Americans who came of age in the 1960s and were radicalized by the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam. Women's involvement in the civil rights movement and the New Left acted as a catalyst for women's liberation movements. Women learned how to be activists, gaining self-confidence and oratory skills; they helped create a culture of protest and

activism, and in so doing, challenged social norms about what it means to be a woman. At the same time, women experienced sexism and marginalization within these movements.

After 1965, the civil rights movement became more alienating, more massive, competitive, and sexually exploitative. At the same time, it opened up the process of radicalization to thousands and sharpened the ideology women eventually would use to describe their own oppression. In an important way, these years produced a mass constituency for the women's liberation movement. By 1967 hundreds of thousands of young women had been to a march, a meeting, a sit-in, and a rally.

From the late 1960s into the 1980s, mass mobilization of women occurred in the United States. The second wave is frequently described as having two branches, one described as liberal feminist or women's rights, the other described as radical feminist or women's liberation, the latter defined by two strong and differing theoretical positions analyzing the subordination of women. Throughout the history of the women's movement, the two branches were, despite their theoretical differences, much connected, especially at the local level, through interpersonal networks, overlapping memberships, and cooperative work on common goals. During the 1960s and 1970s, the radical currents within women's liberation propelled the whole movement forward, offering compelling arguments, from the socialist feminist approach, of women's oppression as intertwined with other forms of oppression, especially race and class, and from the radical feminist approach to women's oppression, which argued that the oppression of women was primary, that all other forms of oppression flowed from gender inequality. Feminist radicals of both stripes insisted that the inequality of the sexes in the public sphere was inseparable from that in private life, and demanded equality for women in both spheres.

Culturally influential and politically powerful, the women's rights branch of the movement included major national organizations and orchestrated campaigns for reproductive rights, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and other reforms. On the radical side, a key approach to organizing was through consciousness-raising groups in which women shared personal experiences on issues from housework to sexuality, linking their experience to other women's, and examining the mechanism of patriarchal control. The radical feminist groups engaged in far-reaching critiques of femininity, gender, and heterosexuality,

which were shocking to many people. At the same time, the women's rights groups won legislative victories with the passage of Title IX directed at ending sex discrimination in education and the *Roe v. Wade* decision by the Supreme Court legalizing abortion.

Feminist Organizations Grow and Change

The feminist movement impact is best understood as the result of the social change activities undertaken by feminist organizations in the past 40 years. Scholars have been interested in how feminist organizations emerged, developed, and sustained themselves. The proliferation of groups since the 1970s in the United States reflects an extraordinary diversity of interests and needs among women; the wide range of groups also has increased the number of women involved and means that any problem gets addressed in a variety of ways. No other social movement of the 1960s or later has produced the variety of organizations that the feminist movement has. Organizational survival is especially amazing given the purported waning of the mass movement and in the face of serious, organized antifeminist, opposition.

Feminist organizations are sites through which the work of the women's movement is done. There is no consensus on the essential qualities of a feminist organization, though Patricia Yancey Martin argued that one or more among five dimensions may be core to claiming an organization as feminist: having a feminist ideology or feminist guiding principles or feminist goals, or producing feminist outcomes, or being a group founded during the second wave women's movement as explicitly a part of the women's movement.

Women's movement groups fall into four categories, based on the kind of strategy of change they employ for challenging gender or sexual oppression and inequality. One type is the self-help group, whose strategy is based on women supporting one another to make change in their lives. Most observers would claim that the most effective self-help has come in law and medicine. To deal with the problem of rape, for example, women developed new theory that ended women-blaming and a variety of forms of action and means of participation, such as the rape hotline, public speak-outs at Take Back the Night demonstrations, and, most important, the rape crisis centers, most of which, founded in the early 1970s in the United States, continue to exist. The self-help approach resulted in the

development of new organizations, initially created with nonhierarchical structures, that were conscientious in demanding change in existing institutions to more appropriately respond to women's needs; in the case of rape, this meant the police and hospitals.

A second type of organization was aimed at directly fostering change through pressure on existing social organizations, with the goal of educating decision makers and the general public about women's problems. The aim was to organize people to become a political force, and openness to grassroots activities of members was crucial to the women leadership of these organizations. The development of key general national organizations, such as the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and special-interest groups like the National Women's Studies Association, reflects this approach to social change.

Development of a community through the creation of alternative cultural and economic institutions serving women was a third strategy. Here, women develop sociability, gain skills, and build resources within a community to support and maintain women. Examples of this form of organization, which creates and serves a feminist community, were evident throughout the United States in the 1970s in the blossoming of women's garages, recording companies, bookstores, restaurants, and clubs. A fourth form of organizing is what is often called "unobtrusive mobilization," the creation of feminist sites within already existing large institutions. These programs, caucuses, and support groups are intended to sustain a feminist consciousness within major societal institutions like the military, the churches, and universities, which push for change from within.

The proliferation and survival of groups is an important measure of the U.S. women's movements impact; it reflects growth in feminist thought put into action and showcases the diversity of issues, ideologies, and participants touched by the movement. Nonetheless, histories of the second wave are rife with detailed and dramatic discussions of organizational conflicts within feminist organizations over procedures (how to do the work, who will be a leader), objectives (to seek inclusion in mainstream institutions or remain an alternative group), structure (to act as a collective or hire a paid staff), and relationships of groups to the state (to fashion programs around government funding requirements or forego the money to support the work). Aware of the problems in

creating lasting and effective organizations, especially given demand from increasing numbers of women, feminists since the early 1970s have experimented with hybrid forms of organization that combine elements of formalization with mechanisms for democratic participation and accountability.

In addition to conflict about organizational form and structure, more serious discord occurred around women's racial and ethnic differences. One result was the development of many new articulations of feminism that spoke to the multiple needs of women who experienced gender oppression but also race and class oppression.

Black Feminism Movement

The Black feminist movement, which grew out of, and in response to, the Black liberation movement and the women's movement, is an example. Its aims were to do away with the invisibility black women experienced in both movements and to meet the needs of black women. Initially, the key purpose of the movement was to develop theory that could adequately address the way race, gender, and class were interconnected in black women's lives and to take action to stop discrimination. Most histories of the Black feminist movement mark its organizational presence with the founding in 1973 of the National Black Feminist Organization in New York and the publication of the Combahee River Collective Statement.

The problems black women faced and articulated through the development of the Black feminist movement were similar in kind, though not necessarily in content, to those of Chicanas in the Chicana feminist movement; that is, these women experience gender and sexual oppression from men of similar race, and racism from white women in both the liberal and more radical branches of the Women's Movement. They also faced gender-specific definitions of freedom that seemed to exclude them. In the Black liberation movement, freedom was equated with manhood and the valorization of black masculinity. Many black women in the movement felt quite strongly that many black men in the movement were interested in controlling black women's sexuality; some male leaders believed that black women and black men were, by nature, unequal. Sexual discrimination was not just a matter of beliefs; women in the Black liberation movement write about discrimination they experienced on a daily basis, waiting to eat until after the men were served, taking secondary leadership roles, being silenced at meetings.

At the same time, black women who participated in the feminist movement during the 1960s met with racism, which generally took the form of exclusion: Black women were not invited to participate on conference panels that were not specifically about black women or women in developing countries. They were underrepresented in feminist organizations, on the faculty of nascent women studies programs, and their experiences as workers and as women was rarely included in early courses on women's history. In most women's movement writings, the experiences of white, middle-class women were described as universal "women's experiences," ignoring the differences between black and white women's experiences because of race and class. Part of the overwhelming frustration black women felt within the women's movement was because of white feminists' unwillingness to admit to their racism.

Among the specific issues worked on by women who identified with the black feminist movement in a variety of organizations established during the late 1970s and early 1980s were reproductive rights, sterilization abuse, equal access to abortion, health care, child care, violence against women, welfare rights, lesbian and gay rights, aging, police brutality, labor organizing, and antiracist organizing. To this end, several organizations were established during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The two earliest organizations, the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) and Black Women Organized for Action (BWAO), reflected the goals put forth in the Combahee River Collective Statement. Their membership included black women from all class levels, working together on welfare and employment issues. Formed somewhat later, but still in existence, is the National Black Women's Health Project, known since 2002 as the National Black Women's Health Imperative, which formed to eliminate health disparities of African American women, who even today, suffer from the highest rates of AIDS, breast cancer, and heart disease of any other group of women.

Feminist Movements in the 1990s

Between 1970 and 1990, a feminist perspective spread widely. Women talked to one another about their concerns using the language of feminism. Hundreds of activist groups and social and cultural projects

emerged whose goals and approaches are informed by feminism. The movement opened to women professions and blue-collar jobs that previously had been reserved for men. It introduced the demand for women's equality into politics, organized religion, sports, and innumerable other arenas and institutions, and as a result, the gender balance of participation and leadership began to change. The mass diffusion of feminist consciousness, the growth of leading liberal feminist women's organizations, and the high visibility of feminism on campuses in women studies programs and through the activities of university women's centers are all consequences of the acceptance of feminism by major sectors of society. Women's leadership also became much in evidence in the gender-mixed anticorporate, environmental, and AIDS movements beginning in the late 1980s. Largely because of liberal feminist organizing efforts, young women and girls now have opportunities that did not exist a few decades ago, and expectations that would have seemed wildly unrealistic to earlier generations.

The Third Wave:
Gender Play and Transgression

Many commentators point to a decline of the women's movement in the 1980s that coincided with a right-wing attack on feminism, and most concede that the social conservative opposition has taken its particular toll in the area of reproductive rights, even as others note that networks of activists and organizations continue to keep the pro-abortion movement alive. Others argue that feminism is now simply diffused into the culture, heralding what some call a "postfeminist" era. Others see the movement as simply fragmented because of racism and homophobia, or in a state of abeyance in which feminists still draw strength from existing networks and communities while awaiting some external impetus to a new mobilization.

Given this commentary, and some severe political setbacks for feminism in the late 1980s and 1990s, the idea of a third wave emerged in academic and popular literature in the mid-1990s; these writings by young women attempt to make sense of feminism for the 21st century. Although the concept of a third wave is not firmly established, the writings agree that young women were not and are not denouncing or turning away from feminism. They respond to stories of the death of feminism either by claiming that feminism is alive, yet suffering from a backlash, or by noting the

continued efforts of older feminists and the continued presence of feminist organizations, institutions and practices, or by arguing that feminism has changed and is now carried out in a different way by a new generation of feminists.

Three features of the third wave are in evidence in the writings of these young women. First is the strong assertion that feminism must continue to grapple with the ideological challenge posed by women of color to analyze and act in ways that reflect the intersectionality of gender with sexual, racial, and ethnic oppression. Second, much of third-wave writing argues that activism and ideology have changed. Young women want to focus less on victimization and more on empowerment, and to see political action situated not so much in institutional structures such as legislatures or unions, as in everyday life. The focus is more on individuals than organizations as change agents. Related to this change in ideology is a change in tactics with third wave activism characterized as computer-generated; the Internet teems with third-wave feminist Web sites that offer advice, reading lists, calls for actions, and merchandise to buy. So the locale of feminism is in cyberspace and in everyday life. Third, change flows from a critique of second-wave norms that define and limit appropriate sexual behavior and desire. The key for the third wave, it is argued, is for a reclamation of femininity and the creation of a sex-positive culture, one in which women can play with appearance and construct a political message through their bodies about gender possibilities, challenging rigid gender and sexual categorization in the culture.

Although some of these features are new, the issues of the second and third waves are not that different or distinct. Issues of reproductive rights, the role of sexuality in self-definition, body image, and the right to live without violence are a few of the issues that carry over from one generation to the next. And although the online communication can be an individualized and isolating experience, it also generates interactive communities of like-minded women ready to engage in social protest.

One example of the combination of features embodied in a third-wave perspective lies in the work since 2000 of a national organization of radical feminists of color, Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, which aims to address violence against women of color in all forms, including interpersonal violence; state violence, such as police brutality, militarism, and attacks on immigrants; and violence from

the medical industry. It has pressured racial justice and antiviolence movements to collaboratively develop strategies that challenge the criminal justice system and provide safety for survivors of sexual and domestic violence.

Women's Social Movements Globally

The link between the United States and feminists elsewhere in the world has grown dramatically during the past two decades. Throughout the world, globalization has had a contradictory impact on women's lives. Older forms of patriarchal dominance are being undermined, and women's life conditions are growing worse in many respects. Economic insecurity and impoverishment, exposure to toxic substances, high infant and material mortality rates, forced migration, and increased hours in paid and unpaid work are indicators of women's burdens worldwide. With women's entrance into a wage labor economy and access to literacy and education, feminism has emerged as an organized political force. Women's movements exist in virtually every country in the 21st century. Women are mounting challenges in their own countries to improve their lives but are also involved in a global feminist movement, reflected in hundreds of different organizations that are increasingly capable of affecting the policies of transnational organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union.

At the local and national levels, women's groups have established nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to pursue feminist agendas. Most of these groups are engaged in educational and political feminist work. Simultaneously, they aim to balance the goals of satisfying basic needs of women and their children, promoting legislation to address profound gender inequalities, and creating countercultures necessary to the long-term development of a less-gendered society.

NGOs have acted as catalysts for social change, often bringing expertise to bear on specific rights and providing information concerning rights in specific countries. There are now more than 15,000 NGOs that operate in three or more countries and draw their financial support from more than one country. New communications technologies (fax, the Internet, mass media) have helped to further interaction and relationships unthinkable in earlier eras. Conferences and institutional settings such as the United Nations and European Union also provide spaces through which to discover and collectively construct feminist politics.

Since the first international meeting of women convened by the United Nations in 1975, international feminism has debated the question of how to define women's interests, including, as this conversation has evolved, questioning the unitary category of women altogether. An important development in this ongoing dialogue is the adoption of the human rights platform as an organizing agenda that women can cooperate on transnationally as well as use locally. At the World Human Rights Conference, organized by the United Nations in 1993, women's groups argued that "Human Rights Are Women's Rights and Women's Rights Are Human Rights" and called for the conference to recognize "gender-based violence as a violation of human rights" requiring immediate action. This effort promoted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted in 1979 by the United Nations.

The UN Decade for Women, 1976 to 1985, created new attention to issues of women's equality, and world conferences devoted to women under UN sponsorship began to convene every 5 years, beginning in 1975 in Mexico City. This conference marked the beginning of the international importance of NGOs as well as a new consensus about the importance of changing domestic national laws through an international feminist movement. In 1985, the Nairobi conference, attended by 15,000 women, the second largest world conference ever, adopted a document entitled "Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women" and embraced an explicitly feminist outlook. The 1995 Beijing women's conference NGO Forum was attended by almost 40,000 women. The impact of world conferences has been to prod nations to demonstrate commitment to women's rights. The conjunction of international feminist activism and internationalization of women's rights issues through the language of human rights has produced many new international women's organizations, which provide information, communication, and resource sharing for women engaged in social change activities around the world.

Beth E. Schneider

See also Black Feminist Thought; Consciousness-Raising; Postcolonial/Subaltern Feminism; Suffrage Movement

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WOMEN STUDIES

Called the "academic arm of the women's movement" when it first emerged in United States colleges and universities, women studies drew from a number of different influences and inspirations that converged around institutions of higher learning during the 1960s. These influences included the informal, community-based classes associated with the free university movement, identity-based programs and departments recently launched in several universities such as Chicano studies and black studies, as well as consciousness-raising groups popularized within the women's liberation movement between 1968 and 1975. Considering itself to be both a corrective and a challenge to the power of academic institutions, generally, and established disciplines, specifically (which, for the most part, failed to include women as subjects of inquiry or as knowledge producers), women studies programs grew in numbers and popularity in the United States and across Europe, Asia, and Latin America. By the 1990s, 108 countries across all six continents boasted some form of women-oriented curriculum or programming in higher education.

Currently, women studies is among the most differentiated, multifaceted, and diversely constituted fields of inquiry in the academy. Whether working in certificate programs in community colleges, PhD-granting departments at top universities, or research institutes that take the lead in feminist-oriented policy making,

women studies practitioners regularly cobble together programs from local resources and political landscapes to form, not so much a traditional discipline, but a field of inquiry and practice that focuses on women, gender, and other historically constituted identity categories (for example, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality). Paradoxically, even as women studies became an extremely influential enterprise, in the humanities and social sciences especially, and firmly established in the academy during the 1980s, it was—and often still is—tenuously situated in terms of institutional resources and academic legitimacy. A number of reasons for this paradox can be cited, including women studies' long-standing embrace of interdisciplinarity, its foundational mandate to both be activist and academic in orientation, and the continuous destabilization of its primary object of analysis: women. This entry discusses some of these issues.

Disciplines and Interdisciplinary Challenges

From its inception, women studies practitioners insisted that the field be interdisciplinary. No one academic discipline could possible encompass all the questions raised by this new generation of feminists who came from nearly every location in the university. Programs and departments fostered interdisciplinary modes of inquiry and institutional structures by drawing on and housing scholars from the more established disciplines on a rotating or joint-appointment basis. But more than simply demanding that women's lives, experiences, and perspectives be included in any particular curriculum (a practice known in the field as "add women and stir"), women studies devotees disputed the foundations of academic knowledge production. In other words, through crossing disciplinary borders and engaging with multiple methodologies and approaches to any given subject of inquiry, these early women studies scholars were at the forefront of challenging the *politics* of disciplinarity. These politics included the policing of disciplinary borders, the guarding of any discipline's primary object of analysis, the exclusion of methods and approaches not endorsed by the reigning authorities who frequently control the discipline's top programs and journals, and reproducing the next generation of experts in the discipline through the training and awarding of PhDs.

As a consequence of this disciplinary skepticism, women studies fostered a kind of ambivalence about

the authority of academic institutions, seeking neither full integration into nor complete separation from them. In addition, the field gave rise to or bolstered other interdisciplinary projects in the academy such as cultural studies, ethnic studies, queer studies, disability studies, and development studies. Along with women studies, these new intellectual ventures have become increasingly popular sites of academic creativity and invention in the past 20 or so years and have resulted in nothing less than a transformation of many traditional disciplines.

However, innovation and popularity do not necessarily result in institutional power, to which many women studies faculty and administrators can no doubt attest. Having its practitioners, research interests, scholarly conversations, and, thus, its primary resources for prestige and recognition scattered across the disciplinary landscape has made it difficult for women studies to establish its legitimacy in academic institutions that still organize themselves along disciplinary lines. Tolerance for interdisciplinarity varies widely from institution to institution and country to country. Many times, this lack of interdisciplinary accommodation results in an even more tenuous women studies presence as programs are required to attach themselves to other, more traditional, disciplinary locations in the social sciences or humanities.

A recent development that has prompted a fair amount of debate about the limits of interdisciplinarity from *within* the field has been the women studies PhD. Although still small in number, the increasing presence of doctoral-granting women studies programs and their graduates, particularly in the United States and Europe, have prompted questions about whether women studies' skeptical resistance to disciplinary knowledge production can be maintained given that the field now produces its own specialists.

Negotiating Activist Histories

Questions prompted by the PhD also highlight another foundational tension of women studies: the friction between the field's professional achievements and its historical grounding in the activist women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Although more prevalent in the Global North compared with programs and departments in the so-called developing world, a recurrent theoretical preoccupation debates whether feminist academics are themselves engaged in activist endeavors through teaching, research, and expanding

the influence of feminism within one of society's most important sites for socializing the ruling class (universities and colleges) or whether feminist academics are merely another privileged group of professionals following a middle-class career path. In a sense, the activist-academic tension in women studies speaks to an anxiety about the effects of the field's discourses (or lack thereof) in the lives of those outside of the academy, and thus whether the field and its practitioners are "authentically" feminist or sufficiently "radical."

The tension has had some interesting generational implications in the past few years as well. Second-wave feminists who founded the earliest programs often frame their own experiences, which combined women's movement activism and academic careers, as the exemplar for what it means to do women studies. A number of second-wavers have expressed dismay at how women studies no longer seems to find itself among a larger nexus of feminist activism that reaches beyond the academy. Yet subsequent generations of academic feminists who came to women studies after these movements fractured, self-destructed, or morphed into other forms and locations in the late 1970s frequently cast doubt on whether being both an academic and an activist can, or even should, represent the field's standard practice. In fact, some women studies scholars have begun to question the role of these second-wave narrations of women studies' pasts as prescriptive of some ideal future for the field. The danger, they argue, is that the possibilities of what women studies could or should be are interrupted or invalidated by futile attempts to recreate an often nostalgic vision of field's past in the present.

Other models and exemplars of doing women studies have emerged, especially in non-Western locations where feminist research institutes and graduate programs are often intimately connected with knowledge production that results in policy development or the training of state and nongovernmental workers who provide support services to the world's most vulnerable populations. In these locations, the dualism that pits academics against activism or the "ivory tower" against the "real world" either fails to explain the actual work of women studies or, at least, no longer passes without question. In addition, raising suspicions about the explanatory power of the activist-academic dualism recently have encouraged research on the various ways women studies practitioners located in different sorts of institutions and regions in the United States and Europe do women studies.

Differences, Identities, and Shifting Contexts

Difference, as a primary organizing theoretical construct in women studies, has posed a series of challenges to the field's object of analysis over the years. Throughout the 1970s, difference indicated sexual difference, women's difference *from* men. The "women" of women studies were assumed to be a coherent group that, regardless of background or birthplace, shared a number of essential characteristics borne of sexist oppression in patriarchal societies. The problem with this understanding of difference, pointed out by a long line of women of color, lesbians, and working-class and regionally marginalized women, was that the "women" the field's practitioners spoke of tended to be white, middle-class, heterosexual, and first-world, which, not surprisingly, also described those populating women studies programs and departments.

As a result of these charges of unacknowledged privilege, the field shifted to focus to differences *within* the category of women. The new preoccupation on identity construction through the matrix of race, class, and gender transformed women studies curriculum, research, publishing, and, to a lesser extent in the United States and Europe, hiring in the field throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The visibility of women of color, working-class women, and so-called third-world women expanded greatly as these subjects and their oppressions were deemed complex, multiple, and thus critical for a full understanding of the category of "women." At the same time, postmodern notions of identity that de-emphasized the primacy of any single category of analysis (such as gender) over any other identity-based category (race, sexuality, nation, embodiment, class position) took hold in women studies discussions and again posed fundamental challenges to the field's primary focus ("women," regardless of race, class, or national identities). The contingencies and conceptual instabilities brought about by questioning any notion of coherent identity raised feminist scholarly interests in what might be called flexible subjectivities, a trend that characterizes many of the recent preoccupations of women studies research and curriculum. Currently, the term *gender* tends to acknowledge this rethinking of the field's object of analysis, and, as a result, many women studies programs have changed their names to "women's and gender studies" or simply "gender studies," the latter doing away with the historically contested term altogether.

Given women studies new emphasis on flexible subjectivities, an interesting convergence with other recent international developments might be noted. Higher education, a multibillion-dollar industry of both private and public holdings, certainly has not escaped global trends that emphasize the importance of transcending traditional borders of all types through new technologies, organizational structures, and financial systems. Laments about the increasing corporatization of higher education reflect these trends. Likewise, as women studies practitioners have expanded their research and publication agendas to internationalize the field's focus (in an effort both to capture the complexity of women and gender as useful categories of analysis and to register how globalization affects these categories in specific populations), the training that the field provides in understanding these flexible subjectivities offers new frontiers for analysis and critique for feminist academics. At the same time, this training, even as it is undertaken with women studies' social justice mandate, nevertheless parallels, and perhaps even unwittingly promotes, a new market orientation around the imperatives of flexible capital that relies on, not surprisingly, flexible notions of self and identity among the educated class on a worldwide scale.

In other words, the latest version of a state-of-the-art women studies education may focus on, say, environmental sustainability or international human rights or gender and development, but all the same rely on and remain embedded within paths that have been charted by multinational corporations, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, and institutions with agendas borne of cold war nationalism (such as Fulbright or the Peace Corps). Thus, even as 21st-century versions of women studies point to legacies of accomplishment despite ambivalence about its own disciplinarity, academic-activist frictions, and constantly evolving understanding of its object of analysis, the field remains paradoxically situated within the institutions—educational and otherwise—on which it depends.

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See also Black Feminist Thought; Feminist Ethnography; Feminist Methodology; Masculinity Studies; Postmodern Feminism; Psychoanalytic Feminism; Queer Studies; Transgender Studies

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WOMEN'S WORLD BANKING

Women's World Banking (WWB) is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to expand the economic assets, participation, and power of low-income women entrepreneurs by helping them access financial services and information. WWB works to build an effective global network of microfinance institutions and banks that provide sustainable financial services to low-income women and their families. WWB also works to engage policymakers and other key actors to spur innovation in the expansion of financial services for low-income people. The organization functions primarily as an alliance of more than 50 organizations from Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Global headquarters are in the Netherlands and in New York. WWB was formed in 1979 by 10 women from different countries and continents who were inspired to work together to form this nongovernmental organization (NGO) after the first UN World Conference on Women in 1975.

Women, Poverty, and Wealth

The need for organized efforts to transform women's financial access is made clear by the often-quoted 1980 United Nations report, which starkly summarizes, "Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two-thirds of its work hours, receive one-tenth of the world's income and own less than one-hundredth of the world's property." After many years of neglect in post–World War II development programs, women became a focus in development projects and poverty alleviation programs such as microfinance because it was found that women were more likely to invest funds back into the well-being of their families and communities. A number of NGOs such as Freedom from Hunger based in Davis, California, and INDCARE in New Delhi, India, offer microcredit as part of their strategies to alleviate poverty and hunger with women borrowers/micro-entrepreneurs as a primary vehicle for improving the well-being of entire communities. WWB is one of many NGOs with this strategy, but it is perhaps the oldest and the largest run by women and serving women.

Women's World Banking Programs

WWB has grown to serve 23 million borrowers worldwide providing information, training, resources, and advocacy through its network. For example, the Linkages and Learning Team brings together people working in microfinance at various levels to learn from each other through thematic workshops, peer-to-peer exchanges, and leadership development initiatives. The Financial Products and Services team helps new regional microfinance institutions to grow by matching them with other organizations. Shoring up material realities, WWB even acts as a partial guarantor (up to 50 percent), making loans possible for some who would otherwise not have access and making lower-interest loans possible for other members in their network. WWB is funded by individual

member contributions, and from governments and foundations such as the Swiss, Dutch, and Norwegian governments; the Ford Foundation; and the Citigroup Foundation.

WWB Members

Members of the WWB network include SEWA Bank in India, which has been a member since 2001. SEWA serves the poorest in India, including those known as the "untouchables," who have occupations as trash pickers and bidi wrappers. SEWA's work is representative of how financial services for poor women need to be tailored to the local needs and situations with door-to-door services and sensitivity toward matching the collection schedule with cash flow. The 2007 president of SEWA is a woman who participated in the bank for 31 years and is a trash picker by trade, so the organization exemplifies grassroots responsiveness to local needs. Another example of a WWB member organization is the Microcredit Organization Mi-Bospo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which caters to women entrepreneurs in hopes of increasing educational access of children and empowering women.

Microcredit and Poverty Alleviation

Microcredit/microfinance is innovative because it makes credit and financial services available to the poorest segments of society who lack the type of collateral—such as land or other assets—that banks traditionally require for loan approval. Microcredit as a tool for poverty reduction—where the poor can "lift themselves out of poverty"—came into the spotlight after Mohammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh were awarded the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize. Microcredit is primarily offered through NGOs as a social service and microfinance—including insurance and savings—is primarily offered through financial institutions. The landscape is changing as traditional finance corporations are now looking to this as an attractive new market. With reimbursement rates as high as 98 percent and relatively high interest rates, which are higher than the traditional banking sector, but lower than informal "loan sharks," the sector is also attracting profit-seeking enterprises. Some researchers and development workers caution that this trend may lead to debt traps for vulnerable populations of women, disabled, and poor and may actually increase, rather than decrease violence against women in some

communities. WWB emphasizes that it works with major banks entering the sector to act "responsibly and profitably." Whether it is possible to meet both of these objectives—as microfinance moves from the nonprofit and alternative banking sector and into the commercial banking sector running according to the capitalist growth imperative—is hotly debated. WWB invites this transition in hopes of increasing microfinance access to more women. Whether WWB can successfully shepherd this increased access and transform capitalist financial operations without unwittingly inviting intensified exploitation is one of the controversies that surrounds this endeavor. Considering the increasing disparities of wealth in the 21st century, among which 70 percent of those living on less than one dollar a day are women, the challenge of addressing their poverty must not lose focus.

Margareta Lelea

See also Development Alternatives With Women in a New Era; Microlending; Self-Employed Women's Association

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Microcredit Organization Mi-Bospo: http://www.mi-bospo.org/indexeng.html
SEWA Bank—Shri Mahila SEWA Sahakari Bank Ltd.: http://www.sewabank.org
Women's World Banking, Stitching to Promote Women's World Banking: http://www.swwb.org

Wonder Woman

Wonder Woman has been many things to many people: an icon of feminism, televised entertainment,

a sex symbol, a fantasy, a threat, and an inspiration. She began as the illustrated embodiment of a doctor's radical theories about the human organism, but became a revolutionary character who paved the way for future representations of superwomen.

Wonder Woman's Origin

Wonder Woman's development has a long history. She was the first female superhero in the male-dominated world of comics, and she functions as a main figure in female empowerment. The origins of Wonder Woman demonstrate the way in which feminism was also developing during this period in the United States.

The Superhero: A Boy's Club

Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster were two young boys from Cleveland, Ohio, who combined their love of science fiction stories, pulp magazines, adventure movie serials, and Sunday newspaper funnies to change the world. Siegel was a writer, Shuster an artist, and in 1938, their amalgam of genre and form came together to give birth to the superhero. The character of Superman would be the boys' legacy to popular culture and debuted in *Action Comics #1.*

Imitations of their new archetype quickly followed. By 1941, comics that featured superheroes—larger than life characters with secret identities, costumes, and a greater purpose—were flying off newsstands and rolled up in the back pockets of a generation of children. Superhero comics were overwhelmingly written for (and by) young men. A few masked woman popped up here and there, some heroic, some villainous, but none as iconic as Superman. Missing was a female superhero who could capture the national imagination, but she soon came from an unusual mind.

Dr. Marston and his Wonder Woman

William Moulton Marston (1893–1947) was a quintessential Renaissance man; a Harvard-educated doctor and lawyer who was also a writer, an editorial consultant, and the inventor of the systolic blood pressure test—a precursor to what is known today in its evolved form as the polygraph lie detector test. Marston was also a notoriously shameless and successful self-promoter. After Marston paid tribute to All-American Comics (later DC Comics) in an article for the women's magazine *Family Circle,* executive

M. C. Gaines hired the psychologist as an editorial advisor for the company. The position ultimately led to the creation of Wonder Woman.

Marston denounced what he called the "blood-curdling masculinity" of superhero comics and felt it necessary to counter this offense with a female character who exhibited maternal tenderness, compassion, and physical *and* emotional strength, all combined with an "alluring" beauty. He believed the most important element of human happiness was love. His feminine superhero would teach humanity to value this above all else.

Gaines was sufficiently convinced Marston's character would attract the elusive female market—or at least appeal visually to males who already consumed comics. Written by Marston under the pseudonym "Charles Moulton" and drawn by Harry G. Peter, Wonder Woman debuted in the December 1941 issue of *All Star Comics* (issue #8). One month later, she began a regular appearance in *Sensation Comics* (#1). An eponymous title saw print 6 months after her initial debut.

The original story tells us that Wonder Woman is Princess Diana of the matriarchal Paradise Island. The Amazons of this hidden island (later called Themyscira) are peaceful, highly trained athletes who live an immortal existence free from the brutality of men. When their queen, Hippolyte, desires a child, she is instructed by Aphrodite to mold one from clay. So was born Diana, a child "as lovely as Aphrodite, as wise as Athena, with the speed of Mercury and the strength of Hercules."

This first tale also tells us how Steve Trevor, a U.S. Army officer, crashes his plane on the women-only island. As he is nursed back to health, it is discovered through a sort of magic television that Trevor is fighting for America against the "forces of hate and oppression." Hippolyte consults the gods who order that he immediately be returned to duty and that the strongest of the Amazons must return with him to help win the war. As Athena proclaims, America is "the last citadel of democracy, and of equal rights for women."

An athletic contest is held to find the strongest emissary. Diana has been forbidden from participation by her mother, but has fallen in love with Trevor—the only man she has ever seen. The princess participates in disguise, bests her competitors, and wins the tournament. As Diana leaves for "man's world" she takes sacred totems with her; a magic Lasso of Truth formed from the girdle of Gaea (inspired by Marston's

proto-polygraph) and bullet-proof bracelets—a reminder to never submit to the authority of any man. Her mission to protect America is inherent in her star-spangled costume of red, white, and blue. As she returns Steve Trevor to his base, she adopts the secret identity of "Diana Prince."

The Didactic Amazon

Marston recognized the power of stories to influence children. He believed that the accessibility of the comic medium could be used as a method for building self-confidence in women—and as a way of subtly influencing male ideas about societal roles for women. If children were going to read comics, he thought they should be given comics that mattered—words and pictures that could change ideas about gender, power structures, and war.

Marston had fairly radical ideas about sex and gender—ideas that were subversively expressed in the comic itself and overtly expressed in his other works, most notably his 1928 publication *The Emotions of Normal People.* Marston believed that women were the superior sex and that men should submit to what he called, "their loving dominance." His convictions were based on his pseudo-psycho-physiological theories regarding the human body, namely that a woman's body contained "twice as many love generating organs and endocrine mechanisms as the male." The doctor also proclaimed that Wonder Woman was "psychological propaganda" for the type of woman he believed would soon rule the world. Marston predicted U.S. society would evolve into a matriarchy within a century if only characters like his led the way.

Marston's self-proclaimed formula for his superhero series consisted of a beautiful woman who fought for the greater good of humanity through her altruistic love. By using the Amazon princess and her allies as a method for building self-confidence in women he hoped to show that any young girl could become a Wonder Woman if only she took the time and energy to properly train herself, if only she had an example to guide her.

Media representations of these ideals were especially poignant considering the timing. The character of Wonder Woman debuted at the same time America was finally forced to enter the war—a zeitgeist that likely ensured her iconic status. A role model such as Princess Diana fit in well with other early feminist

media propaganda, including images of Rosie the Riveter, as women suddenly found themselves in liberating and revolutionary industry positions.

For the young girls who read *Wonder Woman,* opportunities for achievement were further emphasized via an inspirational recurring segment titled "Wonder Women of History." Written by tennis champion Alice Marble, these one-page inserts spotlighted women such as Amelia Earhart, Annie Oakley, and Florence Nightingale. This message of empowerment was consistently brought to young girls and grown women alike in the regular comic narrative as well.

Post–World War II

In the 1940s, women had been represented in popular culture as strong, capable, and collaborative—a tactic necessary to keep American production flourishing while a war was fought overseas. But in the 1950s, women, both fictional and real, were returned to the traditionally defined domestic sphere. Wonder Woman also suffered a blow. In 1947, Marston died and his princess was left to generations of writers who didn't understand her. To be clear, it is doubtful post-Marston writers of Wonder Woman set out to oppress women—postwar popular culture generally reinforced representations of heteronormativity; that is, traditionally gendered norms of a husband who provides financial stability and a wife who tends to the home and family.

During this backlash to the empowering images of Wonder Woman and Rosie the Riveter, women on television were little more than docile housewives in the vein of June Cleaver, and women in comics were little more than simpering girlfriends who shopped, fainted, cried, bungled missions, and needed to be rescued from the clutches of evil. Wonder Woman stories focused less on adventure and more on romance. "Wonder Women of History" was replaced with a feature that documented wedding customs across the globe.

Controversy and Wonder Woman

At the height of their popularity in the 1940s, hundreds of millions of comic magazines were being sold every month. This relatively new medium that captivated the nation's children was also beginning to alarm parents. Companies such as All-American

brought out psychological experts such as Marston to expound upon the value of comics and ease fears, but another psychologist, a German-Jew intellectual named Frederic Wertham, loudly denounced them and fueled parental panic. An immigrant whose writings on the harmful effects of racial segregation on children helped end separate-but-equal education, Wertham was also known for establishing a clinic in Harlem for at-risk youth and their families to receive free psychological care. There, he made a connection between comic book violence and juvenile delinquency. This connection was at once controversial (some deemed it erroneous), ultimately contributing to congressional hearings on the matter, as well as the establishment of the Comics Code Authority.

Wertham took issue with the more gruesome horror comics and with the violent acts of superheroes that reminded him of Nazi oppression. He was also appalled by Marston's delight in portraying bondage scenes, and criticized what he interpreted as homoerotic subtext in superhero comics. Wertham called Wonder Woman and her sometime-collaborators, the Holliday girls, lesbians and claimed it would be detrimental to the mental health of children to be exposed to such menace.

Feminism

Most of the material written about Wonder Woman's creator has taken an either/or approach to his pro-woman intentions. Either she was the creation of a progressive feminist and a recognizable champion for women, or she was the curious by-product of a quack doctor's outrageous ideas. The truth is, as always, much more complicated.

A staunch feminist argument regarding Marston's agenda belies the problematic nature of his essentialist theories—meaning he believed women are *biologically* the superior sex—and his work advocated a reversal of the existing gender hierarchy based on his beliefs about essential sex characteristics. In his utopian fantasy world, men were expected to lovingly submit to a compassionate feminine authority rather than work and sacrifice with women on equal footing.

Yet, regardless of Marston's intent, Wonder Woman has, and continues to be, used as a role model in ways that fit with contemporary feminist values. Perhaps most famously, writer and activist Gloria Steinem adopted the superheroine as a champion of the feminist movement.

Wonder Woman for President

In 1968, the writers and editors of the Amazon princess made a well-intentioned, if not well executed, attempt to be socially relevant by changing Diana from an otherworldly princess to a mortal woman. This period's creative team insists the idea was to give young women a more realistic role model, rather than a mythic one (they have since acknowledged that this may not have been the best route to take). And so Diana gave up her immortality, as well as her Amazonian heritage, and became the owner of a mod clothing boutique.

She also became a globe-trotting spy-of-sorts, with a stereotyped Asian mentor named I Ching who trained her in the martial arts. Her representation during this period was heavily influenced by the British television program *The Avengers,* most notably by Diana Rigg's portrayal of Mrs. Emma Peel. Visually, Diana Prince's costumes resembled the famous "Emmapeeler" ensemble and I Ching was frequently seen wearing a John Steed–inspired bowler hat.

The editors of the then-forthcoming *Ms.* Magazine took issue with these character developments and campaigned to save "their" Wonder Woman, with hopes that Diana would be restored to the Amazon princess of their youth. Wonder Woman appeared on the cover of their premiere issue (July 1972) along with a slogan nominating her for president. Steinem also edited a hardcover collection of 13 original Marston stories that best exemplified the feminist values of sisterhood, collaboration, empowerment, and compassion. An interpretive essay on Amazons written by Phyllis Chesler was included. As a result of the campaign—and Steinem's influence with Time Warner—Princess Diana returned to her mythic origins the following year in issue #204.

Wonder Woman has since been written with consciously feminist values by George Perez, Trina Robbins, Gail Simone, and Phil Jimenez.

Television

Television series in the mid to late 1970s attempted to capitalize on the feminist movement and several

shows featured strong, albeit stereotypically feminine, women in genre roles. *Wonder Woman* (1975–1979) was one such series. Though it bordered on camp, the title character, performed by Lynda Carter, had enormous influence on a generation of girls, who, through her, saw the potential in themselves. It was also deeply influential on writer/artist Phil Jimenez who has infused the values instilled in him by the television series into his work on the Amazon Princess. As Marston observed decades ago, popular culture shapes what a society is and the work that the society's members produce.

Conclusion

Wonder Woman is a recognizable, yet dynamic, icon of femininity. Her eponymous title is the third longest running comic in history and completes the original trinity of landmark superheroes, along with Superman and Batman. She is a symbol that transcends her narrative—more money is made off of her licensed image than from sales of her comic book title. Her image is associated with essential (if broadly defined) feminist values, and she continues to retain cultural relevance after more than 65 years.

Jennifer K. Stuller

See also *Buffy the Vampire Slayer;* Feminist Magazines; Hegemonic Masculinity; Homosexuality; Maternalism; Media and Gender Socialization; Media and Gender Stereotypes; Rosie the Riveter; Superheroes

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WORKFARE

In the most basic sense, *workfare* refers to the practice of making recipients of public assistance work for their benefits, rather than receiving them as an in-kind grant. The practice of workfare has a long history both inside the United States and outside of the United States. A prime example of an early form of workfare was instituted by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which called for workhouses for the poor in England and Wales. In the United States, the discussion and debate on workfare arose in the mid-1990s during the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. Under workfare in the United States, the recipient of public assistance is required to work for a nonprofit agency (included in this definition are governments at the city, county, and state level) if their caseworkers have decided that they are not ready for paid employment or if they are unable to obtain placement in a job or training program within a specified period of time.

This program has received critiques and commentary from both sides of the political spectrum. On the conservative end of the political spectrum, there is praise that the program requires women to take part in a productive activity, which stems from workfare reflecting the American values of individualism, the Protestant work ethic as well as current trends in society that show more than half of American mothers taking part in labor market activity. Although some will admit to the problematic nature of obtaining real training during these workfare placements, there is also the belief that workfare provides other benefits for the workers, such as encouraging good work habits and providing access to a letter of recommendation. This also provides a way for communities to complete needed projects without displacing existing staff. Praise is given to the deterrent effect provided by workfare by making public assistance a less attractive option than participation in the labor market, resulting in decreased participation levels of those who are not among the truly needy. On the liberal end of the political spectrum are charges that workfare is little above "slave labor" because the participants are

working for sub-minimum wages and because the program results in women taking jobs that do not provide skills or mobility in an attempt to avoid participation in workfare. There is also a perception that workfare is a reflection of the stigmatization of women on public assistance—public assistance must be made a less attractive option to poor women with children because they will not look for employment unless they are forced to by the government.

Melissa Fugiero

See also Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; Welfare Reform

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Y

Yin-Yang

Yin and yang are the two complementary universal principles in Eastern metaphysics. *Yin* is the feminine, dark, passive aspect, while *yang* is the masculine, light, active aspect. However, yin and yang are not true opposites, but rather interdependent principles that complement, define, and give rise to one another. All beings, male and female, contain both yin and yang in varying proportions. An imbalance of yin and yang is thought to lead to misfortune, including ill health, and balancing the principles is the aim of Chinese medicine, tai chi, feng shui, and other traditional practices.

History

The idea of yin-yang is central to several schools of Eastern philosophy and cosmology. Though often associated with Taoism, the concept is older, originating in prehistoric times. Yin and yang are explicated in the ancient Chinese classics, the *I Ching* (Book of Changes), thought to date from the second or third millennium BC, and the later *Tao Te Ching* of Lao Tzu.

During the Chinese Zhou Dynasty (around 480–720 BC), the yin-yang school was one of six primary schools of philosophy. During the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), scholars led by Dong Zhongshu sought to syncretize the various schools, including Taoism and Confucianism, and yin-yang was applied to diverse realms, including medicine. Taoism and Buddhism mutually influenced one another during the early Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), but Taoism ultimately became the official religion.

Yin-yang is also a key concept in the metaphysical systems of other East Asian countries, including Japan (where it is called *in-yo*), Vietnam, and Korea (as evidenced by the yin-yang symbol on the South Korean flag).

Basic Philosophy

In traditional philosophy, the *Tao* (usually translated as "the way") comprises two primary principles, yin and yang, which in turn give rise to the five basic elements: earth, water, air, fire, and wood.

Originating in a prehistoric, nature-based belief system, yin initially referred to the shaded north side of a mountain or south bank of a river, while yang denoted the sunny south side of a mountain or north bank of a river. Over time, yin came to be associated with a range of characteristics and concepts generally described as "feminine," including darkness, cold, night, the moon, the earth, passivity, submission, absorption, emptiness, and descending energy. Conversely, yang was associated with "masculine" concepts, including light, heat, day, the sun, the heavens, activity, dominance, penetration, fullness, and ascending energy.

Yin and yang are equally important, with neither being "higher" or "lower." In fact, they are not considered separate, but rather essential parts of the whole, neither of which can exist without the other. Looked at another way, yin and yang give rise to and consume one another, as night leads to day and day to night, in a continuous cycle. Further, yin and yang define each other; for example, as dark is the absence of light, and cold has meaning only relative to heat.
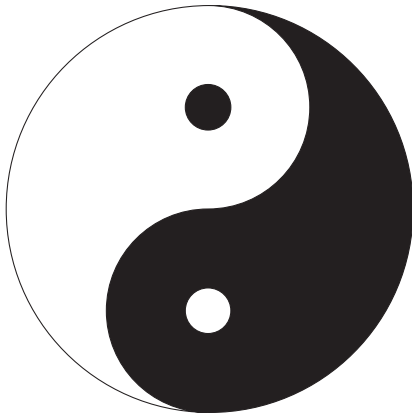
Figure 1   Taijitu or Yin-Yang Symbol

These concepts are represented graphically in the familiar *taijitu,* or yin-yang symbol (see Figure 1). The complete circle represents the Tao, or universal whole. The dark half represents the descending yin, while the light half represents the ascending yang. The smaller spots indicate that yin contains the seed of yang, and vice versa.

Practical Applications

The concepts of yin and yang may be applied to all aspects of life, from politics to the arts and sciences. The central idea is the importance of achieving equilibrium between the two complementary principles. *Feng shui,* for example, uses the arrangement of objects, such as furniture in a house or features in a landscape, to balance yin and yang energies.

In traditional Chinese medicine, disease results from an imbalance of yin and yang. An excess of yin leads to cold conditions, characterized by chills and weakness, while excess yang leads to heat conditions, characterized by fever and hyperactivity. Healing involves balancing yin and yang energies through various methods, such as warming or cooling herbs and foods or tai chi exercises. The same principle also applies on a larger scale. For example, Dong Zhongshu once advised that since a spring drought indicated deficient yin, the affected city should close its southern gate and its men should go into hiding.

Cross-Cultural Parallels

The concept of yin-yang has parallels in other metaphysical systems. *Tantra,* which has its roots in India,

emphasizes the creative interplay of feminine and masculine energies. The complementary and mutually generative Buddhist concepts of emptiness and form are often conceived of as feminine and masculine.

Early European pagan traditions, or at least their contemporary reinterpretation in Wicca and similar nature-based religions, feature a feminine principle (often personified as a goddess) associated with earth, the moon, and darkness, while the masculine principle is associated with the sky, the sun, and light.

Western philosophy has also featured opposing principles similar to yin and yang. In *Metaphysics,* the Greek philosopher Aristotle described the Pythagorean table of opposites that grouped together male, light, right, odd, resting, and good on one side and female, dark, left, even, moving, and evil on the other. Some have suggested that this cross-cultural similarity indicates the existence of universal human archetypes, as theorized by psychologist Carl Jung, but some key differences, such as activity/motion being considered masculine in the Chinese system but feminine in the Greek, call this hypothesis into question.

Sexism Argument

Though yin and yang are said to be equally important and nonhierarchical, the association of the feminine principle with negative or lower-prestige attributes. such as submission and emptiness, has led to the charge that the concept is inherently sexist. Indeed, within Confucianism, yin-yang has been used to justify the dominion of husbands over wives and rulers over subjects. In addition, the emphasis on the complementary aspect of masculinity and femininity may be seen as heterosexist.

However, yin and yang are not really opposites, but rather principles that contain and give rise to one another. Further, yin and yang are not equivalent to female or male, since all beings contain a mixture of the feminine and masculine principles in varying proportions; thus, some women may have a stronger yang aspect, while some men have more yin.

The Taoist worldview generally does not regard yin characteristics as negative. Passivity, for example, is considered a desirable attribute, as exemplified by the concept of *wu wei,* or "doing without action," illustrated by the way a martial artist may withstand an opponent's blow not by countering force with force, but by absorbing and deflecting the energy.

While Western dualism emphasizes value judgments such as good and evil, yin-yang is more relative, fluid, and interdependent and does not inherently privilege one sex over the other.

Liz Highleyman

See also Religion, Gender Roles in; Traditional Healing; Wicca

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Index

Entry titles and their page numbers are in **bold**.