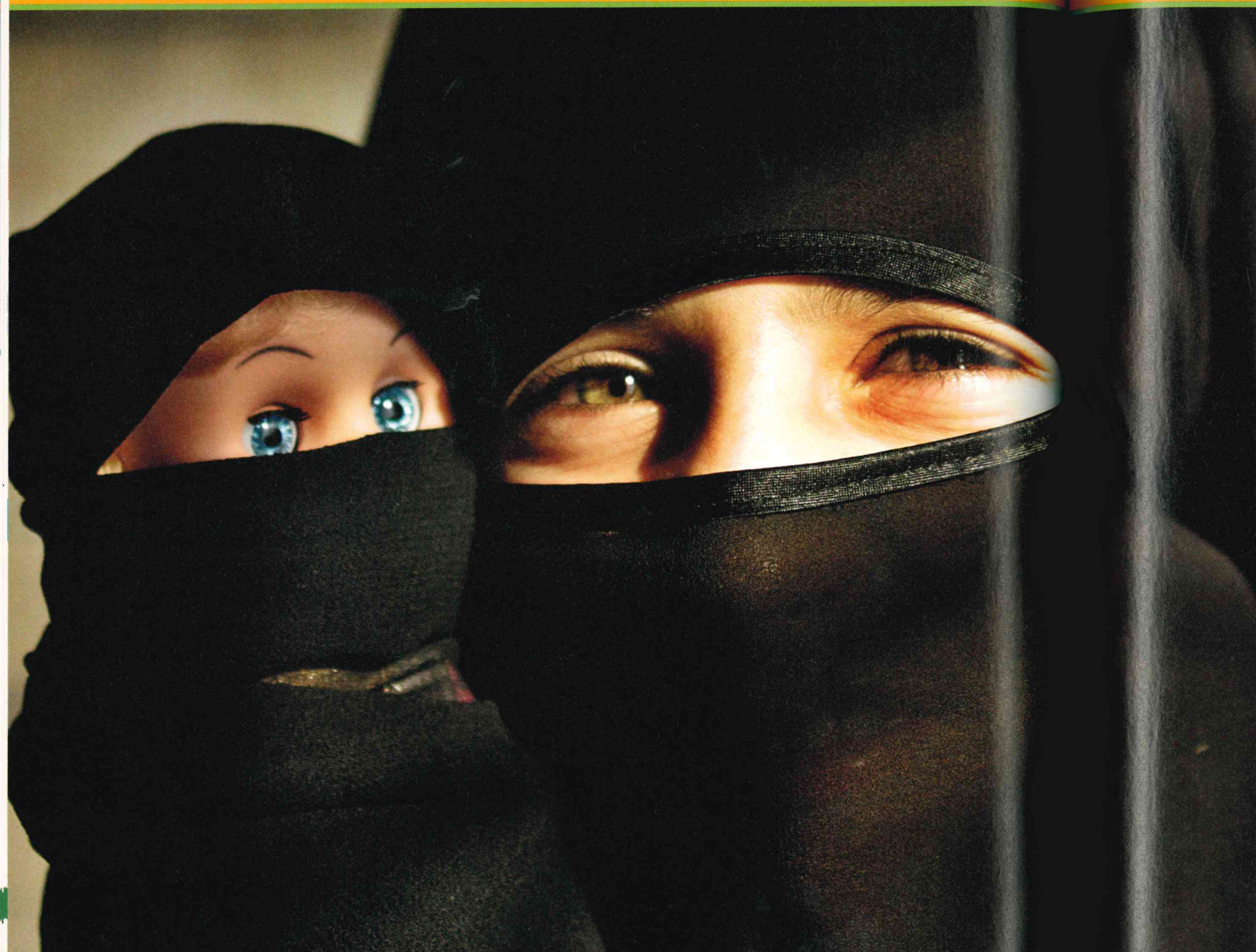


# GENDER AND SEXUALITY

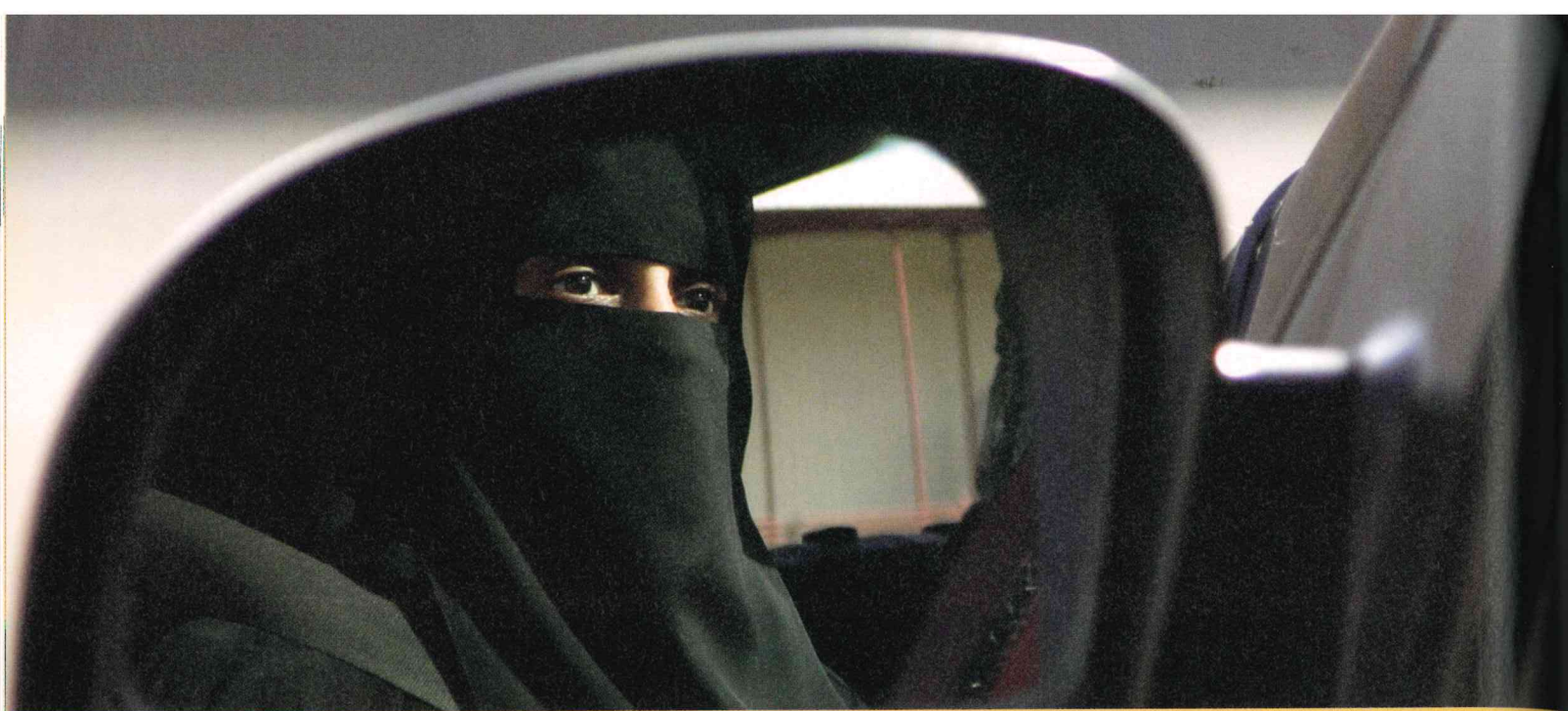
# 10



## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1** Describe the continuum of sexual identities and orientations and define sexual deviance.
- 2** Discuss the many ways people enact gender as well as the cultural influences on gender.
- 3** Describe the effect of globalization on sexuality and sexual and gender-related behavior.

This Jordanian girl's Western-style doll wears traditional clothing to match her own. Our culturally influenced notions of sex and gender are increasingly affected by the forces of globalization. Are men and women fundamentally the same? What dictates our behavior as men and as women?



One day in 2011, several dozen Saudi Arabian women entered their family cars and drove to various locations throughout the country, performing errands and meeting up for social dates. While this may sound like an ordinary day to most of us, the undertaking made a bold and controversial statement about equality, civil rights, and gender relationships in the conservative Middle Eastern kingdom. The reason? Throughout Saudi Arabia, a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law, enforced by the mutaween (morality police), subjects all women to strict norms and laws, including a ban on driving.

As a measure of how strictly such laws are upheld, consider that while most of the women apprehended for participating in the protest were escorted home by police with only a warning, one was convicted of driving without permission and sentenced to 10 lashes with a whip. The sentence was overturned by Saudi Arabian king Abdullah

**Sex and gender are powerful determinants of our interactions with others.**

bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, who had also just granted women the right to vote in the country's next municipal election.

For a person to be prohibited from driving simply because she was born a female may seem unreasonable to you, but our culture's sex and gender norms likely seem equally unreasonable to others around the world.

Attitudes toward sex and gender shift not only across space but also over time. Globalization, technological advancements in communication, and the feminization of labor, among other important factors, are changing what we perceive as appropriate sexual behavior and gender performance. As King Abdullah and the female drivers watched neighboring nations being shaken by vigorous public demonstrations during the Arab Spring, they saw an opportunity and perhaps an imperative for reform. The full extent of that reform is yet to be seen. For the people of Saudi Arabia, however, the ongoing struggle between religious tradition and sexual freedom is exhilarating and terrifying, joyful and heart wrenching. For sociologists, it's a testament to the intricate beauty of a living, breathing culture.

Sex and gender are two of the most decisive—and divisive—factors in determining how we interact with those around us. Culture frames our thoughts and actions about sex and gender, as well as the way we are perceived and treated by others. A person who challenges a cultural norm by expressing an uncommon sexual preference or protesting patriarchal rules may be labeled deviant and be subject to legal repercussions—or worse. •

Sex and gender are often used interchangeably and confused with one another. However, it is important that they be distinguished clearly. Sex is principally a biological distinction between males and females based on fundamental differences in their reproductive organs and functions. Gender is based on the physical, behavioral, and personality characteristics that are considered appropriate for one's sex. The key difference is that sex is based mainly on biological differences, whereas gender is based on social distinctions (Ryan 2007). But both have important similarities from a sociological perspective. This chapter will describe how sociology approaches questions of sex and gender.



Qian Jinfan, 84 years old and shown holding a photo of herself at 59, always felt she was a woman. She began experimenting with hormone treatments at the age of 60. A retired official of the Chinese Communist Party who prefers to be known as "Yiling," she has gone public in hopes of breaking down traditional assumptions about transsexuals.

**SEX AND SEXUALITY**

Although we tend to think in terms of two—and only two—biological sexes, in fact there is a continuum between male and female anatomy (Fausto-Sterling 1999). In the middle are individuals with some combination of both male and female genitalia. In the past, such people were called hermaphrodites, and doctors altered infants' genital structures to better match the typical male or female anatomy (Coventry 2006). Today people with ambiguous genitalia are usually referred to as **intersexed**. They are more often spared surgery, at least until they are old enough to be identified, or to identify themselves, with one sex or the other (Zeiler and Wickstrom 2009). Also in the middle are **transsexuals**, those who may have the genitalia of one sex or the other, but who believe

**sex** A mainly biological distinction between males and females based on fundamental differences in their reproductive functions.

**gender** The physical, behavioral, and personality characteristics that are considered appropriate for one's sex.

**intersexed** People who have some combination of the genitalia of both males and females.

**transsexual** An individual whose genitalia are of the sex opposite the one with which he or she identifies and who may undergo treatment or surgery to acquire the physical characteristics of the self-identified sex.

that they are locked into the wrong body. While some remain, often uncomfortably, in those bodies, others take hormones to change their sexes, and some undergo genital reassignment surgery. Such a biological transformation must be accompanied by the careful management of one's new sex status.

Sex needs to be seen not as a given but as something to be achieved. This point was made by Harold Garfinkel (1967: 116–185) in his famous study of a transsexual he called "Agnes." It has also been illustrated autobiographically by the well-known economic historian Deirdre McCloskey (2000), who was known as Donald until she had reassignment surgery at age 53.

This idea of a sexual continuum extends to male and female hormones as well. For example, both males and females have the hormones estrogen and testosterone. However, the amounts vary greatly from individual to individual within and between sexes, as well as over time (Kimmel 2004). Both sexes also have breasts. Although women typically have larger breasts than men do, the size of some men's breasts exceeds that of some women. Breast cancer is largely a disease of women, but some men contract the disease. Facial hair is usually thought of as a male characteristic, but some women grow enough facial hair to need to shave regularly. Biologically, there are no absolutely clear-cut differences between men and women.



Also pointing against the idea that there are simply two sexes is the fact that at a global level there are a number of cultures in which there exists a “third gender” (Ryan 2012). This is socially defined as a truly distinct gender, neither man nor woman, nor a combination of the two. Examples include the hijras of India (see Chapter 2), the berdaches of a number of Indian cultures, Thailand’s kathoey, and the fa’afafine of Samoa.

## SEXUAL SELVES

Of central interest to sociologists is **sexuality**, or the ways in which people think about, and behave toward, themselves and others as sexual beings (Plummer 1975). Sex and sexuality are not identical. A person who is biologically female (or who believes she should be in a female body) may engage in sexual behavior with either men or women, or for that matter with both or neither. Given the multiple dimensions of both sex and sexuality, there is much variation among individuals.

There is now a huge and growing body of literature on the sociology of sexuality (Plummer 2012). While bodies and biology are deeply involved, the bulk of this work deals with the social, social-psychological, and cultural aspects of sexuality. Sociologists have become more interested in sexuality for a number of reasons:

- the growing number of sexually linked social problems, including the HIV/AIDS epidemic and sexual violence;
- the greater visibility of sex-related social movements, especially those associated with gays and lesbians;
- technological change, such as the arrival of erectile dysfunction drugs like Viagra and Cialis, and the media’s presentation of sex in its many forms;
- the globalization of sexuality, for example, sex tourism and sex trafficking (Frank 2012a);
- more overt expressions of sexuality in consumer culture—not only widespread commerce in sexual activity but also the use of sexuality to sell virtually everything; and
- the development of the Internet, where sexuality is readily available and a vibrant commercial sex culture has developed.

People express their sexualities for many different reasons; it is rarely simply a matter of sexual release. Culture gives us patterns, rules, and codes to manage our sexualities and their expression. Gender roles and power

dynamics affect our sexualities, as do race and class (Scott and Schwartz 2008). What people do and do not do is symbolically important to them and to others in society. The stories that people tell and do not tell about their sexualities are of great significance to them. These stories are of great symbolic importance. They tell us much about not only the storytellers and their listeners, but also the societies in which they live.

Sexuality is also a prime area for the sociological study of emotions (Stets and Turner 2007). To the individual, sexuality is emotionally “hot,” but there are various social forces that seek to cool it off. This was a concern to Max Weber, who saw the process of rationalization as an “iron cage,” as described in Chapter 2, that served to limit many things, including sexual expression. The “McDonaldization Today” box on page 332 explores a few of the ways in which the emotions associated with sexual expression have been cooled.

## Sexual Identities and Orientations

We all have sexual identities. One element of sexual identity is **sexual orientation**, which involves whom you desire, with whom you want to have sexual relations, and with whom you have a sense of connectedness (Scott and Schwartz 2008). Sexual orientation is typically divided into four categories: **heterosexuality**, or sexual desire for the opposite sex; **homosexuality**, or desire to have sexual relations with someone of the same sex (Ryan 2012); **bisexuality**, or a desire for sexual relations with both sexes; and **asexuality**, or a lack of sexual desire (Kim 2011). Expression of these orientations varies among individuals; for example, one heterosexual is not like all others in the degree of desire for members of the opposite sex. In addition, a person’s sexual orientation and romantic

**sexuality** The ways in which people think about, and behave toward, themselves and others as sexual beings.

**sexual orientation** Preferences based on whom one desires sexually, with whom one wants to engage in sexual relations, and with whom one feels connected to—typically categorized as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or asexual.

**heterosexuality** Desire to have sexual relations with someone of the opposite sex.

**homosexuality** Desire to have sexual relations with someone of the same sex.

**bisexuality** A desire to have sexual relations with individuals of both the opposite sex and the same sex.

**asexuality** A lack of sexual desire.

tendencies may differ. For example, a bisexual may have sexual relations with people of both sexes but prefer romantic relationships with members of the opposite sex. Layered onto sexual orientation are a variety of other sexual identities, such as sex addict—like the main character in the TV series *Californication*—or sex worker or celibate. Sexual identity adds considerable complexity to the male-female sex continuum.

Sexual identities reflect changes in the larger society, and they have a profound effect on the individuals with those identities, as well as on those to whom the individuals relate. These identities, and feelings about them, are not static. The best-known example is the increasing openness about identifying as gay or lesbian. In many environments, it is no longer necessary to hide those identities, and it is in fact possible to be very public, and to feel very good, about one’s gay or lesbian identity (Plummer 2007a). This was nowhere clearer than in Showtime’s hit cable television program *The L Word* that ran from 2004 to 2009. The show followed the lives of several lesbian women who were friends, lovers, professionals, mothers, and mistresses. Many of the women in the show were not only friends—some dated one another. The show featured not only lesbians, but also gay men, transgender people, transsexuals, bisexuals, and even straight men and women. There were interracial couples, lesbian couples with children, single mothers, lesbians in the army, and so on. There was a great deal of nudity and lots of explicit sex scenes. *The L Word* became so popular that it led to a reality show titled *The Real L Word*, which continues on Showtime. Male homosexuality has also become more visible in films and on television. A growing percentage of the general population, especially those under 30, applaud this open portrayal of their lifestyles. In addition, the development of TV channels such as LOGO, which are geared toward the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) community, reflects a wider acceptance of diverse forms of sexuality within mainstream media outlets.

Sexual identities encompass a wide range, and growing number, of sexual subcultures. These subcultures include those associated with cross-dressing (“drag”), polyamory (multiple love relationships), and BDSM (bondage, domination, submission, and masochism). The BDSM subculture has entered mainstream culture, at least vicariously, through the enormous popularity of E. L. James’s *Fifty Shades of Grey*. Furthermore, there are multiple subcultures within the larger subculture that are constantly coming together and splitting apart (Bauer 2008; Gates

**sexual scripts** Generally known ideas about what one ought to do and not do as far as sexual behavior is concerned.

1999). Thus, for example, there are many gay subcultures, including drag kings and queens and gay Christians.

The increasing multiplicity of sexualities and sexual communities makes conflicts over the boundaries of sexualities increasingly likely (Kollen 2013). Young adults often experiment with sexuality and sexual behavior in an effort to discover those boundaries for themselves. To make things more complicated, some individuals engage in same-sex practices while rejecting the label gay or lesbian.

## Gendered Sexual Scripts

The differences between men and women in sexuality are perhaps greater than in any other aspect of our intimate lives (Naples and Gurr 2012). Although biological differences play a role in gender differences in sexuality, the sociological view is that social and cultural factors are of far greater importance. Socialization plays a key role here, as men and women learn sexual behavior by observing and learning from others. Of special importance is the learning of gender-appropriate **sexual scripts**, or the generally known ideas about what one ought to do and what one ought not to do as far as sexual behavior is concerned.

The male script focuses on the penis as the basic “tool” to be used in sexual relations. Sexuality is defined, then, as coitus, because it involves the use of the penis and its insertion into the vagina. Therefore, the primary expression of sexuality as far as most men are concerned is coitus; it is the typical way to use the penis appropriately and to achieve pleasure. This does not rule out oral or anal sex as alternatives to vaginal sex. However, excluded are many nongenital forms of sexuality, since the only “true” form of sexuality for males, like the penis itself, is outside one’s self. Men are also supposed to approach sexuality like work: to be knowledgeable about it and good at it, to operate efficiently, and to be in control of both their own bodies and those of their partners. For women, by contrast, sexuality is more like play, efficiency is devalued, and there is no strong need to be in control. Given the internal nature of the vagina, the sexual script for women is much more inwardly focused. It is also broader, involving many more acceptable ways of experiencing real sexuality and thinking of many more nongenital parts of the body as sexual in nature.

The social aspect of sexual behavior is also gender driven. Men are expected to be in charge of arousal; women are expected to be aroused. Men are expected to be driven by lust and desire, while women are supposed to be aroused by that and not to arrive at a sexual encounter



Acceptance of LGBTQs

# McDONALDIZATION TODAY

## The McDonaldization of Sexuality

It is easy to think of many things being McDonaldized, but sexuality is not one that comes immediately to mind. While the McDonaldization of public aspects of our lives is worrisome enough, when it affects this most private, mysterious, and intimate of realms, it seems much more troubling. Nevertheless, we have witnessed the rationalization and bureaucratization of sexuality. Kathryn Hausbeck and Barbara Brents (2010: 117) note that we are in danger of being entrapped “in Weber’s fearsome iron cage: coldly colonizing our imaginations and brushing up against our skins.” This image of McDonaldized systems physically touching our bodies and even entering and controlling our consciousness brings concern about McDonaldization to a whole new level.

The rationalization and bureaucratization of sex seems particularly intrusive and injects sterility into something that is supposed to be anything but sterile. In fact, sexual relations and relationships seem to be unpredictable in terms of when they happen and what

transpires when they do occur; they are best accomplished inefficiently; they have much more to do with the quality of the experiences than their quantitative aspects; and they do not appear to be subject to technological control, especially control by mechanical technologies.

Nevertheless, much about sexual relations has been McDonaldized. We have become

- more concerned about making the outcomes (orgasms and their intensity) more predictable;
- more interested in improving the efficiency of performance through, for example, self-help manuals that offer advice on how to become a more effective and efficient partner;
- more focused on the quantitative aspects of sex, such as how many times we have sex each week, or how many orgasms we have during a typical encounter; and

- more interested in using technologies such as Viagra, vibrators, and sex toys in sexual relationships.

Application of dimensions of McDonaldization to personal sexual relations may make us squeamish, but it should come as no surprise that they do apply, and very systematically, to the sex industry. Hausbeck and Brents (2008) spent more than 10 years observing the legal brothels in Nevada and found the following signs of McDonaldization:

- On entering one of the brothels, customers are presented with a lineup of available women. They are urged to choose quickly, and there is often a printed menu of sexual options. Time limits may be set and timers used to let the participants know when they must leave—whether or not they have accomplished their mission.
- Brothels tend to offer highly predictable heterosexual sexual relations.

These encounters are dominated by traditional notions of sex roles as well as by predominant ideas about how prostitutes should look and behave.

- Sexuality is paid for by the minute.
- Not only are technologies like timers employed, but so are surveillance technologies such as video cameras and microphones to make sure that customers adhere to the time limits and to protect the employees/sex workers in case sex acts get out of hand.

Today’s consumer can select other forms of sexuality that are much more McDonaldized, including pornographic magazines, paid phone and virtual sexuality, adult videos, and sexually explicit content on numerous paid and unpaid websites. Perhaps the most obviously McDonaldized aspects of the sex industry are the “adult superstores,” modeled after chains like Bed Bath & Beyond, and “gentleman’s clubs,” some of which are part of chains. For example, Rick’s Cabaret and its other chains—Onyx, XTC, and Tootsie’s—operate in a number of American cities. The website for Rick’s Cabaret looks much like that of the Hard Rock Cafe, with a tab offering T-shirts,



Does it appear to you that sexuality is in danger of being McDonaldized?

caps, and “expandable” briefcases, all with the Rick’s logo emblazoned on them.

While there is no shortage of McDonaldization in the world of sexual relations, there are also signs of resistance to it. For example, some of a brothel’s customers demand at least the appearance of intimacy, closeness, and affection. If they can’t get non-McDonaldized sexuality, they at least want it to appear as if it is non-McDonaldized.

### Think About It

Do you think today’s increased focus on measurable sexual outcomes and efficiency might come from social forces other than McDonaldization? If so, what are these sources? Is there broader resistance to the McDonaldization of sexuality? Give examples.

“in lust.” Susan M. Shaw and Janet Lee (2009: 179) argue that men engage in “instrumental sex (sex for its own sake) . . . and women engage in expressive sex (sex involving emotional attachments).”

These are, of course, gross generalizations, and there are great differences in these male and female scripts. Nonetheless, such scripts are widely shared. The learning of these scripts, and the scripts themselves, better account for gender differences in sexuality than do biological differences. The “Public Sociology” box on page 334 deals with one sociologist’s contribution to clarifying sexual scripts for those who did not learn as much as they would have liked early in life.

### ASK YOURSELF

Where and how do we learn sexual scripts? Do you think we can unlearn them, or learn new ones? Why or why not?

## SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS ON SEXUALITY

There is an increasing sense, not without reason, that sexuality has grown increasingly free of social constraints. This is clear in many realms of the social world, but one example is the way the media treat sexuality. An MTV reality show titled *16 and Pregnant* deals with younger teens going through the trials and tribulations of pregnancy. Other broadcasts with similar themes are the TV movie *The Pregnancy Pact* and, on occasion, the network TV program *Glee*. These programs demonstrate a relaxed attitude toward teenage sexuality: that it is OK for teenagers to have sexual relations, maybe even unprotected relations; to become pregnant; and perhaps even to have the babies that may result.

While there is much to support the idea of increasing sexual freedom, human sexuality is never totally free. For example, a public school in Mississippi canceled its senior prom because a lesbian student wanted to bring her girlfriend as a date (Joyner 2010).

Society contains structures such as schools, family, law, police, and religion, as well as customs, that constrain sexuality. In addition, constraints on sexuality are closely linked to larger social phenomena and hierarchies. One of the most important of these is minority status.

Generally speaking, the sexuality of oppressed minorities is more likely to be constrained than is the sexuality of the dominant group. For example, men have historically been freer to express their sexuality, while women have been subjected to a number of physical and social traditions that discourage them from the free exercise of their sexuality. More

**consensual sex** Sexual intercourse that is agreed upon by the participants in an informed process.

**sexual assaults** Sexual acts of domination, usually enacted by men against women.

**rape** A form of domination; violent sexual intercourse.

extremely, women are more likely to be abused and raped and to sell their sexuality, while men are more likely to be sex offenders and sex addicts and to buy sexual relations.

## CULTURE AND CONSENT

Important to a discussion of social constraints on sexuality are the concepts of consensual sex, sexual assault, and rape. All involve issues of the relative power of the individuals involved in sexual activity. **Consensual sex** is defined as sexual intercourse that is agreed upon by the participants in an informed process. **Sexual assault** encompasses sexual acts of domination, usually enacted by men against women. Such assaults can occur between strangers, but they usually occur between acquaintances. **Rape**,



Men and Masculinity

## Pepper Schwartz on Sexuality

Pepper Schwartz is a sociologist who focuses on sexuality and sexual relationships. She has published many scholarly articles and books (most notably, in 1983, *American Couples: Money, Work and Sex* with Philip Blumstein). However, Schwartz does not limit herself to dull academic tracts or dry scholarly topics. She is also well known to the general public through the articles and columns she has contributed to many magazines and newspapers, including the monthly columns “Sex and Health” for *Glamour* magazine (with Janet Lever) and “Talking about Sex” in *American Baby* magazine. She also blogs on MedHelp.org and PerfectMatch.com and has appeared regularly on KIRO-TV in Seattle.

For all they learn growing up and from the media about sexuality and sexual scripts, people still have a lot of questions. The following is a sampling of Schwartz’s journalistic advice (often in collaboration with Janet Lever), offered in response to questions from readers:

Orgasms are greatly affected by our thoughts and emotions. If you finally get an evening alone with your partner after a period of abstinence . . . [i]t doesn’t take much technique to get you over the top. At other times, as you know, technique matters. A woman’s arousal is heightened when her partner stimulates erogenous zones in addition to her breasts and genitals. . . . Direct

clitoral stimulation, instead of just vaginal intercourse, also results in more vaginal contractions, which is why some women claim their vibrator gives them the most intense orgasms. (*Glamour*)

Children are so absorbing that it’s easy to have them become the focus of your marriage, but you risk falling into the role of parents rather than lovers. Reinvesting in your relationship should be a priority. Taking care of your emotional intimacy isn’t a luxury but a necessity. (*American Baby*)

Painful intercourse (medically termed “dyspareunia”) is the most common sexual complaint that women report to their gynecologists . . . pain is frequently experienced by those having sex for the first time. This is completely normal, as the vaginal channel is often so naturally tight at first intercourse that inserting even a finger might be painful. The vagina becomes more elastic over time and generally will adapt to penetration, though it may tighten in response to pain, anticipated pain, or a general fear of penetration. Therapists encourage using generous amounts of a commercial lubricant and penetrating very gradually, perhaps starting with a finger, then two, until

entry is more comfortable. (*Sexual Health*)

Schwartz has recently discussed some of her own sexual adventures in *Prime: Adventures and Advice in Sex, Love, and the Sensual Years* (2007). This book is aimed at a popular audience. She is interested not only in revealing much about herself, but also in continuing to offer advice on sexuality and on relationships, sexual and otherwise. Following the sexual careers of the baby boomer generation, of which she is a member, Schwartz currently serves as a consultant and advice counselor for the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP).

Schwartz’s focus on the topic of sexuality started in the early 1970s, while she was earning her PhD at Yale University. During that time she coauthored or coedited three books on sexuality, including *Sex and the Yale Student* and *A Student Guide to Sex on Campus*. Currently she is a professor of sociology at the University of Washington.

**Think About It**

Do you think it is only baby boomers who benefit, or could benefit, from advice and information such as Schwartz offers? Are younger generations more knowledgeable about sex and sexuality than their elders, or less? If your peers have questions about sex, whom do they ask?

also a form of domination, is violent sexual intercourse (Rudrappa 2012).

Communities vary in terms of the probability of sexual violence and the effectiveness of constraints on the kinds of behaviors that often lead to such violence. In many religious communities, strong expectations for modesty and sexuality only within marriage keep sexual violence to a minimum. In contrast, the nature of sexuality in colleges

can promote a “rape culture” (Argiero et al. 2010; Boswell and Spade 1996), or an environment conducive to rape. Rape cultures tend to be prevalent in and around college campuses due to the overpowering presence of alcohol and drugs and the age of the population.

Sexual assaults have, to put it mildly, very serious consequences. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network

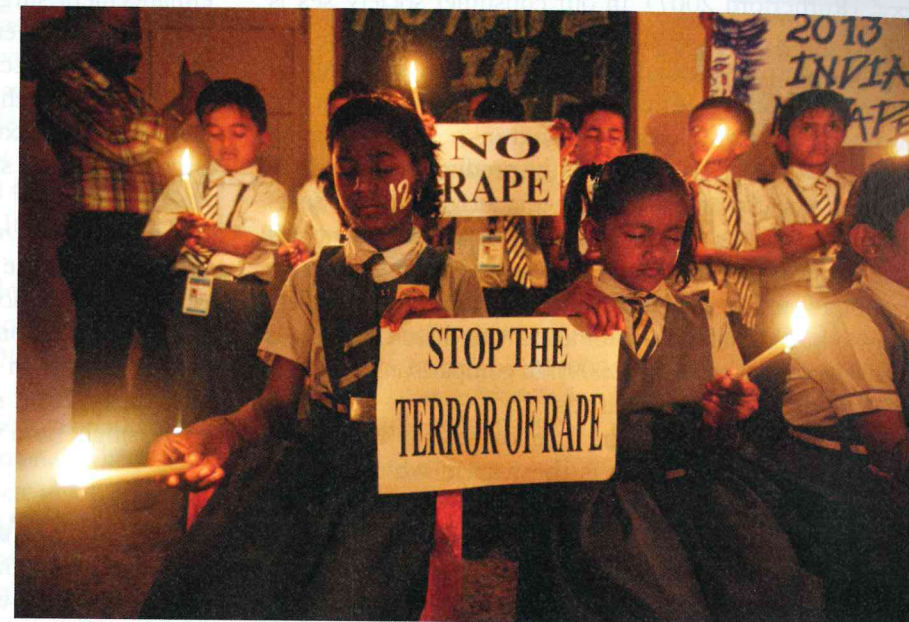
## Violence against Women in India

India and much of the world were galvanized by the horrific gang rape and death of a 23-year-old Indian female medical student in New Delhi in December 2012.

The woman and a male friend had been to the movies and were seeking a ride when a bus pulled over and they were waved on board. The couple had been tricked into believing that it was a public bus. Six men, including the driver and another posing as a conductor, were out for a joy ride. The woman was harassed and her companion was beaten with a metal rod. The woman was then repeatedly raped, and she was penetrated by the metal rod as the bus circled the city. Eventually, the naked couple was dumped by the side of a highway on the outskirts of the city (Mandhana and Trivedi 2012). The woman survived for almost two weeks but then died as a result of internal injuries.

The case brought attention to a broader pattern of murder and other forms of violence against women in India, including killings over dowry disputes, sexual violence, family conflicts, and discriminatory treatment of both infant girls and elderly women (Harris 2013). Sexual harassment is common and rape is a daily occurrence in New Delhi and elsewhere in India.

This rape of the medical student was followed a month later by what was apparently a well-planned attack in the north Indian state of Punjab. A woman was assaulted after accepting a motorcycle ride from the driver of a bus on which she had been riding. He took her to a nearby village, where she was raped repeatedly by six men: the driver



The death of a rape victim in India drew the world’s attention to a widespread pattern of sexual harassment and violence against women there. Is this an Indian problem?

himself, the conductor, and four other men (Timmons and Kumar 2013).

One woman who had lived in New Delhi for 24 years described her experiences: “I wore clothes that were two sizes too large. . . . The steady thrum of whistles, catcalls, hisses, sexual innuendos and open threats continued. Packs of men . . . would thrust their pelvises at female passers-by. . . . In my office . . . at the doctor’s office, even at a house party—I couldn’t escape the intimidation” (Faleiro 2013).

While violence against women has a long history in India, as well as in many other places in the world, it has been fueled in India in recent years by the progress of women and the resulting hostility of males

who blame their failures on the success of women (Harris 2013).

Recent rapes have attracted global attention and spurred protests and demonstrations in India (Timmons and Gottipati 2012). It remains to be seen whether anything changes, and whether Indian women will become less subject to rape and other forms of sexual violence and harassment.

**Think About It**

What cultural forces contribute to an atmosphere in which rape is so commonplace? What economic forces might also be contributing to this social problem in India? What needs to change for rape and other sexual violence to grow less common there?

(RAINN), the largest anti-sexual violence network in the United States, survivors are 3 times more likely to suffer from depression, 4 times more likely to contemplate suicide, 6 times more likely to suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 26 times more likely to abuse drugs, and 13 times more likely to abuse alcohol as a coping mechanism (RAINN

2009b). Moreover, a host of physical maladies can persist over time, including tension headaches, fatigue, gastrointestinal



Pepper Schwartz

upset, difficulty urinating, and a variety of vaginal and rectal problems.

## SEX AND CONSUMPTION

Regardless of constraints on sexuality, everyday life has been sexualized to a large degree—the world has been “made sexy” (Rutherford 2007). In our consumer society, sex is used to encourage consumption of all sorts of things that are not inherently sexual. Advertisements use sexualized images to promote innumerable products, from cars to toothpaste and from clothing to soft drinks. The implication in many of these ads is that use of the product leads to sexual relationships. The well-known media adage that “sex sells” shows no signs of going out of fashion. However, researchers have found that women usually have a strong negative reaction to explicit sexual content in advertising and are less likely to buy merchandise promoted with these types of ads (Dahl, Sengupta, and Vohs 2009). In comparison, men tend to feel positively toward such ads.

More blatant than the use of sexual images to sell products and services is the way in which human sexualities themselves have been increasingly turned into commodities and marketed (Y. Taylor 2007). Of course, the consumption of sex is nothing new—after all, prostitution is often referred to as the “oldest profession.” What is new since the mid-twentieth century is the rise of a huge sex industry, one whose outreach spans the globe. This sexual marketplace can be seen as being composed of five interlocking markets (Plummer 2007b):

- *Bodies and sexual acts.* This market includes prostitution and other forms of sex work, such as stripping and table and lap dancing. “Real sex” involving “real bodies” is available for purchase by those with the ability to pay.

- *Pornography and erotica.* Sexual images and text are not generally thought to involve “real sexuality” or “real bodies.” However, pornography and erotica can be associated with, or lead to, real sexual acts and relations, including masturbation and sexual intercourse. The production, distribution, sale, and consumption of pornography—by both men and women—are increasingly taking place on the Internet. There is, in fact, no clear line between “real sexuality” and sexuality on the Internet.

- *Sexualized objects.* Sexualized objects include sex toys (e.g., inflated blow-up dolls), drugs that are thought to enhance sexual sensations (“poppers,” or nitrate inhalers), costumes for sadomasochistic sex, dildos, vibrators, and lingerie (Coulmont and Hubbard 2010).

- *Sexualized technologies.* People around the world increasingly consume contraceptives as well as drugs like

Viagra and Cialis (Katsulis 2010). The latter are supposed to be used to treat erectile dysfunction (ED), although many men without ED use these drugs to enhance the sexual experience for themselves and their partners. Other sexualized technologies include surgeries for everything from making oneself more sexually attractive (breast enhancement surgery, revirgination/vaginal rejuvenation, penile enlargement, genital reconstructive surgery) to changing one’s sex (sex reassignment surgery). Digital technologies, such as smartphones and the Internet, have been similarly sexualized. See the “Digital Living” box on page 338 for one such phenomenon.

- *Sexualized relationships.* One example of a sexualized relationship is the mail-order bride. In addition, bars and other consumption sites are often locales for beginning sexualized relationships. Help for improving a sexualized relationship can be purchased from highly paid sex therapists, from self-help books of all sorts, and now increasingly from websites across the Internet.

## SEXUAL DEVIANCE

As is the case with deviance in general, what is considered sexual deviance varies greatly from place to place, from time to time, and among different individuals and groups. There is no universal definition of sexual deviance. (For an example of place-based definitions of deviance, see the “Globalization” box on page 339.) An example of historical fluidity in definitions of sexual deviance is marital rape. There was no notion of marital rape for most of human history. Wives did not have the right to deny the advances, even the forcible advances, of their husbands. However, largely as a result of the women’s movement, marital rape has come to be seen in many parts of the world as a deviant act and, in some cases, even illegal. Marital rape is defined by most state laws as “any unwanted intercourse or penetration (vaginal, anal, or oral) obtained by force, threat of force, or when the wife is unable to consent” (RAINN 2009a). It occurs when a spouse is forced to take part in sexual acts without her (or his) consent. In the United States, as of 1993, marital rape is considered a crime in all states.

Marital rape is but one example of what has been described as “defining deviancy up” (Karmen 1994). This occurs over time as behaviors that were once overlooked or tolerated come to be increasingly discouraged, deterred, forbidden, and outlawed (Scott and Schwartz 2008). Another good example is **sexual harassment**, which involves unwanted sexual attention, such as sexually

**sexual harassment** Unwanted sexual attention that takes place in the workplace or other settings.

oriented remarks and jokes, advances, and requests that take place in the workplace or in other settings (Zippel 2007). This, too, was considered quite normal not too long ago, but the women’s movement has also helped to redefine sexual harassment as a form of sexual deviance.

The whole idea of sexual deviance, as well as many specific behaviors that have in the past been considered deviant, is being contested with the increasing acceptance of a very wide range of sexual activities. However, there are still people, groups, and societies that regard at least some forms of sexual behavior as deviant. Many people with conservative social values consider homosexuality to be deviant, although public opinion is changing rapidly and the percentage of people holding such views is declining. In contrast, strong negative reactions to instances of pedophilia indicate that it is definitely considered a deviant practice by most Americans.

Four criteria have been used to define a given form of sexual behavior as deviant (Tewksbury 2007):

- *Degree of consent of those involved.* Sexual relations are more likely to be considered deviant when one of the parties does not agree to, and even resists, the acts involved. Rape is the most obvious form of nonconsensual sexual relations (Brownmiller 1975; L. Kelly 2007). Exhibitionism would be another example. The person viewing the actions of an exhibitionist has not consented to the revelations; if he or she did consent, the actions would not be exhibitionism.

- *Nature of the person involved in the sex act.* Sex with children is considered deviant because they are not capable of consensual sex in the eyes of the law and public opinion. Likewise, having sex with an individual who is too drunk to offer informed consent constitutes rape, as the jury concluded in a recent, case involving a teenage female and two high school football players.

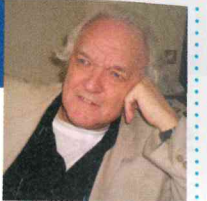
- *Nature of the action involved or the body part employed.* Violent sexual relations would be considered deviant by most people (although not sadists and masochists). Some would consider anal intercourse deviant. The use of body parts not usually thought of as sexual—feet, the nose, the ear—in the sexual act would also be considered deviant, at least by most.

- *Place in which the sexual act takes place.* Even “normal” sex acts would be considered deviant if they occurred in, for example, a church, synagogue, or mosque.

## GENDER

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, sex is largely biologically based (although it is also powerfully affected

## BIOGRAPHICAL bits



**Ken Plummer**  
(British, born 1946)

Ken Plummer, born in England, sees himself as a humanist in search of less socially produced suffering and a better social world. He received his BA and PhD from the University of London and has fulfilled his lifelong interest in the teaching of sociology by supervising countless students at the University of Essex in England as well as the University of California, Santa Barbara. Plummer has also edited the journal *Sexualities* for many years. Illness forced him to retire in 2006, but he continues to be very active in sociology. Already the author or editor of some 15 books, he feels he still has quite a few in him to write.

### RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Sexuality and intimacy

### SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account* (1975)
- *Modern Homosexualities: Fragments of Lesbian and Gay Experience* (1992)
- *Intimate Citizenship: Personal Decisions and Public Dialogues* (2003)

### KEY IDEAS & CONTRIBUTIONS

- Understanding the stigmas associated with various forms of sexuality, especially homosexuality

by social and cultural factors), whereas gender is a social distinction and social definition. However, gender can be enacted in many different ways, and in recent years that range of behaviors has increased greatly. Thus, gender is a social construction that is subject to change, sometimes quite dramatically, over time (Dongen 2012).

While sex is usually more of a given (although we learn sexualities as well), gender is largely a learned behavior; to a great degree, we *learn* to be men and women. For example, we learn the appropriate physical appearance, behavior, and personality for a man or a woman. Learning, understanding, and viewing one another as male and female are a social process. Our parents believe certain ideas about gender-appropriate behavior and try to pass those ideas



Sexual Harassment    Legal Definitions of Rape

## Sexting

Sexuality has become increasingly mobile, thanks to sexting, or the ability to e-mail or text explicitly sexual photos, primarily via smartphones. Sexting may be fun, but it is not harmless. In 2011, Anthony Weiner, for example, was forced to resign as a U.S. congressman when it was discovered that he had been tweeting close-up photos of his erect penis, concealed by his under-shorts, to a young woman. There have also been a number of scandals involving high school students sexting and then living to regret it.

Sexting among young people has led social media networks to work toward limiting minors' access to adult-based content. Some mobile carriers limit the amount of adult content available on their network for fear of children accessing such content.

Nevertheless, a sizable number of teens are engaging in sexting. A survey by the Associated Press and MTV of 1,200 teenage respondents found that more than a quarter of them admitted to some form of sexting (Grier 2010). Some have discovered the disadvantages of sexting. Some girls perceive that, paradoxically, "the

Internet is making boys more aggressive sexually—more accepting of graphic images or violence toward women, brasher, more demanding—but it is also making them less so, or at least less interested in the standard-issue, flesh-and-bone girls they encounter in real life who may not exactly have *Penthouse* proportions or pornstar inclinations" (Morris 2011).

Another potential problem with sexting is the link to *cyberbullying*—Internet practices that are harmful to other individuals. Middle school girls have confessed that they send suggestive photos of themselves to boys to "mess with other girls' boyfriends." Furthermore, nearly one out of five teens who received sext messages said they passed them on to someone else; 50 percent of them admitted they forwarded the images to multiple recipients (Grier 2010). The forwarding of sext messages may expose those in the photos to ridicule, scorn, and even retaliation by aggrieved boyfriends and girlfriends.

Many organizations are working to teach teens about cyberbullying. For

example, LG created a public service ad that counseled teens to think hard before sending a potentially harmful text of themselves or others. MTV created a website, [www.athinline.org](http://www.athinline.org), to provide guidelines and information about sexting and online bullying. These are the basic tenets of its Digital Rights Project (A Thin Line N.d.):

Online and on my cell, I have the right to:

- live without pressure or abuse;
- step in and help if I see someone getting harassed;
- end unhealthy relationships;
- take control of my decisions; and
- disconnect whenever I want.

### Think About It

What do you think is the lure of sexting? What are the risks? Do you think it is a deviant activity? Why or why not? What, if anything, might dissuade young people from participating in this activity?

on to us. Later we learn gender through socialization in schools. Expected behavior is further reinforced within same-sex social circles, during a period when boys tend to play only with boys and girls tend to play only with girls (Kimmel 2012). Of course, the media—print, television, and Internet—also have a great effect on our sense of gender-appropriate behavior.

## FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY

Useful in this context is the distinction between "femininity"

## "Crowd Licentiousness" in China

A reflection of global cultural differences in sexuality is the case of Ma Yaohai, a 53-year-old Chinese professor of computer science whose online name was "Roaring Virile Fire." Ma was sentenced in 2010 for what was called "crowd licentiousness" (Wong 2010). His crime was the organization of at least 18 orgies at which an informal club of swingers engaged in group sex and partner swapping. The law under which Ma was prosecuted was a leftover from an old Chinese law against "hooliganism," or sex outside marriage, which was abandoned in 1997. Before the old law was dropped, however, the leader of another swingers' club had been executed for his crimes under the "crowd licentiousness" law.

At his trial, Ma Yaohai exclaimed, "How can I disturb social order? What happens in my house is a private matter" (Wong 2010: A8). Nevertheless, he was sentenced to three and a half years in prison. Others in China protested this infringement on personal freedom, specifically the ability to engage in freely chosen sexual activity such as group sex.

China is changing dramatically due to its adoption of capitalism, consumer culture, the Internet, and globalization. The punishment of Ma Yaohai seems out of step with a country in which sexual content is readily available online, brothels are proliferating, and premarital sexual relations are common among young people. A website, Happy Village, hosts a chat

and "masculinity." These are gender identities—what it means to be a "woman" or a "man"—acquired during the socialization process (Laurie et al. 1999; Lind 2007). There is a tendency to develop stereotypes about what it means to be a woman (mother, nurturant, emotional) and a man (father, tough, unemotional). However, in reality, these stereotypes are not natural or biological but rather socially constructed. As Simone de Beauvoir (1973: 301) famously put it, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." The same is true, of course, for a man. Furthermore, these categories are fluid, have wide ranges, and differ greatly both historically and geographically.



Ma Yaohai (center) is shown entering the courtroom for his trial in Nanjing. Do you consider orgies and group sex to be deviant sexual behaviors?

room devoted to swinging. Moreover, love and sex are being discussed more openly on radio and television (Scott and Schwartz 2008).

Like many other parts of the world, China has clearly grown increasingly "sexy," but its laws have certainly not kept pace. Ma's trial appears to be a case of "cultural lag" (Ogburn 1922) in which the norms and values of the culture as they relate to sexual behavior have not kept up with rapid social and behavioral change. Since many

Chinese are going to resist efforts to make their lives less "sexy," it seems likely that the law will change or, at least, never be enforced again.

### Think About It

What social function(s) do laws against certain types of sexual behavior serve? Do such laws benefit anyone? Whom? Do you agree that China's law against "crowd licentiousness" is unlikely to be enforced again? Why or why not?

## CHECKPOINT 10.1 SEX AND SEXUALITY

**Sex:** A biological distinction between males and females based on fundamental differences in their reproductive organs and functions.

**Intersexed:** People with some combination of male and female genitalia.

**Heterosexuality:** Sexual desire for people of the opposite sex.

**Bisexuality:** Sexual desire for both sexes.

**Gender:** Social distinctions based on the physical, behavioral, and personality characteristics considered appropriate for one's sex.

**Transsexuals:** People with the genitalia of one sex who believe they are trapped in the wrong body.

**Homosexuality:** Sexual desire for people of the same sex.

**Asexuality:** Lack of sexual desire.

## ASK YOURSELF

What did Simone de Beauvoir mean by saying, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman"? Do you agree with her view? Why or why not? Do you think she would say the same thing today?



World Gender Categories



Sexting

## BIOGRAPHICAL bits



### Raewynn (née Robert William) Connell (Australian, born 1944)

A transgender woman, Raewynn Connell was educated in Australia and currently holds a university chair at the University of Sydney, from which she obtained her PhD. She has also held visiting posts at universities in Canada, the United States, and Germany. Connell has made important contributions to the study of social stratification and the study of gender. She frequently uses biographical interviewing in her research and was one of the first people to study the social construction of masculinity. In 2010, the Australian Sociological Association established the biennial Raewynn Connell Prize for the best first book in Australian sociology. Connell and her late partner Pam Benton have a daughter.

#### RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Social stratification
- Gender and the sociology of masculinities
- A sociology of intellectuals

#### SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- *Ruling Class, Ruling Culture: Studies of Conflict, Power and Hegemony in Australian Life* (1977)
- *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative, and Argument* (1980)
- *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (1987)
- *Masculinities* (1995, 2005)
- *Confronting Equality: Gender, Knowledge and Global Change* (2011)

#### KEY IDEAS & CONTRIBUTIONS

- Development of a “southern theory” to counter the mainstream bias toward social science done in the Global North
- The idea that gender is a large-scale social structure, not just a matter of personal identity

Yet the distinction between masculine and feminine persists. An effort to explain why it persists is found in the work of Raewynn (née Robert W.) Connell (1987, 1997, 2009), an Australian sociologist who coined the terms

*hegemonic masculinity* and *emphasized femininity* and analyzed the roles that these ideas have played in global gender inequality. **Hegemonic masculinity**, linked to patriarchy, is a set of socially constructed ideas about masculinity that focuses on the interests and desires of men. Characteristics associated with hegemonic masculinity include, but are not limited to, being white, tall, athletic, Protestant, young, married, northern, heterosexual, a father, college educated, and fully employed; having a good complexion and weight; and being successful in sports. **Emphasized femininity** is a set of socially constructed ideas that accommodates to the interests of men and patriarchy and involves the compliance of females. Emphasized femininity focuses on social ability rather than intellect, ego-stroking, and acceptance of the roles of mother and wife as a result of gender discrimination within the workplace (Kimmel 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity acts in concert with emphasized femininity to subordinate women. It also serves to subordinate men who do not live up to the stereotype of hegemonic masculinity, including men who are nonwhite, homosexual, or poor. In addition, just as many men are subordinated by hegemonic masculinity, many women do not live up to the ideals associated with emphasized femininity and are adversely affected by the stereotypes (Butler 1990). Of note in this context are **transgender** individuals, whose gender identity does not conform to the sex to which they were assigned at birth and move across the gender line in behavior by, for example, cross-dressing. Thus, transgender individuals also challenge mainstream ideas of masculinity and femininity.

Interestingly, while men benefit greatly from hegemonic masculinity, it has, at least until recently, been largely invisible to them. Not having to think about masculinity is one of the dividends of gender inequality for men. In contrast, women think a great deal about masculinity, since they are so oppressed by it in many different ways.

It is important to remember that masculinity and femininity need to be detached, at least to some degree, from sex and the body. That is, men can act in feminine ways, perhaps by nurturing others, and women can behave in a

**hegemonic masculinity** A set of ideas about the characteristics of men that focuses on the interests and desires of men and is linked to patriarchy.

**emphasized femininity** A set of socially constructed ideas that accommodates to the interests of men and to patriarchy and involves the compliance of females.

**transgender** An umbrella term describing individuals whose gender identity does not conform to the sex to which they were assigned at birth and whose behavior challenges gender norms.

masculine manner, perhaps by competing aggressively. At the beginning of this chapter, the continuum between the male and female sexes was discussed. Similarly, we should not think in simple, dualistic terms about gender; there is a continuum between masculinity and femininity, which results in part from the variety of socialization patterns that both women and men experience over the life course. Moreover, individuals can be high in both masculinity and femininity, or low in both. Therefore, we must think of gender performance as being fluid rather than static.

## GENDER, WORK, AND FAMILY

The relationship among gender, work, and family is one of the most studied issues in the field of gender (Thorn 2007). The main concern is the ways in which the intersection of work and family varies by gender. For example, it has been shown that married or cohabiting males do better at work and are more productive, at least in part, because their wives are handling more of the responsibilities in the home. Men's wages also tend to increase when they marry or cohabit (Ahituv and Lerman 2007; Korenman and Neumark 1991). As you can see in Figure 10.1, married men have tended, at least since 1990, to earn somewhat more than men who are not married. However, unmarried women's household income is far below that of all men and of married women. Many of these inequities are based on traditional gender roles in the family.

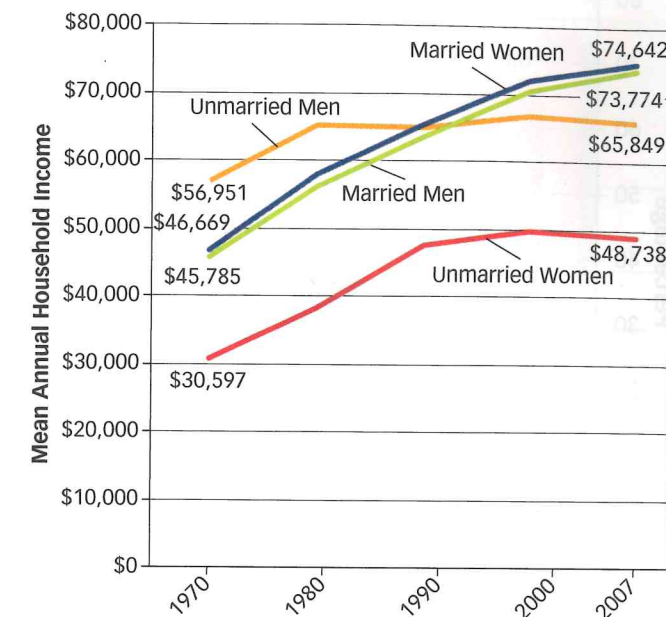
### Separate Spheres

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, women and men together occupied both the private sphere, or domestic life in and around the home, and the public sphere, or the job sector and public life. More specifically, women and men shared the breadwinner and domestic roles.

Industrialization brought forth social change, namely the separation of the public and private spheres. Men became the breadwinners, venturing forth into the public world of work; women were less likely to work outside the home and were relegated to the private sphere (Kerber 1988). The “cult of domesticity” that arose argued that women should display

- submissiveness to their husbands and other male authorities,
- piety as moral exemplars within the home,
- purity in being virgins at marriage and strictly monogamous thereafter, and
- domesticity, having been well trained in the domestic arts and caretaking (Welter 1966).

**FIGURE 10.1 • Gender, Marital Status, and Household Income in the United States, 1970–2007**



SOURCE: Gender, Marital Status, and Household Income, 1970–2007 is reprinted with permission from *Women, Men and the New Economics of Marriage* by Richard Fry and D'Vera Cohn. Copyright © 2010 Pew Research Center, Social & Demographic Trends Project.

NOTE: Includes only native-born 30- to 44-year-olds. Incomes adjusted for household size, scaled to reflect a three-person household, and then adjusted to 2007 dollars.

Middle- and upper-class women were those most likely to be able to meet the demands of the cult of domesticity.

Since the mid-twentieth century, this once clear-cut, gender-based differentiation between the public and private spheres has been breaking down. Now women are more likely not only to be in the work world (England 2010) but, increasingly, to be the principal—or even the only—wage earner in the family. The family characterized by a division between male/breadwinner and female/homemaker has increasingly given way to more blended roles, and even to role reversals, especially in dual-earner families.

### Dual-Earner Households

A key issue in the study of gender, work, and family is the difference in the way men and women use their time in the era of dual-earner families. The central work on this topic is Arlie Hochschild's (2003) *The Second Shift*. She argues that in dual-earner families with children,



Raewynn Connell



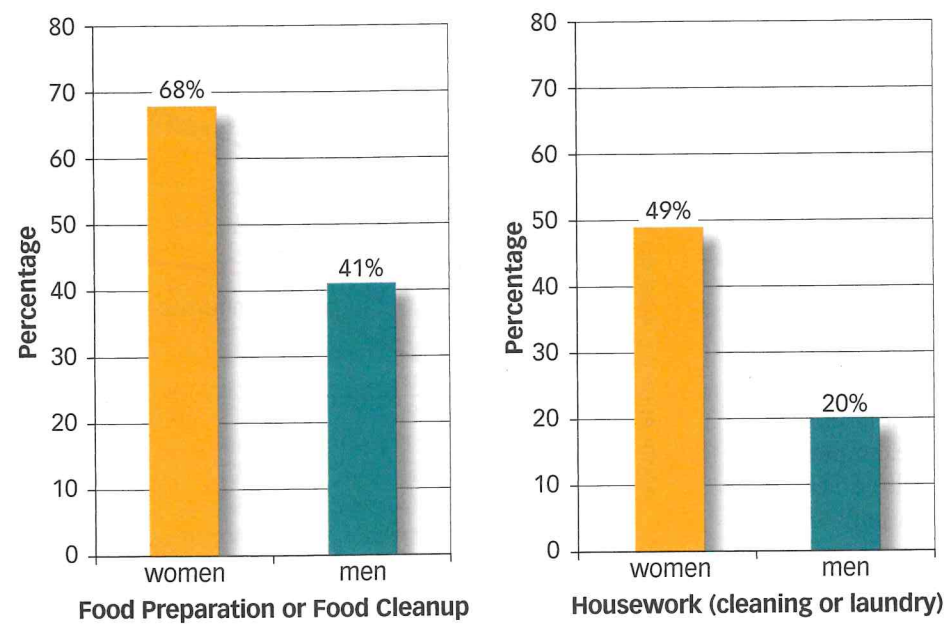
Dual-Career Families



Gender Socialization



**FIGURE 10.2 • Division of Household Labor in the United States by Gender, 2010**



SOURCE: Daily Household Labor in the United States by Gender from *American Time Use Survey News Release*, June 22, 2011. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

wives who take jobs outside the home tend to be saddled with a second body of work—their traditional tasks of child care and housework—when they get home from their paid job. Such women can be said to be working a “second shift.” Figure 10.2 presents 2010 data on gender differences in performing two specific household tasks: cleaning the house and preparing and cleaning up after meals. While on an average day, 68 percent of women did food preparation or cleanup, only 41 percent of men performed these tasks. More extremely, 49 percent of women did housework on an average day while only 20 percent of men did such work.

### ASK YOURSELF

Did your mother or grandmother work a “second shift”? How many women you know are doing so now? Do you know any men who could be said to be working a “second shift” to the same degree?

This male tendency to handle far less domestic work than women (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010; Miller and Sassler 2010) has been attributed to a “stalled revolution” (England 2010). There has certainly been a revolution in the labor force in the past half century or so, with women participating at much higher rates. However, the revolution has stalled because a high percentage of

men still do not share traditionally female work in the home.

However, recent research indicates that the differences between women and men are narrowing (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie 2006). While the second shift continues to exist for women, they are now spending more time at work and less at home. Thus they have less time for, and are less involved in, the second shift. The reverse is the case for men, who are spending less time at work and more time at home and participating more in the tasks associated with the second shift. It may be that the stalled revolution has regained its momentum. It is having a wider effect on society as a whole, on both men and women in the labor force, and in the family. However, it would be premature to argue that the revolution is now complete, that the second shift has

ended for women, or that there is true equality in men’s and women’s work, both in the labor force and in the home.

According to a 2010 United Nations (UN) report, women worldwide shoulder vastly more household responsibilities than men. As you can see in Figure 10.3, however, American women have the lightest burden among women in all regions. Perhaps the major explanation for this is the greater affluence of American women and their ability to afford more and more sophisticated household appliances, more meals in restaurants, and to hire people to help with household tasks more often.

### Supermoms

The media is an important contributor to social pressures on women to be “domestic goddesses.” Prevailing images of happy moms (especially celebrity moms like Sarah Jessica Parker and Angelina Jolie) tending to their children’s every need encourage many women to feel that they must become supermoms. As a result, women are exposed daily to a heavy promotion of impossible ideals of mothering. “Mothers are subjected to an onslaught of beatific imagery, romantic fantasies, self-righteous sermons . . . and totally unrealistic advice about how to be the most perfect and revered mom in the neighborhood, maybe even in the whole country” (Douglas and Michaels 2006: 228). This pressure to be

the best mother is part of “the ultimate female Olympics” (Douglas and Michaels 2006: 231). To become the best, mothers must always smile and be understanding, must never be tired, and must make their kids the center of the universe. A recent high-profile questioning of this ideal occurred when Anne-Marie Slaughter left her ranking position in the State Department to spend more time with her children (she did not leave the workforce, but instead returned to her professorship at Princeton). Her article “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All” received considerable media attention (Slaughter 2012).

### GENDER AND EDUCATION

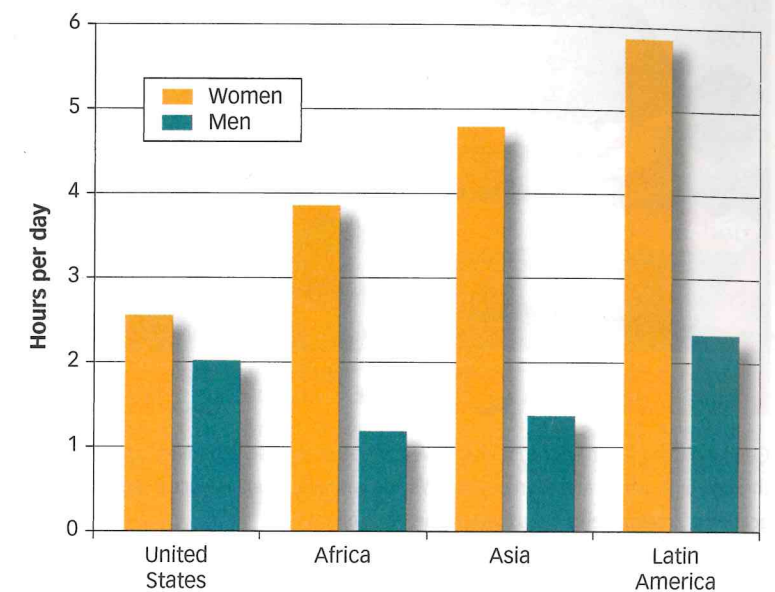
Gender inequality in access to, and experience in, educational systems is an important source of gender inequality throughout American society and across the globe. Historically, families invested relatively little in the education of females because they were expected to stay at home as wives and mothers. Thus, there was a gender gap in education in many countries, including the United States. Increasing awareness of this gap has led to significant efforts to overcome the problem and subsequently to great gains for women in education (Dorius and Firebaugh 2010).

This is not to say that all the traditional male advantages in education have disappeared. While gender differences in courses taken in American high schools are declining, females are still less likely to take advanced computer classes and more likely to take courses in word processing and data entry. Such differences persist in college, where women are more likely to be in fields such as education, English, and nursing and less likely to be in areas such as science, technology, and engineering that are more likely to lead to higher pay. This kind of sex typing in education is a global phenomenon.

### Educational Achievement and Attainment

When boys and girls begin school, there are few substantial differences in their levels of achievement (Aud and Hannes 2011). However, from 4th through 12th grade, female students consistently score higher than male students on both reading and writing assessments. Recent data indicate that by the end of high school, males hold a very small advantage over females in math, and a larger advantage in science. International comparisons indicate that the male–female gap in math in the United

**FIGURE 10.3 • Average Hours per Day Spent on Housework by World Region and Gender, 2010**



SOURCE: United Nations Statistics Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

States is relatively small compared with that in other industrialized nations (Aud and Hannes 2011).

Today, gender differences in educational attainment generally favor females. Females are significantly more likely than males to graduate from high school and to attend either a two- or four-year college (Carbonaro and Covay 2011). In 1960, women represented less than 40 percent of college undergraduates in the United States; today, roughly 57 percent of students at both two- and four-year colleges are female (Goldin, Katz, and Kuziemko 2006). Women are more likely than men to receive a bachelor’s or master’s degree (Alon and Gelbgiser 2011; Buchmann and DiPrete 2006). Changing societal attitudes about gender roles and declining sexism have had dramatic effects on women’s educational attainment. We can see this most clearly in the dramatic increases in law and medical degrees earned by women. However, men continue to be more likely to be trained in the most prestigious colleges and universities and to obtain doctoral degrees. A significant gender gap in pay remains even with female gains in education (Charles and Bradley 2009; Jacobs 1996).

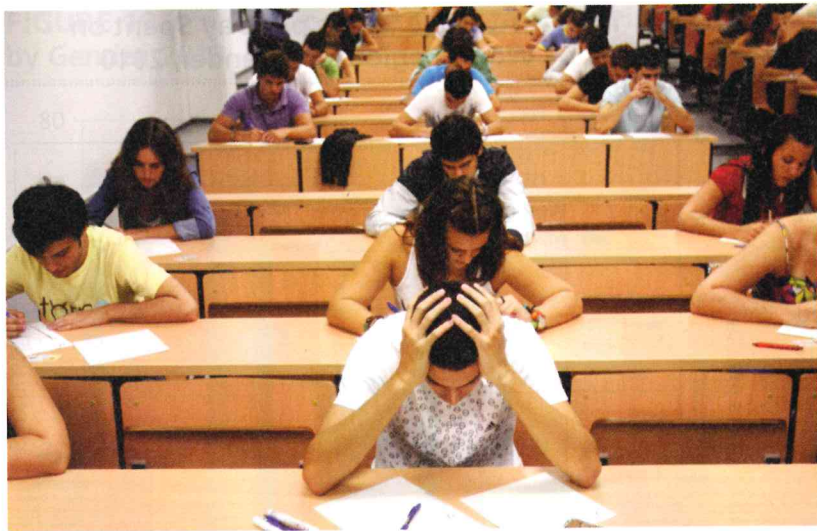
One of the explanations for overall female success in schooling outcomes is the fact that females are more



The STEM Gender Gap



Housework



Gender differences in educational achievement seem to arise in primary school and persist through high school and even beyond. Why do women still experience a pay gap when their academic achievements are usually higher than men's?

engaged in school and more likely to comply with school rules, such as doing homework and responding to teacher requests. They are less likely to get in trouble than males (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006). These “noncognitive” skills are strong predictors of academic success. They partly explain why females outperform male students on most academic indicators. Another explanation of female success in school is that many occupations tend to be segregated by gender. Most male-segregated occupations (e.g., truck driver, auto mechanic, firefighter) do not require postsecondary schooling, whereas most female-segregated occupations (e.g., preschool teacher, registered nurse, dental hygienist) require schooling beyond high school. This occupational segregation is increasingly responsible for female advantages in educational attainment (J. Jacobs 1996).

### Gender and the Hidden Curriculum

While females have experienced a number of formal gains in the educational realm, informal educational problems remain. The root cause is often the **hidden curriculum**, or a school's unofficial norms, routines, and structures through which students learn various behaviors, attitudes, and values (Giroux and Purpel 1983; Hamilton and Powell 2007). Most schools foster competitiveness, a push for achievement, and understanding of the social hierarchy within the school (Scott and Schwartz 2008). Because they are socialized from infancy to act on these preferred values, boys are likely to get more attention in class from teachers, to be asked more questions, to get more constructive criticism, and at least in the early years of school to monopolize

class discussions (Sadker and Sadker 1994; Sharp 2012).

### ASK YOURSELF

Think back to your elementary and high school years. Did the schools you attended have a hidden curriculum? You were likely unaware of it at the time, but can you now identify any specific examples of the way it manifested itself?

While there has been a great deal of focus recently on the educational problems of females, there is concern on the part of some that this has led to a lack of interest in the educational problems of males. These include their greater problems in language and verbal skills, the greater possibility that they will be in remedial and special education classes (Hibel, Farkas, and Morgan 2010), and their greater likelihood of failing classes and dropping out of school.

### Gender, Education, and Race

Overall, both males and females of color, especially those from the working class, have greater difficulties in school than do white males and females (Morris 2005, 2008). For example, white, middle-class boys do better in school than boys from the working class and boys of color (Willis 1977). African American girls from the working class are sometimes seen as troublemakers because they do not live up to white, middle-class standards of femininity and are seen as assertive and outspoken (Bettie 2003; Morris 2007).

Because of media images that have depicted black male youth as pathological and criminal, black youth are often viewed as insufficiently childlike by teachers and school administrators (Ferguson 2001). In other words, black male and female children are “adultified.” Consequently, their mistakes in school are often considered intentional, and sometimes sinister, rather than merely youthfully inept. Moreover, African American girls are thought to be more sexually advanced than their white peers, a characteristic that is seen as needing to be controlled. At the same time, black boys are not allowed to be “naturally naughty.” Physical expressions of masculinity that would be considered typical among their white peers are viewed

**hidden curriculum** A school's unofficial rules, routines, and structures, through which students learn various behaviors, attitudes, and values.

as insubordinate. As a result, in school, black boys learn that to act obedient is to survive and that disobedience will lead to disciplinary action.

Schools have a wide range of expectations for students from different demographic groups, “allocating girls to home economics and sewing courses, lower-class youngsters to slower tracks, and black children to compensatory programs” (Hare 2001: 97). These practices have long-term effects on educational and occupational attainment, including being relegated to low-skill and low-paying jobs.

### WOMEN AND CONSUMER CULTURE

In consumption, like much else in the social world, there are gender differences and inequalities. Since the Industrial Revolution, production has been centered outside the household and has primarily been the function of men. Women, relegated to the home, have been assigned the role of consumers (Williams and Saucedo 2007). This is both different and unequal, since historically production has been far more highly valued than consumption.

### Consumption, Work, and Family

Women were not only defined as the prime consumers; their consumer practices were also closely tied to their domestic practices and their roles in the home. Women consumed goods and services to care for, and on behalf of, their families (DeVault 1991). More extremely, much of women's shopping was related to love, especially their love of family members (Miller 1998). In one way or another, women generally made purchases for their families and to fulfill their responsibilities in the home and to those who lived there.

However, as more women have entered the work world in recent years, their consumption patterns have changed. For one thing, they are now more likely to consume an array of subcontracted services, such as cleaning and child care. Much of this work is done by other women. Women are subcontracting work to other women (Bowman and Cole 2009). For another, they are more likely to consume for themselves than for others. For example, greater involvement in the work world requires the consumption of a wider variety of clothing.

### Advertising and Gender

Much of advertising and marketing is targeted at either women or men. Advertising targeted at women in the first half of the twentieth century focused on household products that would help them with their responsibilities to home and family. As more women entered the labor

force, at least some advertising came to focus on the needs of working women (for, e.g., labor-saving devices in the home).

Feminist critiques of advertising beginning in the 1970s attacked the emphasis in advertisements on weight, especially slimness, and beauty. The main argument was—and is—that these advertisements set up ideals that few women can approximate, thereby adversely affecting their self-esteem (Bordo 1993).

As mentioned previously, the media have a propensity to influence mothers—both working and at-home moms—to focus on maintaining domestic happiness (Douglas and Michaels 2006). More recently, in line with general trends in society, advertising has focused more on allowing women to purchase what they need to be unique individuals (Zukin 2004). Of course, there is a huge contradiction involved in offering generally available, brand-name products as a way of achieving uniqueness (Maguire and Stanway 2008).

Interrelated aspects of consumer culture, and the social world more generally, come together to control women's and men's consumption behavior. For example, gender ideals in advertising are reinforced by the spatial segregation of women's and men's television networks (Lifetime mainly for women, Spike mainly for men); television shows (*Desperate Housewives* versus *Monday Night Football*); movies (“chick flicks” versus action movies); lifestyle magazines (*Vogue* and *O, the Oprah Magazine* versus *GQ* and *Esquire*); and departments in department stores and shops in malls. However, as with consumption in general, adult women and men are not simply passive in the face of these pressures. They are able to resist, or even actively reconstruct, the messages being communicated to them (Zlatunich 2009).

### ASK YOURSELF

Have you ever resisted or reconstructed advertising messages directed at you as a man or a woman? What was the product or service advertised? Why did you resist the message, and how?

### Women and Girls as Consumers

As one sociologist put it, “For a large number of girls in modern America, participating in the consumer realm is the defining feature of life as a girl” (Best 2007: 724). In



Women as Consumers in Popular Culture

# DIGITAL LIVING

## Gender and the Internet

When the web first became available to the broader public, it was mostly a low-bandwidth environment that could be accessed only with hard-to-use technology. Computers were clunky and did not always work as they should. Plus, the main method of connectivity, dial-up modems, kept a phone line busy for the duration of the interaction.

There were not many interactive sites, and the ones that existed tended to be text-only environments. Some of the most prominent early sites were called “multi-user dungeons,” or MUDs, because they were descendants of sites where people played online versions of the popular board game *Dungeons and Dragons*. The culture on these sites involved the use of avatars—pseudonyms—rather than personal names (Hornsby 2013: 61–64).

Considering all these factors, it should not be surprising that the early Internet attracted mostly male users with an interest in technology. Another factor shaping the user base was the fact that the early Internet attracted many people who were looking for an alternative space where they could meet with like-minded people who were not necessarily present in their offline lives. Hence, the early Internet included many communities and sites devoted to interests that might be considered to be at the margins of mainstream society.

Theorists of the early Internet observed all this activity, especially on MUDs, and wondered if the Internet allowed people to be free of ascribed statuses and identities such as gender and race. After all, users of MUDs freely chose their name, their gender, and even their species. In *Life on the Screen*, Sherry Turkle (1995: 10)

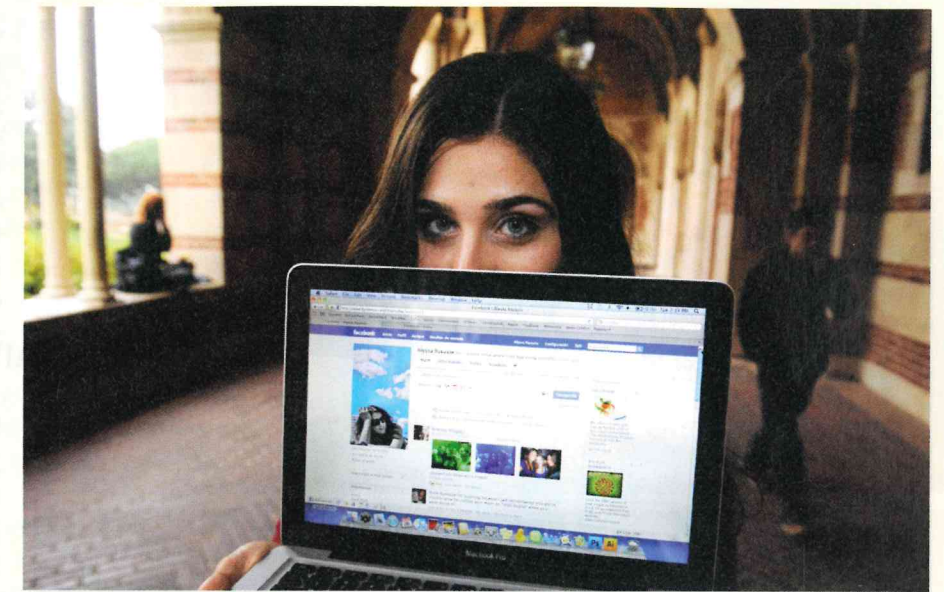
argued that identity in cyberspace might be “decentered, multiple and fragmented” and that cyberspace played a prominent role in “eroding boundaries between the real and the virtual, the animate and inanimate, the unitary and multiple self.” Many theorists thought “gender” would also become one of the categories that would erode in cyberspace (Stone 1991).

In time, the Internet expanded and became more mainstream and easier to access. It started to include equal numbers of women and to attract users who were not necessarily interested in technology but simply wanted to use technology to socialize, to shop, and to interact. As a result, our understanding of how gender online interacts with gender offline has changed. The rise of sites such as Facebook, which require people to use their real names and make it easy for them

to post many pictures of themselves, has made gender even more prominent—rather than making it less important as the early theorists had speculated.

Most current research finds that women and men tend to replicate certain offline gender patterns online. Women who tend to do most of the work of kinship and socializing tend to do so online as well, and women are prominent users of social networking sites. Men can be found in large numbers among editors of Wikipedia—a high-conflict environment where people argue about the correct point of view. In my own research on gender and Facebook, for example, I found that women interacted more with their close friends and family, whereas men were more likely to search for other people. In the end, this reflects gender patterns we see in the offline world.

Women and men portray themselves differently online, and women are rewarded for posting sexualized photographs of themselves. Female students are more likely than males to have private profiles (Lewis et al. 2011). So, it looks like cyberspace does not completely free us from gender,



Why doesn't gender disappear in the online environment?

after all, and that life on the screen looks somewhat like life off the screen.

### Think About It

Are you surprised that early predictions about the likely users of the Internet were proven wrong? What social factors drew women online in such unexpected

numbers? Why do you think men's and women's different patterns of communication and social interaction in the real world have simply migrated to the Internet essentially unchanged? Could things have been different?

SOURCE: Printed with the permission of Zeynep Tufekci.

earlier periods, girls' involvement in consumer culture had more to do with the roles they were playing, and were likely to play as adults in the family. As girls have gained more freedom from those expectations and are spending more of their own money, they have been courted more aggressively and differently by advertisers and marketers (Deutsch and Theodorou 2010). This is particularly clear in the efforts made by the cosmetics and clothing industries to sell to young women by advertising in magazines aimed at them (*Seventeen*, *Teen Vogue*) and through pop-up advertisements on the Internet. One of the unfortunate consequences of this for young girls is increased rates of eating disorders and body dysmorphia—an obsession with perceived flaws in one's body—as well as the hypersexualization of their lives (Hesse-Biber 1996; Kimmel 2012).

Several historical events mark the development of greater interest in girls, and children more generally, as consumers (D. Cook 2007). One was the emergence of the department store in the middle and late 1800s and the celebration of Christmas, and its associated gifts, by department stores such as Macy's. Children's consumer culture gained great impetus when department

stores began to have separate departments for toys and, more importantly, separate departments for boys' and girls' clothing. At about the same time, the media and entertainment began to focus more attention on children, again often divided along gender lines. Movies, television programs, and more recently television networks—Nickelodeon, for example—are increasingly dedicated to children. Now, of course, children are being targeted on their computers, their iPhones, and myriad other new and yet-to-be-created technologies that have a ready audience among teenagers and even younger children (Kahlenberg and Hein 2010; Sheldon 2004).

## Intersectionality in Gender and Consumption

Being a woman (for example) is one aspect of the multiple identities that define individuals. Gender identity intersects with a number of other identities, including race and class and other minority statuses, to affect consumption practices. Also affected is how people interpret, construct, and reconstruct images and ideas offered in advertisements,

consumption settings, and the media. According to leading marketing research analysts, 85 cents of every dollar spent by blacks in 2009, a total of \$565 billion or more, was spent as a result of the influence of black females. In comparison, females in the general population make 62 percent of brand-buying decisions.

## GENDER AND SPORTS

Historically, boys and men have been far more likely than girls and women to be encouraged to participate in sports. As a result, males participate more in organized competitive sports, and they dominate coaching and administrative positions in the sports world. Sports are seen as teaching, perpetuating, and celebrating hegemonic masculinity, including competitiveness, physical aggression, and dominance over one's opponent. Females have historically been defined as inferior in the world of sports (Mansfield 2007), because they have generally not lived up to masculine ideals in terms of strength, speed, jumping ability, toughness, and so on. Thus, in general, females have not participated as much, or as ardently, in

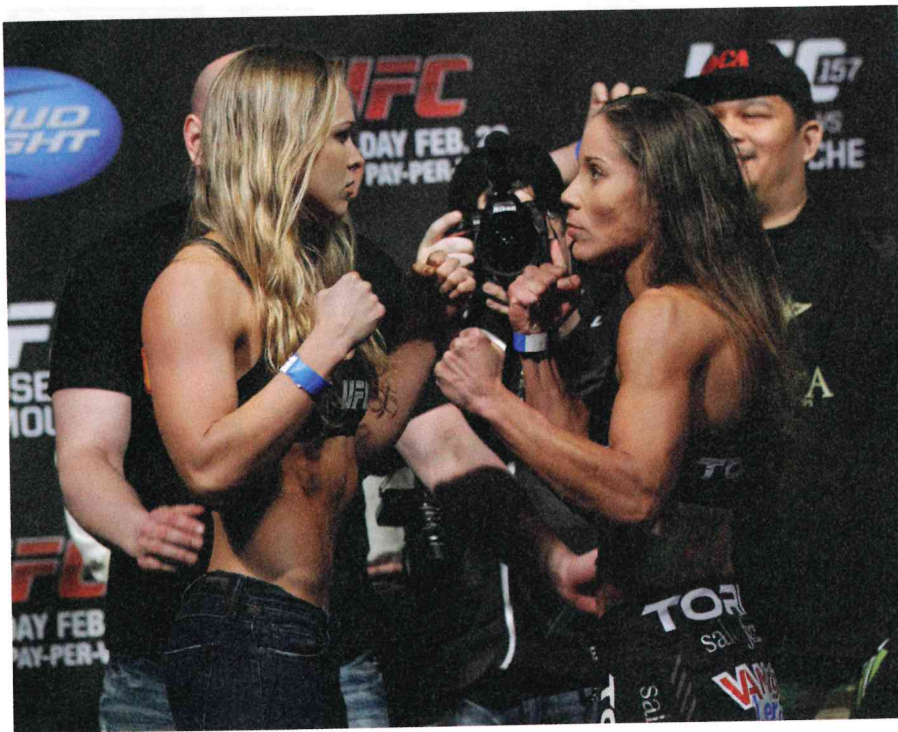
sports as males and have not risen as high as males in most administrative hierarchies in the sports world.

However, this began to change in the 1970s, in large part as a result of protests by feminists. In addition, greater knowledge of the importance of sports and fitness to health led to the promotion of physical activity for women. As a result, female opportunities and participation rates in sports have increased. Legal changes, most notably Title IX of the Education Amendments of the Civil Rights Act (1972), have served to reduce discrimination against females in sports and to prevent or remove barriers to their participation in sports (Brown and Connolly 2010).

The masculine ideal in sports is powerful throughout the social world. In detention facilities, for example, where incarcerated males need to project hegemonic masculinity to avoid being persecuted, physical prowess is viewed as largely the only way for men to demonstrate



Women's Sports



Ronda Rousey (left) and Liz Carmouche faced off in the first-ever women's bout at UFC 157. Do you think of some sports as typically masculine and others as typically feminine?

their masculinity. Sports and fitness activities in prison allow male prisoners to “do masculinity” (Sabo 2005: 110). Sports images play a role in efforts by the military in an all-volunteer era to project particular images of masculinity in recruiting advertisements (Brown 2012).

Sports often serve to shape gender identity for men. However, the need to live up to the masculine ideal can limit men and prevent them from being all they can be in sports and in much else. Those males who do not excel, or who do not participate in sports at all, are likely to have their masculinity, even their heterosexuality, questioned. This overemphasis on hegemonic masculinity is rooted, sometimes to males' own detriment, in how males are socialized to participate in sports by their fathers (White, Young, and McTeer 1995). Participation in sports engenders the ideology that physical prowess is an exhibition of masculinity, and that pain and injuries should be ignored, hidden, normalized, or disrespected. These coping mechanisms for dealing with pain are internalized by men to the detriment of their overall health.

And, for those men who participate in athletic programs that are not considered sports, such as ballet, there are larger pressures to “do masculinity” when interacting with other males. For example, in a study of the ballet world, males reported that they constantly dealt with homophobic stereotypes (McEwen and Young 2011). These dancers see their participation in

dance as “challenges [to] dominant notions of appropriate ways of doing gender and being a man” (McEwen and Young 2011: 15). They cope by redefining dance as a masculine athletic endeavor that requires even more physical prowess than sports. Both men and women are forced to confront hegemonic masculine ideals when involved in athletics or the arts.

### GENDER, HEALTH, AND MORTALITY

Women tend to have significantly longer life spans than men, especially in developed countries. There is great variation between the genders in life expectancy around the world; in 2000, the range was from 81.1 years in Japan—where women lived until age 84.7 while men lived until 77.5—to 37.5 years in Malawi—where women lived until age 37.8 and men until 37.1. In the United States,

women live until about 81.1 years of age and men until 76.2 (Bianchi and Wight 2012) (see Table 10.1).

Table 10.1 shows that the life span for both males and females increased in the United States between 1900 and 2010 and is projected to increase in the next decade. However, it has increased more for females than for males. While in 1900 women lived, on average, two years longer than men, in 2010 the gap had widened to almost five years. The major factor in the increase of the life span of women is the great reduction in the number of deaths in childbirth (Larsen 2007; WHO 2003).

However, women suffer from more illness and other health-related problems than men do. The greatest difference between the genders is in depression; females are almost twice as likely as men to suffer from this disease. Men are more likely to suffer from HIV/AIDS (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2012) and coronary heart disease (American Heart Association 2010), while women have slightly higher rates of cerebrovascular disease, such as stroke (American Heart Association 2010).

Over the course of illness, women are more likely to be confined to bed, to take sick leave, and to visit doctors and hospitals, and they report more symptoms than men. There is some doubt that women are actually more likely to be ill than men, but it is clear that women are more likely to admit that they are sick and to report that fact to others.

Researchers do not fully understand gender differences in life span and ill health, but the major factors involved are biological differences, behavioral differences, and psychosocial factors related to symptoms and behavior when ill, including seeking health care. Socialization patterns appear to push women into more behaviors that maintain health, such as monitoring of diseases and having physicals and checkups.

### GENDER, CRIME, AND DEVIANCE

Crime is another area in which clear gender differences exist. Across cultures, gender is the strongest predictor of crime, and it is men and boys who are most likely to commit crimes (Messerschmidt 2007). As an example of the discrepancy, Table 10.2 depicts the gender differences in arrests for property crimes in the United States. It clearly shows that more males than females committed property crimes in both 2000 and 2011. However, the table also shows that property crimes committed by American females actually increased over that period, while property crimes by males decreased slightly. At the same time, men continue to commit violent crimes at a much higher rate than women.

Various ideas have been put forth to explain why males are overrepresented in crime and deviance:

- *Family socialization:* Females are more controlled by their mothers during childhood than are males and are therefore less likely to engage in criminal behavior when they are older (Hagan 1989).

- *Strain:* Males and females face different expectations, and the inability to meet those expectations leads to strain. For example, males are under greater pressure than females to succeed materially, and the strain that is created when they fail to achieve material success can lead to higher rates of property crime (Agnew 2001).

- *Response to adversity:* Men are more likely to blame others for their failures, while women are more likely to blame themselves. As a result, males are likely to see their masculinity as being affirmed by being angry and striking out at others through property crimes and violent crimes.

There are several basic, sometimes contradictory, explanations for the differences between men and women in terms of deviance and crime, as well as the changing nature of those differences.

Most people have simply not been socialized into seeing females as deviants, with the result that they are far less aware of deviant acts committed by females in contrast to those carried out by males. The result is an

TABLE 10.1 • U.S. Life Expectancy by Gender, 1900–2020

Year	Both Sexes	Male	Female
2010	78.7	76.2	81.1
2006	77.7	75.1	80.2
2000	76.8	74.1	79.3
1990	75.4	71.8	78.8
1980	73.7	70.0	77.4
1970	70.8	67.1	74.7
1960	69.7	66.6	73.1
1950	68.2	65.6	71.1
1940	62.9	60.8	65.2
1930	59.7	58.1	61.6
1920	54.1	53.6	54.6
1910	50.0	48.4	51.8
1900	47.3	46.3	48.3

SOURCE: U.S. Life Expectancy by Gender, 1900–2020 from Arias, E. United States life tables, 2006. *National Vital Statistics Reports*: Vol. 58, No. 21, Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2010: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*: 2012.

underestimation, and with it an underreporting, of actual female deviance and crime.

Male patriarchy has a similar effect. The patriarchal family, as well as other patriarchal institutions, is designed to prevent females from engaging in deviance and crime (Gadsden 2007). Girls are generally taught to avoid taking risks, while males are socialized to seek out risky situations and to meet challenges. Many forms of deviance and crime certainly carry with them a high degree of risk. The result may be less female deviance and crime.

One of the factors making for *more* female deviance and crime is an unintended consequence of the women's movement. As women have attained greater equality with men in other areas, and as they have become a growing part of the public realm of social life, the gap between men and women in terms of deviance and crime has also narrowed (Gadsden 2007). An example can illustrate this. Rates of embezzlement by women have increased in recent decades. To steal money from a company, one has to work for that company. When women were confined to the domestic realm, they did not have the opportunity to engage in this type of crime. Once they entered the paid workforce, they



Prolonging Life



While more men than women commit crimes, property crimes by women have increased in recent years. What societal factors account for this change?

acquired the same opportunities to siphon money from their employer that their male counterparts already possessed.

A second factor contributing to more female deviance and crime is female victimization. Females are more likely than males to be abused as children. Women who have been victimized are more likely than other women to engage in deviance and crime and to find themselves in prison (Gadsden 2007). For example, young women who have been abused are more likely to be runaways, a form of deviance that is itself related to other forms of deviance, such as truancy (Thrane and Chen 2010). Runaways, in turn, are more prone to engaging in a variety of crimes, such as petty theft and prostitution, to support themselves.

Finally, economic marginalization contributes to more female deviance and crime. Hard economic times, along with gender discrimination in the workplace and patriarchy, are thrusting more women, especially single mothers, below the poverty line. As they become increasingly desperate, they commit more property crimes (Pollock 2001).

**TABLE 10.2 • Arrests for Property Crimes by Gender, 2000–2011**

Year	Total Arrests	Number of Men Arrested	Number of Women Arrested	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
2000	978,552	682,562	295,990	69.75%	30.25%
2011	1,082,441	674,716	407,725	62.33%	37.675%

SOURCE: Arrests for Property Crimes by Gender, 2000–2011 from “Crime in the United States,” *Uniform Crime Reports*, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, September 2012.

## SEX, GENDER, AND GLOBALIZATION

It should not surprise you to learn that globalization has affected sexuality, sexual behavior, and gender-related expectations and behaviors, as it has affected every other aspect of social life.

### SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF SEXUALITY

Globalization is one of a number of forces that are changing sexuality in the twenty-first century (Plummer 2012). The globalization of sexuality is linked to a variety of social changes that are altering not only sexuality, but much of what transpires in the social world:

- *The globalization of media:* Sexuality is a growing presence in the global media. The Internet, and the social networks that it has engendered, is most important. However, photos, movies, music, advertising, and television have also gone global. These media have been sexualized; they can even be said to have undergone a process of “pornographication” (McNair 2002).
- *Increasing urbanization:* Urbanization is a key trend across the globe, and it has contributed both to increased freedom of sexual expression and to the globalization of sexuality (Bell 2007). Cities are at the center of freedoms of all sorts (Simmel [1903] 1971), including sexual freedoms. Residents of global cities learn a great deal about what is possible and what is “cutting edge” from one another, including the latest developments in sexuality. Further, sex trafficking and sex tourism take place primarily in the world’s cities. The world’s major cities, including London,

Hong Kong, and Shanghai, are the nodes in global “sex-scapes” (Kong 2010).

- *A global network of “sexperts”:* A group of experts in fields such as medicine, law, psychology, and education are considered “sexperts.” They are part of a global network who share expertise and who travel among the world’s cities, studying and speaking on the subject of sexuality. Some of these sexperts, such as Dr. Ruth somewhat earlier and Dr. Drew in more recent years, have become media stars, especially on TV, and their ideas are broadcast and shared widely around the world. They are also likely to publish books, some of which become global best sellers translated into many different languages, as well as widely read blogs.

- *The globalization of social movements:* A wide range of social movements dealing with issues relating to sexualities has arisen. Among them are the women’s and gay movements (see Chapter 17), as well as more specific movements focused on such issues as repressive sex laws. Many such movements are global in scope, and their personnel and ideas flow easily around the globe.

- *Increased mobility:* It is relatively easy now for people to travel to another locale far from home. Thus, sexual intercourse itself has become a global phenomenon, with large numbers of people in various parts of the world increasingly having sex with one another (Altman 2001; Frank 2012a).

### GLOBAL FLOWS RELATED TO SEX AND SEXUALITY

Sexuality is flowing around the world in a multitude of other ways, such as via sex trafficking, sex tourism, gay global parties, and the sexual diaspora, as members of various sexual subcultures move easily around the world and from one society to another. In addition, all sorts of sexual goods and services are being shipped and sold globally, especially via the Internet.

Sex has also become a global phenomenon politically. There are now a number of laws that operate globally, such as laws against the sexual exploitation of children. Global organizations like UNICEF monitor these laws

## CHECKPOINT 10.2 GENDER

Hegemonic masculinity	A set of socially constructed ideas about masculinity, linked to patriarchy, that focus on the interests and desires of men.
Emphasized femininity	A set of socially constructed ideas that focus on social ability rather than intellect and that emphasize ego stroking and acceptance of the roles of wife and mother.
Separate spheres	The idea that men are the breadwinners in the public world of work, while women are relegated to a submissive role in the private sphere of the home.
The second shift	The set of traditional child care tasks and housework women working outside the home face when they return from their paid job.
The hidden curriculum	A school’s unofficial norms, routines, and structures, often a cause of informal educational problems.

and seek to protect the vulnerable from sexual predators. Laws around the world dealing with various sexual crimes, such as rape, have grown increasingly similar (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

At a cultural level, norms and values about sex have been changing, and those changes have tended to flow around the world. As a result, such norms and values have grown increasingly similar in many parts of the world. For example, there has been a general movement away from trying to control sexuality as a way to maintain the collective order and procreation. At the same time, there has been a movement toward viewing sexuality as a series of acts that are mainly about pleasure and self-expression. Nonmarital sex has also become increasingly normative in many (but certainly not all) parts of the world. Another example of global cultural change involves the global diffusion of such sexual identities as straight, gay, and bisexual. Almost anywhere you go in the world, you will find similar identities, norms, and values relating to sexuality.

### Sexual Minorities in a Global Context

A key issue for sexual minorities in the context of globalization is the barriers that inhibit their movement around the world or encourage their flow from one place to another (Altman 2001; Binnie 2004; Carrara 2007). Those barriers may be erected within their home country, as well as between countries. Barriers at home that might push them to migrate include legal prohibitions of consensual sex acts with same-sex partners, a lack of equal opportunity in the workplace, and bans on same-sex marriages. A variety of other problems, such as physical assaults and even murders of sexual minorities, can force them to seek a better life elsewhere in the world. They can also be pulled

elsewhere in the world by better conditions, such as more opportunities to work and marry. Urban environments are attractive, because large and visible groups of sexual minorities are often accepted by the majority group in cities.

Other aspects of globalization, such as inexpensive air travel, the Internet, and sex tourism, have made it easier for sexual minorities to communicate and to be with those who share their orientation and lifestyle. Globalization has also contributed to the rise of gay and lesbian global social movements and to the increasing acceptance in large parts of the world of same-sex sexual relationships (Frank and McEneaney 1999).

Yet, while globalization has aided sexual minorities, globalization has also assisted the spread of homophobia and other forms of prejudice and discrimination (Binnie 2004). Globalization has not been an unmitigated good as far as sexual minorities are concerned.

### The Global Sex Industry

The sexuality industry has become increasingly important to global capitalism. Bars, dance clubs, massage parlors, the pornography industry, international hotel chains, airline companies, and the tourist industry create, and help to meet, the demand for sex labor around the globe. It is almost impossible to get accurate numbers on those involved in the global sex industry, and at least some of the data are likely fabricated (Steinfatt 2011). The most authoritative source is the annual report of the U.S. State Department, which in 2010 estimated that 12.3 million adults and children were in forced labor, bonded labor, or forced prostitution around the world. The UN Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (2007) estimates that a far smaller number of people are involved, but even with that smaller number, it estimates that sex trafficking yields annual profits of \$31.6 billion. Over the last few decades, most of the countries of the Global South and Eastern Europe have experienced an unparalleled growth in at least one aspect of the global sex industry: prostitution. Many of these prostitutes find their way to the developed nations of the Global North.

The flow of people in the global sex industry not only moves from the South to the North, but also in the other direction. Over the past 30 years, the global sex tourism industry has grown to be a multibillion-dollar enterprise (Weitzer 2012; Wortmann 2007). While there is some sex tourism that moves in the direction of the developed countries of the North (e.g., to Amsterdam in the Netherlands), much of it involves the flow of customers from the North to the less developed countries of the South (Katsulis 2010). For example, Thailand receives millions of sex tourists every year from the United States,

Western Europe, Australia, and Japan, bringing in billions of dollars (Bales 1999). Several factors have contributed to the rise of sex tourism. Poverty leads large numbers of women in sex-tourist destinations to participate in the industry. Low-cost travel has permitted more sex tourists to circle the globe in search of sexual relations (Brennan 2004). Finally, the Internet expedites sex tourism as well. Information about havens for those interested in sex tourism is readily available through websites, chat rooms, e-diaries, blogs, promotional videos, and guidebooks (Wortmann 2007). Advice is accessible and readily obtainable on the best tourist sites to visit, the best sex workers at those sites, how to arrange a visit, and even how to negotiate with largely submissive sex workers to get the lowest price for various services (Katsulis 2010). It is even possible through the Internet to organize a customized package tour of the best locations in the world for sex tourism.

### GLOBAL MIGRATION AND GENDER

The global economy has contributed to an unprecedented increase in female migration: “Women are on the move as never before in history” (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002: 2). Some have referred to this trend as the “feminization of migration.” Much of this global flow involves women from the South moving, legally and illegally, to the North to handle work that was historically performed by northern women (Runyon 2012). Nine of the largest countries from which women are emigrating are China, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Bangladesh. The migrants largely become nannies (Cheever 2002), maids (Ehrenreich 2002), and sex workers (Brennan 2002).

This migrant labor enriches the North and enhances the already elevated lifestyle there. Many female labor immigrants clean and care for largely affluent children and their families while also trying to send money to their families in their home country (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000; Faist, Fauser, and Reisenauer 2013). Domestic work is now considered the largest labor market for women worldwide. See Figure 10.4 for the 10 countries from which the most women emigrate to the United States (Immigration Policy Center 2010).

Undocumented and informal female migration, which is common for women migrating to the North for domestic work, exposes women to the worst forms of discrimination, exploitation, and abuse (Bach 2003; Jones 2008; UN 2006). They can be held as debt hostages by recruitment agencies until their transportation and placement fees are paid, locked up in the houses of their employers, treated

## ACTIVE SOCIOLOGY

### What Do You Know about Trafficking?

The globalization of sexuality has contributed to a rise in sex trafficking and the forced prostitution of women around the world. Visit the website of one antitrafficking organization, Stop Trafficking, at [www.stopenslavement.org](http://www.stopenslavement.org), and complete the following exercises:

1. Click on the current issue of the organization’s newsletter. Does this issue have a theme? What is it?
2. Review the list of sponsors on the front page. Why do you think they are mostly groups of women? What role do you think men could or should play in preventing trafficking?
3. How does the newsletter help promote the organization’s goals of raising awareness, creating advocacy, and taking action? What resources does it provide?
4. Do you think an online newsletter is a good way to achieve these goals? Why or why not? What other media or avenues do you think might help reach more people or be more effective in creating change around trafficking, and why?
5. Skim two or three articles and list some suggested actions readers of the newsletter could take to promote awareness, advocacy, or action. Which of these would you be willing to take, and why?

inhumanely, and sometimes even murdered. An increasing number of migrant women are victims of sexual abuse, sex trafficking, and prostitution.

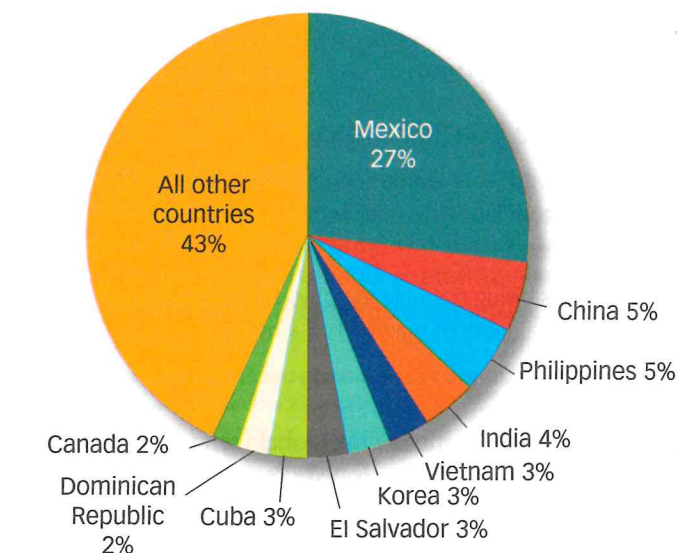
### THE FEMINIZATION OF LABOR

There has been a notable increase in women’s labor force participation rates worldwide (see Figure 10.5), particularly in the Americas and Western Europe. Even though there are significant variations within and across regions, women’s labor force participation has also risen substantially in sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and East Asia over this period (Cagatay and Ozler 1995; Heintz 2006; Kivisto and Faist 2010; Moghadam 1999). While the progress in women’s employment status is linked, at least in part, to gender equality movements, the key factor in this change is the better integration of an increasing number of areas into the world economy through trade and production.

The increasing participation of women in the labor force has been termed the **feminization of labor** (Standing 1989). This refers to the rise of female labor participation in all sectors and the movement of women into jobs

**feminization of labor** The rise of female labor participation in all sectors and the movement of women into jobs traditionally held by men.

**FIGURE 10.4 • Female Emigration to the United States: Countries of Origin, 2008**



SOURCE: Figure 1, Female Foreign-Born Population by Country or Origin, 2008 is reprinted with permission from *Immigrant Women in the United States: A Portrait of Demographic Diversity*. Immigration Policy Center, American Immigration Council.



Sexual Minorities Online

## BIOGRAPHICAL bits



### Arlie Hochschild (American, born 1940)

Arlie Hochschild received all of her advanced degrees from the University of California at Berkeley and served as a professor there for most of her career. Now an emeritus professor, she has won a number of awards, including a lifetime achievement award from the American Sociological Association for furthering the public understanding of sociology. Her creative work as a feminist and public sociologist has been widely read outside academia. An active mentor, she founded and codirects the Center for Working Families at the University of California, Berkeley, where scholars investigate the “cultures of care,” gender, and the position of women.

#### RESEARCH INTERESTS

- The sociology of emotions, of gender, and of the family
- Women and gender

#### SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- *The Managed Heart* (1983)
- *The Second Shift* (1989)
- *The Time Bind* (1997)

#### KEY IDEAS & CONTRIBUTIONS

- Those who work with the public must expend “emotional labor” to deal with abusive or cranky people
- Couples divide not only the physical but also the emotional work of maintaining a home

traditionally held by men. This global trend has occurred in both developing and developed countries.

In many developed countries, educated middle-class women have made inroads into professional and managerial employment. However, in the global paid-labor market, women are heavily employed in agriculture (Preibisch and Grez 2010), as well as in the labor-intensive manufacture of products such as garments, sportswear, and electronics. Women predominate in such office jobs as data entry, airline booking, word processing, and telecommunications (Freeman 2001; Gaio 1995; Pearson 2000). They are likely to work as both teachers and university professors, as nurses and doctors in public hospitals, and as workers and

administrators in government offices (Moghadam 1999). Women have also made inroads in professional services such as law, banking, accounting, computing, and architecture.

### Women and Informal Employment

At the same time as some women are finding success in the work world, others are being limited by the nature of their arrangements with employers. Informal employment, which has increased in many countries, includes temporary work without fixed employers, paid employment from home, domestic work for households (de Regt 2009), and industrial work for subcontractors. Informal sectors are characterized by low pay and a lack of secure contracts, worker benefits, and social protection. Workers in the informal economy do not have wage agreements, employment contracts, regular working hours, or health insurance or unemployment benefits. They often earn below legal minimum wage and may not be paid on time. Many formal jobs have been replaced by informal ones as lower labor and production costs have increasingly become the major organizing factor in global production.

While greater informal employment characterizes both the male and female labor force globally, women and men are concentrated in different types of informal work. Men are concentrated mainly in informal wage-based jobs and agricultural employment, while women are typically concentrated in nonagricultural employment, domestic work, and unpaid work in family enterprises. Compared with men’s informal employment, women’s employment is much more likely to have lower hourly wages and less stability. To reduce labor costs, most multinational corporations establish subcontracting networks with local manufacturers employing low-paid workers, mostly women, who can be terminated quickly and easily. In these production networks, women are more likely to work in small workshops or from home. Many women accept the lower wages and less formal working arrangements of home-based work in order to be able to continue to carry out household responsibilities.

### The Feminization of Poverty and Female Proletarianization

The feminization of labor, especially in the developing economies, is often accompanied by **female proletarianization** as an increasing number of women are channeled into low-status, poorly paid manual work.

**female proletarianization** The channeling of an increasing number of women into low-status, poorly paid manual work.

Female proletarianization is closely related to the **feminization of poverty** (see Chapter 8) (Brady and Kall 2008). Globally, more women are being drawn into labor-intensive and low-paying industries such as textiles, apparel, leather products, food processing, and electronics (Villareal and Yu 2007). Jobs in these industries are characterized by the flexible use of labor, high turnover rates, part-time and temporary employment, and a lack of security and benefits. Women are preferred in these industries because of the persistence of a number of stereotypes that often have little basis in reality. Such stereotypes include the idea that women will typically work for lower wages and that they are easier for male employers and managers to supervise. They are considered not only to be more docile, but also to have greater patience and more dexterity than men in performing standardized and repetitive work. Female employment is also characterized by poorer and more dangerous working conditions and more compulsory overtime with no extra pay.

### ASK YOURSELF

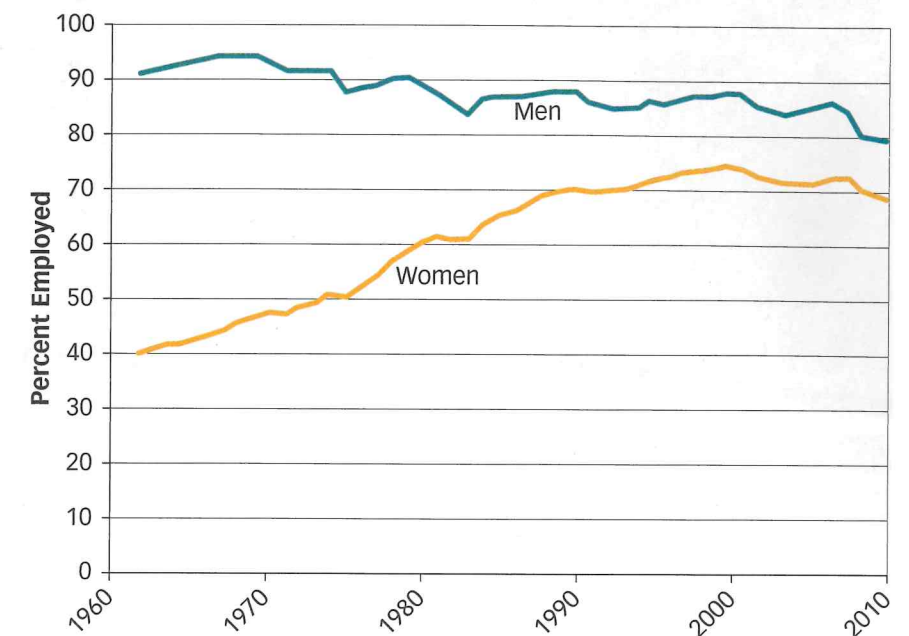
What is the relationship between the feminization of labor and the feminization of poverty? Is this relationship inevitable? What social, structural, and gender-related factors might account for it?

A great deal of attention has been focused on the place of women in what has been called the “global assembly line” (Collins 2003). While high-status research and management are likely to be found in the North, assembly line work is relegated to the less developed nations of the South (Ward 1990). Women are much more likely to be employed in the latter than in higher-level positions in developed countries.

In corporate economic centers, especially global cities, large amounts of low-wage labor are required, and again women often fill the bill. They help to maintain the offices and lifestyles of entrepreneurs, managers, and professionals through clerical, cleaning, and repair work and labor for companies, providing software, copying paper, office furniture, and even toilet paper (Sassen

**feminization of poverty** The rise in the number of women falling below the poverty line.

FIGURE 10.5 • Global Employment by Gender, 1962–2010



SOURCE: Based on “End of the Gender Revolution,” Reeve Vanneman, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland. Author’s calculations from Current Population Survey (CPS) data provided by the Integrated Public Use Microdata (IPUMS) files.

2004). Furthermore, the vast majority of provisioning and cleaning of offices, child tending, and caring for the elderly and for homes is done by immigrants, primarily women (Acker 2004).

### Women in Export Processing Zones

Export processing zones (EPZs) are special industrial areas, often in developing countries, designed to draw foreign companies and capital investment. EPZs offer multinational companies incentives, including exemption from labor and environmental regulations, taxes, tariffs, and quotas. A wide range of products are produced in EPZs, including tennis racquets in St. Vincent (Caribbean), furniture in Mauritius, and jewelry in Thailand. However, EPZs mainly focus on the production of textiles, clothing, and electronics for the mass market. EPZs are characteristically unstable, as companies are continually setting up new ones where labor is cheaper and regulators are more compliant.

It is often suggested that EPZs reduce poverty and unemployment and, as a result, facilitate the economic development of the host countries. Even if this does occur,



Arlie Hochschild



These women are hand-picking beans in a quality-control operation in Nicaragua. They belong to a progressive farming cooperative with several women in senior management positions, including the CEO, but most women in agricultural societies are still employed in low-level positions.

it does not occur without serious costs. Working conditions are brutal in most EPZs, where violence and abuse are daily routines. A workday may consist of impossibly long shifts with unpaid overtime, nonpayment for workers on sick leave, insufficient health and safety measures, monitored access to bathrooms, sexual harassment, physical abuse, and in some cases forced consumption of amphetamines to ensure efficiency. Working conditions are particularly hard on women, especially those who are pregnant or have infants. In most EPZs, mandatory pregnancy testing is a condition for employment and for maintaining a job. In some cases, gender bias intersects with age discrimination. EPZs tend to hire mostly young and single women; women over 25 years of age are usually not hired, since they are seen as more likely to bear children (Pun 1995). Because of the harsh working conditions and low pay, female (and male) workers often burn out; the turnover rate in EPZs is very high (Sivalingam 1994).

## GENDER, WAR, AND VIOLENCE

Men are certainly more likely to be killed or wounded in warfare than women. However, a 2004 Amnesty International report described women as “bearing the brunt of war.” More specifically, women are more likely to be the noncombatant victims of organized collective violence, including multinational wars that involve empire-building; bilateral wars among nations, usually over territory; wars of liberation from colonialism and tyrannical governments; and civil wars (Gerami and Lehnerer 2007).

Several changes have made it more likely that women will be the victims of international violence. One is the change in the nature of warfare. For example, “asymmetric warfare” involving forces of unequal capabilities often takes the form of shootouts in the streets. Obviously, civilians—women, but also children and the elderly—are more likely to be victims in such cases than they are when conventional ground battles take place. This is evident, for example, in the brutal civil war that at this writing continues to engulf Syria. Generally, the line between combatants and civilians has blurred, with the result that more civilians, including women, have become the victims of warfare. Finally, more women are in the armed forces in various countries, and this greatly increases their chances of being the victims of violence.

A consequence of war that also affects women is the use of rape and sexual assault as weapons (see the “Globalization” box on page 358). They have long been used to weaken and demoralize the nation-states and ethnic enclaves in which the victims live. One example occurred in the war in Bosnia (1992–1995), where Bosnian Serb soldiers and officers committed various war crimes, including systematically raping Bosnian Muslim women. The Serbs went so far as to set up camps where the goal was the impregnation of Bosnian women (Salzman 2000). This is one technique of ethnic cleansing. By giving birth to children with Serbian “blood,” the children born to Bosnian women as a consequence of rape would no longer have “pure” Bosnian “blood.” Ultimately, the number of the invader’s descendants in the invaded country would rise. Rape as a tool of war is also used to traumatize the victims and to humiliate the enemy by “taking” their women. As is true of rape in general (Rudrappa 2012), rape in warfare is not a sexual act, but rather an act of power (Brownmiller 1975). Beyond rape and sexual assault, forced prostitution and slavery are also used against women in times of warfare.

Women who are fortunate enough not to experience such horrors may still find their lives, as well as the locales in which they live, disrupted by international violence. Women are likely to be impoverished by such violence, and their homes and livelihoods may be destroyed. Shortages of all sorts during times of war are likely to affect those at home, especially women. One organization estimates that women make up 70 percent of those internally displaced

by conflicts (International Organization for Migration 2005).

Women may be called upon to care for the wounded, and they may be injured not only physically but psychologically. The larger community in which they live may be disrupted, because, for example, the women may no longer be able to devote as much attention to their normal duties and responsibilities as mothers.

As an unintended consequence of war, women can sometimes benefit from warfare and its disruption of business as usual. Among other things, they can gain greater economic independence, more freedom to act, and greater mobility. With the norms and values of society disrupted, women can do things they could not do before: acquire a more public role in the community and society, gain greater responsibility for decision-making, and generally acquire more power. Such was the case in World War II, when labor shortages caused by the mobilization of men for military service resulted in work opportunities for women. The iconic image of Rosie the Riveter working in a factory reflected this new reality, as women entered the blue-collar workforce that had been dominated by males.

## THE GLOBAL WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

As you have seen, globalization and the rise of a global economy have created or exacerbated a variety of inequalities faced by women. One response has been expansion of the international women’s movement (see Chapter 17). It has grown dramatically in recent years because of problems created for women by globalization. It has also expanded because of the increased ability of those working on behalf of the movement to travel globally and to communicate with one another. The international women’s movement has a long history, traceable back to the late 1800s (Rupp 1997). It has focused on issues such as reproductive rights, labor issues, and sexual harassment. Its greatest triumphs have related to women’s right to vote in countries around the world (Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997).

A key event was the UN International Women’s Year in 1975 and four related world conferences—Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995) (Alter Chen 1995). Given that it is dominated mainly by patriarchal males, the UN is an “unlikely godmother” of the women’s movement (Snyder 2006). However, these meetings created interpersonal networks throughout the globe, and the expansion of the Internet has greatly increased the ability of women to interact and to mobilize on a global basis.

A variety of specific issues were the focus of the UN meetings as well as the larger global movement: human



Rosie the Riveter symbolized the many women who, from necessity, entered the blue-collar workforce during World War II. How is her influence still felt today?

rights (Yuval-Davis 2006), economic concerns, health care issues, and violence against women. The movement has also come to focus on the adverse effects of global capitalism (e.g., increased global trafficking in women), the lack of women’s voices in global civil society, the growth of antifeminist fundamentalist movements (the Taliban, for one), and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. More generally, the international women’s movement has focused attention on issues of global justice for women and other minorities. It has had a strong impact on the UN and has helped to create strong linkages among the UN, national governments, and nongovernmental organizations (George 2007).

Women throughout the world have not only been involved in the global women’s movement, but have also responded at local and regional levels to common problems



Rape



Women in the Military



## Rape as a Weapon of War

The use of rape as a weapon of war has been so virulent in the African nation of the Democratic Republic of Congo that the UN special representative on sexual violence in conflict called it the “rape capital” of the world (Mawathe 2010). Since 1996, Congo has been characterized by more or less constant warfare and ongoing rebellions. Nine African nations and a couple of dozen armed groups have been involved in a shifting pattern of violence and exploitation (Hochschild 2011). The conflict persists because of the existence of many different rebel groups, an army that is in disarray, a UN peacekeeping force (numbering about 18,000) that is ineffectual, the existence of and battle over valuable minerals (tin, gold, etc.), and the isolation of villages from one another. The warring groups often use women’s bodies as a battleground, where rape is a sign of power of one group over another. Groups may also use rape in hopes of gaining concessions from those in power, or they may rape out of simple frustration or boredom with life in the forest (Hochschild 2011).

In one case in Congo, four armed rebels barged into a hut and repeatedly raped an 80-year-old grandmother in the presence of children. The rapists themselves were so much younger than the woman that she cried out, “Grandsons . . . Get off me!” (Gettleman 2010). They eventually did, but with about 300 other rebels from at least two different groups, they went from hut to hut gang-raping about 200 women. After the rapes, women said they heard hollering throughout the night. It sounded as if the rebels were celebrating. The grandmother lay bleeding on the floor listening to the celebration.

A few days later, a UN peacekeeping force passed through the area and saw



Gynecologist Denis Mukwege observes as his assistants perform reconstructive surgery on one of the many women and girls raped and abused by soldiers on both sides of the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

signs of violence and looting. However, when asked by UN soldiers, the villagers did not say anything about the rapes. A UN officer said, “Sometimes . . . the women here are ashamed to tell a soldier, especially a male soldier, that they’ve been raped. And we don’t have any female soldiers” (Gettleman 2010: A3).

The area is so dangerous that villagers are afraid to go to markets without a UN escort. When they do, they tend to walk behind trucks carrying a few peacekeepers. They constantly yell to the trucks to drive more slowly because they are afraid of a gap developing between the trucks and the line of villagers. If such a gap develops, it is not uncommon for armed rebels to leap out of the woods and grab a few villagers. Particularly vulnerable are women who, in the current environment in Congo,

are highly likely to be raped, perhaps repeatedly.

The consequences for the women can be severe. Many of the women who have been raped are rejected by their husbands, who call them “dirty” (Mawathe 2010). Other survivors are severely injured. The psychological trauma leaves some women entirely emotionless. Rape survivors may find expert medical care and the support of other survivors at specially established medical centers, but their despair is likely to persist for years, if not for a lifetime.

### Think About It

Why does rape as a tool of war persist? Is it an act of sex, or one of power and violence? Can its incidence be reduced? If so, how?

caused by globalization. They also localize global political activities undertaken by the international women’s movement and global human rights groups. In addition, they organize against global activities such as militarism and conflict and use global organizations (such as the UN and international nongovernmental organizations) to help in local and regional activities (Naples and Desai 2002). However, even the activities that have been primarily or exclusively local in nature have had a profound effect globally. Even with all the local variations, feminism can be seen as “a truly global phenomenon” (Marx Ferree and Tripp 2006: viii).

## CHECKPOINT 10.3 EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Sexuality	Sexuality is a growing presence in the global media, including through the influence of “sexperts” and social movements such as women’s and gay movements.
Sexual minorities	Helped by ease of travel and the Internet, minorities are finding both greater acceptance and the rise of homophobia.
Sex industry	Millions of adults and children are likely in forced labor and prostitution around the world.
Feminization of migration	Globalization brings women from the South to the North in search of work.
Feminization of labor	Women are participating in the workforce in increasing numbers worldwide.
Feminization of poverty	Increasing numbers of women are channeled into low-status, poorly paid manual work.
War and violence	Women are bearing the brunt of war worldwide, including the effects of rape as a tool of war.

## SUMMARY

Sex is primarily a biological distinction between males and females and exists on a continuum; gender is based on the physical, behavioral, and personality characteristics that are considered appropriate given a person’s biological category. Humans enact a wide variation of expressions of both sex and sexuality—people are not simply female or male, homosexual or heterosexual. However, everyone’s behavior is controlled to a great extent by learned sexual scripts, which account more clearly for gender differences in sexuality than biological differences do.

What is considered sexually deviant varies among times and places. Today, behavior is generally judged on the basis of four criteria: the degree of consent, the nature of the person or object involved, the nature of the action or body part employed, and the place where the act takes place.

Hegemonic masculinity works in concert with emphasized femininity to subordinate women and create gender inequality. In gendered organizations and institutions, men and women are placed in different domains, and gender inequality is built in.

The male breadwinner–female homemaker model is not as prevalent in developed countries as it once was, although

women still tend to do more housework and child care than men, even when both are working. In schools, girls often excel academically, but boys get more attention. Although female undergraduates outnumber males, men are more likely to graduate from more prestigious schools and earn more money than women. Women and men are prone to different diseases, and women tend to live longer than men. Being male is the strongest predictor of crime, though arrests for crime among women are increasing.

Globalization reinforces but also destabilizes preexisting gender structures on a global scale. Further, norms and values about sex have flowed across the world and grown increasingly similar over time. The greater flow of people also creates more opportunity for traffickers to transport women and children for sexual exploitation. Globalization is linked to the increasing number of women working in the Global South, although many are drawn into low-status, poorly paid, and sometimes dangerous manual work. On the global level, women are also suffering as rape has become a prominent weapon of war. The international women’s movement has gained strength since the UN celebrated the International Women’s Year in 1975.

## KEY TERMS

asexuality, 330	hegemonic masculinity, 340
bisexuality, 330	heterosexuality, 330
consensual sex, 333	hidden curriculum, 344
emphasized femininity, 340	homosexuality, 330
female proletarianization, 354	intersexed, 329
feminization of labor, 353	rape, 333
feminization of poverty, 355	sex, 329
gender, 329	sexual assault, 333

sexual harassment, 336
sexual orientation, 330
sexual scripts, 331
sexuality, 330
transgender, 340
transsexual, 329

## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do sociologists mean when they say that there are no clear-cut biological differences between men and women?
2. What are the differences in the ways that men and women approach sexuality? How are the differences in approaches related to the socialization process? Do you think that increasing equality between men and women will affect these approaches?
3. How has sexuality been McDonaldized or become an element of consumption? What effect does the McDonaldization of sexuality have on our sexual identities?
4. What is the difference between sex and gender? How does sex affect gender? How does gender affect sexuality?
5. What are the differences in the ways that men and women experience "hegemonic masculinity" and "emphasized femininity"? How do these constructs help create and reinforce gender stratification?
6. How do men and women differ in terms of their educational experiences? In what ways does the hidden curriculum of educational systems reinforce gender stratification?
7. Why are women and men treated differently as consumers? What events in recent decades have changed the way women are thought of as consumers?
8. In what ways has the sex industry become increasingly important to global capitalism? How is this sex industry reflective of gender stratification? How is it reflective of inequalities between the Global North and South?
9. What do sociologists mean by the "feminization of labor"? What are the benefits and disadvantages of the feminization of labor? How has the feminization of labor influenced female migration?
10. What types of violence are women most likely to experience when they live in places experiencing war and other types of armed conflict?

## APPLYING THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

According to the chapter, the UN is the "unlikely godmother" of the global women's movement. Despite being led primarily by men, the UN has been a key ally in the global women's movement. In fact, the United Nations is responsible for the most complete international agreement on the basic human rights of women, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, also known as CEDAW.

For this activity, do research on the history of CEDAW. How does CEDAW define discrimination against women? What are the basic principles of the articles of the convention? How do these relate to the issues discussed in this chapter? What countries have ratified CEDAW? What sort of success has CEDAW had in addressing issues of global gender stratification?

## STUDENT STUDY SITE



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