BATTLEGROUND

WOMEN, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY

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PREFACE

"Your Body Is a Battleground," reads one of contemporary artist Barbara Kruger's most famous pieces of work. A black and white photograph of a woman's face, banded with bold red stripes of text, conveys the image of a stereotypical woman: a white, middle class housewife who has possibly achieved the "American dream." In the photographed silkscreen, half of the woman's face is white on black; the other half is black on white, juxtaposing an internal division that presumably lies within her, as well as in the external framing of her identity. The image is labeled with flashing white words on a bold, red background, causing the viewer to associate the woman's face with an advertisement or media glitz and challenging the viewer to reconsider notions of identity, power, and sexuality, as well as stereotypes about women's roles and identities in contemporary U.S. society. Ultimately, Kruger's art is a provocative call to consider how women's lives are central to—and indeed provide a battleground for—broader political, economic, legal, and cultural struggles in Western society.

How women's bodies become battlegrounds—symbolically and materially, through political and economic processes, policies, laws, educational and religious institutions, and cultural ideologies—is at the heart of this two-volume set. *Battleground: Women, Gender, and Sexuality* is among the first references to address and unpack the ways in which gender and sexuality intersect in societal understandings of women's (and men's) lives, with particular implications for how women are expected to perform their roles as workers, mothers, wives, daughters, and citizens. The 97 entries in this set reflect the now large and diverse field of women's studies, with its many strands of thought pertaining to the nature of gender, women's rights, and perceived gender and sexual inequalities in the United States and globally.

During the latter half of the twentieth century and entering the new millennium, gender identity and sexual identity, particularly as they relate to the foundation of the modern family, have been two of the most controversial themes publicly debated. From gender equity at work to women's ability to play professional sports, serve in political office, or join the military; women's reproductive decisions, including abortion, birth control and family planning; changing perceptions of female sexuality and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identities; and the rights of women and sexual minorities in various realms of public and private life, this set aims to tackle these controversial themes as they have emerged in popular culture, policy and legal arenas, and in Western understandings of family and nation.

Battleground: Women, Gender, and Sexuality is designed to give the reader an accessible reference to the most controversial issues and debates pertaining to women's lives, gender, and sexuality. The incorporation of entries covering all three areas makes this work unique and brings a new contribution to the field of reference works that focus on women in a more general sense. Our goal for this project is to bring together academics from multiple fields who focus on a broad range of historical, cultural, economic, and political issues that inform current societal understandings of the most controversial topics. To begin our process, we solicited experts in various fields who gave us their opinions on the topics that should be included. From their input and our own work, we developed the list of topics included in these two volumes. They include the following general topics: body politics; families and parenting; feminisms; gender equity and sexual rights; gender identities and expressions; global political economy; media, visual arts, and communication; politics and social movements; religion and society; sexual identities and practices; social stratification; violence against women; and women's health and reproductive practices. Within each of these areas, a range of entries are included that shed light on some of the most important ideas and debates concerning women's lives and the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

The entries range in length depending on the theme, and each entry provides readers with further references to take them deeper into the subjects.

Body Politics refers both to the symbolic realm of how women's bodies are understood and known in modern scientific and cultural discourse, and how various groups of women, from young girls to aging women, experience their bodies in modern Western society. Entries cover topics such as the influence of Barbie on female senses of self, beauty pageants and the beauty industry, experiences of disability, and body modification, including plastic surgery, Botox, tattooing, and piercing.

Under the theme of *Families and Parenting,* authors ask important and sometimes unsettling questions such as "who pays for the kids?" and whether daycare or stay-at-home parenting is better for the children; political debates on "family values"; and the recent policy and educational emphases on fatherhood and marriage initiatives.

Undoubtedly, *feminism* has been one of the most important and influential movements in the twentieth century. Do we now live in a "postfeminist" era?

Is feminism dead or is it thriving? With the institutionalization of its successes, including the establishment of Women's History Month and Women's Studies courses, and the numerous achievements women have made professionally, is feminism still relevant to our lives and, if so, how? More fundamentally, at this point in history what is feminism and how have scholars and women's rights advocates framed their political struggles in terms of feminism? These are some of the questions posed in these entries.

Gender Equity and Sexual Rights are at the heart of political struggles over the perceived "rights" of both women and sexual minorities. Although gains have been made, pay differentials between men and women for equal work remain, women represent less than 20 percent of all federally elected senators and representatives, women are devalued as professional athletes, and women are still for the most part locked out of the highest levels of most major professional endeavors, including corporate CEOs, engineers, surgeons, and architects. Feminist scholars have theorized, documented, and advocated for changes, but advancements are slow and results have been mixed. Several entries are focused on the issue of gender equity for these reasons. Why are women less represented in the public realm? Are they naturally inclined to remain at home and perform traditional gender roles in childrearing and household management? Or, are broader structural inequalities preventing them from accessing these public places of power? Do men and women think differently about these issues? These are some of the questions addressed in entries that address, among others, affirmative action, Title IX and women's sports, comparable worth, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Even more recent is the struggle for sexual rights in U.S. law and policy. Should lesbians and gays have the right to marry? Should they be allowed to serve in the military? Do they deserve equal status under the law, just as racial minorities, or should they be treated as a different type of group? Observers continue to debate these issues as more and more lesbians and gays continue to "come out of the closet" in the United States.

What is gender? Is it a result of biology or socialization? Are we "born that way" or do we choose how to express ourselves? What role do our families and societies play in shaping our gender identities and roles as we go through life? Themes that fall under *Gender Identities and Expressions* get at the heart of these issues as they shape contemporary debates on femininities and masculinities, gender socialization, nature versus nurture, and non-normative forms of gender identity and expression; that is, forms that fall outside the realm of traditional, binary gender roles—male and female—that we are socialized to understand as inclusive of everyone's experience. In fact, as many transgendered, intersex (formerly known as hermaphrodite), and "third gender" people have pointed out, gender is potentially experienced in a much broader way than traditional scientific and psychological theories of identity might claim. Several entries address the question, "What is gender and how is it experienced?" from this perspective of rethinking this foundational concept in Western society. Topics such as sex reassignment surgery and the psychological classification of gender identity disorder are also discussed.

In the area of *Global Political Economy,* broad structural processes are addressed as they shape and influence women's lives. From the modern commercialization of the mail-order bride industry to explosive debates on immigration, militarized prostitution, terrorism and national security, globalization, and imperialism, these entries present a provocative set of ideas about how contemporary scholars and members of society think about the position of the United States in the global arena and the effects of broad institutional patterns and forms of power relations on various sectors of women.

One cannot discuss women's lives without addressing the role of media and communication in shaping how we think, feel, dress, and act in the world. Today, women are successful movie stars in Hollywood and increasingly we see strong, rather than merely docile, images of women in film, television, music, and advertising. As the authors of entries in the thematic area of *Media, Visual Arts, and Communication* point out, however, there is much to be done to change stereotypes of women, including racialized undertones, which differentially affect Latinas/Chicanas, African American, Native American, and Asian American women as they are represented visually, lyrically, and through speech and language in the media. What do images of women in MySpace tell us about how young women experience their bodies and identities? Are women themselves contributing to their own stereotypical images, and does this matter? To what extent is sexism still a factor in media production and art, and to what extent does women's participation in media production change the tone of the images? Why are images of women, rather than men, more commonly seen in television and magazine advertisements? These questions continue to challenge societal thinking about media images of women as they are increasingly commercialized.

Women have long participated in various forms of political activism and have fought for changes in their countries, both on the Right and Left of the political spectrum, despite long-held stereotypes that women's roles are "in the home" rather than in politics. In the thematic area of *Politics and Social Movements,* authors ask: How have political parties and movements recruited women for their causes? What catalyzes women to action, including those socialized to perform traditional gender roles, to leave the comfort of their homes and participate in national politics or resistance movements? Why do some women support right-wing ideologies while others believe in leftist-oriented revolutionary change, sometimes sacrificing their lives for the cause of their country or struggle? Finally, how do women respond to their calling as national citizens? In a post-9/11 era, these questions are particularly relevant to contemporary debates on the "War on Terrorism," national security and citizenship, the struggle for environmental justice, and the growing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) movement. In the latter case, LGBT people are often viewed as threats to the family and the nation: Authors ask, why are those who are not heterosexual labeled deviant or as potentially threatening as terrorists? What are the cultural lenses through which modern forms of sexuality and gender are understood in the context of heightened anxieties about war and terrorism? These issues invoke deep feelings on all sides of the ideological spectrum.

Religion plays an important role in how we perceive our identities and in the fate of the nation. Religious discourse and institutions often set the tone for how individuals define what they view as their most important values, ethics, and morals. Under the theme of *Religion and Society,* women's roles in religious institutions are discussed, including movements to increase the leadership roles of women in traditional, male-dominated monotheistic religions. In addition, the effects of fundamentalism on women and why women choose to define themselves as part of fundamentalist movements are addressed, including controversial practices engaged in by self-defined fundamentalist communities. In the U.S. context, polygamy, a practice often associated with specific Mormon fundamentalist sects, has been debated with regard to whether this practice should be allowed on the basis of religious freedom or whether it should be criminalized, due in part to abusive sexual patterns. These questions, as well as how religion shapes our ideas about gender and sexuality, are addressed in these entries.

In the realm of *Sexual Identities and Practices,* perhaps the most controversial questions concern the origin and meaning of sexual identity. What causes homosexuality or heterosexuality? Is there a "gay gene" that determines sexual identity at birth, or can people change their sexual identity according to their social context? Where does bisexuality fall in the realm of sexual expression? Alfred Kinsey, one of the first scientists to develop a systematic study of human sexuality among both women and men, was perhaps ahead of his time. Although historically, scientific and cultural discourses have long treated homosexuality as either a criminal act or a disease, in the 1950s Kinsey discovered that more people who self-define as heterosexual actually partake in same-sex sexual practices than was previously thought, thereby shaking the foundations of America's mainstream views on "appropriate" sexual behavior and causing a revolution in how we think about identity versus actual behaviors. His national study on female sexuality also opened doors for later generations of scholars and advocates to rethink female sexuality from a place of empowerment rather than submission or passivity. As a result, women's traditional gender roles were challenged as they came to be seen as possessing their own desires rather than merely reacting passively to the desires of men. Here, too, claims about gender and sexuality converge and overlap in contemporary discussions of sexual behavior, including ongoing heated debates about whether sexual behaviors should be regulated by law or left to the decisions of individuals. Entries in this thematic area include discussions of the Kinsey scale of sexual behavior, female sexuality and dysfunction, sadomasochism and sexual deviance, heterosexism and homophobia, homosexual reparative therapy, and contemporary usages of the term *queer* and the emergent field of queer studies.

Social Stratification in U.S. society has been addressed on various levels, including in terms of how gender and sexuality intersect with other aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity, class, and religion. In this thematic area, authors discuss a range of issues pertaining to how specific groups of women, such as poor and working class women and women of color, are positioned in our socially stratified society. In particular, they discuss how gender, race, and class intersect in the lives of women and influence societal perceptions and

policies concerning work, poverty, crime, and America's controversial welfare reforms.

Violence against Women is an issue that has intrigued scholars for a long time. Why are females more likely than males to be subjected to particular forms of violence within their families and households? Why are women or girls the most likely target of sexual assault? Should we understand these forms of violence as cultural patterns that would be best addressed through public policy, or as random or private acts that need no police or government intervention?

Finally, authors in these volumes address a broad range of issues pertaining to *Women's Health and Reproductive Practices.* How are women's reproductive practices, including birth control, breastfeeding, and childbirth options, regulated through laws and policies? Should the state have the right to decide when life begins or should women, who are the ones to become pregnant, be able to decide for themselves if they wish to birth a child? In relation to this question, should fetuses have the same rights under the law as pregnant women? Why has breastfeeding, which has been practiced by women across the globe for centuries, come to be seen as "obscene" by some politicians who have sponsored bills to make breastfeeding illegal in certain public places? To what extent have medical and scientific views on women's health, including their reproductive health as well as their physical and mental health, influenced women's own views on their symptoms and illnesses? How have women's rights advocates challenged models that they claim are biased toward men's anatomies and experiences, including in the cases of cancer and HIV/AIDS?

As we move through the twenty-first century, women's bodies will surely continue to be a battleground for contemporary struggles concerning science, health and medicine, policy, law, and popular culture. As long as women are viewed as central to the family and the family is viewed as an essential foundation of society, we will witness and partake in complex yet, we hope, fruitful debates about the meaning and making of gender and sexuality as they shape women's and men's lives. We invite you to explore these passionate topics and to develop your own ideas, as you will likely be transformed by reading about the diverse range of feelings and opinions expressed in these pages.

We have also included a general bibliography of the works that we feel give an overall idea of the topics currently being explored in the fields of gender, feminist, and sexuality studies today. Readers will be well equipped to continue their explorations from these reference points.

We believe we have captured the essence of issues facing us as we move forward in this early part of the new millennium and the consolidation of the information age. We are pleased with the outcome of this project and hope you will find it useful. We are grateful to the editors at Greenwood Press for supporting our original intent of these volumes to include a diverse examination of issues pertaining to women, gender, and sexuality. We want to thank all contributors for their knowledge, expertise, and commitment to bringing often complex debates to the new reader. Without their enormous and collective good will, we would still be in the visionary phase of this project. We specifically want to thank Kevin Downing, our acquisitions editor, who listened and guided us to

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ABORTION

Acquiring and maintaining women's right to obtain an abortion is probably considered one of the most controversial issues of the century. "Pro-choice" advocates argue that a woman is not truly free without the right to control her own body and reproductive choices. "Pro-life" advocates have developed a platform in defense of fetal rights and argue that abortion is a crime, often defending the state's ability to regulate and criminalize it. Additional controversy concerns the question of when life itself begins, based on religious and cultural arguments about human development.

BACKGROUND

The regulation of reproductive practices has been long disputed on the basis of individual versus state's rights, who has the right to control women's reproductive lives and decisions, and when life itself begins. Various forms of societal and governmental regulation have inevitably shaped the condition and character of women's lives; indeed, the United States was founded on laws that regulate the realm of reproduction (Rowland 2004).

When it comes to reproductive rights, which refers to all areas of sexual reproduction, abortion has dominated the discourse. Historically, abortion has been both criminalized and made legal, opposed and supported, stigmatized and respected as a woman's choice. The debate has centered predominantly on the moral and ethical dilemma of whether or not a woman *should* be free to have an abortion and, if so, under what conditions.

Abortion is defined as the termination of a human pregnancy through premature expulsion of a fertilized egg or fetus from the uterus resulting in termination. This process may occur through natural spontaneous miscarriage, or it may be induced. If termination occurs before the 20th week of gestation, it is considered nonviable or unable to survive outside the womb. It is the inducing of an abortion that has created controversy around a woman's right to choose. Although the necessity of abortion has decreased as a result of the widespread use of birth control in Western cultures, the procedure is still used for a variety of personal, economic, and medical reasons. These include whether the health or life of the mother is at risk; whether the fetus is at risk of serious disease, deformity, or dysfunction; or whether the mother believes she or a couple believe they are unable to raise a child. Sometimes pregnancy occurs by accident, as a result of failed contraception or as the result of a forced sexual encounter, and women subsequently choose to have an abortion.

HISTORY OF ABORTION

Historical evidence indicates that induced abortions have taken place since antiquity. Abortions have been regulated and administered sporadically throughout history and cross-culturally. Pregnancies have been and continue to be terminated through various techniques including the use of abortifacient herbs, turpentine, forced falls or impalements, sharp tools, and the application of abdominal pressure, in addition to the common modern medical procedures.

In the United States, until the nineteenth century abortion was considered a private family matter, and in general it was not commonplace for governments to intrude. Early common law inherited from England focused on "quickening," when the fetus begins to move on its own and is felt by the mother, as a way to differentiate when an abortion was no longer permissible. Beginning in 1803, however, both the federal government and individual states started to pass laws that made abortion a crime. By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly every state had made performing or attempting to perform an abortion punishable "by fines and imprisonment" (Hull et al. 2004). In their book, *The Abortion Rights Controversy in America,* N.E.H. Hull, Williamjames Hoffer, and Peter Charles Hoffer argue that the imposed government restrictions were a result of the combination of two "powerful [and contradictory] currents of thinking about domestic life and women's role in society": On one hand, liberal individualistic philosophy stressed privacy within the family and influenced the notion that reproductive decisions should be a woman's decision. On the other hand, traditional views held that women's roles were set in stone as mother and wife. These views were challenged when abortion rates started to rise as a result of changing demographic patterns and cultural gender ideologies, which resulted in the increased belief in a woman's reproductive choice (Hull et al. 2004). In the early nineteenth century, first wave feminists were among the most visible supporters of women's reproductive rights. Advocates such as Margaret Sanger, a strong proponent of birth control, recognized that women would never gain full equality until they could make decisions regarding their own bodies. She

once stated, "No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother" (Sanger 1920, 94).

As late as the 1960s, female reproduction was considered public property in the United States and the state had a say in "a woman's decision regarding reproduction" (Rowland 2004, 5). Abortion, along with various forms of birth control, was closely regulated by the government. In the well-publicized 1972 case, the United States Supreme Court acknowledged for the first time that a woman's freedom and equal participation in society were dependent on her ability to control her own reproduction, thereby granting women personal privacy regarding the choices they make about their bodies. The court stated, "[i]f the right to privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusions into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child" (Baer 2002, 197). This court decision influenced the 1973 decision made in *Roe v. Wade* that set the stage for contemporary struggles concerning abortion.

ABORTION LEGISLATION TIMELINE

1803: English Parliament (Lord Ellenborough's Act) passes criminalizing attempts to induce abortion after quickening.

1821: Connecticut passes first statute that forbids using poison to induce miscarriages.

1825–80: All 50 states pass statutes punishing anyone who performs or attempts to perform an abortion.

1873: Comstock Law passes, prohibiting "obscene" materials from being distributed through the mail, including contraceptives, abortificients.

1959: The American Institute of Law drafts a model state abortion law to make legal abortions accessible.

1961: California state legislature introduces an abortion reform law based on the American Law Institute model.

1965: *Griswold v. Connecticut* Supreme Court decision strikes down Connecticut state law that prohibits giving married people information on contraception because it violated the "right to marital privacy."

1967–70: Colorado is first state to loosen its abortion laws followed by Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Maryland, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, and Virginia.

1968: President Lyndon Johnson's Committee on The Status of Women releases a report calling for a repeal of all abortion laws.

1969: Senator Robert Packwood of Oregon introduces legislation to legalize abortion in Washington D.C.; no action is taken.

1970: The Family Planning Services and Population Research Act is passed by Congress to fund family planning services that exclude abortions.

1972: *Eisenstadt v. Baird* Supreme Court decision establishes the right of unmarried people to use contraceptives.

1973: *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision strikes down state laws that criminalize abortion.

1976–77: Senator Harry Hyde of Illinois sponsors the Hyde Amendment, which passes; allows states to prohibit the use of Medicaid funding for abortions.

1989: *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* reinforces the state's right to prevent all publicly funded facilities from providing or assisting with abortion services.

1992: *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* upholds the state's right to restrict abortion through parental notifications, mandatory counseling, waiting periods, and limitations on public funds.

1994: Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act is passed by Congress to forbid the use of force or obstruction to prevent someone from providing or receiving reproductive health services.

2000: FDA approves mifepristone (RU-486), a drug approved in France in 1988 that, when administered during the first trimester in conjunction with prostaglandin, induces abortion. This drug must be administered and supervised by a doctor.

2003: President George W. Bush signs the Congressional Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act, prohibiting D&X (intact dilation and extraction) and second trimester abortions, even among women whose health is in danger.

2007: Supreme Court upholds the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003.

1970s–1990s: *ROE V. WADE*

The Supreme Court ruled on January 22, 1973 that the right to privacy inherent in the Constitution includes a woman's right to choose to have an abortion. Although the Constitution doesn't specifically reference a right to privacy, over the years the Supreme Court's decisions (as noted in the 1972 decision) have secured the right to privacy as a fundamental human right protected by both the Ninth Amendment and the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* overturned all state and federal laws that outlawed or restricted abortions within the first trimester before the fetus was able to survive outside the womb. The court left it up to the states to set limitations on abortions sought after the first trimester. *Roe v. Wade* was both part of the increase in the Court's attempts to strike down discriminatory civil laws that were unconstitutional and an effort to prevent reproductive choices from being limited (Baer 2002, 11).

Before *Roe v. Wade*, during the period of abortion criminalization, if a woman were to become pregnant, whether married or unmarried, and she was not emotionally, socially, or economically prepared to have a baby, her options were limited. Illegal abortion was often sought and the costs of such services were extremely high, not to mention the increased health risks associated with them. "Back-alley" abortions, a term used to refer to unsafe illegal abortions either self-induced or performed at high risk, often for high fees and sometimes by untrained providers, were common during this period, which is one issue that

pro-choice advocates, those who supported the legalization of abortion, made clear in their lobbying efforts and protests. Pro-choice advocates pointed out that throughout history and across cultures, when abortions have been deemed illegal, women still seek them out. Furthermore, women who seek out illegal abortions experience higher rates of botched procedures and associated high infection and mortality rates (Rubin 1994, 66–67). Often back-alley abortions result in serious complications or the death of the mother. The societal dilemma is whether to make reliable physicians and midwives available to perform the procedures so that women are not forced to find alternative second-rate practitioners who risk women's lives. Between 1960 and 1973, if a woman wanted to have a legal abortion, she could travel to only a handful of places that had reintroduced laws allowing abortions, including Cuba (1965), the United Kingdom (1968), and Canada (1969), and, within the United States, California (1967), Colorado (1967), and New York (1970). If a woman couldn't afford to go to any of those places, her options were limited. Underground abortion services became popular during this period, including the JANE Collective in Chicago, which was started in the late 1960s as a way to provide safe abortions to women in need. This Collective provided approximately 12,000 abortions until it closed in 1973 (Kaplan 1995).

PRO-CHOICE VERSUS PRO-LIFE: THE CONTEMPORARY ABORTION CONTROVERSY

Long before *Roe v. Wade* was decided, abortion opponents and supporters held strong views on whether the practice was ethical and whether the state should in regulate it. These groups have come to be defined largely as either pro-choice advocates, who tend to emphasize women's individual choice in their reproductive decisions, or pro-life advocates, who tend to emphasize that life begins before birth and support the criminalization of abortion.

Pro-Choice

Pro-choice is the viewpoint that women should have control of their reproductive decisions. Individuals and groups who support this position are considered part of the pro-choice movement. Each year, pro-choice advocates celebrate the *Roe v. Wade* decision. Many pro-life advocates argue that, "pro-choice equals pro-abortion," but in reality this is not the view that most who believe in woman's right to choose embrace. A pro-choice advocate doesn't advocate for abortion, and some even personally oppose abortion; rather, they believe it is a woman's right to have an abortion, even if they wouldn't make the same decision for themselves; that women should have access to safe and legal abortions; that a woman should never be forced to have a child against her will because all children should be wanted children; that legal abortions prevent women from having to undergo drastic measures to have illegal back-alley abortions; and that it is not the role of government to regulate this practice—what they view as regulating women's bodies.

Pro-Life

On the opposite side of the debate, pro-life advocates argue that because life begins at conception, abortion is the equivalent of murder. Some compare abortion with wartime casualties. Pro-life advocates believe that the state should regulate abortion and even criminalize it to prevent the procedure from being performed. Each year, pro-life advocates mourn the decision in *Roe v. Wade.* They also believe that abortion providers are assisting with murder and should be punished as such. Since the 1990s, pro-life legal strategies have included, first and foremost, an emphasis on "fetal rights." These advocates believe that human life begins at conception and that the fertilized egg should have the same legal and moral rights as a person. Many pro-life advocates believe that the life of the fetus takes precedence over the mother's life. Pro-life advocates often promote narrow sex education methods, such as abstinence-only, and argue that supporting birth control methods and legal abortions will lead to higher incidents of sexual promiscuity and a breakdown of family values. The pro-life movement's ultimate goal is to ban abortion in all circumstances. Radical pro-life activists have protested abortion clinics, including taunting female clients and clinic professionals, and some pro-life groups have been criminally charged with committing arson and even murdering staff members in clinics where abortions are performed.

America's religious roots have played a key role in the status of abortion in U.S. laws. Groups often connected to what is now referred to as the Religious Right have remained a steady social force, historically opposing all forms of birth control and abortion (Martin 1996; Kintz and Lesage 1998). These groups are often made up of officials of the Catholic Church and other Christian sects who have sought out political leadership roles to outlaw abortion and to prevent family planning programs and contraceptive initiatives using literal interpretations of religious texts as justification for their platforms. Pro-life groups often align themselves with the Religious Right, maintaining a conservative approach to reproductive rights that has been increasingly visible in global political arenas as well, including at the United Nations (Butler 2006).

CONTEMPORARY ABORTION LAW

Since the 1970s, pro-life advocates have worked to dismantle *Roe v. Wade* incrementally by pushing for legal reform at the state level and by challenging the legitimacy of the ruling at the federal level. As of 2007, 15 states still have laws banning abortion throughout pregnancy; enforcement of these laws, however, is prevented by *Roe v. Wade.* Nevertheless, many laws have been passed that limit the contexts within which women have access to legal abortion.

In 2003, Congress passed the Federal Partial Birth Abortion Act, which outlaws the dilation and extraction method (otherwise known as "D&X") and all second trimester abortions, even when a woman's health is in danger. Congress had ignored an earlier court ruling in 2000 that stated a ban on abortion was unconstitutional and that all restrictions on abortions must include the protection of the woman's health. On April 18, 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this act.

This decision was a moral and ethical victory for proponents of the act who argue that the D&X procedure is never medically necessary. For opponents, the decision was viewed as a political assault on women's lives; they pointed out that D&X is rarely performed and is usually done in extreme instances when a woman's life is in danger or when the fetus is malformed and has no chance of survival. The Court's decision stood for many as a monumental sign of the shift in the U.S. Supreme Court's rulings and the weakening of the protection held by the 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade.*

ADDITIONAL POLICIES AND LAWS: ABSTINENCE-ONLY AND INFORMED CONSENT

According to the Sexuality Information & Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), beginning with the Reagan Administration in 1981, the pro-life movement began pushing for the increased federal funding of abstinence-only programming in the United States and was largely successful. Abstinence-only programming refers to education programs designed for preteens and young adults that promote the practice of refraining from sexual intercourse. Much of the programming focuses on preventing sexual activity before marriage to prevent out-of-wedlock childbearing. SIECUS reports that money is allocated through three primary funding streams: The Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA), Title V Welfare Reform Act, and the federal Community Based Abstinence Education Program.

Many pro-choice advocates believe that the pro-life position on sex education and abstinence-only increases the need for women to seek abortions. Opponents of abstinence-only programming believe that although these programs can be helpful for some, they are exclusionary in that they do not consider all factors that shape a person's sexual behavior. Furthermore, they argue, abstinence-only programs do not provide alternative options for those who decide that abstinence is not suitable for them. For example, a person who receives abstinence-only education and who subsequently decides not to abstain may not be equipped with proper contraceptive techniques, thereby putting him/herself at risk for creating an unwanted pregnancy or contracting a sexually transmitted disease. Many agree that a healthy compromise would be for programs to cover the full range of education on sexual reproduction and sexual activity and offer abstinence-only information for those who choose that lifestyle.

Informed consent is another strategy supported by pro-life advocates to prevent women and especially legal minors from having access to abortion. Many states have passed informed consent bills, also known as "right to know" or "mandatory delay" bills. These bills require that any clinics that perform abortions must give information about the development of the fetus to those seeking abortions. These bills also seek to require disclosure of all risks associated with abortion and alternatives while imposing a daylong wait before the procedure. Furthermore, in some cases women under age 19 may not seek abortion services without prior consent from their parents or legal guardians. Many pro-choice

advocates oppose legislation requiring informed consent, arguing that such tactics are intended to make it more difficult to obtain an abortion. Some claim an increased harassment of female clients seeking information about abortions, particularly in contexts where medical providers are themselves pro-life.

CONCLUSION

Abortion is one of the most debated issues today in U.S. society. On both sides of the debate, observers hold strong feelings about women's roles in making reproductive decisions, the state's role in regulating the realm of reproduction, when life begins, and whether fetuses should have legal rights. Thus far, fetal rights legislation pits mothers against their own fetuses, often criminalizing women in the process. For example, well-publicized cases of women who have used illegal drugs while pregnant have been charged with child abuse or, in cases where the fetus died, murder. This appears to be a growing legal trend in the 2000s, although many still continue to support the view that the state should not intervene in regulating reproductive decisions, and that regardless of religious and cultural views regarding when conception begins, states should not prioritize one form of life over another. What is perhaps most certain is that these debates will continue to shake the political and moral foundations of U.S. society, for the issue of abortion touches on several interconnected and deeply controversial debates about privacy and the law, family planning, parenting, and the question of when life begins.

See also Birth Control; Fetal Rights; Population Policy.

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Jeni Jenkins

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action refers to public policies and initiatives that have been implemented to increase the representation of groups that have been excluded both historically and currently from employment, education, and other opportunities, based on their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Affirmative action policies have been the source of intense controversy, with claims that these policies are inherently racist or sexist and do not significantly help their intended beneficiaries.

DEFINING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson used the concept of affirmative action in Executive Order No. 11246, requiring federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." In 1967, President Johnson expanded the Executive Order to include affirmative action requirements to benefit women. Affirmative action addresses governmental and social injustices against groups that have been discriminated against, most typically because of race, ethnicity, and gender, and seeks to increase the representation of these underrepresented groups in fields of study and work.

President Johnson was not the first president to develop affirmative action mandates. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802, barring discriminatory hiring policies in defense industries that held federal contracts and created the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to investigate complaints and to address valid grievances. President Roosevelt's signing of this order was a culmination of work by black civil rights leader, A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman's Executive Orders 9980 and 9981 outlawed discrimination in federal employment and the military, respectively. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (in government-funded employment) with Executive Order 10925 and called on federal contractors to overcome discrimination.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Current debates on gender- and race-based affirmative action are rooted in the historical legacy of racial and gender inequalities in the United States. In the 1960s, the second wave feminist movement adopted the strategies of the civil rights movement to apply the concept of affirmative action to the realm of gender.

Lack of representation of racial and ethnic minority groups in America did not emerge in the twentieth century; rather, it stems from discrimination that is evident with the nation's founding. The American Constitution is based on ideals of justice and equality, yet the majority of African Americans were enslaved and exploited. Many scholars have pointed out that U.S. history is built on preferential treatment, with different laws being applied to blacks and whites during slavery, during the Jim Crow period, into the twentieth century, and, arguably, continuing today. Similar experiences of discrimination were typical for Native Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and women.

Affirmative action is built on the premise that meritocracy does not adequately address the continuing underrepresentation of minority groups. Both past and present discriminatory practices limit access to educational and employment opportunities and consequently to opportunities to gain merit. When minority group members are actively sought or preferred, it is arguably because affirmative action is necessary to compensate for advantages that groups such as males and whites have derived from racism and sexism. Thus past discrimination will be sufficiently countered that such affirmative action strategies will no longer be necessary. American affirmative action policies have primarily addressed race and gender inequalities, and women have benefited as much as racial and ethnic minorities from these policies.

The controversy over affirmative action continues to rage for several reasons. First, Americans hold conflicting ideals, which become more complex when ideas of race relations are included. These conflicting ideals include the value placed on equality; yet white supremacy is rampant. America has been built on the exploitation and exclusion of minority groups, and social and economic discrimination against many of these groups continue to characterize race relations. Second,

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS

Opponents of affirmative action have been most successful at dismantling legislation in university admissions. In October 1997, two white students, Jennifer Gratz and Patrick Hammacher, filed a lawsuit alleging that the University of Michigan gave preferential treatment to minority students in their undergraduate admissions process. Later in 2001, Barbara Grutter, a white student who was denied admission to the University of Michigan Law School, filed her own lawsuit alleging that because other African American applicants were accepted despite their lower tests scores, she was legally discriminated against. Both cases were brought to the U.S. Supreme Court in 2003, where the Court voted in a split ruling to uphold the University of Michigan Law School's admissions standards but to strike down the university's undergraduate admissions standards on the basis that it violated equal protection provisions of the Constitution. A similar legal process occurred in California, home to one of the largest public university systems in the nation, where race-based admissions standards are no longer allowed, and broader initiatives such as the Florida Civil Rights Initiative (2000+) have been introduced that aim to end governmental preferences toward minority groups in all realms of public policy and law.

many Americans believe that although prejudice and discrimination continue to exist, they are no longer defining social realities for most minorities.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Americans embrace the value of individual determinism. A prevailing argument against affirmative action is the charge that it subsumes individual opportunity, with merit as the basis of reward, to group entitlement. That is, it is patently unjust to select individuals on the basis of any other characteristic than merit, as we are all equal citizens. Thus critics of affirmative action call for a colorblind and gender-neutral society. This argument fuels the charge that affirmative action is reverse racial or gender discrimination. Critics argue that affirmative action is a violation of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment and violates individual rights. Furthering this criticism is the argument that affirmative action penalizes individuals who cannot be held accountable for past and present group actions. One individual is not responsible for slavery, which happened centuries ago, neither is he or she responsible for current discriminatory practices. Conversely, affirmative action unfairly rewards individuals for the exploitation of their ancestors centuries ago.

An ensuing argument against affirmative action is that it demeans its intended beneficiaries, members of minority groups, and promotes the perception among both minorities and nonminorities that, unlike the racial majority and model minorities, underrepresented minorities are not capable enough to be considered on their own merits and cannot attain success without preferential treatment. Furthering this contention is the idea that beneficiaries of affirmative action are not as qualified as their white and/or male counterparts. Because they are not rewarded based on their individual merit or ability, then the best positions are not reserved for those most qualified. As such, affirmative action practices undermine quality and lower standards of excellence in the labor force and educational system.

Another argument is that affirmative action is appropriate when it helps minorities who are socially and economically disadvantaged, and not middle and upper class minority members who have achieved success. The argument is that affirmative action can no longer fulfill its original objective of raising minorities out of poverty, as many minorities have already achieved middle-class status. Cases are frequently cited of middle-class minorities who receive better employment and college acceptance than comparable whites because of affirmative action. According to this point of view, affirmative action should be used to alleviate poverty among the lower classes, and not among specific racial or ethnic groups. Although not denying the experience of past discrimination, critics also argue that discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and gender are no longer salient in the labor force and on university campuses, minimizing the need for affirmative action.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Supporters of affirmative action argue that America has not been built on individual merit, colorblindness, and gender equality, and accordingly, that centuries

of social inequalities and denied opportunities cannot be resolved by merit and colorblind or gender-neutral policies. The role of past and current institutional discrimination of minorities cannot be minimized. Although many racial and ethnic minorities and women have experienced, and continue to experience, socioeconomic mobility, employment and wage disparities remain entrenched between whites and minorities, and poverty and other means of social disenfranchisement are disproportionately evident among minorities. Affirmative action supporters assert that critics are trying to shift the blame onto minority group members who have been discriminated against, as justification for eliminating affirmative action policies.

Proponents of affirmative action also argue that eliminating affirmative action would widen social and economic gaps between whites and underrepresented minorities. The "good old boy's network," in which the power wielders in organizations select, promote, and mentor similar others within their organizations, is used to exemplify the argument that American institutions are not truly meritorious, and instead are exclusionary and bar from entry individuals not connected to these networks. Furthering this argument, supporters of affirmative action argue that it benefits all of society by diversifying the labor force with qualified workers from all backgrounds. Supporters also point out that tremendous gains have been made by racial and ethnic minorities and women in the labor force and in education, in large part as a result of affirmative action measures; however, discrimination is still evident in the labor force and education systems.

THE LEGALITY OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Early civil rights programs were adopted that helped African Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities gain enfranchisement in the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution made slavery illegal, the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal protection under the law, and the Fifteenth Amendment forbade racial discrimination in access to voting.

In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. Title II of the Act entitled all persons to the full and equal enjoyment of public accommodations, without discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Title VII of the Act made it illegal for an employer to discriminate in hiring, firing, promotions, and other employment practices on the basis of race and sex. The Voting Rights Acts of 1965 stipulates in Section 11 that "no person acting under color of law shall fail or refuse to permit any person to vote who is entitled to vote under any provision of this Act or is otherwise qualified to vote, or willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote."

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibited sex discrimination in any educational activity or program at any educational facility that is a recipient of federal funds. Title IX is largely known for bringing further equality to women in sports. During this same period, women's rights advocates were fighting for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). This amendment would have provided full protection for women in all realms of U.S. law

and policy. It was never passed, and the United States remains one of the only countries in the world without federal civil rights legislation of this kind.

In the 1970s and 1980s, and continuing to the present, affirmative action had become a divisive issue for the American public, particularly in regard to race. The growing perception that affirmative action may be reverse discrimination was exemplified by the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) case. Allan Bakke, a white male, had been rejected twice by the University of California, Davis, Medical School, although minority applicants had been admitted who were less qualified than he was. The medical school had separate admissions policies for standard applicants and for minority and economically disadvantaged students and had reserved 16 of 100 places for minority students. Bakke argued that judging him on the basis of his race was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In this case, the Supreme Court outlawed inflexible quota systems in affirmative action programs, which had unfairly discriminated against Bakke, who was white. The legality of affirmative action, however, was also upheld by the Supreme Court. This landmark Supreme Court case ruled that affirmative action was unfair if it resulted in reverse discrimination, and limited affirmative action to ensure that providing greater opportunities for minorities did not come at the expense of the rights of the majority.

In the *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.* (1989), local affirmative action programs were challenged. The city of Richmond, Virginia, had adopted a business program that required contractors awarded city construction contracts to subcontract at least 30 percent of each contract to one or more minority business enterprises. The Supreme Court ruled that a general assertion of past discrimination cannot justify the use of an unyielding racial quota and upheld the strict scrutiny standard that "strict scrutiny must be applied to all governmental racial classifications."

In *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña* (1995), petitioner Adarand Constructors, Inc., sued federal officials with the claim that the race-based presumptions used in subcontractor compensation clauses were violations of the Fifth Amendment's Due Process Clause, which guaranteed equal protection under the law. Again, the Supreme Court determined that "all racial classifications, imposed by whatever federal, state, or local governmental actor, must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny." Although Justice Scalia agreed with the application of strict scrutiny of racial classifications, he argued that, "government can never have a compelling interest in discriminating on the basis of race in order to make up for past racial discrimination in the opposite direction. Under the Constitution there can be no such thing as either a creditor or a debtor race. We are just one race in the eyes of government."

In 1997, Proposition 209 (California Civil Rights Initiative) was passed in California. The proposition states that: "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." This restatement of the Civil Rights Act effectively bans affirmative action programs in California. Implementation of

the proposition had been delayed by a court ruling, which was subsequently overturned.

GLOBAL AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES

Although affirmative action is generally defined as measures designed to increase the representation of underrepresented groups, countries differ significantly in their scope and implementation of affirmative action policies. In general, gender-based affirmative action policies have been much more successful in countries other than the United States. In many European and Latin American countries, for example, national governments have adopted legislation affirming female political quotas and gender-based affirmative action agendas in the areas of employment, health care, and housing, among others. Whereas the Equal Rights Amendment was never passed in the United States, many other countries have in fact passed similar types of federal legislation.

Affirmative action policies on the basis of race, ethnicity, or caste have also been implemented in several other countries. In India, for example, policies have been introduced to address wide disparities in the caste system, which bears similarity to the American racial stratification system. Low castes in India's caste system historically have experienced extreme discrimination and deprivation that remains persistent, despite the constitutional dismantling of the caste system. India's affirmative action policy is called the reservation system, which is based on quotas that reserve places for the underprivileged groups to be represented in government jobs and educational institutions. This system was adopted in Article 15 of the Indian Constitution in 1950.

South Africa explicitly mandates a system of preference for disadvantaged minorities, largely in response to the history of severe racial segregation in that country. In South Africa, black people (Africans, Coloreds, and Indians), who constitute the overwhelming numerical majority, have been grossly disadvantaged compared to whites. Affirmative action policies in South Africa were outlined in the 1998 Employment Equity Act and guaranteed in the South African Constitution. The law mandates the implementation of affirmative action policies by employers to ensure representation and equity in the workforce of both people of color and women, with explicit numerical goals and timetables. Significantly, the policy rejects traditional definitions of merit by stating that a person may not be discriminated against because of a lack of relevant experience as long as the person has the capacity to gain the experience and to do the job.

In contrast, the European Union has espoused race-blind policies. The European Union member states have adopted two directives that attempt to apply principles of equality without regard to race or ethnicity, and to ensure that everyone living in the European Union is legally protected against discrimination. The first directive, Council Directive 2000/43/EC, prohibits discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity and addresses racism and xenophobia in member states. The second directive, Council Directive 2000/78/EC, addresses equality in employment and occupation. All of these examples point to

the difficulty of addressing racial and gender inequalities at the level of policy and law.

CONCLUSION

How the affirmative action controversy will evolve is uncertain, with supporters and opponents polarized on opposite ends, and no compromises seemingly likely. What is certain is severe and mounting legal opposition to affirmative action, for example, as reflected in the University of Michigan court cases and the Florida Civil Rights Initiative (2000) to end governmental discrimination and preferences. Political and popular backlash against affirmative action is also on the rise. Regardless of the future of affirmative action both globally and in the United States, race relations are becoming more tenuous as we experience growing social and economic distress. Likewise, there has been a strong backlash against feminism and a growing perception by white men that white women are no longer disadvantaged, despite clear socioeconomic evidence to the contrary. Some Americans oppose affirmative action, based on the allegation that it results in reverse discrimination, primarily against white males. Others continue to believe in its importance as a step toward racial and gender equality in the nation.

See also Equal Rights Amendment; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States; Title IX and Women's Sports.

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Danielle Smith

AGING

Popular culture provides an indication of the contested, conflicted, and multiple messages that women in the United States receive about aging. American women growing older do so in a youth-oriented culture historically hostile to women in midlife, as well as to women who have achieved the maturity of their fifties, sixties, seventies, and beyond.

BACKGROUND

From the slogan that "growing old is not for sissies" to the Red Hat Society's bodacious motto "when I am an old woman I shall wear purple," to ubiquitous advertising campaigns featuring antiaging serums, creams, and surgeries, to the menopause joke that "it's not a hot flash: it's a power surge," women are given conflicted messages about what it means to grow older. During the twentieth century, however, women as a group generally lived longer than men, raising interesting questions about whether women are physically better equipped to achieve longevity than men, as well as how gendered differences in lifestyles, including differences in men's and women's work, men's and women's capacity for building social networks, and men's and women's receipt of support in marriage, contribute to gendered differences in longevity. Both men and women are living longer in the twenty-first century, and as members of the baby boom cohorts enter midlife and old age, they are working to redefine what those phases of life look like, for both women and men.

FEMINIST ANALYSIS

A conventional feminist analysis of the status of women and aging centers on several foundational principles in classic critiques of patriarchy. Historian Gerda Lerner (1993), for example, describes five major assumptions about gender in a

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SISTER MADONNA BUDER: THE IRONMAN NUN

Anyone who questions whether women in their seventies could be competitive in endurance sports should meet Sister Madonna Buder. Buder started running at age 49; at 51, she bought her first 10-speed bicycle and began participating in triathlons. She now holds Iron-distance age group records in Canada for athletes ages 60–64, 65–69, and 70 plus, and has finished the Ironman World Championship race (a 2.4-mile swim, 112-mile bike ride, and a marathon run) more than 20 times. A recent article on the womenssportsfoundation.org Web site (Schuyler and Boman 2007) profiling "masters" or senior athletes describes the dearth of opportunities for girls and women in sports before Title IX: "Before Title IX, there was the completely unfair stereotype of girls not being able to play sports," says Neena Chaudhry, senior counsel at the National Women's Law Center in Washington, D.C. "And if they played sports, the conventional wisdom was that they were damaging their reproductive organs." Every year women break new barriers in sporting competitions around the world.

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patriarchal society: women and men are different biologically and in their social roles; men are "naturally" superior to women and therefore should be dominant to their weaker counterparts; men are more rational and more geared to public life while women are more nurturing and sustain the functions of daily life; men have the right to control the reproductive functions and sexuality of women; and only men hold the divine ability to mediate between the human species and God (Lerner cited in Ruth 1990).

In the context of these assumptions, which are supported by a wide range of economic, social, cultural, and legal practices, women's value in society, as determined by men, grows less and less as we age. If women's primary functions in a patriarchal society are to provide men with sexual pleasure, children, and the domestic and social labor that allow men to participate in the public, political, productive, and intellectual worlds, as women age and their bodies, sexuality, and reproductive capacities change, their status in society decreases. Ironically and obviously, the inverse is often true for men, who are correctly seen as more powerful and desirable as they age, as a result of having accumulated both wealth and experience—often with the support of the women in their lives (Richardson 1988) and as a function of their exploitation of women's work in the economic and domestic sphere.

THE CHALLENGES OF AGING FOR WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States women face multiple challenges as they age. These difficulties range from cultural displacement to health concerns and health care inequality, from workplace discrimination to high rates of poverty, and from the burden of caring for elderly parents to the burdens of the extended parenting of adult children. As women age, in both rural and nonrural environments, the greater their risk of falling into poverty. In the United States, 10 percent of urban women ages 65–74, along with 11.3 percent of rural women, were in poverty in 2003; among women ages 75–84, poverty rates remain the same for urban women, but rise to 15.0 percent for women living in rural areas; among women ages 85 and older, rates of poverty are 16.8 and 16.9 percent for urban and rural women, respectively. Rates of poverty are higher among widowed women than married women. Rates of women in poverty in old age are greater than those of men, in part because more women survive to older ages, and in part because of the economic inequality and gender expectations women face across the life course. According to the USDA Economic Research Service (USDA 2005), "economic status in later life is a cumulative product of earnings, savings and spending, and participation in pension, health insurance, and public assistance plans. Many older women today have spent all or most of their lives in non-paid traditional household labor roles and thus have limited paid work experience. Those who worked in the formal labor market often had breaks in their paid labor histories due to having and raising children."

In a capitalist society, access to financial resources determines access to a wide range of other resources, goods, and services, including medical care,

THE RED HAT SOCIETY

One group of women taking a whimsical approach to redefining images of older women is the Red Hat Society, a network of small social groups of women 50 and older that meets for fun and support. Sue Ellen Cooper, after reading the poem "Warning" by Jenny Joseph, which describes an older woman who wears a red hat and purple clothing, felt an immediate connection to the author, as she had in the past bought a red fedora at a thrift shop and wore it. After that she bought several friends red hats and gave them copies of the poem. One day they realized they were becoming a social group of sorts and decided to go out for tea in their red hats and purple dresses. Since then there have been three large conventions and chapters have begun in numerous cities.

Adapted from the homepage of the Red Hat Society: http://www.redhatsociety.com/info/howitstarted.html

transportation, and the basic necessities of food and shelter. Because of historical patterns of inequality in the workplace and traditional patterns of women's access to resources being determined by their relationships with men, older women have less access to resources accumulated over a lifetime of paid work than do men, as well as less access to the labor market in their older years. As a result, women's overall well-being in their older years is seriously compromised. For women who are lesbian, nonwhite, never married, and economically or educationally disadvantaged, as well as women in more traditionally patriarchal societies, this trend is often even more pronounced.

Dominant cultural patterns influenced by a capitalist economy also contribute to women's challenges at advanced ages. The "nuclear family" model dictates that heterosexual couples live with their children until the children are grown; grandparents and other extended family members are not expected to live with their relatives, and so many older people do not have the benefit of sharing resources with family members. Conversely, because of family mobility tied to economic opportunities, many children are deprived of the benefit of relationships with their grandparents, who do not live with them and may not live within easy visiting distance.

ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF AGING FOR WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Despite the grim economic realities facing women as they age, demographic and cultural shifts are creating alternative visions of positive aging for women. As members of the baby boom generation enter middle and older ages, they are redefining both the expectations and the possibilities for women. Many of these women participated in the second wave of the feminist movement and consider themselves lifelong feminists. As these women enter middle and older age, they bring with them a critical perspective on cultural assumptions and pressures on women in these phases of life. For example, second wave feminists have frequently interrogated social expectations of women regarding sexuality,

childbirth, and parenting, and their questions around traditional expectations in these areas now extend to how maturity affects sexuality and reproduction. More women are extending their childbearing into their forties, including women who are waiting until midlife to have their first children. Many refuse to accept the idea that sexuality ends at menopause; indeed, they argue that sex for heterosexual women gets better after worries about unwanted pregnancy end.

Many women of the baby boom and earlier generations are discovering athletics as a way of restoring or maintaining their health and fitness, as "masters" sports events around the country indicate. This development is especially heartening, given that women currently in their forties and older were not often socialized in environments that supported girls' and women's development of athletic talent. Deprived of opportunities to participate in well-supported team sports in high school and college, many women are nonetheless discovering the joys of physical fitness in midlife and later. Of interest, many women who begin their sports careers in midlife become successful competitive athletes, particularly in the area of endurance sports, lending some support to the theory that women's bodies are especially well designed for long-distance and endurance events.

Second-generation feminist women have also turned their attention to the issue of women's health and women's access to health care during midlife and later. The authors of a classic feminist text on women's health from the early years of the second wave of the feminist movement, *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* have, in recent years, extended their analysis to women's health issues in maturity. In *Ourselves, Growing Older* (Doress-Worters and Laskin Siegal 1994) and *Our Bodies, Ourselves: Menopause* (Boston Women's Health Book Collective 2006), members of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective take on the challenge of advocating for a view of menopause as a natural developmental event in women's lives, as an alternative to a dominant view that the end of menstruation at midlife is a pathological sign of the beginning of physical decline in women, a definition historically related to patriarchal views of women's value as being tied to reproduction. They also address the complex financial and social issues related to women's health care in old age, including social security, the stresses of multiple-generation caregiving that often situates midlife women between duties toward their own ailing parents and their children, and women's vulnerability to

AGING IS NOT A MEDICAL CONDITION

Just as the path-breaking 1970s text *Our Bodies, Ourselves* offered generations of women new, accurate, and affirming information about their bodies, health, and sexuality, Paula B. Doress-Worters and Diana Laskin Siegal's *Ourselves, Growing Older* (1994) took on the issue of women and aging from a feminist perspective. *Ourselves, Growing Older* addresses the historically classic defining rite of passage from the childbearing years to menopause, but also takes up reform of the medical care system, housing issues, HIV/AIDS, cosmetic surgery, and breast cancer, all of which affect women's health. The text, designed for women 40 and over, emphasizes the "positive potential of the second half of life" based on both empirical research and the personal narratives of women from diverse walks of life.

the chronic disorders related to lifestyles in modern industrialized capitalist societies: diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease.

CONCLUSION

Although economic inequality between the sexes remains constant in the United States, women of the baby boom cohorts have enjoyed greater access to educational and economic opportunities than women in previous generations. Many of this cohort have entered and will retire from formerly male-dominated professions in far greater proportions than previous generations. Many women of this generation, aware, and critical, of the economic risks of femininity and of marriage have established legal structures to protect their financial assets either within or independent of marriage. As a result, greater numbers of women in middle and old age can be expected to have greater access to financial and cultural resources in their later years. Likewise, although women remain seriously underrepresented in politics, and women's interests are therefore not often served in public policy, more women than ever have been elected to political office in the United States in recent decades, and their impact on public policy may benefit women over time in areas related to health, healthcare, economics, the labor force, and aging. As the baby boom cohort of women continues to move through life stages with a feminist critique of dominant expectations toward women, its members are likely to continue to redefine what it means to be female at any given age and to advocate for changes that improve the possibilities and the quality of life for themselves and coming generations.

See also Beauty Industry; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Amber Ault

B

BARBIE AND THE FEMININE IDEAL OF BEAUTY

The Barbie doll is one of the most popular, and indeed, one of the most widely discussed toys of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Its curvaceous figure and often overtly sexualized look have raised important questions in the study of female representation and has often sparked controversy as to the message this doll sends to the vast population of (primarily) young girls that play with her.

BACKGROUND

The Barbie doll was the brainchild of Ruth Handler, who, along with her husband Elliot Handler and business associate Howard "Matt" Matson, co-founded the Mattel Corporation in 1945. Inspired with the idea to create a doll like Barbie from seeing her daughter, Barbara, playing make-believe and dress-up with paper dolls, she realized that there was a gap in the toy market. Baby dolls such as Tiny Tears and Betsy Wetsy were marketed to young girls for the purpose of playing with and trying on domestic roles and mothering, and paper dolls allowed little girls to experiment with fashion and style, but what the market lacked, in Handler's opinion, was a three-dimensional young adult doll that little girls could explore their dreams through. Shortly after she had the idea, but before the doll's design had been concretized, she came across the Lilli doll, a three-dimensional version of a popular postwar cartoon character who first appeared in the West German tabloid, *Das Bild Zeitung,* in 1952, while traveling in Germany in the late 1950s. A German doll standing 11-and-a-half inches tall,

SOME LITTLE KNOWN FACTS ABOUT BARBIE FROM THE MATTEL CO.

According to Mattel, the Barbie doll's full name is Barbara Millicent Roberts, and her birth date is March 9, 1959. She is from Willows, Wisconsin, and she is a graduate of Willows High School. At last tally, Barbie has had more than 80 careers since her debut in 1959. Starting out as a teenage fashion model, the doll's occupations have varied vastly, from a paleontologist to an Olympic swimmer, from a three-time presidential candidate (1992, 2000, and 2004) to a medic sergeant enlisted in Desert Storm. The Barbie doll has also represented more than 45 nationalities. Statistics show that two Barbie dolls are sold every second of every day in any one of the 150 nations the doll is marketed in, making Barbie the #1 girls brand in the toy industry.

and sporting a platinum ponytail, recognized now as a signature Barbie hairstyle, Lilli was Barbie's little-known predecessor. Handler purchased three of the dolls and brought them back to the United States as a model for her "Barbie" doll. In 1959 "Barbie" was officially introduced for the first time to the market at-large at the Toy Fair in New York City, along with 22 stylish new outfits, and was an instant success. The Mattel Co. sold more than 300,000 Barbie dolls during the first year on the market, quickly propelling Mattel to the forefront of the toy industry.

One of the features of the Barbie doll that has remained a top selling point over the years is her unique ability to play any role her creators design for her and, by extension, her ability to transform into just about any role a child's imagination desires for her. The Mattel Co. has taken full advantage of this doll's malleability and has profited from placing her in the guises of a multitude of nationalities, and accessorizing her for a plethora of careers over the years, ranging from an army foot soldier, to a WNBA player, to an Eskimo. Perhaps most remarkable, however, save a very slight increase in waist size and the acquisition of a belly button in the late 1990s, Barbie has managed to keep the same figure over an almost 50-year lifespan.

BARBIE AS A POSITIVE SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE IMAGINATIONS OF YOUNG GIRLS

From the vast population of young girls that own Barbie dolls (statistics show that the majority of girls who own the doll own more than one, the average being eight), to the overwhelming amounts of adults that purchase the doll for their children, or, as is often the case, for themselves as collectors, it seems that those who see Barbie as a positive and beneficial toy for the imaginations of young children are in the majority. Writers and researchers who have studied Barbie and the imaginative play that children engage in with the doll, particularly M. G. Lord (2004), author of *Forever Barbie: The Unauthorized Biography of a Real Doll*, have highlighted that play with Barbie dolls allows little girls to place

themselves in a primarily female-centered universe where all imaginable possibilities are open to them. Lenore Wright (2003), author of *The Wonder of Barbie: Popular Culture and the Making of Female Identity,* concurs with this idea, and underscores what she feels are the important distinctions between the often discussed image of the Barbie doll in contrast to images of women on television and in advertisements. In her opinion, despite the Barbie doll's stereotypical and idealistic feminine appearance, children's imaginative play with the doll is not defined by its appearance but open to the widest range of possibilities stemming from the mind of the child. Thus in her words, "In the fictive world created by Barbie participants, imaginative, identity-informing possibilities emerge that can serve to empower the participant in unexpected ways" (Wright 2003, 2). Authors that seek to highlight the positive aspects of play with this doll tend to downplay the importance of Barbie's physical appearance, and the feminine beauty ideal she has come to represent. For example, researchers such as Lord, LaFerle, and Schank offer their own personal experience with Barbie as evidence that the doll did not negatively affect their relationships to their own physical appearance or self-perception. Schank reveals, "Like LaFerle and Lord, I have never had feelings of inadequacy because of Barbie (LaFerle 1997, 19; Lord 2004, 66–69). Barbie was always a toy" (Schank 2000, 3).

CRITIQUES OF BARBIE

The main distinction between those who feel the Barbie doll has a decidedly positive, or conversely, negative effect on a young girl's psychological growth and development is whether or one aligns herself or himself with the position that toys (and Barbie dolls, in particular) stipulate rules for identity formation, or whether they simply act as vehicles for the exploration of the child's own identity. The feminist critique of the Barbie doll arises from the position that children, during imaginative play or "make-believe," project themselves onto the toy and attempt to identify with it. Thus through the process of self-identification that the child engages in while playing with the Barbie doll, the doll has a profound effect on the young girl's identity formation and self-perception. As Ann Ducille succinctly states, "More than simple instruments of pleasure and amusement, toys and games play crucial roles in helping children determine what is valuable in and around them. Dolls in particular invite children to replicate them, to imagine themselves in their dolls' images. What does it mean, then, when little girls are given dolls to play with that in no way resemble them?" (Ducille 1994, 48). The unlikely chance of having a physical appearance similar to the Barbie doll was actually proven in a study conducted by researchers at University of South Australia and the University of New South Wales, UK, titled "Ken and Barbie at Life Size I," published in 1996. Using their skills in anthropometry, the study of human body measurement for use in anthropological classification and comparison, and allometry, the study of the change in proportion of various parts of an organism as a consequence of growth, they scaled Barbie and Ken dolls to adult, life-size proportions, and compared their measurements to the actual proportions of several representative adult groups of predominantly Anglo-Australian

males and females. Their studies showed that the probability of a woman having a body shape like Barbie's is less than 1 in 100,000. Interestingly enough, Ken's body shape proved more realistic; the probability that an Anglo-Australian man would have such body proportions was calculated at about 1 in 50.

Simply put, the feminist critique of the Barbie doll is grounded in the notion that dolls such as Barbie reinstill the oppressions of patriarchy and the detrimental aspects of capitalism in the most dangerous manner in the guise of child's play. Feminist perspectives on beauty call attention to the high value that Western, patriarchal society places on attractiveness in women. Particularly in North American culture, the message to young girls and women that beauty is a central feature of women's identity and worth is consistently reinscribed through the ever-present media. Feminists argue that the conflation of beauty and being results in many women relating to their physical selves as objects in constant need of monitoring and maintenance, and moreover fosters the social control of women (Travis and Meginnis-Payne 2001).

According to feminist perspectives, Barbie is an example of the conflation of beauty with identity *par excellence.* As stated previously, the only feature of the Barbie doll that has remained overwhelmingly stable over the almost half-century of her existence is her figure. Her physicality and the ideal of feminine beauty she has come to represent are what make Barbie recognizable, and perhaps even appealing to the hundreds of thousands of people who purchase the doll every day. In Ducille's words, "Regardless of what color dyes the dolls are dipped in or what costumes they are adorned with, the image they present is of the same mythically thin, long-legged, luxuriously haired, buxom beauty" (Ducille 1994, 50). The propagation of such an unattainable beauty ideal, manifested in the Barbie doll, starts young girls very early on an often lifelong (and ultimately futile) struggle to personally attain that standard of physical "perfection."

BARBIE SYNDROME

Barbie syndrome is a term used to loosely describe the desire of some females to have a physical appearance and lifestyle characteristic of the Barbie doll. Although the syndrome is mostly associated with preteens and adolescents, women of any age can be afflicted with the disorder, which is characterized by striving for an unattainable body type, more specifically that of the classic and contemporary doll whose real life measurements have been said to be somewhere around 39–18–33. Cindy Jackson is perhaps the most famous person afflicted with so-called Barbie syndrome, as her attempts to (according to many, successfully) transform herself into a human Barbie doll have brought her celebrity status. After eye lifts, nose jobs, cheek implants, lip enhancement, cosmetic dentistry, a chin reduction, a reshaped jaw, facelifts, breast implants (and removal of breast implants), dermabrasion, chemical peels, fat transfers, liposuction, filler injections, laser treatment, and much more, she feels satisfied with her appearance as the closest human simulation of the Barbie doll. (See www.cindyjackson.com)

In a proactive effort to combat the narrowly defined, normative standards of beauty propagated by Western culture, Ophira Edut founded a Web site in 1998 titled *AdiosBarbie.com: A Body Image Site for Every Body.* Promoting body love and self-acceptance "through thick AND thin," this site aims at providing a space for women of all cultures, shapes, and sizes to explore all issues related to the body, speak out against impossible beauty standards (represented in Barbie's "plastic perfection," in Ophira's words), and ultimately encourage people to develop their own understanding of beauty and power, rooted in their own experience.

OTHER CONTROVERSIES: BARBIE IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Since her first appearance as a white teenage fashion model in 1959, the Barbie doll has been manufactured in more than 45 different nationalities and marketed in more than 150 nations, although not all reactions to Barbie's attempts at multicultural integration have been positive. For example, in response to the Mattel Co.'s Barbie *Dolls of the World Series,* first launched in 1980, which offers the Barbie doll in a range of nationalities and cultural attire spanning the globe from Nigerian Barbie to Malaysian Barbie, charges have been leveled that reduce Mattel's attempts to include vastly varying cultures in their "Barbie-world" to little more than a thinly veiled commodification of racial and cultural difference. A comparison of the classic Caucasian, blonde-haired, blue-eyed doll to any one of her multiethnic counterparts reveals that the appearance of cultural or racial difference is achieved through the dye used to color the doll's body, occasionally a slight modification of facial features (such as slightly slanted eyes for the Asian models of Barbie, or a slightly wider nose and thicker lips in her African versions), and a dramatic change in costume reflecting the Mattel Co.'s understanding of the particular country's "traditional" dress. No modifications are made to the doll's body shape and size, or general facial structure. Critics such as Ann Ducille have argued that Mattel's approach to racial and cultural difference through the Barbie *Dolls of the World* series trivializes the particulars of diversity to produce, conversely, an overgeneralized sense of sameness across cultures. In her words, Mattel's commodification of multiculturalism is "an easy and immensely profitable way off the hook of Euro-centrism" (Ducille 1994, 52) that provides the consumer with little more than the shallow appearance of cultural diversity. The issue raised here, specifically how racial and cultural difference can be accounted for in a mass-produced doll without resorting to stereotypes, is indeed an important question that does not succumb to any quick or easy solutions.

The propagation of the Western, Anglo-Saxon beauty ideal that Barbie represents, even in the guise of various nationalities, has also come under intense scrutiny from the governments of some of the non-Western nations that the doll is sold in. The Malaysian Consumers Association of Penang started the trend in 1995, when they called for a nationwide ban on Barbie, citing an alarming increase in anorexia nervosa and plastic surgery since the doll's introduction to the Malaysian market. Officials were quoted as saying that the doll promotes a Western ideal of beauty that does not include dark skin or hair, physical features characteristic of the Malaysian people. In 2002, Iranian police

confiscated Barbie dolls from toy store shelves, calling the doll a Trojan horse sneaking in Western influences and un-Islamic sensibilities that corrupt the minds of young girls. Similarly, in 2002, Russia's president Vladimir Putin was quoted as saying the Barbie doll's "outrageous curves are corrupting the minds of children," and Barbie was included on a list of toys compiled by the Russian Ministry of Education that face a ban in Russia because of their supposed inability to promote "wholesome" values. A year later, religious police in Saudi Arabia followed suit, banning the sale of Barbie dolls in the country; and a warning stating, "Jewish Barbie dolls, with their revealing clothing and shameful postures, accessories and tools are a symbol of decadence to the perverted West," was posted on the official Web site of the Saudi Arabian Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice (Associated Press 2003).

CONCLUSION

The Barbie doll is one of the most popular children's toys and equally one of the most complex cultural icons of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The power and pervasiveness of this small plastic figure are reflected in the often deeply contradictory meanings assigned to the doll, as well as in the reactions it stirs in far-reaching areas of the world. Many researchers and theorists who have worked closely with the multiple meanings attached to the Barbie doll throughout her history have concluded that Barbie is nothing more than a plastic child's toy, devoid of any "sexist or occult" meanings (Schank 2000; also see Wright 2003; Ducille 1994; and LaFerle 1997 for similar conclusions). Therefore they see the Barbie doll as something like a container that holds the meanings that a society places on it, or a prism that reflects the general societal concerns involving women, or the complex issues of female representation, of any given culture or era. Although that is a valid and compelling point, the mass production and global distribution of the female figure that the Barbie doll represents do hold a message, within its form, of what the society that is responsible for manufacturing it understands as *female.* That, in itself, deserves its fair share of critical attention and analysis.

See also Beauty Industry; Beauty Pageants; Gender Socialization; Media Images of Women: Advertising; Self-Injury and Body Image.

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Kathryn Gentzke

BEAUTY INDUSTRY

The beauty industry is a multibillion-dollar enterprise in the United States, generating profit, critics argue, by unnecessarily reinforcing and intensifying women's continued obsession with appearance at the cost of other endeavors or personal health. Defenders of the industry claim that such preoccupation with appearance is naturally female and evolutionarily necessary.

BACKGROUND

Current debates surrounding the beauty industry's impact on women ask the question, what is the function of beauty? If the function of beauty is to realize the goal of reproduction via the attraction of a mate, then the beauty industry does not harm women. Rather, it fulfills a demand required by our nature as human beings. On the other hand, the feminist perspective places the effects of the beauty industry on women in the larger picture of women's historical emancipation. It asks the question, how has the beauty industry helped or hurt women? Feminists argue that beauty is not a mechanism of nature so much as a political and economic tool to maintain a gender hierarchy of male superiority and female subjugation.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BEAUTY INDUSTRY

In *Survival of the Prettiest,* Nancy Etcoff (1999) argues that the beauty industry is a natural extension of the biological criteria for successful femaleness.

The beauty industry does not create or exacerbate a social phenomenon marked by women's obsession with appearance; instead, it is merely the evolution of a universal female preoccupation with appearance that is both ahistorical and necessary for the perpetuation of the human species. We find beautiful those bodies that appear fertile. As a result, both females and males attempt to appear fertile and healthy to attract mates. Supporters of the beauty industry describe beauty as a marker of genetic superiority; its commercialization is a logical outgrowth of a natural value.

Etcoff contrasts beauty with fashion, which she asserts is a status marker that indicates one's level of access to resources. If an individual is not beautiful, fashion can be exploited to make up for this lack. If an individual is fashionable, then the individual has the expendable income required to change his or her wardrobe as fashion commands. Thus beauty is an indicator of fertility and fashion is an indicator of economic status. Both are criteria for mate selection.

Many, however, critique arguments like Etcoff's because they fail to account for the beauty industry's disproportionate emphasis on women. Etcoff maintains, without substantiation, that men value beauty in their mates more than women do; this is simply our nature. She fails to consider, however, that in nature, it is often the males who must flaunt their beauty to attract females. She gives no explanation for this reversal in human mating practices.

CRITICS OF THE BEAUTY INDUSTRY

The feminist argument, as presented by Naomi Wolf, asserts that the beauty industry maintains the second-class status of women by reinforcing biological explanations for beauty. Wolf finds that theories like Etcoff's perpetuate a "beauty myth" whose principal effect is the continued oppression of women. Rather than viewing beauty as biologically valuable, the concept of beauty—and especially its commercialization—functions to create an additional obstacle to women's empowerment.

Wolf finds that both political and economic gains are made through a beauty industry that targets women. First, Wolf argues that as women gain agency and access to power and resources, they are simultaneously and not coincidentally increasingly burdened with arbitrary and unrelated expectations of physical beauty. This, she suggests, is a last-ditch attempt by patriarchal institutions to distract women from the ultimate goal of uninhibited self-determination. As such goals are slowly met, she speculates, social definitions of beauty will predictably become less attainable. Wolf asserts that the beauty myth became especially powerful as Western women began achieving more social equality. The myth engendered competition between women, which undermines women's progress and hinders the project of true equality. She states, "The stronger women were becoming politically, the heavier the ideals of beauty would bear down upon them, mostly in order to distract their energy and undermine their progress" (Wolf 1991, 3). Second, she echoes Betty Friedan's argument that the industry benefits from unattainable standards of beauty

because it creates a psychological deficiency that must be compensated for with various products or fashions. Women are deemed below the beauty standard and then made to feel guilty so that they purchase beauty products. In this way, the industry creates both the need to buy products and supplies the products themselves. Third, as feminist scholars are quick to point out, biological excuses for the beauty industry are inherently heteronormative, operating under unexamined assumptions of universal heterosexuality that do not account for the experience of same-sex desire.

The beauty myth asserts the following: Individuals are attracted to other individuals that they find beautiful. Attraction unites people for the purpose of procreation. Thus nonprocreative sex, as well as beauty detached from sex, is unaccounted for.

CONCLUSION

Although the beauty industry's implication in the continued objectification and subjugation of women is contested, the existence and growth of the industry are undeniable. Whether the industry is comprised of innocent commercial endeavors that are merely filling the contemporary manifestation of the natural imperative of female beauty, or instead is itself implicated in the construction of a socially and politically driven beauty imperative with no biological justification continues to be debated.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Pageants; Eating Disorders; Media Images of Women: Advertising.

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Lisa Nicolosi and Sarvani Prasad

BEAUTY PAGEANTS

Since the start of beauty competitions in this country more than 150 years ago, their value and effects in our society have been intensely debated. As the world's leading source of scholarships to young women, beauty pageant supporters advocate that the women who compete are role models for young women

around the world and that pageants provide these women with extraordinary opportunities. Critics of beauty pageants have condemned these events as oppressive, as competitors are judged primarily on their appearance and adherence to dominant America's ideal image of beauty. Regardless of how people feel about beauty pageants, there is no denying that they have become a cultural institution in this country.

BACKGROUND

Beauty competitions have existed in many cultures throughout history. In Greek mythology, there is a legendary competition between the Goddesses Hera, Aphrodite, and Athena to determine who is the most beautiful. The outcome of this competition is said to have resulted in the start of the infamous Trojan War. Contemporary American beauty pageants trace their roots to newspaper man, P. T. Barnum, who held beauty contests for women beginning in 1854 through photographs that were published in newspapers. In 1880, Barnum's concept was expanded, and one of the first bathing beauty pageants was held as part of a summer festival in a resort in Delaware. Over time, bathing beauty pageants and pageants of other various sorts were held in many locales. The most illustrious of these pageants was held in 1921 in Atlantic City in an attempt to attract business to the resorts and boardwalk following the usual labor-day decline. Women from across the country were invited to participate in a competition for bathing beauties, and it was determined that the winner would be crowned Miss America (Savage 1998). Only eight women actually entered the contest and 16-year-old Margaret Gorman, from Washington, D.C., was crowned the winner and draped in an American flag. Miss America's symbolic fate as both ideal beauty and patriot was sealed at her inception.

By 1923, more than 70 women competed in what was now called the National Beauty Tournament in Atlantic City. Two main rules for the pageant developed after this event: contestants must not be married and they must reside in the locale they represent. These rules were enacted after it was discovered that Miss Alaska, Helmar Leiderman, was not only married, but also a resident of New York City (Pageant Center 2007).

The tournament continued on and off throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. It was temporarily stopped during the Great Depression after receiving bad press that women's morals were being corrupted by displaying themselves publicly in bathing suits (Savage 1998). In 1935, Lenora Slaughter was hired as the first female director of the tournament. Under her strong leadership, it was revived and emerged with a new name, the Miss America pageant. During these early years, the contest added a talent competition and winners received Hollywood screen tests and Hollywood agents (Pageant Center 2007).

The Miss America pageant persisted through World War II, with the public supporting it and believing that it brought hope to American troops (Savage 1998). In 1945, Ms. Slaughter implemented a scholarship program to help contestants enter college, a dream most American women could not achieve. Despite the protests of newspaper reporters in 1948, Miss America was now crowned in

a gown, instead of a bathing suit. The debate over the necessity of bathing suit appearances became hotly contested again in 1951, after Yolanda Betbeze, the newly crowned Miss America, refused to do promotions in a bathing suit, maintaining that she was a classical opera singer and not a pinup girl. Catalina swimwear, the major sponsor of the pageant, ended its partnership after Betbeze's refusal and began its own pageant, Miss USA, as well as its international sister pageant, Miss Universe. All three pageants continued to thrive in the 1950s and as American society became enamored with British royalty, the pageant beauty queens, who were crowned with tiaras and adorned with roses, were themselves elevated to a comparable level. Another major development in pageant history occurred when the Miss America competition aired live on television for the first time on September 10, 1954, bringing in a record-breaking 27 million viewers, accounting for 39 percent of the television audience (Miss America Organization 2007).

1960s TO THE PRESENT: BEAUTY PAGEANTS AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The 1960s and 1970s brought the first strong and enduring criticisms of pageants. In 1968, in the early stages of the women's liberation movement, approximately 200 feminists staged a rally on the boardwalk in front of the Atlantic City venue of the Miss America pageant. They demanded an immediate end to beauty pageants, alleging they were sexist, racist, and a vehicle for corporations to continue the capitalist patriarchy. Because the pageant is a media magnet, the protest surrounding it quickly gathered infamy and alerted the world to the presence of feminists and other women who would no longer participate in enslavement to idealized beauty standards (Morgan 1970). It was not until 1970 that an African American woman, Cheryl Browne, won a state title, allowing her to compete in the Miss America competition. It would be another 20 years before African American women held national titles for an entire year: Carol Gist was Miss USA and Debbye Turner was Miss America in 1990 (Pageant Center 2007).

The 1960s and 1970s also spawned spin-offs of pageants for younger girls. Little Miss…pageants and Miss Teenage America both began in the early 1960s. These pageants continue to be controversial and are critiqued for their portrayal of sexualizing young girls, as the children often wear heavy make up and dress in adult-style fashions. The child-pageant industry has evolved into a force all its own, however, contributing approximately $5 billion annually to the American economy (Giroux 1998). A glaring spotlight was shown on the child pageant

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MISS AMERICA 1926, NORMA SMALLWOOD

Did you know that Miss America 1926, Norma Smallwood, made more than $100,000 in appearance fees? Her income was higher than both baseball superstar Babe Ruth and the President of the United States (American Experience 2007).

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industry after the 1996 sexual assault and murder of six-year-old "beauty queen" JonBenet Ramsey. As details emerged about the child's involvement in pageantry, the media exploded with stories of alleged child abuse related to pageant participation.

CURRENT CONTROVERSIES AND TRENDS

In recent years, there have been a series of scandals among pageant winners that have again caught the media's attention. The most famous scandal centered on Vanessa Williams, the first African American woman to win Miss America. Her crown was removed in 1984 after nude photos of her that were taken three years before were published half-way through her reign. The most current scandal involved Miss USA 2006, Tara Conner, who is alleged to have participated in underage drinking (she was only 20 when crowned), cocaine use, and promiscuous sex. This is particularly ironic, as Miss Conner's platform issue was drunk driving.

Pageants have also created international sensation and debate, which unfortunately turned deadly in 2001. The Miss World contest (Miss Universe's rival), which is the globe's largest live annual television event, with viewing figures topping 2 billion across more than 200 countries, was to be held in the Nigerian capital of Abuja that year (Olsen 2002). Approximately 12 days before the pageant, a newspaper suggested that Islam's founding prophet, Muhammad, would have likely chosen a wife from among the contest. Outraged, some fundamentalist Muslim groups denounced the pageant for promoting sexual promiscuity and indecency and angry mobs responded, leading to widespread rioting that resulted in the death of between 50 and 100 people (Olsen 2002). The event was quickly moved to London. It can no longer be said that pageants are simply harmless fun.

ADVOCATES OF BEAUTY PAGEANTS

Although many believe that beauty pageants no longer have a place in today's society, their supporters contend that pageants "are in the business of making dreams come true" (Bivans 1995, 1). They believe that pageants are not just for showcasing a woman's beauty, but also her intellect and talent. Furthermore, they think that pageants allow women extraordinary opportunities to develop both personally and professionally. The Miss America Organization states that it has "maintained a tradition for many decades of empowering American women to achieve their personal and professional goals, while providing a forum in which to express their opinions, talent, and intelligence" (Miss America 2007).

Many women enter beauty pageants for the financial gain that comes with winning a crown. Each year, the Miss America Organization awards more than $45 million in cash and scholarship assistance (Miss America Organization 2007). Lenora Slaughter, who initiated the scholarship program with only $5,000 in 1945, said she began it because she couldn't finish college herself as a result of the Great Depression and it was the dream she never achieved. Her dream has

been recognized for the women who win her contest at least. Many winners of Miss America and other pageants are now able to pay for their entire college and graduate school education with their prize money. They have gone on to become professors, doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, entertainers, and politicians, among other professionals.

Also, titleholders at state and national levels can earn high personal incomes for their appearances during their reign. In addition to appearance fees, many winners receive prize packages, publicity, or corporate contracts (e.g., Miss America, Miss USA, and Miss Universe each receives a one-year contract with their sponsoring organization and represents their company during that time; perks include first-class travel and luxury accommodations, hosting charity events, new wardrobes, jewelry, etc.). A large number of contestants use the pageants to launch their careers in entertainment. Former beauty queens include media moguls Diane Sawyer, host of *60 Minutes* and *Prime Time Live* (former America's Junior Miss) and Oprah Winfrey (former Miss Fire Prevention and Miss Black Tennessee), as well as actresses Cybill Shepard, Sharon Stone, Morgan Fairchild, Halle Berry, and Vanessa Williams (Bivans 1995).

Pageants also provide women with the opportunity to develop strong communication skills and to "sell" themselves, skills they likely need to make themselves marketable employees in their chosen career fields. In 1989, the Miss America Organization founded the platform concept, which "requires each contestant to choose an issue about which she cares deeply and is of relevance in our society" (Miss America Organization 2007). Once Miss America is chosen, she uses her title to advance the platform issue during her reign. The Miss Universe and Miss USA pageants have devoted their titleholders to attend to two of the major health crises facing contemporary women: breast/ovarian cancer and the global AIDS pandemic. Titleholders have made real advancements for people in their communities related to these issues. For example, Mpule Kwelagobe, Miss Universe 2000, created a not-for-profit foundation during her reign that funded and built a 400-bed pediatric AIDS hospital and orphanage in her native Botswana, which has been ravaged by the AIDS epidemic (Miss USA 2007).

Although all of these benefits lead young women around the world to participate in pageants, there is something to be said about being deemed the "most beautiful," which may be enough of a reason for some to participate. And being the most beautiful is no simple task. For some pageant participants, a national or international title is the ultimate goal. They spend years refining their appearance, some choosing cosmetic surgery to enhance their natural beauty while others use professional coaches to aid them on their quest for the crown.

For pageant participants, parents, judges, and promoters, success is the final word. They believe that pageants create successful women. A study published by *USA Today* linked pageant participation with increased personal development (Bivans 1995). Ann-Marie Bivans, a renowned Miss America judge, states, "The bottom line is that the quest for the crown is not about the tearful victory-walk down an illuminated runway with the crown and roses. Pageantry, ultimately, is about using the process of competition to pursue and achieve an extraordinary life personally and professionally" (Bivans 1995, 10).

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BEAUTY PAGEANTS

At their heart, beauty pageants are a paradox. On the one hand, pageants glorify an idealized female physicality and sexuality, and on the other hand they demand contestants' participation in enforcing a conservative morality about female sexuality (i.e., contestants must act in "moral" ways, they must not be married or divorced, they must not have any children, etc.). It is no wonder then that as long as beauty pageants have existed, so, too, has criticism of them.

The 1920s are often held as the "first wave" of American feminism, as the hard work of suffragists finally paid off and women were granted the right to vote in federal elections. Women shed the shroud of Victorian-era sexual politics that relegated them to the home. Many began working, and it was not uncommon to find young women cutting their hair into the flapper style and dancing the night away at jazz clubs. It was this new generation of women who were bold enough to enter bathing beauty competitions (Savage 1998). As women's roles at this time continued to shift, so did their fashion choices. They began to show more skin and initial criticism of beauty pageants centered on this impropriety. In fact, a woman could still be sent to jail in the 1920s for baring too much of her legs (Savage 1998). Then came the Great Depression followed by years of war. A backlash to early feminism began as men demanded their jobs back from women when they returned to the home front. For American women in the 1950s, opportunities were again limited and pageants were popularized as a way for women to achieve the life they would normally not be able to. But a backlash to the backlash had begun, and the 1960s ushered in the strongest wave of feminism yet. The Miss America pageant became one of its launching pads.

The infamous 1968 Atlantic City protest of the Miss America pageant was begun by a small group of radical women from New York City. On the boardwalk in front of the Convention Hall, approximately 200 women participated in a pageant of their own making where they crowned a sheep, hurdled oppressive feminine materials into a Freedom Trash can (e.g., girdles, curlers, false eyelashes), and held a women's liberation rally at midnight, when Miss America was being crowned (Savage 1998). They released a 10-point manifesto that

MISS AMERICA AS DREAM EQUIVALENT TO—?

"In this reputedly democratic society where every little boy supposedly can grow up to be President, what can every little girl hope to grow up to be? Miss America? That's where it's at. Real power to control our own lives is restricted to men, while women get patronizing pseudo-power, an ermine clock, and a bunch of flowers; men are judged by their actions, women by their appearance." This is the ninth principle of the 1968 feminist protest of the Miss America pageant (Morgan 1979, 523–524).

laid out the principles of their protest and included a focus on the connections between "ludicrous beauty standards," racism, militarism, popular culture, and capitalism (Morgan 1979). Miss America (and all beauty pageants) were seen as the perfect symbol of female oppression in this country supported by both racism and capitalism. It had long been noted that the women who wore the sashes on stage did not represent just themselves. "The women who are parading around…are being displayed to someone else's glory and profit…their sashes do not say Ms. Jane Doe, but Miss Fresno, Miss Huntington Beach. They are displayed as exemplary products of the economy of their home town." (Savage 1998, 2).

African American women first began their opposition to mainstream beauty pageants like Miss America by staging their own beauty pageants, which were often sponsored by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. And even though these contests were popular among African Americans, black women thought that they were relegated to second-class status because they could not participate in all-white pageants. They began to organize and started to put political pressure on corporate sponsors to allow African American women to participate in pageants that discriminated against them. You will recall that it was not until 1984 that an African American woman, Vanessa Williams, temporarily held the Miss America crown. Although seeking equal participation in pageants was one form of protest, some African American women opposed them all together, perceiving a stronger relationship between racism and sexism. They believed all women were oppressed by pageants, regardless of whether the crowned queen was black or white.

Although the protests in general continued into the 1970s, they really didn't seem to have a large-scale effect until 1977, when ratings for both Miss America and Miss Universe plummeted. By 1984, the historic year when Vanessa Williams was crowned Miss America, the pageant had only half its typical audience remaining (Savage 1998). It is still debated whether this was the effects of feminism catching up to mainstream society or whether people were just getting tired of pageants and what some viewed as their "outdated" fashions and acts. Even former beauty queens themselves had turned on pageantry. In 1985, Ann Simonton, a model and former crowned beauty queen, was arrested for attempting to incite a riot after she and another protestor splashed their own blood on a sidewalk outside of the Miss California pageant. Simonton's perspective on beauty pageants and their media connections drastically changed after she was gang-raped on her way to a photo shoot some years earlier. She has since founded *Media Watch*, a nonprofit organization dedicated to exposing racism, sexism, and corporate propaganda in the media (Savage 1998).

Criticism of pageants continued in the 1990s, gaining attention again after the murder of JonBenet Ramsey. All of this has resulted in lower ratings every year for beauty pageants. In 2004, for which the last ratings were released, only 9.8 million people tuned in to watch Miss America. The live televised event was cut by one-third its usual airtime.

CONCLUSION

In response to their critics, Miss America and other pageants revamped their identities and now hold themselves to be organizations focused on scholarships and empowerment for women. Even the beauty queens themselves admit, though, that a beauty pageant is still about idealized female beauty. Miss America 1993, Leanza Cornett, contends, "I used to tell everyone, 'it's not a beauty pageant…it's not a beauty pageant…' but hey, if it looks like a duck and walks like a duck, it is a duck" (Savage 1998, 117). Although ratings for televised beauty pageants are at their lowest ever, pageants persevere and new pageants are regularly added to the local, state, national, and international levels. America's love/hate affair with this cultural institution continues and the new century will likely determine its fate.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Industry; Femininities and Masculinities; Media Images of Women: Television and Film.

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Jeanette Koncikowski

BIRTH CONTROL

In the twenty-first century, women face numerous options for controlling their fertility, from barrier methods to hormonal contraceptives. Yet despite an increase of choices, birth control remains controversial and fraught with complications. More and more women have come to rely on hormonal methods, which are highly effective in terms of preventing pregnancy, but also introduce new health risks and side effects into otherwise healthy patient populations. In addition, the question of "choice" has become more complex, as individuals and groups debate the safety and legitimacy of certain types of

hormonal contraceptives, as well as their use on minority populations and the disabled.

BACKGROUND

The term *birth control* was coined by Margaret Sanger, the leading activist in the United States for contraceptive prevention in the twentieth century. In Sanger's view, the movement began on the day that one of her patients, Sadie Sachs, died from an induced abortion. At that time, Sanger was a 29-year-old mother of three, working as a public health nurse in New York City's lower East Side. Specializing in obstetrics, she witnessed women struggling to deliver and raise baby after baby in crowded urban conditions with little money or power. She recalls the number of women who begged her to tell them the "secret" to preventing conception. All she could recommend, however, were condoms or withdrawal, both of which required the cooperation of the male partner. One day, she was called to the home of a young Jewish immigrant living in a tenement on Hester Street. Sadie Sachs, mother of three, was suffering from complications of a self-induced septic abortion. Sanger recalled the accompanying doctor's response to Sachs's plea not to have another child: to tell her husband to "sleep on the roof" (Chesler 1992). Three months later, Sanger was again called to the home of Sadie Sachs, pregnant again and dying of septicemia.

Sanger retold this story frequently over the course of her activist career, in part to emphasize class-based restrictions on fertility control. It was the poor women, the ones most in need of education and access to birth control, who were the least likely to get it. She vowed to make this her lifelong crusade—making birth control accessible to all women. She began publishing *The Woman Rebel* in 1914, a magazine intended for working women to educate them about sexuality and contraception. She also used it to challenge the Comstock Law, in effect since 1873, which prohibited the importation and mailing of contraceptive information and devices in the United States. It was in her magazine that she chose the term *birth control* to replace more awkward phrases such as *family limitation* or *voluntary motherhood*. (Chesler 1992). After seven issues of the magazine, the paper was shut down, deemed "unmailable" by the U.S. Post Office (under the Comstock Obscenity Laws).

But Sanger was not to be deterred. She then published a pamphlet entitled "Family Limitation" to be distributed to poor women. The pamphlet provided information about barrier methods, including condoms and cervical caps. Again in trouble for producing and disseminating literature labeled obscene by the federal government, she fled to Europe, leaving her husband to distribute 100,000 copies. In her absence, husband William Sanger was arrested for violation of the Comstock Law. Ironically, it was one of the last arrests Anthony Comstock would make; at Sanger's trial, Comstock caught a cold and died of pneumonia shortly thereafter (Tone 2001).

Margaret Sanger returned from Europe interested in opening the first birth control clinic in the United States, but she still faced several challenges. The main obstacle was the continued illegality of contraceptive marketing and

SUFFRAGISTS AND "PROMISCUITY"

Even many feminist activists did not believe that promoting women's right to sexual freedom would further their cause in the early twentieth century. For example, both the National Woman's Party and the League of Women Voters (LWV) refused to support birth control because it "clashed with their conceptions of femininity, maternity, and progress." In 1924, the LWV voted to study sterilization of the unfit as a strategy to reduce degeneracy, but it refused to include birth control as part of the study, owing to its controversial nature. Because opponents attacked women's suffrage as a threat to family life, suffragists wanted to avoid any controversial issues that "smacked of promiscuity" (McCann 1994).

distribution. The most effective contraceptive devices currently available in Europe could not be legally transported to the United States. Nonetheless, she opened the first birth control clinic in Brownsville, New York, in 1916. Although it did not stay open for long, the experience made her realize the importance of obtaining medical support for birth control, and so she began to shift strategies.

THE MEDICALIZATION OF BIRTH CONTROL

Although birth control was not openly discussed in public in the early twentieth century, there was plenty of evidence that it was already in use, at least within certain socioeconomic groups. College-educated middle-class white women demonstrated by a dramatic drop in fertility that they were practicing some form of birth control in the 1920s. Katharine Bement Davis's massive 10-year study (published in 1929), *Factors in the Sex Lives of Twenty-two Hundred Women,* revealed the extent to which certain women were familiar with forms of birth control. A total of 74 percent of 1,000 college-educated women queried admitted to using some form of contraception, despite the fact that information on birth control had "virtually been driven underground."

Many middle-class social reformers couched their concern in eugenic terms, fearing that the Anglo-Saxon population would soon be overcome by immigrants and African Americans. Over the course of the century, the white middle-class birthrate had dropped by nearly half, from seven to just over three children. Teddy Roosevelt and others had sparked a widespread concern about "race suicide" at the turn of the century, but the white middle-class birthrate dropped even lower in the 1920s. The rate of childlessness reached a record high in the 1920s and 1930s, and the birth rate would not actually begin to increase until the postwar era (May 1995).

Although the declining birthrate demonstrated that many (predominantly in the middle and upper classes) still managed to gain access to birth control, it was not widely talked about in public. Most professionals, including physicians and even feminists, avoided such a controversial topic, which they believed might undermine their credibility. "I regret to say that I cannot give the use of my name in connection with your work," psychologist G. Stanley Hall explained

to the Massachusetts Birth Control League in 1916. "If you want to know why, I will tell you frankly that I have borne my share of *odium sexicum.…* I have done my bit in this movement and now I am retiring and am going to have a rest from this trouble for the remainder of my life" (Reed 1978).

Physicians, as James Reed points out, had "no strong motive for a positive attitude toward birth control," often because they, too, were concerned about the declining birth rate and the change in sexual mores. As a result, they "betrayed a startling reticence and lack of information on the subject." They often perceived contraceptives as both morally and physically dangerous. Since its antiabortion campaign in the 1870s, the profession regarded itself as "the gatekeepers of women's virtue" (Reed 1978, Chesler 1992).

Given the reluctance of medical professionals (and even many feminists) to support her cause, Sanger took another approach. Rather than directly challenging the Comstock Law, she sought to reform it. She toned down her argument that women had a right to control their own bodies, instead marketing her crusade as a public health campaign. She began pushing for a "doctors only" bill that would exempt doctors from criminal prosecution. Eventually, this strategy would prove effective. With massive financial background from her wealthy second husband, Noah Slee, Sanger helped to establish the first birth control firm that would sell birth control devices directly to doctors, the Holland-Rantos Company (Tone 2001). This encouraged more doctors to support the medicalization of birth control, providing a financial incentive. For example, they could purchase diaphragms directly from Holland-Rantos, then prescribe them to their patients at a profit. In the 1930s, for example, doctors marked up the price of individual diaphragms anywhere from 75 cents to more than $3, depending on the design (Tone 2001).

Two events in the 1930s further legitimized the use of physician-controlled contraceptive use. First, in a landmark decision, the Comstock Law was modified in 1936 to allow physicians (only) to order contraceptives through the mail. Second, the American Medical Association voted in the following year to endorse physician-prescribed contraceptives. As a result, birth control gained legitimacy in the eyes of many. In the process, however, birth control fell under the direction of doctors rather than women, a far cry from what many had envisioned.

HORMONAL CONTRACEPTIVES

The medicalization of birth control remains today. If anything, the introduction of hormonal contraceptives has guaranteed that birth control will remain steadfastly under the control of doctors and the regulation of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). With the introduction of the FDA-approved birth control pill in 1960, debates about contraceptive use took on a whole new turn. Emerging at the dawn of the sexual revolution, the pill raised expectations that women were sexually available. By 1965, more than 6 million women had taken oral contraceptives. Planned Parenthood noted that 70 percent of all women using its services for birth control chose to get a prescription for the pill. By

1990, more than 80 percent of American women born in the postwar era had tried it (Watkins 1998). The pill offered many advantages over barrier methods of birth control: it was highly effective, convenient, and entirely separated from the act of intercourse. It also did not require the consent or even awareness of a male sexual partner. Both doctors and female patients initially expressed enthusiasm for this new form of birth control.

Yet by the end of the 1960s, many had lost confidence in this new form of birth control. The first pill, Enovid, contained approximately 10 times the amount of progesterone and four times the amount of estrogen used in later doses. As a result, many women suffered from severe side effects, including blood clots and heart attacks. In 1969, the U.S. Senate conducted hearings on the safety of the pill, resulting in a requirement that makers of the product include a patient package insert warning of potential side effects of the pill. Pill use subsequently dropped by 20 percent, but it remained the most popular contraceptive.

THE DEPO-PROVERA DEBATE

Other controversies continued to complicate the debate surrounding hormonal contraceptives. Growing cynicism and a rising women's health movement raised new questions regarding the validity of prescribing hormonal contraceptives to millions of healthy women. Many accused scientists and doctors of using women as guinea pigs whose health was expendable in the name of scientific research. Nowhere did this seem more evident than in the clinical trials of Depo-Provera at Grady hospital.

From 1972 to 1978, the Grady Family Planning Clinic in downtown Atlanta, Georgia, was the largest site for U.S.-based clinical trials of Depo-Provera, an injectable hormonal contraceptive manufactured by the Upjohn Company beginning in 1967. Dr. Robert Hatcher, known to his friends and family as "Captain Condom," oversaw the trials as director of the clinic and remains on the faculty at Emory University, in the department of obstetrics and gynecology (http://gynob.emory.edu/familyplanning/hatcherbio.cfm). Approximately 9,000 mostly poor African American women were injected with Depo-Provera as part of the study, before it was terminated by the FDA in 1978. The Grady trials, along with investigational drug itself, quickly became controversial. Supporters and opponents, policymakers, researchers, activists, and users of the drug constructed competing narratives about the drug's true nature beginning in the 1970s. They debated whether Grady patients were victims of racist policies that endangered their health or recipients of a "superb contraceptive," in Dr. Hatcher's words (Hatcher 1978). More generally, they questioned whether Depo-Provera was a dangerous tool for population control advocates or a crucial form of birth control for women in need of greater choice.

Depo-Provera was certainly not the first controversial form of birth control, nor would it be the last. But its potential for abuse as an irreversible injectable, and its long limbo status—25 years between its initial marketing and FDA approval in 1992—speak to its significance in the history of drug regulation and women's health, and to the power of protest to dramatically lengthen the FDA

approval process. The controversy erupted in a decade of scandals, running from Watergate to flammable children's pajamas, to a consumer audience now quite familiar with the politics of deception and well versed in the language of rights. It was fueled by the recent health scandal surrounding the pill, which lay the groundwork for widespread suspicion that pharmaceutical companies were not to be trusted, particularly when it came to contraception and women's bodies.

The debate over Depo-Provera spoke to the increasing complexity of reproductive regulation. In the 1970s, consumers demanded access to and involvement in regulatory decisions previously considered beyond their purview. Women's health activists, newly armed with political, legal, and medical expertise, introduced new evidence to the process: patient testimonials. They thus guaranteed that women's experiences, rather than just those of beagle dogs and rhesus monkeys, became part of the scientific testimony presented before the FDA on numerous occasions. They also altered the process of risk-benefit analysis by challenging the notion of value-free, objective science. Weighing the risks and benefits of a drug, particularly one prescribed to millions of healthy patients, required not just statistics but stories, they argued. Consider one woman's assessment: "I still think of those long dark months of trying to cope with the effects of a drug that I would never knowingly have allowed in my body, a drug that has such limited use that it should not be allowed on the market, lest it be used and abused on other women such as myself" (patient testimony, FDA hearings).

At the Grady clinic, patients were offered Depo-Provera "cafeteria-style," along with birth control pills, intrauterine devices, diaphragms, foams, and condoms. Despite the fact that it was an investigational new drug, it was offered to patients as one of many birth control options. But Dr. Hatcher stressed that Grady patients received detailed instructions and signed a consent form before choosing the drug. "Education is a very, very important component of our family planning activities at Grady," he emphasized. "We not only make efforts to assure that our patients understand the contraceptives they choose to use, but we expect them to act as the captain of their own health team—to be, as it were, their own best friend in a medical sense." (Hatcher 1978). Such language suggests that he had learned much from the women's health movement, although his use of Depo at Grady was chastised by many health feminists. Assuming that all patients really read and understood the consent form, they were aware of its purpose—to prevent pregnancy—that it required repeated injections of the synthetic progesterone every 90 days, that large doses of it had caused breast cancer in some beagle dogs, that other, nonexperimental methods were available, and that they might experience some severe side effects.

In his own analysis, Hatcher found that Grady patients were quite enthusiastic about the drug, stressing its convenience and reliability during interviews conducted in 1978. "I want the 'shot,'" stated one. "I don't want to use the pill or anything else. I'd go crazy; I'd worry all the time about getting pregnant. If they said no more Depo I'd cry. I used it for five years, stopped and got pregnant one year later. I've been using it again now for one year. It's the only thing I trust." Far from sounding like a victim, this patient clearly felt empowered by her ability

to receive the injections. "The shot's the best for me," announced another Grady patient. "I've used it for two years; if they stopped it I'd go through the floor ... It's our choice, not the Government's." Note her emphasis on choice, suggesting not only that she was *not* coerced into receiving Depo injections, but that she believed accessibility was central to reproductive choice.

But opponents defined reproductive choice differently, particularly when it came to investigational drugs. At a 1979 conference on the ethics of reproductive technology on a Depo-Provera panel, academic Joyce Berkman suggested that "we need to think about setting limits to the notion of absolute reproductive choice and a completely free cafeteria situation" (Holmes et al. 1981:13). Health activist Gena Corea put it even more strongly when she testified before an FDA-appointed scientific board of inquiry that women who believed they were freely choosing Depo were victims of a patriarchy that controlled consciousness, rendering "vital facets of reality" invisible (Corea 1983). In other words, they were duped; there was no real "choice" here.

For health feminists and consumer activists, the Grady trials were a call to arms. The National Women's Health Network launched a campaign for drug safety against Depo. They issued news alerts, placed ads in women's magazines such as *Redbook* encouraging so-called victims to participate in their Depo-Provera registry, sent letters to radio stations and black newspapers, and staged news conferences. Together with Public Citizen's Health Research Group and the Black Women's Health Project, they fought to keep Depo-Provera from being approved as a form of contraception.

Those arguing both for and against the FDA approval of Depo-Provera beginning in the 1970s were forced to simplify a complex problem involving gender, race, class, reproductive technology, and drug regulation into a basic yes-or-no question: Should Depo-Provera be made available to women in the United States as a contraceptive? The most effective way to answer the question, initiated first by women's health activists, was to turn to the patients themselves, whose stories vividly portrayed the way in which Depo had either saved or destroyed their lives. In the process, these two groups, supporters and opponents, found themselves inextricably polarized, but not into simple categorizations. Some poor working-class women loved Depo, and some powerful doctors opposed it.

CONCLUSION

Although Depo-Provera finally received FDA approval in 1992, the story did not end there. FDA announced a label change for Depo as a result of data on the drug submitted by now-owner Pfizer. Included a black box warning linking prolonged use with loss of bone density (and thus the potential to develop osteoporosis), and a warning that Depo-Provera should not be used for more than two years "unless other birth control methods are inadequate" (FDA 2004). New evidence continues to raise questions about cancer risks, and of course, the side effects remain a problem for many users. The question of whether women should have freedom from Depo or freedom to use Depo continues to be pervasive in American society. More generally, this case study illustrates the complex nature of birth control in

American society. In addition to potential health risks from certain types of birth control, the question of how to balance accessibility with protection from abuse on certain patient populations continues to divide the feminist community.

See also Abortion; Birthing Practices; Population Policy.

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Wendy Kline

BIRTHING PRACTICES

In contemporary United States, birthing has become largely medicalized and takes place in hospitals. Supporters of medicalized childbirth contend that appropriately applied technology can enhance the birthing experience and act as a life-saving tool for both mother and baby. In contrast, some mothers and practitioners argue that the use of technology and medical intervention in birth negatively affects women's birthing experiences and therefore advocate for alternatives to the medical model.

BACKGROUND

Birthing entails the beliefs and customs surrounding how, where, and with whom women give birth. Birthing practices vary extensively cross-culturally; location, social structures, access to technology, and cultural or religious beliefs contribute to the social and biological nature of birth. As a rite of passage, or transition from one life phase to the next, in all cultures the ways in which women experience childbirth reveals a great deal about how women are regarded in each society (Davis-Floyd 1992; Jordan 1983; van Gennep 1960; Kitzinger 1978). Feminist debates surrounding childbirth are generally located within critiques

of medicalized approaches to pregnancy and labor and the ways in which women are able to subvert or challenge these dominant discourses (Oakley 1980, 1984; Rothman 1988; Martin 1992; Mitford 1992; Davis-Floyd 1992; Zodoroznyj 2001). Supporters of medicalized childbirth contend that appropriately applied technology can enhance the birthing experience, empower women, and act as a life-saving tool for both mother and baby. Many pregnant women desire and even require the presence of technology and intervention during birth. In contrast, feminist scholars argue that the use of technology and medical intervention in birth negatively affects women's birthing experiences. For example, it is often argued that the techniques and technologies of biomedicine are privileged over women's bodily knowledge. Ann Oakley (1980, 1984) argues that women who experience high degrees of intervention (for example, the use of forceps or pain-killing drugs) during labor are less satisfied with their birth outcomes and are more inclined to experience postnatal depression as a result.

BIRTHING: A BRIEF HISTORY

Historically, birth has been a social event. Women gave birth at home with the aid of midwives or other female family members. With industrialization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, pivotal changes transformed the American lifestyle. Urbanization, new modes of transportation, shifting social and political values, the increase in life expectancy, and decrease in maternal and infant mortality paved the way for medicine to become intimately associated with broader social life. As childbirth fell under the domain of obstetricians, women's bodies were increasingly perceived as pathological or "sick" and in need of medical management by male doctors. For example, in 1900, fewer than 5 percent of women gave birth in hospitals, whereas approximately 99 percent of American women deliver in hospitals today (Davis-Floyd 1992).

This shift in attitude toward the medicalization of women's bodies stems from historical notions of women's bodies as being associated with "nature." Women are seen as being prone to more physical illness under male medical definitions. This is an example of how medical definitions are gendered. Medicalization occurs when a medical definition or treatment is used for the management of a problem. The pathologizing of women's bodies has been attributed to class differences between women, as well as to the economic or commercial self-interest of obstetricians. For example, poor and working-class women were more immune to extensive medical intervention during pregnancy and birth because they had less leisure time and fewer resources to pay for medical treatment even though they were much more susceptible to hazards with pregnancy resulting from sickness, exhaustion, and even death from complicated labor or multiple births (Ehrenreich and English 1978). The bodies of middle- and upper-class women became the targets of medical intervention as a result of their "nervous" and "fragile" conditions arising from a refined lifestyle.

By the mid-1800s in the United States, more women went to hospitals for childbirth as medical advances invited reliance on doctors and technology to manage pregnancy and labor. In particular, it was the perceived loss of control of

the body and the pain of birth that motivated many upper-class women to give birth in hospitals under total anesthesia. The pain-relieving drug scopolamine was introduced in Germany in the 1930s and was widely used until the 1950s when tales of its abuse became rampant in women's magazines (Davis-Floyd and Sargent 1997). The drug did not cause women to become unconscious but supposedly induced women into animal-like fits of rage and hysteria. The 1960s brought with it the Lamaze method of controlled breathing to manage the pain of labor and encouraged women's awareness during childbirth. The feminist and natural childbirth movements of the late 1960s through the 1980s promoted "natural" and unassisted birth, bringing the issue of women's reproductive rights and "choice" to the forefront of American politics. Feminists argued that providing women with more information about their choices in childbirth would empower them. With these social movements came the active involvement of fathers in pregnancy and birth, the resurgence of breastfeeding, and interest in midwifery. By the 1990s, however, medically managed childbirth was and still is a dominant and authoritative force in the United States. Although many women are cautious of interventions in birth and advanced technology, the majority of women desire and accept technology as part of a "normal" birth and see the use of technology in birth as a positive reproductive choice. Many feminists argue that "choices" with regard to reproductive choice are circumscribed primarily by race and class and are based on unequal access to relevant medical knowledge

MURPHY BROWN AND THE POLITICS OF SINGLE MOTHERHOOD IN AMERICA

In May 1992, American television's wildly popular, strong-willed, and intelligent sitcom character, Murphy Brown, gave birth to a son in one of the most widely viewed episodes about childbirth. An estimated 38 million Americans watched Murphy Brown (played by Candice Bergen) give birth out of wedlock, sparking a fierce debate surrounding one of the most controversial issues of the late 1980s and early 1990s in American politics: single motherhood. Airing in concert with the 1992 American presidential campaign, Vice-President Dan Quayle criticized the popular sitcom for supporting single mothers at the expense of fatherhood. Quayle famously stated that Murphy Brown was "mocking the importance of fathers, by bearing a child alone, and calling it just another 'life-style choice'" (*Time* 1992). Quayle's comments ignited a media firestorm; feminists, political commentators, and everyday Americans panned Quayle as being out of touch with modern family values and the rising proportion of American single mothers. The creators of *Murphy Brown* responded to the Quayle speech in a later episode in September 1992, celebrating the diversity of American families and mocking Quayle's remarks (IMDB 2006). As a result of the backlash, Quayle qualified his statement by saying he "had the greatest respect for single mothers" (*Time* 1992).

"Dan Quayle vs. Murphy Brown: The Vice President takes on a TV Character over 'Family Values'," *Time Magazine,* June 1, 1992, 28.

(Haraway 1991). Yet, as the appropriateness of the biomedical model for birth is increasingly questioned globally, more holistic birthing practices are becoming preferable alternatives. Today, less than 10 percent of American women rely on holistic birthing practices (homebirth, midwives, birthing centers) compared to 90 percent of women who give birth in hospitals, indicating the overwhelming dominance of the medical model.

THE MEDICAL MODEL OF BIRTH

American childbirth is typically characterized by medical management. Pregnant women are treated as patients in hospitals under the care of obstetricians or doctors that specialize in birthing. A medicalized birth is also characterized by the use of advanced medical technology and pain medication during delivery.

Medical intervention in childbirth has resulted in a number of positive benefits for childbearing women as a result of advancing medical technology. For example, obstetricians argue that the use of fetal ultrasound during pregnancy, aside from its valuable diagnostic benefits, facilitates a sense of emotional connectedness between mother and fetus. Many pregnant women feel reassured by seeing visual images of the fetus as "proof" that the pregnancy is viable. Ultrasound also allows family members to become more fully engaged with a woman's pregnancy. Moreover, modern obstetric medicine has allowed women to relieve themselves of the pain of childbirth; pain relief can be empowering for birthing women when administered appropriately. Obstetricians also suggest that the advent of hospital birthing has allowed women to deliver safely, especially for those women that are unable to give birth at home or who have serious preexisting medical conditions that require more significant monitoring (for both mother and fetus). Fetal monitoring has significantly reduced morbidity and mortality in the third trimester for women with high-risk pregnancies (ACOG 1999).

As a result of access to higher quality prenatal care, the American infant mortality rate has diminished dramatically since 1965. In 2001, the infant mortality rate was 6.9 deaths per 1,000 live births (Maternal and Child Health Bureau 2003). Hospital birthing has also lowered the rate of maternal mortality significantly to 9.8 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2001 (Maternal and Child Health Bureau 2003). Maternal and infant mortality rates have declined as a result of improved nutrition and hygiene practices, along with new medication, incubators, and surfactants to help premature babies breathe. Also, medical recommendations to put babies to sleep on their backs, as well as encouraging the intake of folic acid during pregnancy to lower rates of spina bifida, have both contributed to lowered infant mortality. There still remains a longstanding discrepancy between Anglo American and African American infant and maternal mortality rates, however, primarily as a result of African American women's poor access to quality medical care. For example, the infant mortality rate of African American babies is nearly 2.5 times that of Anglo American babies (Maternal and Child Health Bureau 2003).

Critics argue that in the medical model, obstetricians become agents of social control, meaning that they hold primary access to specialized technical knowledge. Feminists suggest that birth is treated as a form of production in the medical model, much like a factory. For example, obstetrical literature refers to the uterus as the functional muscle that does the work of labor. The amount of time in labor and the strength of the contractions are used to determine the pace of production (Martin 1992). In this production model, a woman's body is the "machine," the obstetrician is the "mechanic," and the baby is the "product" of labor. The description of childbirth as mechanical establishes the idea that the female body is abnormal and defective and constantly in need of manipulation as it is held against a male standard of health. Many feminists argue that the mechanical medical model is problematic in two ways. First, this model insists on a separation of the mind and the body, also known as Cartesian dualism (Martin 1992). The separation of mind and body suggests that women's bodies are primarily acted on medically through monitoring and assisted delivery while their emotional needs and well-being are secondary. Second, the medical model dichotomizes or separates the mother's body and that of the fetus by positioning them hierarchically; the fetus is privileged as the inherently more interesting patient both technically and medically. Feminists argue that when the mother and fetus are treated as separate patients, the rights of the mother are potentially compromised. The mother should *want* to sacrifice her body, and even her life, for that of the fetus.

Ultimately, with the redefinition of pregnancy and childbirth as a public medical event, American women's reproductive capacities became strictly controlled. A number of contemporary scholars argue that increased technological intervention in pregnancy and childbirth is unnecessary except in high-risk pregnancies and instead reflects a power imbalance between women and doctors, a loss of female agency in reproduction. Some argue that the overwhelming majority of babies are delivered in hospitals because women feel like there are not as many safe alternatives. It is important to note that these scholars do not necessarily think that all technology in birth is inherently "bad"; it is the way in which technology is used in childbirth and its capacity to manage or control women's birthing bodies that is of concern. Essentially, the focus on the baby, or the product of birth, and not the process of childbirth is argued to undermine the experience of birth for the mother (Martin 1992). The health of a newborn baby reflects quality of care; prenatal screening technologies such as amniocentesis, ultrasonography, and monitoring of the fetal heart rate are now routine and necessary components of pregnancy. It is the perception of birth as a "dangerous" process that perpetuates the American cultural perception that a birth that is not medically managed reflects a dangerous disregard for the safety of both mother and baby. Biomedicine encourages women to conform to the tenets of medical knowledge by offering a means to a healthier child, and therefore making women better, more responsible mothers. This suggestion is especially relevant for women 30 years and older who are considered to be at higher risk for birth complications. Older mothers are offered a number of prenatal screening tests such as ultrasound and amniocentesis to ensure the health of the fetus.

CESAREAN BIRTH

As the use of technology during birth (for example, new forms of surveillance and monitoring equipment such as ultrasonography) becomes increasingly more common, feminists worry that the deployment of technology is normalized in pregnancy and birth. For example, this is evidenced by the increasing rates of cesarean sections in "normal" or uncomplicated births. This is the most extreme cultural attempt to legitimate surgical procedure in childbirth. During a cesarean section, an incision is made in the women's abdomen and uterus to remove the baby. Cesareans are usually performed in an emergency as a consequence of unforeseen complications that prevent a vaginal delivery, but some women opt to have an elective or prescheduled surgery.

Many feminists are wary of the rise in cesarean births in many Western countries, especially the United States. This procedure requires the most active management by the obstetrician and the least physical labor by the mother. As forceps, an instrument similar to tongs to aid in delivery, were used previously to speed the delivery process and have largely fallen out of favor in the birth community, the cesarean section has replaced this procedure in upholding the ideology that women are dependent on technology. Previously, the cesarean section was used only in high-risk pregnancies or as a life-saving procedure. Now, as a result of the belief that cesarean sections improve birth outcomes, are more convenient in allowing a woman to control exactly when she will deliver, and avoid the pain of labor, many women elect to have a cesarean section in an uncomplicated pregnancy. For instance, 27.6 percent of births in 2003 were cesarean sections of the 4 million babies born in that year, the highest rate ever recorded. This is an increase from 22.8 percent in 1989 (National Center for Health Statistics 2003). The World Health Organization suggests that cesarean rates between 10 and 15 percent are average, and anything above that in any region is inordinately high (www.who.int). Moreover, the safety and necessity of cesarean births are still under investigation. The risk of maternal death associated with cesarean delivery is 26 times greater than vaginal delivery and the extreme discomfort after a cesarean section, categorized as major abdominal surgery, is often more debilitating and requires far more recovery time (at least 6 weeks) compared with the recovery associated with vaginal delivery. As biomedicine argues for the use of the cesarean section because it is convenient, safe, and eliminates the pain of childbirth, and increasingly more American women are choosing to undergo the procedure, many feminists argue that the protection of certainty and medical control constitutes a cultural prescription for what childbirth *should be* and uses scientific data or technology rather than women's bodily knowledge to support its use.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO BIRTH

Despite the predominance of medically managed births, a growing number of American women are not reassured by technology and biomedicine. Resistance to medicalized birth has come in many forms: the homebirth movement, family birthing centers, and midwifery. Whereas the medical model is characterized by the power of medical authority, these alternative models aim to redress the

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DID YOU KNOW?

"Lotus birth" is the practice of leaving the placenta attached to the baby until the cord falls off (sometimes up to a few days!). Some mothers argue that leaving the cord uncut results in a less traumatic birth experience for the baby and represents a secure connection to the mother.

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biomedical suggestion of incompatibility of the mother and fetus using more holistic and woman-centered approaches to pregnancy and childbirth. Initially, it was the "men with tools" (for example, forceps) that removed childbirth from the domain of female midwives; however, woman-centered birth has always existed as a challenge to the medical model, primarily in home birth or the "natural" childbirth movements.

Midwives generally promote women's reproductive right to have a natural birth that is not controlled by medicine or obstetricians. Women who choose midwives (about 6 percent of American women) often do so because they see a hospital as an obstacle to a meaningful birth experience and the midwife as more than a medical support but an emotional support as well. Midwives aim to empower women during childbirth and see childbirth as a process that ought not to be controlled or managed. For instance, most midwives do not rely heavily on medical measures during the pregnancy, particularly with regard to weight gain or invasive testing.

Midwifery is becoming increasingly professionalized as midwives are being educated in obstetrics and formalizing their "traditional" knowledge as a means of working within and outside of biomedicine and challenging the dominance of the medical model. Midwives are able to work with women in a number of settings other than a woman's own home; many midwives are employed by hospitals and birthing centers. This position of being both outside of and within the medical model can create internal ideological or philosophical struggles for midwives trained to encourage holistic birthing practices while in a modern hospital filled with sophisticated medical technology. Supporters argue that midwifery care generally results in lower rates of intervention during birth, better psychological benefits for women, and lower associated costs than obstetric care (midwives have a 19 percent lower infant mortality rate than obstetricians).

Midwives are predominately involved in home births, which offer women the chance to give birth in the comfort of a familiar environment and the opportunity to practice rituals or relaxation methods with the support of family and friends. Home birth is considered to be as safe as hospital birth with the support of a qualified and knowledgeable midwife or nonmedically trained birth attendant (commonly known as *doula*, originating from the Greek meaning a woman who personally serves another woman) and with a low-risk pregnancy. Women who choose to have a home birth generally avoid technology (for instance, ultrasound) and medical intervention as much as possible. Some women who give birth at home may do so in a birthing pool, known as a water birth. A woman

experiences the birth in a pool of body temperature water as a more gentle way of giving birth and introducing the baby into a familiar environment (like the amniotic fluid in the womb). Women can still have a holistic or "natural" birth at a birth center, often a more comfortable alternative for women who do not feel completely assured of the safety of giving birth at home. Despite being affiliated with hospitals, birth centers rely on the knowledge that women's bodies should be trusted during pregnancy and labor and encourage as little intervention as possible during both of these periods. Birth centers encourage the active participation of families in health-related decisions in a familiar and relaxing environment and continuity of care with the support of midwives. Women can have their babies in these facilities safely with the knowledge that medical equipment is available if necessary.

PAIN RELIEF

Generally, women who are supported by midwives often feel that having a natural birth without pain-killing drugs is preferable. This is a direct challenge to the preponderance of pain-relieving drugs, referred to as analgesics (for example, epidural or pethadin), concurrent with vaginal delivery in hospitals where it is assumed that pain of childbirth is negative and must be avoided. Feminists argue that obstetricians in the West encourage pain management because pain is perceived to be a sign of weakness (Davis-Floyd 1992). According to biomedicine, women's bodies are weak and fragile. The pain of childbirth is perceived as being too intense for such inadequately equipped bodies. Returning to the mechanical metaphor, if machines cannot feel pain, women giving birth should not either (Davis-Floyd 1992). Midwives and proponents of natural birth argue that even the word "labor" is a part of medical rhetoric that encourages the mechanistic model. Feminists suggest that obstetricians are sometimes overly willing to administer analgesics without a woman fully understanding the effects of the drugs. For instance, instead of providing support when the labor becomes more difficult, medication is encouraged as a means to avoid contending with the woman and her heightened emotional and physical state. Midwives argue that analgesics distance women from their bodies and their babies and that the use of analgesics reinforces the Cartesian dualism that the body can survive and function without the mind.

Hypnobirthing, or self-hypnosis during birth, is a relatively new technique used by many women who want to avoid pain-killing drugs. Hypnosis is a naturally induced state of relaxation. By using hypnobirthing techniques during pregnancy, women learn to create a natural anesthesia during labor in order to be active participants in birth. Midwives argue that if women are permitted to experience the pain of childbirth, it makes for a more personal and empowering experience; women should try alternative methods for pain management such as walking, yoga, meditation, hypnosis, massage, showers, or controlled breathing. It is argued that pain medication can slow down the labor, lower blood pressure, and possibly put the baby in distress. By completely surrendering to the process of childbirth, proponents of natural childbirth contend the pain of the process

is accepted as a birthing force, rhythm, or surge and not a contraction as it is referred to in medical discourse.

Although more natural or noninterventionist methods of childbirth are preferable to a growing number of American women (currently, just under 10 percent), nevertheless, it is problematic to imply that a "natural" childbirth with no pain relief necessarily creates a more meaningful birthing experience for all women. Some feminists argue that the "natural is better" philosophy is equally as prescriptive as the medical model and essentializes women to their reproductive biology. For many women, the use of analgesics or pain relief is preferable and makes birth a less stressful experience. On the other hand, analgesics do not provide complete relief and women who believe that they will feel no pain at all may be feeling like they were misinformed (Davis-Floyd 1992). Ultimately, women have the right not to be in pain and there is a significant cultural pressure for women to avoid pain relief, implying that women who use pain relief have somehow "failed" in their first job as a mother.

CONCLUSION: WHICH BIRTHING PRACTICE IS BEST?

As much as the medical model modifies the bodily knowledge of pregnant and birthing women, women also modify technology and biomedicine. Women are not passive recipients of medical knowledge, and women often need technical information to make informed choices during pregnancy. Obstetricians are becoming increasingly more in tune with women's needs during pregnancy and birth and are encouraging intervention only when necessary. After all, advances

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THE BOSTON WOMEN'S HEALTH BOOK COLLECTIVE AND *OUR BODIES, OURSELVES*

A feminist classic, *Our Bodies, Ourselves: A Book by and for Women,* arose out of discussions between women about their bodies in 1969 and inspired the women's health movement in the United States. Frustrated with condescending doctors, women from various backgrounds created the nonprofit organization, Boston Women's Health Book Collective, and researched health topics relevant to women. The first full edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* was published in 1973; its 12th edition was published in 2005. More than 4 million copies have been sold and the book has been translated into 17 languages and Braille. From the start, *Our Bodies, Ourselves* was based on the model that women's knowledge about their bodies should be made central to their medical experiences, a revolutionary concept for the early 1970s. Thus in each edition, women's personal stories have been included alongside traditional forms of medical knowledge about issues pertaining to women's health. The collective continues to deliver groundbreaking discussions of pregnancy, birth control, and abortion by encouraging women to think about pregnancy and parenthood as issues of choice rather than destiny. Their Web site (http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org) continues to serve as an important educational and advocacy site for women and health practitioners.

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in medical technology have saved thousands of women and their babies from unnecessary death. A natural approach is understandably powerful and increasingly preferable for some women, but it is important to recognize that women do have choices in childbirth, for example, choosing to have pain-killing drugs during labor or having a baby in a hospital. These choices, however, are often circumscribed by a number of factors including race, class, and sexuality. As feminist scholar Donna Haraway (1991) argues, perhaps there is not a particularly feminist way of understanding reproductive technology or reproductive rights. Rather, understanding how biomedicine is constructed and sustained is a more reasonable project as each woman experiences technology and intervention (or lack thereof) during childbirth differently.

See also Birth Control; Breastfeeding; Fetal Rights; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Meredith Nash

BISEXUALITY

Bisexuality is contested as an authentic sexual identity category by heterosexuals, gays, and lesbians alike. Opponents argue that the sex/gender binary does

not support bisexuality; proponents argue that the sex/gender binary is rigid, limiting, and serves only to reinforce biases about bisexuality.

BACKGROUND

Although *gay, lesbian*, and *heterosexual* are commonly recognized in the West as legitimate categories for conceptualizing individual sexual identity, the concept of bisexuality remains contested as an acceptable way to describe one's sexuality. Skeptics ask whether *bisexual* can be a legitimate category in a binary sex/gender structure, whether people who call themselves bisexual are, in actuality, simply in the process of making the transition to a stable gay or lesbian identity or heterosexuals simply "experimenting," and whether bisexual interests should be considered in conjunction with gay and lesbian concerns. Those who consider themselves bisexual argue that theirs is a legitimate sexual identity category, that they face discrimination and invisibility in both heterosexual and gay/lesbian environments, and that bisexual identity is radical in its implications for social life.

WHAT IS BISEXUALITY?

In its broadest sense, the term *bisexual* contains at least three distinctive connotations: (1) to be of two sexes, (2) to engage in sexual behavior with members of two sexes, and (3) to regard an aspect of one's self or one's identity as bisexual. Merl Storr (1999) includes in the range of historical bisexual conceptualizations in the academic literature the additional possibility that one is, psychologically, simultaneously masculine and feminine. In its most common contemporary usage, the term *bisexual* evokes considerations of sexual behavior and sexual identity, and the terms *intersexed* and *transsexual* are more commonly used to describe the experience of having physical characteristics or social identities that include both male and female aspects of biology, and *androgyny* refers to a psychological identity incorporating both masculine and feminine traits. Although the embodied forms of bisexuality attract conflict and controversy, bisexuality-as-behavior and bisexuality-as-identity have provoked nearly continuous and heated debate in both the academic literature and popular culture over the course of the last century. More fundamental than questions about the significance of bisexuality for culture and society are the following three questions about bisexuality: (1) Does bisexuality truly exist? (2) Are there "real" bisexuals? and (3) Are people who call themselves bisexual either confused or in transition to a heterosexual, lesbian, or gay identity?

Contributors to this debate recognize that sexual behaviors and sexual identities may be independent of one another. For example, a woman may identify as lesbian but behave bisexually; conversely, she may identify as bisexual but have sexual relationships with members of only one sex. Although there is much evidence of bisexual behavior cross-culturally and trans-historically, only in modern Western history has an identity formation crystalized around bisexuality. As a result, we may talk about the bisexual behavior of historical figures without defining them as bisexual. In some contexts, women's primary sexual attractions and preferences may be toward women, but social pressures require them to

BISEXUALITY AND STRESS

In a news story reported by the Gay.com/PlanetOut.com News Network in May 2002, there are indications that bisexuals are more likely than straight or gay people to develop mental health difficulties. This conclusion is based on research conducted in Australia and reported in the May 2002 *British Journal of Psychiatry*.

In a three-year study of 4,824 young and middle-age adults, researchers discovered that bisexually identified participants reported "the deepest feelings of anxiety, depression and negativity." According to Gay.com news, the researchers speculate that "It is possible that having neither a clear heterosexual or homosexual orientation is an important stressor, in addition to the social pressures of having a different sexual orientation to the majority."

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engage in sexual relationships with men; objectively, their behaviors are heterosexual, but their identities or attractions may be lesbian or bisexual. In other instances, women may acknowledge their attractions to both sexes while limiting their sexual experiences to one sex or the other; objectively, their behaviors appear to be heterosexual or lesbian, but their identity may be bisexual.

In recent decades, controversy has centered on both bisexual identity and bisexual activity. In popular culture, questions of the ontological status of bisexual identity are common. "Do bisexuals really exist?" "Are bi people just afraid to come out?" "Are bisexuals just in a transitional phase?" These questions remain common, as well as vexing, to both those who identify as bisexual and those who are disturbed by the idea of bisexual identities. Independent of concern about the existence of bisexual identity, conflict and controversy about bisexual behavior in the United States in the late twentieth century evolved from the epidemiology of the AIDS crisis, which made clear that the relationships among sexual identities and sexual behaviors are often indeterminate, porous, and unpredictable. To understand bisexuality, bisexual identity, and conflict and controversy attached to them more fully, it is important to examine four broad areas of debate, each fraught with confusion and consternation among those to whom the concept of bisexuality, however defined, makes sense, and those to whom it does not.

ARE WE ALL ESSENTIALLY BISEXUAL IN THE BEGINNING?

Early contributors to the Western conversation on bisexuality were mostly rooted in Europe, where sexology became a serious academic discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sexologists first used the term *bisexual* to describe the state of physically possessing traits of both sexes, then to describe being psychologically both masculine and feminine, then, eventually, to describe being attracted to members of both sexes (Ellis 1915). Psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1897, 1905) most significantly became associated with the idea of bisexuality in the United States, when his work was translated, sometimes questionably, into English and read widely in this country. Freud theorized bisexuality as an inherent, innate, infantile state in human beings; he argued

that all people are born with the capacity for sexual attraction to a wide range of people and objects, but that through a series of crises and discoveries and experiences in early childhood, sexuality is usually shaped by parents and others so that it is directed at the opposite sex. According to Freud, the typical developmental situation requires that people repress their attractions to members of the same sex to conform to the psychological and social expectations of the society around them. From Freud's perspective, sometimes individual sexuality is not directed either toward the opposite sex or toward one sex alone, with the result being that an individual's sexuality is gay or lesbian or, alternatively, bisexual. Freud's theory of fundamental bisexuality became popular among those experimenting with alternative lifestyles in the United States in the "Roaring Twenties," during which the "free lovers" used it to justify more sexually experimental behavior than was commonly accepted at the time (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988).

Although Freud's theoretical insights fell into disfavor in many circles over the course of the twentieth century, the idea that bisexuality is common received support from a less theoretical, more empirical source at mid-century. Alfred Kinsey's name became familiar to most Americans in association with his groundbreaking research on sexuality. Kinsey (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1948) constructed a now famous six-point scale bearing his name on which he asked people to rate themselves as "exclusively homosexual" to "exclusively heterosexual" in their attractions. After thousands of men and women had engaged in the process of self-rating, Kinsey determined that the majority of people are to some degree bisexual, at least in their attractions and fantasies. A smaller minority of people are exclusively heterosexual or gay/lesbian in their behaviors, attractions, and fantasies. The term a *Kinsey 3* has come to be a common reference point among bisexual people as a way of signifying a balanced degree of attraction to both men and to women; someone identifying himself or herself as a *Kinsey 4* is attracted to both sexes, but slightly more often finds members of the opposite sex appealing.

Kinsey's research, however, ultimately focused on behavior more than identity. His research answered the questions "do people behave bisexually?" and "are people attracted to members of both their own and the opposite sex?" His research did not answer the questions "do people consider themselves bisexual in identity?" or "does this society acknowledge bisexual identity as one of the options?" Evidence of the answers to both of those questions has been found in broader studies of bisexual identity and in writing by bisexually identified individuals. During the 1970s, in concert with the emergence of the New Left, the gay liberation movement, and the free love movement, a number of bisexual organizations appeared across the country, emphasizing an end to all sexual categories and an emphasis on bisexuality as a behavioral potential (Uddis-Kessler 1996); many of these organizations closed their doors by the beginning of the 1980s (Weinberg, Williams, and Pryor 1994), just as the AIDS crisis was emerging. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the bisexual category reappeared, this time with an emphasis on identity instead of behavior; many formerly "gay and lesbian" organizations became "lesbian, gay, and bisexual" organizations, as

a result of pressure from an increasingly visible bisexual population for gay and lesbian communities to accept and create coalitions with bisexuals. At the heart of this development was controversy around bisexual people, both within the dominant culture as it experienced the AIDS crisis, and within the lesbian and gay communities, in which the tensions between lesbians and bisexual women were especially noteworthy (Ault 1996a, 1996b; Faderman 1991; Rust 2000).

BISEXUALITY AS A THREAT TO THE DOMINANT CULTURE: HIV/AIDS

Mainstream America became interested in bisexuality during the beginning of the first decade of the HIV/AIDS crisis. Initially, AIDS in the United States was seen as a "gay disease"; infection and mortality rates were high among men both identified as and perceived as gay. Because a great stigma was still attached to being gay, the government remained silent on the issue for several years, instead of following the leads of other industrialized countries, which actively and quickly worked to educate their citizens about infection mechanisms and prevention. Heterosexual Americans became more concerned about the disease when it became clearer that it did not infect only gay men, but that heterosexual men and women were vulnerable as well. The epidemiology of AIDS eventually made clear that men who had been infected by men were sometimes also sexually active with women, and that men who were married to women also sometimes engaged in sexual relations with other men, as well as with their wives and other women. Medical researchers began to refer to "gay and bisexual men" in their reports on the spread of HIV/AIDS, and reactionary conservatives began to identify bisexuals as a source of threat to the well-being of the heterosexual population. Bisexuals were widely demonized as sources of infection, even as "murderous." In one famous instance, the host of a national news program asked a man dying of AIDS whether he felt he had in some way "murdered his wife" because he had been sexually active with her after he was infected by a man.

Although both medical and media attention focused on bisexual men, the most vocal response to the demonization of bisexuals came from feminist women (Uddis-Kessler 1996). By using feminist discourses on individual's rights to sexual self-determination, sexual liberation and empowerment, and sexual choice, feminist bisexuals published several collected volumes on bisexuality dedicated to documenting the realities of bisexual lives, the legitimacy of bisexual identity, the forms of erasure and discrimination faced by bisexuals, and the ways in which the oppression of bisexuals is related to the oppression faced by lesbians and gay men (Ault 2006b).

BISEXUALITY AS A THREAT TO MARGINALIZED CULTURE: LESBIAN FEMINISTS AND BISEXUALITY

Although feminist bisexual women articulated a response to the mainstream effort to demonize bisexuals, feminist lesbians were not always receptive to the argument that bisexual people experience forms of oppression similar to those

SEXUAL IDENTITY TIMELINES

In a large-scale quantitative study of sexual minority women, sociologist Paula Rust (2000) documented the nuances in the processes through which women come to define themselves as either lesbian or bisexual. One of her most interesting findings is that although lesbian and bisexual women tend to experience similar events in the process of questioning their heterosexuality, they do so on differing timelines. On average, women who ultimately define as bisexual begin to question their heterosexuality and experience attraction to women a few years later than those who define themselves as lesbian.

experienced by lesbian and gay people. Social scientists and popular commentators alike noted lesbian hostility toward bisexual women. Many lesbians saw bisexual women as enjoying "heterosexual privilege," defined as the many benefits people in a heterosexist society receive for being, or being perceived as, heterosexual. Lesbians accused bisexual women of "passing," and of "going straight when the going gets tough." Many lesbian women hostile to bisexual women reported that they didn't want to date or have partnerships with bisexual women because they predicted that bisexuals would either leave them for men or that they would bring diseases they got from sexual relations with men into the lesbian community, in an argument similar to that made by conservatives afraid bisexuals were a threat to the heterosexual population (Ault 1996a).

BISEXUALITY AS SEXUAL LIBERATION

Bisexually identified people faced controversy and stigmatization in both mainstream society and marginalized sexual minority groups during the first decade of the AIDS crisis. In response, they worked to address both stereotypes around bisexuality and to advance their own theories about bisexuality and its meaning for society. At a theoretical level, bisexuals argued that recognizing bisexual identity as a legitimate way of describing oneself created the possibility of revolutionizing narrow, constraining, and outdated ways of conceptualizing sexuality; some argued that to be "monosexual," or interested in only one sex, was a limited way of interacting with others. They further asserted that if people acknowledged the fundamental bisexuality posited by Freud or the wide-ranging bisexuality documented by Kinsey, our society would be more tolerant and loving. People would not have to work so hard to prove their heterosexuality, for example, by restricting their closeness with people of the same sex. Bisexuals also worked to demonstrate that when they are in relationships with people of the same sex, they face the same kinds of oppression and discrimination experienced by lesbian and gay people, and that lesbian and gay political interests are closely related to their own. Finally, bisexual people worked to clarify the difference between identity and sexual fidelity, noting that these are independent features of an individual's character. Many bisexual people are monogamous, and many heterosexual, gay, and lesbian people are nonmonogamous.

CONCLUSION

Although it is not without controversy today, bisexual identity has become increasingly accepted as a legitimate sexual identity category. National, state, community, and school-level organizations devoted to lesbian and gay issues and rights typically include the word *bisexual* in their names, even if they do not offer specific services for bisexuals or political initiatives devoted exclusively to bisexual issues. Some may, indeed, find the bisexual label best describes their sexuality during their formative years and choose to identify as straight or gay or lesbian at other points in their lives—and vice versa. Although it appears unlikely that the monosexual "straight" and "gay/lesbian" categories will be eliminated in favor of the idea of universal bisexuality in the near future, it also appears that the category of bisexual identity has become widely enough institutionalized that it is a permanent part of our sexual culture.

See also Heterosexism and Homophobia; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Movements; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Amber Ault

BREAST CANCER

The causes and treatment of breast cancer, which disproportionately afflicts women, have been debated on the grounds of where research should focus, what

environmental factors cause it, who is responsible for managing what may be controllable risk factors, and whether corporations' interests or cancer patients' interests prevail in its current commercialization.

BACKGROUND

Breast cancer disproportionately affects women, and different populations of women present with different rates of breast cancer and different survival rates. In recent years, breast cancer has received a lot of commercial attention through efforts such as the Susan G. Komen "Race for the Cure" and through businesses that donate a portion of their earnings to breast cancer research, outreach, or prevention education (King 2006). Some advocates have been critical of the medical research and commercialization of breast cancer on the grounds that corporate interests prevail over women's own interests in their health and well-being.

WHAT IS THE MEDICAL RESEARCH?

Cancer rates in industrialized nations are much higher than in nonindustrialized nations, a yet unexplained relationship. Cancer rates of groups that migrate from nonindustrialized to industrialized areas rise to meet the higher industrial rates within one to two generations (Coyle 2004). This correlation evidences some type of environmental cause, not, for example, a difference in genetics between different ethnic or racial groups.

Geographical and socioeconomic factors contribute to rates of contracting cancer and to survival rates for women who present with breast cancer. In the United States, African American women are less likely than white women to contract breast cancer but more likely to die from it. Because of racism in the medical profession and other barriers to access, African American women tend to present later in the progression of breast cancer, which greatly reduces their survival rates. Lower socioeconomic status increases the likelihood that one's breast cancer will be detected later and that one's treatment will be insufficient to prevent recurrence and mortality.

WHAT ARE THE ENVIRONMENTAL RISK FACTORS?

Because of the difficulty in isolating specific carcinogens, researchers look for risk factors, anything that indicates a greater or lesser chance of developing a disease. Risk factors may be genetic, lifestyle, or environmental type risks. Genetic factors cannot be changed, but only 10 percent of women who present with breast cancer have a known family history with the disease (NBCC 2007). Nonetheless, more time and money have been devoted to genetic research, to the exclusion of environmental causes.

Of the possible environmental causes, increased exposure to estrogen is a well-established risk factor for breast cancer; the use of DES, a synthetic estrogen given to pregnant women during the 1970s, is one example. Most potential environmental breast cancer carcinogens are chemicals that act as estrogen in

women's bodies. The use of hormone [estrogen] replacement therapy (HRT) during and after menopause prolongs a woman's lifetime exposure to estrogen. Many women use HRT to alleviate some of the negative symptoms of menopause.

According to some observers, gender, class, and other factors contribute to what is researched and how and why. For example, the symptoms of menopause and many other life experiences of women are considered "disorders" in medical discourse and not seriously considered as conditions in need of serious research. Individual women have very little control over their exposure to environmental estrogens because corporations introduce possible breast cancer carcinogens into the environment when governments do not restrict use of the carcinogens. The lack of proof of environmental causes of breast cancer allows corporations to escape responsibility for disseminating possible carcinogens and avoid restrictions on their use. Governments and corporations are major funders of breast cancer research and have little motivation for supporting research that could prove their culpability.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

The debate over breast cancer research, then, concerns why so much time and money have been spent on genetic causes for breast cancer when they account for at most 10 percent of breast cancer cases. Critics of the conventional medical model ask, where does the responsibility lie for managing lifestyle and environmental risk factors? Healthy diets and exercise can lower a woman's risk of developing breast cancer. Many occupations and their chemicals are correlated with higher rates of breast cancer. For example, chemicals used in dry cleaning have been found to increase breast cancer rates, so the question arises, should women be restricted from working in the dry cleaning business or should companies use different chemicals? One could argue that women should not work in industries that use possibly carcinogenic chemicals, but companies often do not educate their employees about health risks, and restricting where women may work has negative economic effects.

A healthy diet and exercise decrease breast cancer risk, which points to the individual woman's responsibility for that aspect of her health, but is she the only one who is responsible for barriers such as the unaffordability of healthy food? When a woman is disproportionately responsible for the extra hours of unpaid labor in her home and community, is it entirely her fault that she does not have time to exercise? Who, then, is responsible for the prevention, detection, and treatment of breast cancer? These are big questions that are often difficult to answer.

CONCLUSION

Breast cancer prevention is one important step toward addressing these questions. The multiple causes of breast cancer require multiple levels of prevention, risk management, detection, and treatment. Whatever the manifestation of

the detrimental effects of a chemical or other element, many observers would agree that its use should be eliminated or reduced as much as possible. Research could continue to support prevention efforts by looking for modifiable risk factors. Because breast cancer exists, detection and treatment technologies such as mammography, radiation, and chemotherapy must be made available and accessible to everyone; even this continues to be an obstacle in equitably treating all breast cancer patients.

See also Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Chana Wolfson

BREASTFEEDING

There are multiple views of breastfeeding, informed by women's experiences, science, public health, and politics. Current debates on breastfeeding involve scientific claims on the superiority of breast milk, whether responsibility for policy and advocacy lies with governments or individuals, and sexualized versus utilitarian views of women's breasts.

BACKGROUND

Breastfeeding is many things: an evolutionary means of infant survival and child spacing, a cultural practice embedded in female bodies and sexualities, a form of mother-infant relationship, a morally and politically laden option for infant feeding. Throughout history and across cultures, humans relied on breast milk or alternatives to sustain infant life. Alternatives included wet nursing (a lactating woman breastfeeding another woman's child); the use of other species' milk (cow, goat, sheep); or pap, a mixture of gruel and water. In the United States, the development of pasteurized formula in the 1930s, along with safe water and sterilization techniques, reduced infant mortality rates of prior decades and physicians began promoting formula use (Wolf 2002). Modernization, immigration, urbanization, the influence of science, and the rise of pediatricians as experts contributed to a steady decrease in U.S. breastfeeding rates throughout the 1940s to 1970s. By 1971, only 24 percent of mothers breastfed at least once, the lowest point in history (Wolf 2003).

Many factors contributed to declining breastfeeding among American mothers. Women whose lives were affected by immigration and urbanization often abandoned "traditional" practices in their quest for modern American lifestyles informed by science (Litt 2000). The transition to hospital birth included new pain relief technologies (e.g., scopolamine), leaving women groggy and unable to breastfeed. The common practice of separating newborns from mothers interrupted hormonal exchanges, which aid successful breastfeeding. In the 1970s, women's health advocates achieved limited reforms in hospital birth and infant care practices that supported women's desires to birth without interventions and breastfeed on demand. Women and allied physicians legitimized these reforms using scientific, religious, and maternal politics in the absence of widespread cultural or medical support (Ward 2000).

BREASTFEEDING ADVOCACY AND CONTROVERSIES

In recent years, there has been renewed advocacy for breastfeeding, informed by new scientific evidence that breast milk is the optimal nutrition for infants up to one to two years of age, as recommended by the American Academy of Pediatrics and the World Health Organization, respectively. Current U.S. breastfeeding policy is informed by *Healthy People 2010* objectives of the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) to increase breastfeeding initiation and duration rates. Although overall breastfeeding rates are increasing, by 2004 only 14 U.S. states achieved the *Healthy People 2010* objective of 75 percent of mothers initiating breastfeeding (CDC 2004). Fewer than five states achieved the goals of 50 percent of mothers breastfeeding children at six months of age and 25 percent of mothers breastfeeding their children at one year. Only two states, Oregon and Utah, achieved all three of these *Healthy People 2010* objectives.

In light of this outcome, and with data showing that breastfeeding is less likely among women of low socioeconomic status, the U.S. DHHS Office on Women's Health launched a national campaign in June 2004 designed to encourage first-time mothers to breastfeed exclusively for six months. The campaign used a new tactic: it highlighted the health risks of *not* breastfeeding, using the tagline, "Babies were born to be breastfed." Such health risks include chronic diseases such as obesity, diabetes, asthma, and acute illnesses (e.g., ear infections) (Steingraber 2001). The economic benefits to state-funded health care programs were undoubtedly a factor in the campaign.

Controversies over how and whether to advocate breastfeeding as national policy are concerned with how messages are conveyed and to whom. Feminists argue that a focus on primarily individual change obscures the need for widespread social, institutional, and economic support for breastfeeding mothers (Behrmann 2005; Hausman 2003). A focus on public health unduly places infant feeding as a personal decision, and in the face of racial and class disparities, this "choice" is available to some, but not all, women. Currently, older, educated, employed, white women are most likely to breastfeed (Hausman 2003). These controversies have racial and class undertones: Whereas breastfeeding is seen as "good" and linked to "good mothers" (i.e., white, middle class, heterosexual), the

use of formula is seen as "bad" and linked to "bad mothers" (i.e., poor, working class, typically nonwhite, often single) (Hausman 2003).

BREASTFEEDING: MEDICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Medical professionals do not always have accurate and supportive information regarding breastfeeding. Economic incentives in marketing formula to medical professionals, hospitals, and government food programs have had an impact on medical education in regard to breastfeeding. The $3 billion formula industry is tied to commercial interests of pharmaceutical companies. In the past 20 years, a new occupational niche, the lactation consultant, has emerged in response to mothers' need for skilled, knowledgeable breastfeeding support. To date, few insurance policies cover these services.

The work environment affects breastfeeding. Unlike most countries, the United States has no national maternity leave policy; therefore individual employers decide how and whether to offer such benefits. Full-time work among mothers with young children is associated with lower breastfeeding rates. Low-income women, among whom women of color are overrepresented, are more likely to return to work earlier and have jobs less amenable for pumping and storing breast milk. Many employers do not understand the ease and low cost in providing support to breastfeeding workers, or how such support can reduce costs associated with employee illness and productivity. Exhorting women to breastfeed as the healthy choice without also providing structural changes in employment and state policies to support breastfeeding leaves out social solutions by governments and businesses.

Breastfeeding is deeply connected to cultural meanings of the female breast. Breastfeeding advocates note that in the United States, breasts are overwhelmingly portrayed as sexual objects, as opposed to their evolutionary purpose for infant feeding. Women's own experiences are diverse and complex. Some enjoy breastfeeding as a sensual and satisfying, physical and emotional relationship with their infants. For others, breastfeeding feels like a coercive use of their bodies, and they are repulsed by the physical act or the public display of breastfeeding. Many states have enacted legislation granting women the right to breastfeed in public, but the recent case of a breastfeeding woman ejected from a Delta airliner shows that this right is not available to all. Thus breastfeeding, like other reproductive practices, has always been influenced by complex configurations of cultural, economic, political, and scientific factors and holds different meanings among different groups of women (Solinger 2005; Baumslaug and Michels 1995; Berhmann 2005).

CONCLUSION

Both science and notions of "good mothering" shape current debates on breastfeeding. As in previous generations, when science valued formula over breast milk, science continues to play a role in influencing women and state

policies. Indeed, most, if not all, parenting decisions are laden with moral, cultural, and evaluative components, and debates on breastfeeding practices will surely continue.

See also Birthing Practices; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Christine H. Morton

C

CHILD CUSTODY AND PARENTAL RIGHTS

The "special treatment/equal treatment" debate over custody policy is between two groups who are both committed to gender equality but who have different visions of how to achieve it. On one side, *maternalists* believe mothers deserve "special treatment" in custody cases and that women should be empowered within their traditional caregiving roles. On the other side, *equal-parenting advocates* believe parenting should be done equally by men and women and this should be the goal of child custody decisions.

BACKGROUND

Custody policy decisions are made on contested gendered battlegrounds and ignite our deepest beliefs about parenting. Custody decisions impact the majority of U.S. citizens at some point in their lives. The U.S. divorce rate more than doubled between 1965 and 1980 and an estimated 40 to 50 percent of all marriages now end in separation or divorce, affecting more than 1 million children annually. Child custody disputes form the largest percentage of domestic-relations cases and account for close to one-quarter of all legal filings, making it the largest category of court action.

In the United States, until the mid-19th century fathers were granted custody of their children because children were considered their property. During this Puritan-influenced time, wives were expected to show "reverence," defined as a mixture of fear and awe, toward their husbands. Custody laws did not begin to change until the late 1800s when a capitalist market economy reorganized work into separate spheres of home and men's market work outside of it and

created a close linkage of masculinity with breadwinning. The emergence of the tender-years doctrine thus arose because childrearing became reconceptualized as something mothers were uniquely suited to do, in the privacy of their homes, away from the "selfish and calculating" world of the market.

Beginning with the feminist movement of the 1960s, virtually all jurisdictions determined that maternal preference by case law or statute was sexist and thus eliminated it. By the mid-1980s, the trend toward presumptive joint custody emerged, which exists when both parents legally share responsibility for the child. The new standard was a gender-neutral custody determination in the "best interests of the child." This was viewed as a victory by equal-parenting advocates who welcomed the change in custody law that stressed that there was no "real" difference between the sexes and that differentiation that does exist only reflects sex-based stereotypes. Equal-parenting advocates believe that once "special treatment" and discrimination are removed from a maternal preference, the gender-neutral best interest standard will allow women to achieve equality through equal competition in the social and economic marketplace. On this view, any hint of maternal presumption in custody is understood to push women back into the caregiver role and pull men out of it.

In contrast, maternalists worry that a gender-neutral best interest standard ignores the fact that women do the lion's share of child care and housework and are marginalized in market work because of it. Maternalists argue that there is little evidence that a joint custody standard changes the behavior of fathers or that courts have the resources to turn fathers into active parents. Recent statistics reveal a sexual division of labor in parenting patterns. According to Rose Kreider and Jason Fields, in their 2005 report *The Living Arrangements of Children,* between 1970 and 1990 the proportion of children living only with their mother doubled from 11 percent to 22 percent. In 1960, father-absent families numbered 10 million in the United States; today it stands at 24 million. Ironically, this historically unprecedented shift in family composition occurred at the same time the gender-neutral best interest standard took effect.

TYPES OF CHILD CUSTODY

Legal custody refers to parental authority over children. *Sole custody* means that one parent has the right to make major decisions for their child(ren) including decisions regarding education, medical care, and religion. *Joint legal custody* means that both parents share in major decisions but individually make the day-to-day decisions when the child(ren) are with him or her. *Physical custody* refers to the time children actually spend with their parent(s); and primary physical custody means children spend the majority of their time with one parent and "visit" their "nonresidential parent."

In working out a joint custody arrangement, efforts may be made to divide the child's time equally between parents (generally an average of two overnights per week). Parents with joint physical custody (about 100 overnights per year) have lower child-support obligations in most states. Maternalists point out that fathers frequently threaten to fight for joint custody to gain better divorce

property settlements and enforce joint physical custody in court (but not in life) in order to pay less child support. Maternalists fear that if joint custody does not enforce obligations of fathers but gives them significant rights to command how mothers do virtually all of the family work, the symbolic message is that divorced fathers are entitled to control their children without doing any of the day-to-day work of raising them. On this view, eliminating entitlements for caregivers is not a desirable feminist strategy given that there are significant power differentials between men and women. Maternalists dismiss the idea that the goal of "equality" ought to be based on accepting maleness as the norm and a denial of equality to women who are unable or unwilling to assimilate to that norm.

Equal-parenting advocates, on the other hand, believe that joint physical custody will encourage a redefinition of domesticity. Domesticity is currently gendered and divides family work from market work. According to an analysis of supplemental 1998 U.S. Census data, about 65 percent of mothers have sole physical and legal custody, 10 percent had sole physical and joint legal custody, 11 percent of fathers had sole physical custody (with either joint or sole legal custody), 9 percent of parents had joint physical and legal custody, and 5 percent had split custody (Child Trends 2002). Equal-parenting advocates argue that unless fathers and mothers are allocated equal joint physical custody, the current gendered organization of domesticity will continue to be justified, sustained, and reproduced.

THE CUSTODY DEBATE

When parents cannot decide on a parenting plan postdivorce/separation and head to family court to seek a custody solution, they may enter court with vastly different ideas of how custody should be allocated. On the one hand, maternalists enter court with the belief that because children have likely received primary caregiving from their mothers whose lives are framed by powerful social forces that lead them to "choose" to become marginalized and cut off from most social roles that offer responsibility and authority, children should be "awarded" to mothers who have sacrificed economic gain to engage in carework. Maternalists argue that a *sole custody* model serves the best interest standard because relationships between children and their mothers should be central to the best interests of the child test.

Maternalists believe that formal legal equality undervalues the gendered division of carework, household labor, and domestic violence, and limits mothers' right to restrict contact with fathers while imposing no obligation for contact on fathers. Also, they point out that joint custody identifies the child's right to contact with both parents only in the postseparation family and not in the preseparation family and ignores the problems of fathers seeking revenge, retribution, and control through custody. Furthermore, maternalists find that increased paternal involvement does not automatically mean improved child outcomes nor that biological fathers provide such unique nurturance that it can not be provided by substitute caregivers. On this view, the role of custody law should recognize existing gendered inequality and move beyond the simplistic equality paradigm.

In contrast, equal-parenting advocates argue that joint custody better serves the best interest standard because it keeps fathers attached to their children and increases the frequency of child support payments. Also, because market work structures encourage paternal absence in terms of actual parenting and fathers have no control over this, they should not be punished for it in a custody decision. Equal-parenting advocates also argue that fathers are necessary for children's healthy development and should have an equal right to custody regardless of their history of caretaking. And finally, mental health professionals and custody evaluators frequently favor presumptive joint custody; and as recent Congressional fatherhood bills argue that "fatherlessness" is the "most consequential social problem we confront" no one should deny custody to fathers who want it.

Equal-parenting advocates interpret women's desire for sole custody as contributing to a culture of gender inequality and the perpetuation of traditional gender roles. Equal-parenting advocates seek to undermine traditional gender roles and defend their proposal by reference to the law's expressive function—its ability to express and change social expectations and norms. They argue that joint physical and legal custody will ignite a gender-neutral norm of parenting that involves fathers as much as mothers. Equal-parenting advocates want to destabilize domesticity's gender roles and restructure the relationship between market work and family work so that all parents can engage in both without becoming marginalized in either. On this view, gender neutrality is necessary in child custody decision making because it is consistent with general liberal notions of equality. On a symbolic level, making equality the organizing concept underlying custody decision making ensures a more just society.

FEDERAL AND STATE RESPONSES

In the United States, the parents of a child born within a marriage are joint guardians of that child and the rights of both parents are considered equal: each parent has an equal right to the custody of the child when they separate. The federal Constitution allows a state to interfere with this right only to prevent harm or potential harm to the child. In *Meyer v. Nebraska,* 262 U.S. 390, 399, 401 (1923), the Supreme Court held that the "liberty" protected by the due process clause includes the right of parents to "establish a home and bring up children" and "to control the education of their own." According to *Reno v. Flores,* 507 U.S., at 304 (1993), "as long as a parent is fit there will normally be no reason for the State to inject itself into the private realm of the family to further question the ability of that parent to make the best decisions concerning the rearing of that parent's children."

Maternalists see the lack of federal intervention in the family as gross neglect of women and children and interpret the state's "hands off" approach to "the private realm of the family" as discrimination against unpaid family work, most of which is done by women. Maternalists argue that affirmative action principles should be applied to the family context and that without a well-funded federal institutional structure of available child care and health care services, as well as

adequate social and economic support systems that enable men and women to nurture and rear their children, formal equality is understood to hurt women. Because market work is stacked against mothers, calculations of child or spousal support in which courts assume that the father and mother have had equal access to the breadwinner role, on this view, are unfair. Maternalists argue that advocacy of equal treatment denies difference, requires women to adhere to masculine life patterns, and ignores evidence that equal treatment harms women.

The Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act (1979) suggests that the following be considered in determining the "best interests" standard: (1) the wishes of the children and their parent(s); (2) the interaction and interrelationship of the children and their parent(s), siblings, and any other person who may significantly affect the children's best interests; (3) the children's adjustment to their home, school, and community; and, (4) the mental and physical health of all individuals involved. Although the Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act (1979) underlies the "best interests" standard, custody laws differ from state to state. Emery, Otto, and O'Donohue (2005) point out some idiosyncratic norms considered by judges in different states. For example, South Carolina takes into account the religious beliefs of the parents, and Alabama, Florida, Michigan, North Dakota, and Utah consider parents' "moral character" to be relevant to children's best interests. Equal-parenting advocates fear that the "best interest of the child" legal standard is vague, founded on values and beliefs grounded in sex differences between mothers and fathers, allows judges to make custody decisions in keeping with their own and the local community's prejudices about what a child needs and what a family is, and perpetuates a gendered division of labor.

PROBLEMS WITH THE "BEST INTEREST" STANDARD

Because the "best interest of the child" legal standard is so vague, judges across the United States have turned to child custody evaluation experts and frequently rely on the findings of their clinical assessment instruments. Custody evaluators routinely rely on IQ tests, clinical interviews, direct observation, "friendly parent" measures, "parental alienation" measurement instruments, children's wishes, and psychological tests. Placing custody decisions in the hands of social scientists, however, has been sharply criticized. Emery et al. (2005) find that there is no scientific evidence to support most of the psychological instruments and practices of mental health professionals who serve as custody evaluators. They argue that the state of psychological science is too limited to reach valid, replicable, and reliable measures to reach clear conclusions about controversial topic such as children's wishes, overnight visits, and joint custody decisions.

Maternalists interpret the widespread use of mental health professionals in custody hearings as an excuse for judges to ignore the significant power differentials between mothers and fathers. Maternalists suggest that it is less risky politically for a judge to make a custody decision based on the "professional" opinion of a mental health professional rather than on the "nonprofessional" opinion of the primary caregiver. Maternalists argue that women, as mothers, need concrete legal protection and the law's expressive function should offer this

and leave in tact the gendered allocation of childrearing to mothers. They charge that mental health professionals care more about protecting a few caregiving men than the large majority of caregiving women and that judges find it easier to impose joint custody across the board than to determine who has sacrificed social status and economic independence to accommodate child care.

AMERICAN LAW INSTITUTE'S "APPROXIMATION RULE"

The American Law Institute (ALI) is a national nonprofit group of lawyers and legal scholars who make recommendations for state legislation. For the first time, in 2002, ALI issued recommendations for states' laws on family dissolution titled *Principles of the Law of Family Dissolution: Analysis and Recommendations.* They argue that the "best interests" standard is met by facilitating planning and agreement, continuity of parent-child attachments, meaningful contact between children and each parent, caretaking relationships with adults who know how to care for a particular child's needs, security from conflict and violence, and expeditious and predictable legal decision making. ALI finds that the best interest test, as currently practiced in most jurisdictions, is not in the best interest of children if it involves a prolonged legal contest with a parade of competing psychological experts, other witnesses, and delays to custody decisions.

ALI proposes judges rely on an "approximation rule" to make custody decisions. The approximation rule means that caretaking and decision making be allocated in roughly the same proportion it was when the family was intact and that states establish what that minimum time is: they mention six days a month as a rough idea. ALI also seeks to alleviate inequality among children by their list of "prohibited factors" that courts may not consider when ordering parenting plans. This list of factors includes: (1) the race or ethnicity of the child, parent, or other household member; (2) the sex of the parent or child; (3) the religious practices of a parent or child, except to prevent severe harm to the child or to protect the child's right to practice a religion that has been a significant part of the child's life; (4) the sexual orientation of a parent; (5) the parent's extramarital sexual conduct, except were it harms a child; and, (6) the parent's earning capacities or financial circumstances (except where combined finances of parents set practical limitations to custodial arrangements).

CONCLUSION

The "approximation rule" appears to offer a middle ground for both maternalists and equal-parenting advocates. It stresses that custody laws ought to be designed to protect caregivers regardless of sex. It does not include maternal presumption but rather a caregiver presumption. The custody debate between maternalists and equal-parenting advocates reaffirms the importance of treating men and women the same, but shows that avoiding discrimination in custody policy requires treating parents the same by extending benefits traditionally based on sex and linking them instead to *gender,* making custody available to men as well as women who play the primary caregiver role.

To enact fair guidelines for determining custody when parents cannot reach agreement, formal equality must be combined with an analysis of gender and power. According to ALI, the advantage of the approximation rule is that it is a clear, determinative standard. There is a lot of support for the "approximation rule" whereby the postdivorce division of the children's residential time between the two parents should match, as far as possible, the "respective involvement of the parents in the childrearing during the marriage." Clear guidelines will help families know what to expect when entering custody negotiations. The "approximation rule" is drafted as gender rather than sex-linked and therefore respects carework and avoids eliminating entitlements for caregivers in the name of equal-parenting goals. On the other hand, an "approximation rule" that is designed around gender rather than sex presents the risk that courts will apply it in a way that reflects and perpetuates male power over women. So far, no state has implemented the approximation rule.

See also Childcare; Family Values; Fatherhood Initiatives.

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CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Stemming from the longstanding cultural view of women and girls as the property of men, child sexual abuse has been acknowledged as a widespread social problem only since the late twentieth century. As the view of women and girls as property has shifted, messages of victim blaming have surfaced, alleging that adult men abuse young girls because they are flirting or sexually enticing men. The belief that perpetrators are solely responsible for their behavior is fairly recent and still often challenged.

BACKGROUND: WHAT IS CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE?

Child sexual abuse is a devastating phenomenon resulting in life-changing consequences for survivors. Sex offenders are cunning and calculating in their acts of abuse, and frequently engage children in secrecy by using tactics such as shaming, fear, threats, and intimidation. Many factors contribute to the shroud of secrecy and victim blaming surrounding sexual abuse including societal messages that privilege men over women and boys over girls.

Broadly defined sexual abuse is sexual contact or activities perpetrated against a child by an adult or older child. Prevent Child Abuse America (PCAA) provides a more specific definition:

> Sexual abuse of a child is inappropriately exposing or subjecting the child to sexual contact, activity or behavior. Sexual abuse includes oral, anal, genital, buttock and breast contact. It also includes the use of objects for vaginal or anal penetration, fondling or sexual stimulation.…In addition, exploitation of a child for pornographic purposes, making a child available to others as a child prostitute, and stimulating a child with inappropriate solicitation, exhibitionism, and erotic material are also forms of sexual abuse. (2006, 1)

Girls are disproportionately victims of sexual abuse, and 90 percent of victims are abused by someone they know. Statistics indicate that 20 percent of girls and 5 to 16 percent of boys in the United States will be sexually abused before age 18 (PCAA 2006). These statistics challenge the stereotype of child sexual abuse as an uncommon occurrence by a stranger who tries to lure a child into his car with candy.

RECOVERED MEMORIES: THE DEBATE

Throughout the literature are examples of adult survivors of sexual abuse experiencing amnesia to the abuse until years later. In these cases a child remembers the abuse during childhood, but the mind, in order to protect itself, forgets or "blocks out" the traumatic memories at some point. Years after the abuse, when the mind is ready to start remembering, certain situations may begin to trigger the memories. The resulting journey can be devastating as survivors navigate the journey of uncovering the layers of hidden memories. In the early 1990s, a controversy developed about whether these recovered memories were genuine, or planted in the heads of vulnerable adult survivors through hypnosis or other techniques by therapists looking to further their own agenda. This controversy occurred before the widespread acknowledgement of men as victims, and therefore it was almost always women's memories that were called into question. In a patriarchal society where men's memories and voices are valued above women's, the survivors' statements were often dismissed as vindictive and untrue. For some time, there was a public spotlight on this issue, causing an extreme amount of distress for adult survivors who remained unsure of the veracity of their memories. The battle played out in the media and in the courts, with several public cases of therapists being sued by clients or their families for alleged false accusations of

abuse resulting from memories "recovered" in therapy (e.g., *State of New Hampshire v. Hungerford 1997, Wilson v. Phillips 1999*). The American Psychiatric Association published a "Statement on Memories of Sexual Abuse" that discusses abuse survivors' use of coping mechanisms, which may include the lack of conscious awareness of the abuse over periods of time (APA 1993). After time, the spotlight swung elsewhere, and a consensus came in the mainstream mental health community that many adult survivors do repress memories as a way to survive the abuse as a child. Many research studies that looked to independent sources to verify the accuracy of memories (e.g., perpetrator confessions, accounts from others involved) backed this assertion (e.g., Williams 1995; Loftus 1994), and some studies found that as many of 38 percent of adult survivors forget at least some of their abuse histories (Loftus 1994). In addition, survivors gained more credibility with the emergence of the sex abuse scandal in the Catholic Church, which began increasing the public statements of male survivors discussing recovered memories. These statements by men also served to legitimize women's memories. Nonetheless, there remains a quiet wariness in the general public about adult survivors reporting recovered memories, and adult survivors still remain, grappling with the stories of their trauma and working to heal.

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE: A GENDERED DEBATE

Traditionally, children were considered property and could be treated in whatever way their fathers saw fit. Little attention was given to the idea that children should not be hurt by adults until 1874 when the phenomenon of child abuse came to public light with the case of Mary Ellen, a young girl who was being severely beaten. Concerned citizens brought the case to court, noting that existing laws made it much easier for animals to be protected than children. As a result, Mary Ellen's stepmother was convicted of assault and battery and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded. The focus remained on physical abuse until the 1970s, however, when child advocates and feminists worked together to bring the problem of child sexual abuse to the awareness of the public. The phenomenon gained widespread public attention with the 1984 case of the McMartin Day Care Center, where the adults were found to have abused many children over a period of 10 years (Loseke 2005). As the awareness of child sexual abuse rose in U.S. society, the main focus was on the sexual abuse of girls. It is only recently that focus has come to boys as victims as well. Girls are still abused at higher rates that boys, however, and gendered societal messages reinforce the secrecy and shame surrounding sexual abuse.

SEX OFFENDERS AND THE CYCLE OF ABUSE

Child sexual abuse is perpetrated overwhelmingly by offenders known to the victim. Sex offenders cross racial, age, cultural, and socioeconomic boundaries. Offenders are men in 90 percent of child sexual abuse cases and are often seen by children and parents alike as the "perfect" parent or mentor to children. Societal views of men as protectors of women and children, as well as the general surprise and delight that often accompany fathers and adult men showing affection

to children, further create an environment where sexual abuse of children can occur unacknowledged. Sex offenders are often charming and work to gain the trust of children and adults before creating opportunities to be alone with children. The 10 percent of sex offenders who are women focus on manipulation and persuasion as opposed to force or threat of force (PCAA 2006). Sex offenders engage in a process of preparing their victims for abuse called grooming, where they gain the trust of the child and often the parent/guardian (or, in the case of a parent offender, the trust of the nonoffending parent), slowly and carefully encroach on the child's boundaries, and may use tactics such as pornography, alcohol, or drugs to introduce the child to sexual material and lower inhibitions before engaging in more intensive forms of abuse such as physical touching or intercourse. Offenders also use coercion, manipulation, deceit, and threats of force to engage the child in secrecy (Johnson 2006). This level of manipulation leads to self-blame and shame experienced for years after the abuse, which is further reinforced by victim-blaming messages, particularly targeted at girls.

THE IMPACT OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

The impact of child sexual abuse on children, families, and society is no less than devastating. Sexual abuse robs children of their trust, safety, and comfort in the world. The cost to society is huge. Research indicates the annual cost of child abuse and neglect is more than $94 billion a year (Fromm 2001). In addition, child sexual abuse results in both immediate and long-term effects for victims and their families. Physical effects may include physical injury, sexually transmitted diseases, genital pain, and possible pregnancy. Most investigations, however, yield no physical evidence of otherwise substantiated sexual abuse because of the less invasive abuse methods used by many sex offenders. Emotional effects include feelings of self-blame, shame, guilt, betrayal, confusion, fear, depression, and anxiety. These emotional effects can be manifested by behaviors such as nightmares, regression (e.g., returning to younger behaviors such as bed wetting or thumb sucking), change in school performance, problems concentrating, sexual acting out or age-inappropriate sexual knowledge, clinginess to nonoffending adults, irritability, and outbursts of anger (Kendall-Tackett 1993). In general, children who have been sexually abused demonstrate more behavior problems than their peers (Dubowitz 1993). In contrast, some children follow the rules almost too well, anxiously trying to become invisible by fading into the background.

Resiliency

Resilience is "the power or ability to return to original form or position after being bent, compressed, or stretched, as well as the ability to overcome adversity, survive stress and rise above disadvantage" (Valentine 1993, 222). Resiliency factors for sexually abused children include the number of incidents of abuse, the relationship of the perpetrator to the child, at what point in the process the child chooses to tell (if s/he ever tells at all), and, in particular, how

the disclosure is received. A positive response to the initial disclosure resulting in the end of abuse and the continued support of loving, patient, nonabusive adults (ideally a nonoffending parent in the home) is an indicator for increased resiliency (Valentine 1993). Research has identified traits that appear to be characteristic of resilient children and adults including above average intelligence, talent, creativity, and ability to see meaning in their experiences. Gender also affects resiliency for sexual abuse survivors. Victim-blaming messages, resulting in part from socialized messages that women and girls are to blame for the faults of men, can greatly hinder resiliency. Also, girls seeking out relationships with adults are often labeled as needy and attention-seeking, and then ignored or discouraged as a result, which may create further barriers to building relationships that foster resiliency.

Self-Blame and Shame: "A Girl Problem"

Not only do many survivors distrust others, they often distrust themselves. Most survivors feel as if the abuse is in some way their fault, or as if they deserved the abuse because of a perceived internal flaw (e.g., "I deserved it because I wasn't strong enough to stop it"). Abusers, however, often use these tactics as a form of manipulation and control by making the child feel like an active participant, complicit in keeping the secret. During the course of the abuse, this tactic is often reinforced by threatening or blaming statements by the perpetrator, such as, "Now if you weren't so pretty, I wouldn't want to do this to you" (Johnson 2006). Women, in particular, are socialized to engage in self-blame for any perceived flaw. The gendered nature of self-blame is entrenched in traditional gender role messages, which only reinforces perpetrators' blaming messages. Men are taught to be self-confident, to make the decisions in relationships, and to avoid any appearance of self-doubt. Women, on the other hand, are socialized to constantly think of the needs and comfort of others before themselves, to keep problems inside, and not to cause trouble. When things "go wrong" for women, they are taught to look inward for the cause.

Difficulties with Intimacy and Sexuality: "A Women's Problem"

Many adult survivors of child sexual abuse struggle with intimacy and sexuality later in adolescence and adulthood. Some survivors go to great lengths to avoid sex and situations that may involve intimacy to keep themselves safe from perceived future victimization (Maltz 2001). Others respond to childhood trauma by taking charge of their bodies and engaging in frequent sexual activity, believing if they initiate sex, no one will be able to victimize them. Both of these behaviors are common in adult survivors, with most people swinging to one end of the spectrum or the other. Intimacy and relationship problems in particular result in societal and self-blame on the part of women, who receive message that they are to take care of men and please them sexually at all costs. Messages around sexuality carry a double standard: women who do not engage in sexual activity are considered frigid, and those who do are considered promiscuous. Yet

men receive positive social reinforcement for the same sexual activity. Society's shaming messages to women about sexuality further isolates women survivors struggling with intimacy and may make it more difficult to discuss these concerns with male partners.

Coping Skills and Dissociation: "Women Get All the Blame"

Every person develops coping skills to help them navigate daily life. These skills assist with managing difficult emotions and situations and allow for problem solving, taking a break from coping with long-term stress, and asking for help. Adult survivors of sexual abuse often developed coping skills that were effective in childhood but do not work as well in adulthood. One example of this is a skill called dissociation. When young children are abused they may adapt by pushing the memories of the abuse out of their thoughts. If the child does not remember the abuse, the resulting impact to his or her daily functioning is reduced. All people dissociate to an extent. Most people have had the experience of driving home, then suddenly realizing they have arrived at home, but have no memory of most of the trip. Dissociation occurs on a continuum, from forgetting the drive home on one end, to actually "splitting off" the psyche to keep traumatic memories hidden from the conscious mind. Dissociation is an adaptive and resourceful solution that enables a small mind to handle a devastating situation, but often creates problems for navigating every day life in adulthood. Often, dissociation and other coping skills developed by women are seen by society in the context of gender roles and stereotypes. For example, a married woman who copes by working many hours at a high stress job, metaphorically "running" from memories of abuse, may be see by society as neglectful of her husband or children. However, a male survivor of child sexual abuse who copes the same way may be seen as a "go-getter" and good provider for his family. The validity of women's coping mechanisms are often called into question. For women, dissociation is pathologized; adult women survivors of child sexual abuse who disclose in adulthood receive messages that they are "making it up" or trying to ruin the lives of male perpetrators, who are often seen as role models and leaders in the community. Alternatively, men who dissociate and later discuss traumatic material, such as combat experiences in a war zone, are seen as strong and brave for persevering in the face of such adversity. Even the very fact of speaking out is scrutinized. As the child sexual abuse scandal has emerged in the Catholic Church, the survivors, who are mostly men, are seen as brave for telling their stories, yet the motives of women who disclose similar abuse from male relatives are questioned.

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: "Men Get All the Credit"

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV 1994) can develop when a person experiences a traumatic event that "involved actual, or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others" and the person's

response "involved intense fear, helplessness or horror" (American Psychiatric Association (APA) 1994, 428). PTSD was first identified as a disorder because of patterns of symptoms observed in returning Vietnam combat veterans. The same symptoms had been pathologized in women for centuries, most notably by Sigmund Freud, but it was the acknowledgement of these symptoms in men as a result of combat trauma that resulted in reduction in societal stigma and the development of effective treatment for women survivors of child sexual abuse. The National Institute of Health Co-Morbidity Study (2002) indicated that 12.2 percent of men and 26.5 percent of women who were molested develop PTSD. Symptoms experienced by survivors include hypervigilance, flashbacks, nightmares, exaggerated startle response, mood swings, intrusive memories or thoughts of the abuse, feelings of helplessness, and dissociation. PTSD resulting from sexual abuse is diagnosed more often in women than men. This may be due in part to the fact that U.S. society and mental health professionals more readily acknowledge and pathologize such symptoms in women. Women may also be more likely to seek out treatment than men.

CONCLUSION

Child sexual abuse occurs overwhelmingly to both men and women, but it is seen largely as a women's issue. Gender socialization and pathologized stereotypes of women's sexuality result in societal stigma and self-blame for sexual abuse survivors. Women have indisputably demonstrated an ability to survive in adversity, however, and sexual abuse survivors remain a testimony of the incredible ability of the mind to survive horror and thrive in healing.

Nonetheless, the circumstances requiring such strength and resiliency should not exist, and only interventions at a societal level will see a decrease in the incidence of child sexual abuse. Protecting children needs to become a societal priority. Myths about child sexual abuse, such as the portrait of abusers who are strangers, create conditions in which perpetrators can abuse children to whom they are close. Myths that girls make up stories of sexual abuse create an environment in which children are not believed. And sexualized images of young girls and teenagers in the media create a society in which "sexy" portrayals of children are considered normal and even appealing. Silencing messages such as "children should be seen and not heard" need to be challenged. And above all, society must speak with a collective voice that any behavior that leads to the sexual abuse of children is unacceptable.

See also Intimate Partner Violence; Sex Trafficking; Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment.

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CHILDCARE

Controversies concerning childcare in the United States, which center on who should take responsibility, have moved in and out of the spotlight for more than 150 years. Social and moral issues concerning appropriate childcare are motivated primarily by the dilemma of public versus private responsibility for the well-being of children.

BACKGROUND

Although many people may believe that the issue of childcare is relatively new, this issue has been part of our national landscape for quite some time. In fact, the first recorded formal daycare began in 1854 in New York City (Rose 1999). At that time, these centers were called "day nurseries." The nurseries were modeled after the formal French daycare centers called *crèches*. The primary purpose of the day nurseries was centered on issues of child neglect as opposed to a childcare service. In the beginning, day nurseries were not federally funded ventures and instead tended to be funded by settlement houses and local service agencies.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, however, childcare use and offerings were greatly expanded as part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) (Rose 1999). The major purpose for the inclusion of childcare under WPA was to create jobs—in this case, jobs as childcare workers. An even bigger expansion of childcare occurred in 1943 under the Lanham Act. This expansion was necessary because of the incredible increase of women in the workforce during World

War II. Because childcare offerings weren't readily available during this era, the federal government funded more than 3,000 daycare centers for approximately 60,000 children as part of this act. This expansion of childcare extended to private business as well. During World War II, for example, the Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation in Oregon was the first known employer-sponsored childcare offering. This offering consisted of two daycare centers that operated 24 hours a day. When the war ended, so did the need for women in the workforce; thus childcare services greatly decreased at that time.

The 1950s decade brought with it a continued allegiance to a more traditional mother's role—that is, one that is primarily focused on raising children. The 1950s ideology was questioned beginning in the 1960s, however, when a more liberal view of women's roles prevailed. At that time, more women were entering the workforce and that in turn influenced the amount of childcare that was necessary. Since the 1960s, childcare offerings and use have increased dramatically. This is so even in light of the demise of the first Comprehensive Child Development Bill in 1971. This bill would have authorized more than $2 billion specifically for childcare services. President Nixon vetoed the bill stating that, "for the Federal Government to plunge headlong financially into supporting childcare development would commit the vast moral authority of the National Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing" (Robertson 2003, 7). Despite the President Nixon veto in 1971, both federal and state governance have been major contributors to childcare definitions, regulations, finance, and structure.

WHAT IS CHILDCARE?

Typically, childcare is defined as care provided for children by those who are not the children's parents/guardians. Most often, the caregiving work for children is financially compensated. The federal government has attached an age requirement for its definition of childcare that spans from birth through 12 years of age. The age category specifies eligibility of childcare subsidy and tax credits regulated at the federal level.

Childcare structure occurs in several differing arrangements: relative care, daycare center care, family daycare, and in-home care. Relative care is care provided by a family member outside the immediate family, most often by the grandmother of the child. Even though the grandparent or other family relative may be a blood relative to the child, financial compensation may still be part of the arrangement. In the past, relative care had been the most utilized style of childcare arrangement. Today, daycare centers are the most common style of childcare used.

A daycare center arrangement is care provided by a nonrelative that occurs in a public setting much like a school setting. In fact, daycare centers are often part of school systems but also can be part of a workplace setting, as well as a freestanding facility. The increased popularity of daycare center care is due in part to the education environment it commonly offers. Traditionally, daycare centers deliver childcare services to a large number of children of wide-ranging ages. Because daycare centers normally operate as a business venture, that is, occurring

in a public setting and with a trained and fully compensated staff, daycare centers tend to be described as the most reliable style of childcare arrangement.

Family daycare offerings are commonly located in the childcare provider's home. Normally, a family daycare provider serves as few as one child but usually not more than six children because of licensing regulations. Family daycare tends to be used by families with younger children because the setting is considered more "homelike" than the more institutionalized form found in daycare centers. Thus the transition for very young children from home to daycare, it is reasoned, will be somewhat less stressful, as the care setting tends to be similar to a child's own home.

In-home childcare is the least used style of childcare arrangement mainly because it is the most expensive form. In-home childcare is care by a nonrelative that occurs in the child's home. This style of arrangement is also commonly known as care performed by a nanny or au pair. The childcare provider provides care to a single child or family of siblings. Babysitting is not included in formal childcare arrangements, as babysitting services are more likely those that are retained while a parent is involved in errands or other functions not associated with the workplace.

Another area used to describe childcare is based on licensing status. Childcare is regulated by individual states. Although some subsidies originate from the federal government, each state sets standards for childcare delivery usually in the form of childcare licensure. The states use regulation standards through the licensing of childcare providers. The issue at hand is that much childcare exists in an "underground" fashion, that is, as unlicensed. Estimations of unlicensed childcare in the United States range from 50 percent to as high as 80 percent (Clark-Stewart & Allhusen 2005). Because unlicensed childcare is virtually impossible to detect and thus regulate, issues such as child safety and the quality of care they receive are major concerns. Beyond the issue of licensing, a crucial component of childcare involves the responsibility of caregiving.

OPPOSITIONAL TERRAINS

The private responsibility debate suggests that children are best cared for within the "family," preferably when the mother provides the hands-on daily care of her child(ren) (Robertson 2003). The assumption is that the rearing of children is a private matter and caregiving is a natural purview of women generally and of mothers specifically. This ideology stems from the concept of, the "cult of true womanhood." Here, women's highest calling is rooted in caregiving. That is, to be a woman means caregiving and that in turn means mothering.

Arguments supporting the private responsibility debate often center on the issue of children's developmental health. This focus claims that children are likely harmed developmentally in daycare settings. For example, children may have higher levels of aggressive behavior such as bullying or classroom disruptions when they have spent more time in daycare (Robertson 2003). This perspective originates from infant attachment theory posited by John Bowlby in 1951 in his highly influential work, *Maternal Care and Mental Health.* His work suggested that these harmful behaviors are found in children who have not had adequate

THE COLUMBINE HIGH SCHOOL SHOOTINGS: A CASE FOR STAY-AT-HOME PARENTAL CHILDCARE

Unsupervised children indulged by affluent parents is a recipe for disaster, and disaster is exactly what transpired at Columbine High School. Opponents of daycare suggest that it was precisely this combination that was the root cause for the Columbine atrocity. Klebold and Harris came from homes where both parents worked outside the home, with the boys enjoying considerable autonomy and freedom. Although warning signs existed about the upcoming shootings, such as the videotapes explaining the plans, fascination with violent video games, and reports from school authorities about the boys' aggressive and threatening behavior, these signs appeared to go unnoticed by their parents. Harris's voice on a video saying, "thank God my parents never searched my room," offers support to these allegations of inattentive parenting. Moreover, Klebold describes a great deal of anger surrounding daycare experiences such as being teased and mocked. These experiences continued and were magnified during high school, and interestingly he pens an essay in his creative writing class about a daycare center in hell that was operated by Satan (Robertson 2003). Examples such as these contribute to the private responsibility debate whose proponents contend that often the investment in a dual-career family occurs at the expense of children because little time exists to properly attend to the monitoring and well-being of children.

opportunities to bond with their mothers because the children are in daycare settings instead of at home with their mothers.

The public responsibility debate centers on the notion that children are the collective responsibility of communities, states, and of the entire nation. Collective responsibility extends to the social, political, educational, and economical realm. Thus this perspective suggests that childrearing is akin to education. Whereas education is funded and regulated at both the state and national level, so also should childcare. This ideology gained momentum and notoriety with Hillary Clinton's book, *It Takes a Village.* (1996).

Clinton (1996) argued that to create a strong and thriving nation, communities must be fully committed to children in every sense. Moreover, families need support and resources to grow strong children who are contributing members of our society. Applied to the issue of childcare, the contention is that childcare must be made available and financed so that children are not left unsupervised and are not subjected to substandard childcare venues. Thus as part of our societal offerings and commitment to children, childcare needs to be widely available, of high quality, and affordable.

CHILDCARE AND MEDIA INFLUENCE

Although both the public and the private responsibility debate have merit, these dichotomous perspectives have been reduced to a clash between working and stay-at-home mothers. This controversial and very public debate, however, encompasses the much more complex issue of, what is women's proper role in society?

Perhaps one of the best examples of this clash is one that played out in the media in the 1990s. The case of Jennifer Ireland garnered national attention and the media spotlight after she gave birth to her daughter when she was a 16-year-old high school student (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-Dupont 1997). The father of the child, Steven Smith, was also a high school student. After graduating from high school, Ireland was a recipient of a college scholarship at the University of Michigan. In 1993, Ireland attended the university and at that time enrolled her daughter in the university-affiliated daycare center. In 1994, Smith sued Ireland for custody of the child, claiming that she was an unfit mother. Part of the claim centered on the assertion that Ireland was more interested in her academic career than in her daughter because she chose to put her child in daycare while she attended to her studies.

Initially, Smith won the case. Smith, who also was attending college, resided with his parents, explaining that his mother would provide care for his daughter while he worked and attended classes. The judge, Raymond Cachen, agreeing with Smith, concluded that a child, "raised and supervised by blood relations" as opposed to being "supervised a great part of the day by strangers" would be the better arrangement for the youngster (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-Dupont 1997). A public uproar ensued over the decision. Allegations of a backlash against women, specifically career women, were declared. A year later, the decision was overturned on appeal. The *Ireland v. Smith* case brought the daycare debate into the media spotlight, as well as into public discourse.

A precursor to the Ireland case, the McMartin Preschool scandal likely wielded considerable influence in the original Ireland decision, as well as to public opinion surrounding the issue of childcare. This case was first filed in 1983 with allegations of sexual abuse of a child while the child attended the McMartin Preschool/daycare center (Douglas and Michaels 2004). The case grew from abuse of a single child to more than 125 children, with accusations extending from torture and satanism to secret tunnels existing beneath the daycare facility. The children's silence surrounding the abuse was allegedly coerced through the viewing of atrocities such as cutting the ears off live rabbits, smashing baby turtles, and beating a horse to death. Children reported abuse over an approximate 10-year span and/or including many members of the McMartin family in their allegations. After a lengthy trial, the allegations were found to be unsubstantiated, and the case was dropped by 1990 after an unsuccessful retrial. The impact of the unsupported allegations of nightmarish and perverse atrocities against young children lingered in the media and likely in many parents' minds as well. Since the McMartin case, cadres of other similar daycare abuse cases have been played out in the media and consequently on a national platform. Some of the claims were certainly founded, but many others were reported to be pure fabrication. The media influence of the McMartin and Ireland cases, in part, explains the hypervisibility of childcare. To have a full understanding of childcare issues, however, an overview of the challenges families face in the provision of care for their children is necessary.

CHILDCARE CHALLENGES

Formalized childcare has often been described as a "patchwork" system of caring for children. This description of childcare is used because there is no formal or comprehensive style of caring for children outside of the immediate family. Parents, especially mothers, often feel immense frustration, as few options and conversely many gaps exist in securing childcare. For example, oftentimes, licensed childcare simply does not exist after 6 P.M. This can be an insurmountable problem for women whose work hours do not fit the typical 9-to-5 workday.

The securing of infant care can also add to the challenge of childcare. Normally, infant care is quite time intensive for providers, and they must subsequently reduce their childcare load to care for an infant. Because of this situation, providers are less likely to engage in infant childcare, as they can earn higher incomes caring for toddlers and preschoolers. The very issue of childcare cost continues to add to the challenges of childcare. The cost of caring for children is staggering. For a single child in 2003, full-time childcare costs averaged $4,000 to $6,000 per year and is significantly higher for infant care (Clark-Stewart and Allhusen 2005).

The issues of childcare gaps presented here, as well as childcare cost generally, create the market for unlicensed childcare that currently exists. Although many parents may feel they have no other options than to use unlicensed childcare, it is important to note that unlicensed childcare is not eligible for childcare subsidies or tax credits. A parent, for example, may use a licensed daycare center for one child and unlicensed care for her infant because either licensed care is not available or is too expensive. Because daycare centers typically do not offer services beyond 6 P.M., the same mother may also need to employ yet another person to pick up the childcare slack should her workday extend beyond 6 P.M. As mothers "patch" together many different styles of childcare to successfully complete their childcare needs, the patchwork system will likely be less stable and can be

THE DEVALUING OF PUBLIC CHILDCARE

It is surprising that childcare provider pay is among the lowest of all professions given the fact that childcare cost is often described as exorbitant. In fact, it is commonplace for childcare providers to earn wages far below poverty rates. Gas station attendants, zoo employees whose primary job is feeding animals, and bank employees responsible for counting money command higher wages than do childcare providers. These startling examples provide motivation for childcare providers to seek other employment out of financial desperation. Provider turnover rates are estimated to be 30 percent (Clark-Stewart and Allhusen 2005). This rate is among the highest of all professions and more than four times that of teachers. Many childcare experts caution, however, that what we call turnover, children experience as loss. Thus turnover represents the loss of someone who is important in the lives of children, to whom children may have developed an important emotional attachment.

prone to last-minute cancellations and changes. In the previous example, only one of the three arrangements need to fail, causing her to scramble to locate another last-minute arrangement. The alternative is that the working mother misses work, which also may translate to less money—money that is likely critical to the maintenance of the family.

The patchwork system of childcare provision is a compelling one, but proponents of stay-at-home parental childcare suggest that the struggle is rooted in how federal government organizes tax subsidies. At issue is the increasing of options to families as opposed to increasing the offerings of formal childcare. This perspective focuses on working parents' discomfort with formalized childcare, despite their uneasiness, feel forced to participate in a dual-career formulation. Instead, they seek financially viable opportunities as an avenue to providing daily care for their children (Robertson 2003).

The challenge becomes an economic one for families who prefer stay-at-home parental childcare. To begin addressing this concern, it is proposed that corporations should be encouraged to provide family-friendly policies such as flextime, part-time, and job-sharing options, as well as priority scheduling and telecommuting opportunities for parents. These offerings would provide families with choices to be able to construct workdays that promote direct caregiving to their children.

Moreover, the government can continue to increase options by raising the personal exemption allowance. This would reduce the tax burden on families, thereby allowing for one parent to remain at home to care for children. A more direct measure would include the expansion of the dependent care tax credit to extend beyond families who use formal childcare to parents who provide stay-at-home parental childcare. Currently, subsidy exists only for families who use formal childcare and this, it is argued, occurs at the expense of stay-at-home parents. Thus the organization of tax subsidy literally compels families to pay others to care for their children.

CONCLUSION

Whether, "it takes a village" or a "stay-at-home mom" and exactly what serves the best interests of children are still unknown. How children may be hindered developmentally or helped educationally is a controversy with a long history. The debate over public versus private responsibility to children will likely continue to be portrayed in the media and pondered within the home. As families continue to grapple with this issue, it is likely that communities, states, and the federal government will as well. Nonetheless, the struggle over women's appropriate role in contemporary society remains an active site of contention for all Americans.

See also Child Custody and Parental Rights; Family Values; Fatherhood Initiatives.

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Lori McNeil

COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

The interrelated processes and discourses of colonialism and imperialism have been viewed by some as empowering to women and by others as oppressive. Current debates concerning the effects of colonialism and imperialism on women involve whether women benefit economically, politically, and/or socially from the material and ideological effects of these historical relationships between rich and poor countries and between the East and West.

BACKGROUND

The terms *colonialism* and *imperialism* are often used interchangeably to refer to the various forms of political, economic, and cultural control by a greater power over less powerful territories. These terms are typically used to describe a period beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, when the industrializing European nations and the United States colonized the nonindustrialized territories and directly ruled their indigenous populations in an attempt to secure access to cheap resources and labor and markets for manufactured products. By and large, these formal colonial empires broke up after World War II. Because the former colonial powers have still maintained their dominance on the world stage, albeit often through less direct mechanisms such as political influence, threat of military intervention, and various forms of economic leverage, however, the concepts of imperialism and colonialism are still relevant today. Many authors use the terms *neoimperialism* and *neocolonialism* to refer to this continued, less formal domination of the West over many parts of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Of particular concern to analysts of neoimperialism in the latter half of the twentieth century is the role that Western and particularly U.S.-based multinational corporations play in controlling the economic fate of many areas in the global South.

In addition to being a synonym for imperialism, the term *colonialism* also refers specifically to cultural misrepresentations regarding the superiority of the West and corresponding backwardness of all other regions. Colonialism often relies on racist and ethnocentric ideas that place Europeans at the highest level

of civilization and all other peoples on a lower rung on the hierarchy as a result of their supposed natural, social, technological, and/or cultural deficiencies. Such Eurocentric portrayals have more often than not served as implicit justification for Western imperial ambitions. The "backwardness" of the nonindustrial territories was generally seen by Europeans as fueling "barbaric" social practices and economic inefficiencies. People in these territories could be saved from these ills, it was argued, only through direct contact with the civilized West via colonization. This salvation narrative of superiority, in which colonialism becomes a civilizing mission, relies on exaggerated and essentialized notions of difference between the colonizing and colonized regions. For instance Edward Said, a well-known scholar of colonialism and cultural imperialism, states that colonial ideas often portray the non-West as the backward, irrational, weak Other that can be contrasted with, and needs to be saved by, the liberated, rational and strong West (Said 1978). This dualistic formation, Said emphasizes, exaggerates both the backwardness of the non-West and liberation and rationality in the West in ways that fail to capture colonial realities.

Without question, the various economic, political, and cultural mechanisms of imperialism and colonialism have had an enormous impact on women's lives. Yet until recently, the gendered aspects of imperialism have been absent from most historical, economic, and cultural analyses. Most scholars were preoccupied with male domains and experiences and did not consider questions of women and empire. Thankfully, since the 1980s, a number of feminist studies have begun to explore the complex relations between gender and imperialism (e.g., Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992; McClintock, Mufti, and Shohat, 1997; Midgely 1998). This feminist work offers insight into the gender implications of imperial power, especially how colonial practices rearranged gender relations and affected women's social status. It examines how gender relations played a special role in framing the West's civilizing mission. It pays attention to the intersections of gender with race, ethnicity, and class across various sites of imperial encounters. It looks at how exploitative relations of neoimperialism continue to affect women's lives in the global South. It also challenges contemporary colonial scripts that portray non-Western women as victims of cultural backwardness who need salvation from the supposedly more civilized Western societies.

GENDER RELATIONS IN THE COLONIES AND IMPERIALISM'S CIVILIZING MISSION

As many observers have noted, the economic goal of direct forms of imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was aimed at controlling the resources, labor, and markets of colonial territories. But concerns about unequal gender relations in those territories were often used to legitimize colonization, and a discussion of these concerns provides a good entry point for understanding the impact of imperialism on women. Colonial administrations explicitly targeted gender relations in many of their policies and laws, and debates about how to best "save" colonized women from "savage" men's treatment of them raged in many European and American social circles (Enloe 2000, 27).

One example of how this civilizing mission played out can be seen in the ways that the British colonial administration attempted to transform gender relations in India. Among many nineteenth-century British social reformers, the comparative lack of women's rights in India implied that it was in need of Britain's civilizing influence through colonization. As British political economist James Mill wrote in *History of India,* "among rude people the women are generally degraded, among civilized people they are exalted" (Mill 1817, cited in Enloe 2000, 48). Descriptions of patriarchal practices such as *sati,* in which Hindu widows from a relatively small segment of Indian society immolated themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, shocked Victorian sensibilities. These limited events were turned into a practice associated with all of India, and thus served as the moral ground on which the civilizing mission of empire could be launched. As outsiders, the British portrayed themselves as interceding on behalf of Indian women, and, as feminist scholar Gayatri Spivak so famously put it, saw themselves engaged in a colonial project of "saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak 1985, 121).

The changes in legislation put in place by British and other colonial administrations to achieve this civilizing mission certainly resulted in a reorganization of gender relations, although not always in the direction of increased rights for women. For example, the British colonial state at first refused to ban the practice of *sati,* claiming that it was based in Hindu religious texts and thus beyond law. *Sati* was then made illegal in 1829, but this law was rarely enforced, and later in the century, the practice was decriminalized (Mani 1999). British officials also passed legislation that raised the age of legally permissible sex for girls from 10 to 12 years old, gave women some inheritance rights, and allowed widows to remarry (Midgely 1998). But laws were also enacted that imposed a system of prostitution so that British soldiers would have access to sexual relations with Indian women, and that gave prison sentences for those wives who refused to meet their marital sexual obligations (Enloe 2000, 49).

Further, the passing of these laws often turned on debates between male colonizers and anticolonial traditionalists in which the subjects of law—the women themselves—were marginalized. For example, debates about *sati* between British administrators and Indian traditionalists before 1829 turned on whether this practice was sanctioned by Hindu scripture, and not on the rights of women as human beings (Mani 1999).

Laws enacted to "save brown women from brown men" in other colonial contexts also failed to take local women's desires and concerns into account, which often resulted in policies that did not necessarily benefit or liberate colonized women. For instance, when the French colonized Algeria in the 1830s, part of their self-declared civilizing mission involved outlawing the veil (Hélie-Lucas 1987). During the late nineteenth-century colonization of Egypt by Britain, colonial officials, often supported by male and female reformers back home, also challenged the practice of veiling, but to use a more correct term, *hijab. Hijab* literally translates into "modesty" but generally refers to a woman covering her hair and/or face with a scarf or other covering. In both the Algerian and Egyptian cases, the needs and desires of the colonized

women themselves were marginalized. For instance, European women who incorrectly denounced "the veil" as representing the depravity of the harem rarely took the time to find out about the thoughts and lives of colonized women. Further, despite not yet having the vote or other basic political rights themselves, these European women often traded in misrepresentations of the meaning behind *hijab* in ways that portrayed themselves as free and powerful vis-à-vis Algerian and Egyptian women (Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992). Ultimately, the more that colonizers attempted to ban *hijab* in the name of promoting civilization in Algeria and Egypt, the harder it was for colonized women to control debates around the practice. Instead, the Europeans created a reaction in which local anticolonial elites became increasingly focused on controlling women's behavior in an attempt to preserve threatened traditions. Women who did go into public with their heads uncovered were made to seem complicit with the imperialist project (Enloe 2000, 53). Thus although the stated goal of colonial reforms was to increase women's rights, these reforms often failed for various reasons. They did not accurately understand the nature of gender relations in the colonized territories, preferring instead to trade in crude stereotypes that mostly served to make European women look liberated in contrast to these Others. And they also failed because they did not take the actual desires and goals of local women into account in the creation of laws and policies (Ahmed 1992).

Nonetheless, the attempts by colonizing forces to civilize local populations and "save brown women from brown men" continue to have an enormous impact on women's lives in the former colonies to this day. As local elites began to challenge colonization through independence movements in the early to mid-twentieth century, and then set up postcolonial states, responding to the colonizers' views of the "proper" role of women became a central concern. Sometimes, postcolonial elites would rearticulate the European civilizing mission. For instance, India borrowed language from the British and recriminalizing *sati* (Mani 1999). Iran and Turkey maintained the colonial ban on women wearing *hijab* to show that they were modern, "civilized" countries. Just as common, though, were postcolonial movements that called for women's return to "traditional" roles, and highlighted the need to defend traditional gender roles against the degradation of outside forces. In nearly all cases, moving from colonial rule to postcolonial self-rule often encompassed a "complex inter-relationship of contest and collusion between indigenous patriarchal norms and those held by administrators" (Sangari and Vaid 1993, 7). Women have a particularly hard time challenging some of these calls to return to so-called traditional gender roles when they are posed as if traditions are immutable, when in fact traditions are often contested and/or reinvented activities. Further, when women do ask for more social justice, they are often told that they are importing a Western ideology and thus reproducing the former social relations of colonization. In this manner, the colonial civilizing mission did not lay the groundwork for women's emancipation as much as it made the context of feminist struggle more difficult to navigate in the colonies and former colonies.

THE IMPACT OF IMPERIALISM ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STATUS IN THE COLONIES

In contrast to the Europeans' stated goal of improving gender relations in the colonies, much of the feminist research on this topic shows that imperialism often exacerbated or created gender inequalities. For example, the Seneca tribe in what is now western New York, USA, was one in which women had a great deal of power. But when North America was colonized, this power waned because the Europeans refused to trade with women, thus giving Seneca men exclusive access to the increasingly important money economy (Rothenberg 1980). In parts of southern Africa, the inculcation of European norms of femininity and family organization through religious and/or cultural indoctrination decreased the power that women had obtained through matrilineal notions of kinship (Ferguson 1999). In West Africa, the assignment of formerly communally held land rights to men by colonial administrators decreased women's control over food production and distribution (Leacock and Etienne 1980). In Dutch colonies in Indonesia, colonial administrators decreased local women's access to economic means so that they would be available to serve as prostitutes to local plantation workers, and concubines to Dutch migrant workers. Often, plantation companies would hire women at half the rates paid to men, which was not enough to meet their needs, in an explicit attempt to give them incentives to provide sexual services to male plantation workers. This was done by design and not by accident, for the Dutch believed that local men would not do plantation work if they were not provided with female sexual services. Concubinage occurred through a similar mechanism, and was planned by local administrators to meet migrant workers' sexual and domestic needs in a time when few Dutch women were willing to migrate to the new colonies. Not only did concubinage meet the sexual needs of the migrant workers from the Netherlands, but it allowed the plantation companies to keep salaries of these workers low because the local women did domestic work that the Dutch would have otherwise had to pay for (Stoler 1997). These practices were justified through a colonial script in which the Indonesian were portrayed as less civilized than the Dutch. As one writer on the colonies in Indonesia put it, using local women to meet sexual needs was a "necessary evil" that involved no emotional attachments, because for Indonesian women, "the meaning of our word 'love' is entirely unknown" (Ritter 1856, cited in Stoler 1997, 368).

Even when European women did migrate to the colonies, there was a steady demand for domestic servants, and many local women worked as servants or nannies in the homes of European settlers. These relationships were hardly the ground on which alliances could be built between European women and local women, however. Indeed, the relationship was often based on, and maintained, an exaggerated notion of difference and power among women, in which the European woman was the civilized, respectable feminine ideal to which the colonized domestic servant might aspire but could never quite reach. European women often treated local women as childlike creatures who, despite many attempts at instruction regarding the proper way to make tea, raise children, or

set a table would never be able to grasp the trappings of civilization. In fact, as feminist political scientist Cynthia Enloe puts it, this "paternalistic relationship between the white mistress and her local servants was frequently held up as an example of what the colonizing mission was all about" (Enloe 2000, 182). Further, there was much at stake in maintaining the differences of class and race that separated the European women from the local women who worked as servants in their homes. Such cultural codes and practices have had an effect on relationships between women of European descent and local women in the colonies to the present day. For example, many women in South Africa are still trying to negotiate and overcome the power differentials that were constructed through the paternalistic "black maid/white madam" relationships that were first developed under colonialism (Enloe 2000, 182).

IMPERIALISM, NEOIMPERIALISM, AND WOMEN'S LABOR

When tracing the broad contours of how women's labor has been used for economic gain in colonial and neocolonial regimes, and how this has affected women's lives, a couple of points stand out. First, women's subsistence work was often exploited by the colonial administration to keep wages of male laborers low. Thus there was pressure to maintain this subsistence economy, even as there was the counterpressure of the profit motive to integrate women into the market system and make them wage workers. This issue was first raised in the early twentieth century in Rosa Luxemburg's theory of imperialism with regard to how the peasantry in general served as a source of cheap nonwage goods and a market for capitalist products (Luxemburg 1913). But while Luxemburg considered only a nongendered category of peasants, later theorists showed how the subsistence labor of women in particular was at times viewed as essential to the profitability of empire. For example, Maria Mies, in an essay in the book *Women: The Last Colony,* emphasizes how colonizers relied on women's noncapitalist subsistence activities such as raising food and caring labor in the household. Using case studies from India, she argues that imperialism often increases sexism and ideas about "women's rightful place in the home" to maintain access to this subsistence and caring labor, often negatively affecting women's overall economic well-being (Mies, Von Werlhof, and Bennholdt-Thomsen 1988). Thus Mies et al. argue that neither class relations nor patriarchy alone is the dominant oppression for women in the colonies and former colonies, and advocate for an anti-imperialist feminist struggle that can confront both issues simultaneously.

A second major point is that processes of neoimperialism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have included capital expansion in which women were often targeted as the "ideal workers" in the new multinational factories. Since the 1970s, multinational firms have increasingly relocated production from Europe and the United States to Asia and Latin America. Many of the jobs in these factories consist of labor-intensive assembly work, and most of the workers in these plants are women. This transnational dispersion of production is often viewed through the lens of imperialism (or neoimperialism) because U.S.- and European-based corporations have relocated to these regions to take

advantage of low-wage labor. Further, they are often able to use their greater power (and the greater power of their governments) to sidestep environmental, health, minimum wage, and other labor regulations in these countries. Because the spread of multinational capital involves political, economic, and cultural control by a greater power over less powerful actors on the world stage, and because it represents an attempt to secure access to cheap resources and labor, many analysts refer to it as a phase of economic imperialism, albeit a less formal one in the sense that these other countries are not directly ruled by Western nations.

The impact of multinational corporations and factory work on women's lives is context dependent. Although the increased availability of jobs in the regions where these factories relocate is often touted as an opportunity that women can use to improve their lives, the evidence shows mixed results. Research on the Caribbean and Latin America suggest that it is the low wages of women that attract multinational firms, and that these firms work in concert with local governments and local male elites to maintain low wages for women (Safa 1995). When factories first moved to many parts of Southeast Asia, women's wages were 20 to 50 percent lower than men's for comparable jobs in these factories, even in cases where male productivity is lower (Elson and Pearson 1981, 148). Feminists who research women's experience as workers in multinational firms often emphasize the powerful role of patriarchal and colonial assumptions that non-Western women are less skilled and thus deserve a lower wage, and contend that these assumptions, in concert with unequal power relations on the world stage, play a large role in women's low pay and economic exploitation.

In addition to providing a source of cheap labor, non-Western women are attractive to multinational firms because of colonial and patriarchal assumptions that they are more dexterous and docile than men (or for that matter, Western women). For instance, a brochure created by the Malaysian government to entice multinational corporations to locate in their country states that "the manual dexterity of the oriental woman is famous the world over. Her hands are small, and she works fast with extreme care" (cited in Elson and Pearson 1981, 149). The biased assumption here is that Asian women are more suited to tedious, delicate, and/or repetitive work. It is also believed that these women will be more passive and less likely to complain because of their docility; however, the supposed docility of these women has been challenged by a number of studies. Aihwa Ong's study of Malaysian factory workers is one of the most well-known of these. She recounts the manner in which these women gained control over the pace of their work by claiming that their machines were possessed by spirits and telling the Western managers that they had to shut down the machines to eliminate these spirits through time-consuming rituals, which was analogous to a sit-down strike (Ong 1987). Ong's study provides not only a challenge to colonial stereotypes of passive Asian women but also a reminder that women's forms of resistance can be multiple and varied.

There has been significant debate over whether the expansion of capital across borders has improved the lives of non-Western women. Does working in a factory in a multinational corporation increase women's exploitation, or

does it make them better off? Has the spread of capital and with it certain Western cultural norms increased women's freedoms, or has it led to a decline in women's access to resources and power? These questions lie at the heart of every analysis of neoimperialism and its impact on women. They also echo debates about imperialism and neoimperialism more generally, in which some theorists say that progress is moved forward by contact with capitalism and the West, and others say the opposite (Brewer 1990). Many feminist economists believe that the movement of women out of nonwage work and into the capitalist labor market is their best hope for fighting gender oppression by gaining income and thus leverage in the home (e.g., Kabeer 1994). Once women are integrated into the labor market, it is argued, then the system of patriarchal domination will break down. Some studies bear this out. For example, anthropologist Helen Safa reports that women factory workers in export manufacturing firms in the Caribbean use their earnings to bargain for increased authority within the household (Safa 1995). Other studies demonstrate that different outcomes can occur. Social scientist Fauzia Ahmed's research in Bangladesh shows that factory work does not increase women's bargaining power at home, but it does increase their overall exploitation (Ahmed 2004).

Anthropologist Maria Patricia Fernández-Kelly's (1983) landmark study of women factory workers in Mexico in the early 1980s provides an account in which multinational capital can be shown to affect women's lives in complex and contradictory ways. These workers face long hours and terrible working conditions, and are offered little in terms of job security. They take the jobs, however, because many of them are single mothers and they have few other opportunities. This lack of other options certainly makes them vulnerable to exploitative labor practices in the factories. At the same time, however, they are able to break free of sometimes stifling patriarchal relations by having access to their own income. They are also able to develop a sense of solidarity by working together, which provides a base to challenge male authority in the plant and in their communities. Considering the complex interactions between capitalism, patriarchy, and imperial and colonial processes that are possible, then, many researchers contend that it would be best to examine the effects these have on women on a case-by-case basis, locating where it intensifies gender oppression in some cases, challenges it in others, and transforms it in still others (e.g., Elson and Pearson 1981; Mohanty 1991). Others have added the insight that attention must be paid to how neoimperialism has differing effects on different groups of women in a particular region, for instance benefiting upper class women in Mexico City while decreasing the well-being of very poor women (Benería and Roldan 1987).

COLONIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF NON-WESTERN WOMEN AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

A final issue regarding colonialism's impact is the existence of colonial stereotypes about non-Western women that continue to circulate within, and inform, contemporary power relations on a global scale. As discussed previously, the politics of representing non-Western women as passive victims in need of

salvation from the West is part of a long history of colonialism. Unfortunately, such stereotypes continue to have salience, even in some feminist circles. For instance, many political and social reformers who are concerned about women's human rights around the globe portray the average non-Western woman as poor, backwards, and a victim of tradition. Anticolonial feminist scholar Chandra Talpade Mohanty has provided a well-known challenge to these representations by showing that they are produced by a colonial mindset that defines these women as the oppressed Other to the supposedly liberated Western woman (Mohanty 1991). Mohanty argues for an alternative analytical framework that begins with recognition of colonial misrepresentations in order to avoid them. She also calls for an appreciation of the heterogeneity of women's experiences in both the West and the non-West, particularly as this would call into question the dualistic framework of West/liberated, non-West/victim. Mohanty also stresses the importance of recognizing non-Western women's capabilities and strengths in providing solutions to their own problems, instead of having these solutions imposed on them (Mohanty 1991).

A particularly salient example of how colonial representations of non-Western women still circulate and affect global politics, and why Mohanty's pleas are important, is in how Afghan women have been represented in the United States by politicians and the news media, particularly after the events of 9/11. As many people know, Afghan women did suffer significant limits and oppressive violations to their basic human rights under the regimes of the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance in the early 1990s, and later under the Taliban. Far fewer are aware, however, that there has been an organized feminist struggle in Afghanistan against these human rights abuses by groups such as the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). This lack of awareness is at least in part due to colonial representations of Afghan women as victims that need to be saved, which downplays and marginalizes the role of these groups and their struggles. For example, in the late 1990s, RAWA became frustrated with some well-known feminist organizations in the United States such as the Feminist Majority, which argued for Western intervention in Afghanistan to save Afghan women, even offering a roadmap of what that intervention should look like, but gave no credit or recognition to RAWA (Farrell and McDermott 2006). A few weeks after the events of 9/11, the arguments made by these U.S. feminist groups were used in a radio address by first lady Laura Bush as a legitimating source for why the United States needed to pursue aggressive foreign policy in Afghanistan: "Civilized people throughout the world are speaking out in horror not only because our hearts break for the women and children in Afghanistan, but also because in Afghanistan we see the world the terrorists would like to impose on the rest of us" (cited in Farrell and McDermott 2006, 49). Here we see a return to the binary in which the West must undertake a civilizing mission to save non-Western women. There is much that is lost in such binary thinking, including any recognition of Afghan women's own needs and desires, or the fact that Afghan women were already actively fighting back, and, in the words of RAWA, needed "money and moral support, not instructions" (RAWA 1994, cited in Farrell and McDermott 2006, 33).

CONCLUSION

As these examples illustrate, it is difficult to claim that colonialism and impe-rialism are entirely "good" or "bad" for women, although many scholars high-light the negative impacts of these processes and ideologies on women's lives. As long as there continue to be daunting inequalities between rich and poor coun-tries, poor women in particular will continue to be vulnerable to changes in the global economy, and so long as poor and/or "non-Western" countries are seen as inferior to the industrialized West, conflicts will continue regarding the various consequences of these global political and economic arrangements.

See also Gender and Globalization: Free Trade Zones; Gender and Globaliza-tion: Trends and Debates; Gender and International Development.

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Suzanne Bergeron

COMPARABLE WORTH

Comparable worth as a means to bring pay equity to women in the workplace has been controversial since it began to be broadly discussed in the 1980s. Supporters believe that pay equity between men and women for jobs performed predominately by women will be achieved only through the use of intervention strategies like comparable worth. Opponents argue that comparable worth is an inefficient model that interferes with the marketplace and actually results in a loss of jobs for women workers.

BACKGROUND

Comparable worth strategies are based on the notion of "equal pay for equal work." First proposed by policymakers, politicians, and activists in the late 1970s and early 1980s, comparable worth is based on the belief that when jobs filled mostly by women, such as childcare, cleaning hotel rooms, and secretarial help, pay lower wages than jobs filled mostly by men, such as janitorial work, truck driving, or meat packing, policies should be put into place to ensure that wages are equal and the gender gap in pay is eliminated. As national studies have demonstrated, professional, skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled labor jobs that are disproportionately held by men earn significantly more money then professional, skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled labor jobs that are disproportionately held by women (Sorensen 1994). Enacting comparable worth policies is seen as a way to end discrimination in pay between men and women and to finally close the gender pay gap.

If comparable worth policies were enacted, employers would be obligated to pay wages based on the *worth* of a job. Worth could be determined in several ways but most likely happens through studies that evaluate job attributes, skills, work conditions, and educational requirements that would determine the worth of the labor being supplied to the workforce. For example, janitors and hotel maids may be deemed to be comparable worth positions and therefore should receive equal pay or women's and men's basketball coaches at universities should receive equal pay for doing jobs of comparable worth for their universities.

THE GENDER WAGE GAP AND COMPARABLE WORTH

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, in 2003 women earned 75.5 cents to every dollar earned by men, based on median annual earnings of full-time men and women workers. In 1988, the wage gap was approximately 70 cents to the dollar. The latest statistics show that as of 2005, the gap was 77.1 cents (Institute for Women's Policy Research 2007). Progress to completely close the wage gap has stalled and research indicates that progress made toward pay equity in recent years has been the result of men's wage increases slowing at a faster rate than women's. It seems that market forces have not been able to achieve what opponents of comparable worth had hoped, that if the market was left alone, as more women entered the workforce, the gender wage gap would close.

Washington state passed a law in 1983 that required all state jobs to achieve comparable worth by 1993. By 1992, when the U.S. General Accounting Office evaluated the program, almost 60,000 employees had been classified into more than 3,000 jobs. The evaluation determined that in lower-paying female-dominated positions, the gender wage gap improved from 80 to 90 percent. In higher paying jobs the gap closed very little.

THE DEBATE: FOR AND AGAINST COMPARABLE WORTH

Supporters of comparable worth argue that the gender pay gap is a result of discrimination and cannot be closed without corrective strategies that are imposed on a gender-biased labor force system, either through government regulation or voluntary participation. Comparable worth would not only help to close the gender wage gap but it would also raise the value of women's work instead of pushing women into male-dominated work places (Blum 1991). Blum argues that in contrast to affirmative action policies, which she views as pushing women into male-dominated work places, comparable worth actually looks for real gender equity, in that women's work is expected to be equally valued and compensated for in the marketplace. She also argues that comparable worth strategies could create and strengthen important links between labor and feminist movements.

Opponents of comparable worth strategies argue that measures to place a value on jobs is subjective, expensive, and difficult to implement. Furthermore, the process interferes with supply and demand in the marketplace and the end result would be worse, as fewer jobs are available for women as higher rates of pay are mandated. In addition, employers would become more vulnerable to litigation based on the outcomes of arbitrary formulas and point systems created to implement comparable worth.

CONCLUSION

Comparable worth as a strategy for reducing the gender wage gap largely lost favor in the last 10 years. Advocates of gender equity more commonly pressed for more flexible "family friendly" work environments, sought to help women succeed in male-dominated professions, and fought to raise the minimum wage.

With the persistence of the wage gap, however, some argue that it may be worth reconsidering a comparable worth strategy. At the very least, it is clear that it will be difficult to end the gender wage gap and maintain a commitment to fair pay without a cultural shift that equally values women's and men's labor.

See also Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Feminization of Poverty; Glass Ceiling; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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CRIME AND CRIMINALIZATION

Although traditionally viewed as more likely than men to be *victimized* by crime, women are increasingly being identified as *perpetrators* of crime. Debates concerning women's involvement in crime involve cultural and racialized perceptions of women as docile or, conversely, as prone to violence and gender discrepancies in the criminal justice and penal systems.

BACKGROUND: WOMEN IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Women can be both victims and perpetrators of crime. The majority of women who are currently being identified as criminals and prosecuted by the criminal justice system are poor and nonwhite. Based on the 2005 Bureau of Justice Statistics data, women represent just 7 percent of all inmates currently held in state and federal facilities, but their rate of incarceration is now twice that of men owing to their increased involvement in drug crimes, violent crime, and fraud. According to *The Sentencing Project,* which tracks parody and trends in sentencing decisions across U.S. courts, drug crimes, in particular, are carrying ever-tougher sentences as a result of the "war on drugs," and these sentences ensure that women and men prosecuted for drug charges spend longer periods in prison facilities. Adding more women to the prison system is raising many issues for departments of correction. Women's facilities must be expanded. Issues of children and families need to be managed. The majority of incarcerated women are mothers, and this raises unique issues for wardens and prison staff in terms of how visitors are to be handled and what freedoms the female inmates well have to interact with their children. Also, propensities in our society toward paternalism are enacted as prison staff attempt to regulate their inmates sexuality

during visits by significant others. Although such management of the intimate happens in men's facilities, there is seemingly more effort to monitor and control female inmates in this respect. For instance, the Supreme Court ruling *Turner v. Safley* (1987) clarified that prisons cannot take longer to approve women's marriages if they allow men's marriages, which is what Missouri wardens have been doing in an effort to "protect" their female inmates. Based on ethnographic research, it is still clear, when touring prison facilities and talking with staff, that many still adopt this view, often clarifying that they strongly encourage inmates—and especially the female inmates—in lower security facilities where there are women and men in close proximity to avoid intimate relationships (Lea 2007).

WOMEN, AGGRESSION, AND CRIME

American cultural patterns generally deny women the externalized expression of aggression (while condoning, if not sanctioning, it for men), and thus aggressive behavior is characterized as masculine (Henry and Short 1954). Such normative expectations muddy our very conceptualization of aggression (Widom and Stewart 1986). For instance, a woman living within a Victorian setting might be more inclined than one living in modern times to appropriate the role of a "black widow." A Victorian lady had little opportunity to earn a living on her own; she was dependent on her male "caretakers." If she were to murder a wealthy husband or father, however, she would legally acquire his wealth and maintain the security of a widowed woman's social position. This was one of the few means by which a Victorian lady could gain independence. Researchers, of course, have little means of knowing how often such a tactic was used, but perusal of the historical record of female criminals (Newton 1993) makes it clear that there were many more incidents of black widowhood and of other lone-woman-perpetrated murder (usually of other victims who were the woman's kin) recorded in the United States before 1950 than after 1960 when divorce became more accessible and equitable for women. If we consider the Lizzie Borden (see Sidebar Lizzie Borden and the Chivalry Hypothesis) case in this light, for example, it seems quite possible that she might have killed her parents (her father and her stepmother) so as to gain independence. Her father, part of the Borden milk lineage, is said to have been very stingy with his financial resources. Lizzie, still unmarried by her thirties, would have been completely dependent on him.

Schur (1984) notes that women, when they do exhibit aggression, are quite likely to act out of frustration in the home environment, against a spouse or child. This, again, dovetails with the idea of an opportunity structure within which one might engage in crime. It is quite plausible, then, that some women might engage in criminal acts that go undetected because we are not asking the right questions about such things as spousal abuse, child abuse, and so forth. In some studies, for instance, research indicates that women actually report engaging in partner abuse at least as much as do men (Newburn and Stanko 1994; Lottes and Weinberg 1997; Lea 2007). As Greven (1991) observes in his

LIZZIE BORDEN AND THE CHIVALRY HYPOTHESIS

If the O. J. Simpson trial can be called the trial of the twentieth century, then the Lizzie Borden trial might reasonably be called the trial of the nineteenth century. In many ways, the two cases are quite similar. Both Simpson and Borden were accused of brutal double homicides—and both went on to live many years as a free (if scrutinized) citizen after a very public trial. Borden was accused of murdering her father and stepmother with an axe. In the case of Borden, however, that acquittal was afforded by what amounted to a chivalrous jury.

In that time, juries were composed of middle-class males. Middle-class women were viewed as keepers of the hearth and home. They were idealized as innocent, loving, and kind-hearted. The idea that a woman might commit a crime—let alone murder—was anathema to the ideals of the era. That a woman might murder by poison or possibly by gunshot might have been considered, but the idea of a woman killing by axe was unimaginable. This was especially the case given Ms. Borden's social standing. She came from an affluent, powerful Fall River, Massachusetts, family; she was a lady. A lady simply could not do such a thing. And so, it is reasonable to think that the Borden jury might have acquitted her simply to avoid the awkwardness of acknowledging that, in all likelihood, Borden was guilty. Instead, an immigrant, who had been convicted of committing the only other axe murder to have ever occurred in Fall River, Massachusetts, was convicted (although he had not even moved to the United States by the time the Borden murders occurred; the axe murder he seems to have actually perpetrated occurred several months after the Borden murders). No matter, he served as a good scapegoat for settling the Borden crimes.

The propensity of male juries, judges, prosecutors, and police officers to "go lighter" on middle-class women (note that this only applies to middle-class or upper-class women—not to working-class, nonwhite, or poor women) is known as the chivalry hypothesis and has been explored by journalists such as Patricia Pearson (1997) and by academics such as Grabe et al. (2006). Examples include a jury acquitting Borden because it seems unimaginable that a woman could have done such a crime, a police officer allowing a female motorist off with a warning, or a judge, such as the one handling the Louise Woodward case, letting a young female babysitter who shook a baby to death off with a light, one-year "time served" sentence.

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book, *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse,* child maltreatment by caregivers—and not just the obviously abusive examples but also the more generic behavior of spanking—is likely responsible for much of the violent behavior we see within our society. Drawing the link that women surely perpetrate much of this child maltreatment is not made by Greven, perhaps because it is so difficult to conceptualize mothers as being aggressive toward their children. This is so antithetical to our cultural notion of a mother. We see this happen sometimes in public places, but it is often behavior that is kept behind closed doors.

STUDYING CRIME: WHERE ARE THE WOMEN?

Most classic studies of delinquency and criminal behavior focused nearly exclusively on boys and men (e.g., Chambliss 1973; Glueck and Glueck 1950; Cohen 1955; Sampson and Laub 1993). Women were dismissed as not being particularly prone to crime or deviance. If considered at all, women were analyzed as potential sexual deviants and scrutinized for such things as promiscuity. That most researchers were men surely contributed to this marginalization. Theories based on research that considers only men are no more universal or generalizable than are clinical studies of heart medications that are designed for men or women but tested only on men. It is crucial to consider the characteristics of women and crime independently, but much research has considered women and crime only in terms of men's patterns of criminal behavior.

Messerschmidt (1997) suggests that crime is, in effect, an expression of masculinity, a means by which those deprived of traditional means of social success might gain social clout and respect. Steffensmeir and Allan (1998) go on to argue that, because crime is so stigmatized vis-à-vis women, those women who do act out criminally tend to actually be more deviant than their male counterparts. These women are generally motivated by the same kinds of things that motivate their male counterparts such as, finances, social clout, or respect. Some of these women may have been victims of incest or other sexual abuse and have adopted a "tough" persona by which to compensate—and even, possibly, put off would-be male suitors. In fact, the very terms we use for criminal identities tend to have masculine connotations: thug, mugger, killer, etc. (see Heise [1979, 2007] and MacKinnon [1994] for a discussion of such linguistic connotations per affect control theory, which reasons that words that represent identities carry not only cognitive meaning but also affective sentiments). Thus we may have difficulty even conceptualizing or categorizing a deviant or violent woman, although they may be equally prone toward deviant or violent behavior. Brock (2000) echoes this sentiment in her exploration of law as a gendering process, arguing that (1) the ability to conceptualize a person as a potential perpetrator of a given crime is crucial to convicting that individual, and (2) the rubric by which lawyers, juries, judges, and the broader public interpret a case is anchored by gendered notions and norms. It is easy, she argues, to conceptualize a woman as a victim, a nuisance, or even a fallen woman; but it is not so easy to imagine a woman in the more active, aggressive role of a perpetrator.

WHY WOMEN DO CRIME

The theory that women are more likely to engage in crime at rates similar to that of men is called the liberation hypothesis (Schur 1984). This theory supposes that as women have gained more social equality and have more equal opportunity to that of men, they will do more of the things that men do—including engaging in crime. The very dramatic Manson case of the late 1960s likely gave rise to the idea that, as women gained more autonomy and sexual freedom, they were, indeed, becoming more like men. Although Charles Manson's "right hand man" was a man (Charles "Tex" Watson) and although Watson did most of the

killing, several of "Charlie's Girls" did a lot of very bloody killing at two different crime sites, known together as the Tate-LaBianca killings. The idea that women could do *anything* chilled many Americans. The girls yielded from middle-class backgrounds but were transformed, it seemed, into violent killers by Manson. It is worth noting, however, that the "Manson girls" had to be actively coached and pushed by Manson and Watson to participate in these killings, suggesting perhaps that women are less motivated toward "senseless" violent crime than are men. Women who murder without male prompting are most likely to have been motivated by romantic interest or revenge or by self-defense against a violent partner (Jones 1996).

Some theorists such, as Chesney-Lind (1997) contend, however, that even with greater equality, women will be more obedient to social norms because they are more actively socialized to internalize them. Theorists imagined that women were traditionally only more inclined to avoid crime because of external structures such as parental control that prohibited them from being in situations wherein they might do crime. Less external controls should, then, result in more female crime. Lagrange and Silverman (1999) explored self-control measured against opportunity structures, comparing men and women. Curiously, they found that, given similar opportunity structures, women still exhibit more self-control and demonstrate a lower rate of rule-breaking behavior. Chesney-Lind (1997) argues that a woman's obedience may be more a function of much greater monitoring and surveillance of girls by parents and other authority figures than some abstract propensity for girls to obey. Hagan (1991) suggests, for instance, that parents may enact gender preferences regarding risky behavior. Because many delinquent acts are fun, exciting, and pleasurable, it seems reasonable to think that girls may not be so free to pursue these endeavors. Also, when they do and are caught, authorities are more likely to respond in a patronizing manner, asking the girl why a "good girl" like her is not at home with her family, for instance. Thus even with greater liberation, girls may still be more highly monitored by adult authority figures and thus may be more inclined to internalize the norms of their society. Quite possibly, however, there may be differences by subculture or socioeconomic strata in the extent to which girls internalize social norms. Or, alternatively, some girls may internalize subcultural social norms that run counter to mainstream norms and face reprimand by mainstream authority structures.

Theories of gender and crime that emphasize opportunity structure and women's liberation yield from a liberal feminist perspective. Those theories were challenged by more radical feminists, who focus more on how power is constructed and dominated by males in society. Specifically, radical criminology focuses less on social roles and more on how the capitalist economic system fosters crime via the creation of a patriarchal and sexist society. In such a system, argue radical feminists, women are defined in terms of family and reproduction. One might consider also, then, the idea of opportunity structure in terms of economic marginalization, as Naffine (1987) does. Naffine argues that, barring meaningful economic opportunities, women are more likely to do as many men do and to pursue criminal pursuits so as to make ends meet.

WOMEN AND VIOLENT CRIME

Overall, then, although many more men than women engage in crime, the rate of women's involvement is increasing more quickly than is men's involvement. Even in cases of more extreme violence, women have gradually been demonstrating more parity with men. For instance, few people realize that one of the first school shootings in the United States was perpetrated by a woman. Brenda Spencer, 17, of San Diego, California, received a rifle for Christmas and then used it to wound eight students and a police officer at an elementary school across from her home. Two men were killed trying to protect the children at the school. Although women do not usually engage in mass murder, there have been a few notable exceptions within the past several years. In January, 2006, 44-year-old Jennifer Sanmarco, who had been placed on leave for psychological problems, killed six people and then shot herself at a postal facility in Goleta, California. In June 2001, Andrea Yates drowned her five children one morning in Houston, Texas. Yates had also been suffering from psychological illness. In each of these high-profile cases, the female perpetrators yielded from white, middle-class backgrounds, as do the men who engage in similar sorts of crime.

These high-profile incidents raise an interesting point. It is evident from crime data that technology has equalized women with regard to access to fraud and computer crime. They *are* doing more of that. As discussed previously, it is not so clear whether this is really the case with violent crime or if, instead, there is simply a fascination with the idea that women might be doing more violent crime. In her article, "The Myth of Girl Gangs," Batchelor (2001) reports on a study exploring violent behavior from the perspective of girls. She found that violence *by* girls was not a major social problem but that the media response to the possibility that girls were perpetrating violence was profound. Press reports mischaracterized the study, which intended to explore violence from girls' points of views, as instead being a study of violent girls. Media even went so far as to misquote from it. Although there is some evidence that the rate of female-perpetrated violence is increasing, women are still much more likely to hurt themselves than to do violence toward others.

There is also an immense amount of psychological deflection generated at the idea of a woman—and especially a girl—engaging in violent behavior. Unless a woman can somehow be characterized as "hard" or "bad"—perhaps yielding from a lower social class or a disadvantaged minority group, the concept of a woman doing violence is difficult for many people to imagine and accept. This may also be why people so demonize those women such as Andrea Yates or Susan Smith, who do cross that line; it is the only way most people can psychologically manage the idea that, for instance, a mother might kill her own children. Alternatively, however, women who commit heinous crimes and can then construct themselves as reformed can potentially gain much public sympathy, particularly, it seems, if they are white and pretty such as, for example, Karla Faye Tucker in Texas. Tucker had pick-axed a former boyfriend and his lover one summer night while high on several drugs. She found the Lord in prison and a grassroots campaign sprang up to spare her from execution; such

AILEEN WUORNOS: THE FIRST FEMALE SERIAL KILLER?

Aileen Wuornos is suspected of having killed at least seven people, mostly male strangers, between 1989 and 1991. Her much-publicized case led to her being considered by some observers as the "first female serial killer" in modern times. But was Aileen Wuornos the first female serial killer? Some scholars disagree. Michael Newton, in his 1993 anthology of female serial killers, *Bad Girls Do It!,* clearly shows that there have been many female serial killers active in the United States before Wuornos. The most prolific of them was Dorothea Puente, born in 1959, who is thought to have killed as many as 25 elderly boarders in Sacramento, California, between 1986 and 1988. Puente killed the boarders to obtain their Social Security income.

Wuornos claimed that many of the murders she perpetrated were effected in self-defense, that these men were trying to rape or kill her during tricks that had gone wrong while she was prostituting herself. A telling of events that is sympathetic to Wuornos's version of the story was depicted in the 2003 film, *Monster.* Wuornos was sentenced to death by the State of Florida in 1992 and was executed by lethal injection on October 9, 2002.

In fact, the first known female serial killer in all recorded history was Erzsebet (or Elizabeth) Bathory, daughter of an aristocratic soldier and the sister of Poland's reigning king. Born in 1560, Bathroy was from one of the oldest noble houses in Hungary, which was peppered with alcoholics, murderers, sadists, and satanists. During her adolescence, Elizabeth was introduced to satanism by one of her uncles. As was common to the time, Elizabeth married young; however, she did not conceive. Instead of raising children, she busied herself having love affairs with both men and women and torturing servant girls for her entertainment. She would poke these girls with pins and needles—on the lips and nipples, and beneath the fingernails. She would strip them, smear them with honey, and then expose them to attacking ants and bees. She would even drench them in water and then put them out in the freezing cold. As she aged and found no curtailment by authorities of her sadist endeavors, her actions became increasingly violent and murderous. Eventually, however, her targeted victims were not just hapless peasants but lesser nobles, and this brought the legal system down on her. In 1610, she was apprehended and brought to trial. It is estimated that she killed between 300 and 650 victims; it is impossible to know a certain figure. She died while awaiting execution and is thought to have inspired some of the vampire legends of southeastern Europe. For instance, she is rumored to have maintained her youth by drinking the blood of young virgins.

campaigns seem less common on behalf of the many black and Latino men on Texas's death row.

WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF CRIME

The groups most likely to fear crime often are the least likely to be a victim. They are elderly and middle-class white women. In fact, most crime in the United States occurs intraracially, typically between young, nonwhite males

(Bureau of Justice Statistics 2007). In addition, children are the most likely victims of crime. Shows like Lifetime TV's *Snapped*, however, makes an enterprise of depicting young girls who have enacted very brutal crimes, often against their parents. In fact, girls are in most danger in their own homes and are most likely to be victimized by friends and intimates.

When white, middle-class women are victimized in especially horrific ways, these cases become extremely high profile. Consider the case of Laci Peterson, a pregnant, white woman who disappeared on Christmas Eve in Modesto, California. Her husband, Scott, was convicted of her murder after her body (and that of her unborn son Conner) was discovered in the San Francisco Bay. The case made international headlines, although husband-wife murders are hardly uncommon. There have, of course, been other pregnant women who have vanished and turned up dead; LaToyia Figueroa, for instance, was pregnant and disappeared on August 20, 2005. She was of African American and Hispanic origin, however, and thus did not receive the kind of press coverage that a missing white woman would receive. This discrepancy has come to be referred to as the missing white woman syndrome. *Essence* magazine and other media outlets have noted how mainstream news programs such as CNN devote hours, days, and even weeks of coverage to cases that feature a missing white girl or woman. The examples are seemingly endless: Laci Peterson, Natalee Holloway, Elizabeth Smart, Chandra Levy, and even Patty Hearst in the mid-1970s.

Not only do missing white women generate extensive media coverage, their cases also prompt legislation. The Peterson case, for instance, generated the passage of Laci and Conner's Law, which has been ratified by many states and the federal government and which makes it a double homicide to kill a pregnant woman. In the specific case of Peterson, where Laci was eight months pregnant, such a law seems reasonable to many people—there is a unique horror in imagining how someone could murder a very pregnant woman. There was the same reaction to the murder of Sharon Tate by the Manson "family" 30 years earlier. If a woman is only three or four months pregnant, however, this is perhaps a different situation. Also, it has been observed that this legislation opens the gateway for challenges to *Roe v. Wade* (1974) by way of how and when personhood, in the legal sense, is defined.

Other examples of parent-driven crusades based on the deaths or injury of middle-class white children include Megan's law, which was inspired by the murder of 7-year-old Megan Kanka and which generated the sex offender registry; the Amber Alert system, which is used to advise police and citizens of missing persons and which was inspired by Amber Hagerman, a 9-year-old who was murdered in Arlington, Texas; the efforts by Carolyn McCarthy to pass gun control legislation after her husband was killed and her son badly wounded by a gunman on the Long Island Railroad; and even the Mothers Against Drunk Driving crusade.

CONCLUSION

Women's rate of criminal activity has increased over the last couple of decades. Some theorists credit this increase to changes in the social status of women, that

is, women's liberation. It is often women from poor and nonwhite backgrounds who engage in crime, motivated usually by poverty and sometimes by frustration, revenge, self-defense, or prior sexual abuse. Ironically, the liberation of women in the United States has least benefited these women, who are likely to have very low wages, work many hours, and have children depending on them. These stressors can provide strong motivation to engage in crimes such as identity theft or fraud. What is not clear from research is whether such women are likely to engage in such criminal behavior on their own or in collusion with men.

Our understanding of crime is deeply gendered. Violent crime, in particular, is conceptualized as a masculine act. Women do, of course, engage in violent crime; however, it seems that there may be more of a hype and imagination regarding violent women than there is an actual explosion in the number of women who do actually engage in violent crime. One thing is certain: the 24-hour news industry loves sensation—whether it be the woman who drowns her five young children or the latest missing white woman. And although such cases may make exciting copy, they keep too many women running scared of the serial killer in the shadows who is unlikely to appear anywhere other than on the movie screen.

See also Feminization of Poverty; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States; Sex Work.

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Suzanne Goodney Lea

D

DEPRESSION

Women are twice as likely as men to be diagnosed with depression. Some argue that this is true because women and men report symptoms differently and diagnostic categories of depression are more stereotypically associated with women. Others argue that women's disproportionate exposure to trauma, violence, and lack of resources creates the cluster of symptoms most closely associated with depression.

BACKGROUND

According to the World Health Organization, depression is the most common mental health problem in women and one of the world's most untreated diseases (WHO 2002). By most accounts, women outnumber men two to one in the lifetime prevalence of depression. In any given year, 10 to 14 million people experience clinical depression; women 18 to 45 years old account for the largest proportion of this group (National Alliance on Mental Illness 2003).

Why do so many more women than men suffer from this debilitating condition? The answer depends on who you ask. Does it have something to do with a woman's "weaker constitution," as was suggested in the early days in the field of psychiatry (Ehrenreich and English 2005)? Is it, as was written extensively about in the 1960s, symptomatic of "the housewife syndrome," a role expectation wrought with dissatisfaction and unfulfilled dreams? What about the biology of women, that imperfect physical system of dysregulation, inadequacies, and failing parts described for centuries by leading male physicians?

What seems to be clear is that untreated depression in women places an enormous burden on society. Depression not only affects women's health and well-being but also puts a strain on their families, especially children, thereby involving future generations of parents and children. It affects families, communities, and the economy, and it is the leading cause of disability among women worldwide.

DEPRESSION: A WOMAN'S DISEASE?

So, why the gender gap? Recent studies point to several plausible explanations. One is the way men and women experience and report the symptoms of depression and the manner in which professionals inquire about them. Studies have shown that physicians tend to inquire about depressive symptoms more often when treating women than when treating men (WHO 2006). In addition, when presented with identical symptoms, physicians diagnose depression in women more often than in men, leading to the probable overdiagnosing of the condition in women and underdiagnosing in men. There are important differences in the way men and women report symptoms as well. Men tend not to recall depressive symptoms even when others have objectively observed them. Men also are more likely to abuse substances, which may mask depressive symptoms and appear as the primary diagnosis. Men present for diagnosis and treatment at later stages of depression. In contrast, women report more symptoms that closely align with recognized symptoms of depression such as overwhelming sadness or emptiness, feelings of failure, anhedonia (loss of feeling of pleasure), intense feelings of guilt, helplessness, hopelessness, worthlessness, isolation/loneliness, and/or anxiety. Women also tend to seek treatment in earlier stages, use outpatient services more than men, are more aware of the effects on marital or relationship adjustment, are more likely to experience distress as a result of their symptoms, and volunteer symptoms of depression to family physicians more often than men.

Perhaps the overrepresentation of women with depression lies in the definition of depression itself. "Depression" as a cluster of symptoms may fit the stereotypical female more than her male counterpart. In his book, *Irritable Male Syndrome,* psychotherapist Jed Diamond (2004) asserts "extreme irritability," the most prevalent symptom of depression in men, is inexplicably left out of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The definition of depression accepted by mental health professionals (American Psychiatric Association 2000) often does not fit men's own experience of depression.

CONCLUSION

Factors such as those described here have led some to conclude that the condition of depression has no gender bias; rather, social conditions that affect both men and women largely are responsible for the difference in the rate of depression (Pavlovich-Danis 2004). For example, the same bias that occurs in physicians' assessments of depression occurs in family members' as well. A study of

the role of gender bias in families concluded that women were more likely to be identified as having depression when symptoms were identical to that of men, and family members were more likely to attribute depressive symptoms to internal factors in women (motivation, grief, weak constitution, etc.) as opposed to external factors in men (job, money, life stages, etc.) (Brommelhoff, Conway, Merikangas, and Levy 2004). Researchers, therapists, and feminist health activists continue to debate the reasons why women are considered to experience depression more often than men.

See also Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies; Mental Health: Gender Biases in Diagnoses of Women.

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Lanai Greenhalgh

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES

Virtual communities historically have been dominated by men. Whether the Internet and World Wide Web will serve women's interests in a liberating way, contribute to women's oppression, or do both is now up for debate.

BACKGROUND

The Internet and the World Wide Web are not the first virtual communities to exist. Scholars of virtual reality note that first the book, then radio, and then television created opportunities for people spread across wide expanses of geographic distance to share common experiences: the experiences of reading the same text; hearing the same speech, news, or music; and seeing the same programming. These experiences created a common context of culture, education, and conversation that allowed people who did not directly physically connect with one another on a regular basis to share a virtual common reality. The obvious difference between these forms of virtual reality and the World Wide Web is the degree to which the audience has the capacity to shape, send, and control messages, rather than simply to receive them.

Virtual communication has been heavily male dominated. Women have often been deprived access to the resources to develop literacy, and those women who have become writers, for example, have often been denied access to the benefits of having their work published. Radio and television, too, have been controlled by men, both financially and programmatically, and have largely served to reinforce unequal power dynamics between men and women. Because new forms of communication in the form of the Internet and World Wide Web allow users to communicate directly with other users, both individually and in mass numbers, scholars are now asking whether women's status in this form of virtual community is greater than in previous forms of mass communication.

WOMEN AND THE INTERNET: PROS AND CONS

On the surface, it would appear that the World Wide Web and the Internet are populist forms of media, and that this would benefit women. Boys and girls have access to computers in schools; people can "hop on-line" for free at their local libraries; and educational, public, and commercial spaces increasingly offer access to "free wireless Internet" service. Nonetheless, access to hardware and even software doesn't guarantee the development of skill in using technology, and research indicates that boys and men, on the whole, are more aggressive in their development of technical literacy with computers, as well as in their involvement with computer programming. The information technology industry is male-dominated, making it predictable that men's interests would be overrepresented in the development of services, programs, and vehicles for communication on the Web.

Feminist scholars have argued that the Internet creates exciting possibilities for women, alongside its potential as a vehicle of exploitation. The Internet has allowed women to build support networks across time and space around issues that concern them, ranging from domestic labor, to breast cancer treatment, to dealing with depression. It has provided opportunities for marginalized groups—from bisexual women to sex workers, third world activists, to stay-at-home mothers—to organize in the "virtual world" in ways that have often translated into political action in the embodied world, and has allowed women to

organize and participate in progressive responses to public events in the realm of politics. It has also allowed women to start home-based businesses that give them greater access to income than they would have in store-front shops, as well as greater flexibility with their time. In addition, the Internet has offered women who know how to use it access to immense amounts of information previously inaccessible to most people.

Conversely, the Internet, the World Wide Web, and the computer industry are troubling to feminists for many reasons. At the level of the industry, analysts distinguish among "hardware," the physical components of computers; "software," or computer programs; and "wetware," the embodied people that produce programs and hardware. Within the computer industry, the most poorly paid workers tend to be women who work in component factories in Third-World countries, and who often do not enjoy access to computers, the Web, or the education to use these resources. Because of this, coupled with impressive differences between groups on a global scale—men and women, whites and people of color, people in early and late industrializing nations—scholars are concerned about a "digital divide" that will shape economic and cultural relationships between those who have access to and control over these new technologies and those who do not have the educational or financial resources to put them to use.

EXPLOITATION AND THE INTERNET

Another area of concern and contention for feminists is the Internet's potential to exploit women and to promote violence against women. In the United States, a history of social and legal commitments to free speech leads some to argue that the Web should be an open space tolerant of a broad expression of sexual and political behavior in its virtual spaces. Others argue that easy access to pornography, along with easy access to misogynist (and racist and homophobic) rhetoric on the Web reflects and expresses the exploitation of women, and actively promotes it. These debates echo older feminist controversies regarding free speech and the relationship between pornography and the "real time" embodied exploitation of women (Dworkin 1991; Mackinnon 1998). When a person in a virtual chat room describes "himself" as violating another person's sexual boundaries, should we regard this as real rape, virtual rape, or a literary description of sexual exploitation? If young people pose clothed with friends in their MySpace photos or YouTube videos in ways others regard as sexually exciting, are the youth engaged in pornography? If a man "impersonates" a woman in a virtual space, is he engaged in gender play consistent with the culture of cyberia, or is he engaged in an unethical deception?

CONCLUSION

Feminists are concerned that the Internet and the World Wide Web, while offering women greater opportunities to connect and to organize, also offer various governments and commercial concerns greater opportunities to monitor

and therefore control women's lives. Few people consider, when they sit down to e-mail a friend, that e-mail technology was developed by the military, or that the Homeland Security Act passed in 2001 granted the U.S. government the right to conduct surveillance on the e-mail messages millions send daily. With women residing on the "wrong side" of the digital divide, they may be less educated about the ways the Internet and the information they share there may ultimately make them more vulnerable to exploitation.

See also Media Images of Women: Advertising; Media Images of Women: Television and Film.

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Amber Ault

DISABILITY AND GENDER

Scholars and practitioners hold competing views on the causes and understandings of disabled versus nondisabled persons in society. Whereas some draw from a medical model and attribute the gendered experience of disability to scientific factors, others draw from a social model and attribute this experience to socially constructed categorizations of physical and mental normalcy.

BACKGROUND

Western culture defines masculinity as strength, speed, rationality, self-reliance, determination, virility, fortitude, and perseverance (Smith and Hutchison 2004). In contrast to the standards set for the male body, women in Western culture are expected to be graceful, nurturing, beautiful, and docile. Women are expected to appear healthy and attractive, or at least to protect onlookers from any sight of failure to meet these standards (Miner 1997). These cultural expectations pose high standards for the bodily performance of a male with a disability and the bodily presentation of a female with a disability. The medical model, which focuses on disability as a singular bodily deficit, and the social model, which addresses disability as a culmination of societal barriers, help shed light on how gender and disability interact to result in the experience of multiple intersecting oppressions.

The very word *disabled* linguistically carries societal negative connotations. The process of deconstructing the word *disability* reveals that the prefix *dis* means absence of, opposite of, or deprived of, according to the *American Heritage Dictionary*. Putting the word back together leads to the conclusion that

a person with a disability has absence of ability, encompasses the opposite of ability, or is deprived of ability.

As many scholars have pointed out, being measured against a norm divides subgroups on the basis of difference and quantifies normalcy and deviancy. The very process of defining disability by comparing the "impaired" to the "normal" encourages the exaggeration of difference between people with disabilities and nondisabled people, making disability seem exceptional and uncommon. This tendency may stem from the knowledge that disability is an all-inclusive club that does not discriminate membership on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, or sexuality. The push for clear demarcation between people with disabilities and nondisabled people is a defensive strategy that relies on the natural tendency to deny human frailty (Davis 2005).

Scholars point out that people with disabilities serve as a constant reminder that illness and discomfort are part of the life experience, especially as our bodies age. Acquiring a disability is not so much a question of whether but when. To admit and acknowledge the reality of just how vulnerable we all are to illness and disability is frightening and unpleasant. To segregate people with disabilities through defining them as "other" allows nondisabled people a false comfort of everlasting health, strength, and well-being. Portraying disability as unusual and rare allows for society to overlook, ignore, or deny the needs and rights of people with disabilities (Davis 2005).

THE MEDICAL MODEL OF DISABILITY

The medical model of disability developed in conjunction with the field of modern medicine and the enhanced role of the physician in the nineteenth century. The medical model redefined disability as an organic disturbance within the human body, rather than the historical explanation of disability as the outcome of moral failings or spiritual transgressions of the afflicted. Useful for the healthcare world, this model guides doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals in approaching disability management with a focus on medical interventions, drug regimens, and a diagnostic classification of symptoms. Such medical advancements lengthen lifespans, lessen pain and suffering, and improve quality of life.

Under the medical model, disability is viewed solely as a deficit residing within the individual. Disability is something to be contained or alleviated and its symptoms are deemed as the "enemy" (Taylor 1999). The disabled body is viewed through biological and mechanical lenses, ignoring the ways in which the same disease can be experienced differently psychologically and socially by different people, often varying by social class and ethnic cultural background (Charmaz and Paterniti 1999).

Persons with disabilities are seen as "patients" and are expected to fulfill the "sick role." The concept of the sick role equates disability to illness, portraying the expectation that persons with disabilities should be passive, dependent, and grateful for expert advice. This notion deepens the stereotype of persons with a disability as inferior, deficient, and pitiable The cultural demand for official

medicalization of disability veils social forces that influence health and well-being. When disability is located as a problem within the individual, the responsibility of overcoming societal, architectural, and legal barriers is placed on the person with the disability.

THE SOCIAL MODEL OF DISABILITY

In contrast to the medical model, the social model specifically delineates disability as a social construction and identifies society as the creator of disability. The barriers that persons with disabilities face are believed to be constructed through oppressive societal attitudes, policies, and practices. Such institutionalized forms of ableism (discrimination against persons with disabilities) result in adverse social, political, and economic consequences for persons with disabilities, which limit their opportunities for success.

The social model is a rally cry for people with disabilities everywhere to come together and fight against their social oppression: disabling stereotypes, objectification by healthcare professionals, and a social welfare system that keeps people with disabilities dependent on a power structure. The shift from seeing an impairment as a personal disabling characteristic to recognizing and challenging disabling social exclusion from education, employment, and recreation became empowering. Disability, rather than being reduced to individual deficit, came to be perceived as an element of human diversity around which a proud sense of culture has formed. Such coalition building has resulted in tremendous success and ongoing efforts toward societal and political change.

DEFINING DISABILITY: STRADDLING THE MEDICAL AND SOCIAL MODELS

There is no universally agreed on definition of disability. Identifying who is "disabled" is as confounding as delineating any other identity status. Indeed, the World Health Organization (WHO), the United States Social Security Administration, and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), among others groups, are continually refining their attempt to precisely define disability, signifying the complexity of this exercise (Kafer 2003). One broadminded definition is that one is disabled if one says she or he is (Linton 1998). When identity claims might result in collecting from the government for medical care, however, legal protection, pensions, or workers' compensation, distinct definitions, and boundaries of disability are insisted upon (Fox and Kim 2004).

The process a government, organization, or agency goes through in naming, defining, and categorizing disability has great political, financial, legal, social, and personal implications. Definitions of disability result in the difference between securing and being denied assistance or entitlements for education, training, equipment, transportation, home healthcare, and medical supplies (Wendell 1996).

Disability policy in the United States straddles the medical and social models. Although the definition of disability as explicated by the ADA was designed to

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) was designed to ensure equal opportunity for people with disabilities to live independently, achieve economic self-sufficiency, and fully participate in the community. It is the most widespread equal opportunity act passed since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The ADA defines a person with a disability as someone:

   a.   who has a disability that substantially affects one or more daily life activities, or

   b.   who has a history of having such a disability, or

   c.   who is considered to have such a disability.

Certain conditions are excluded, including transsexuality and substance abuse. Conservative critics have argued that conditions such as clinical depression should not be afforded the same legal protections as more serious physical disabilities. Others have pointed out that this legislation has had the unintended consequence of influencing employers not to hire people with disabilities, as they are viewed as an economic or social burden in the workplace. Some studies even indicate that there has been a drop in hiring people with disabilities after the passage of the 1990 Act.

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take into account the lived experience of disability (see Sidebar Americans with Disabilities Act), it relies on the medicalization of an impairment as a necessary prerequisite for legal protection and access to often scarce resources. When discrimination protection comes into question under the court of law, people who have a disability are covered, provided they possess diagnostic medical authentication of such a disability as designated by the medical profession. This practice completely discounts an individual's lived experience of ableism, which according to the social model, is the creator of disability. Doctors become the gatekeepers to the classification "disabled" and, in effect, are considered the single valid credible authority on whether an individual experiences disability (Francis and Silvers 2000). Oppressive practices are inherent in the very arrangement of one group of privileged people being entrusted to define the characterization of group membership of another group of less powerful people (Davis 2005).

Also, the media largely contributes to the socially constructed image of what disability is. Human-interest stories portray persons with disabilities as either sick and needy or as superheroes. It is rare that financially, occupationally, and emotionally successful women with disabilities are publicly portrayed. Disability is always portrayed as "different," visually or otherwise, from nondisabled people.

"NORMAL" ABILITY

The WHO differentiates between impairment and disability. Impairment is defined as a loss or abnormality in bodily or physiological function, or body structure. Disability is defined as a lack of ability, resulting from an impairment, to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered *normal* for

a human being. Advocates of the social model of disability revolted against this definition, which implies that the participation restriction is the cause of individual pathology. Consequently, WHO added the caveat that disability is not an attribute of an individual, but rather a complex collection of conditions, many of which are created by the social environment.

WHO definitions overtly refer to "normal" as a yardstick against which to measure individuals. Such classifications and gauges enable comparisons of levels of health and participation of people and allow for the identification of individuals who need accommodations or direct assistance to participate or survive in society. The explicit reference to "normal," however, implies that there is a concrete universal, biological standard of human structure, function, and ability. Although there certainly would be advantages if this fictitious "norm" did exist, the insinuation presents real dangers to people with disabilities worldwide. (Wendell 1996).

"NORMAL" GENDERED ABILITY

Failure to meet societal and cultural standards of "normal" for a man, lacking a strong, nearly immortal male body, threatens a male's perceived manliness. In a capitalist society, men are judged by their capacity to provide for themselves and their families by working productively, energetically, and diligently in a way that meets these cultural norms (Francis and Silvers 2000). Meanwhile, the social construction of disability signals passivity, dependence, and tentativeness. Thus in an ableist society, having a disability deprives a man of his masculinity, rendering him less than a man (Smith and Hutchison 2004).

Hegemonic masculinity preaches risk taking and pain suppression, making it difficult for men who experience pain and physical limitations on a daily basis to acknowledge, express, and treat their discomfort. Emotions that frequently accompany the disability adjustment process, such as depression, anger, grief, fear, anxiety, and guilt, are also expected to be repressed under the auspices of masculinity (Smith and Hutchison 2004). Indeed, the societal cultural expectation of stoicism in the face of discomfort or distress is continually reinforced.

The social construction of "normal" is restricting for women with disabilities in a different way. Western culture's obsession with the physically perfect body, particularly for females, emits insidious pressure to strive to be more "normal" (Stone 1995). Undeniably, concealing bodily imperfection is a multimillion-dollar industry as people strive toward elusive physical and psychological flawlessness, whether that be slimmer, richer, or happier (Davis 2005, Stone 1995). In such a society that values women exclusively for their appearance and servitude, being expensive, dependent, and lacking in beauty, women with disabilities disrupt the normative standards of appropriate feminine behavior and appearance (Weiss 1985).

The WHO distinguishes a handicap from an impairment and a disability by defining it as a disadvantage resulting from an impairment that limits or prevents the fulfillment of a role that is normal, depending on age, sex, and social and cultural factors for that individual. A handicap refers to the problems an

individual may experience in life situations when an individual's participation is compared to what is expected of an individual without a disability in that culture or society. Qualifying "normal" based on sex, among other factors, is troubling. Although differences between male and female biological bodies certainly exist, this caveat leaves room for sexism and patriarchy (Wendell 1996). A patriarchal value system renders the disabled woman who violates norms of femininity virtually invisible and, as a result, at greater risk for unemployment, poverty, and medical neglect.

Social acceptance is influenced by any view of what it means to be normal. When an elusive norm-based standard exists for all human beings in terms of how they should look, act, and what they should be able to do, people who deviate from these standards are viewed as lacking in some way. An emphasis on normalization is oppressive to people with disabilities. With an idea of "normal" in mind, any actions taken on behalf of people with disabilities will be to change them into more normal beings rather than to integrate and accept them into society as a natural part of community (Linton 1998).

WOMEN WITH DISABILITIES: INTERSECTION OF MULTIPLE OPPRESSIONS AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

The feminist movement has been engaged in a longstanding battle against the patriarchal idea that a woman's individual worth is based on how closely and how favorably her bodily appearance comes to the value-based ideal. Attention is called to the inequality women face in comparing their income, educational, and employment opportunities to that of men. This inequality is compounded for women with disabilities, who are more quickly and frequently cut off from productive work than men with disabilities (Fine and Asch 1988) and thus more likely than men with disabilities to rely on government support.

Feminism has been accused of leaving its disabled sisters behind in the struggle for equality (Fine and Asch 1988). Because women with disabilities are often perceived to be needy, dependent, and passive, they represent stereotypical feminine qualities. Women with disabilities were abandoned for the aim of projecting an image of autonomy, strength, and competence (Fine and Asch 1988). Several feminists involved in disability studies, such as Adrienne Asch, Michelle Fine, Barbara Hillyer, Susan Wendell, Jenny Morris, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, have loudly called attention to the neglect of disability issues within the feminist movement and have brought to light many overlaps between the fight for women's liberation and the fight for disability rights. Similarly, there is a growing movement to recognize and address the presence of racism, ageism, heterosexism, and classism within both the feminist and disability rights movements (Vernon 1999).

Women with disabilities experience significantly more oppressive practices than both nondisabled women and men with disabilities, implying that bodies that are both female and disabled are doubly devalued (Fine and Asch 1988; Smith and Hutchison 2004). Being identified as "disabled" becomes a master status, which dominates other identifying characteristics resulting in the

ignored intersection of multiple oppressions. The experience subjugation based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and/or social class, in addition to gender and disability, has been overlooked in research and service programming (Fine and Asch 1988; Vernon 1999). The social consequence of the experience of multiple oppressions—for example, being a lesbian of color with a disability—is frequently poverty. Living in poverty with a disability means experiencing a substandard level of basic necessities, like food and shelter, combined with a lack of disability-related necessities like medication, personal-care attendants, accessible transportation, or technological aids (Wendell 1996).

The Medical Model and Women

The medical model, which focuses solely on the biological processes of the body, methodically medicalizes the female body, including naturally reproductive functions like pregnancy, childbirth, menstruation, and menopause. As a result, females are innately "impaired" by unstable bodies, an assumption that underscores patriarchal superiority of the male body over the female body. The problematization of women's bodies also serves to maintain an unbalanced power dynamic between male doctors over their female patients.

Powerful economic, social, and cultural forces are imposed on the autonomy of women and even more so when disability is involved (Sherry 2004). Each encounter that women with disabilities have with medical professionals requires testimony of biological, cognitive, sensory, or psychological deviation from the norm. Her inferiority is regularly reestablished through the obligatory revelation of intimate, private, and even humiliating personal details (Davis 2005).

Traditional Female Roles

Although women with disabilities may be accused of being too stereotypically feminine by the feminist movement, they are simultaneously banned from fulfilling the ideals of femininity by society. Women with disabilities are frequently seen as unfit to be sexual partners, which may contribute to their reports of rape being ignored by professionals (Fine and Asch 1988). Fine and Asch report that women with disabilities are less likely to be married, more likely to marry later, and more likely to be divorced than both men with disabilities and nondisabled women. More frequently than nondisabled women, they stay in abusive relationships. Also, when women with disabilities are seen in public with a nondisabled male partner, he is frequently lauded as saintly, but nondisabled women in relationships with men with disabilities are perceived as dominant and controlling (1988, 155–160).

Because women with disabilities are perceived as asexual, infertile, and unattractive, their ability to fulfill otherwise female roles, like motherhood, is called into question (Smith and Hutchison 2004). In fact, until relatively recently, many states in the United States mandated forced sterilization of women with histories of certain disabilities and impairments (Fine and Asch 1988). Women with disabilities frequently report a total lack of professional counseling and information on sexuality, birth control, pregnancy, and childbirth (Fine and

Asch 1988). The counseling they do receive urges them away from motherhood through routine persuasion that their own health will be jeopardized or that their own impairments will keep them from being a good mother by harming, depriving, or burdening their children. Women with disabilities frequently experience barriers in adopting, foster caring, and winning child custody (Fine and Asch 1988). Abortion is frequently presented as a "solution" to both nondisabled and disabled women when the birth of a baby with a disability appears imminent (Kafer 2003; Sherry 2004). This forceful suggestion relays the message that life in a disabled body is not worth living, and the conception of the disabled body should be prevented at all costs (Wendell 1996).

Women with disabilities who require personal care attendants defy the societal expectation that females are inherently nurturing caregivers. In a society that so clearly values independence, the relationship between one who needs personal care assistance and one who gives such assistance is complicated. It is women who most frequently serve as personal care attendants for people with disabilities, whether through socialization or exploitation. People who serve as caregivers often help with daily tasks, such as shopping, cleaning, cooking, toileting, bathing, dressing, and eating. Oftentimes, they take on the responsibility of carrying out unpleasant tasks such as administering medications that cause adverse side effects, performing painful procedures in the name of therapy, or accompanying care receivers to hospital visits for painful or frightening treatments (Wendell 1996). Although it is personal care attendants who have daily contact with the person with a disability and provide the most intimate care, they are often paid the least (if at all) compared with the other members of the healthcare team, and their voiced insights carry little authoritative weight, if acknowledged at all (Hillyer 1993).

JUDY HEUMANN, DISABILITY RIGHTS ACTIVIST

Judy Heumann is a contemporary female leader in the disability rights movement. Born in 1947, she contracted polio at age 18 months. Her public school system refused her attendance, claiming her wheelchair was a fire hazard. As a result of her mother's advocacy, she began attending school in fourth grade. Years later, she took up a similar battle and successfully sued the New York City Board of Education for refusing her a teaching license solely because of her disability.

Heumann helped develop the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and helped draft the Americans with Disabilities Act. She has created and served on several organizations, including Disabled in Action, Center for Independent Living, World Institute on Disabilities, and the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities. In 1993, she was appointed as the assistant secretary of education in charge of the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation. She is currently the World Bank Advisor on Disability and Development. Heumann has paved the way for women and people with disabilities through her dedicated advocacy and political action.

Persons with disabilities have had to fight for their right to select and purchase personal care services; hire, manage, and fire personal care attendants; and assert authority over procedures administered to them. The dichotomization between the perspectives of personal care attendants and persons with disabilities who need personal care attendants conceals the often reciprocal nature of caregiving relationships (Wendell 1996).

THE PLACE OF CHRONIC ILLNESS

Chronic illness is a major cause of disability, particularly among women . The relationship between chronic illness and disability is complicated. The crusade of the disability rights movement has been to separate the notion that disability equals sickness; many people with disabilities do not suffer and enjoy an utmost level of health and wellness (Wendell 1996). The medical model recognizes pain and fatigue as significant aspects of illness and disability, but the social model, which identifies the cause of disability as oppressive social structures, excludes the experience of people who are sick and who are disabled by the painful, fatiguing, or nauseating symptoms of their illness.

Further complicating the relationship between people with chronic illness and disability is the hidden nature of many forms of chronic illness. To the public eye, a person with a chronic illness may look the picture of health and is often expected to fulfill the role expectations of a nondisabled person. As a result, people with chronic illness are faced with a constant decision: to tell or not to tell (Goffman 1963). Each new encounter requires another decision and the costs and benefits of concealing or disclosing the diagnosis are continually mentally weighed.

Often people with a chronic illness experience immense pressure to avoid showing any sign or symptom of the disability. They may not be accessing necessary accommodations to avoid skepticism or drawing attention to the existence of the illness (Taylor 1999). As a result, bodily limitations might be ignored or minimized, leading to exacerbation of the condition. Symptoms may be attributed to something other than disability, people or places might be withdrawn from, and engaging in behaviors that might reveal a symptom may be avoided. This often means limiting the depth of relationships and reducing contact with friends or other members of the community, furthering isolation from larger social systems.

Disclosing the existence of chronic illness renders it visible, which can be a liberating process, but can also make one vulnerable to discrimination and social rejection (Myers 2004). When a person has a disability that is not apparent, or when acute symptoms are present one day and few or none are present the next, support system members often unknowingly minimize the experience or give an impression that the condition is not believable (Charmaz and Paterniti 1999). Many family members and friends openly question the reality and severity of the condition.

Strangers often express dissatisfaction with stares, frowns, silent disapproval, and outright verbal questioning when one accesses special accommodations

(Taylor 1999). One then faces the additional burden of explaining or proving to others why a particular service is needed. Even health professionals might minimize one's experience and compare it to more visible disabilities (Charmaz and Paterniti 1999).

CONCLUSION

Neither the medical nor the social model accounts for the entirety of the lived experience of disability, but each sheds a unique light on the origination and current place of disability and ableism in our society. Disability activists have successfully pushed through revolutionary legislation to protect the ability of persons with disabilities to fully participate in community life, employment, and education; but there is still evidence of significant attitudinal, legal, architectural barriers that persons with disabilities face (NOD/Harris 2000). This is compounded for women with disabilities, who are affected by oppressive social consequences of a patriarchal society and ableist conditions. Ultimately, to fight for civil rights for one group of individuals, all revolutionary-minded groups must band together to fight against oppression for all citizens.

See also Disability and Sexuality; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Aimee Burke

DISABILITY AND SEXUALITY

Women with disabilities have often been depicted in the media and treated by medical professionals and able-bodied people as asexual, resulting in part from the controversial historical belief that they should not reproduce and are incapable of sexual expression. Recently, disability advocates have worked to counter this stereotype by promoting sex education and rethinking the meanings of *ability* and *normalcy*.

BACKGROUND

Historically, sexuality among women with disabilities has long been discouraged by medical professionals and the dominant able-bodied culture. Extreme examples include forced sterilizations and sex segregation to prevent mingling, both common practices in the United States and Europe throughout the early to mid-twentieth century. White (2000) documents that institutions for the blind used to segregate the sexes to prevent intermarriage and sexual misconduct. There was a belief that two blind people being intimate or marrying was "immoral or sexually perverse." Attempts were made to prevent such unions legally (White 2003). Margaret Sanger, a controversial birth control advocate in the early twentieth century, promoted eugenics—the belief that controlled reproduction would improve the human race—for people with disabilities, as did the Nazi regime in its overall program to eliminate "undesirables" in Germany and throughout Europe. Because the common belief has been that people with disabilities should not reproduce, women with disabilities, in particular, have faced obstacles concerning their ability and right to express themselves sexually.

Until today, a common misconception by medical professionals and the dominant able-bodied majority is that women with disabilities either have no sexual or romantic impulses, or that their disability prevents them from having a sexually healthy and satisfying life. As Wilkerson states, "Just as homosexuality, long considered an illness, was treated for year with drugs, castration, hypnotherapy, psychoanalysis, and aversion therapy, people with various kinds of disabilities have also faced medical denial of their sexualities" (Wilkerson 2002, 33). Despite this denial of sexuality by able-bodied people, women with disabilities are fully aware of their sexual and romantic impulses. It is how they are taught about sex and sexuality through the media and other means that

makes the difference between living the stereotype and living a sexually healthy and satisfying life.

MEDIA DEPICTIONS OF SEX AND DISABILITY

The media provide an important example of how women (and men) with disabilities are viewed, either as asexual and dependent or as autonomous beings with desires like everyone else. Two examples of U.S. cinema serve to illustrate variations in media depictions of people with disabilities in regard to sex and sexuality. In the 1999 film, *The Other Sister,* the story centers on a young woman who is mentally handicapped, and after returning home from a special boarding school, decides that she wants to be independent and live on her own. This is difficult for her able-bodied parents to handle, for they believe that she is completely incapable of taking care of herself. She then falls in love with a young man who also happens to be mentally handicapped and thus shatters her parents' perception of her inability to have a relationship. There is much arguing among the family about whether or not she is capable enough to live on her own, and not-so-surprisingly, it is her lesbian sister who, also unaccepted by their parents, rallies on her behalf. In the end, the young woman gains her independence and is allowed to marry the young man.

At first thought, this sounds like a positive portrayal of disability and an encouraging tale of a mentally handicapped woman who overcomes her disability and finds independence and love. Given the parents' initial reaction of astonishment and anger, however, one sees the culturally shared tendency to think of disabled people as asexual, as not capable of being in a romantic, let alone sexual, relationship.

The 2005 film, *Murderball,* provides another contradictory example of how disability is portrayed on the screen and in popular culture. Although it focuses on men rather than women, the film speaks to how traditional constructions of sexuality are used to understand the lives of the disabled. *Murderball* focuses on the men of a quadriplegic rugby team who overcome unimaginable obstacles to compete in the Paralympic Games in Athens, Greece. Like *The Other Sister,* this is an inspirational tale of people with disabilities overcoming their handicap and living their lives like "normal" people; however, it also reveals the cultural implications and stereotypes of being disabled. In dealing with the stereotype that disabled men are weak and nonsexual, the creators of this film have created super strong, sexually aggressive, heterosexual men as their characters. This implies two contradictory notions. First, the filmmakers attempt to break down the stereotypes of disabled men, but then they reestablish the presumed missing masculinity of disabled men. Although the film is not meant to patronize the experiences of disabled men, scholars of disability studies point out that these super masculine characters encourage the idea that only strong, athletic, heterosexual men can be considered "real men." For example, in the film the statement is made that playing rugby gives these men a new sense of purpose, Although this may be true to some degree, it also reinforces the stereotype that being disabled is a bad thing, and if one has a disability then one is inherently unhappy

with one's life. Eli Clare (1999) says it best when talking about the media exploitation of people with disabilities: "These 'supercrip' stories reinforce the superiority of the non-disabled body and rely upon the perception that 'disability' and achievement contradict each other and that any disabled person who overcomes this contradiction is heroic" (quoted in Ware 2002, 144).

CONCLUSION

Disability advocates have both supported and critiqued these media representations of sexual expression among disabled people. Supporters point out that these media depictions create an important space for women with disabilities to identify with media representations that have rarely existed for them in the past. At the very least, they are allowed the right to sexual expression, an important step, given the scientific community's historical emphasis on preventing their reproduction. On the other hand, critics charge that these representations do not go far enough; they tend to reinforce specific notions of femininity, masculinity, and sexual identity that are not always achievable or desirable among women with disabilities, thereby limiting their imagined forms of sexual expression even more than those media representations available to able-bodied women. The emphasis on traditional sexual and gender roles arguably liberates these characters to some degree yet also places them in a contradictory bind that reinforces traditional stereotypes about women (and men) with disabilities as less than "normal," an issue that will continue at a societal level so long as "ability" and "normalcy" remain unchallenged in law, policy, science, and popular culture.

See also Disability and Gender; Media Images of Women: Television and Film; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Emily Joy

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EATING DISORDERS

Diagnosis and treatment of eating disorders typically are relegated to psychiatry, although cultural critics and feminists have pointed out that culture, rather than merely individual psychology and home environment, may also play a role in causing eating disorders. The majority of people diagnosed with eating disorders are white women, although the number of eating disorder patients that are women of color and men is growing, which further complicates the debate on the cultural vs. psychological causes.

BACKGROUND

Eating disorders, most notably anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa, are common in Western cultures, although they occur with increasing frequency in poor and/or non-Western societies as well. Anorexia nervosa was first considered a disease, and one specific to women, during the mid-1800s; the first cases occurred in educated, middle class, white women. Social historicists such as Joan Brumberg, author of *Fasting Girls,* see the rise in eating disorders among women at that time as a silent protest against expectations for the roles those women would play in society as passive, submissive women confined to the private sphere. Considering not only anorexia but also bulimia and other related eating disorders, explanations for their occurrences in women range from the pressure of having so many options that historically had not been available to women and the fear of making the wrong choices or failing to live up to expectations, to desperation to be as thin as possible in order to meet and exceed the social norms for female beauty, to more individual

concerns such as hating one's body because of sexual abuse or punishing the body because of a lack of coping method for feelings of anxiety, anger, or even happiness and success.

These ideas about eating disorders inform and are informed by the clinical criteria for determining whether someone has an eating disorder and what kind is established in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM), a book of diagnostic criteria for mental illnesses, compiled by the American Psychiatric Association. Anorexia was the first eating disorder to be included in the DSM in the mid-1950s. The DSM added bulimia as a distinct category in 1980, and in 2000, a new category, Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified (ED-NOS), was added to assist doctors in diagnosing those who suffer from disordered eating but do not meet all the criteria for anorexia or bulimia. There are two other disorders that are not recognized in the DSM: binge eating disorder (BED) and compulsive overeating disorder (COE), both of which are thought by some professionals to deserve their own entries in the DSM's next edition, which will appear in 2011. Sufferers of both disorders are characterized by periodically going on large binges without purging and tend to be overweight, but the difference between BED and COE is that individuals with COE have an "addiction" to food. Both types of individuals, however, are said to use food and eating as a way to hide from emotions, to fill inner voids, and to cope with daily stresses and problems. Common for both disorders is also a desire to hide behind the physical appearance of obesity, using it as a blockade against society.

TIMELINE

1870: British physician, Sir William Gull, first identifies and describes anorexia nervosa as a disease in itself rather than as a symptom of other diseases that include loss of appetite

1952: Anorexia nervosa is given its own entry in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*.

1978: Hilda Bruch publishes *The Golden Cage*, the first book solely devoted to discussing the treatment and causes of anorexia.

1979: Formation of Anorexia Nervosa and Related Eating Disorders, Inc., the first nonprofit group devoted to education about and recovery from eating disorders.

1980: Bulimia is given its own entry in the DSM.

1983: Popular singer, Karen Carpenter, dies from complications of anorexia. Actress Tracey Gold and Princess Diana of Wales go public with their eating disorder struggles.

1985: The first residential eating disorder clinic, The Renfrew Center, opens in Philadelphia.

1987: First National Eating Disorder Awareness Week (NEDAW) is held.

DEBATES ON THE CAUSES OF EATING DISORDERS

Psychological Explanations

There are many theories explaining how and why women develop eating disorders. Most explanations before the 1980s and 1990s constructed the problem and solution as being largely individual for each patient and her immediate family environment. In the classic psychoanalytic model, eating disorders are manifestations of a woman's psychosexual development. In that case, a woman or girl refuses to eat because she rejects her womanly body and what its health represents—sexual fertility. Along this line of thinking then, a compulsive overeater may seek to cloak her sexuality in body fat.

These ideas subtly speak to cultural expectations for women's bodies and the judgment of what is beautiful or desirable in a woman, causing a second generation of critics to notice that the way in which social systems operate to reinforce negative messages to women about their bodies points toward patriarchy, defined as a system of interrelated social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women. These social values are specific to our capitalistic society, in which the so-called cult of thinness supports food, diet, and health industries. "Weight concerns or even obsessions are so common among women and girls that they escape notice. Dieting is not considered abnormal behavior, even among women who are not overweight. But only a thin line separates 'normal' dieting from an eating disorder" (Hesse-Biber 1996). Twiggy, the waifish British fashion model of the 1960s, and the popular Mattel doll, Barbie, are often cited as icons of the impractical expectations society has for the size of women's bodies. It is commonly known that the average model during the 1950s wore a size 8 and the average woman a size 10; today the average model wears a size 2, and in contrast the average woman now wears a size 12. The rise in disparity between model size and real women's bodies parallels the rise of eating disorders, although experts are divided on the degree to which society is responsible. Joan Brumberg and most leaders of the eating disorder conversation agree that these images play a key role in the development of eating disorders, but psychiatrists say these coincidences might instigate disordered eating behaviors, but are not enough to completely explain the development of the diseases anorexia and bulimia.

Biological Explanations

In this model, eating disorders are related to depression and bipolar disorder—both of which may be caused by chemical imbalances and thus corrected with medication. The only drug that has been approved by the U.S. Food Drug Administration for the treatment of eating disorders is Prozac, to be used in bulimia patients. There are many studies into medication for anorexic patients, and some trials have yielded individual successes, but because the anorexic's body chemistry is abnormal because it is in starvation mode, many drugs have little or no effect. Hesse-Biber criticizes the disease model of eating disorders, because that model locates the problem as being within the individual, rather

HOW PREVALENT ARE EATING DISORDERS?

According to Anorexia Nervosa and Related Eating Disorders, Inc.:

- Over one-half of teenage girls and nearly one-third of teenage boys have tried to control their weight by skipping meals and fasting, vomiting, and taking laxatives.
- For females between 15 and 24 years old who suffer from anorexia nervosa, the mortality rate associated with the illness is 12 times higher than the death rate of all other causes of death.
- One percent of female adolescents have anorexia, four percent of college aged women have bulimia, and one percent of all American women suffer from BED.
- Twenty percent of untreated eating disorder cases result in death, and two to three percent of patients treated for eating disorders do not survive.

than being located outside oneself. She acknowledges that the disease model is good in that it frees patients from guilt, but then notes at the same time that this model benefits the healthcare industry—replacing a potential feminist view that society needs to be healed with a medical view that the victim needs professional treatment.

Family and Home Environment Explanations

Yet another model posits that eating disorders arise as symbolic representations of family dynamics. In this case, a power struggle between parent and child, especially the mother, may motivate a girl to find power over one thing she can control—what she eats. In this case, treatment and diagnosis involve the entire family. Feminist psychoanalyst Kim Chernin argues that eating disorders primarily develop as a response of overly controlling parents or environments that do not nurture a girl's journey from childhood to womanhood; psychiatrist Mary Pipher views eating disorders as responses to our culture's social dictate that a good woman is passive, quiet, and takes up very little space. Chernin and Pipher do agree, however, that eating disorders develop in situations that prevent the victim from saying or acknowledging to herself what she thinks, feels, or wants. In this way, then, eating disorders can be seen as survival strategies in response to emotional, physical, and sexual abuse; sexism; classism; homophobia; or racism—in other words, responses to trauma. Contemporary researchers and scholars mostly agree that eating disorder behaviors are coping mechanisms that give the sufferers a feeling of empowerment. By refusing to eat, bingeing, or bingeing and purging, a woman gains some influence over her environment. Control over the body becomes a substitute for control a woman may wish to have over her economic, political, or social circumstance. Thus weight loss or gain may not be a primary motivation for disordered eating.

INCREASED RECOGNITION OF EATING DISORDERS AMONG RACIAL MINORITIES

African American singer, Dinah Washington, died as result of an overdose of diet pills and alcohol; Puerto Rican poet Luz Maria Umpierre-Herrera writes about her struggle with anorexia; and African American writer Gloria Naylor writes about generations of eating disordered women in *Linden Hills* (Thompson 1996). According to Becky Thompson's research on minority women, many of them were taught to diet, binge, and purge by older relatives, who had done so themselves, which suggests that although statistics show that eating disorders are on the rise in American minority cultures, this may simply be the result of more careful research rather than an actual, sharp increase. Health professionals assume and are taught that eating disorders are a white women's disease, so in women of color eating disorder symptoms would be dismissed or treated as something else. Particularly because Hispanic and black women are culturally stereotyped as plump or obese, whereas Asian women are stereotyped as very thin, doctors would ignore those visual cues as signs of eating problems. Exacerbating this situation is that most minority women also see eating disorders as a "white" problem, so they are more reluctant to recognize signs of disorder in themselves or seek help. This explains why most women of color who are treated for eating disorders are in more severe states than white women with the same disorders.

Women in African American and Hispanic communities have traditionally been larger than women in white communities, and minority communities have been more tolerant and even celebratory of the large female body as a symbol of health and wealth. One explanation for their larger size is food custom, but researchers have found that women in those communities also exhibit compulsive overeating behaviors, using bingeing as a way to cope with stress. Bingeing then is a "cheap" way to find temporary relief from oppressive social and economic conditions such as sexual abuse, poverty, racism, and sexism. Since the 1980s, eating disorder diagnoses, particularly of anorexia, have risen among the African American population. Some experts note that this rise parallels the increasing affluence of middle class black families, who find themselves embracing traditionally white values, including the obsession with thinness. This trend is also noted among upwardly mobile young Hispanic women and adolescents who see thinness as a key to success. A study conducted among a diverse selection of college-age women revealed that minority women who identified with their ethnic groups had fewer obsessions with thinness and realistic body goals, compared to women who rejected their cultural identities and also subscribed to the thin ideal for themselves, resulting in a much larger percentage of eating-disordered behaviors (Abrams 1993).

INCREASED RECOGNITION OF EATING DISORDERS AMONG MEN

The ratio of women to men with eating disorders is 9:1, although some researchers suspect that more men suffer from eating disorders and go untreated,

FASHION WEEK IN MADRID

Madrid's 2006 Fashion Week was the first of its kind to place a ban on models with a Body Mass Index below 18, a move that Australia's Fashion Week followed. A 5-foot 9-inch model weighing 125 pounds would have a body mass index of 18, which is the lowest healthy body mass range. This ban resulted in the turning away of 30 percent of the models scheduled to participate in the fashion week. Madrid's decision was a result of lobbying from groups such as Spain's Association in Defense of Attention for Anorexia and Bulimia, who argue that young women develop eating disorders as a result of trying to be as thin as the underweight fashion models. One turning point in the debate over model size for Madrid was the death of 22-year-old South American model Luisel Ramos, who suffered a heart attack after stepping off a runway in August of that year. She had been counseled that her career would jump start if she lost weight, so for three months she had been on a diet of green leaves and Diet Coke. Reactions to the ban from the fashion industry were mixed. Some designers refused to participate in Madrid's Fashion Week; others lauded the spirit of the ban. Most felt, though, that the fashion industry was being scapegoated for mental illnesses, when fashion merely reflects values society already holds. For eating disorder activists, this ban was seen as a major step toward having the fashion industry represent beauty at healthy weights and also having it assume a degree of responsibility for the health of its models, who so often starve themselves and are told by designers and agents to lose weight.

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particularly with bulimia, because it is easier to hide than anorexia (Crawford 1990). Like women of color, men with eating disorder symptoms may go unnoticed by physicians because they do not fit the classic diagnostic and treatment models, which tend to focus on women. Men who are more vulnerable to developing eating disorders participate in athletic activities that have regular weigh-ins, such as wrestling. Disordered eating and overexercising is sometimes ordered by a coach so that a team member will be a certain weight for a tournament, and this unnatural obsession over weight and control over can lead to the wrestler using starvation as a means of weight control. Gay men may also be more susceptible to eating disorders because of the importance of appearance in gay culture. In a study comparing gay and straight men, homosexual men have been found to be more preoccupied with their body sizes and appearances and more likely to suffer from body dysmorphia than their heterosexual counterparts (Crawford 1990). Experts forecast that eating disorders in all men will continue to rise as the marketing of men's health and beauty products becomes increasingly aggressive with "metrosexual" men, straight men who are overly concerned about their grooming, clothing, and overall appearance; and they, too, seek to make their bodies conform to the thin standard already set for women (Patterson 2004).

CONCLUSION

Debates will continue regarding whether eating disorders stem from biological, psychological, environmental, or structural factors. What researchers do know is that women of various socioeconomic backgrounds are disproportionately represented in the diagnosis and treatment of eating disorders, as defined by the DSM. Many eating disorder activists argue that the so-called cult of thinness requires a more critical look at our culture at large, including gendered patterns of family life, girls' and boys' socialization, and the effects of various forms of oppression on individuals. Thus some activist-scholars argue that stopping the cycle of girls being socialized into the cult of thinness is a public, not a private, enterprise (Hesse-Biber 1996). Activism such as boycotting companies and products whose marketing includes the use of the thinness ideal is one approach that has been used by the Boston-based Boycott Anorexic Marketing group, which was effective during the mid-90s in getting Coca-Cola and Kellogg to portray athletic instead of waifish women. More recently, this kind of activism has been taken on by marketers themselves, particularly with Dove's ad campaign that features women's bodies with "real curves." Groups such as the Eating Disorder Coalition have been lobbying the U.S. Congress to provide more money for eating disorder research and to force insurance companies to cover medical treatment. In addition, new research results continue to be released that point to other factors contributing to the prevalence of eating disorders among white, middle class women, as well as among men of various backgrounds and women of color, research which will surely shape future debates on their causes.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Industry; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies; Self-Injury and Body Image.

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Cynthia Childress

EDUCATION

The status of women in education has progressed to a point where women are more successful in schools than men, yet arguments over how men and women learn and why men and women have differing levels of achievement perplex many.

The place of women in the American education system has changed dramatically throughout history. When public schools first began in the nineteenth century, girls were educated only if necessary. It was believed that girls should be taught only the skills to keep house and raise children. With the women's rights movement, women began demanding equal educations and moved out of the home and into the workforce. Today, boys and girls are equally enrolled in elementary schools, and women receive more high school and college degrees than men.

Women's place in education has changed, and these changes have brought about increased controversy. With girls excelling in schools and boys seemingly "falling behind," some ask do boys and girls learn in different ways? Where are the gender gaps in schools, and why do they exist? Should alternative ways to teaching children be considered?

HOW DO BOYS AND GIRLS LEARN?

A debate in the field of education and in the general public is whether boys and girls learn differently. Some believe that boys' and girls' brains develop at different times and in different ways advantaging boys in certain subjects and skills and advantaging girls in others. Others argue that girls and boys, despite so-called brain differences, are socialized, or taught, by parents, schools, and society to behave and excel in different subjects. This argument leaves the question, how do boys and girls learn?

BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Many argue the reason why boys and girls excel at different levels in schools may be a result of natural, biological differences between the male and female brain. Pointing to biological differences is not considered politically correct to some, yet research suggests that men and women's brains are different. It is argued that gender differences in brain development begin six weeks after conception before birth (Moir and Jessel 1989). Neural and hormonal differences cause male and female brains to develop in different ways and at different rates. Basic developmental differences between male and female brains are said to explain girls' and boys' later learning differences.

Male brains excel at spatial activities and mathematical reasoning; female brains are able to understand more complexity, have stronger short-term memories, and are extremely active. In general, girls' brains mature at an earlier age than boys'. Because of this, girls develop verbal skills as much as a year earlier than boys. Girls digest more sensory data than boys, meaning their senses are

stronger, causing them to hear and smell better and take in more from touch. Girls control impulsive behavior better than boys (Gurian 2001).

The strengths of males' and females' brains also lead to differing behaviors. Males are considered harder to teach and have more learning and discipline difficulties because of the wiring of their brains. Aggression and competition are

TITLE IX

A triumph for women in education was the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments in 1972 (since renamed the Pasty T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act). Title IX prohibits any discrimination in any educational activity based on sex. It states that no one can be excluded from, denied benefits of, or be discriminated against in any education program or activity that receives federal money on the basis of sex. The passage of Title IX meant the girls and women could not be denied funding, participation, or membership in any educational activity. In addition, Title IX forced educational institutions to integrate. This excluded traditionally male or female colleges, fraternities and sororities, traditionally male or female youth organizations, and beauty pageants. Title IX's biggest impact has been in sports.

With the passage of Title IX, many worried that male athletic teams would lose money or be eliminated to accommodate female teams; however, this is not the case. The purpose of Title IX was not to increase opportunities only for females, but to create a level playing field for both sexes. To ensure equality and fairness, as well as compliance, Title IX includes a three-part test. First, men and women's participation opportunities must be "substantially proportionate" to their school enrollment. Second, a school or college that has continually expanded programs and opportunities must continue expansions with the underrepresented sex in mind, creating opportunities according to their interest and ability. Third, a school or college is recognized as complying with Title IX when it has effectively accommodated the interests and abilities of female students, even when there are less female students participating in activities than male students. These tests guarantee that the same opportunities will be available for males and females.

Before Title IX, in high schools and colleges, women's sports received little to no recognition or money. Women were denied the opportunity to participate in sports.

According to the Department of Education's 1997 report on Title IX, the amendment has increased women's participation in college athletics four times since it began (U.S. Department of Education 1997). Women represent 39 percent of high school student athletes and 37 percent of college student athletes. Before Title IX, college scholarships were rare for women athletes. In 1964, Donna de Varona, an Olympic gold medal-winning swimmer, was unable to obtain a college swimming scholarship because they did not exist. In 1974, 100,000 men were attending college on athletic scholarships compared to only 50 women. Currently, women receive one-third of all academic scholarships. Women have not reached parity in participating in and receiving scholarships for athletics, but great strides have been made to ensure equal opportunities.

also a result of the male brain. Females' active brains lend to their success in the classroom.

Boys and girls learn in different ways. Boys are deductive learners, meaning it is easier for them to move from general principles and ideas to individual, specific cases; girls are inductive learners. Girls learn from concrete examples, which they then add to their repertoire of conceptualization and apply to other situations.

It is important to remember that the differences between male and female brains are based on generalities. Not every male brain excels at mathematical reasoning. Some may excel at vocabulary. Not every female brain is unable to learn spatial tasks. Researchers have found these general patterns of difference between the male and female brain, but this by no means dismisses a boy's ability to understand people's gestures and work in a people-oriented field or a girl's ability to understand complex math problems and achieve great success in the field of math.

Some point only to biological differences to explain the differing successes of boys and girls, but others argue that society and the way we teach and treat children guides them to perform and behave according to their gender. Gender socialization, or how society teaches behaviors and attitudes that correspond with one's gender, starts early.

GENDER SOCIALIZATION

When parents-to-be find out the sex of their child, family and friends begin to buy gifts according to gender. Girls receive pink clothing, and boys receive blue clothing. If parents choose not to know the sex of the child, generally clothing will be bought in "gender-neutral" colors like yellow and green. Buying babies' clothing in specific gendered colors begins the socialization process, which will continue when toys are purchased—dolls for girls, trucks for boys. The teaching of gender continues in society and carries over into schools.

Schools socialize students in multiple ways starting in kindergarten. Schools teach young students about the society they live in and their expectations of behavior. Citizenship is stressed in early education, through activities such as saying the pledge of allegiance and singing the national anthem. How to conduct one's self appropriately and listen to authority are also highly valued in early schooling. Much time is spent on sitting in your assigned seat, lining up properly, and learning to listen attentively to teachers (Thorne 1993).

Beyond these practical socializing factors, many researchers argue that schools also socialize according to gender. Teachers treat boys and girls differently based on different expectations of behaviors and intellect. Teachers tend to accept when boys "act out" more and justify boys' disruptions in the classroom as uniquely male features. Girls, however, are often reprimanded for similar behaviors, as teachers expect girls to be better behaved and less disruptive in class.

Teachers expect girls to be more studious and excel more in school, particularly in subjects like reading and writing; boys are favored in math and science.

Girls receive better grades than boys, and they also receive more favorable evaluations from teachers. Teachers seem to appreciate girls' cooperativeness and ease at communication and consistently rank girls higher on in-classroom behaviors. Girls may be better adapted to schools or may have different expectations than boys.

Young students are affected by gender socialization. In elementary school, boys and girls choose who is popular based on typical constructions of gender. Boys are thought to be popular when they are athletic and described as "tough" or "cool." Popular girls are chosen because of their physical appearance, social skills, and academic success (Adler, Kleiss, and Adler 1992).

THE FEMINIZATION OF TEACHING

A subtler way that schools reinforce gender is through the feminization of teaching. The feminization of teaching refers to the fact that the majority of teachers in the United States are women. Throughout elementary and high school, teachers tend to be female.

The field of education tends to replicate traditional gender hierarchies seen in other work environments, such as business. Although women dominate the status of teachers, a much higher percentage of education administrators, from principals and superintendents to positions in government, are male. Also, in colleges, a higher number of men are faculty members than women, particularly in math, science, and engineering fields.

The feminization of teaching has a long history in the United States. As early as 1880, 80 percent of elementary school teachers were women (Urban and Wagoner 2004). Schools originally hired women to teach because they could pay them less than men and were thought to be more nurturing and caring. It is arguable whether women make better teachers, but the high number of women teachers and the low level of female administrators shape how education is developed and taught, as well as how it is perceived by boys and girls.

What teachers and society expect of, teach, and demonstrate to children directly affects their opinions of themselves, their abilities, and what they are to hope for in school and the future. Girls may think they are supposed to be good writers but not good at math, or boys may think they should not be elementary school teachers because teaching is a female job. It is hard to disentangle whether girls and boys learn differently, or if they are taught to think that boys and girls are different from an early age.

WHERE ARE THE GENDER GAPS IN SCHOOLS?

Debates over how and why children learn and perceive themselves in different ways continue and evidence in schools shows that gaps exist between boys and girls in terms of achievement in the classroom, standardized tests, and completing schooling. These gaps vary. Some favor girls and others favor boys, beginning in elementary school and continuing throughout college and professional school.

Elementary School

Elementary school is the first formal schooling children receive, and it is primarily used to teach basic reading and math skills. In elementary schools, differences between boys and girls emerge. Since the 1950s, girls have consistently received higher grades in all elementary school subjects, even math and science, which are traditionally thought of as male subjects. (Alexander and Eckland 1974). Girls receive better ratings by teachers, better grades on report cards, and are less likely to repeat grades. Boys are more likely to repeat grades or drop out of school. (American Association of University Women 1998). Girls seem to excel in the early years of education; however, this is not the case when it comes to standardized testing.

On standardized tests, such as proficiency tests, gaps between boys and girls appear. Girls do significantly better on tests of reading and writing; boys do better on tests of science and math (American Association of University Women 1998). These gaps sometimes puzzle researchers who wonder why girls' abilities in the classroom do not translate to tests, and why boys' high-test achievement does not translate into the classroom.

High School

High school graduation rates suggest that girls are outpacing boys in schools and earning more degrees, but many obstacles stand in girls' ways for future success. Selection of classes becomes a cause of concern in high school. From early on, gaps in tests scores between boys and girls show that boys do better in math. The gap between math and science classes taken in high school is prevalent. Girls have increased their participation in math courses, but boys still take more advanced courses than girls. In science classes, boys are more likely to take all core classes, including biology, chemistry, and physics. Girls are less likely to take physics courses.

Conversely, girls take more English classes than boys and boys are more likely to be enrolled in remedial English courses. Girls also take more foreign language, fine arts, and social science courses. Over time, girls have been increasingly taking more math and science courses, but they still lag behind boys.

Postsecondary

Historically, more men than women attended and completed college education, but this trend has recently changed. By 1980, men and women enrolled equally in college and currently, more than 56 percent of undergraduate students in the United States are women (Freeman 2004). Women enroll and complete bachelor's degree at higher rates than men; however, women's increased enrollment and attainment in college do not mean that equity has been reached. Many inequalities still exist for women in college.

Majors in college are highly sex-segregated. Although women make up the majority of college students, certain fields seem regulated to males and females.

Men earn a large majority of engineering, physical science, and computer science degrees. Women earn only 20 percent of engineering and 28 percent of computer science degrees. Women earn 41 percent of physical science degrees. The fields of business, mathematics, social sciences, and history have relativity equal numbers of men and women earning degrees. Women dominate the fields of education, completing 77 percent of degrees, and health professions, completing 84 percent of degrees.

Of interest, the fields that are clearly dominated by men, engineering and computer science, have the highest starting salaries of all college degrees; the fields dominated by women, education and health professions, have much lower starting salaries. The starting salaries of males and females after college cause concern for some scholars who believe that majors are a way to segregate men and women financially.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN SCHOOLS

A pressing issue facing many students in American schools is sexual harassment. Recognizing and preventing sexual harassment are difficult for educators and students, but the issue needs attention. Often, sexual harassment is considered a problem that afflicts workers only, yet sexual harassment is common at all levels of schooling. Sexual harassment in schools does not exclusively affect girls. A study conducted by the American Association of University Women found that 83 percent of girls and 79 percent of boys in grades 8 to 11 report being sexually harassed at school. Also, 62 percent of women and 61 percent of men in colleges report experiencing sexual harassment.

Peers overwhelmingly conduct sexual harassment in middle and high schools. Girls in schools are likely to be harassed for different reasons than boys. The most common types of sexual harassment that occur in schools include having rumors spread about a person, being forced into sexual acts, or enduring verbal attacks about looks or sexuality.

In college, peers mostly perpetrate sexual harassment. Concerns over sexual relationships between students and instructors or professors have prompted many schools to forbid such relationships. These relationships are troublesome because the professor is in a position of power over the student, often a young female. Professors apparently can take on many roles in order to solicit relationships from young women, from threatening to decrease their grade, to acting like a counselor or mentor to the student (Dzeich and Weiner 1992).

Sexual harassment in schools is particularly harmful for women. The consequences of such experiences can cause girls emotional distress and is often associated with feelings of anger, fear, or embarrassment. Students who are sexually harassed may find it difficult to pay attention in class and their grades often suffer. In addition, they may skip class or drop out of school.

Although it is not likely to be a debate over whether sexual harassment is wrong, the issue is often overlooked or ignored in the education system. Affecting both boys and girls, sexual harassment should be discussed and addressed.

The types of degrees earned by men and women differ, as do the types of colleges and universities they attend. Even though women are more likely to be enrolled in college, the colleges that women enroll in are less likely to be prestigious, selective schools (Jacobs 1999). This group largely includes prominent engineering schools. Women are more likely than men to enroll in two-year institutions such as community colleges.

Graduate and professional schools, like college majors, are sex-segregated as well. Women are more likely to enroll in master's degree programs than men, but within these programs segregation similar to those seen in college occurs. The transition from master's to doctoral programs is less common for women, as they comprise only 45 percent of doctoral students. In professional fields, women's enrollment lags behind men. Roughly 39 percent of dentistry students and 43 percent of medical students are female. Law schools have almost reached parity in gender enrollment, with 47 percent of students being female.

INTERNATIONAL GENDER GAPS

Gender gaps in educational enrollment and completion of degrees exist in the United States, but what are the patterns of gender gaps in other countries? Similar gaps in standardized testing exist in other countries. In 2003, the Program for International Student Assessment tested 15-year-olds in math, science, and reading in 41 countries. Patterns similar to the United States are present in other countries. On average, boys performed better on tests of mathematics (OECD 2004). In 12 countries, however, the difference between boys' and girls' performance in math was not statistically significant. In all but one country, girls significantly outperformed boys on reading tests. In science tests, more variation occurs. In some countries, girls perform better than boys, but the opposite is true in other countries. On average, there is a minimal difference in science scores between boys and girls. Gender gaps seem to be consistent across countries, which is also true for educational enrollment.

In most industrialized countries, women have higher college enrollments than men. On average, they represent 53 percent of all students enrolled in tertiary education (OECD 2004). In some more conservative and traditional countries, such as Turkey and Germany, women still lag behind men in college enrollment, but in 13 industrialized nations, 55 percent of college students are women. In three countries, more than 60 percent of college students are female.

Gender gaps occur at all levels of schooling and across cultures, but the gaps do not always fall in one direction. Boys and girls have different advantages in schooling, creating a complex puzzle. Trends suggest that women have surpassed men, yet men still hold advantages in the work force. There is no clear answer explaining why girls excel in some areas and boys in others, and the controversies surrounding gender and education continue beyond how girls and boys learn and where they succeed.

SINGLE-SEX SCHOOLS

The debates over how boys and girls learn, and why they succeed in different ways, lead some to argue for single-sex schooling in the United States. Those in favor of single-sex schools believe that by schooling girls and boys separately, teachers can tailor their curricula according to gender. Opponents of single-sex schooling believe that there is no valid reason for segregating schools based on gender.

Single-sex schools have a complex history in the American education system. Founders of public schools wanted to segregate all schools based on sex, but it was expensive and inconvenient to do so; so public schools were integrated. Although many colleges were, and remain, single-sex institutions, an increasing number of elementary and high schools are becoming single-sex, but not without controversy.

It is estimated that 237 schools have single-sex classrooms and 51 public schools are completely single-sex in the United States (National Association for Single Sex Public Education, August 2006). Many experts, parents, and students argue that students learn better when not distracted by the opposite sex, but others counter that claim by reasoning that the real world is not segregated by sex and therefore single-sex schools do not prepare students for the actual work environment (McCollum 2004).

Those in favor of single-sex schools believe that boys and girls learn differently. Boys enjoy competition and working alone, whereas girls learn through cooperation. Boys and girls interact in the classroom differently, with boys shouting out answers and testing boundaries; girls are more likely to follow rules and thoroughly analyze questions before answering. By placing girls and boys in separate schools, they learn in environments tailored to their sex.

Researchers and educators believe that single-sex schools benefit girls more than they benefit boys, causing girls to develop higher self-esteem than they would in a coeducational school. Girls in single-sex schools are also found to be more likely to be leaders in life and to pursue advanced degrees. In addition, girls in single-sex schools are twice as likely to pursue careers in science compared to girls in coed schools.

Although single-sex schools seem to benefit girls, they have many opponents. Some question the benefits of single-sex schools, for they tend to benefit girls from wealthier backgrounds that could skew their positive effects. Mainly, opponents of single-sex schools believe that coeducational institutions can spark different kinds of learning for every student. The diversity of having both boys and girls is beneficial to the understanding of ideas and viewpoints. They will better prepare students to interact with a more diverse population. Some also questions whether single-sex schools violate the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, stating that schools must be integrated.

Also, some believe that single-sex schools are being used as a type of quick fix to problems in the American education system. For example, in the 1990s California attempted to operate single-sex schools, which seemed to succeed at first. However, Over time, however, male-only schools became dumping grounds for boys with behavioral, educational, and emotional problems, which drove the

schools to close. Although this case is extreme, the decision to implement single-sex schools is one that must be thoughtfully considered. In general, the majority of the American public does not believe in single-sex schooling (68 percent).

WOMEN IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE

In early 2005, Harvard University's President Lawrence Summers suggested biological differences might be to blame for women's underrepresentation in the fields of science and engineering, pointing to statistical differences in standardized test scores. An immediate uproar over the remarks followed, launching a renewed interest in the controversy over women's performance in math and science. The debate has two contesting viewpoints. One view is that biological differences prevent women from being successful in science and engineering fields. The other view is that institutional forces and socialization prevent women from entering science and engineering fields.

The biological debate, discussed in this chapter, argues that men and women have different brains that have different specializations, which could benefit men in the participation in math, science, and engineering. The alternative argument, however, argues that the male-dominated fields, such as math, science, and engineering discriminate against women, which limits their participation and success. In a report produced by the National Academies Press on the position of women in science and engineering (2006), researchers found many obstacles that stand in women's way in these fields. First, they recognize that biological differences between the sexes may be present, but women are able to succeed in the sciences and have strong drives and motivations. Many women scientists have been extremely influential and successful in the sciences, such as Marie Curie, a physicist and chemist who was the first person to win two Nobel Prizes in different fields of science in 1903 and 1911. More recently, Linda Buck, a biologist, won the Nobel Prize in 2004 in the field of physiology.

Another obstacle for women in science is that at each educational transition, more and more women drop out of science fields. Women either opt out of or are "weeded" out of science programs as they progress through their education. Some suggest the presence of a science "pipeline" exists that disadvantages women. This pipeline refers to the trajectory that one must take to choose a science career. From elementary school to advanced degrees, women are not heavily placed on this pipeline. Also, within the fields of science and engineering, women face discrimination. Many science career and academic environments are traditionally male and favor males, making women feel uncomfortable or unable to be successful. Finally, most people have implicit biases that suggest women are not good at math, science, or engineering. Often employers will hire a man over a woman for a scientific job, even if they have the same qualifications.

These barriers to women in the field of science support those who argue that society and our education system disadvantage women who would like to participate in the sciences. The debate over women in science continues as researchers continues to study both brain differences between the sexes and the socializing processes and discriminatory practices that impede women's participation in the sciences.

CONCLUSION

Women's position in the education system is likely to keep evolving as women continue to succeed in schools. These changes will be closely monitored by researchers and the public as questions are asked about testing gaps and college completion differences. The controversy over how males and females learn will continue as debate over brain differences and social differences continue. A free and equal education is expected in the United States, but how do we feel when one gender seems to be benefiting more than others? Is there a middle ground between helping girls, who have traditionally been discriminated against in schools, succeed versus not wanting to diminish the success of boys?

See also Affirmative Action; Title IX and Women's Sports.

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Anne McDaniel

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Debates concerning women and environmental justice focus on whether people who have less power in a society (e.g., racial minorities, low-income people, women) should be subjected to more pollution and health risks than those who have more power. Although many studies focus on environmental effects on racial minorities and poor communities, women in these communities

have experienced gender-specific effects of pollution and health risks that are largely undocumented.

DEFINITION OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Environmental justice, as the term is used most frequently in the United States, focuses on the environmental problems (in terms of programs, policies, and/or activities) and the resulting health risks that are disproportionately faced by those with the least power (Fritz 1999). In the United States, these groups would be minority and low-income populations. Although the term *environmental justice* is the popular term, the focus really is on environmental injustice. The decision to use the term *justice* rather than *injustice* is interesting legally, socially and politically. *Environmental justice* pushes us to think about a negative situation by using a positive term. Other terms with the same positive ring are *environmental equity* or *human rights and the environment*.

Environmental injustice is sometimes called *environmental racism*. Environmental racism is a strong term chosen by those that think racism is frequently or always the root of an environmental problem. The decision to use a strong term may be based on the feeling that using a term like *environmental justice* to characterize a life-threatening environmental problem dilutes the central analysis of racism or might even keep an analyst from mentioning or thinking about the possibility of racism.

Some prefer the term *environmental justice* because what may have been a racist practice or decision initially has been perpetuated for reasons other than racism. Because environmental problems often develop over a long time and are complicated, these analysts may prefer to use both terms—*environmental justice* as a general term and *environmental racism* when a specific situation warrants the use of the term.

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE TIMELINE

1964: The Civil Rights Act of 1964, through Title VI, prohibits the use of federal funds to discriminate based on race, color, and national origin.

1969: Ralph Abascal of the California Rural Legal Assistance files suit on behalf of six migrant farm workers that ultimately resulted in ban of the pesticide DDT.

1970: The United States Public Health Services indicates that lead poisoning was disproportionately affecting African American and Hispanic children.

1971: President's Council on Environmental Quality annual report indicates racial discrimination adversely affects urban poor and quality of their environment.

1979: *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management, Inc.* is filed on behalf of Houston's Northeast Community Action Group.

1982: Warren County (North Carolina) residents protested the siting of a polychlorinated biphenyl landfill.

1983: U.S. General Accounting Office publishes *Siting of Hazardous Landfills and their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*.

1986: West Harlem Environmental Action (WE ACT) began organizing the community to combat the harmful impacts of the North River Sewage Treatment Plant. In 2003, Peggy Shepard, an African American, who is a co-founder and the executive director wins the Heinz Award for the Environment in 2003.

1987: The United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice issues a report, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*

1990: The Indigenous Environmental Network is formed to address environmental and economic justice issues on a national level.

1990: The Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice is established.

1991: The first National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit is held, during which 17 Principles of Environmental Justice are adopted.

1992: The U.S. EPA creates what is now called the Office of Environmental Justice and releases *Environmental Equity: Reducing Risk for All Communities.*

1994: On February 11, President Bill Clinton signs Executive Order 12898, "Federal Action to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations."

1994: Federal Interagency Working Group on Environmental Justice is established.

1998: United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice convenes an array of grassroots leaders to discuss Shintech's attempt build a PVC plant in Convent, Louisiana. Shintech suspends its efforts to build the plant in Convent.

2001: Residents of Anniston Alabama Sweet Valley/Cobb Town Environmental Task Force wins a $42.8 million settlement against Monsanto, a chemical company. The community is relocated because of PCB contamination.

2004: Margie Richard of Concerned Citizens of Norco, Louisiana, becomes the first African American to win a Goldman Environmental Prize. Richard led the battle to hold Shell Chemical accountable for her community's health problems.

2004: The EPA's Office of the Inspector General issues *EPA Needs to Consistently Implement the Intent of the Executive Order on Environmental Justice.* The EPA was found not to have fully implemented Executive Order 12898 nor consistently integrated environmental justice into its day-to-day operations.

2005: Environmental Action Now of Mossville, Louisiana, files a petition with the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

2006: The U.S. EPA's Inspector General issues *EPA Needs to Conduct Environmental Justice Reviews of Its Programs, Policies, and Activities,* which outlined the EPA's failure to comply with the requirements of Executive Order 12898.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Minorities and low-income people have experienced serious problems in terms of environmental degradation (e.g., exposure to toxics) at home and at work. Increasing globalization, with the consent of governments, international financial groups, and large corporations, has put people of color, the economically poor, and economically developing nations at escalating risk, often with

little protection and few prospects for individuals and communities to control their own lives.

Studies have consistently indicated that the burden of certain environmental problems is faced predominantly by those who are least able to effect the necessary changes. In the United States, a 1983 study, *Siting of Hazardous Landfills and their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities,* was published by the U.S. General Accounting Office. The report indicated that three of four off-site commercial hazardous waste facilities located in one EPA region of the country were in African American communities. This was the case even though African Americans were just 20 percent of that region's population. In 1987, the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice issued *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites.* This was the first national study to correlate waste facility sites and demographic characteristics, and it pointed to substantial, unaddressed problems that minority communities face.

A 1992 U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) report, *Environmental Equity: Reducing the Risk for All Communities,* indicated that there were "clear differences between racial groups in terms of disease and death rates" and higher than average exposure of minority groups (in terms of race or income) to "selected air pollutants, hazardous waste facilities, contaminated fish and agricultural pesticides in the workplace." In 1999, a report from Institute of Medicine the National Academy of Sciences found that "the minority and low-income communities that it chose to visit have had disproportionately higher levels of exposure to environmental stressors compared with those for the general population ... and (those communities) were least able to affect change." The committee urged policymakers "to exercise caution on behalf of the affected communities ... taking reasonable precautions to safeguard against or minimize adverse health outcomes." In 2007, 20 years after the United Church of Christ's landmark study on toxic waste and race, researchers concluded that 9 of 10 EPA regions have racial disparities in the location of hazardous waste sites, and 40 of 44 states with hazardous waste facilities have disproportionately high percentages of people of color in the surrounding neighborhoods (Bullard, Mohai, Saba and Wright 2007).

It also should be noted that, although there are many studies linking toxicity and race, there are few that look at toxicity exposure in the workplace and gender. As many toxic workplaces around the world are highly gender segregated, it is important to examine women's toxicity exposure and the resulting health effects. Katsi Cook, a Mohawk woman, thinks of women as "the first environment," and she says the Mohawk women were "flabbergasted" when they realized that all the toxic chemicals "are stored in our body fat and excreted through breast milk ... our sacred natural link to our babies" (LaDuke 1999, 18–19). As the Women's Foundation of California (2005) has noted, women's bodies are often:

> the markers of environmental contamination through diminished fertility, abnormal fetal development, increased rates of cancers and other

spiraling forms of environmental illness…Women, in essence, are the canaries of the coal mine.

WOMEN AS LEADERS OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE INITIATIVES

Communities and organizations have identified and fought against environmental injustice for more than 25 years. It is important when discussing the struggle for environmental justice to give special attention to women's voices. Women frequently predominate as members of neighborhood or community-based groups, and so it is no surprise to find that this may be the case in environmental justice groups where the issues are protecting the family, the children, the home, and the community. The women also frequently lead the neighborhood groups fighting for environmental justice and against environmental racism. Statistical data are not available regarding women's participation in environmental justice activities, but one analyst said, 10 years ago, that 90 percent of the active members of neighborhood environmental justice groups were women and another analyst noted that women "account(ed) for up to 60 percent of the leadership of people-of-color environmental justice organizations" (Stein 2004, 2).

In many countries, the backbone of a local environmental movement, including the environmental justice initiatives, has been women. Some women are rather well known but most are recognized only in their local areas. Among the better known is Hazel Wolf (1898–2000). She was born in Canada and "organized hundreds of organizers in hundreds of environmental projects and thus touched thousands" in the United States. Her biographer (Starbuck 2002, xiii) said that Wolf wanted her story published because "it would be a powerful argument for…social and environmental justice."

Diane Wilson, author of *An Unreasonable Woman: A True Story of Shrimpers, Politicos, Polluters and the Fight for Seadrift, Texas* (2005), is a fourth-generation shrimper and mother of five. In 1989, she read that her home county in Texas was the number one toxic polluter in the country. She began to discuss what the chemical plants were doing to the bay and became an environmental activist, taking on Formosa Plastics, Dow Chemical, and Union Carbide. Her work on behalf of Seadrift has earned her a number of awards including the National Fisherman Magazine Award and *Mother Jones*'s Hell Raiser of the month.

Finally, Kenya's Nobel Prize winner Wangari Maathai has been referred to as an "international eco-hero." She is the first woman in central or eastern Africa to earn a doctorate, and she has been the leader of the National Council of Women of Kenya. As head of the country's green belt movement, Maathai (2004) launched a campaign to plant ten million trees and most of these were planted by women.

The female role models in the environmental justice movement serve as activists, leaders of community and national organizations, analysts, and researchers. These women come from all kinds of backgrounds (e.g., ethnic, educational, economic and regional) to work on these issues. There is, for instance, Rose Augustine, a co-founder of Tucsonians for a Clean Environment and the

Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice; Alicia Marentes, a labor organizer and farm worker; Sarah James, a member of the Gwitch'n nation in Alaska who wants to keep gas and oil exploration out of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge; and Peggy Morrow Shepard, executive director of West Harlem Environmental Action and a former chair of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's National Environmental Justice Advisory Council.

Women have been leaders in organizing against unsafe practices in many areas of employment including the high-tech industry. There are organizations in the Silicon Valley (California), for instance, that are founded by women or linked to women's organizations including the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates, Working Women's Leadership Project, and the GABRIELLA Network (Pellow and Park 2002).

We need to share the stories of the women activists in the environmental justice movement. The stories help keep us focused on resolving the problems our communities are facing and the stories help support women activists in other communities in their often isolated struggles. The stories also remind those community members who may not have even noticed the environmental work of women that women activists, analysts and/or scientists who work in support of environmental justice often do so under difficult circumstances. Policymakers who follow the initiatives of these women learn a great deal about the specifics of a community's environmental problems and also about particular theoretical frameworks (e.g., ecofeminism, standpoint theory, multicultural liberationist theory) that help explain their community's struggles for environmental justice in a challenging world.

CONCLUSION

A great deal of evidence shows that minority people, low-income populations and particularly women who are minority or low-income have health risks resulting from their exposure to toxics. Companies and governments that do not recognize environmental justice problems have said they are not supportive for a variety of reasons including: (1) there is no evidence that there is a problem; (2) there may be some evidence, but a decision to act should be made only after there is a considerable body of reliable scientific evidence; (3) people can move if they don't want to experience a problem; (4) it would cost too much to fix a problem; (5) the problem will be eliminated by advanced technology in the near future; and/or, (6) it is not the government or company's responsibility to fix a problem that may have many causes.

Addressing environmental justice problems is difficult, but not impossible. There must be both a recognition of the problem and a willingness to address it. We have made significant progress in calling attention to environmental injustice. We still have much more to do, however, in putting a human face on the outcomes of the problems. We need to let others know when there have been tragic outcomes for the people and/or the environment (including species loss and habitat destruction). We also need to showcase the communities that have made big steps in reducing problems and the ways in which they have done that.

In addition, we need to celebrate the efforts of those who have addressed these difficult community issues. As many of these community heroes are women, the more we publicize their efforts, the more we do to raise the status of women around the world.

As we call attention to the problems and our limited accomplishments, however, the world has changed. There is an amazing concentration of wealth and power and for the vast majority of the world's population, sustainability "is mostly about surviving until tomorrow and hoping there will be a tomorrow" (Stephens and Bullock 2004, 143). Globalization has meant that the "playing field" is no longer the nation-state, but a borderless world. This means that any justice provisions that are developed, implemented, and even enforced on a national basis may not apply or be seen as problematic in a borderless, global economy. We need, at least on an interim basis, to have campaigns that both appeal to the highest humanistic values that should be expected from our leaders (such as government officials and heads of corporations) and, at the same time, also publicize and embarrass those responsible for existing and developing environmental justice problems. In the long run, more attention and energy need to go into developing a shared vision of our future: creating a climate for the development and acceptance of treaties and documents that govern world activities and reallocating our resources to deal with our most important issues. We have a long way to go to create a world where ecology, health, cultural competency, and human rights are core considerations.

See also Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Gender and International Development; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States.

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Jan Marie Fritz

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), introduced in Congress as an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, aimed to provide equality for both women and men. Proponents argued that this bill would protect women against sex discrimination; opponents contended that women would be granted "special status" if they were to acquire this form of legal protection.

BACKGROUND

The ERA was first drafted by Alice Paul in 1923, soon after women acquired the legal right to vote in 1920. Paul argued that women needed more than the right to vote; they needed to have the same overall rights as men as citizens of the United States. The ERA requires that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The ERA was introduced to Congress during every session in the 1923–1972 period; however, it failed to reach the floor for a vote until 1971. Early supporters of the ERA, including Paul, the National Women's Party, and professional women such as Amelia Earhart, argued that the legislation would guarantee "equal justice under law" to all women and men. Opponents of the ERA included reformers who had worked for protective labor laws, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and the American Federation of Labor (AFL). In their view, the ERA would force women to directly compete with men in the labor market and place unwanted demands on government.

After 47 years, on October 12, 1971, Representative Martha W. Griffiths of Michigan introduced the ERA as House Joint Resolution No. 208. This time, at the height of the second wave women's liberation movement, the resolution passed the U.S. House of Representatives with a vote of 354–24. The resolution was then passed by the U.S. Senate on March 22, 1972, with a vote of 84–8. The ERA then had to be ratified by 38 states in accordance with a seven-year

timeline. Only 35 states ever ratified it. From the time the ERA was passed in Congress to its final, extended deadline of June 30, 1982, both proponents and opponents organized to gain support for their stance.

OPPONENTS OF THE ERA

Opponents of the ERA successfully organized campaigns to prevent its ratification in states across the nation. One of the strongest opposition leaders during the time of the passing of the ERA in Congress in 1971 to its 1982 deadline was Phyllis Schlafly, a conservative Republican who established the Eagle Forum/ Stop ERA. Schlafly, fellow Republicans, and other opponents of the ERA felt that the passage of this amendment to the U.S. Constitution would have obliterated the traditional distinctions between the sexes. In her view, women would not be protected from being drafted by the military in times of war and they would not be protected by labor laws in manufacturing jobs. Critics of the ERA also claimed that state money could be used for medically necessary abortions because women's healthcare would have to be as comprehensive as the healthcare given to men. The Republican Party in 1980 removed ERA support from its platform, the same year that former California Governor Ronald Reagan successfully ran for the presidency of the United States. During this conservative period, opponents argued that the ERA would have granted more power to Congress and to the federal courts to legislate controversial policies and laws involving abortion, homosexuality, and the family.

SUPPORTERS OF THE ERA

Supporters of the ERA believed that it was and continues to be a necessary form of equal opportunity legislation; without it, they argue, persistent gender inequalities and forms of prejudice toward women will continue to persist. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was the most visible institutional supporter of the ERA. NOW worked to garner support from other organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the nation's largest labor organization, the AFL-CIO. Their chapters in unratified states organized to promote and elect pro-ERA candidates. As supporters of the ERA, they dismissed the argument by the opponents that traditional gender roles would be eradicated and viewed it as a scare tactic to promote disfavor toward the ERA. Supporters argued that its passage would promote freedom from legal sex discrimination and provide a constitutional guarantee of equal rights for men and women. NOW and ERAmerica, an umbrella support group, successfully organized to extend the seven year ratification deadline to 1982. Nonetheless, opposition groups prevented the ERA from ever being ratified by 38 states.

CONCLUSION

Although the debate between proponents and opponents of the ERA was most poignant when it went to the states for ratification in 1972, controversy

concerning equal rights for women continues until today. For nearly a decade, supporters of the ERA lobbied their state representatives, marched, rallied, and picketed on behalf of this constitutional amendment. Women's groups and other organizations supported this constitutional amendment because they believed it would keep them from being discriminated against. Yet opponents also organized marches and lobbied their state representatives, perhaps more successfully than ERA supporters.

Although the intensity of the debate has passed, NOW continues its work in supporting the ERA. In the 1990s, NOW organized an ERA Strategy Summit to reinvigorate the language of the ERA. Furthermore, the ERA continues to be introduced into Congress, including in 2001–2002 when Senator Edward Kennedy from Massachusetts and Representative Carolyn Maloney from New York introduced it. It is still possible that the ERA will be ratified as the Twentieth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

See also Affirmative Action; Comparable Worth; Second and Third Wave Feminisms; Title IX and Women's Sports.

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Marcella Gemelli

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FAMILY VALUES

Once considered a private concern, the term *family values* has emerged as a U.S. political term within the last 25 years, with growing use in recent elections. Now family values is understood to be analogous with Christian values and is associated with the opposition of gay rights and abortion, and the support of conservative social political policy.

BACKGROUND

The term *family values* became widely associated with politics only after a 1992 speech by then Vice President Dan Quayle, in which he explained the cause of the Los Angeles riots as a breakdown of family values (see sidebar The Historical Emergence of "Family Values"). Before this time, the term had been used by the Republican Party to attract conservative voters, and although it may have been used within the party, it was not an accepted part of the American lexicon. After Quayle's speech, the term gained popularity and has seen more frequent use in recent elections.

THE HISTORICAL EMERGENCE OF "FAMILY VALUES"

The Los Angeles riots were not the only thing attributed to a lack of family values during that May 19 speech in 1992. Then Vice President Dan Quayle also attacked a popular television show *Murphy Brown* for positively portraying a single mother under the umbrella of family values. "It doesn't help matters when primetime TV has Murphy Brown, a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly paid professional woman, mocking the importance

of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another lifestyle choice" (Quayle as cited in Blitzer 2002). This attack did face much countercriticism from liberal organizations as well as feminist and other media organizations, but it also illustrated the divide between the right and left in America. A large portion of the country was concerned with the maintenance of traditional gender roles in society and saw the media as implicit in dismantling these roles and as encouraging the American public to accept new radical notions of gender.

CONTEMPORARY USE AND TERMINOLOGY

Those who consider themselves members of the Republican Party, one of the two largest political parties in the United States, also vastly associate themselves with the term *conservative*, also known as *right* or *right wing*. According to the Unabridged American Dictionary, to be *conservative* one is "disposed to preserve existing conditions, institutions, etc., or to restore traditional ones, and to limit change." In contemporary political uses of the term, the theme of family values is support for, or a return to, traditional values, often with the understanding that tradition is dictated by biblical precedent. This includes the overarching understanding that a family requires its religion (implicitly Christian) to be a place from where family members' morality originates and that the nuclear family (a family unit composed of father, mother, and children) is the most important part of society.

The notion of religion being a place from where morality originates is not necessarily a recent phenomenon, but has recently become something the public views with more focus with the growth of the Evangelical Christian movement. Evangelical Christians are those Christians who emphasize their personal conversations with God and who also place a large importance on the word of the Bible. According to the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), which was founded in 1942, the NEA represents 30 million people. Evangelical Christians have risen in number in recent years and are now considered to be a formidable political constituency. They can also be known as the Religious Right.

Since the 1980s, when the term *family values* was used to gather conservative Christian Republican voters to the party, the Republican Party has had a historical link with the religious American community. Currently, when seeking to understand social issues, from a Republican view, it is nearly impossible to understand them without considering the Christian perspective that informs so much of the Republican policy. The growing Evangelical Christian movement has advocated for a stronger religious influence in politics. According to the Christian Coalition of America, the self-titled leading grassroots American religious political organization, "today, Christians need to play an active role in government again like never before."

Within this context of the Republican Party, family values are associated with a number of political issues. Such issues include displaying the Ten Commandments, prayer in public schools, and the opposition of abortion, stem cell research, pornography, homosexuality, feminism, and cohabitation before marriage. These issues that fall under the subheading of family values do not all

specifically appear in the Bible, but conservative Christians, and more recently Evangelical Christians, consider their stance on these issues to be preordained, or predetermined, by Jesus, as written in the Bible.

CRITIQUES OF THE CONSERVATIVE VIEW ON FAMILY VALUES

Conversely, the Democratic Party, the other major American political party, understands the term *family values* to encompass a number of different issues pertaining to families. This political party associates itself with the term *liberal*, which, according to the Unabridged American Dictionary, means, "pertaining to a political party advocating measures of progressive political reform"; other terms associated with this party are *left* or *left wing*. Democrats understand family values as those that encourage support of all families regardless of structure (including families made of single parents and same-sex couples), to promote access to safe and affordable birth control, and to encourage a living wage, universal healthcare, paid maternity leave, and sex education in schools.

CURRENT ISSUES UNDER DEBATE: ABORTION AND GAY MARRIAGE

To understand family values from any one perspective, it is important to understand that even a seemingly organized religious or political movement such as the Evangelical Christian movement, the Republican Party, or the Democratic Party, is not monolithic, that is acting as a single uniform group. Even a very small organization must allow for variation and the same is true of a 30-million member organization. So when thinking about any of these particular organizations, one must be careful not to overgeneralize the group, but rather to understand that these statements are true about many, but not all, members of each organization.

The two largest contemporary political issues considered to be family value issues are abortion and gay marriage. Looking at the Religious Right's, the Republican Party's, and the Democratic Party's stance on these issues can help one understand both the link between the Religious Right and the Republican Party and the difference in how each group views family values.

Regarding the political language of abortion, commons terms used are *pro-life*, meaning those against abortion, and *pro-choice*, meaning those in favor of reproductive choices, including abortion. According to the Christian view of abortion, the procedure is regarded as murder. Although there is no specific scripture verse citing the banning of abortion, according to the NAE the basis for considering abortion a political issue linked with the Bible comes from the understanding that citizens need to protect children. "We believe that God, Himself, in Scripture, has conferred divine blessing upon unborn infants and has provided penalties for actions which result in the death of the unborn." Looking to the Republican Party for an official stance on abortion, the language is different, but both stances support one another. According to their official

2004 platform, Republicans oppose abortion on the basis of protecting the life of unborn children as well. "As a country, we must keep our pledge to the first guarantee of the Declaration of Independence. That is why we say the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and we endorse legislation to make it clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children." Both groups focus on the rights of the unborn and the role of individual citizens as protectors of these rights, and they support legislation, or punishment, to those who do not protect the unborn.

In examining the official 2004 Democratic Party platform, however, one can see that the Democratic Party's reasons for supporting legal abortion differ from those given for the Religious Right's and the Republican's opposing it. "Because we believe in the privacy and equality of women, we stand proudly for a woman's right to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, and regardless of her ability to pay. We stand firmly against Republican efforts to undermine that right. At the same time, we strongly support family planning and adoption incentives. Abortion should be safe, legal, and rare." Democrats support abortion, or more specifically the *Roe v. Wade* court decision, which granted women the ability to choose abortion, based on the right of privacy (a deciding factor in the case). The Democrats argue the issue from a completely different perspective than the Religious Right and the Republican Party.

The next large issue included under the umbrella term of *family values* is gay marriage. This issue also comes with a number of additional terms. Most of these terms attempt to define the rights that accompany the various states of legal unions offered/advocated for. *Gay marriage* refers to the marriage of same-sex partnered couples and would afford them the same rights and responsibilities as any other married couple under federal law. Other terms used are *civil unions*, which are similar to marriages regarding rights and responsibilities but do not have the same name, and some argue prestige, as marriage, and also the term *domestic partnership*, which refer to rights that vary based on the location in which they are granted. Another term often associated with this issue is *homosexual agenda*; this term refers to the idea that lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender persons (LGBT) are pushing a normative idea of their lifestyles through positive portrayals of themselves in contemporary media. According to the American Family Association (AFA) a nonprofit (501(c)(3)) organization founded in 1977 by Don Wildmon, which represents and stands for traditional family, the homosexual agenda is the successful attempt by the LGBT community to use the media to positively portray themselves, thereby "molding American culture in their own image." This term is understood as an attack on the LGBT community and is seen as a concern of the Religious Right.

The Religious Right is very firm about their stance regarding gay marriage, and through their interpretation of biblical scripture, they oppose gay marriage and see homosexuality as a sin. According to the NAE, "Homosexual activity, like adulterous relationships, is clearly condemned in the Scriptures. In Leviticus 18:22 God declares the practice of homosexuality an abomination in His sight. In Romans 1:26–27 the practice of homosexuality is described as a degrading

and unnatural passion. I Corinthians 6:9–10 identifies [sic] the practice of homosexuality as a sin that, if persisted in, brings grave consequences in this life and excludes one from the Kingdom of God."

The Republican platform states their view on gay marriage in terms of federal rights and recognition, but still echoes the right's view as according to their 2004 platform, "legal recognition and the accompanying benefits afforded couples should be preserved for that unique and special union of one man and one woman which has historically been called marriage." Although the language is not specifically based on scripture, the statement does include mention of a "unique and special union," alluding to a spiritual or religious bond.

In looking at the Democratic Party's platform, again the issue is argued from a different standpoint. "We support full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of our nation and seek equal responsibilities, benefits, and protections for these families. In our country, marriage has been defined at the state level for 200 years, and we believe it should continue to be defined there." Democrats ask that states make the decisions regarding whether they grant marriage rights, civil unions, domestic partnership, or no rights at all; but the party is clear that as a whole, they do support the inclusion of gay and lesbian families in American society on the basis of citizenship and equality, and refrain from making speculations on the basis of morality and religion.

This issue became especially important during the 2004 presidential election where the term *values*, or *voting values* took on an important new meaning. During this election incumbent Republican George W. Bush was running against Democratic challenger John Kerry. Among a number of domestic and foreign issues imbedded in each of the 2004 campaigns, gay marriage became one of the most important social issues. During this election 11 states—Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio, Utah, and Oregon—all passed amendments banning gay marriage as it codified marriage as a heterosexual institution.

With the presidential election running particularly close in the polls, this issue seemed to provide the voter turnout the Republican Party needed, speaking to those who felt similarly regarding the party's values. According to the Christian Coalition of America, this strategy may be used again in further elections because it was so successful: "It is expected that more states will have constitutional amendments on their state ballots during the 2008 presidential election and all of these are expected to pass overwhelmingly in addition to bringing out new pro-family voters in the presidential election." More important, however, this strategy publicly solidified the connection between the Religious Right and the Republican Party.

EMERGING ISSUES: STEM CELL RESEARCH

Interest in abortion and gay marriage are still important to the term *family values*, but one particularly interesting issue can be added to the list. Most recently stem cell research has been gaining interest in both parties, with a recent very close vote in Missouri (the stem cell initiative passed). This is the

Republican Party's take on the issue: We recognize that President Bush made a carefully considered decision to allow federal funding for stem cell research for the first time, and did not affect stem cell research in the private sector. We strongly support the President's policy that prevents taxpayer dollars from being used to encourage the future destruction of human embryos. In addition, we applaud the President's call for a comprehensive ban on human cloning and on the creation of human embryos solely for experimentation." The Religious Right is careful not to expressly contradict this statement, but it does state that although embryos are a human life given by God, scientific research can be done with them if overseen properly. The careful wording by both the Republicans and the Religious Right perhaps reflects the complexity of this issue. The stem cell initiative of Missouri perhaps marked one of the more recent times when the two communities faced a possible rift, as some Republican lawmakers supported the initiative, but most religious organizations were firmly against it.

The Democrats, who openly backed the bill in Missouri and claimed victory in the state in the majority of other races, openly support all forms of stem cell research. "President Bush has rejected the calls from Nancy Reagan, Christopher Reeve and Americans across the land for assistance with embryonic stem cell research. We will reverse his wrongheaded policy. Stem cell therapy offers hope to more than 100 million Americans who have serious illnesses—from Alzheimer's to heart disease to juvenile diabetes to Parkinson's. We will pursue this research under the strictest ethical guidelines, but we will not walk away from the chance to save lives and reduce human suffering."

The issue of stem cell research will be important regardless of whether it succeeds in forming a rift between the Republican Party and the Religious Right. If it does in fact succeed then it will be significant for having been the issue that ended the era of family values voting, which so firmly united the Religious Right with the Republican Party; and if it does not, it will be indicative of the extent to which each organization, the Religious Right and the Republican Party, is willing to change their politics to keep each other as constituents.

See also Abortion; Fatherhood Initiatives; Postfeminism; Right Wing Women's Movements; Same-Sex Marriage; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Jessica Jennrich

FATHERHOOD INITIATIVES

Fatherhood initiatives believe that eliminating poverty and improving child well-being can be accomplished through father presence and marriage. Critics of this approach contend that poverty cannot be eliminated through father presence and marriage alone, and that problems experienced by children in single-parent homes are the result of many variables including a lack of adequate employment opportunities, healthcare and social support.

BACKGROUND

Fatherhood initiatives, which support the idea that fathers should play central roles in the lives of their children and families, began to be promoted in the mid-1990s. Typically, these initiatives have been promoted alongside marriage initiatives, which promote heterosexual marriage over cohabitation or single parenting, and have been promoted by both Democratic and Republican administrations. One important assumption made by supporters of these initiatives is that father presence and traditional marriage would help poor people escape poverty. Because of this belief, the federal government has incorporated responsible fatherhood and marriage initiatives into social welfare policies and programs, with the idea that if poor people are to receive public assistance, they must also acquire responsible parenting and marriage skills.

In 1996, former President William Jefferson Clinton (1992–2000) signed into law the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, commonly referred to as the Welfare Reform Act, or simply as "welfare reform." Of importance, this act begins by stating, "Marriage is the foundation of a successful society" (Welfare Reform Act 1996, 110, as quoted in Silverstein and Auerbach 1999, 398–99). It was undertaken to "end welfare as we know it," according to President Clinton. He claimed the goals were to give families an opportunity to move from welfare to work. Critics saw welfare reform as a way to reduce government public assistance roles, regardless of the long-term outcomes for families, which they viewed as linked to state-provided social welfare.

FEDERAL FUNDING OF MEDIA MARRIAGE PROMOTERS

In 2004, Universal Press Syndicate columnist Maggie Gallagher was paid $21,500 to promote President George W. Bush's marriage initiatives. Gallagher was paid through the National Fatherhood Initiative, which was founded by Wade Horn, then Assistant Secretary for Children and Families at the Department of Health and Human Services. Gallagher had also received an additional $20,000 from the Bush administration in 2002 and 2003 to write the report, "Can Government Strengthen Marriage?" Gallagher wrote that report for the National Fatherhood Initiative as well, and it was used by supporters to back their policy initiatives.

During the debates to pass welfare reform legislation, fatherlessness was cited as one of the reasons for rising rates of juvenile delinquency, teen pregnancy, school dropouts, drug and alcohol use, and juvenile crime. Single-mother homes were compared to married homes, and it was concluded that welfare reform should promote marriage and father involvement as a means of reducing family poverty and the social ills that resulted. Critics argued that research showed father involvement programs, and marriage alone did not help poor families to rise out of poverty, nor did those programs and marriage promotion result in more marriages and more fathers becoming positive influences in their children's lives.

SUPPORTERS OF FATHERHOOD INITIATIVES

Supporters of fatherhood initiatives claim that since welfare reform was enacted in 1996, public assistance roles have decreased, more heads of household are working, and overall poverty statistics show decreases. They also note that there has been an increase in two-parent households, and rates of nonmarital childbirths have decreased.

A study of the role of fatherhood by Child Trends (1999), a nonpartisan research center that studies children and families, notes that fathers provide many benefits for children. Several studies have found that children benefit from increased time with fathers. Child Trends notes that children with fewer behavioral problems have fathers who provide higher levels of involvement in activities with their children that include eating together and homework assistance. These children also have a higher level of school performance.

Ron Haskins, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, a conservative think tank based in Washington, D.C., summed up the position of pro-marriage and fatherhood initiative advocates when he concluded in testimony before the Congressional Committee of Appropriations on May 3, 2006, that "children do best when reared by their married parents." He claimed that marriage reduces poverty by using statistics that show how female-headed houses have much higher rates of poverty than married households. According to Haskins, "in most years, children in female-headed families have poverty rates that exceed those of children in married-couple families by a factor of five or more." Thus he encouraged policymakers to promote marriage to reduce poverty.

Socioeconomic factors do play an important role in father-child relationships. Some studies show that levels of education play an important role in a father's engagement with their children. The higher the level of education, the more fathers stayed engaged with their school-age children. In addition, fathers who are financially capable of taking care of their children are more engaged in their lives regardless of whether they live in the same home.

OPPONENTS OF FATHERHOOD INITIATIVES

Researcher and author Stephanie Coontz examines father absence in her *Los Angeles Times* article, "Our Kids Are Not Doomed." She found that the "dire predictions of social decay" tied to divorce and single mother homes have not materialized. In fact, almost every negative social trend attributed to single mother households has declined. Coontz found that in the 1990s, teen birth rates actually fell by 30 percent and teen homicide rates also dropped. In addition, adolescent suicides decreased by 25 percent, and substance use by adolescents declined. The social decay that never materialized occurred during a time when cohabitation was on the increase and marriage was on the decrease. Coontz also notes that households headed by single mothers had increased at a rate of five times faster than the number of two-parent married households. This finding resonates with the U.S. Bureau of the Census 2005 American Community Survey, released in 2006, which reports that only 49.7 percent of all U.S. households are headed by married couples, the lowest figure in history.

Critics have also pointed out that the increase in two-parent households reflects an increase in nonmarital cohabitation, not legal marriage, as pro-marriage and pro-fatherhood advocates boast. In addition, the decline in teen pregnancies has caused the nonmarital child birth rates to fall; however, women in their twenties are having more children outside of marriage. Child Trends notes that research on fathers is limited and most studies that look at factors that positively impact children find no significant connection between father-child relationships and these outcomes; however, there is consensus that unemployment and economic difficulties for fathers do have detrimental effects on children.

Researchers have found that father absence depends as well on other relevant family characteristics such as the lack of an income from a male adult, the absence of a second adult, and the lack of support from a second extended family system. Drawing from the research of Vonnie McLoyd (1998), psychologists Louise Silverstein and Carl Auerbach have pointed out that "families without fathers are likely to be poor, and it is the negative effects of poverty, rather than the absence of a father, that lead to negative developmental outcomes."(1999, 399) They have also pointed out that "because single-mother families are over-represented among poor families, it is difficult to differentiate the effects of father absence from the effects of low income" (1999, 403). Poverty and job status appear to be key factors regarding positive child outcomes in single-mother homes, not merely the presence or absence of a father. Katha Pollitt (2002) notes that research shows that women who are poor often date men who are poor and have additional problems that create difficulties for households, including

problems such as high rates of unemployment, incarceration, substance abuse, and illness.

Critics also point out that statistics supporting pro-fatherhood and pro-marriage positions have a questionable background. Unfortunately, they argue, these statistics about fatherlessness have now become mainstream, promoted by groups like the National Fatherhood Initiative and the Children's Rights Council. In the mid-1990s, these statistics were first promoted by Fathers' Manifesto, an umbrella group of fathers' rights groups that denigrated single-mother homes. Fathers' Manifesto also called for the repeal of women's right to vote, as well as the right to father custody without exceptions. Although the research is flawed, fatherhood initiatives have received federal funding to support their pro-marriage cause, but funding for services to support poor women and their children have been cut. Services such as food stamps, housing assistance, health care, foster care, and childcare support have all seen budget cuts from the Bush administration. In other words, fatherhood and marriage initiatives have been framed largely from within a conservative approach to social welfare, despite the fact that liberal groups have also supported the general notion of promoting father participation in family rearing.

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Federal and state fatherhood initiatives have focused primarily on collecting child support from what former President Clinton famously referred to as "deadbeat dads." In his 2000 State of the Union address, one of President Clinton's primary focuses was the enforcement of child support collection. The National Center on Fathers and Families (NCOFF) has noted that some fatherhood programs have been created to improve child support compliance and to address other negative behaviors related to child support collection in the judicial system. A mother who needs public assistance cannot collect benefits unless she names the father of her child or assists in establishing paternity. Supporters believe this is a first step toward establishing responsible fatherhood. Opponents argue that the purpose of these initiatives is not to bring fathers closer to their families. Rather, they claim, the state is mainly interested in acquiring reimbursement for money it pays to custodial mothers who need public assistance. According to their view, welfare reform has created a colossal mess of child support theory and collection. The slogan "child support is for the children" disguises the fact that child support is collected to reimburse the state with a minor pass through grant to mothers if payments are collected. Programs have not resulted in fathers taking a more active role in their children's lives. For example, an evaluation of the Colorado Parent Opportunity Project (1999), a fatherhood initiative focused on child support collection, found that the program experienced low participation rates and that many fathers dropped out of the program. Job compliance was mixed. Poor men were not likely to earn enough money to support a family or to lift that family out of poverty. Although participation rates were low, those who were in the program reported liking the program and the access they had to their children. The purpose of the program, however, was to find employment for poor fathers and to get them to pay child support regularly. The program was unable to effectively achieve these goals.

The National Practitioners Network for Fathers and Families (NPNFF) started a fatherhood initiative in the San Francisco Bay area. NPNFF also reported low participation rates. Fathers may have perceived that the purpose of the program was to get child support rather than help them establish better relationships with their children. Evaluators indicated that there was insufficient communication between counties, so ascertaining the effectiveness of this program was difficult. It was found, however, that illiteracy in mothers and fathers was a problem that affected their ability to get and hold a job and that staff who were hired to run the program were not sufficiently trained to help their clients be successful in finding and keeping employment. Here, too, responsible fatherhood was linked to a variety of factors, not just to the presence of fathers (or mothers).

FEDERALLY FUNDED MARRIAGE INITIATIVES

Since the 1996 welfare reforms, marriage initiatives have been implemented in tandem with fatherhood initiatives, as a way to bring poor families out of poverty. In 2004, reporters Maggie Gallagher and Michael McManus received funding from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) to promote marriage initiatives in the media. They were severely criticized for doing so because the source of their funding was deemed unethical. Wade Horn, the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families at the Department of Health and Human Services, authorized the funding of the pro-marriage articles. Horn, co-founder of The National Fatherhood Initiative, is best known for his promotion of federal marriage and responsible fatherhood initiatives. His support of these initiatives is based on his ideological belief that fathers should be present in family life and that two-headed, heterosexual households are the most natural and efficient forms of familial social organization. He has admitted, however, that his writings about welfare reform and marriage are his opinion and not necessarily based on research.

TIMELINE: FEDERAL FUNDING FOR MARRIAGE INITIATIVES

1994: National Fatherhood Initiative (NFI) forms. NFI has been instrumental in promoting fatherhood in the media and to the federal government. NFI receives more than $3 million in funding to promote marriage and father presence in poor families. The funding comes from private family foundations.

1995: Fathers' Manifesto posts "fatherlessness" statistics on the Internet. Fathers' Manifesto is an umbrella group of right-wing father's rights groups that blame single and divorced-mother homes for social ills.

1996: President William Jefferson Clinton signs into law the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, passing sweeping welfare reform legislation. The NFI begins lobbying to include fatherhood programs in welfare reform. The American Fathers Coalition submits a welfare reform paper that promotes father involvement, including the recommendation to switch custody from the mother to the father if the mother applies for public assistance.

1997: The Children's Rights Council (a father's rights group) promotes marriage as the answer to poverty. Fatherhood groups begin to promote marriage as a means of lifting poor single mothers out of poverty. Parents Fair Share is formed. Parents Fair Share is a welfare program sought to improve father involvement and to collect child support.

1999: The Fathers Count Act (H. R. 3073) provides $161 million in grants for programs that promote marriage and "responsible fatherhood." Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program, created through the 1996 welfare reform legislation, promotes pro-marriage goals with federal funding.

2000: President William Jefferson Clinton proposes fatherhood initiatives.

2001: Wade Horn, former president of the National Fatherhood Initiative, is named assistant secretary for Children and Family Services at the Department of Health and Human Services under President George W. Bush (2000–2008).

2005: Head Start program adds fatherhood initiatives.

CONCLUSION

Debates concerning fatherhood and marriage initiatives are ideological as well as research-based. Supporters of these initiatives believe that father involvement and traditional marriage may help to lift poor families out of poverty. They argue that the presence of a father in children's lives will improve the lives of the children. The federal government, one of the largest supporters of these initiatives, has enacted welfare reform with this model in mind, including block grants awarded to states to promote employment, child support collection, father involvement, and marriage.

Critics of these programs have shown that marriage and a father's presence alone will not lift families out of poverty. They argue that these programs focus on draconian child support collection that does not collect enough money to lift poor families out of poverty. Fathers are often unemployed, in prison, or working in jobs that pay salaries too low to lift their families out of poverty. Rather than fund programs that promote marriage and father involvement, critics encourage the federal government to fund programs that provide single and divorced mothers with adequate child care, employment training, housing assistance, and help with addictions. These programs have already been proven to work, but they are being cut to fund unproven pro-marriage and pro-father involvement programs.

See also Child Custody and Parental Rights; Childcare; Family Values; Welfare Reform.

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Trish Wilson

FEMALE SEXUALITY AND DYSFUNCTION

Conflicting ideas surrounding women's sexual health and normal versus abnormal female sexuality constitute a central debate within feminist, medical, social, and psychological discourses of women's bodies. From historical views

on hysteria to contemporary debates on sexual liberation, medical practitioners, scholars, and observers have long debated women's sexuality in terms of normal versus abnormal forms of behavior.

BACKGROUND: FROM THE VICTORIAN ERA TO SIGMUND FREUD'S RESEARCH ON PSYCHOANALYSIS

Ideas about sexual function and dysfunction have long governed social norms about female sexual health. Before the Victorian era (nineteenth century), women's sexuality was thought to be an important part of their overall health, and sexual freedom and expression were the norm. This included a generally positive attitude toward female orgasm, same-sex eroticism, and sex outside the conditions of reproduction (Foucault, 1978). When repression took hold in the West during the Victorian era, this shift dramatically changed the landscape of female sexuality, such that women's sexual desires were thought to be a sign of sickness. Physicians of this era claimed that women were naturally frigid, and that their only true sexual desire was to reproduce. Indeed, orgasm (administered to women under the care of a skilled physician) was thought only to be a "cure" for hysteria, a condition that doctors believed to be the result of the womb wandering throughout the body, thereby causing instability in the woman's nervous system. The Victorian era normalized lack of orgasm and women's distance from their sexuality, and it reinforced a new norm of sexual difference, where men experienced sexual desire in the pursuit of pleasure, whereas women could desire sex only for the purposes of sexual reproduction. These differences came to justify a variety of social inequalities, as female sexual desire was ascribed only to women of the working class. Women of the upper class were not to be troubled with feelings of sexual desire and pleasure-seeking behaviors. Instead, upper-class Victorian women became the symbolic representation of restraint, a carefully constructed (and politically significant) shift both for women's sexual health and for women's social and political status in society. Chastity became, for women, a symbol of status; lack of sexual desire linked womanliness with social mobility. Women who deviated from this Victorian exterior of purity and chastity were situated as cultural outsiders: madwomen, criminals, and disordered beings (Smith-Rosenberg 1985; Laqueur 1990).

HYSTERIA

Did you know that, from the days of Ancient Egypt until the nineteenth century Victorian era, the womb was thought to wander throughout the body if the woman was sexually unfulfilled, crowding other organs and causing tissue damage, suffocation, and hysterical symptoms? In fact, the word *hysteria* comes from the root *hyster* or uterus. Thus when we use the word *hysterical* to describe certain kinds of behaviors, we reify now defunct historical connections between women's bodies and mental illness. During the Victorian era, it was thought that the only way to cure hysteria was for a medical doctor to masturbate a woman until orgasm with a vibrator, thereby restoring her womb to its proper state of sanity.

Many theorists of sexuality have noted that this extreme embrace of repressive ideology during the Victorian era led, ironically, to an obsession with sex. In the public denial of women's sexual interests and desires, sexuality became a dominant and pervasive force. Arising out of the context of severe repression of women's sexuality, the work of Sigmund Freud sought to make visible the connections between repression of sexuality and obsession with sexuality, allowing psychoanalysis to take root both in Europe and in the United States. Suddenly, ideas about sexuality as a driving force of human behavior made sense. Like the sex research that was to follow psychoanalysis, the premise of psychoanalysis was to "rebel" against the repression of sexuality, and instead speak about sexuality in the public sphere. At the same time, these efforts to rebel against repression served both to free women's sexuality from the constraints of repression, while also simultaneously constraining it. Although Freud was not primarily concerned with female sexuality, psychoanalysis offered some complicated ideas about the nature of female sexual health. First, despite the fact that it functioned as the first "revolt" against the repressive discourses of the Victorian era, it nevertheless reified these repressive discourses by portraying women as naturally passive and domestic, and as having relentless "penis envy" (whereby women, having discovered their "lack" of penis, actively desired the penis as both a literal and symbolic symbol of power). And, despite bringing female sexuality into public discourse, psychoanalysis nevertheless kept female sexuality hidden and obscure by its overemphasis on male sexuality and masculine ideas of intercourse and penetration. Although psychoanalysis allowed for the existence of female sexuality, primarily by arguing that women could be sexual because they had the same instincts as men, it simultaneously maintained essential differences between men (as active, dominant, and phallic), and women (as passive, inferior, and envious) (Freud 1953; Buhle 1998).

ALFRED KINSEY'S AND MASTERS AND JOHNSON'S RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

Although psychoanalysis argued that both men and women were driven by unconscious sexual wishes and desires, American researchers Alfred Kinsey et al. (1953) and Masters and Johnson (1966) sought to study both male and female sexuality from an empirical perspective to prove that mainstream Americans were engaging in a wider variety of sexual behaviors and nontraditional lifestyles than previously thought. Kinsey was one of the first to study sexuality in a concrete, empirical manner (i.e., what people do sexually, how often, and in what ways), and he found that people engaged in masturbation, nocturnal sex dreams, intercourse with same-sex and opposite-sex partners, "petting," and, sometimes, animal contacts. This research brought sexuality into the public sphere and thereby normalized sexual variety, but it also sparked new norms of mandatory female sexual performance. Women suddenly faced a shift in public perception of themselves as relatively asexual and pure to a new definition of themselves as sexually obsessed (Freud) and sexually active in a diverse group of sexual behaviors (Kinsey; Masters and Johnson).

WOMEN'S SEXUALITY AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, 1960s+

As the Victorian era of repression and silence around sexuality gave rise to psychoanalysis and empirical sex research as revolts against repression, so too did the 1950s era of domesticity, passivity, and secret sexuality give rise to the women's liberation movement and the sexual revolution. These changes in climate around sexuality were, in part, nurtured by increasingly fervent criticisms of psychoanalysis (which naturalized women's passivity), anger and hostility about women's continued subjugation in the bedroom (brought to light most prominently by Simone DeBeauvoir and Betty Friedan, as well as many others), and increasing empirical evidence that despite efforts to silence public discourse about sexuality, Americans were engaging in a wide variety of sexual behaviors previously characterized as fringe behaviors (including homosexuality, oral and anal sex, group sex, and masturbation).

Activism around women's sexuality represented a central feature of the women's movement and the sexual revolution. It was at this point in history (the early 1960s) that women collectively fought against the legacies of repression that had so long denied women's pleasure and contained it within the discourses of propriety, decorum, modesty, and silence. In particular, women fought for orgasms—the right to have them, the right to talk about them, and the right to reject false assumptions that the vaginal orgasm was superior to the clitoral orgasm (Koedt 1973). Feminists also argued that heterosexual intercourse, given its infrequent contribution to female orgasm, was a patriarchal construct that contributed to the false belief in clitoral inferiority (both to the vagina and to the penis). Some feminists argued that if women did not prefer heterosexual intercourse, this was due to the institutionalization of patriarchal control over

VALERIE SOLANAS

First published in 1968, Valerie Solanas's *SCUM Manifesto* stands as testament to the innovation and creativity of radical feminist ideas about sexuality. Championed as "one of the most important spokeswomen of the feminist movement" and "the first outstanding champion of women's rights," Solanas argued for the removal of oneself from the sexual exchange with men, saying, "Sex is the refuge of the mindless. And the more mindless the woman, the more deeply embedded in the male 'culture,' in short, the nicer she is, the more sexual she is" (27). She called for a radical revision of sexual politics, and a complete upheaval of institutionalized heterosexuality, saying, "Sex is not part of a relationship; on the contrary, it is a solitary experience, non-creative, a gross waste of time.... [Woman] can easily—far more easy than she may think—condition away her sex drive, leaving her completely cool and cerebral and free to pursue truly worthy relationships and activities" (26). Solanas later became famous for her June 3, 1968 shooting of Andy Warhol, about which she declared, "I consider that a moral act. And I consider it immoral that I missed. I should have done target practice."

women, and that intercourse itself did not appropriately stimulate the clitoris. Some argued that sexual intercourse itself should be done away with, as it upheld men's power over women, denied women clitoral satisfaction, and reified heterosexist ideas and antilesbian vitriol. Women's sexual health and sexual function were portrayed in clitoricentric terms, as feminists encouraged women to embrace their sexual pleasure and reject anything that did not directly contribute to sexual empowerment and physical joy. One consequence of such a view was the championing of lesbian identification and lesbian sexuality, as well as a rejection of heterosexual coupling as the social ideal (Gerhard 2000).

As an outgrowth of the sexual revolution and the women's liberation movement, radical feminism garnered momentum, particularly in its attacks on conventional sexuality. Some radical feminists argued against both the tyranny of the vaginal orgasm *and* the championing of the clitoral orgasm, saying that both mandated female sexual performance in troubling ways. For example, the 1970s radical feminist group based in Boston, Cell 16, argued that patriarchy placed women in the midst of an "orgasm frenzy," obsessed with women's right to enjoy their bodies at the expense of a larger social critique. Others argued that sexual liberation in the 1960s and 1970s merely substituted one form of oppression (norms that forced women to have sex and orgasm frequently) for another (the norm of repression that dominated from the nineteenth century to the early 1960s), citing *The Joy of Sex* books, antilesbianism, and pornography as evidence. Radical feminists argued that this newfound sexual freedom to have lots of sex with lots of people simply ignored women's actual experiences of brutalization, rape, submission, and powerlessness in the bedroom (Jeffreys 1990). Rather than embrace frequent sex as a sign of sexual health, some radical feminists, including the Redstockings group as well as individual radical feminists, advocated an asexual lifestyle or a lesbian separatist lifestyle that would isolate women from men altogether (Solanas, 1968).

The sexual revolution and the women's liberation movement brought about a variety of important social changes that affected women's contemporary sexual lives. During that era, several important events occurred, including the advent of the birth control pill in 1960, the legalization of abortion, the passing of more complicated laws about divorce (coupled with more complicated views of divorce), more public displays of sexual variety (including lesbian sexuality), the increasing popularity of nontraditional lifestyles (e.g., free love, rootlessness, group living), and increasing antiwar sentiments inspired by Vietnam and the draft. These events coincided with a shift in the climate around sexuality, most prominently contributing to the split between sex-positive and sex-negative feminism that began in the 1980s and continued for the next two decades. This debate surrounding the discursive position of sex—that is, sex as violent and oppressive (sex-negative feminism) versus liberating and empowering (sex-positive feminists)—represented a central debate in thinking about women's sexuality and sexual health. Whereas sex-negative feminists located women's oppression in the act of intercourse itself (e.g., sex as rape), and specifically found fault with the circulation of pornography as a means of encouraging a culture of violence against women, sex-positive feminists embraced pornography, as well

as a range of sexual acts, fantasies, and desires as central to women's freedom and expressiveness. Sex-negative feminists argued that, because sex cannot be equal between two partners, it rendered women powerless and submissive (Dworkin 1997; MacKinnon 1987). Sex-positive feminists argued that sex can, and should, be life-affirming, loving, and a positive aspect of women's lives (Nagle 1997). Such a debate continues to inform popular and medical discourses of female sexual health today.

CURRENT DEBATES

Today, women's sexuality is very much enshrouded in conflicting social norms about function and dysfunction. Within medical discourses, it is common for women to be labeled as pathological and dysfunctional if they do not regularly engage in heterosexual intercourse, and/or if they do not achieve orgasm frequently. Indeed, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV-TR,* the most widely used and oft-cited classification system for mental illnesses, includes a substantial number of sexual disorders that categorize women as pathological if they do not have enough sexual desire, if they do not achieve orgasm regularly with a partner, and if they experience discomfort during sexual intercourse. The language of this manual includes phrases like "normal sexual arousal," without specifying any objective criteria for "normal" sexual expression. These medical diagnoses exist within a staunchly heterosexist framework, with the specific language of disorders including statements about intercourse as the sexual norm, and orgasm during masturbation as insignificant. The messages about female sexual function in these medical texts are clear: women should pursue sex as often as possible, enjoy sex when they have it, and define sex as vaginal intercourse. Sexual function, then, becomes directly defined by women's frequent sexual activity and frequent sexual desire for heterosexual intercourse.

Sexual dysfunction, in medical and psychological texts, is defined by women's inability to respond to appropriate partner stimuli and by women's aversion to sexual contact. Many medical studies have shown great concern with women's physical responsiveness to sexual stimuli, including their ability to produce "adequate lubrication" as well as their physical ability to achieve orgasm. Medical studies have frequently targeted women's hormones as a possible culprit in their often less-than-optimal sexual responsiveness, and have tested several hormone therapies as possible solutions to such problems. One such outgrowth of this viewpoint has been the increasing interest by several major pharmaceutical companies in developing a female version of the popular drug Viagra. Pfizer, for example, reported being frustrated by the failure of their company to develop a successful version of Viagra for women, citing the pill's inability to ignite female arousal patterns. They noted that, unlike male Viagra, female Viagra did not contribute to an increase in women's desire for sex, even if it did help to arouse women physically. This split between sexual desire and sexual arousal led to their eventual conclusion that they would instead need a pill to engender a sense of intimacy between men and women. These efforts have, to date, been unsuccessful (Harris 2004).

In response to the medical view of female sexual function and dysfunction as largely a physical phenomenon, feminists and sex therapists have been quick to situate women's sexuality within a sociocultural context. Many feminists have argued, for example, that women who do not regularly achieve orgasm or regularly engage in sexual activity may indeed be completely normal. They argue also that one must look not only at the woman's physical functioning, but also at the sexual skills of her partner(s). Too often, the context of sexuality is not fully considered when diagnosing sexual dysfunction, and therefore women are labeled as pathological without fully accounting for their psychological functioning, the experience and knowledge of their partner(s), and the context in which they function sexually and socially. One prominent feminist critic of the medical model of sexuality, Leonore Tiefer (1995), has argued that women experiencing sexual problems can benefit greatly from feminist-oriented sex therapy, in which sexual problems are explored in a social context. She argues that therapy should focus on the whole person, should not be too goal-oriented or too "genital," and should not limit or control women's sexuality by promoting patriarchal views of women's bodies. Instead, sex therapy should help women reclaim the language of sexuality, explore their sexual needs and desires, challenge a heterosexist worldview, and better understand the subjective sexual meaning of desire and satisfaction. Sexual function, then, is the demonstration of women's ability to fully integrate their sexual desires and sexual needs into their self-concept, such that they can experience and express themselves in ways that feel safe, pleasurable, and fulfilled. Tiefer and other feminist sex therapists also advocate an end to pharmaceutical treatments of sexual dysfunction, citing the medical model's overeagerness to situate women's sexual problems as a physical dysfunction. Rather, they argue, sexual dysfunction is a complex social phenomenon that occurs in the context of many different motives, scripts, emotions, sensations, and connections.

Other feminist critics, like Peggy Kleinplatz (2001), argue that sex therapists have not questioned the major assumptions of their field, such as "What is sex?" or "What is sexuality?" Such critiques have largely been relegated to the fields of queer studies and feminist studies, rarely entering into mainstream sex therapy debate. Also, the field of sex therapy has not established its major theoretical questions (e.g., what sex therapists hope to achieve, how the mind and body interact in sex, how fantasies and desires function, or what version of "normal" sexuality is prescribed), and consequently, the science of sex therapy exists in a theoretical vacuum. Kleinplatz has also argued that sex therapy too often reifies damaging and dangerous sexual myths, including the idea that couples seek therapy to help achieve orgasm, when in fact male more than female clients tend to express this concern. Feminist sex therapists have noted that this model of help-seeking affirms a patriarchal model of sexual function and dysfunction, whereby women's sexual function is determined by their partners rather than their own individual experiences. Both Kleinplatz and Tiefer have argued that one possible goal of sex therapy should be to help clients reimagine other aspects of sexuality that are meaningful and central to their sexual happiness. This can include intimacy, emotional closeness, and other models of physical connection. In general, feminist psychologists agree that an overemphasis on orgasm as a

symbol of sexual maturity, as well as too much concern with women pressuring themselves to be "normal" in terms of sexual frequency and activity, leads to unhealthy attitudes about sexuality and reinforces a heterosexist, patriarchal model of women that denies their true sexual subjectivity.

See also Kinsey Scale of Sexual Behavior; Sadomasochism, Domination, and Submission; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Breanne Fahs

FEMININITIES AND MASCULINITIES

Femininity and masculinity, terms that define gendered behavior, are typically tied to understandings of male and female bodies. Defenders of traditional forms of femininity and masculinity argue that gender roles are derived from biology and should not be changed. Critics contend that femininity and masculinity are socially constructed and subject to change over time, both within and among individuals and societies.

BACKGROUND

In Western societies, femininity and masculinity are binary concepts that define culturally appropriate gender behaviors, forms of expression, and expectations for women and men. These concepts are based on either biologically or

socially constructed notions of gender, depending on the observer. According to those who hold the view that gender is directly derived from our biologies, expressions of masculinity and femininity stem directly from men's and women's innate biological characteristics; that is, their expressions of traditional gender identity are natural. Those who believe that gender is socially constructed argue that notions of femininity and masculinity are greatly influenced by social environment, including how we learn about our gender identities in families, the educational system, religious institutions, popular culture, and society at large. Many men and women experience their gender roles in terms of traditional notions of femininity and masculinity. At the same time, there are people of every culture who do not meet these expectations or feel that they fit into these traditional roles. As a result, they defy the taken-for-granted understandings of their gender roles, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Scholars have analyzed notions of masculinity and femininity as they affect the socialization of children and adults. Some argue that traditional notions of femininity and masculinity are binding for those who do not fit neatly into these categories; others argue that those who do not fit within prescribed gender roles are deviant or abnormal, and that traditional feminine and masculine forms of expression should not be changed or transformed.

JACKSON KATZ ON MASCULINITY AND INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE

Jackson Katz has spent much of the past two decades speaking to boys and men about their role in domestic and sexual violence. Katz (2006) encourages men and boys to see domestic violence and sexual assault as a men's problem insofar as it concerns their socialization into norms that condone the denigration of women. In his book, *The Macho Paradox* (2006), Katz traces the cultural influences that frame masculinity in terms of power, control, dominance, and entitlement. These notions of masculinity are sexist, Katz argues, and are found throughout history on both institutional and individual levels.

Beginning at an early age, boys are socialized to discount the opinions of girls and women and to objectify them sexually. They learn that they cannot speak up against the gender norms of manhood or they will face something unacceptable: accusations of being gay or a sissy (i.e., less than a man). Males lose status if they speak up for females or if they don't join in subordinating them. Sexist treatment of women is so normalized in society, Katz argues, that many males fully incorporate degrading attitudes of women into their daily lives.

Katz argues that movies, television, wrestling, talk radio shows (e.g., Howard Stern, Tom Leykis, Rush Limbaugh), music icons like Eminem, and media coverage of high-profile sexual assault cases (e.g., Kobe Bryant) help to permeate the culture with anti-women messages. Athletics are an arena that bolsters the association of power and dominance with manhood at the expense of compassion and equality. Rather than bash these institutions, however, Katz suggests that men and boys should organize to rethink why so much value is placed on these masculine traits. His suggestions for boys and men to speak out, to support survivors of interpersonal violence, and to get involved in rape prevention and domestic violence movements are at the heart of his proposal. His work serves as a model of feminist-inspired activism by men working to end violence against women.

Debates on masculinity and femininity have escalated since the emergence of the second wave women's movement and the gay pride movement in the 1960s, as members of these movements have challenged essentialist (i.e., biologically deterministic) views on gender and sexual identity and have fought for their civil rights. Opponents of these movements argue that traditional expressions of women's femininity and men's masculinity are natural and the most appropriate or efficient in today's culture and market economy. The struggle over whether gender is rooted in biology or socialization continues at the level of academic scholarship, policy, and law.

TRADITIONAL GENDER IDENTITIES, ROLES, AND EXPECTATIONS

According to traditional cultural norms in U.S. society, females are expected to exhibit feminine qualities and to be soft, sensitive, delicate, nurturing, patient, collaborative, passive, beautiful, graceful, caring, gentle, and empathetic. In contrast, men are expected to exhibit masculine qualities such as being assertive or aggressive, physical, strong, rational, and goal-oriented, among others. Traditionally, this combination of traits is seen as a set of binary opposites; one can be feminine or masculine, but not both.

People express feminine or masculine qualities through speech, appearance, and emotions. For example, women and men are socialized to speak quite differently. Likewise, children are spoken to differently depending on their sex. Some studies show, for example, that men are more likely to sound assertive in their conversations, whereas women are socialized to maintain conversation through encouraging comments and questions (Brownmiller 1984).

In terms of appearance, traditional femininity stresses physical looks, especially in contrast to how men appear. For example, hair styles serve as a gender marker that help people to determine a person's gender at first glance. Historically in Western societies, hair has been viewed as one of women's "greatest assets," with long hair typically viewed as feminine and erotic (Weitz 2004). Beginning in sixteenth-century England, the view has been held that hair was given from God for women to cover themselves as a symbol of subjection and to be distinct from men. When Queen Elizabeth cut her hair and publicly announced her marriage to God, effectively calling off any possibility of marrying a man, this symbol went down in history as a sign of her strength and authority as the Queen of England. Popular images of fairy princesses typically represent them with long hair that is often blond. The cult of blondness itself speaks to how women are viewed as wholesome, fun, or sexy. At given historical times, when women have chosen to cut the hair, it has been seen as a sign of rebellion; the bob haircut of the Roaring Twenties, for example, was a sign of women's emancipation (Weitz 2004).

Feminist critics point out that although hair grows naturally on the body, it is the culture that determines and sends the messages where body hair is acceptable. For example, it is distinctly unfeminine for a woman to have hair on her face, under her arms, or on her legs, despite the fact that they naturally have hair in these places. European women with underarm hair are largely accepted,

CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA

Concerned Women for America (CWA), a conservative Christian group founded in 1979, focuses on preserving the traditional heterosexual nuclear family and on applying biblical principles to current social policy initiatives. Its founder, Beverly LaHaye, is a well-known conservative, antifeminist critic who has published extensively on issues pertaining to Christian women's lives. CWA began as an extreme right-wing organization with little support and has transformed into a relatively powerful lobbying group in the U.S. political system. Following LaHaye's published writings, CWA emphasizes women's traditional roles by asking women to nurture their maternal instincts. Since the 1990s, CWA has worked actively to oppose same-sex rights and support "pro-family" legislation. One irony of right-wing women's stances on preserving women's traditional gender roles is that many of the women leaders in CWA are themselves working women who do not stay at home and take care of their children on a full-time basis.

whereas in the United States women with underarm hair are not. In the United States, many women spend inordinate amounts of time shaving, plucking, and tweezing body hair, a fact supported by the overwhelming success of the nations' beauty industry (Chapkis 1986). Traditionally, gray hair on women has been perceived as unattractive, although this is changing as more and more women are opting not to die their hair but rather to leave it naturally gray.

Clear, fresh, firm, and youthful skin is also an attribute of the Western ideal of femininity. The skin of Snow White impresses on children the idea that to be feminine, one must have delicate, smooth, white skin (Chapkis 1986).The association between a hairless body, youth, and femininity is made through stories and advertising. It is often seen as unfeminine to sweat, have wrinkles, or have any body odors.

Clothing is also an important marker of one's gender identity, especially for women, who historically have been targeted as clothing consumers much more so than men. Based on the idea that women must perform their femininity through expressions of appearance, they more commonly concern themselves with dress and are more often targeted by industry. Researchers have pointed out gender differences in the production and usage of clothing. For example, women's clothing tends to be less functional than men's. The hoop skirts of the 1860s, hobble skirts of the 1880s, steel-ribbed corsets, whalebone stays, and high-heel shoes all restricted women's movement. The corset might exert 20 to 80 pounds of pressure on a women's frame and has resulted in fainting, broken ribs, or injured internal organs (Brownmiller 1984). Males may have altered styles, such as with cod pieces, elevated shoes, or padded shoulders, but these did not negatively affect their health in the same ways. Women have also used clothing as a marker of liberation, however; the image of women burning their bras during the 1960s women's liberation movement is just one example of this act of resistance to traditional notions of femininity, particularly as they are linked to women's inferior status in U.S. society.

Like appearance, emotions are also distinctly gendered, and women are typically associated with emotionality, whereas men are associated with rationality, a belief that stems back to early Western philosophers such as Plato and Descartes. Yet how women emote is also dependent on traditional notions of femininity, which assume that women are gentle, rather than assertive, as men are. Anger, viewed as an acceptable emotion is men, is seen as unbefitting of women who are judged as hard, mean, or unattractive when angry.

The view that women should be nurturing and the caretakers of others means that girls are socialized to be other-oriented. Motherly love and romantic love are in the purview of feminine emotion. Women can be sentimental "keepers of the heart"; for example, they are often responsible for remembering birthdays and anniversaries. They are seen as more emotionally attached (Gilligan 1982). Men, on the other hand, are seen as acting in their own self-interest rather than altruistically, as women do (Folbre 1994). They work outside the home, in the market economy, and act as benevolent fathers who provide for their families, a gender construction that many scholars have recently analyzed as one that is also oppressive to men who cannot fulfill these expectations (Faludi 2000).

Traditional models of mental health tend to be based on men's, rather than women's, personality traits. For example, in a classic study by Broverman and Broverman (1970), the stereotyped feminine traits were contrary to the psychologically healthy individual, whereas the masculine traits were listed as leading to positive mental health. A fully developed adult is viewed as one who is rational and acts independently, traits often associated with male breadwinners rather than with women who act altruistically for their families (Gilligan 1982). Research also shows how men and women respond differently to their frustrations or anger: Men tend to externalize their anger or frustration, arguably leading to high rates of violent crime, whereas women tend to internalize their anger or frustration, leading, for example, to high rates of depression (Faludi 2000).

STUDIES OF WOMEN AND FEMININITIES

Traditional feminist theories of femininity include Susan Brownmiller's (1984) groundbreaking book, *Femininity*. Brownmiller takes the critical view that femininity is "a nostalgic tradition of imposed limitations." She defines femininity as extending beyond specific biological traits of femaleness to include the cultural prerequisites and prescriptions of femininity. Hair, skin, voice, clothes, and emotion all help to mark standards of femininity. Feminist scholars like Brownmiller tend to view traditional femininity as problematic for women insofar as rigid gender roles have served historically to maintain women's second-class status in U.S. society. In this scholarship, very little is mentioned about men's roles or the meaning of masculinity in society, except where blame is placed on the patriarchal control of women.

Scholars of African American, Latino/a, Asian American, and Native American studies have pointed out that women of color, a political term used to describe the experience and epistemic location of nonwhite women, do not have access to traditional notions of femininity that are based on a white, middle class model.

For example, African American women have not necessarily been viewed as weak, delicate, or frail but rather as strong and either matriarchal or controlling, depending on one's view. Patricia Hill-Collins (2000) writes of the controlling images of black women who are widely portrayed as mammies, matriarchs, hot mamas, or welfare recipients. They are viewed as either hypersexual (e.g., hot mamas, welfare queens) or asexual (e.g., mammies). These images work to make inequalities of race, gender, and class seem natural and inevitable. According to these stereotypes, which many have proven to stem from the imaginations of whites rather than from African Americans' real, lived experiences (hooks 1994), African American women and other nonwhites are naturally unlike the dominant group.

Since the 1990s, in pointing out that Western gender binaries have been detrimental to those who do not fulfill prescribed gender and sexual roles, some groups of scholars have argued for an alternative way of viewing gender, either as a continuum or in multiple, rather than dualistic, form. Lori B. Girshick (forthcoming), for example, draws from queer theorists and puts forth a conceptualization of sex, gender, and sexual orientation that involves simultaneous parallel continuums. This conceptualization includes the possibility that someone can have a degree of maleness and a degree of femaleness. Femininity and masculinity are not in an inverse relationship; individuals can inhabit degrees of these qualities simultaneously. Individuals' identities can shift in a fluid manner over their lifetime. A male-bodied person could have a high degree of femininity, or a female-bodied person could have high degrees of both femininity and masculinity. This type of conceptualization, which has also been theorized by Judith Butler (1990) and Eve Sedgwick (1990), among others, allows for a range of gender expressions that diminishes the stigma for individuals who do not identify with traditional gender norms. This fluidity in itself encourages additional understandings of masculinity and femininity without necessarily replacing traditional masculinity and femininity. That general idea is that all expressions of femininity and masculinity should be respected and accepted, not just traditional forms.

Defenders of traditional femininity typically argue that femininity derives directly and naturally from women's biological and reproductive roles in human life. Critics of feminist theory of femininity include male and female conservative intellectuals as well as policymakers, politicians, and even the pope. For defenders of traditional femininity, women are meant to stay at home and take care of the children, whereas men are meant to work outside the home and provide financially for the family. Economist Gary Becker won the 1992 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for his research examining family structure and the market economy, in which he argues that the most efficient (and typically highest income) households are those where two heterosexual parents are present (Becker 1981). The flipside to his argument is that single-parented homes, same-sex households, and extended family households tend to be poorer and/or less efficient when it comes to both household maintenance and to the success or failure of household members in the market economy. Thus for Becker it is no coincidence that in communities where there is a high rate of single-headed and

DR. MARY EDWARDS WALKER

Dr. Mary Edwards Walker (1832–1919) was the founder of the Mutual Dress Reform and Equal Rights Association. She was a feminist, abolitionist, prohibitionist, surgeon in the Union Army, prisoner of war, and the only woman to receive the Medal of Honor.

In the mid-1800s, many women wore heavy corsets and long, heavy skirts that limited their activities and were often unhealthy for them. Along with other suffragist leaders such as Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Walker began to wear Amelia Bloomer's famous design creation, bloomers, the popular dress and trouser combination that marked a revolutionary change in women's clothing. The bloomer costume did not compromise "feminine modesty" according to its users, although it created so much controversy that many suffragists stopped wearing them.

Dr. Walker wore the bloomer costume until the late 1870s, when she began dressing in men's clothing. She received her Medal of Honor in 1865 for her work in the Civil War, all the while wearing men's clothing, and felt that this honor gave her permission to continue to do so. Still, she was arrested for impersonating a man many times. Dr. Walker was an outstanding leader in many ways during her life, and her work for dress reform is only one of the many ways in which she was a role model challenging traditional norms of femininity.

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extended-family households, they tend to be poorer overall and to remain poor over generations. In a similar vein, right-wing women have organized against feminism, in groups such as Concerned Women for America, as a way to defend their roles as housewives and mothers. Religious women's groups have also organized on this basis in the context of their religion.

STUDIES OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES

After the emergence of studies on femininities, which paralleled the second wave women's liberation movement of the 1960s and the growth of women's studies as an academic field, researchers began to observe more systematically how men, too, are influenced by their gender socialization. Studies of male violence have predominated these discussions, although work on male institutions such as fraternities, sports, and men's movements has also been done. These studies point out that men's lives and experiences should not be homogenized or viewed as merely or entirely "privileged" or "patriarchal." Rather, as men's studies scholars have pointed out, men of marginalized groups such as African American men and gay men do not have the same access to dominant ideals of masculinity as, for example, white, heterosexual, upper class men. R. W. Connell's (1987) groundbreaking work on "hegemonic masculinity" and "traditional femininity" has set an important agenda for rethinking femininities and masculinities from the perspective of both men's and women's experiences, rather than merely women's. Connell argues that we must understand masculinities as multiple and stratified. Hegemonic masculinity refers to those forms of masculinity that allow men full access to societal resources such as education, citizenship, class status

and wealth, or professional success. This hegemony, or dominance, is structured throughout social and private life and defines not only gender expectations but sexuality; in this regard, hegemonic masculinity is heterosexual, patriotic, and nationalistic (Connell 1987). Men from working class backgrounds and men of minority racial status do not necessarily have access to hegemonic masculinity, according to Connell, although of course these men find ways to express their masculine identities, often in defiance of this stratified system (Majors 2004). Connell views masculinity among marginalized groups of men as a form of subordinated, rather than hegemonic, masculinity.

Subordinated forms of masculinity can be seen in how nonwhite men are represented in U.S. society and popular culture. For example, African American males have been hypersexualized throughout history, beginning with their treatment as slaves. Freed African slaves were feared for the very strength they displayed as slaves. The image of the oversexed and brutal black man served as a form of ideological and legal control for nervous whites. The "myth of the black male rapist," a notion that scholars such as Angela Davis (1981) and Patricia Hill-Collins (2000) have discussed, has served to create heightened law enforcement surveillance of black men, higher incarceration rates, and generalized fears of black men. During the 1960s civil rights struggles, the Black Panthers, a separatist group demanding black rights and dignity, exemplified black hypermasculinity as a form of resistance to white society, seen in their dress and demeanor. The Black Panthers called for the end to police brutality, poverty, and discrimination in their communities. Other subordinated groups of men, such as Latinos and Asian Americans, have also been hypersexualized and exoticized in ways that have been detrimental to their senses of self and personal security, a topic that has been discussed at length by scholars and activists (Mirandé 2004; Chua and Fujino 1999).

For Connell, the flipside of hegemonic masculinity is emphasized femininity. Emphasized femininity involves women who accommodate the interests and needs of men. It is based on their compliance with the hierarchical gender social order. As women define themselves according to dominant societal standards, which tend to view men as the "stronger sex" and women as the "weaker sex," they are arguably complicit in their own subordination. Other men's studies scholars such as Michael Kimmel point out that hegemonic masculinity is very much about males relating to other males and seeking their approval, respect, and acceptance. Research on male bonding Greek fraternities and sports documents this type of homoerotic behavior among men, and points to how masculinity is understood and negotiated by men in their daily lives.

Conservative views on men and masculinity have also emerged, especially since the 1990s. Conservative academics and policymakers argue that men have been victims of feminism and women's rights struggles insomuch as laws and policies favor women's "protection" over men's. This debate has been especially important in the context of struggles over defining policies and laws related to parental and custody rights, abortion and family planning, and workplace discrimination. Dalton Conley, a well-known sociologist at New York University, wrote an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* claiming that men should have equal say in whether or not a woman chooses to abort. According to Conley, if a man

wishes to keep the child but the woman bearing the child does not, then the man should have equal right according to law to keep the child (Conley 2005). How this scenario would play out in court remains unanswered; nonetheless, suffice it to say that the conservative view on men's roles in family life emphasizes their rights as fathers (Silverstein & Auerbach 1999). According to this view, men are seen as oppressed by laws that emphasize women as the primary nurturers and therefore rightfully due custody in cases where all else is held equal. Much of this remains to be played out in future court cases.

CONCLUSION

When thinking about a gender binary of masculine and feminine traits, it is useful to remember that all people share 99.9 percent identical genetic material. That is, men and women are more alike than different, a fact often forgotten in contemporary discussions of gender relations in U.S. society. Whereas some believe that the binary of men's masculinity and women's femininity is natural and therefore unnecessary or inappropriate to challenge or change, others believe it is time to rethink the gender binary, for it negatively affects people who do not or cannot fulfill these traditionally prescribed gender roles and expectations. In her book, *The End of Gender,* Shari Thurer (2005) examines mainstream culture and demonstrates how "genders are leaking into each other." All around us, she states, in media, art, books, the Internet, and television, we are witnessing the end of traditional gender categories and the acceptance of new forms of gender expressions, or gender-bending, in daily life.

Ideas of masculinity and femininity are here to stay, but how they will be defined and whether they are used as categories to influence or control how people dress, act, and express their identities are topics that continue to bear great controversy in academic, legal, and policy arenas. Perhaps the question is best understood in terms of how certain forms of femininity and masculinity are viewed as acceptable and normal in our society, whereas other forms of expression are not. Debates over acceptable expressions of masculinity and femininity often concern long-held views on gender as natural and given, although critics continue to point out that people express their gender identities in multiple ways that defy the dualistic tradition.

See also Beauty Industry; Gender Socialization; Nature versus Nurture; Sex versus Gender.

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Lori Girshick

FEMINIST ART PRACTICES

Artists have engaged in feminist art practices since the early 1970s, partly as a response to perceived sexism in artistic production and in the art industry. Controversies surrounding feminist art concern the often unequal representation of women artists in international art institutions and publications, the invisibility of gender in traditional artistic production, and the highly debated relationship between image and identity.

BACKGROUND: FEMINIST ART PRACTICES
OF THE EARLY 1970S

Feminist art can be generally defined as artistic works that deal with aspects of women's status within society. Artists engaging in feminist art practices often intend to call attention to social, economic, and psychological forms of oppression suffered by women, with the purpose of initiating change in the social practices or beliefs that cause such oppressions through art.

The feminist art movement of the 1970s grew out of the women's movement, which took place in the United States in the late 1960s, and stemmed from the larger civil rights movement, also in full swing at that time. In response to the marginalization of women artists both in history, and at the time of its formation, as manifested in the lack of exposure female artists' work received in major public art institutions, and the perceived resistance to artworks dealing with themes of gender, and particularly femininity, in art academies, women artists engaged in the feminist art movement. They "asserted a new position for 'woman' in art,

as subject rather than object, active speaker and not passive theme" (Broude and Garrard, 1993).

Consciousness raising played a major role in the creation of feminist art. Described as the practice of sharing personal experiences amongst women in hopes of raising awareness both as to the commonality of their experiences as women, and to the institutionalized patterns of oppression that they often fell victim to, artists used their artistic medium as a ground in which their own personal experience, and the more general political circumstances of women could be interwoven and brought to public attention. Thus artists actively engaged in feminist art practices saw their work as a direct employment of the feminist slogan, "The personal is political."

Judy Chicago, a sculptor, painter, and political activist had a tremendous impact on the shaping of the feminist art movement of the 1970s through her founding of the first Feminist Art Program at Fresno State College (now California State University, Fresno) in 1970. Through this program, Chicago developed a curriculum, which relied on feminist teaching methods that would prepare female art students to become professional artists and imbue them with the skills they would need to compete in the art world, which she perceived as decidedly hostile toward women. Housed in an anonymous studio space off of the college campus, Chicago addressed practical issues such as how to negotiate business transactions and instructed the students on how to construct their own studio space. Instead of structured classes, the feminist art program functioned in groups in which leadership responsibilities were rotated among the students on a weekly basis. Extensive feminist consciousness-raising activities encouraged the students to, first, think about and draw from their own personal experiences as a means of informing the content of their work, and second, on recognizing the similarities in others' experiences, to work collaboratively on larger art projects. Female sexuality became one of the most central issues confronted in the sessions, as well as in the artwork produced.

THE MOVE TO CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF THE ARTS

The feminist art program at Fresno created a unique environment for the training of women artists. It enabled participants to produce works that dealt with personal and political issues that might not have been produced if the circumstances were in any way altered. The separatist nature that the program took on, however, also had the drawback of limiting students' critical perspective and ultimately depriving them of a larger social context within which their works could be situated. As a means of solving this problem and gaining more critical and public exposure for the students, Chicago, in the fall of 1971, joined the faculty at the California Institute of the Arts and, along with the feminist painter Miriam Shapiro, already a member of the faculty, initiated a new feminist art program. Of the 22 female students enrolled in the program's first semester, seven were members of the original feminist art program at Fresno.

The program at CalArts could be distinguished from the one at Fresno in that students' work became more intertwined with feminist activism, and its critical focus narrowed to hone in on the representation of women in language, the

media, art history, and popular culture. It sought to address the points of difference between the treatment of women art students and their male colleagues. Their concerns involved the concept of male genius or mastery as a necessity to the creation of artistic works, the lack of mentorship offered to female students, and the breaking down of traditional hierarchies of materials and methods taught in fine art institutions, which often relegated the skills and materials that female artists were traditionally trained in to the category of "craft."

All of the key issues that informed the foundation of the feminist art program at CalArts were engaged in the unique, collaborative project, *Womanhouse,* created by the students in the fall semester of 1971. The 22 students, along with Los Angeles artists Wanda Westcoast, Sherry Brody, and Carol Edson Mitchell, collaborated to transform an abandoned, condemned house in an urban neighborhood in Los Angeles into an all-encompassing art environment that focused on the lives of women within the private, domestic sphere.

Together the group extensively reconstructed the 17-room house, bringing it up to a workable condition, in which they could create the art environment. Each artist chose one of the spaces as her room, where she would create her installation, and at the same time small collaborative groups formed to prepare performances and other events that would take place during the exhibition. On the whole, *Womanhouse* is said to have made the problems expressed by Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique* (originally published in 1963) come to life within the three-dimensional, all-encompassing space of the house, which highlighted and criticized culturally assumed connections between a woman's biology and her gender roles.

CRITIQUES OF EARLY FEMINIST ART PRACTICE: THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF FEMINISM AND ART

Self-proclaimed feminist artists of the early to mid-1970s created works that reflected political concerns and a particular ideological stance. Such artworks stand in direct opposition to the conception of the *artist* as a solitary male genius (promulgated by many canonical Western thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant), privy to otherworldly inspiration that is ultimately made manifest in the work of art. This conception of artist and artwork, often still used to this day, relegates the role of both the artist and the work of art to a realm outside of the real-life, social and political concerns faced by members of a society on a daily basis. Judy Chicago and other self-proclaimed feminist artists openly challenged that concept of the artist on various levels. First, their art sought to bring attention to serious social and political issues faced by women on account of the often unchallenged oppressions of patriarchal society. Second, these artists often worked collaboratively on large-scale projects (like *Womanhouse* or Chicago's *The Dinner Party*) in which each artist lent her personal skill to the overarching effort. Critics who find the combination of art and social or political concerns problematic have responded overwhelmingly negatively to the work produced by feminist artists of the 1970s, relegating their artistic practice to mere propaganda that seeks to "enforce common experience and crowd mental-

CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION TO FEMINIST ART: JUDY CHICAGO'S *THE DINNER PARTY*

In 1990, Judy Chicago's installation, *The Dinner Party,* attracted the attention of the U.S. Congress, when the artist attempted to donate the massive piece to the University of the District of Columbia. Consisting of a triangular banquet table measuring 48 feet on each side, strewn with 39 place settings paying homage to a real or mythological woman in the history of Western civilization, the installation was first debuted at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in 1979. Despite the university's positive vote to accept the gift from Chicago, putting the piece on permanent display for the general public, debate ensued that eventually landed on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, because members of the public and members of Congress questioned whether the work's overt references to female genitalia was appropriate to show in the university setting. Representative Robert Dornan of California, among others, voiced the opinion that the particularly vaginal appearance of the dinner plates caused the work to appear "pornographic" and "obscene." Chicago was eventually forced to withdraw her offer. Fourteen years later, in 2004, *The Dinner Party* was given a permanent home by the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

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ity" (Kuspit 1993). Art critics that take this position often put forth the critique that activist and political works, exemplified by feminist art practices, champion whatever issue is at hand, at the expense of work's artistic attributes; thus their creations cannot be seen as art, but merely political statements.

Feminist art has also attracted the negative attention of critics on account of its aesthetic appearance. To begin with, some critics see the use of what has been deemed traditionally feminine media, such as needlework and ceramics, typically used by feminist artists, as problematic. Opening up the often complex debate between high and low culture, critics have opined that artists' works that use such media appear too folksy or craftlike, and thus are not in line with the haute couture environment of the respected museum or art gallery.

In addition, feminist art work has received intense criticism on account of its often overt references to female sexuality. Chicago, in particular, has consistently created a stir with art critics on account of her use of (self-titled) central-core imagery. Such large-scale, multimedia projects as *The Dinner Party* and *The Birth Project,* which frequently feature openly vaginal forms have been labeled brash, crude, and even pornographic by critics, who see Chicago as an artistically untalented cult leader, relying on shear shock rather than artistic aptitude to get a rise out of her audience.

"POSTFEMINIST" ART PRACTICES: THE ISSUE OF AMBIGUITY

It was often the case that artists who came after the feminist art movement of the early 1970s refused to openly admit, or blatantly deny, an explicitly feminist ideology informing the work, even though they were consistently referred to

as feminist by some critics and theorists,. This body of work, which is seen by some to reflect feminist concerns, is referred to as "postfeminist" art. The often ambiguous nature of postfeminist art practices has fueled the critique that the insights gained from the work of the feminist art movement of the early 1970s were taken for granted by women artists in later years. This ambiguity on the part of the artist has caused controversy as to the way in which such works can be read by art critics, theorists, and the general viewing public.

For example, in *Untitled Film Stills* (1976–1980), artist Cindy Sherman constructed false "film stills," actually still photographs, which featured herself as the main character of each scene. Often drastically altering her appearance to convincingly portray a vast array of female "characters," Sherman highlights the stereotypical portrayals of women in late-twentieth century popular culture, while at the same time demonstrating the disjunction between image and identity. Through her masterful masquerade in the guises of various pop culture "tropes," Sherman calls attention to the idea of the *self* as nothing more than various representations, ultimately disconnected from a single, stable identity.

Sherman's early artistic practice has generated diverse and often contradictory responses from feminist art critics and theorists. On the one hand, Laura Mulvey, a feminist film theorist, sees Sherman's work as a critical tool for feminists. She has expressed the view that Sherman's work, despite the artist's clear resistance to any theoretical alignments, presented a turning point, and indeed a refreshing change in feminist art practices. In contrast to the theoretical background knowledge required to make sense of feminist artwork like Mary Kelly's *Post-Partum Document,* Sherman's work took as its (general) reference female representation in the present day popular culture, and left the meaning open to be determined by the viewer. As Mulvey states, however, the shear popularity and publicity that Sherman has achieved with the series has "obscured both the work's interest for feminist aesthetics and the fact that the ideas it raised could not have been formulated without a prehistory of feminism and its theorization of the body and representation" (Mulvey 1991).

In sharp contrast, painter, writer, and participant in the feminist art program at CalArts from 1971–1972, Mira Schor, rejects the notion that Sherman's work

CINDY SHERMAN'S FINANCIAL SUCCESS

Because of the critical acclaim Cindy Sherman achieved at a young age, she has become one of the most financially successful female contemporary artists in the world. The Museum of Modern Art's purchase of the full *Untitled Film Stills* series in December 1995 for $1 million caused future auction prices of Sherman's work to jump considerably. In 1999, just one of Sherman's *Untitled Film Stills* sold at a Christie's auction for $190,000, and in 2000, she broke yet another auction record when her one of her art history portraits; an untitled 1989 self-portrait in a Renaissance costume sold for $269,750. As Sherman's artwork persistently remains in the public eye, both her critical acclaim and her financial success continue to grow in exponential proportions.

can be called feminist. Describing her work as "disturbingly close to the way men have experienced or fantasized women" (Schor 1997), Schor has put forth the position that Cindy Sherman's fame, critical acclaim, and financial success cannot be taken as a milestone by feminist artists who worked for years in the service of attaining greater visibility for female artists in the mainstream artistic community. Rather, Sherman and her images have been celebrated, according to Schor, "not because they threatened phallocracy but because they reiterated and confirmed it" (Schor, 1994).

The controversy surrounding Sherman's work on account of the artist's ambiguity, and more specifically, the desire of some feminists to lay claim to the work as an example of postmodern feminist art practice, or conversely, to reject the work outright as a step backwards in women's fight to transcend their position as the object of the male viewer's gaze highlights a more general matter that causes much debate in the understanding of contemporary feminist art practices. That is, what is the artist's role in the reception of the artwork? In other words, one must question whether artistic works can be "read" by the viewer as *feminist* only when the artist herself (or himself) makes the explicit claim to a feminist intent, or rather if the artist's intent is secondary to the dialogue that results from reading the work.

FEMINIST ART ACTIVISM AND ACTIVIST ART, 1980S TO THE PRESENT

The tactics adopted by feminist artists of the early 1970s to make public the unjust treatment of women in the art world were taken up again by artists and activist groups in the mid-1980s, and have continued up to the present. One group that has made messages about racism and sexism in the international art community very public is the Guerrilla Girls. This anonymous group of female activists first banded together in 1985, in reaction to a survey exhibition that opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York that year. Billed as an up-to-date summary of the most significant contemporary art around the globe, it showcased 169 artists of which only 13 were women. After researching in galleries, and reading scores of articles and reviews on contemporary art in respected art publications such as *Art in America* and *The New York Times,* they realized a dramatic backslide in the representation of female artists and artists of color had occurred since the 1970s. On approaching some of the most prestigious institutions for an explanation, they found that no one would take responsibility for the lack of diversity in their collections or exhibitions, so the Guerrilla Girls decided to post the statistics publicly around New York City. Calling themselves "the conscience of the artworld" with the proclaimed intention of "making the f-word (feminism) fashionable again," the Guerrilla Girls have remained a very active and visible presence in the global art community ever since, working to get women and minority artists' work shown in a public context through posters, billboards, books, public appearances, letter-writing campaigns, bus ads, magazine spreads, and protest actions. To keep their identities anonymous, the group only appears in public wearing guerrilla masks, and each of the Guerrilla

Girls has adopted the name of a deceased female artist to retain their individuality in public appearances and interviews. Considering their mission to extend beyond the world of art, the Guerrilla Girls have expanded their focus over the years to publicly raise awareness about many different aspects of sexism and racism in Western culture at large, and have specifically taken on such issues as abortion rights, homelessness, and rape.

CONCLUSION

It is more difficult today to define what constitutes feminist art practices than it was, perhaps, in the early 1970s. Now the term is rather uncomfortably stretched to cover vastly varying conceptual frameworks and artistic positions, tied together through their concern for the oppression that women experience, but splintering in the racial, or class-based issues that the individual or group seeks to champion through their work.

In terms of breaking thematic taboos and increasing public exposure, however, feminist artists/activists have had an impact on the international art community, and women artists have achieved greater exposure in some of the most prestigious art institutions since the feminist art movement began in the early 1970s. Perhaps the most noteworthy milestones have taken place in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the work of Jenny Holzer (1989) and Rebecca Horn (1993) were featured in solo exhibitions at the Guggenheim Museum. In 1990, Jenny Holzer was the first woman selected to represent the American Pavilion at the 44th Venice Biennale, where she received the Leone d´Oro grand prize for best pavilion. Also, in 1993, Rachel Whiteread became the first woman to win the prestigious Turner Prize at the Tate Gallery in London. Nonetheless, women artists still face obstacles in achieving a fair share of representation, funding, and public exposure in the international art community, and one of the greatest problems facing feminist art historians today is the task of preserving the work of women artists and incorporating it into the canons of art's histories.

See also Digital Technologies; Media Images of Women: Music; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Kathryn Gentzke

FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

The feminization of poverty speaks to the fact that a large proportion of the poor around the world are women. The reasons for the feminization of poverty are manifold and because it affects women and children, it has become one of the major issues regarding inequalities of gender, race, and class. The feminization of poverty is explained by political and cultural factors, which makes it a controversial topic.

BACKGROUND

The ideas around the feminization of poverty stemmed from a research paper written by Diana Pearce in 1978. She explored the notion that poverty was becoming "feminized" in the United States. Her work was based on statistics that almost two-thirds of the poor over the age of 16 were women. Pearce's work focused on the poverty of women in the United States; other researchers addressed the growing poverty among women around the world. Although some men are also affected by poverty, the gap between the poverty rates of men and women continues to grow. The reasons for men and women's poverty are often different, thereby establishing a need for investigating these reasons. The reasons for women's poverty are often seen as controversial and debatable.

According to Pearce, one reason for women's poverty is budget cutbacks in federal support programs. Women often rely more heavily on these programs and are employed by them more than men. Another reason for the feminization of poverty is the rise of single-parent, female-headed households. There are always debates about women having children outside of marriage and raising them without a father. A third reason for the feminization of poverty is the continuing wage inequality between women and men. Many people would agree that women and men should be paid the same amount of money for equal work. Nevertheless, not only do women still get paid less than men, but they are also segregated into lower-wage occupations.

TIMELINE FOR FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY AS A POLITICAL DILEMMA

1940s and 1950s: Poverty rates among men and women increase. At this time, women were only slightly more likely than men to be poor.

Early 1960s: Poverty in the United States becomes a major issue. Poverty for both men and women increases, but women's poverty in relation to men's is higher. Lyndon Johnson declares a War on Poverty.

1964: Mollie Orshansky, an economist with the Social Security Administration, develops a poverty line, an amount of money needed to support the basic needs of a household, to measure and establish a threshold for receipt of government assistance. (Over the years, the poverty line is criticized for only offering an arbitrary cutoff point, which denies poor people government assistance.)

1960s: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) allows poor families to receive government assistance based on income below the poverty line.

Late 1960s: Head Start, a program to enhance the educational opportunities of poor children, is established and is a success.

1970s and 1980s: The poverty rate among young men and women starts to decline, but men's poverty rate declines faster than women's rates. The feminization of poverty peaks in 1970 among whites and in 1980 among blacks.

1980s: The feminization of poverty levels off.

1996: Young women have the highest poverty rate, and elderly men have the lowest, a reversal from 1950.

GROWTH OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

Divorce

One of the major contributors to women's poverty is the increase in divorce. White women may be more affected by divorce than minority women, who may have a higher chance to be poor even before marriage. The most obvious reason for a woman to experience poverty after divorce is due to the decline in income. Even if the woman is working and contributing income to household expenses, the loss of another income can be devastating. Also, if the divorce involves children, this will contribute even more to a woman's poverty if she maintains custody of them, which is true in the majority of cases. After a divorce, many men do not pay their ex-wives spousal support or child support to take care of the children. And if they do, the amounts for support are typically not very high. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, of all the men and women who are to receive child support payments, with the majority of them being women, only two-thirds receive any payment and 40 percent of the two-thirds who receive payment do not receive the full amount due.

Overall, then, the increase in the divorce rate means that a large proportion of women are living separately from men and have only themselves to rely on

for economic support. Often, too, more women than men will stay divorced, whereas men are more likely to remarry. Women, on average, make less than men and they often have the sole responsibility for taking care of children.

Increase in Children Being Born Outside of Marriage

The number of children being born outside of marriage has increased over the decades. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1960, about 6 percent of all births were to unmarried couples. In 1996, more than 33 percent of all births were to unmarried couples. The increase is even more pronounced for black families. In 1960, about 22 percent of all births were to unmarried couples; in 1996, the number increased to 70 percent. There are several reasons for these increases. First, there has been a decline in the rate of marriage. Fewer people are getting married and those who do are postponing marriage to a later age. The decline in marriage and the postponement of it increase the chances for couples to have an out-of-wedlock birth. Second, there has been a decline in the birth rate of married couples. Couples who are married are having fewer children than in the past or are remaining childless. Thus the number of births outside of wedlock seems higher in comparison. Third, there has been an increase in the birth rate of single women of various ages.

Many people point to the high rate of pregnancy among unmarried teenagers as a major social problem, but the rate of pregnancy among both white and black teenagers is actually lower today than it was in 1960. The proportion of teen births that occurs outside of marriage has, however, increased because women who become pregnant are less likely than in the past to get married to the father of the children, so the number of never married mothers is now higher. Also, with advances in fertilization technology, some women are choosing to have a child without the involvement of a father.

Teenage mothers are at high risk for poverty because of several factors including lower educational attainment, joblessness, and health problems. Also, many teenage mothers are more likely to be poor before getting pregnant. So the poverty they experience as single mothers is exacerbated by being poor in the first place. Many teenage mothers and fathers may drop out of high school to take care of their children. Especially teenage mothers may find that it is too difficult to care for an infant and attend school. Thus they may be lees likely to complete high school than those who delay childbearing until after graduating. Lower educational attainment means lower availability of job opportunities, and those jobs that are available do not pay well or include benefits.

Independent Living in Older Age

Elderly women are also at high risk for being poor. People are now living longer than ever before, and women are more likely to live longer than men, which means that they need more money to live on in their older years. Elderly women are more likely to be poor than men because of several reasons. First, more of the elderly population is living independently than they were years ago. The

majority of this age group used to live with their adult children, but they now live in their own apartments or in retirement communities, or, if they are ill, in nursing homes. Second, as women are now living independently more often and outliving their male spouses, they have to rely more heavily on Social Security income. For women who are divorced, this can be problematic. These women have to rely on their own Social Security benefits, which they have been contributing to throughout their working lives. Women may receive lower Social Security payments as a result of their shorter work histories and lower earnings. So although these women may have some retirement income, it may not be as much as men, and it may not be enough to cover many of the medical and other expenses one has as one ages.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF THE GROWTH OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

The more controversial aspects of the feminization of poverty involve the increase in the divorce rate and the number of children being born outside of marriage. Certainly the numbers point to these factors as significant reasons for women's poverty. Some would argue that these changes signify a decline in morals as people no longer value the sanctity of marriage. This may in part be true, but there are also other factors to consider when contemplating the reasons for a high divorce rate and rearing children outside of marriage.

Demographers note that the continuing rise in life expectancy has an effect on the length of marriages. In times when people did not live as long, marriages were shorter, and a marriage now that ends in a divorce may have ended instead with the death of a spouse. Another reason that the large number of female-headed households receives attention is the changes in women's roles. Many people argue that it was better for society when women did not have paid jobs and were full-time homemakers. This idea regarding women's lives, however, was not necessarily the norm for many families. Many poor or working class or minority women did indeed have jobs outside of the home, so women have always been participating in paid employment. What is apparent through this trend, however, is that more women are less financially dependent on their husbands than they were previously. Thus because women are more independent within a marriage, the interdependence of a married couple may be weaker than it was before.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

As noted previously, women who are married are less dependent on their husbands for income, mainly because they are working outside of the home and because of the decline in men working. Women's employment increased dramatically from 1950 until today, but rose the most rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s. These years also saw a decline in men's employment as a result of layoffs in manufacturing and other blue collar employment. What has changed significantly is the number of married women and women with children who

are now part of the labor force. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, in 1990, more than 73 percent of married mothers with school-age children were in the labor force; 59 percent of married mothers with preschool-age children were in the labor force. It is important to remember, however, that despite these increases, wages and often the types of jobs for women are not comparable to those of men.

EXPLAINING THE PAY GAP

Women today still earn less than men. On average, women make about 75 percent of what men earn. Researchers cite various reasons for this discrepancy. One explanation is the human capital theory, which points to individual characteristics and skills that workers bring to their jobs. Thus age, marital status, prior work experience, education, and whether or not one has children are all human capital factors. Certainly, these factors can affect women and men differently, and although it can explain some of the reasons for the pay gap, it does not explain it well if many factors such as education, work experience, and age are the same.

The dual labor market theory is another explanation for the pay gap between men and women. The dual labor market is separated into two sectors: the primary market and the secondary market. The primary labor market is composed of jobs with good wages, benefits, and opportunities for advancement. Many women are employed in this sector, but many more women are concentrated in the secondary labor market as characterized by lower wages, short or non-existent promotion ladders, and few, if any, benefits. Thus according to labor market theory, it is not necessarily the individual characteristics that affect job placement, but the structure of the labor market.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAGE GAP

Some people believe in the human capital theory as a valid way to explain the wage gap between men and women, and, of course, the underlying principles of it make sense. When probing deeper regarding prior experience or marital status or existence of children, however, the picture becomes more complicated. Many women take time out of the labor force to have children; thus they are already losing years of experience Men who have children are not affected in the same way. Further, there are some who would argue that it is a woman's choice to have children; if she does, then she will have to deal with the limits it places on her job opportunities. Many women, however, want to be mothers, and society itself heavily emphasizes that women should want to fulfill this role.

CHANGES IN PUBLIC BENEFITS

From 1935 to 1996, a federal program called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) assisted poor mothers and their children regardless of the

circumstance of their poverty. For some women, poverty was due to widowhood or spousal desertion. With AFDC, women could receive government assistance to help pay for housing and other expenses related to raising a child. During the War on Poverty in the 1960s, the assistance AFDC provided was helpful in keeping poverty on a lower level. With the rise in women's employment, the divorce rate, and the number of children being born out of wedlock, however, the value of this assistance declined. Further, in the 1960s and later, when welfare became identified with black families, the government started to reevaluate its effectiveness in relieving poverty. In 1996, AFDC was changed to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), which set more restrictions on the assistance that poor families could receive. TANF now stipulates a lifetime limit of benefits and requires that recipients find work within two years. Where AFDC was more flexible in terms of understanding the various factors that may contribute to poverty, TANF, with, its emphasis on work and responsibility, suggests that poverty is an individual deficiency of the poor. Many suggest that the changes in welfare have helped many people to decrease reliance on government assistance and move on to self-sufficiency. Others argue that because fewer people are receiving assistance today, one cannot conclude that these people and families are better off.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF CHANGES IN PUBLIC BENEFITS

The changes in public benefits that occurred in 1996 have required poor women work in order to receive any benefits. Requiring women to work directly challenges those who believe that women should not work outside of the home. Further, when these women do find work, they usually find jobs in the secondary labor market. These jobs often do not pay enough for them to support themselves and their families, and they do not offer such benefits as sick leave for themselves or their children. The other difficulty lies in finding reliable, quality, and inexpensive childcare. Although not receiving assistance any longer, many women with children remain poor because they have to pay for childcare. Childcare is often expensive and not available to fit the various schedules working mothers in the secondary market may have.

CONCLUSION

The reasons for the feminization of poverty are manifold. Demographic and economic changes are part of the explanation for the rising rates of women's poverty. Changes in the family such as the delay of first marriage, the rise in divorce, and the number of children being born outside of marriage are the most controversial in terms of people thinking that the feminization of poverty could be avoided if society "just went back to the way it was." But certain changes are inevitable, such as the length of life expectancy that strains a marriage. Economic factors that cause women to be paid less than men or to be in jobs not as highly valued as men are also a factor in women's poverty.

Although the main focus of this discussion has been the feminization of poverty in the United States, the feminization of poverty is also problematic worldwide, particularly for women in developing countries. Women living in poverty are often denied basic human rights such as access to education and health services. And like women in the United States, women in developing countries also have the primary responsibility for childcare. Raising children alone is a main contributor to the feminization of poverty, but having and raising children is a job that should be rewarded, not punished.

See also Gender and International Development; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States; Welfare Reform; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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Marcella Gemelli

FETAL RIGHTS

Recent advances in prenatal technology, fetal surgery, and fetal diagnostic techniques have foregrounded concern for the fetus as both a patient and a "person." Fetal rights are argued to emphasize the separateness of mother and fetus such that the increasing autonomy of the fetus potentially threatens the bodily integrity of the woman.

BACKGROUND

Visual access to the fetus through increasingly sophisticated ultrasound technology has resulted in the recognition of fetal personhood much earlier in development than ever before. This forges the fetus as less of a biological abstraction and more of a "person" before actually being born (Maynard-Moody 1995). Indeed, many pregnant women themselves suggest that seeing a fetus through ultrasound signals the beginning of a relationship with a "baby" or separate person. A woman's relationship to her pregnancy or her "baby" is similarly structured by her interactions with other people in public;

she must negotiate institutionalized moral and cultural assumptions about the nature of her relationship to the fetus (Markens, Browner, and Press 1997). Discourses of fetal rights arise from the notion that a mother and fetus are separate individuals. For proponents of fetal protection, the womb is the most dangerous place a fetus will ever inhabit; in the womb the fetus is vulnerable to potentially "irresponsible" maternal behavior such as drug or alcohol abuse. Abortion or the termination of a pregnancy is often considered to be the ultimate violation of fetal rights. Antiabortion or pro-life advocates, also known as *fetalists*, argue that the protection of the fetus should not remain the sole responsibility of the mother (Michaels 1999). Drawing on cases of "fetal abuse," they argue that fetuses as potential children should be protected by the government (Michaels 1999).

The most bitter and contested battleground surrounding the debate over fetal rights rests within the prosecution of pregnant women who are criminally charged for fetal abuse (often as a result of drug and alcohol use or smoking during pregnancy). In a few cases, most notably that of Angela Carder in 1987 who was simultaneously ill with cancer and pregnant, women have been required to undergo cesarean sections to save fetal life (Daniels 1993). Fetal protectionists contend that the creation of a "hostile environment" for the fetus during pregnancy indicates that a woman is unfit for motherhood (Daniels 1993). As the social recognition of the fetus as person comes increasingly earlier in pregnancy, feminists argue that this humanization negates the citizenship rights of the mother (Daniels 1993; Politt 1990). More specifically, feminists and women's advocates argue that prosecution of women in favor of fetal rights unfairly discriminates against pregnant women as citizens and compromises women's bodily integrity or the right to control one's own body, a hallmark of American liberal democracy (Daniels 1993; Casper 1997). In general, racially and economically privileged women (for example, white and middle class) are better able to defend their reproductive rights than poor and minority women, particularly with regard to refusing medical treatment or paying for drug or alcohol rehabilitation. Although pregnancy involves certain ethical obligations, it is legally and politically problematic to assume that a woman must sacrifice her self-sovereignty for public interest even if we do not condone her lifestyle choices during pregnancy. As a consequence of such protracted and divisive political feuds surrounding fetal rights, pregnant women are increasingly perceived as merely "uterine environments" and their bodies are policed as sites for "public inspection" (Duden 1999, 24). Scientists and medical researchers often try to distance themselves from discussions of the humanity of the fetus primarily as a means of continuing groundbreaking fetal tissue research and genetic engineering that uses "living" fetal cells. In this way, researchers purposely position the fetus as a "research tool" and not a human (Casper 1994, 317). In contrast, fetal surgeons construct the fetus as undeniably human in its status as a separate "patient," which potentially detracts from the status of the maternal patient (Casper 1994). With fetal surgery, medical focus shifts from the health of the mother to the health of the fetus.

PEOPLE

British filmmaker, Julia Black, presents a unique perspective on fetal rights in her documentary, *My Foetus,* airing for the first time in April 2004. Heavily pregnant, Black takes the viewer on a personal journey as she meets doctors and scientists from both sides of the abortion debate and questions whether she can still be pro-choice when confronted with the reality of the procedure. Black shows an abortion for the first time on British television at four weeks of pregnancy along with the remains of aborted fetuses at 7, 10, 11, and 12 weeks . This highly controversial and eye-opening look at the reality of abortion and the politics of fetal rights raises interesting questions for Black (who evidently underwent an abortion at the age of 21). In an article written for *The Guardian* before the release of the film, Black writes, "How could I, or anyone else, make a moral judgment about whether a late abortion is right or wrong without knowing the circumstances that led to that woman ending her pregnancy? The goal to isolate the foetus and make you see it as a baby is easily achieved with these images, but doing so makes us lose sight of the woman. I had easily been swept along by the emotive power of the images so no wonder the anti-abortion movement is keen for them to be shown."

THE EMERGENCE OF THE DEBATE

Whereas American reproductive rights discourse primarily focused on women's freedom of "choice" in the 1960s and 1970s, more recently the politics of pregnancy has centered on the social relationship between the mother and fetus or the mother's moral accountability to the fetus. Historically, mother and fetus have not been consistently perceived as separate beings; in general, the fetus was not granted "rights" distinct from the mother until the rise of the antiabortion movement after *Roe v. Wade,* the landmark 1973 court decision securing American women's right to abortion. *Roe v. Wade* established that a fetus is not considered a person under the Fourteenth Amendment and that women are not liable for fetal death before the third trimester (Blank 1992, 99). A powerful antiabortion movement coupled with court decisions granting the fetus legal rights renewed the state's interest in reproductive politics. By the 1980s, Massachusetts set the legal precedent in *Commonwealth v. Cass* by recognizing the fetus as a "person" and allowing for the prosecution of those who "murder" a fetus (Daniels 1993, 15). As a consequence, at least 10 states enacted fetal rights laws, giving the fetus status as a person.

The consecration of the fetus as person in law is intimately connected with the scientific and cultural imaging of the fetus. As technological innovations in fetal surgery and visualizing technology encourage the suggestion that it is possible for fetuses to exist outside of the mother's body, commonly known as fetal viability, the preservation of "life" is an overriding concern for many Americans, as well as the government. Fetal viability continues to be a key source of debate in determining the rights of the unborn. Medical professionals generally agree that 28 weeks is the pivotal point of viability, even though viability can come as early as 24 weeks (Blank 1992, 102). These markers are determined on

the basis of the knowledge that at least 40 to 60 percent of fetuses born at 28 weeks could survive outside of the womb (Blank 1992, 102). Ultrasonography, however, establishes fetal viability as early as 15 weeks and the attribution of unmistakably "human" features, especially in the second trimester, affects this definition. As technology advances, the appropriateness of viability measurements is subject to change. For many supporters of fetal rights, fetal viability begins at conception, regardless of whether a fetus is able to survive outside of the womb. Paradoxically, now pregnant women can be charged for "abusing" a fetus but not necessarily for aborting the fetus (Blank 1992, 100).

CONSTRUCTING FETAL "PERSONS"

The baby/fetus dichotomy relies on emotional appeal and visual access to the fetus in order to create the sociocultural need for fetal protection. For many feminists, the visual portrayal of fetuses on an ultrasound screen undeniably provokes emotional responses from people that aids in the construction of fetal personhood (Raymond 1993).

Ultrasonography is no longer strictly a medical procedure; the images are used by women as a means to bond with the fetus for "entertainment" and also in the fetal rights movement to perpetuate the notion that fetuses are children. In particular, with the advent of three- and four-dimensional ultrasound technology, imaging of the fetus become increasingly sophisticated. It is no longer necessary to visit a hospital for an ultrasound; numerous three-dimensional ultrasound clinics operate out of local shopping malls across the United States. The imperative to define fetus as "baby" is mediated by the ultrasound photo; the photo blurs the distinction between fetus and baby

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DID YOU KNOW?

The emotive fetal images of Swedish photographer, Lennart Nilsson, have significantly contributed to the personification of the fetus in American visual culture. Using fetuses from late abortions, Nilsson's 1965 photo essay in *Life* magazine juxtaposes bodily dismemberment and fetal tranquility in this spectacle of a "human being in the making" (Franklin 1991, 194). That the fetuses were photographed essentially in "death" (as they are actually dead fetuses from late-term abortions) is ironic considering the fetuses are meant to be representing "life" in the photo essay. Feminist scholar Karen Newman contends the *Life* article is a "tangle of contradictions" in which clever backlighting, surgical and chemical preparations, and photographic enlargement of the fetuses to almost twice their actual size contribute to the "aesthetic artifice" of this simulation of "life" (1996, 15). Although Nilsson's essay was intended as a glimpse into human development, the photographs and accompanying text portray the fetus as struggling through the travails of pregnancy. Sarah Franklin similarly suggests these images have been essential in creating "an iconography of fetal innocence" to suit the politics of fetal protectionism in the United States after the essay's publication (1991, 195).

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and also diminishes the importance of the mother's body in the picture. The mother's body (commonly represented by the placenta) is not exposed in the new forms of ultrasound primarily because its presence disavows the fetus as an independent subject. The placenta shows how the mother and fetus are different in that the mother provides the sustenance for the fetus to exist as a separate body, but it also unites them in a complex process of gestation, thus maintaining the dependence relationship. Photography, however, has recast the uterus as a public space with ultrasound such that this "socially embedded seeing" contains what it also produces—a fetus without a mother (Hartouni 1997, 25).

REPRESENTING THE FETUS

In popular media, the fetus is represented as unmistakably "human," with fingers, toes, and bulging eyes. In American antiabortion rhetoric, fetal images are used as rhetorical hyperbole appealing to emotion (Hunter 1994, 46). Feminists argue that it is the persuasive fetal images that motivate belief in the rights of the fetus, regardless of the accuracy of their visual claims. While still acknowledging the attachment that many Americans and particularly women have to images of fetuses, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) argues that the laws supporting fetal rights potentially create an antagonistic relationship between mother and fetus and also may encourage doctors to compel women to undergo certain medical procedures (for example, cesarean sections) in favor of the protection of fetal life (ACLU 1996). In particular, the ACLU suggests that fetal protection bills should be carefully scrutinized legally and politically (1) to avoid the infringement of women's reproductive rights, and (2) to reflect why Americans both support and oppose fetal protection (ACLU 1996).

Feminists are concerned that increasing protection of fetal rights significantly undermines American women's access to abortion and effectively dismantles *Roe V. Wade.* For example, the signing of the Unborn Victims of Violence Act in 2004 by President George W. Bush makes injury to the fetus a federal crime (White House 2004). The public intention of the bill is to protect pregnant women from harm, but for feminists it is an underlying challenge to women's rights in favor of the fetus. Moreover, charging pregnant drug addicts with fetal abuse may discourage these women from seeking the appropriate care to manage their addiction and maintain their own health.

For many Americans it is hard to deny that pregnant women do have certain responsibilities to the unborn; however, the institutionalized social and medical management of pregnancy as an experience to be had in the public is extremely problematic. The privileging of fetal rights potentially encourages the subordination of women's reproductive rights in protecting the survival of the fetus at all costs. On the other hand, not recognizing fetal identity may alienate many Americans who do see fetuses as babies. Moreover, American women experience their relationship to the politics of fetal rights differently on the basis of class, race, sexuality, and religious or cultural background. For example, the rules of self-sacrifice in pregnancy are commonly seen as the inevitable path to

motherhood for many middle-class women. In contrast, poor women are seen as being ill-equipped to make responsible choices simply because they do not have the financial means to defend themselves. Also, whether or not the pregnancy is planned can affect a woman's perception of the fetus as a "baby" or "parasite" (Oaks 2001). Despite the social meanings associated with the public fetus, not all women think of a fetus as a "baby"; women's understandings of fetal identity are contingent on historical, economic, cultural, and political contexts. The crux of the fetal rights debate rests in how women can be pregnant without sacrificing their rights as citizens.

See also Abortion; Birth Control; Birthing Practices; Family Values.

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Meredith Nash

FIBROMYALGIA

Fibromyalgia, a disorder that predominantly affects women, is marked by painful tender points distributed throughout the body and often severe fatigue. The controversy concerning fibromyalgia stems from divergent medical and sociological views on its cause, cultural attitudes about women's mental and physical health, and debates about whether fibromyalgia really exists.

BACKGROUND

Fibromyalgia is controversial because it is so little understood and is often associated with traditional gendered notions of women's mental health. The symptoms of fibromyalgia include chronic widespread musculoskeletal pain, stiffness, areas of numbness, easy fatigability, and disturbed sleep. It spans all ethnicities and socioeconomic statuses, affecting women nine times more frequently than men. Some feminist social scientists contend that the disorder disproportionately affects women of working-class backgrounds (Barker 2005). Diagnosis occurs predominantly between the ages of 30 and 50, with prevalence increasing with age. Approximately 3.4 percent of women and 0.5 percent of men in the United States are diagnosed with fibromyalgia (Gilliland 2005).

The exact epidemiology of fibromyalgia is unknown and many theories have been postulated to understand this elusive disease. An emerging correlation between sleep patterns and symptoms of fibromyalgia demonstrate that stage four sleep is often disturbed in people with fibromyalgia. Stage four sleep is the deepest stage of nonrapid eye movement sleep, during which the body enters a restorative phase to repair damaged body tissue. In this stage of sleep, heart rate, blood pressure, and respiration rate decreases, whereas digestion and hormone secretion increases. Also, medical studies reveal that people with fibromyalgia have decreased levels of growth hormone, which could be a result of disturbed stage four sleep. Growth hormone is released from the brain during stage four sleep and is important for muscle repair and strength. This link between disturbed stage four sleep and low levels of growth hormone could explain why physical exertion often results in extended periods of pain and fatigue (Gilliland 2005).

People with fibromyalgia have also been found to have decreased serotonin levels (Gilliland 2005). Serotonin is a chemical in the brain that regulates mood, affect, pain sensitivity, and sleep cycle. Decreased serotonin levels have historically been associated with clinical depression, a relationship that contributes to the explanation of why 30 percent of people diagnosed with fibromyalgia also carry a psychiatric diagnosis, most often depression (Gilliland 2005). This contributes to the stereotype that women with this illness are "crazy," or clinically depressed, rather than experiencing "real" physical symptoms.

DIAGNOSIS

There is great disparity in how doctors view and diagnose fibromyalgia and how sufferers experience medical treatment. Although links to hormone and neurotransmitter deficiencies have been made, there is no definitive blood test

to diagnose fibromyalgia, rendering it a purely clinical diagnosis. Because health professionals have difficulty measuring this invisible disease, and because it predominately afflicts women, the validity of fibromyalgia as a diagnosis is frequently questioned. Although the medical field has come to recognize it as a legitimate disease, reservations regarding its authenticity and verifiability continually arise (Bohr 1995). Doctors are seen as the societal and cultural authority on medical knowledge, the givers of information, whereas the patients are seen as the receivers (Greenhalgh 2001). A doctor's duty is "to see," but a patient's role is "to be seen," a relationship complicated when the patient presents complaints that cannot be seen (Barker 2005). Until recently, doctors were predominately male, adding a gendered power dynamic to the doctor-patient relationship. A woman with fibromyalgia is thus dependent on the doctor's legitimization of her pain experience, and she may feel compelled to maintain a submissive and warm doctor-patient relationship to achieve the goal of medicalized legitimization of her disease (Greenhalgh 2001).

Many who are eventually diagnosed with fibromyalgia first proceed through a series of psychosomatic diagnoses such as hysteria, nervous illnesses, and hypochondria. As a result, appropriate medical treatment is delayed and necessary accommodations and disability benefits are denied (Vickers 2001). After having pain and physical limitations discredited and disbelieved, the biomedical diagnosis of fibromyalgia is often a relief, even if it is effectively incurable and frequently disparaged by the medical and public communities (Barker 2005; Greenhalgh 2001).

SOCIAL SUPPORT

As scholars have pointed out, fibromyalgia is a disease that is not considered crippling, deforming, or degenerative and therefore is often minimized or doubted. Social service workers often assist persons with fibromyalgia to negotiate with the legal system for access to disability accommodations. Mutual-help forums have been created by and for people with fibromyalgia who seek peer support and empathy. Lists of "fibro-friendly" healthcare professionals—those who are not skeptical about whether fibromyalgia truly exists—are often created and distributed for fellow group members (Barker 2005). Joining with others provides the opportunity to change self-oppressive views, to value personal experiences, and to fight together against disability oppression, as advocates of fibromyalgia patients have argued.

CONCLUSION

The number of people diagnosed with fibromyalgia is rapidly increasing, and the label is becoming a common term in today's vocabulary. The different assumptions about fibromyalgia are inextricably related to the fact that the majority of people diagnosed are women. The combination of the biomedical analysis and the social construction of fibromyalgia result in conflicts that directly play out in doctor-patient relationships. Kristin Barker, a medical sociologist

who has conducted extensive research on women's experiences with fibromyalgia, sums up these divergences: patients tend to define fibromyalgia as a disease, but physicians may not; patients assert that tender points are objective evidence of diagnosis, but physicians may not; patients tend to favor organic explanations, but physicians may hold to psychosomatic causes. The controversy about whether fibromyalgia is a valid medical disease results in very real consequences for its sufferers—minimization of symptoms; delay of essential medical treatment; and denial of accommodations, social services, and disability benefits. Those inflicted with fibromyalgia symptoms must contend not only with the physical pain but also with the cultural messages that often invalidate their experiences, a controversy reminiscent of earlier illnesses such as cancer before a proven diagnostic test was available. Until a medical test is developed and the symptoms are understood and legitimized by the medical establishment, it is likely that sufferers will continue to be faced with negative stereotypes about their conditions.

See also Disability and Gender; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION: FREE TRADE ZONES

Free trade zones, which often employ women at low wages in developing countries, have been debated on economic, social, and political grounds. Supporters believe that their "trickle down" effects will help developing economies and the women they employ, even if women's wages and work conditions are poor; opponents argue that they serve to exacerbate global inequalities, exploit women workers, and crystallize the "drive to the bottom" in fair labor practices.

BACKGROUND

Free trade zones, also known as export processing zones (EPZs), employ predominantly female assembly line workers and are an important component of the global economy. From the start, factories located in EPZs have hired women on the basis that they are more "aptly suited" to assemble garments, computers parts, and other small items, and because their labor is cheaper. Located in designated areas of a country, sometimes on the borders of two countries, as in the case of Mexico's *maquiladoras* (assembly factories), these industrial zones have relaxed tax laws, labor laws, environmental laws and minimal health and safety codes. Ideally, these zones create industry and boost the economies of developing countries while increasing the profits of transnational corporations. Although EPZs have existed for several decades, international free trade agreements in the 1990s eliminated old trade barriers, including import and export taxes, making EPZs the optimal location to build factories that serve as the "global assembly line."

The assembly lines inside of the EPZs typically depend on importing parts of a whole product. The finished product is put together and exported out, ready for retail consumption. For example, a factory that assembles computers imports components or intermediate goods from all over the world tariff free, and once the computers are assembled, they are shipped to other countries to be sold. Approximately 75 percent of this workforce is female. Women's labor is desirable for several reasons: their labor is cheaper than men's; they are perceived as "more docile" and therefore less likely to place demands on their employers; they are more likely to accept part-time work with no benefits; and their "nimble fingers" are perceived to be better suited for assembly line work (Pearson 1998). Generally, women can be hired for about half the pay men demand.

SUPPORTERS OF EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

Advocates of EPZs claim that this system is advantageous for everyone: the consumer, the corporations, and the workers. According to this view, consumers get cheaper prices and laborers are lifted out of abject poverty. Proponents believe that employment outside of the home allows women more autonomy, and having access to income creates the opportunity for women to afford better healthcare. Supporters believe that this process is a stepping-stone for greater economic opportunities for all developing nations. Not all supporters dispute the widely documented poor working conditions, but many believe that factory jobs are "better than" the alternative: prostitution, unemployment, or starvation.

Besides factory workers, consumers and investors benefit from EPZs as well, according to this view. Wal-Mart, the world's largest corporate employer, is a prime example. Wal-Mart products are often produced in EPZs and Wal-Mart jobs are directly dependent on the sale of its retail goods. The relationship between consumption in industrialized countries (the primary consumer beneficiaries of EPZ-produced goods) and EPZs is therefore reciprocal. For Wal-Mart to continue to create worldwide employment, EPZs are necessary; and for jobs to be created in EPZs, transnational corporations must demand labor at the lowest price.

OPPONENTS OF EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

Opponents raise issues pertaining to the labor rights of EPZ workers, environmental health hazards, and the general lack of value attributed to poor and working class women in developing countries (Wright 2001). Free trade agreements have no clauses protecting workers, so factory owners can demand mandatory overtime, use child labor, have an unsafe working environment, and condone sexual harassment. These workers do not have the right to unionize. In fact, corporations consistently maintain that wages must remain low or factories must move to "stay competitive." EPZs and free trade agreements leave modern workers with almost no power for collective bargaining (Armbruster-Sandoval 2005).

To "stay competitive," many companies have shifted U.S.-based jobs "overseas" to Mexico, the Caribbean, or Asia. Mexico's *maquiladora* sector, which is one of the largest EPZs in the world, is now facing a similar fate, as factories relocate

to Asia in search of a cheaper labor force. The PBS documentary, *Maquilapolis,* documents this phenomena as it has affected maquiladora workers in Tijuana, Mexico.

FEMINIST DEBATES ON EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

Most feminist scholars agree that the lack of rights that female workers have in EPZ factories should be of concern, but some argue that because these workers are earning better wages than they would otherwise, they are actually benefiting from EPZs and from globalization in general (Lim 2001). Some scholars have shown how traditional gender roles are changing because of the EPZs. For example, in Mexico's *maquiladora* sector, many women workers have migrated from rural parts of the country to work in the factories. As they make the transition to the highly urbanized lifestyle on the border, their views on their gender roles have changed as well, creating tensions among men and women in the home, at work, and in local communities (Salzinger 2004). In this region, society is dealing simultaneously with men's unemployment and women's double responsibility for reproductive (e.g., childcare, housekeeping, cooking) and productive labor.

Ciudad Júarez, Mexico, located five miles from El Paso, Texas, is a good example of the geopolitical problems of EPZs worldwide. This particular geography is a literal line between the rich and the poor, "Americans" versus "Mexicans," men versus women, and the powerful versus the disempowered. After the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, a series of murders began to take place in this border city. Since 1994, almost 400 women and girls have been murdered and almost that many remain missing in Ciudad Júarez and Chihuahua, Mexico (Amnesty International 2006). At least one-third of the victims are *maquiladora* workers.

The Mexican government has not recognized that these crimes have the common thread of gender-based violence. The police are accused of desecrating the memories of the women by questioning their sexual purity, linking them, among others, to prostitution and lesbianism and to living "double lives" (Fregoso 2003). Human rights activists argue that blaming the victims for deviant behavior has reinforced cultural stereotypes about these workers as valueless and contributes to poor women's ongoing sense of powerlessness (Wright 2001). Feminist and labor activists argue that the *maquiladora* management should be involved in finding the culprits, but supporters of these factories, including the managers themselves, argue that they should have nothing to do with the investigation, despite the fact that some of the murders have been directly linked to their bus lines and factories (Portillo 2001).

CONCLUSION

In the capitalist system, corporations are responsible to their stockholders to generate profits, not to the workers. Supporters of EPZs believe that the positive economic benefits of providing labor to poor countries will eventually "trickle down," making EPZs a win-win situation for poor countries and the female

workers they employ. In contrast, opponents argue that until retail consumers in industrialized nations vote with their dollars, and unless more stringent international labor standards are adopted, the system is unlikely to change. Admittedly, feminists and labor activists face an uphill battle because multibillion dollar companies have more money and support. Whether women workers' lives will improve has yet to be seen and even feminist scholars continue to debate the pros and cons of this form of employment for female employees.

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Gender and International Development.

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Wonda Baugh

GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION: TRENDS AND DEBATES

Debates concerning the gendered effects of globalization include whether or not women in so-called third world countries are being exploited for their cheap labor, the degree to which globalization benefits or harms poor countries, and whether or not women's status has improved as a result of globalization and related processes of migration and economic restructuring.

BACKGROUND

Globalization is a multifaceted process and multidisciplinary topic, making it difficult to define. There are many elements of globalization: economic, political, social, and ideological. Even though the term *globalization* is widely used,

both by lay people and experts in different fields, there is no one agreed upon definition of globalization. One popular perspective defines globalization as the "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach round the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before" (Friedman 2003). On the other hand, there are scholars and activists who perceive globalization not as an inexorable process but as a deliberate economic liberalization that reduces the power of individuals and states, and increases that of market forces (Mittelman 2000).

Chen and Carr (2002, 1) succinctly summarize the meanings of globalization:

> Globalization means different things to different people. In its broadest sense, the term encompasses all types of economic and cultural transfers between nations—including domination of the media and the widespread use of the world wide web. In a narrower sense, it refers to the economic exchange of goods and services internationally and international financial flows.

The debate on the impacts of economic globalization often centers on these questions: Is economic globalization good or bad for people in developing countries? And, does globalization positively or negatively affect women's status, especially poor women? Critics contend that economic globalization is bad, because, according to this view, the process of global economic production is carried on the backs of poor people in developing countries through the extraction of their natural resources and cheap labor. In the case of factory production, poor women in particular have been targeted as the cheapest of all laborers, making them particularly vulnerable to globalization's negative effects (Salzinger 2003). Supporters argue that because globalization is a complex process, its effects on people in developing countries are more nuanced and can even offer positive benefits such as increased access to labor markets and consumer products for poor and middle class sectors (Lim 1997). Both sides address the fact that there is a host of factors that determine the benefits or the costs of economic globalization for different people. Those factors include social class, gender, racial/ethnic identity, and geographical location.

International institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have played important roles in shaping the economies of poor nations, placing them at the center of debates on gender and globalization. Globalization and the rise of international political institutions arguably change the meaning of modern nation-states (Ohmae 1995). As global norms and institutions become more powerful, free trade may limit the ability of states to set policy and protect domestic companies. Observers across the ideological spectrum agree that the integrated world clearly needs new institutions to set framework of rules that govern the international economy. The World Bank and the IMF have been credited for creating a secure environment for the open market, but they have been criticized for not emphasizing human development and human rights (Rodrik 1997). The majority of members of both the World Bank and the IMF are industrial countries. Consequently, there has been an

underrepresentation of poor countries' interests, including the centrality of poor people in development (Drakakis-Smith 1994). Critics contend, then, that poor countries are marginalized in the process of the creation of rules that govern global markets. Based on these contrasting views on globalization and new forms of global governance, who benefits from globalization? What happens when economic globalization deepens, rather than alleviates, poverty? Does economic globalization alter gender relations between men and women? If so, how?

THE FOREIGN DEBT CRISIS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES

One important way in which globalization has affected the lives of men and women in poor countries is through the foreign debt crises of the 1980s and subsequent structural adjustment policies (SAPs) put into place by international institutions to prevent poor nations from defaulting on their debt payments. SAPs, also known in some regions as economic reconstruction programs (ERP) or as new economic policy (NEP), were introduced first in Latin America, and later in Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia, as a way to enable poor countries to get concessional loans from the IMF and the World Bank to pay off their debt. Essentially it is an international lending program, and like all lending programs (for governments or for individual households), there are eligibility requirements. To begin with, debt-ridden countries can gain access to these loans only if they agree to the terms dictated by the World Bank and the IMF. The general emphasis of SAPs is on integrating poor economies into the global economy through a "free market" approach that emphasizes less state intervention in the economy, privatization, economic liberalization, and cuts in social spending to curb the costs of the debt. Ideologically speaking, SAPs are premised on the idea that the market, not the government, shall govern the economy. These policies have often led to increases in traditional economic indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP) and higher rates of economic growth; yet they tend to benefit large capitalist owners over small business people and wealthy over poor consumers. For poor people, SAPs have meant higher prices of basic necessities such as transportation, healthcare, education, and food. Increased unemployment often follows the privatization of state industries and agencies, leading to the increased displacement of workers in certain industries such as oil, gas, mining, and agriculture. Because SAPs and other free market policies encourage debtors to enter the global economy, these countries have to compete among each other and with industrialized countries in the increasingly globalized market. One result of this process is the spiraling "race to the bottom." In an attempt to entice investors from industrial countries, poor developing countries compete to offer the lowest wage, the cheapest raw materials, the most lenient labor, and/or the most lenient environmental regulations, often leading to further problems related to global social stratification and environmental hazards (World Bank 2000).

THE GENDER IMPACTS OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES

The impacts of SAPs were initially perceived to be gender neutral. It was soon clear, however, that it was not the case. Women have often been at the forefront of antidebt protests, a phenomenon studied by critics and supporters of globalization alike (Lind 2005). Cutbacks in government services such as healthcare or childcare means that care work had to be rolled back to families. The elimination of government subsidies, coupled with the introduction of user fees in the healthcare sector (a result of the privatization of healthcare) often means that sick family members are cared for at home by their female relatives, rather than at a clinic or hospital. This new tendency leads to the increase of women's domestic work and it also squeezes their time for gainful employment.

The first sectors that tend to be cut back at the beginning of the implementation of the SAPs are education and healthcare. Because both sectors constitute heavy concentration of women workers, they suffer from either job loss, pay cuts, or salary stagnation. Most of these jobs are not well compensated to begin with, as a result of a widely held notion that because they are "feminine occupations," they are "less important" than "masculine occupations" such as engineering, for example.

Unemployment in the wake of SAPs is often exacerbated by price increases in basic food items. Women shoulder the lion share of economic and social burden, as they are more likely than men to manage and budget the household economy, a point observed by many scholars (Benería and Feldman 1992). In an attempt to make ends meet, women have greater propensity to put their extra income into the family's budget. In contrast, it has been widely documented that economic hardship doesn't seem to change men's tendency to spend any disposable income on personal items such as alcohol or cigarettes (Elson 1991).

Despite these negative effects, some scholars point out that economic globalization does not always affect women in developing countries in a negative manner. For example, the establishment of multinational corporations in many developing countries has opened new employment opportunities for women. Women have a greater chance to be hired by these employers as a result of their preferences for female employees, as mentioned earlier. They believe that women are more suitable than men to carry out work that requires patience and attention to detail such as in computer assembling or sewing. There are other perceptions of female workers that work in their favor, namely docility and submissiveness. They are less likely to demand changes in the workplace, which results in easier labor management, although even in Mexico's *maquila* sector, one of the largest of its kind in the world, some women have organized associations to address their work conditions in the factories (Salzinger 2003). Some studies document appalling working conditions, low wages, and human rights abuses in multinational corporations in many countries, leading to an active anti-multinational corporation, anti-sweatshop and anti-globalization movement (Ross 2004). Some, however, highlight rarely mentioned benefits that these foreign companies bring. Although from a Western perspective labor

conditions and wages are far from ideal, such companies provide job opportunities that otherwise wouldn't exist. Rural women who have no job prospects in their place of residence migrate to urban areas to avail themselves of these new job opportunities, leading to an interesting and often contradictory set of issues for women's roles in these rapidly modernizing societies (Ong 1987, Lim 1997). Compared to local companies, some foreign companies offer higher wage and better working conditions. Better educated women also find jobs in more lucrative parts of multinational corporations, as well as in tourism industries, leading to new questions about the exploitative versus the liberatory nature of women's integration into these global production processes.

FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND WOMEN'S STATUS

Whether paid employment has resulted in an increase in status for women continues to be a matter of debate. Increased numbers of women in the labor force is not always the sign of progressive development, especially when it is based on a rise in the supply of labor rather than an increase in demand. Although economic globalization avails some women employment opportunities in the formal labor market, many more enter the informal sector out of necessity. The *informal sector* is a term used to describe the unregulated part of the economy, such as home-based industry, petty trading, and so forth. Increased poverty that follows economic crisis and/or SAPs often makes female participation in the labor market a necessity. As part of their survival strategies, poor households encourage more family members, sometimes including children, to enter the labor market. Given the complexity of the association between labor force participation and women's status, the impact of work on women's status is likely to vary depending on a host of factors such as level of education, nature of employment, ownership and control over resources, and cultural gender ideologies that determine women's place in a given society.

Gender ideologies that rigidly delineate men's and women's roles into the male breadwinner and the female homemaker usually do not provide ample room for demographic changes in gender roles. In this social context, economic globalization often poses predicaments for women. On the one hand, they provide income earning opportunities; on the other hand, these opportunities often clash with other expected roles such as mothering, dependence on men, and participation in public spheres of society (Singerman and Hoodfar 1996).

MALE DETERIORATING ECONOMIC DOMINANCE AND WOMEN'S STATUS

In some contexts of poverty and economic restructuring, men have lost their jobs, leading to increased gender conflict in their households. According to some accounts, in some Muslim countries, men's experience with economic difficulty has contributed to the collective increased control over women. According to these observers, some telling indicators include the growing popularity of

Islamic dress and *hijab* (head cover) and the more conservative personal status laws that govern marriage, divorce, and roles of husbands and wives (Goodwin 1994). Also, there has been an increase in formal speeches or publications that strongly encourage women's return to the home and their traditional roles (Abu-Lughod 1998). In some countries, so widespread is the backlash against working women that El-Mikawy (1999) calls this tendency the "conservative consensus."

The occurrence of the conservative consensus is somewhat ironic, for a substantial number of families across the Muslim world have to rely on two incomes to maintain a middle class existence or simply to get by. Several authors, however, point out that the increasingly conservative climate and the rise of male unemployment, as well as the reduction in male migration to oil-rich countries, are not a coincidence (Abu-Lughod 1998).

Another example of cultural clashes concerning gender and modernization concerns women workers in the factories of Mexico's *maquiladora,* or assembly factory, sector, a free trade zone on the northern border of the country. Since 1993, more than 500 women have been murdered in Ciudad Juarez, a large city that borders El Paso, Texas, and is home to hundreds of global factories. Most of the victims worked in *maquiladoras,* foreign-owned factories in this border city. These murders were shocking, not only because of their sheer numbers, but also because of their callousness. The victims were raped, mutilated, and murdered, their decaying bodies tossed in garbage-strewn desert in the outskirts of the city (Zebadúa-Yoñez 2005). These women fit a profile: they were young, poor women, many of whom came from other parts of the country to avail themselves for employment opportunities in *maquiladoras* (Monárrez Fragoso 2003). Although the killings caused panic among people of Ciudad Juarez, it was met with indifference by the police and the government (Lydersen 2003).

Of importance, some scholars and activists have pointed out that the ritualistic killing of these women workers is a result of men being uncomfortable with the progress women have made by entering the *maquiladora* labor force. Many researchers have documented how and why factor management preferred female over male employees, in part owing to their perceived "nimble fingers" (i.e., the perception that women could assemble small computer parts or garments better than men), as well as the perception of their greater docility and lesser need for a full-time job or livable wage. Because of these gender stereotypes, more women than men were hired during the initial years of Mexico's Border Industrialization Program, allowing women to make higher incomes than their male counterparts in many cases. This disjuncture between female wage earnings and traditional cultural conceptions of women as "secondary" breadwinners, as homemakers, and as secondary in status to men, let to increased intrahousehold and community conflicts between men and women, a process that continues today. The so-called feminization of the labor force, which free trade zone factories in particular have tended to propagate, has been seen by observers as a possible cause of the recent murders of women in Ciudad Juarez, in that they symbolize a kind of progress for women that has not been the same for men (Wright 2004).

In this sense, the murders of female workers in Ciudad Juarez arguably reveal the negative effects of indiscriminate economic globalization. Female

labor force participation in Ciudad Juarez threatens the social order by highlighting women's gain and men's loss. Working women were able to assert control over their lives, however minimally, while at the same time men were often out of work and therefore unable to demonstrate their dominance. Consequently, the murders in Ciudad Juarez can be perceived as a result of the collision between machismo (or sexism) and economic globalization (Monárrez Fragoso 2003; Zebadúa-Yoñez 2005). The murderers could commit their acts with impunity because violence against women is not perceived as a social problem. Furthermore the *maquiladoras* that represent the global market echo the local opinion about women—that they are worthless, temporary, and disposable (Haddrill 1990).

As with any development issue, globalization has its positive aspects as well. It has been opening windows of opportunities previously unavailable for women. Economic globalization brings a wide array of consumer goods and forms of knowledge to people in developing countries. Many people from developing countries experience relative deprivation, a gap between what they expected to attain and what they actually could obtain. At the same time, the flow of information makes people from developing countries keenly aware of the economic gap between their countries and those more affluent ones. This knowledge, coupled with a demand for cheap labor in wealthy countries, serves as a catalyst for international migration.

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION, INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, AND WOMEN'S CARE LABOR

Male migrants typically cross international borders to take jobs in construction and manufacturing. Female migrants leave their home countries to avail themselves as domestic and care workers. The shrinkage of industrial work and the development of informal jobs in service work and care work in many developed country present fewer job opportunities for male migrants and more for their female counterparts (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, 2005). In the early 2000s, about 95 million women left their home countries to live and work in a different country. They account for nearly half the world's immigrants (UNFPA 2006). Women's representation among all international migrants has risen from 46 percent in 1960 to 49 percent in 2000 (United Nations 2006).

Women have migrated for as long as men have, but the acknowledgment of their participation in international migration came only recently. One might wonder, why is this the case? Often, women are assumed to stay at home while men migrate for work, an assumption that reflects observers' own traditional gender ideologies. The main role of men in a lot of societies is that of breadwinner, whereas women are the homemakers, the nurturer of their children. From this perspective, it is logical to assume that many male immigrants will migrate alone, leaving behind wives who will take care of their family in the absence of their husbands. Alternately, when women do migrate, they do so to accompany or support their fathers or husbands (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005). Statistics show a different picture. Women from developing countries have always formed a

DID YOU KNOW?

Many women from poor countries have migrated to wealthier countries to work as maids, nannies, or domestic servants. The high numbers of Latin American women, in particular, who have left their home countries in Central or South America in search of economic opportunities in the United States, have led to the phenomenon of what sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000) refers to as "transnational motherhood." As these women leave some or all of their children at home, to be cared for by extended family members, they seek employment in the United States as nannies, taking care of the children of wealthy families in upscale urban neighborhoods. In fact, more professional women in the United States rely on paid caretakers for their children than ever before, a contradictory result of the forces of globalization: on one hand, globalization has brought with it new opportunities in rich countries for women to enter professional jobs in the service industries, offering them higher economic status than ever before. Yet because of this, the demand for poor (especially migrant) women to work as caretakers has significantly increased, leading to the rapid growth of private childcare companies, daycare centers, and nanny services (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002).

substantial proportion of migrants since 1960, although the proportion slightly increased in 2000. The gap between statistics and analysis is due to unchanging perception of women's passivity in the immigration process and their place in the home. In conclusion, feminization of international migration is not a new phenomenon at all, even if it is portrayed as such. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) argue that lack of attention toward female migrants can be attributed to the intersections of their gender, race, class, citizenship, and occupational opportunities (or lack thereof). Research shows a wide range of diversity among foreign female migrants in terms of their socioeconomic status and racial/ethnic categories (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, 2005). All female international migrants, however, tend to be lumped into one general category: as women, nonwhite, poor, originally from third world countries, and working in underpaid occupations. They are often seen by critics as serving the "underbelly" of globalization (Sassen 2002).

Although discrepancy of income between developed and developing nations is an important determinant of international migration, people often neglect to mention the wage gap between men and women in the home countries of the migrants. In fact the *2004 United Nations World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* (United Nations 2006) highlights the fact that gender inequality in sending countries is the strongest factor for women to migrate. Lack of decent employment in the home country, coupled with household financial stress and greater earning potential abroad, are strong incentives for crossing international borders.

Debates on female migration as a result of globalization revolve around the effects of migration on women's status and/or empowerment. On one side of

the debate, observers perceive the feminization of international migration as an important, although largely unrecognized, vehicle for poverty reduction (UNFPA 2006). In this view, the feminization of international migration is positive for the migrants. On the other side of the debate, observers argue that the feminization of international migration breeds a triple marginalization based on race, gender, and class, the last defined in the context of global stratification. More specifically, many female immigrants experience subordination because of their status as nonwhite, female, and as coming from third world countries (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, 2005). This is the predominant view expressed in the scholarship on the feminization of international migration. Yet other scholars such as Momsen (1999) argue that given the complexity of the process of international migration, classifying immigrant women as either "victim or victor" is oversimplification. Although female migrants experience varying degree of stress, difficulty, or even abuse, undoubtedly some of them return home unscathed, physically as well as psychologically. Additionally, some immigrants are able to obtain monetary gain from international migration and are able to alleviate their family from poverty (Oishi 2002; UNFPA 2006). Many migrant women seize the opportunity to buy land or real estate with their earnings; hence they experience a visible upward mobility (Oishi 2002). Consequently, some researchers prefer to place female international migration within the context of empowerment, however limited, and often with additional costs (Momsen 1999; Oishi 2002).

CURRENT ISSUES: GLOBALIZATION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Additional issues concerning the effects of globalization on women include the increased trafficking of human beings that has resulted, in part, from increased global communication and transportation networks. Although the trafficking of human beings entails cross-border migration, it is often treated as a category on its own. The main international legal framework on trafficking, the *Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* (UN 2000), defines trafficking as including the

> recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others and other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Many observers agree that the trafficking of human beings, like the flow of other commodities, is becoming an integral part of economic globalization. Gunde (2004) aptly calls trafficking as "the dark side of globalization…that

brings opportunities of the weak, poor, and disposed, as well as for criminals." Trafficking of human beings includes those who are not at the bottom of the totem pole, but the poor form the majority of this commodification of human bodies (Enriquez 2006; Poulin 2004). To some degree, the trafficking of human beings intertwines with the effects of SAPs, for in some cases these market-oriented policies have encouraged the development of tourism and entertainment industries. In poor countries reliant on tourism, this industry increases rural to urban migration, as well as international migration from developing to developed countries, as a result of the disintegration of livelihood security. Many poor women enter prostitution and related sexual industries such as massage parlors, bars, and dancing clubs (Poulin 2004) as a result of increased state initiatives to develop their tourism industries, which cater primarily to first world male clients. Other women have been trafficked for the purposes of forced marriage, bonded labor, or organ trade.

The trafficking of human beings, particularly of women, is a symbol of economic inequality between developing and developed nations. Poulin (2004, para 6) argues: "we can see that, in every case, the 'goods' in this market move transcontinentally and transnationally from regions with weak concentrations of capital towards regions with stronger concentrations." Bertone (2000) writes that the trafficking of women will not continue without the Western patriarchal system that is hungry for "exotic" women from developing countries. Poulin (2004) and Sassen (2002) note that the trafficking of women will not abate in the near future because governments as well as entrepreneurs benefit from the commodification of women's bodies. It is difficult to find literature that defends sex tourism and trafficking, although it is important to point out that some supporters of globalization view these industries as natural outgrowths of national economies rather than as products of global inequalities, making them view the

THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION PROTESTS IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

In late November and early December 1999, the United States witnessed widespread protests against the World Trade Organization's (WTO's) meetings being held in Seattle, marking the "birth" of the anti-globalization movement in the global North. Although critics of globalization have long organized in the global South to address the negative effects of globalization on their countries, the Seattle protests marked the first time that people in the global North became aware of their own roles in globalization and of globalization's negative effects on poor and migrant communities in the United States. Protestors broke the glass windows of several businesses including Starbuck's, McDonald's, and others located in downtown Seattle, as a way to protest the dominant model of global development being proposed by the WTO and other "free market" advocates. Although critics argued that violent protest does not lead to democratic political change, nobody could deny that the protests served as a "wake up call" for northerners' understandings of how their countries play complex roles in international economic and political relations.

local exploitation of women as sex workers or the trafficking of humans as issues that are separate from the debates on economic globalization.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to consider the impact of globalization as merely "positive" or "negative." How people fare in this monumental global restructuring process depends on their gender, class, race, and geographic locations. Generally speaking, poor people, and especially poor women, have to contend with the negative impacts of globalization. Lack of skills and formal education often limit their ability to compete with their more privileged counterparts in taking advantage of the opportunities that globalization brings. Theoretically, cultural gender ideologies sometimes have restrictive effects on women, as in the case of Muslim societies where a conservative gender ideology is present. Yet at times, traditional gender ideologies sometimes translate into more job opportunities for women, as in the case of Mexico's global factories. Many foreign companies tend to hire women because of the pervasive belief that women are able to pay attention to details and work more aptly with small items than are men. Similarly, more women can participate in international migration, a pattern emanating from globalization, to fulfill first world demands for nannies, maids, and caretakers of elderly relatives. Some women are able to enjoy the liberatory aspects of economic globalization, primarily because of class-related privileges, and, to a lesser degree, a relaxed, less restrictive gender ideology in their society. Others continue to suffer from their status as cheap labor in a global economy that rests on their shoulders yet undervalues their worth as human beings. In short, the impact of globalization depends on the complex intersections of class, race, gender, geographic location, employment opportunities, and culturally ascribed gender ideologies.

See also Gender and Globalization: Free Trade Zones; Gender and International Development; Immigration: Laws and Policies Concerning Entry into the United States; Mexican Female Migrants; Sex Trafficking.

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Dewi Susilastuti

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Debates on integrating women into development address whether current economic development approaches, including globalization initiatives, are actually improving or deteriorating women's living conditions around the world.

BACKGROUND

Since the 1970s, international organizations such as the United Nations have become concerned with how to integrate poor women into national development processes as a way to address persistent gender inequalities and foster better living conditions for all citizens in poor nations. From the start, there has been lively debate concerning how women should be included in the development process and whether the current global development model of neoliberal, or market-led, development has positive or negative effects for poor women around the world. Three dominant approaches have emerged since the 1970s: women in development (WID), women and development (WAD), and gender and development (GAD). These approaches have sparked further debates about their effectiveness (or lack thereof) in truly eradicating the "global feminization of poverty," which refers to the fact that there are now more women living below the poverty line than there were three decades ago, despite the best attempts of economists and development planners to eradicate global poverty (Chen 1995).

Women in Development

The first scholar to address the issue of women in development (WID) was Danish economist, Ester Boserup, who published *Women's Role in Economic*

Development in 1970. Boserup, a United Nations researcher, focused her attention on the female farming system in Africa. In her work she showed not only that African women played active roles as producers, especially in the agricultural sector, but also that the transfer of new technologies to men via development policies was likely to have a negative impact on women's work. Moreover, she claimed that including women in the modern (i.e., export-oriented) sector would eventually have a positive effect on economic growth, in addition to improving women's lives. Her work was consistent with the dominant economic theory of those times, the so-called modernization approach. Modernization theory is based on the assumption that economic development proceeds through stages, and that modernization (i.e., the adoption of more advanced technologies and the increase in industrial production, which would ultimately lead to a wealthier, industrialized society) would be beneficial for all third world countries.

Boserup's research helped raise awareness about women's disadvantaged position in economic development processes, and motivated future researchers to address the fact that development may have different effects on women and men. UN agencies and donors started to target specific sectors of women, both in rural and urban areas, with projects aimed at improving their disadvantaged position in the economic system and integrating them into the development process. One effect of this attention to women as economic agents has been the promotion of various studies investigating what constitutes "women's work" and how it is estimated and evaluated (Benería 2003, 131–160). For example, before this research, the multiple tasks that women perform in their daily lives were not accounted for: tasks such as childrearing, subsistence farming, domestic labor, and community organizing were not considered "real" in global accounting models until feminist researchers began to address women's work as an additional aspect of the economy. Influences from Western feminism, which addressed women's "double burden" as housewives/mothers and as paid laborers, also contributed to this emergent consciousness about the multiple ways in which poor women contributed to the economy (Waring 1990).

In Mexico City in 1975, at the first World Conference on Women, conference attendees adopted a World Plan of Action that proposed some guidelines to the international community, with the aim of reaching the following goals: (1) full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination, (2) the integration and full participation of WID, and (3) an increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace. This conference also launched the United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women (1975–1985), whose goals were to highlight the role of WID and to address the problems they encountered in participating in development processes. As a result of the UN commitment to the issue of gender and development, two new agencies were created within the UN system: the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), both of which were based on the WID framework.

Women and Development

During the 1980s, WID policies underwent major criticisms. Some scholars observed that WID led to the integration of women in development without questioning a notion of development solely based on economic growth and modernization. They considered this an "add women and stir" approach, reminiscent, in their view, of liberal feminist approaches that sought only to integrate women into the political and economic system without questioning the underlying systems themselves. This critique was raised in particular by third world feminists, who contended that the problem was not the fact that women were not integrated into development, but that they were integrated into development processes that exploited them (Sen and Grown 1987; Visvanathan, Duggan, Nisonoff, and Wiegersma 1997). These feminists contended that WID did not challenge the broader economic framework and that it focused mainly on the need to include women in the paradigm of development, treating them as untapped resources, which, when adequately integrated, would help make the market economy more "efficient," more so than help bring women out of poverty. Other scholars highlighted the fact that the WID approach tended to foster stereotyped images of third world women as "victims," "poor," and "backward," without acknowledging that women in the third world are differentiated in terms of race and class (Mohanty 1991). Finally, the WID approach was accused of not paying attention to the unequal relations between men and women.

As a result of the attempt to redress the faults of WID and to overcome its limitations, new approaches emerged: the women and development approach (WAD), and later, the gender and development approach (GAD). The WAD approach is a neo-Marxist approach that stems in part from dependency theory and world systems theory. In contrast to modernization theory, which presumes a linear path to development and expects all countries to be able to achieve prosperity so long as they take certain steps to modernize their economies, dependency theorists argue that the development of first world countries (the "core") is grounded on the exploitation of third world countries (the "periphery"), a relationship that stems from European colonization and continues today. According to this view, as long as first world countries rely on the cheap labor and raw resources of third world countries, and as long as third world countries cannot escape persistent poverty and foreign debt cycles, this unequal relationship of dependency will continue to exist. Drawing from and elaborating on dependency and world systems theory, WAD scholars believe that women (especially poor, working women) have always been active participants in the process of development and that their oppression stems primarily from their countries' historical dependency on industrialized capitalism. In this way, the WAD approach shifts the attention away from the disadvantaged position of women in society to a critique of the broader socioeconomic framework, especially women's marginalization in capitalist peripheral societies.

Examples of projects stemming from this framework include women's labor unions and projects designed to support female microenterprise owners, particularly in the form of microcredit. Two widely emulated projects include the

SELF-EMPLOYED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association, is an Indian trade union founded in 1972. SEWA organizes women workers employed in the informal sector in India. Its activities are grounded in two principles: struggle and development. SEWA's strategy is to fight against the limitations imposed on women by society and to develop economic alternatives to achieve the goal of full employment and self-reliance. SEWA embraces gandhian principles of egalitarianism and inclusion. Accordingly, SEWA organizes its members without any distinction in terms of race, caste, or religion. The association offers to its members a wide range of services: a bank, a health plan and employment insurance, and a training institute (the SEWA Academy). In the 2000s, SEWA has more than 700,000 members who are mainly concentrated in rural areas of India. Its success in organizing self-employed women has led to the creation of sections of SEWA outside the country as well, including in South Africa and Yemen.

In the 1990s, SEWA came to the forefront, as it was able to successfully lobby the International Labor Organization to promote the adoption of the ILO Convention concerning Homework (1996). This convention was particularly important for self-employed women workers in India, as not only did it extend to home workers the protections guaranteed to standard workers, but it also pulled home-based work out of a state of "invisibility," which was making it an exploitative form of labor. In 2006, SEWA was a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, losing to the Grameen Bank and its founder, Muhammad Yunus.

Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India, which was established by a group of women workers (see Sidebar Self-Employed Women's Association) and the Bangladesh-based Grameen Bank, designed to provide poor women with small business loans. In 2006, the Grameen Bank and its founder, Muhammad Yunus, won the Nobel Peace Prize for their contributions to social and economic development.

Gender and Development

In many ways, the WAD approach was an important step toward developing the GAD approach, which continues to have great salience today among practitioners, policymakers, and activists. The GAD approach was "inaugurated" during the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985. It is the product of a much longer transnational dialogue among feminist activists and scholars in the South, and from an improved dialogue among activists and scholars from the North and South.

Most fundamentally, the GAD approach aims at addressing gender power relations between women and men by shifting the focus from "women" to "gender." As a consequence, women are not treated as a separate group; on the contrary, the attention is focused on the different needs of women and men and on

the necessity of achieving true gender equality. In theory, the GAD approach aims to transform gender roles and challenge relations of power between women and men, thereby endowing it with transformative potential for broader socioeconomic frameworks that the WID approach was unable to achieve. By addressing gender roles and relations, GAD is targeting at the same time the "condition" of women (i.e., poverty) and their "position" (i.e., status, defined especially in legal terms) in society. Because of the shift from women to gender, GAD supporters hoped that there would be less likelihood of the "ghettoization" of women's issues or women-oriented projects in specific units and offices within international organizations and national governments, and more chance of a gender analysis being incorporated into all institutional divisions and policy frameworks. In sum, the adoption of the GAD approach marked a shift from the centrality of women's direct need to access resources to the necessity of redistributing power between men and women, particularly through a series of legal and political reforms that would lead to increases in women's rights according to the law. In conjunction with this, the GAD approach also held the promise to be more sensitive to issues of difference among women, including racial, ethnic, religious, sexual, and geographic differences. The WID approach did not address differences among women, except between women of the first versus third world, and the WAD approach only addressed class differences among women, typically viewing global capitalism as the primary cause for all other forms of oppression such as racism and religious intolerance, rather than applying a more intersectional analysis that came out of select GAD scholarship, particularly that produced by academic scholars (e.g., Mohanty 1991).

In 1995, the GAD approach was institutionalized and sanctioned at the Fourth UN Conference on Women held in Beijing, China, a conference designed to follow up on proposals made at the earlier UN conferences. The conference document, the Beijing Platform of Action, declared that gender should be "mainstreamed" in every policy at all levels of governance, meaning that the different needs of women and men need to be taken into account in the designing and implementation of all state policies.

CRITIQUES OF WID, WAD, AND GAD

Several critiques of GAD and earlier approaches have emerged since the 1980s. To begin, the GAD approach has been challenged on the grounds that the new focus on gender, including the notion of gender mainstreaming, bypasses earlier concerns about women's specific needs and about sexism. By focusing on gender and presumably "bringing men in," critics fear that the GAD focus on gender might lead to less, rather than more, attention to women's specific needs and disadvantages and to a dismissal of funding for women-oriented activities and projects. Moreover, another problem highlighted by GAD critics is that the insistence on differences among women may actually constitute an obstacle for the recognition of their commonalities.

In addition to these criticisms, new approaches have emerged that combine WID, WAD, and/or GAD frameworks with other variables such as the

environment, racism, or sexuality. For example, the women, environment, and sustainable development (WED) approach was elaborated in the 1980s under the impulse of third world women activists and scholars observing the negative effects of economic growth on the environment, and noting that poor women are the most likely to be hit by environmental crisis. WED advocates problematized the traditional notion of economic development to foster "sustainable development." Sustainable development is a process of development that conciliates the fulfillment of human needs with the preservation of natural resources, without endangering the fulfillment of the needs of future generations. The WED approach also promotes the idea that an increased participation of poor women from the global South in the management of development would help in meeting the overall goal of sustainable development. One of the most famous groups of third world women promoting the direct participation of women in the management of natural resources is the green belt movement, a grassroots organization in Kenya that connects the fight for good governance and respect of human rights with the protection of the environment. The founder of the green belt movement, Wangari Maathai, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, a network of feminists from the global South, has also addressed sustainable development since its inception in 1984.

Recent developments in feminist theory have expanded the issue of gender and development to include a broader notion of survival, from one focused on material needs to one focused on emotional and safety needs, and on sexuality. Although sexuality is a central element in the life of all individuals, it is a matter that tends either to be ignored by development practitioners, viewed only through a traditional lens of maternity and reproduction, or to be addressed mainly with regard to health crises such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Gosine 2005). Recent studies highlight the fact that development policies are often based on assumptions about the sexual identity and practices of the beneficiaries, many of which are rooted in Eurocentric understandings of sexuality. For instance, development policies targeting women in the third world address them mainly as mothers and caretakers, hence assuming that they are heterosexual and that they reproduce, rather than viewing them more broadly as having sexual autonomy and as active participants in the public domain (Lind and Share 2003).

ALTERNATIVES TO DEVELOPMENT: IMAGINING A POST-DEVELOPMENT ERA

The various problems related to economic development have led scholars and activists to explore the possibility of alternatives to the mainstream economic model and to develop the concept of "post-development" (Escobar 1995; Saunders 2002). Post-development is based on the idea that modernization and capitalism are not liberating either women or men; on the contrary, they are promoting exploitative conditions all over the world. There are different post-development approaches, but in general they promote alternative definitions of development that include a concern for the well-being of individuals beyond

the satisfaction of economic (i.e., monetary) needs. Although post-development thought as a field is a recent phenomenon, earlier thinkers promoted similar ideas. For example, Mohandas (or "Mahatma") Gandhi, the leader of the Indian fight for independence (1916–1945), strongly criticized the Western paradigm of development and worked to create an alternative economic model based on local production and self-reliance. Other exponents of post-development include Colombian-born anthropologist Arturo Escobar, now a professor in the United States, who authored the ground-breaking publication, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (1995) and Indian physicist and activist, Vandana Shiva, who has helped lead the struggle for the protection of the environment in India (Shiva 1989).

CONCLUSION

The debate concerning the need to integrate women into development, and the best conditions for doing so, continues to take place among scholars and practitioners of the global South and North. WID, WAD, GAD, GED, alternative forms of development, and alternatives to development all highlight different aspects of the relationship between women and broad economic change such as that promoted in development policies. Whereas the WID approach stresses the necessity of integrating women into an otherwise benevolent process of capitalist development, the remaining approaches question the validity of development models centered on economic growth. The GAD approach, with its emphasis on the concept of gender, highlights the need to address relations of power between women and men. More fundamentally, perhaps, some scholars argue that to truly understand global gender inequalities, scholars and practitioners must first question the notion of development itself, with the goal of fostering a broader understanding of development that is linked to the overall well-being of individuals that goes beyond the economic sphere.

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Environmental Justice; Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Human Rights: International Laws and Policies.

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Federica Gentile

GENDER IDENTITY DISORDER

Gender identity disorder (GID) is a hotly contested diagnostic category used by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) to label nonconforming gender identity expression as a mental illness. Activist groups are challenging the pathologizing of gender identity expression and claim that similar to the declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness in the 1970s, nonconforming gender identity expression, too, must be declassified and cease being labeled a mental illness. Supporters believe that gender is a biological fact and that lack of identification with the gender assigned at birth is a dysfunction.

BACKGROUND: GENDER IDENTITY DISORDER DIAGNOSIS

GID is one of the most controversial categories of mental disorders in the DSM. Those who believe it should be eliminated from the DSM contend there is little evidence to support its use and that gender roles and expectations are not binary categories as the DSM suggests. Gender identity is a social construction and its pathology has been created by the medical profession. Therefore the category should be dropped altogether from the next version of the DSM (DSM-V, which is now under discussion and targeted for a 2010 release date). Psychologist Daryl Hill argues that GID is not a mental disorder at all and that it is largely a diagnosis designed to alleviate the stress experienced by social institutions and parents who cannot accept a child's exploration of gender roles and expectations that do not fit prescribed categories (Hausman 2003).

Supporters of the diagnosis disagree with this analysis. They believe that gender is a biological fact and the diagnostic category is valid because gender-congruent roles and behaviors are an expectation of society. Thus if individuals do not identify with the gender they are "born into," it is a "dysfunction" and should be labeled and treated as such.

GENDER IDENTITY DISORDER DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA

A. A strong and persistent cross-gender identification (not merely a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex). In children, the disturbance is manifested by four (or more) of the following:

1. Repeatedly stated desire to be, or insistence that he or she is, the other sex.
2. In boys, preference for cross-dressing or simulating female attire; in girls, insistence on wearing only stereotypical masculine clothing.
3. Strong and persistent preferences for cross-sex roles in make-believe play or persistent fantasies of being the other sex.
4. Intense desire to participate in the stereotypical games and pastimes of the other sex.
5. Strong preference for playmates of the other sex.

B. Persistent discomfort with his or her sex or sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex.

C. The disturbance is not concurrent with a physical intersex condition.

D. The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

Source: American Psychiatric Association, DSM-IV-TR 302.85, 2000.

Others argue for GID reform instead of complete removal of the category from the DSM. GID Reform Advocates is one group dedicated to keeping the diagnosis of "gender dysphoria" as a serious medical condition that can be treated with medical intervention but declassifying gender nonconformity and "cross-gender" identities that are legitimate expressions of gender. They argue the criteria for a mental disorder should rise to the level of a "clear therapeutic purpose" for intervention that is based on distress or impairment for the individual. It should not be based on socially defined gender nonconformity constructs.

The World Health Organization's International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (10th Revision 2003) classifies gender identity variance in a similar fashion as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM IV-TR, 2000), published by the American Psychiatric Association. Gender identity variances are classified as diseases under the broader category of "gender identity disorders."

WHO NEEDS A GID DIAGNOSIS?

People who consider themselves gender variant encompass a wide range of perspectives on whether GID should be a disease and have a wide range of perspectives on body transformation from one sex to another. Some seek body modification surgeries; others do not. To pursue body transforming procedures in the United States, such as sex reassignment or hormone therapies, however,

an individual usually enters the mental health system and obtains a diagnosis of GID after seeing a mental health therapist for a certain amount of time. Often without this designation, an individual cannot proceed with surgical interventions to modify the body. Activists groups continue to challenge essentialist assumptions of gender identity expression that pathologizes individuals who do not align themselves with traditional binary sex/gender categories; males must be men and females must be women, for example. In addition, activists see the pathologizing of gender identity expression as a form of social control that the DSM IV-TR legitimizes. Supporters of GID as a mental disorder argue that individuals who experience "gender distress" and "gender dysphoria" are in need of psychological and medical interventions to help them cope with their condition.

CONCLUSION

To date, the APA has supported the pathologizing of nonconforming, cross-gender, and gender-variant identities. Activists in and outside of the mental health profession continue to challenge this stance. Whether gender identity disorder will be declassified by the APA as a mental illness in the next revisions of the DSM will be one of the most hotly debated issues facing the association.

See also Gender Socialization; Sex Reassignment Surgery; Third Genders; Transgender and Transsexual Identities.

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Stephanie Brzuzy

GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Gender socialization refers to the complex set of processes through which individuals behave in a particular set of ways according to their proscribed gender. Debates concerning gender socialization stem from religious versus secular views on gender, sexuality and family, culturally divergent perspectives on "appropriate" gendered behavior, and whether gender roles are derived from biology or are socially constructed.

BACKGROUND

Gender can be understood as a signifier of sex. Because sexual difference is a primary organizing principle of most societies, gender socialization, through which individuals are encouraged to consistently signify their sex, constitutes one of the most powerful aspects of socialization in any society (Kessler and McKenna 1985; Richardson 1988). Members of a society don't simply learn how to eat—they learn a complex set of rules for how they must, should, or may eat, given their sex; members of society don't simply learn to engage in religious ceremonies—they learn how they must, should, or may engage in religious practices, given their sex; members of society don't simply learn how to walk, run, or dance—they learn how they must, should, or may walk, run, and dance as members of a particular sex. Not everyone easily or readily accepts the gender socialization of a given society, but the process of attempting to shape behavior into masculine and feminine inflections impinges on almost every member of any particular society at most times.

Feminist scholars have noted that gender socialization begins in an individual's life even before the individual is born (Richardson 1988). With the advent of new technologies that allow prospective parents to know—or even select—the sex of their children long before their births, the process of gender socialization may begin even earlier than in previous generations (Rapp 2000). Anticipating the birth of a male or female child, parents are expected to begin the process of marking the child's sex in a variety of ways, including selecting a name that signifies the baby's gender, preparing a space for the child that will reflect his or her membership in one gender group or the other, and imagining the future

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AS NATURE MADE HIM

Some of the most famous arguments for the power of gender socialization have been inspired by misfortune. In a number of reported instances, physicians circumcising male infants have destroyed the boys' penises, and have subsequently recommended raising these children as girls. In the best known case, psychologist John Money reported that a biologically male child was successfully being raised as a girl after such a tragic incident. Although Money reported that the child was "lost to follow-up" during adolescence, researcher John Colapinto wrote a book in the patient's adulthood chronicling his life, which was marked by difficulty around issues of sex, gender, and sexuality. Although the patient was treated as a girl in childhood, s/he chose to transition into masculinity as an adult. Biological essentialists see this case as evidence of the power of biology over society; social scientists who believe that socialization is more powerful than biology argue that the patient's transition into maleness reflects the facts that his initial sex reassignment didn't take place until he was nearly two years old, that he had been socialized as a boy until the accident, and that his family was deeply ambivalent about the sex reassignment and therefore inconsistent in its socialization practices.

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of this child in ways that are no doubt shaped by gendered expectations. When the child is born, tradition compels those in attendance to first announce the child's sex—"Congratulations, you have a baby girl"?—and from the moment of that first pronouncement, those considered boys and those deemed girls face continual socialization into masculinity and femininity across the life course. Among Eurocentered white North Americans, "femininity" remains associated with fragility, delicacy, nurturing behaviors, and an emotional orientation toward the world, whereas "masculinity" remains associated with "toughness," assertiveness, and an "action orientation" toward the world.

Agents of Socialization

Sociologists call institutions and individuals acting in the service of imparting the norms, traditions, languages, and lifeways of a given society "agents of socialization." For most people, the first agent of gender socialization is the family. Within the contexts of families, children learn about gender in a variety of ways. Among psychologists, Alfred Bandura's social learning theory of behavioral modeling (1962) serves as a useful conceptualization of the ways children learn to behave by observing others' behaviors. Decades of research on modeling has demonstrated that children learn a variety of behaviors through observation, and are able to pick and choose from among behaviors they've seen in the conduct of others; boy and girl children are able to "act like" the "opposite" sex when asked to do so, even when their typical behavior is consistent with the norms for their own sex. Behaviorists argue that socialization is a function of punishment and reward; in terms of gendered behavior, this would mean that children learn to repeat the behaviors deemed appropriate for their gender because they receive positive reinforcement for these and receive negative reinforcement for cross-gendered behaviors. Sociologists speak in related terms of positive and negative sanctions for particular behaviors playing a significant role in socialization, and also offer social scientists a model of socialization based on Mead and Cooley's work on "the looking glass self." In this model, individuals develop a sense of themselves by observing others' reactions to them, as though the people around them are mirrors reflecting back an image of the individual as intelligent, attractive, interesting, and capable, or as missing these qualities. In terms of gender socialization, the Mead/Cooley model suggests that individuals are constantly receiving messages about how they measure up to the conventional standards for gender, and that, in response to these messages reflected back by observers, individuals develop a core sense of themselves—in the case of gender socialization that sense would be of oneself as masculine or feminine in varying degrees—or as a person who violates conventional norms of gender (see Jary and Jary 1991).

The degree to which an individual can comfortably violate gender norms during the process of socialization varies by sex, class, and culture, among other variables. Girls who violate gender norms by engaging in forms of play considered masculine, rejecting dolls and playing house, for example, are often accepted as tomboys until they enter adolescence, but boys who reject rough

play and conventionally masculine pursuits are often goaded for their gender nonconformity (Richardson 1988). Sociologists interpret the difference in the ways gender nonconforming children are treated as reflecting the status differences between men and women in society; for girls to engage in masculine pastimes or presentation of self is for them to assume the traits of the dominant group, if only temporarily, and in this way girls are seen as paying homage to masculine power—and are understood not to be appropriating that power but simply briefly imitating it. On the other hand, boys who refuse to engage in traditional masculine pursuits and opt instead for interests considered feminine are stigmatized because they are relinquishing the symbols of masculine power. As a result, it is less possible for boys to comfortably wear "girls'" clothing or try out girls activities than it is for girls to dress in "boys'" apparel or to play sports considered squarely in boys' domain. Often, social class is related to the degree to which individuals may express gender nonconformity in adulthood, with greater access to financial resources allowing individuals to live outside of gender conventions with fewer negative sanctions, such as limited employment opportunities.

Certainly, family members as primary agents of socialization are in a position to comment on violations of the gender code, but by the time children reach school age, additional agents of socialization begin to exert influence on their sense of gendered identities. Peers provide powerful positive and negative sanctions through their ability to include and exclude others, depending on their assessment of an individual's status, and they have the capacity to teach friends and classmates how to "do gender" in ways considered desirable. More formally, schools provide a powerful socializing influence along the lines of gender. From early on, for example, students are often asked to line up in girls' and boys' lines, to go to girls' and boys' bathrooms (unlike at home), and to participate in sex-segregated play and learning. Educators are often predisposed toward seeing boys and girls as fundamentally different in their learning styles and social needs and may reinforce gender differences by expecting students to perform better in particular academic areas based on their sex. Research on gender nonconforming children indicates that their gender fluidity may be well accepted within their families, only to be the focus of negative attention and intervention when they enter elementary school. Of interest, some research indicates that boys perform better in coeducational environments, but girls perform better in single-sex learning environments. One interpretation of this finding is that in coeducational environments, even the boys who perform worst feel superior to girls in their classes, and girls removed from these environments feel the liberty to perform better when not faced with negative comparisons to boys.

GENDER SOCIALIZATION AND SEXUALITY

In Western societies, there exists a strong connection between assumptions about normative gender presentation and normative heterosexuality. In her famous conceptualization of "compulsory heterosexuality," Adrienne Rich (1980, 1994) explicates the concept that heterosexuality is not simply a set of sexual

ARE MEN AND WOMEN BETTER SUITED FOR PARTICULAR KINDS OF WORK?

Are men and women better suited for particular kinds of work? If so, is this a function of nature or of nurture? In the West, middle class white women in the twentieth century were discouraged by male physicians, educators, fathers, and husbands from engaging in hard physical labor, earning incomes in factories, and engaging in vigorous athletic activity, as a result of ideologies that positioned women as weak and delicate, the "fairer sex." Concurrently, however, working class and poor white and black women routinely undertook challenging physical labor in sweat shops and as domestic servants for the white women who were seen as constitutionally weak because of their femininity. In most other societies across the globe, women have routinely engaged in challenging physical labor—in fields, on farms, in childrearing—and their attractiveness has, in other societies, been associated with physical strength and endurance, as well as intellectual competence and beauty (Matthaei and Amott 1996).

practices but a set of social practices that depend on and continually reproduce the subordination of women. Rich argues that if heterosexuality were the only possibility for human beings, the complex web of laws, institutions, and traditions that compel members of society into heterosexual arrangements would be unnecessary. That is, heterosexuality would not be compulsory through the pressure of juridical structures but simply universal.

Suzanne Pharr (1988) elaborated on the relationship between sexism and heterosexuality in *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism*, by arguing that homophobia, the fear and hatred of gays and lesbians, as well as heterosexism, the privileging of heterosexual relationships and people in them, are undergirded by forms of sexism that are directly related to gender. For example, in instances of antigay hate crimes against men, perpetrators often choose victims not because of any express knowledge of their sexual practices or identities, but because their behaviors are somehow in violation of norms for masculinity. The fear of being identified as gay or lesbian, as a result, often inhibits both heterosexual and gay, lesbian, and bisexual people from pushing the limits of normative gender roles. In childhood, boys are at risk of being identified as either "sissies" or "fags" for gender-nonconforming behavior, even before they or their antagonists have a conscious awareness of sexual identities. In adulthood, being perceived as gay or lesbian puts both men and women at risk of harassment and violence, and those perceptions are often based not on sexual information but on gender presentation. Robert Connell (2005) and Michael Kimmel (2005) have both explored this connection as it shapes men's experience in contemporary Western societies. Connell introduced into the literature the concept of "hegemonic masculinity," a way that dominant systems of masculinity establish requirements for male participation in the white, heterosexual, dominant class. Kimmel (2005) has explored the impact of being a sexual outsider on the lives of gay men, even those who are white and wealthy, because they fail to meet the standards of

hegemonic masculinity. The process of gender socialization, therefore, is not as simple as compelling individuals to learn the rules for "acting like a girl" or "acting like a boy." Gender socialization is always tied inextricably to socialization around issues of sexual identity and sexual behavior, as well as to class, race, religion, and a host of other factors shaping the social environment that is the social context for any particular individual.

Gender Socialization across the Life Course

Because childhood gender socialization plays such a significant role in our development as children, it can be tempting to assume that gender socialization occurs only in the context of the family and only in the early years of human development. Although the family, an individual's first frame of reference, plays a significant role in gender socialization, it does not completely control the socialization of its members, as nearly every parent eventually discovers. Both formal institutions and informal groups become significant players in the gender socialization of individuals. Schools and classmates exert various forms of influence on individuals' developing sense of gender. Schools that require uniforms, for example, often opt for gender-specific uniforms that allow boys the liberty of wearing pants but require girls to wear skirts and to have more modesty as a result. Peer groups both reinforce gender norms and challenge them; peer groups may pressure individuals into adopting the codes of normative masculinity, femininity, and heterosexuality, or they may offer individuals models of masculinities and femininities that differ from the hegemonic model; for example, "gangsta masculinity" differs from the model of masculinity proffered by the dominant group, as does "baby dyke" femininity.

Gender socialization in adolescence continues to be tied to notions of normative gender, with "good girls" being defined as girls who do not engage in sexual activity and "real boys" being defined as those who do. In her book *Slut! Growing Up Female with a Bad Reputation,* Leora Tannenbaum carefully documents that obvious sexual double standard underwriting these expectations of young men and young women. She also documents how easily a young woman's reputation can be spoiled by rumor and gossip related to her sexuality, no matter the relationship between the woman's actual behavior. In this sense, young women are subject to being controlled by possible definitions of their sexuality. Knowing that a disgruntled date can spread rumors about her behavior, a young woman is put in a no-win situation in which her reputation as a "good girl" or as a slut or "used goods" is dependent not on her sexual behavior but on her management of complex social situations in which she may be expected to trade sexual favors to protect her reputation as a good girl.

The process of gender socialization continues through adolescence, and into the phases of adult life, many experience status as a student, a spouse, a parent, a worker, and a professional. In each of these life experiences, expectations for men and women differ significantly (Richardson 1988). To be a "good husband" carries with it a different set of expectations, pressures, and restrictions than does being "a good wife." Along the lines of professions and

occupations, men and women either gravitate into or are pressured toward divergent roles in a largely sex-segregated work force. Although women have entered traditionally male occupations in greater numbers in the last two decades, and some men have taken up occupations that were associated with women in the last half of the twentieth century, it remains the case that the U.S. Congress is strongly male dominated, that men still hold most of the CEO seats of Fortune 500 companies, and that nursing remains a woman-dominated occupation. In earlier generations of feminist theorizing, writers took up the question of whether women were overrepresented in some fields and under-represented in others as a result of preference or as a result of discrimination. Ultimately, we can see this pattern as a function of both. Women may be attracted to occupations that emphasize skill sets and personality traits cultivated during the process of early gender socialization, which can be seen as a process of discrimination itself, and as being disadvantaged by our society's assignment of less value to those occupations precisely because they emphasize the skills and traits associated with femininity. In most municipalities, for example, childcare workers (mostly women) earn less than sanitation workers (mostly men), even though these occupations require similar levels of education and training.

See also Femininities and Masculinities; Nature versus Nurture; Sex versus Gender.

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Amber Ault

GLASS CEILING

Although women have made strides in achieving greater equality with men, one on-going issue is the continuing scarcity of women in leadership roles. The reasons for this imbalance remain contested, but it has been suggested that a

"glass ceiling" exists that prevents or reduces the promotions of women beyond a certain point. Critics argue that these gender discrepancies are based on individual preferences and cohort effects rather than on gender biases.

THE PROBLEM

During the past three decades inequality between men and women has declined. The number of women who receive undergraduate degrees now exceeds that of men, and an increasing number of women have advanced degrees. Women's labor force participation has also grown steadily and women's work patterns are now increasingly similar to those of men. Nevertheless, even with these changes, vertical segregation between men and women has not disappeared. The term *vertical segregation*, or *authority gap*, refers to the fact that men are still more likely than women to be in positions of power and authority.

THE METAPHOR OF THE GLASS CEILING

Scholars argue that a glass ceiling exists that prevents or reduces the promotions of women, especially in male-dominated fields where women are in the statistical minority. According to the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, the glass ceiling is the "unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements" (1995, 4). The glass ceiling is conceptualized in various ways. Some see it as a literal barrier beyond which women do not advance; others see it as women encountering progressively greater barriers as they move up the hierarchy. The scarcity of female CEOs of major companies is an example of the effect of the glass ceiling.

EXPLAINING THE GLASS CEILING

Although direct discrimination against women is partly responsible for the glass ceiling, discrimination is just one contributing factor. Research has shown that a lack of informal mentoring, sexual harassment, and a failure to comply with equal employment opportunity rules also contribute to the glass ceiling.

THE GLASS ESCALATOR

Although a "glass ceiling" seems to exist that prevents women from obtaining top positions, especially in male-dominated fields, the opposite seems to be true of men in female-dominated fields. Research has found that in fields such as nursing and social work, men may experience a "glass escalator" that pushes them toward positions of greater authority (Williams 1992). This finding undermines the idea that any individual who is a "token," or member of a group in the statistical minority, will experience discrimination.

Mentoring is important to one's chances of reaching the highest positions, yet the majority of successful male workers are reluctant to mentor women. This may be due to worry about gossiping or sexual harassment charges, or possibly because women are often stereotyped as being weak and therefore not good candidates for top positions. Studies have also documented how negative treatment and sexual harassment of women in male-dominated fields may lead them to perform less effectively and discourages their promotion (Kanter 1977; Woodzicki and LaFrance 2005). Furthermore, although there are indications that equal opportunity policies have made direct gender discrimination less acceptable in general, they seem to fail women in higher corporate positions because of their inconsistent enforcement (Charles and Grusky 2004).

CONTROVERSIES SURROUNDING THE GLASS CEILING

Several scholars have argued that labor market discrimination against women exists equally across all levels of employment and therefore conclude that the concept of the glass ceiling is irrelevant. Some proponents of the glass ceiling, however, hypothesis point out that as a result of cumulative effects, this would also logically lead to the smallest percentage of women at the highest levels of the hierarchy. This theoretical position may be part of a broader move in glass ceiling research from focusing only on movement into top positions to now examining upward job mobility in a more general sense (Baxter and Wright 2000).

It also has been argued that gender differences in authority are not the result of a glass ceiling but result from other factors, including cohort effects or differences in job preferences. Although researchers acknowledge that a portion of the difference in authority may be due to cohort effect (where the differences in the levels of skills and experience in previous generations explain the gap), most research has found that vertical discrimination exists at a much greater level than it would if based solely on a cohort effect (Jacobs 1989). The idea that men and women may have different job preferences has received some empirical support, as people's employment aspirations do appear to be partly shaped by what is socially appropriate and feasible given their gender. The idea that differences in job preferences play a significant role in vertical segregation, however, has not been adequately tested, and establishing a clear-cut causal order between preferences and outcomes remains difficult.

CONCLUSION

The glass ceiling hypothesis attempts to describe and explain one form of vertical discrimination. Although there is strong evidence for a gender gap in authority, there has also been research that did not find evidence of a systematic glass ceiling effect (Hultin 2003). Some conflicting results may be due to the variety of ways that researchers conceptualize the glass ceiling. The continuing existence of an authority gap between men and women is a problem for those who are concerned with achieving gender equality, in part because vertical segregation contributes to general power imbalances and the gender wage gap.

See also Comparable Worth; Equal Rights Amendment; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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Medora Barnes

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HETEROSEXISM AND HOMOPHOBIA

Heterosexism and homophobia comprise beliefs and actions that negatively influence the lives of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and non-normative heterosexual people. Defenders of the heterosexual norm argue that homosexuality is unnatural and that laws and policies should not be created to protect homosexuals from discrimination. Those who work to eliminate heterosexism argue that privileging heterosexuality as the only sexuality that is normal and right serves to oppress nonheterosexual people.

BACKGROUND

Homophobia is defined as the irrational fear and hatred of gay men and lesbians. It combines the words homosexual and phobia, hence the definition related to panic or fear of people who are sexually attracted to a person of the same biological sex. Many people contend that the word heterosexism is a more accurate concept, as fear or panic is not the defining issue as much as the power and privileging of heterosexual people over gay men, lesbians, and bisexual people. Heterosexism assumes that all people are and should be heterosexual and asserts that heterosexuality is normal, natural, and right. Heterosexism operates similarly to other dimensions of oppression in that one category (heterosexuality) is accorded more power and privilege in society than others (homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality) and that prejudice is targeted at nonheterosexuals. Heterosexism is accepted by most people because the privilege itself is invisible. Viewed as "the way it is" or "the way it's supposed to be" learning heterosexism seems natural and right.

NORMATIVE HETEROSEXUALITY

Adrienne Rich claims that if heterosexuality were not compulsory, most women would not choose it because of the inequality and subordination of women. Heterosexuality, in her view, is a political institution. This is difficult to dismiss because heterosexist prejudice is seen throughout the institutions of society. Male power and control can be seen in limitations on female freedom and choice; sexual assault, battering, incest, and pimping; male privilege in law; and denial of a full range of female sexuality.

On the cultural level, traditional gender roles of masculinity and femininity, definition of the family, religious views condemning same-sex sexuality as a sin, lesbian-baiting, name calling, and antigay jokes all enforce heterosexism and antigay prejudice. Lack of civil rights protections in employment and housing, in access to the rights of marriage, and in the military policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (wherein people in the military can be gay but they cannot act on it or talk about it) are institutional level discriminations.

These and other limitations form a constant message that the gay or lesbian person does not deserve the same rights, protections, or access to resources that heterosexuals have available to them. Validation from the culture is absent and key mechanisms for job enhancement, adoption or foster parenting children, or relationship benefits such as joint insurance or access to your partner in a medical emergency are lacking. These messages reinforce that the gay or lesbian person is a second-class citizen. To defenders of the heterosexual norm gaining these rights is seen as "special rights" or rights that are not deserved or warranted because nonheterosexuals should not be viewed on equal footing. Any move in the direction of equal rights or treatment would be endorsing the "gay lifestyle."

HOMOPHOBIA AND SEXISM

Homophobia is intimately related to sexism in that the denigration of the feminine is central to both. According to Suzanne Pharr in her work on homophobia as a weapon of sexism, homophobia works in hand with heterosexism to enforce compulsory heterosexuality and the nuclear family. Political conservatives and religious fundamentalists criticize feminists and homosexuality for undermining the traditional family.

Misogyny, the cultural hatred of women, is expressed through the disempowering and belittling of girls and women and the encouragement of dependence on men. Lesbians are perceived as man-haters and as females who can do without men; therefore they are outside of the natural order. Gay men are viewed as traitors to male privilege and also a threat to male dominance and the natural order. In fact, men who are even slightly effeminate and not necessarily gay are suspect. Heterosexuality and female subordination are usually part of the same belief system for people who believe in the rightness of male dominance.

MATTHEW SHEPARD (1976–1998)

Matthew Shepard, a student at the University of Wyoming, died from his injuries sustained in a beating and robbery after he was tied to a fence in a remote area and left. Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson targeted Shepard as a gay man for the attack in what became a highly publicized murder and trial. The attackers changed their story three times, including trying the "gay panic defense." Henderson pled guilty and testified against McKinney to avoid the death penalty. He was sentenced to two consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole in 1999. McKinney went to trial and was convicted of two counts of felony murder. Shepard's parents spoke out against the death penalty so that he had "life in memory of one who no longer lives." McKinney is serving two consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole.

This murder energized debate about hate crimes and how to respond to them. Candlelight vigils were held all over the country in Shepard's honor. Reverend Fred Phelps picketed Shepard's funeral and trial with antigay signs such as "God Hates Fags" and "Matt Shepard rots in Hell." In 1999, President Clinton tried to have sexual orientation added to federal hate crimes legislation, but the effort failed. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA) to expand federal protection to sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, and disability was introduced into Congress in 2005 but has yet to pass. Matthew Shepard's parents founded the nonprofit Matthew Shepard Foundation and work to increase public visibility around issues of respect and dignity for gay men and lesbians.

LESBIAN-BAITING

An outspoken woman or a woman who does not accept subordinate status may be "lesbian-baited"—called a lesbian whether or not she is one. The purpose of this name calling is to silence her or encourage her to change her behavior. As a result of political backlash to gains won by the Women's Liberation Movement, the label *feminist* in many circles is mistakenly equated with lesbian, and as a consequence many women resist the feminist description. To avoid being called a lesbian some women choose to be reformist and not radical—in other words, to tone down their lives and views. The only reason lesbian-baiting has the power to control women's actions is because it carries a negative connotation. The contemporary phrase, "That's so gay," is another example of a denigrating phrase that is based on homophobia.

BISEXUALITY AND BIPHOBIA

Bisexuality connotes attraction to both women and men. One of the results of heterosexism is a binary sexuality framework of gay/lesbian and straight. There is only a dichotomy, leaving no way to think about a third or in-between category. Therefore people who do not fit into the two categories are excluded from consideration. In this case, people who are bisexual are invisible.

Not only are bisexual people invisible but they are stigmatized. Heterosexuals may stigmatize them because of their same-sex attraction. Gay/lesbian people may stigmatize them because they are not gay in the "right" way, as in not solely gay. To come out as bisexual may mean a loss of gay/lesbian community. Although the community is called lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT), bisexual is not equally mentioned or validated at events, in legislation, in publications, or in educational outreach efforts.

Internalized heterosexism/homophobia contributes to biphobia because of the pain of oppression as LGB people. Lesbians and gays who negatively stereotype bisexuals or fail to acknowledge them are acting out horizontal hostility. Bisexuals become the "other," which is a common dynamic of oppression, and allows for myths such as bisexuals are not to be trusted, are going through a phase, or are promiscuous. The idea that there is only one way to be gay or lesbian, and hence belong to the gay community, leads to the questioning of bisexual identity.

From a strictly heterosexual perspective, bisexuality is wrong. It may be viewed as sinful, sick, or perverted to be attracted to someone of the same biological sex, even if one is also open to heterosexual relations.

HOMOSEXUALITY, BISEXUALITY, AND PEOPLE OF COLOR COMMUNITIES

For a person of color to come out as LGB is a major risk of loss of community. Many people of color may have to choose between being true to themselves or their family and community. Religious institutions, which are often antigay and heterosexist, play a major role in the social life of communities of color. Bisexual people of color may find themselves estranged from both their communities and the lesbian and gay community. There have always been LGB people of color, although this reality is not publicly embraced. Furthermore, the labels used may not have been *lesbian* and *gay*, but expressions such as womanist or men who have sex with men.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION CONFUSED WITH GENDER IDENTITY

Heterosexism uses homophobia to blame gay men and lesbians for many societal ills. This victim blaming is an essential component of every form of oppression. Not only does power and control apply to the personal categories of sexual orientation where heterosexuality is privileged, but sexual orientation is often confused with gender identity. Sexual orientation refers to the object of a person's romantic or intimate desire. Gender identity is an individual's internal sense of whether that person is male-identified, female-identified, neither, or both. A common mistake is to assume that every transgender person is gay and to confuse a gender issue (related to sense of self) with a sexual orientation (related to desire).

Gender normativity assumes a gender binary of men and women. Like heterosexism, if a person does not fit into the norm, it is seen as unnatural and wrong.

People who are androgynous, masculine women, effeminate men, transgender, or intersex are judged as abnormal. They are outside of societal expectations and may be subject to harm. In fact, many hate crimes that are seen as homophobic are really about gender transgression—people are attacked because they violated a gender norm that the attacker(s) found unacceptable rather than a sexuality norm. For example, an effeminate man may not be gay, but his femininity may anger other men who harm him because they feel his femininity is not manly. In this case, the heterosexual standard incorporates elements of traditional notions of manhood and womanhood that should be adhered to without deviation.

INTERNALIZED HOMOPHOBIA

Young children in elementary schools are exposed to societal homophobia on the playground when the words "faggot," "gay," and "dyke" are used in a derogatory way to tease and humiliate other kids. Boys are especially vulnerable to this form of social control. The antigay climate in schools is well documented in annual reports by the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Educators Network (GLSEN). Hence, individuals grow up surrounded by homophobia in schools, in the media, in families, in peer groups, in religious sermons, and in legislation throughout the life course. Simultaneously, young people grow up being taught that the only acceptable way to be is heterosexual, and they are surrounded mostly by heterosexual role models. One of the consequences of this pervasive exposure to negative messages for someone who is, in fact, LGB is internalized homophobia—the entrenched belief that it is wrong, perverted, and "less than" to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

Many gay and lesbian young people miss school days or quit school entirely before graduation because the classrooms, hallways, and bathrooms are physically and psychologically unsafe places. The suicide rate for young gay people is three times the national rate for teens in general. Low self-esteem, higher rates of alcohol and drug use, and mental health problems are serious problems in the gay and lesbian communities as a result of individuals feeling that they need to be secretive about being gay or lesbian or that they are immoral or sick.

RELIGION AND HOMOSEXUALITY

Much of the opposition to homosexuality comes from religious institutions that interpret their sacred texts as condemning same-sex feelings and behaviors. Some interpretations of the Koran and the Bible are seen as forbidding same-sex acts and label them as sinful. Many religions take political stands against homosexual rights because they feel legal approval would be incompatible with their teachings.

There are, however, welcoming religious and spiritual groups both within and separate from the dominant religions. The Web site of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays lists 24 such accepting groups. Affirmation, the gay and

lesbian Mormon group, "believes in the worth of every soul regardless of their sexual or gender orientation," and they try to meet the needs of people who "experience frustration or alienation" as a result of their sexual orientation. DignityUSA supports LGBT people in the Catholic Church and holds the view that any sexuality can be compatible with the teaching of Jesus Christ.

Most of the affirming groups are within mainline religions (Baptist, Jewish, Evangelical, Lutheran, etc.), but a few are specifically LGBT-oriented. The Metropolitan Community Church is specifically a LGBT-affirming church, and Soulforce advocates for freedom from religious and political oppression through nonviolent means.

Some religious groups will perform same-sex commitment ceremonies and some have lesbian and gay clergy. Both of these issues are highly controversial, however, and organized religion stands as one of the most homophobic and heterosexist institutions in U.S. culture.

COMING OUT

Because of the repression and secrecy of being gay or lesbian, many individuals are "closeted"; that is, they do not tell others in their life that they are gay or lesbian. This means they cannot live full and free lives and need to pick and choose to whom and when they reveal their sexual orientation. To come out as gay or lesbian entails taking risks of safety and losing friends, family, and jobs. Coming out is a personal decision with political consequences. It is political because it brings the person into opposition with a power structure that has placed him or her in a subordinate position. Gay or lesbian individuals are saying that they are who they are and should be fully accepted as such.

One strategy of the political movement for gay and lesbian rights is advocating that all gay and lesbian people come out—for one reason, for others to realize how many gay and lesbian people there really are, and for another, to break down stereotypes and myths as others realize gays and lesbians are in every type of group, class, and occupation. Until the risks are diminished, however, this is an understandably difficult act for many to take. For those who believe heterosexuality is the only acceptable sexual orientation and that homosexuality is a choice, coming out is problematic. Sometimes this alters their views and they accept the homosexual person; other times rejection is their option.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TREATMENT

Homosexuality as a mental illness was removed from the American Psychiatric Association's DSM-II in 1973; however, some renegade people are still trying to treat homosexuality as a mental illness. Generally referred to as "reparative therapy" or "conversion therapy," these therapists believe homosexuality is wrong, is a choice, and is caused by environmental factors. These practitioners tend to come out of a religious perspective and usually incorporate prayer

and religious worship in the treatment. Scripture reading, group and individual counseling, aversion therapy, and sometimes electroconvulsive shock therapy are other treatments. The majority of critics view this approach as a discredited therapeutic model, most often based on a religious objection to homosexuality, that it can cause serious psychological harm, and that there is no empirical evidence that these treatments work. The American Psychiatric Association opposes reparative therapy.

LEGAL PROTECTIONS AND HATE CRIMES

As of 2003, 24 states had no antidiscrimination laws that included sexual orientation. Eleven states had some protection for public employees. Ten states include sexual orientation in their antidiscrimination legislation. There is no federal level antidiscrimination protection.

Hate crimes, which are on the increase against gay and gender-variant people, are message crimes in that they go beyond the crime against the person who is targeted to send a message to the group that the individual is a member of. For this reason, taking a stand against hate crimes is important to say that it is not acceptable to target this group and that it is a serious offense. Of 46 states with hate crime legislation, only 27 states and the District of Columbia include sexual orientation.

The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA), introduced into the House of Representatives and the Senate in May 2005, would add sexual orientation and gender identity to existing hate crimes legislation. The last federal hate crime act was passed in 1968 and does not include sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability. So far, only the House has passed the LLEEA (in September 2005). Opponents of legal protections usually view these as steps to legitimize a sexual orientation they disapprove of. Consequently, although not endorsing discrimination or hate, they do not want to endorse homosexuality by protecting it through legal measures.

ADVANCES IN GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS

The gay rights movement for equality, full legal rights, and social acceptance formally dates back to June 27, 1969, when lesbian, gay men, and gender-variant people stood up to police during a raid at the Stonewall Bar in New York City. There has been a flurry of activism since then from gay pride parades and events to countless educational forums and trainings, national coming out days, marches on Washington, the formation of national organization such as the Human Rights Campaign, lobbying for legislation, efforts toward full acceptance of gays serving in the military, advocacy for full marriage rights and benefits, and more. *Lawrence v. Texas* was a milestone for gay and lesbian people when in June, 2003, the Supreme Court struck down existing sodomy laws, reversed its own 1968 *Bowers v. Hardwick,* and affirmed the Constitutional right to privacy.

TIMELINE: NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN 2005

January: Antigay Christian leader James Dobson denounces Sponge-Bob SquarePants as promoting a prohomosexual agenda.

January: First ruling upholding the Defense of Marriage Act dismisses a lawsuit by two women from Massachusetts trying to have their marriage recognized in Florida.

March: Voters in Topeka, Kansas (home of Fred Phelps) uphold an antidiscrimination ordinance against gays and lesbians in municipal hiring.

April: The Oregon Supreme Court nullifies nearly 3,000 marriage licenses issued in 2004 to same-sex couples.

May: A study published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* adds to biological evidence of sexuality differences based on brain responses to sexual smells.

June: Spain becomes the third country to legalize same-sex marriage, after the Netherlands and Belgium.

July: Canada becomes the fourth country to legalize same-sex marriage.

August: The California Supreme Court says gay couples who raise children are lawful parents and must provide for their children in case of relationship dissolution.

September: Michael Magidson and Jose Merel are found guilty of second-degree murder of transgender teen Gwen Araujo in 2002.

September: Governor Schwarzenegger vetoes the same-sex marriage bill passed by the California state legislature.

October: Connecticut's civil union law goes into effect.

December: *Brokeback Mountain* is released and stirs national discussion about gay relationships.

CONCLUSION

Homophobia and heterosexism hurt everyone by locking people into rigid gender roles and expectations with only one acceptable sexual orientation. People are unable to be their authentic selves and contribute their full potentials to society. Homophobia silences and stigmatizes people because they are different, including nonconforming heterosexuals. Homophobia may never be completely eliminated in society, but the pressure toward a more equal and accepting society continues.

Every step that moves in favor of gay and lesbian rights is seen as part of a "gay agenda" to those who see homosexuality as an unnatural choice. Each legal protection or access, whether an antidiscrimination law or access to two-parent adoption, means a message of societal approval to people who are gay or lesbian. This tension between different views of natural and perverted, inborn and choice, and right and wrong, is closely linked to people's views of morality and of civil rights. Unfortunately, there is no compromise position. As long as there are distinct positions in religion, politics, and ideas of human nature around the issue of sexual orientation, there will be some who apply their perspectives to others about who they can be and how they can behave.

See also Bisexuality; Lesbians and Gays in the Military; Same-Sex Marriage; Sexual Identity and Orientation; Sexual Orientation and the Law.

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Lori Girshick

HIV/AIDS

Women are becoming infected with HIV/AIDS at increasing rates, mostly as a result of unprotected heterosexual sex. The risk factors leading to transmission of HIV/AIDS for women are biological, behavioral, social, and economic in nature.

BACKGROUND

HIV/AIDS is a fast-growing epidemic in the United States that has traditionally been associated with certain segments of the population, mostly homosexuals and intravenous drug users, and thus evokes much public debate around the responsibility of society to treat its sufferers. HIV/AIDS lacks boundaries, it

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FAST FACTS ON HIV/AIDS

- 78 percent of all HIV/AIDS infections were acquired through heterosexual sex.
- Women account for 64 percent of all heterosexually transmitted infections.
- HIV/AIDS is the fifth leading cause of death for all women, surpassed only by cancer and heart disease.
- HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death among African American women ages 25–34 years.
- 50 percent of women do not know they are being exposed to HIV/AIDS when engaging in sexual activities.
- 14 percent of men who engage in homosexual sex have unprotected sex with women as well.

Source: CDC 2004, 2006.

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impacts I.V. drug users, men who have sex with men, women, adolescents, and older adults. There are two fundamental viewpoints regarding why women are at increased risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS. The social inequality viewpoint contends that women are at increased risk of the disease as a result of their devalued position in society. Conversely, the biological viewpoint believes that the gynecological design of women, coupled with poor behavioral decision making, has substantially contributed to the growing rates of infection among women.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY VIEWPOINT

The social inequality viewpoint contends that the patriarchal system is a leading cause of the increased HIV/AIDS infection rates among women. Economic inequality, gendered violence, racism, ageism, and sexism are regarded as the foundational causes of women's increasing infection rates. Such structural barriers reduce the ability of women to navigate their social and sexual environments. Women of color are especially disadvantaged in terms of infection rates. African American and Hispanic women represent 25 percent of the United States female population, yet account for 81 percent of all female AIDS cases (Prather, Fuller, King, Brown, Moering, Little, and Phillips 2006). Women of color are statistically poorer than white women, and thus have limited access to quality medical care, nutrition, and information about HIV/AIDS prevention.

In addition, the media control women's sexuality by promoting unrealistic expectations in terms of sexual behavior, physical appearance, and sex role expectations. The influences of the media are acted out in intrapersonal relationships between men and women, as evidenced by domestic violence, infidelity, and sexual violence. For African Americans, the media and the hip hop culture greatly influence sex roles and decisions regarding sexual behavior (Thompson-Robinson, Richter, Shegog, Weaver, Trahan, Sellers, and Brown 2005).

Women are more likely to acquire HIV/AIDS through heterosexual sex than injection drug use, blood products, transfusions, and other undetermined modes of exposure combined (CDC 2004). Many women believe that monogamy protects against HIV/AIDS, even when neither partner has been tested before engaging in sexual activity (Thorburn, Harvey, and Ryan 2005). Once in a relationship, whether monogamous or not, women often believe they can trust their partner not to infect them and therefore do not use safer sex practices. All of these factors are combined with a previous history of alcohol abuse, childhood sexual abuse, current domestic abuse, and the use of illicit drugs to increase women's likelihood of infection.

BIOLOGICAL VIEWPOINT

From a biological point of view, there are fundamentally three reasons why women are at increased risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. These include biological factors, behavioral factors, and a revised definition of AIDS by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC).

RISK FACTORS FOR HIV/AIDS UNIQUE TO WOMEN

- Social (e.g., gender inequality)
- Economic (e.g., unequal pay resulting in an inability to afford medical treatment)
- Structural (e.g., racism, ageism)
- Interpersonal (e.g., domestic violence)
- Biological (e.g., gynecology)
- History of sexually transmitted infections

Biologically, HIV/AIDS presents itself differently in women than in men and is mostly presented in terms of gynecological issues, such as recurrent vaginal yeast infections. The disease may also go undetected as a result of concurrent medical conditions in which the symptoms mirror those of HIV/AIDS. Young and older women are especially vulnerable to transmission as the vaginal lining is much thinner than for women of reproductive age, which increases the risk of vaginal tearing during intercourse (Spearman and Bolden 2005). Women also respond to treatment differently than do men. As most of the current treatments have been developed and tested by men, the impact of drug therapy on women is only beginning to come to fruition.

Several behavioral factors contribute to women's increased risk of infection. Women are engaging in nonmonogamous relationships in which safer sex is not practiced and are basing this decision on their partner's physical appearance and attractiveness (Hong, Goldstein, Rotheram-Borus, Wong, Gore-Felton, and the NIMH Healthy Living Trial Group 2006). Women are also more likely to perceive their partners as being HIV-negative than other at-risk populations. Among older women there is a misperception that safer sex practices are not required because there is no risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (Spearman and Bolden 2005).

In 1993, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) expanded the definition of AIDS to include gynecological diseases. The impact of this decision was a 250 percent increase in the number of women diagnosed with HIV/AIDS from 1992 to 1993 (Dworkin 2005). Women were now eligible for inclusion in drug trials and studies of disease progression that they were previously excluded from, and gender-specific manifestations of the disease are now designated symptoms. Women, however, are still less likely than men to receive the most effective treatments for the disease as a result of misdiagnosis, lack of adequate medical care, and poverty.

CONCLUSION

The HIV/AIDS infection rates of women will likely continue to increase into the foreseeable future as current prevention methods and treatment options fail to address the underlying issues of the disease. The power imbalance between women and men contributes to the poor access women have to medical care,

disease testing, and treatment. Despite these structural barriers, what responsibilities do women have to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS? HIV/AIDS is a largely preventable disease, and although biologically women are at increased risk of infection, that disadvantage can be mitigated by behavioral change. Women must shift from passive sexual receivers to active sexual participants to decrease their risk of disease.

See also Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Laura J. Zilney

HOMOSEXUAL REPARATIVE THERAPY

As part of the belief that homosexuality is caused by environmental factors, some mental health professionals and Christian leaders have attempted to cure homosexuality and/or homosexual behaviors through reparative therapy, but the success and ethics of such procedures are highly controversial.

BACKGROUND

Homosexual reparative therapies are a group of experimental techniques that attempt to change a person's sexual orientation or sexual behaviors from homosexual to heterosexual. Such therapies range from electroshock therapy

and orgasmic reconditioning to self-talk and reframing thoughts (Christianson 2005). Professional organizations such as the American Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, National Association of Social Workers, U.S. Office of the Surgeon General, and American Psychoanalytic Association condemn such procedures as ineffective and/or unsafe. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, these major health associations each took the formal position that homosexuality is not an illness or pathology. Some health professionals and conservative Christian organizations, however, advocate for reparative therapies as safe and effective cures for homosexual orientation and/or behavior. Reparative therapy thus emerges as both a mental health and religious issue.

MENTAL HEALTH

Beginning in the early 1990s, some mental health professionals countered the official positions of the major professional organizations and insisted that homosexuality was a mental disorder that could and should be changed. One of the most famous of these thinkers is Joseph Nicolosi, who, along with Charles Socarides and Benjamin Kaufman, founded the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH) in 1992. NARTH offers a variety of services that are designed to offer an alternative perspective to that of the other professional organizations, but despite the commitment to scientific inquiry, Nicolosi is closely affiliated with religious organizations including Dr. James Dobson's Focus on the Family. Nicolosi and his colleagues at NARTH believe that homosexuality is largely linked with improper gender identification (www.narth.com). Nicolosi has written several books about his treatments that are primarily targeted toward homosexual men, and he argues that homosexuality is primarily caused by psychological factors including childhood sexual abuse. Nicolosi is also responsible for making the distinction between "homosexuals," or those who are "same-sex attracted," and "gays," or those who accept and act on their attractions.

Another famous thinker in the reparative therapies debate is Robert Spitzer, a psychiatric researcher from Columbia University. His controversial 2001 study argued that at least 200 people had changed their orientation from homosexual to heterosexual. Spitzer sought to challenge the generally held position that there is no evidence that homosexuals can change their orientation. His hypothesis was that reparative therapy could lead those with "predominately homosexual" orientation to change to "predominately heterosexual" orientation. His study, which involved interviews of 143 males and 57 females who had indicated change for five or more years, revealed that some people do in fact change their sexual orientation. Most of Spitzer's participants were Christian and 93 percent of them indicated that religion was extremely important in their lives (Spitzer 2003). This fact and methodological and sampling issues have led to scathing criticisms of Spitzer's study by other professionals. Jack Drescher and Kenneth Zuckerman's 2006 edited book, *Ex-Gay Research* critiques the Spitzer study by locating it in a series of political and cultural dynamics that challenge the veracity of the research. Nonetheless, Spitzer's study is a significant event for both proponents and opponents of reparative therapies.

DID YOU KNOW?

Gary Cooper and Michael Bussee were among the many founders of "ex-gay" organization, Exodus International in 1976. While working for an organization called "EXIT" (Ex-gay Intervention Team), they helped organize a weekend meeting of several ex-gay groups that would soon become Exodus. However, the two fell in love, left their wives, and were united in a commitment ceremony at a Metropolitan Community Church in 1982. In the 1992 documentary *One Nation Under God,* Bussee and Cooper critique ex-gay movements, particularly Exodus as fraudulent, arguing that ex-gay movements lead to self-hatred. Sadly, Cooper died in 1989 of AIDS-related complications.

EX-GAY MINISTRIES

Although many of the mental health practitioners who advocate reparative therapy are affiliated with religious organizations, ex-gay ministries function without turning to science to support their claims. Rather, ex-gay ministries premise their work on the idea that homosexuality is a sin and people need to leave the "lifestyle" to be right with God. The first ex-gay ministry, "Love in Action," started in San Francisco in 1973 (Christianson 2005). Exodus International, the largest network of ex-gay organizations, began in 1976. In 2004, the name changed to the Exodus Global Alliance. Although this outreach ministry still seeks to provide "freedom from homosexuality" through the power of Jesus Christ, the name change indicates its desire to focus on locations other than the United States and Europe (www.exodusglobalalliance.org). Like many ex-gay organizations, Exodus claims a high success rate, although the methods for collecting the data are often subject to criticism by professional organizations. Adding to the critique, Exodus and many other ex-gay organizations are often plagued with accusations that their members and leaders engage in homosexual behavior. This was made most famous with the case of John and Anne Paulk, two ex-gays who married and were the poster children for the ex-gay movement. In 2000, photographs were released of John Paulk at a gay bar in Washington D.C., causing rifts throughout the Christian right, particularly Exodus, where Paulk was chair of the board of directors. Controversial or not, ex-gay ministries continue to thrive, and prominent public religious leaders such as D. James Kennedy, the late Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and James Dobson all advocate against homosexuality and for reparative therapy. It is interesting that only the Roman Catholic organization, Courage, recommends celibacy for homosexuals as opposed to changing their orientation.

CONCLUSION

Despite the controversy over the validity of reparative therapies, because of conservative religious positions on homosexuality, these practices are not going anywhere. Adding to the mix are a growing number of ex-ex-gays that have come out to tell their stories of journeying from gay to straight to gay again. These individuals who now denounce reparative therapy were once among its

biggest advocates. One only wonders when the ex-ex-ex-gay movements will begin to emerge.

See also Female Sexuality and Dysfunction; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Karma R. Chávez

HUMAN RIGHTS: INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND POLICIES

International women's human rights law demands that the unequal status of women be addressed as a violation of their rights and as a breach of the obligations of governments to guarantee equal rights to all. Controversies surrounding women's human rights stem from divergent views on the role of tradition and culture in shaping gender relations, debates concerning what constitutes a human rights violation, and tensions concerning whether rights frameworks should be defined in universal or culturally relative terms.

BACKGROUND

International human rights standards and procedures have historically been perceived as gender neutral. This neutrality has often amounted in practice to the disregard of women's specific oppression and lack of rights. What women have learned through time is that their needs, interests, and rights are neither automatically recognized nor ensured unless they speak out and fight for them. This struggle has not come without a price, however. The international women's

human rights movement has achieved a great many successes for women locally and globally, but there are still a wide-ranging number of debates within the movement, as well as from outside it. Women still face explicitly discriminatory laws and practices. Opportunities to enjoy their rights and freedoms are often also hindered by implicit societal, cultural, and religious norms that discriminate against women. Debates on how to define and best achieve international women's human rights are also fraught with complexity. The liberal nature of human rights and its inability to conceive of private domain issues as violations of these rights, the universality of all women's oppression, and the differences of various cultures' relationship to women dominate the current arguments about women's human rights. Although international women's human rights provide a framework for women's struggle against oppression, women still face wide-ranging challenges.

HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

The history of international women's human rights goes back long before the creation of the United Nations (UN). Recent feminist scholarship credits the beginning of international women's human rights to fifteenth-century *Le Livre de la Cite des Dames* (*The Book of the City of Ladies*) by Christine de Pizan who argued for women to be educated, to be able to live and work independently, to participate in public life, and to be masters of their own fate (Fraser 2006, 7–8). Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1792 in response to the promulgation of the natural rights of man theory, is also considered a key text in the movement. Networks of women activists also organized across borders in the antislavery struggle and women's suffrage movement long before the term *women's human rights* gained usage. The creation of global institutions such as the UN, however, certainly strengthened the international women's human rights movement.

After the horrors of World War II, the victors of the war, the Allied Powers, set out to create a system to prevent war and intervene in conflict. The UN Charter was signed in San Francisco in 1945, which created a system for global governance. During the Charter's creation, civic and religious groups in many countries were prompted to call for the inclusion of an international bill of rights. The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 and its two covenants, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ECOSOC), are collectively called the international bill of rights.

In many ways, the work of international women's organizations came to fruition with the establishment of the UN. Led by South American delegates, most notably women from Brazil, Mexico, and Dominican Republic, and with support from Indian and North American nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the linkage between women's rights and human rights was effectively made in the UN Charter in its introduction and four separate articles (Fraser 2006, 36). Women also fought for a separate commission to deal specifically with women's issues, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). Established in 1946, the CSW is still in existence today.

Human rights in general and women's human rights more specifically has gained momentum in the twentieth century. The 1975 International Women's Year Conference brought 5,000 representatives to Mexico City. Developing country representatives suggested that development would bring equality, but women from industrialized countries cited numerous areas of discrimination in their countries. Despite many of the groups' differences, in the end, contentious women came together around similar interests and showed the power of the international women's human rights movement. Women's international human rights conferences have provided a unifying forum for women around the world. They have also been places where debates in the movement have been voiced the loudest. From varying ways to improve the lives of women, to the debate on the liberal nature of human rights and its inability to include private sphere issues into human rights frameworks, to cultural relativist arguments, these issues have played center stage at the numerous women's human rights conferences over the years.

During the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, every government at the conference discussed the issue of violence against women and added support to international women's human rights. The 1995 UN World Conference on Women affirmed the conclusion of the Vienna Conference and continued to strengthen women's human rights. A list of celebrated successes in women's human rights include the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development, with its prioritization of women's autonomy and health; the drafting of the Convention on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) and the international recognition of violence against women as a serious human rights issue; the negotiation of the protocol to the Women's

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TIMELINE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

1945: United Nations Charter

1946: Commission on the Status of Women

1948: United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

1966: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

1966: International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ECOSOC)

1975: First World Conference on Women, Mexico

1979: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

1993: Vienna Conference on Human Rights/Vienna Declaration and Program of Action

1994: United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), Cairo Conference

1995: Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing/ Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

2000: Beijing + 5: Gender, Equality, Development, and Peace for the Twenty-first Century

Convention to allow individual complaints; the recognition of the need for gender analyses throughout the UN; the prosecution of rape as a war crime at the ad hoc tribunals in Rwanda and Yugoslavia; the inclusion of gender analyses and women's human rights frameworks within multiple international agreements; the increased participation of feminist and women's NGOs at all levels of UN activity; and the increased representation of women in senior positions at the UN (Buss and Manji 2005, 3–4).

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS TOOLS

Even though the international system lacks a central law-making body to enact legislation, treaties are the primary way in which international law is made. These treaties create rights and obligations for the signed parties. The most powerful treaty related to women was drafted by the CSW and obligates states to eradicate discrimination against women. This text adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1979 was called the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The convention entered into force in 1981, faster than any other general human rights treaty. As of March 2006, 182 states were party to it (Dunoff, Ratner, and Wippman 2006, 505). In 1999, an additional protocol was added to CEDAW that allows individual women, or groups of women to bring claims of violations of rights protected under the Convention to the Committee and includes an inquiry procedure enabling the committee to initiate inquiries into situations of grave or systematic violations of women's rights.

Even though the international system is superseded by the autonomy of individual countries, reporting measures used under CEDAW can be strongly critical of a state or express the view that the state has not discharged its obligations under the treaty. Further reporting can put pressure on a government, particularly if the proceedings receive international or national publicity (Cook 1994, 23).

The UN system also has several agencies dedicated exclusively to issues related to international women's human rights. Besides the CSW, there are also six treaty-monitoring bodies within the UN, one of which is the Committee on the Elimination on the Discrimination Against Women. At its meetings held twice annually, the committee reviews national reports submitted by the country's parties within one year of ratification or accession to CEDAW, and every four years thereafter. They also provide recommendations to countries on the treatment of women. The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), which writes research and reports on the state of women in the world, is one of the five research and training institutes in the UN. Under the United Nations Development Program, the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programs and strategies to foster women's empowerment and gender equality.

Several NGOs work at both the local and global level advocating for women's human rights. Some of the more well-known and highly funded organizations

that have separate international women's human rights divisions include Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. There are also international NGOs that work exclusively for international women's human rights including Sisterhood is Global and MADRE.

International mechanisms to promote international women's human rights are secondary to the sovereign law of individual countries. A general rule in international law is that domestic relief has to be exhausted before international law or regional tribunals will engage an issue of international concern, and therefore national protection of women's human rights is usually the first line of defense for women. Unfortunately, woman often do not seek remedies because they are unaware of their entitlements under domestic or international law. Making such information accessible is a major project in the empowerment of women to advance and assert their rights and freedoms as human beings. There are also major controversies on how best to provide this information and what exactly this information entails. The usefulness of liberal rights to women facing issues within the domestic sphere, where the human rights framework does not exist, is seen as useless. To the point that it can be deployed, information on human rights needs to be contextualized in relation to specific women's needs. This contextualization leads to another controversy related to the universalism of women's human rights and the cultural relativist argument that not only all women are different but that culture must be taken into account.

Regardless of whether appropriate information is available to women, equal rights for women are still denied. Women may be discriminated against simply for being female. The most pervasive violations of females are manifestations of violence against women in all their forms, from wife battery, incest, and rape, to dowry deaths and female sexual slavery (Bunch 2006, 57). Sometimes such rights are recognized by law but ignored in practices, and sometimes they are not recognized at all. Often women's rights are openly denied and despite the value of CEDAW, it is still marginalized by the international community through lack of support, country-specific reservations to specific parts of the text, and underfunding.

SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS OF A WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

Despite the problems associated with international women's rights, the movement has achieved many successes. Because women in most societies are starting from such an unequal position, even conducting discourse in the language of rights provides an invaluable tool to develop political and social grievances that are recognized by countries; however, there are several critiques of the system by feminists themselves. Many feminists wonder if legal rights can really offer anything to women. Women's disadvantages are often based on structural injustice and winning a case in court will not change this (Cook 1994, 4).

A common feminist critique of law is often associated with "liberal" feminism. It makes synonymous sexual equality and equal treatment. Disregarding

any belief that the law should tolerate or recognize differences between women and men, liberalism seeks a solution in blindness toward difference. The strategy of liberal feminists is to require the law to fulfill liberal claims for its objectivity and principled basis. Liberal feminists have worked for reform of law, dismantling legal barriers to women being treated like men in the public sphere (Charlesworth 1994, 63). The assumption is that the disadvantages suffered by women can be compartmentalized and redressed by a simple requirement of equal treatment (Charlesworth 1994, 63).

This liberal "version" of law relies on the public/private dichotomy. The private sector is outside the realm of legal and political order and therefore regulation is seen as inappropriate. For example, domestic violence is invisible and unregulated. According to some feminists, women lead different lives than men; thus nondiscrimination on the basis of sex does not eradicate gender inequalities. This is based on the way in which this liberal international human rights law is interpreted and implemented. Forms of oppression that do not fit comfortably within the law are rarely recognized in international understandings. Oppression includes issues related directly to women such as the right to marriage, procreation, labor, property ownership, sexuality, and other manifestations of unequal citizenship that are routinely viewed as private, nongovernmental, and reflective of cultural differences (Lockwood 2006, viii). There has been historical resistance to viewing human rights as gendered. Women's rights such as the right to safety from domestic violence and rape have not been seen as human rights because a liberal framework only perceives of one type of human and one type of accountable actor. This leads to another problem associated with the liberal nature of international law: it requires governments to respect, ensure, and protect women's international human rights. International law makes a country accountable for violations of international treaty obligations that are attributable solely to the state. This means that countries are the only ones that can commit a human rights violation. Nonstate actors or private individuals are not held accountable under human rights law. Many violations to women's freedom are perpetrated in the private sphere by nonstate actors; thus liberal women's human rights frameworks are ineffective in dealing with these problems.

Feminists also question the legitimacy of a common oppression of women around the world. Accepting that men and women are different, some feminist also wonder if women around the world really have anything in common. A conceptual problem for all feminist analysis is that of essentialism, which assumes that all women have similar attributes and experiences and ignores the impact of other variables such as race, class, wealth, and sexuality on the position of women (Charlesworth 1994, 62). International law is by definition concerned with transnational standards, applicable in a vast range of circumstances, and therefore the notion of a common oppression is quite problematic for international women's rights. The potential for even discussing women's lives in an international system is questioned when issues of essentialism are raised. Women's lives vary depending on time, place, and context, and the possibility of common oppression for women worldwide becomes questionable.

CULTURAL RELATIVISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM

Another debate in the international women's human rights system is that of universalism versus cultural relativism. Universalists see human rights as sprouting from a common system of values and humanity; therefore these rights can apply equally to all. According to supporters of universalism, human rights have not really been part of any region's history, but human rights are still valuable and globally applicable. There is a similarity in many values around the world that societies strive to protect. These values strongly resemble those of human rights, and this fundamental unity suggests an assumed universality that should not be broached.

Relativists instead argue that human rights are in no way universal, and these norms must be adapted to reflect wide variations in culture, beliefs, and economic and political circumstances. In 1947, the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association sent a long memorandum to the UN Human Rights Commission stating that "standards are relative to the culture from which they derive." The memorandum noted further that "what is held to be a human right in one society may be regarded as anti-social by another people, or by the same people in different periods of their history" (Dunoff, Ratner, and Wippman 2006, 515).

Cultural relativists argue that Western affirmation of the universality of international human rights norms seriously debases other cultures. Female genital mutilation is one common example of the universal versus cultural relativist debate. Cultural relativists argue that women perform the surgery on other women as a right of passage associated with a culturally acceptable practice. Universalists see this as a form of women's oppression through controlling her sexuality and harming her bodily integrity. Cultural relativists also see human rights as a way to justify war and expand Western neoliberal economic policies. The insincere claim that Operation Enduring Freedom was landed, in part, to free Afghani women is one of many examples cultural relativists use in their argument against expanding women's human rights. Relativists desire an alternative system of human rights to achieve social justice and protection of humanity that is apart from current understandings of international human rights. Counter to cultural relativist claims, feminists highlight the use of cultural claims, particularly when they regard the freedom of women.

CONCLUSION

International women's human rights have changed many people's lives for the better. Women's legal, economic, and social status around the globe, however, is still inferior to that of men. The women's international human rights agenda ranging from standard law setting to policy and including actions at all levels from global to local, tends to fall between the cracks because of the lack of precedence given it by those in positions of power. Feminist continue to debate among themselves the best ways to improve the lives of women around the world, as well as how to face challenges from outright rejection of women's equality and the desire for women around the world to be treated differently

depending on culture and context. These debates range from the ineffectiveness of liberal rights to the differences of women around the world and the need for culturally relevant context. International women's human rights are nothing new, but the challenges facing women are constant. Activists in international women's human rights will continue the struggle by seeking new and innovative ways to address the issue of women's freedom and equality.

See also Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Gender and International Development; Terrorism and National Security; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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Marjon Kamrani

I

IMMIGRATION: LAWS AND POLICIES CONCERNING ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES

Historically, immigration laws and policies concerning entry into the United States for both men and women often have resulted in adverse consequences for female immigrants. Controversies surrounding women's immigration concern historical biases about women's work and sexuality, the cultural emphasis on men as breadwinners, and racial biases toward specific groups seeking U.S. citizenship.

BACKGROUND

To understand how immigration laws and policy affect women, it is vital to question how these policies serve state interests. Broadly put, immigration laws place regulations on who can and cannot be a citizen of any nation-state. Citizenship refers to a legal and political position as active participant in a state. As Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou write, "Migrants are prospective citizens in the legal as well as broader socio-economic and cultural sense. How a country deals with (im)migrant incorporation (and citizenship) has a great deal to do with the country's institutional and organizational arrangements for membership in its polity" (2006, 22–23). Immigration laws and policy then serve as a way of understanding how certain groups and people are accepted and fit within that country. Although U.S. borders remained relatively open well into the late 1800s, a series of legislation began to be passed toward the end of that decade to determining who could participate in the nation. In the 1920s, the legislation shifted to use racial categories and quotas as the primary

mode of regulating who could participate. The goal here was to maintain a European white heritage within the citizenry. In the 1960s, legislation was revamped again in favor an economic logic, where immigrants seen as giving the most back to society were favored. Throughout these shifts, immigration laws have primarily privileged male immigration because men are most likely to have documentation of citizenship elsewhere, as well as because men throughout the world have been recognized as economically independent. As will be clear from the following brief historical review, female immigrants are disenfranchised in this system because of historical constructions of women's work and sexuality.

From the 1800s through the 1950s, foreign-born men gained entrance to the United States in greater numbers than foreign-born women. Although there are perhaps social and cultural explanations for this phenomenon, many scholars point to laws and policies of the day to explain the disparity. The 1875 Page Laws established the first formal regulation of the U.S. population through controlling the entrance of women into the United States. This law limited the immigration of unmarried Chinese women, deeming them likely prostitutes because of their marriage status (Moloney 2006). A few years later in 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Immigration Act. The Chinese Exclusion Act formally recognized Chinese people as ineligible for naturalization on the grounds of race. This is perhaps the first legal mention of race as an evaluative standard in the U.S. immigration system.

More important, the Immigration Act enforced the deportation of immigrants who were seen as possible future dependents on the state, formally known as the likely to become a public charge (LPC). The impact of the LPC provisions unfairly affected women, in particular women who did not immigrate within a formally recognized family structure. This meant that unmarried women, throughout this period were highly targeted for deportation, not because they were practicing unlawful acts, but rather because they were marked as possible public dependents. Women who immigrated within a recognized family structure (meaning with a father or husband) were seen as having access to economic productivity via their male kin, whereas women immigrating outside of this structure were recognized as having less access themselves to economic productivity.

In 1885, derivative citizenship was introduced into law. This meant that foreign women (if racially eligible) took the nationality of their U.S. American husbands, instead of being able to naturalize on their own as men could. The breadth of this law expanded in 1907 under the Expatriation Act. Under this act, not only did all non-U.S–born women take the citizenship of their husbands, but U.S.-born women were included in the derivative citizenship laws. After 1907, a U.S.-born woman could lose her U.S. citizenship if she married a non-U.S. citizen (Nicolosi 2001). This law formally instituted citizenship as a masculine institution, as women could be politically recognized only through their father's or husband's citizenship. Moreover, it redefined women as members of their husband's race. The effect of this law was to deter women from marrying non-U.S. men. Because the majority of immigrants at this time were

MAID IN AMERICA

In 2005, the production company *Women Make Movies* released a compelling film about migration, women, and labor titled *Maid in America.* The film focuses on the lives of three Latina women who are domestic workers in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. In focusing on these three women's lives, audiences see the often harsh realities of domestic work in the United States, including the devaluation and abuse that women doing this work often experience. To combat this treatment, we see women in the documentary create grassroots labor collectives to ensure the protection of their rights as workers in the United States. In the words of the production company, "These women's stories vividly reveal how immigrants are redefining their roles, and underscores the vital role they play in many American households" (http://www.wmm.com/filmcatalog/pages/c664.shtml). For more interesting films concerning women and immigration, please see Women Make Movies productions (www.wmm.com).

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men, the law also served as a deterrent to immigration, for immigrant men could no longer marry U.S. women and become U.S. citizens. Women who did marry non-U.S. citizens could regain citizenship only if their husbands were from Europe or Africa and (1) naturalized themselves, (2) died, or (3) divorced. These derivative laws would remain intact until the 1922 Cable Act, although the racial distinctions set forth in these laws remained long after the dismantling (Nicolosi 2001).

A few years later, the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 set forth the first restrictive immigration laws in the United States. This act established numerical limits on who could immigrate to the United States and consequently created a global and national racial hierarchy for immigrants. Thus women married to those racially ineligible individuals became themselves ineligible for immigration, not even able to return to the United States if they left (Nicolosi 2001). Finally in 1934, women's citizenship was disconnected from the institution of marriage, allowing for the possibility of women's independent citizenship.

This history reveals the longstanding and contested connections between immigration and citizenship laws, gender, race, and economics in the United States. Although U.S. women gained suffrage in 1920, their citizenship was still derivatively determined though the marriage institution. This set in place a contested relation between marriage and citizenship that is still present in the logics of who can/should be a U.S. political subject. Moreover, these early laws established a relationship between nonmarried women and economic dependency that is present in the ways immigrant women are recognized today.

CONTROLLING THE BORDER

The preceding historical review illuminates that immigration law and policy are used as a mode of control to "*literally* construct the nation and the people

in particular ways" (Luibhéid 2002, xviii). For instance, the shortage of nurses in the United States has led to the allotment of employment-based immigration for Filipino nurses, primarily women. Moreover, the national need for domestic work has resulted in the migration of skilled women to the United States to fill these positions (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou 2006). And today, women outnumber men in legally migrating to the United States. Although some theorists have attributed this phenomenon to legal emphasis of family reunification policy popular since the 1960s, currently women are active in migration flows including employment-based immigration, refugee resettlement, asylum, and undocumented migration. And there are certainly potential benefits for women migrants to the United States. First, for those women in sought-after occupations such as nursing, migration often means better financial security and greater resources in supporting kin relations. In general, women migrate to the United States for opportunities that they might not have in their home state. These opportunities include the ability to support one's family, social services, education, and the possibility to change one's social status. Changes in law and policy have drastically impacted women's ability to access these resources through migration.

Most contemporary immigration laws have not directly focused on women, but there are multiple current laws that can be understood as dramatically affecting the lives of immigrant women, both for the better and to their detriment. The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) or Simpson-Rodino Act of 1986 was the first formal legislation to combat illegal migration with increased spending for border security along the U.S.-Mexico border allotted in the two years after this act. IRCA allowed many migrants identified as either legal authorized workers or special agricultural workers eligibility for legalization while setting forth penalties for U.S. employees who hired undocumented workers. Unfortunately, women, who were also long-term workers in the United States were often not eligible the legalization programs offered to male migrants. Also, post-IRCA, the number of women apprehended at the border increased, which scholars attribute to a desire to reunite with the male family members who had gained legal status.

Furthermore, in 1996 the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act passed restricting public benefits that immigrants could receive before citizenship. Although they were paying taxes that funded the programs, these reforms barred them from receiving food stamps, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Medicaid, and other such services. Proponents of these changes were working to better meet the needs of U.S. citizens in need of welfare programs in a diminishing welfare state. But in 2002, the Senate Finance Committee reformed these bills, installing provisions for states to be able to provide aid to legal immigrants, including English as a second language courses, cash assistance, and children's health insurance for pregnant women. Also under the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, immigrant women have been able to claim legal resident status as "qualified aliens" in conjunction with the 2002 Violence Against Women Act. This provides a means for immigrant women who have experienced gendered violence to gain immigration relief.

The Enhanced Border Security and Visa Reform Act passed in 2001, however, has made it much more difficult to even enter the United States, demanding stricter surveillance of border regions of the United States, as well as women living in the United States with a student visa.

EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

Although proponents of border security and anti-immigration laws note that the increased spending at the border has made border regions safer for both women and men, many human rights organizations critique the laws for making the border much more dangerous for those seeking entrance to the United States, legally or otherwise. First, the anti-immigration laws have made it more difficult for undocumented women to work in abuse-free environments because there are diminishing ways to report abuse. Second, with increased border surveillance, crossing the southern U.S. border has become increasingly dangerous. The number of deaths on the border has risen significantly with the increased surveillance and patrol of the U.S.-Mexico border, and many of these deaths are women. Migrant women report being sexually assaulted in the process of crossing, and in some cases by the Immigration and Nationalization Service (INS) officers patrolling the border. Moreover, the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children conducted a study of women held in immigration detention centers in the United States and found that women held in detention were regularly strip-searched, shackled during transportation, harassed, sexually and emotionally abused, and denied food. This abuse has led many women in detention to choose deportation rather than waiting for their immigration and asylum cases to be heard in the courts. This detention is most troublesome because the Refugee Convention states that individuals who enter the United States illegally should not be held in detention unless there is a question of their identity or whether they are dangerous to the public. Yet the practice of detention continues to women's physical and psychological detriment.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND ASYLUM

Seeking asylum is another way women have sought residency or citizenship in the United States. Most recently, women seeking asylum for gender-based persecution has become a central issue to understanding women's relation to the U.S. immigration system because gender isn't formally recognized as grounds for persecution. Asylum seekers are individuals who enter the United States or another nation and claim that they need asylum on the basis of some past or perceived future political persecution. To claim basis for asylum women must (1) show "both a subjective and objective basis for her fear" through testimonies or the reasonable man test, (2) prove a history of persecution or well-founded fear in the future, and (3) account for the persecutor's motive based on one of the five enumerated grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion (Franke 2000). Race and religion are established causes of political persecution, but gender is left to the elusive

category of a "social group." Moreover, gendered forms of violence such as rape, domestic violence, forced sterilization, forced killings, female genital mutilation, and sex trafficking are less recognized forms of political persecution. This means that women both have to prove that the forms of violence they have encountered are political, but also they must prove that they are members of a certain social group that is persecution (Akibo-Betts 2005). Although the INS issued guidelines for workers in understanding gender and gendered forms of violence in 1995, women asylum seekers still struggle in getting their claims recognized as political persecution by immigration authorities. Advocates for these women point out that all women have the right to live in safety; opponents argue that allowing these forms of violence to be recognized as persecution would open up the "floodgates" of women making these claims. The advocates rebut with the fact that Canada has seen an increase of only 2 percent since recognizing domestic violence as a form of persecution.

One of the first cases to be successfully recognized as gender persecution in the United States is *Kasinga v. BIA*. This case drew national attention in 1996 and then again in 1999 because it brought questions of female genital mutilation (FGM) as a cultural practice into public discourse. Kasinga, citizen of Togo and member of the Tchamba-Kunsuntu ethnic group, fled Togo and requested asylum. Kasinga's father was opposed to the practice of FGM and polygamous marriages and as a rich, successful businessman he had enough power to prevent his daughter from enduring the procedure. At age 16 Kasinga's father died, and her relatives then took control of her life. Her father's sister forced her to marry a man 30 years her senior who already had three wives. Furthermore,

OLIMPIA LAZO-MAJANO'S ASYLUM CASE

In 1981, Olimpia Lazo-Majano's husband fled El Salvador because he was a member of a rightist-parliamentary group and no longer wanted to participate. He quit and was subsequently wanted by guerrilla forces throughout the nation. Lazo-Majano stayed in El Salvador to work as a domestic and through this work she began washing the clothes of childhood acquaintance Rene Zuniga, sergeant in the armed forces of the Salvadoran military. Not long after, Zuniga began to threaten Lazo-Majano as well as physically and sexually violate her, telling her that if her husband returned to El Salvador, he would "cut both of them into pieces" for being subversives. In 1982, Lazo-Majano entered the United States. From there she applied for asylum based on the grounds of political gender-based persecution. The Board of Immigration Appeals denied her case, citing that "the evidence attests to mistreatment of an individual, not persecution." On appeal, Lazo-Majano claimed persecution on the basis of her political opinion, imputed by Zuniga as being "subversive," and the judges agreed that although this political opinion was in "camouflage," "when Zuniga manipulatively chooses to regard Olimpia as a subversive, he attributes to her the political opinion of a subversive, and she is being persecuted on account of political opinion"; thus she was granted asylum.

both her new husband and her guardian aunt required Kasinga to undergo the FGM procedure for the marriage. Under these circumstances, Kasinga fled Togo for asylum in the United States.

The case was brought to the courts and the defendants argued for gender-based asylum because there was extensive documentation of discrimination against women in Togo. The first immigration judge denied her claims, arguing that FGM "was not persecution, and it was not linked to one of the five 'enumerated grounds.'" The Board of Immigration Appeals reversed the decision, however, noting that FGM was indeed persecution and that Kasinga's ethnic identity plus her gendered identity made her case count as gender-persecution. This case was a positive move toward the greater public recognition of women as political subjects.

SEXUALITY AND ASYLUM

Dynamics of gender also began to enter case law through asylum seekers claiming persecution based on sexual orientation and/or sexual identity. Precedence for sexual orientation and sexual identity as a social group category was established in 1994 with *Toboso-Alfonso v. BIA* when Janet Reno, then attorney general, designated gays and lesbians as particular "social groups." Since then, hundreds of asylum seekers have sought and gained asylum in the United States on these grounds. Moreover, there is increasing precedence for transsexual asylum seekers and gay asylum seekers living with HIV/AIDS since the 1994 ruling. Yet the distinction between making asylum claims on the basis of sexual orientation and sexual identity is important to note: Whereas asylum on the grounds of sexual orientation refers to one's "sexual conduct," sexual identity refers to the visible manifestation of non-normative gender. Of importance, for women making gender-related claims, the terms *gender* and *gendered identity*, are absent from the case law. The distinction is clear in the following case.

Giovanni Hernandez-Montiel, Mexican citizen, who knew he was gay from age eight when he realized he was attracted to other men. At age 12, Hernandez-Montiel began dressing as a woman. This began a string of incidents including being kicked out of school because of his sexual orientation, threats by parents of other children warning him not to "pervert" their sons, and being arrested and raped by police officers because "it was illegal for homosexuals to walk down the street and for men to dress like women." The case for asylum went through several appeals, but it set precedence for a distinction between *sexual orientation* and *sexual identity* as immutable "social group categories." What is interesting about Hernandez-Montiel is the distinction between these two terms. The courts came to understand that "sexual orientation and sexual identity are immutable; they are so fundamental to one's identity that a person should not be required to abandon them.…Sexual identity goes beyond sexual conduct and manifests itself outwardly, often through dress and appearance." For Hernandez-Montiel, this distinction shifted the grounds for his membership. Instead of his membership being "Mexican gay men," his persecution was more valid and recognizable

when he was named as "a member of the 'particular social group' of gay men in Mexico with female sexual identities."

What is important about asylum seekers claiming persecution on the basis of sexual orientation and/or sexual identity is that the system predominantly recognizes male subjects that have been persecuted. Not only are women claiming sexual orientation and/or sexual identity as the basis of persecution less likely to file these claims, their cases are most often denied on the grounds that the fear of future persecution is questionable. Although there is clearly a relationship between the expressions of identity and manifestations of persecution in both sets of cases, the omission of gender is a clear indicator that women who speak up about the violence they experience are not the kind of immigrant women the United States desires.

CONCLUSION

Women have a contentious relationship with the U.S. immigration system. Historically, this has meant only being recognized through patriarchal familial relations. This legacy most certainly continues and, thus, women who are recognized as immigrating outside of the traditional family—crossing the border instead of applying for family reunification, asking for asylum on the basis of domestic violence, lesbian asylum seekers who claim persecution—rupture this legacy and are highly disadvantaged within the immigration system.

See also Gender and International Development; Human Rights: International Laws and Policies; Mexican Female Migrants.

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Sara McKinnon

INTERSEXUALITY

Born with nonstandard genitals, chromosomes, or internal reproductive organs, intersex people have been historically viewed by doctors as gender aberrations. Those who hold this view typically defend standard medical treatment for intersex individuals based on their belief that it enhances the individual's quality of life. Advocates for intersex rights, on the other hand, reject the medical protocol of surgery without patient consent and advocate for intersex conditions to be viewed as acceptable biological variance.

BACKGROUND

Intersexuality is a broad term that encompasses a variety of conditions revolving around nonstandard genitals, chromosomes, and internal reproductive organs. How these biological standards are defined varies widely according to the medical or social views on intersexuality. An obvious variation, such as the presence of both a penis and a vaginal opening, contrasts with a decision about whether a clitoris is "too large" or a penis "too small." Medical authorities tend to support surgery and related forms of body modification on infants as a way to make their lives better in the long run. Much controversy surrounds the fact that intersex infants are assigned a gender by doctors that may or may not correspond to how the individual identifies as he or she matures. In addition, doctors may perform life-altering surgeries on infants and adolescents without their consent, based on their interpretation of these variations.

An intersex person may have standard-looking genitals at birth. Variances such as chromosomal arrangements other than XX and XY remain unknown unless DNA testing is conducted. Individuals may not know that they have an intersex condition until puberty, when they go through unexpected secondary sex changes, or later, when they learn upon trying to get pregnant that they are infertile. Many others may never know that they have an intersex condition.

According to the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA), the leading advocacy organization for intersex individuals, 1 to 2 in 2,000 infants are born with genital variance for which a specialist is called in for consultation. More dramatic is the estimate that one in 100 births is born with nonstandard conditions that lead to the diagnosis of intersexuality. Of this amount, approximately 1 to 2 per 1,000 births undergo "normalizing" surgeries.

Historically, the term *hermaphrodite* was commonly used to describe this condition, both among humans and among other species. Since the 1990s, advocates have argued for the usage of the term *intersex* over hermaphrodite. Historically, the term *hermaphrodite*, derived from the Greek mythological figure

who was both male and female, is based on a biological definition of sex. The condition was determined specifically by the presence of male and female gonads or gonadal tissue in the individual. In recent years, critics have argued that the term *hermaphrodite* addresses only one aspect or condition related to genital variance and therefore is a misleading term. Furthermore, they argue, the term does not address the spectrum of issues faced by intersex people, including the variety of medical conditions that contribute to genital variance as well as the social implications of the medicalization of intersexed bodies, including forced surgeries, secrecy, and shaming.

Researchers have shown that historically many species are in fact intersexed, meaning they may share both male and female traits, either at the same time or at different times in their lives. Biologist Joan Roughgarden suggests that *hermaphrodism*, the term she uses to describe the condition, is more common in the world, all species considered, than having separate sexes in separate corresponding bodies. Although humans do not have the ability to switch gonads (ovaries and testes) and internal reproductive organs, some humans are born with variations of genital and/or reproductive anatomy. Other scientists believe that hermaphrodism or intersexuality is a deviation of the normal range of female and male bodies and continue to support the modification of intersexed infants on this basis.

INTERSEX CONDITIONS

Intersex conditions include a wide range of physical organ variations, unique chromosomal arrangements, hormonal blocks or adrenal gland malfunctions, underdeveloped reproductive organs, or other biological differences that blur the culturally defined male/female distinctions. Some of these conditions involve pain for the individual and require medical attention to avert further discomfort; other conditions do not cause pain yet are viewed as abnormal in cultural terms. Debates on intersex surgery often vary according to the type of condition one has.

For example, congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH) is a common cause of intersexuality among XX children who undergo masculinization at birth or at puberty as a result of adrenal gland malfunction. People with CAH have problems making cortisone (which helps to handle stress) and also may experience a life-threatening condition caused by a disruption of salt metabolism (they require medication to correct the body's salt level). This condition requires medical attention regardless of the doctors', parents', or patients' views on their gender identity. Likewise, androgen insensitivity syndrome (or AIS) can potentially lead to medical problems, although not always. In this case, XY children are highly feminized as a result of a block of testosterone to properly masculinize their bodies. They usually have undescended testicles but female secondary sex characteristics. The vagina may be absent or have no cervix. The females do not menstruate and are not fertile. This is a genetic inheritance and runs in families. Turner's syndrome is characterized by the underdevelopment of female ovaries, breasts, uteruses, and vaginas. These females are missing a second

X chromosome and typically are short, have a broad chest and widely spaced nipples, lymphedema, low hairline, low-set ears, and are infertile.

Other conditions do not necessarily cause pain or discomfort for the patient and are therefore more controversial, as surgery is not necessarily medically necessary but merely a response to cultural norms. Again, there is great variation in people's experiences with these conditions, but generally they tend to be physically nonharmful to the individual. Conditions that fall into this category include hypospadias, where the urethral opening is somewhere along the shaft (or on the base) of the penis rather than the tip of the penis; and Klinefelter's syndrome, which is found in males with 47 XXY patterns and who tend to have male genitals, small testes, little body hair, and often some breast development. After puberty, the ejaculate contains no sperm, leading to sterility. Other medical standards used for diagnosing an individual as intersex include men with *micropenises* and women with an enlarged clitoris. In addition, there is a great deal of chromosomal variation among individuals: males are not always XY and females are not always XX. About 1 in 20,000 men are XX, with a similar number of women XY. Other genes on the chromosomes have been found to influence sex development as well, and often these conditions go undetected because they do not cause any problems for the individual.

INTERSEXUALITY AND GENDER IDENTITY

Gender identity refers to the internal sense an individual has of his/her maleness or femaleness. Many studies show that hormones have an impact on the brain, specifically the hypothalamus, affecting gender identity and sexual orientation. Perhaps ironically, doctors who perform intersex surgery have primarily acted under the belief that an individual's gender identity is largely the result of social conditioning. They believe that it is possible to make a boy a girl or vice versa by manipulating their bodies, introducing hormones, and raising them in that gender role. This has not proven to be strictly true. One of the unfortunate consequences of infant "normalizing" surgeries is that an individual may lose genitals or tissue that they want later to be in line physically with their gender identity. Furthermore, many types of surgery that involve altering the vagina or penis often lead to lack of sensation in the genital area, lack of ability to experience sexual pleasure, and additional complications related to the procedures themselves.

Psychologist Dr. John Money, founder of the Gender Identity Disorder Clinic at Johns Hopkins Medical Center, believed that growing up with one physical sex is psychologically healthier and advocated for sex reassignment surgery of infants. If the intersex child had surgery by age 18 months and the parents brought the child up in the assigned gender identity, the child would become a normal boy or girl. Much of the proof of the perceived success of sex reassignment surgeries rested on one case, that of John/Joan, a highly publicized case of a boy raised as a girl after a botched circumcision (see Sidebar The Story of John/Joan (David Reimer)). For decades, no follow-up studies were done on intersex babies and proof of success rested on this one case, which later proved to be unsuccessful.

THE STORY OF JOHN/JOAN (DAVID REIMER)

David Reimer, an identical twin boy, was born in 1965. At circumcision his penis was accidentally burned off and doctors recommended he be seen by psychologist Dr. John Money, founder of the Gender Identity Disorder Clinic at Johns Hopkins Medical Center. Dr. Money advised David's parents to change his sex through the construction of a vagina and the introduction of hormones and to raise him as a girl. He had his testicles removed at age 22 months. Because this was not a case of intersex or gender questioning, and there was a twin brother who made an ideal control to study, their experiences could provide data for theories about gender socialization and identification. This story, written about as the "John/Joan case," purported successful gender socialization—Brenda (as she was renamed) was living the life of a normal, happy girl.

However, this was not true. Brenda never fully felt like a girl. She was given estrogen to develop secondary sex characteristics and there were yearly visits to the Hopkins clinic. Brenda, in fact, had difficulty with her peers and hated the visits to Dr. Money. At 13 she became depressed and refused to go back to Johns Hopkins. Her family finally told her about her gender reassignment, and at age 15 Brenda began living as a boy and took the name David. David later chose genital surgery, double mastectomy, and testosterone. He married and was a stepfather to three children. He went public with his story in a *Rolling Stone* interview in 1997, and journalist John Colapinto reported his experience in the bestselling book, *As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised As A Girl*. Sadly, David Reimer committed suicide in 2004.

In Western science, one of the faulty assumptions in labeling people as boys or girls concerns the fact that many people have both masculine and feminine biological traits. There are numerous aspects, including hormones, chromosomes, and physical external and internal organs, that contribute to people's genetic make-ups. Where intersexuality begins or ends is up for debate. For many observers, the idea that someone is "all male" or "all female" is difficult to assess, for there is great variability in hormonal levels and influence; in the size, shape, and length of genitals; and in specific medical conditions that help shape one's experience of gender identity. As critics argue, assigning a gender identity based on biological traits is not as accurate as waiting for the individual to say what his/her gender identity feels like internally.

MEDICAL VIEWS ON INTERSEX SURGERY

Standard medical protocol when an infant is born with ambiguous genitals is to call in pediatric specialists who can do chromosomal and genetic testing to determine what is going on with the baby. Variations in external sex and internal reproductive organs are treated as birth defects to be corrected. This represents a bias in medicine that the variations are not "normal."

Of primary concern is whether the parents will bond appropriately with an infant who looks "different." Most doctors believe they are acting in the best interests of the child and the parents by performing surgeries that create genitals that parents expect. Surgeries on infants occur by 18 months, but some surgeries are done at puberty—all times when the child cannot give consent.

Prevailing thinking also dictates that children not be told about their surgeries and treatments. The belief is that if the children don't know they will simply accept the doctor visits or the hormone therapies and they won't get upset. Intersex activists are speaking out against this today, but many children are still not told what was done to them or why. Numerous doctor visits and multiples surgeries, however, are confusing to children and adolescents

Many studies, including Dr. John Money's Ph.D. dissertation research, showed that intersex people who did not have "normalizing" surgeries have lower rates of psychological problems than the general population. Except for a few major life-threatening illnesses or conditions, such as gonadal cancer, lack of a urinary opening, or a metabolic crisis, intersex people advocate postponing any surgical intervention until the individual can be fully informed and make his/her own decision about his/her body.

The recommended protocol advocated by intersex people who have experienced the shame, secrecy, and trauma of the "optimal gender of rearing model" requires a paradigm shift in thinking. The previous model, based on the idea that you can raise a child to be the gender doctors and parents assign, assumes socialization overrides biological influences. Advocates argue this is not the case and children should be assigned a gender, their genitals left intact, and only when they are old enough to determine their own gender identity, consent to any surgical or hormonal therapies. The previous approach also advocated keeping the truth from children about their bodies, leaving them with feelings of shame, confusion, and feeling like freaks. Children should be given age-appropriate information about their conditions. They should have access to their medical records, and they should not be lied to.

INTERSEX TREATMENT AS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

On May 27, 2004, the Human Rights Commission of the City and County of San Francisco held a historic public hearing on the medical "normalization" of intersex people. Framed from a human rights perspective, their comprehensive report issued in 2005 urged the end to so-called normalizing surgeries on intersex individuals without their consent. The report specifically says the social discomfort of others (parents, medical personnel) is not valid ethical grounds to perform surgeries on intersex people. It is also wrong to perform life-altering surgeries on individuals without their consent. Informed consent is a key aspect of "best practices" policy for every medical organization, including the American Academy of Pediatrics. This is especially sensitive when the intervention is not medically necessary yet has a substantial impact on quality of life. Surgical decisions can be delayed without risk until the patient can make his/her own decisions, maintaining his/her autonomy and integrity.

Testimony from intersex people, family members, doctors, and researchers affirmed that the public needs to be better informed on a range of issues; for example, intersex conditions are not rare, genital variability is not the same as abnormality, gender identity is not tied to genitals, and surgeries often have severe life impacts. Testimony from intersex people addressed their view that only they can determine their gender identity and that gender identity cannot be created through socialization or surgical intervention. This directly contradicts the long-held medical protocol that one can be made into a boy or a girl. Most intersex people prefer that their bodies remain intact.

INTERSEX ACTIVIST RESPONSES TO MEDICAL PROTOCOL

Standard medical practice to operate on intersex infants was first challenged in an organized effort in 1995. Cheryl Chase, intersex herself, founded the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) that year, originally as a support group, but quickly transformed into an advocacy organization. Since then, ISNA has worked to educate medical personnel, parents, and the public, bringing together intersex people, addressing medical conferences, and advocating for the end of surgery without consent, secrecy, and shaming. Bodies Like Ours, an intersex peer support group, was started in 2002 by Betsy Driver, born with CAH. Other groups such as Intersex Initiative, UCSF Center for Gender Equity, and other online groups, provide information, public speakers, and advocacy for the rights to self-determination for intersex people.

CONCLUSION

When intersex conditions are viewed as abnormalities or birth defects, the medical response is to normalize the body. Doctors and some parents believe that this is in the best interest of the child, as it decreases the likelihood of the intersex individual feeling different or abnormal. Critics argue that medical interventions serve to comfort the parents and doctors more than helping the intersex individual. When intersex conditions are seen as human variations (especially those conditions that do not cause pain for the individual), medical practitioners may choose to wait to see how the child develops. In this scenario, proposed by advocated for the intersexed, the protocol becomes one of educating the public, monitoring the condition, and listening to the child as he/she matures.

Intersex activists have formed a powerful support movement to address the secrecy, shame, and physical damage to their bodies caused by unnecessary surgeries. They are educating each other, the public, and, most important, doctors and the American Pediatric Association to understand the consequences of surgeries before consent, shaming examinations, and the pathological treatment of bodies that are different from the norm. The issue of medical intervention into intersex conditions goes beyond understanding the conditions of individual bodies; it also concerns reframing deeply held, divergent biological and cultural views on what is natural and normal.

See also Femininities and Masculinities; Gender Identity Disorder; Nature versus Nurture; Sex versus Gender.

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Lori Girshick

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Targets of intimate partner violence, including domestic violence, are disproportionately women. Violence against intimate partners is universally considered unacceptable, but debates continue concerning whether it should be legally regulated and how, and what the appropriate community responses should be to the problem.

BACKGROUND: A WOMEN'S ISSUE

Intimate partner violence, which includes domestic violence, crosses racial, ethnic, age, and socioeconomic boundaries and is the leading cause of injuries for U.S. women ages 15–44. Each year in the United States, approximately 1.5 million women are targets of violence by an intimate partner, roughly the same number of people who have heart attacks annually (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2003). In addition, women are five to eight times more likely than men to be abused by an intimate partner, and up to 14 times more likely to experience serious injury from a physical assault by a partner. There are cases that involve a woman as perpetrator and a man as target, and physical violence occurs in about 25 to 33 percent of same-gender relationships, approximately the same rate as heterosexual couples (Peterman and Dixon 2003). The dynamics of relationship violence, however, overwhelmingly involve men as perpetrators and women as targets. *Target* is the term used in the social justice movement to refer to oppressed groups who are "targets" of prejudice and discrimination from oppressors (Adams, Bell, and Griffin 1997). Therefore its use in the context of intimate partner violence holds meaning when considered in the context of patriarchy, sexism, and gender discrimination. Traditionally, violence between spouses has been referred to as domestic violence. The term *intimate*

partner violence, however, has emerged recently to broaden the focus to include nonmarried partners and to bring a more contemporary discussion to the many types of intimate partnerships that exist in U.S. society.

Intimate partner violence involves three components: (1) a pattern of behavior that starts small and grows worse over time; (2) abusive behaviors that include isolation, coercion, control, and emotional abuse and can, but does not have to, include physical and/or sexual abuse; and (3) a behavior that is perpetrated by a current or former spouse or relationship partner. Susan Schechter, considered one of the founders of the Battered Women's Movement, explains: "Brutality is not necessarily confined to hitting, pushing, and pulling out hair. Its extreme, yet not infrequent, forms often leave women severely scarred, physically and emotionally. Terror and intimidation, experienced by all battered women, reach unbearable proportions for some." (Schechter 1982, 14).

The sociopolitical movement around intimate partner violence has made great strides in the past 100 years. Although cases have been documented throughout history and literature, it is only recently that spousal violence has been considered a crime. In fact, the common phrase "rule of thumb" originated

AND THEY LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER . . . MESSAGES IN CHILDREN'S FAIRY TALES

Children's fairy tales, games, toys and literature are filled with messages about how girls and boys, women, and men should look, behave, think, and feel. In taking a closer look at these messages, there exists a set of core ideas that explains what relationships should be like. For example, in the Walt Disney children's story "Snow White and the Seven Dwarves," a witch poisons Snow White with an evil spell, only to be broken by the kiss of a handsome prince. When the prince kisses Snow White, she awakes and they ride off on his white horse to be married in his castle. This story is filled with messages about beauty, relationships, marriage, and the roles of men and women. Of particular note is that the prince kisses the sleeping Snow White, an act of nonconsensual sexual activity that is illegal in many states (owing to the fact she is asleep and unable to consent). Also, the act of marrying and "living happily ever after" occurs almost immediately after the prince's kiss. The story's ending requires no relationship building, and Snow White is not consulted about the outcome. In fact, after the prince enters the story, Snow White never speaks again. Similar messages exist in more contemporary fairy tales as well. In the 1989 Walt Disney movie, *The Little Mermaid*, Ariel goes to the witch under the sea to learn how she might capture the affection of a handsome prince. The witch tells Ariel she must give up her voice, singing, "You'll have your looks! Your pretty face! And don't underestimate the importance of body language! . . . Come on, they're not all that impressed with conversation. True gentlemen avoid it when they can. But they dote and swoon and fawn on a lady who's withdrawn. It's she who holds her tongue who gets her man." Being bombarded by these messages day in and day out socializes girls and boys into gendered roles that create unrealistic expectations about love, marriage, and relationships.

from a rule in English common law that allowed a husband to beat his wife with a stick no thicker than his thumb (Sigler 1989). In the late 1800s in the United States, feminists began making strides in raising public awareness of then what was referred to as "wife abuse," as a significant social problem. During that period several states began to grant divorce for cruelty, and Alabama and Massachusetts initiated spouse abuse laws, making it illegal to "beat a wife with a stick, pull her hair, choke her, spit in her face, or kick her to the floor" (Pagelow 1984, 284). Nonetheless, spousal abuse was not seen as a widespread social problem until the 1970s.

THE BATTERED WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The battered women's movement largely came out of the feminist movement and was launched through several pivotal events. The first largely publicized domestic violence shelter, Chiswick Women's Aid, opened in England in 1971. The first shelter in the United States was Haven House in Pasadena, California, which opened quietly in 1964. In 1976, the National Organization for Women focused on "wife beating" as a national priority and the National Coalition for Domestic Violence was formed in 1978. Susan Schechter's (1982) pivotal book, *Women and Male Violence: The Visions and Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement,* framed intimate partner violence in the context of sexism, gender inequality, and the oppression of women. All of these events and the voices of women activists have brought these issues to the forefront of public discussion and laid the foundation for the current laws of all 50 states making spouse abuse illegal.

SYSTEMIC RESISTANCE: MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO

There was significant resistance to the emergence of intimate partner violence as a social problem rather than a private family matter. Traditional ideas of family and gender roles fueled the idea that men had the right to use physical aggression against their wives, and many held the viewpoint that spousal abuse was a private matter and should remain out of the public light. Messages from societal institutions reinforced the idea that divorce was unacceptable and that the best way to stop domestic violence was for the woman to be a better wife and not anger her husband. Even as laws developed making spouse abuse illegal, strong messages remained in communities that domestic violence did not warrant intervention from the larger community.

Additional resistance came from the social and policy movements throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Typically in the United States, social issues cycle through public focus, with particular focus on one or two issues at a time. Domestic violence gained public focus for brief periods, but fell to the background as other issues took focus. For example, in the late 1800s, momentum was gaining around the issue of protecting "battered wives" in the courts, but it was then overshadowed by the child protection movement for 25 years. In the early 1900s, the founding of the Protective Agency for Women and Children of Chicago brought a focus on stranger rape. When the agency attempted to

enact policies helping battered wives to secure divorces, the political retribution resulted in their voice being silenced on the public stage.

Lack of public focus on domestic violence was further reinforced by popular explanations about reasons for domestic violence. In the 1940s and 1950s, the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud placed blame on battered wives, labeling them as masochistic, untrustworthy, and not to be believed. In the same era, alcoholism began to be recognized as a medical disease, and medical professionals suggested that men who were violent toward their wives while using alcohol were acting as a result of a disease and not at fault for their behavior. It was not until the feminist movement in the 1970s that domestic violence began to command consistent attention and condemnation in the public arena.

WHO ABUSES

Issues of Power and Control

What causes one person to abuse the partner while another does not? Why do men abuse significantly more often than women? Although there are many different explanations for why this happens, one has moved to the forefront of the discussion: the abusive partner holds the idea that he/she has the right to have control over his/her partner. This mostly has to do with a batterer's internal beliefs and attitudes and is generally supported by messages from a patriarchal society that condones aggressive behavior. Abusers use tactics such as intimidation; coercion and threats; economic and emotional abuse; and minimizing, denying, and blaming to control their targets. For example, if a woman says to her partner she is planning to leave, the batterer may use a tactic such as, "You're so crazy and such a bad wife, no one else would have you." After continually hearing only these messages with minimal alterative input because of the batterer's systematic isolation from support systems, a target may come to believe her abuser and believe she has no choice but to remain in the relationship.

Societal Messages and Gender Role Socialization

Men should be providers, and women should make a good home. Men don't cry, and women are too emotional. Fathers roughhouse and play sports with their sons, but raising the children and parenting are the responsibility of the mother. If something is going wrong, it is the man's job to fix it. These messages overshadow every aspect of life in U.S. society. The messages come from many places including movies, television, faith institutions, the courts, laws and legislative bodies, schools, and children's stories, and they create a society where interpersonal violence is acceptable. If it is a man's job to fix everything, and men are supposed to be in control, it is an easy leap to the idea that men must keep their wives and girlfriends "in line." Men are often encouraged and supported by their friends, family, and acquaintances in this idea. A high school-age

young man may be recounting a disagreement with his girlfriend to his friends in the locker room before gym class. A common response from one of the young men might be, "Did you show her who's the boss?" This remark conveys the idea that men are supposed to be in charge. Even young people whose families make a concerted effort to communicate ideas of gender equality and respect are still bombarded with these messages from larger society. An additional consequence of these messages is the belief that "family problems" should stay "in the family." Although intimate partner violence is illegal in all 50 states, many batterers are not arrested by law enforcement or are given minimal consequences by the courts (National Opinion Research Center 2004). Also, the lingering viewpoint that men are in charge of the behavior of their wives and families further causes bystanders to look the other way.

Follow the Leader: Do What I Do

Another idea that attempts to explain why batterers abuse is called social learning theory (Bandura 1977). It argues that people behave in certain ways by observing these behaviors in others. For example, a man may abuse his wife because he saw his own father abuse his mother throughout his childhood. Research conducted with human subjects draws these conclusions: (1) aggression can be learned by observing aggressive role models (e.g., Bandura and Ross 1961), and (2) violence occurs across generations in families (e.g., Widom and Maxfield 2001). In about half of domestic violence cases where men abuse their wives, they abuse their children as well (Ver Steegh 2000). A total of 85 percent of children living in homes where domestic violence occurs are either eye witnesses, hear the violence, or attempt to intervene. Some of these explanations are controversial because some people believe they excuse abusive behavior. For others, social learning theory provides an important explanation for why some batterers abuse. If batterers learned to be abusive by observing role models, perhaps they can learn to behave differently by observing positive role models. Recent advertisements that show cultural heroes, such as sports figures and well-known television and movie heroes giving positive messages about their beliefs about relationships and how they should treat their partners, may be an attempt to influence these learned attitudes and behaviors.

WHY DO WOMEN STAY? THE PERSPECTIVES OF BATTERED WOMEN

"I don't understand. I would have left the first time he hit me." Advocates frequently hear this question as people in the United States struggle to understand the dynamics of interpersonal violence. Operating in the context of the same societal messages that targets receive, many people believe interpersonal violence starts with physical violence and leaving is a single, uncomplicated event. In reality, leaving is a process that can be frightening, overwhelming, and dangerous. The following is a discussion of barriers to leaving a violent partner.

Til Death Do Us Part

A 13-year-old girl is talking with her mother about marriage and love. The mother says, "Now, relationships are hard work. There will be rough times. You have to compromise and sometimes you have to put your husband's needs before your own." This mother may have good intentions, but this message rarely comes with a clarification of where to draw the line. Where does compromise stop? In which situations might I put my own needs aside? And what behavior should I and should I not be willing to accept from my partner? Many people can identify similar messages they received about relationships as they grew up, and most could say physical violence would cross a line. But interpersonal violence does not start with physical violence; it is an escalation of behaviors over time. If a target is constantly told she is a horrible person and no one else would have her, and then one day her partner smashes a vase on the wall next to her head, it does not seem like such a large step if next time her partner hits her. And despite the fact a large number of marriages currently end in divorce, there still remains a cultural expectation that marriages should last forever.

Risks of Leaving

The most dangerous time for violence to occur is immediately after a partner leaves the relationship. In fact, "women who are separated from their husbands have a risk of violence about . . . 25 times more than that of married women. Up to 75 percent of domestic assaults reported to law enforcement agencies occur after the separation of the couple, with women most likely to be murdered when reporting abuse or attempting to leave an abusive relationship" (Barnett, Miller-Perrin, and Perrin, 2005, 5).

Systemic Barriers and Lack of Resources

Systemic barriers create further difficulties for leaving. For example, a woman may wish to go to a domestic violence shelter, but she may find that all of the beds are full. Also, women often lack the financial resources to start a life on their own and may have minimal education and/or employment history to sustain life independently. This is further exacerbated by the societal message that men work and support the family. It is not uncommon for women who are targets of interpersonal violence to have never worked outside the home or been on their own.

The situation becomes more complicated if children are involved. Experts agree that witnessing domestic violence is abusive and psychologically damaging to children, putting them at higher risk for long-term physical problems, using substances, experiencing mental health issues, and being a target or perpetrator of abuse (Felitti, Anda, Nordenberg 1998). Nonetheless, most custody hearings occur separately from and may involve no reference to domestic violence legal proceedings occurring previously or simultaneously in criminal courts. In approximately 70 percent of cases involving domestic violence, fathers who

contest custody are awarded sole or joint custody (Zorza 2001). This phenomenon is rooted in the batterer's ability to control his behavior; most batterers are able to present as charming and in control, and often use legal proceedings to convince the court the target is "crazy" and an "unfit mother." Many abusive husbands use court-mandated visitation or child-exchange times as opportunities to verbally or physically harass the target and children. It is estimated that during visitation, 5 percent of fathers threaten to kill the mother, 25 percent threaten to hurt their children and 34 percent threaten to kidnap their children (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence 2003). And as with many other social problems, those with financial, transportation, and educational barriers experience further difficulty in leaving, as they have fewer resources to draw upon in times of crisis.

CONCLUSION

The movement to end intimate relationship violence still faces an uphill battle in gaining full support in the legal system. For example, until 2006, Arizona's laws still made spousal rape a significantly less serious category of felony than stranger or acquaintance rape, and many states do not protect nonmarried domestic partners, either same or other gender, under their domestic violence laws. And although U.S law now clearly indicates that intimate partner violence is a crime, the general acceptance of it remains entrenched in cultural icons and norms, evidenced by referring to men's sleeveless undershirts as "wife beaters" and using violent expressions as commonplace in U.S. slang ("If my friend is late to the movie I am going to kill him!"). Yet, although further social reform is still needed, the battered women's movement in the 1970s created the foundation on which today's activists stand.

See also Child Sexual Abuse; Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment.

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K

KINSEY SCALE OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Alfred Kinsey's comprehensive, scientifically based research on human sexuality has been controversial because of the subject matter, participant selection, and research methodology. His Heterosexual-Homosexual Rating Scale (HHRS), which revealed that many people who identify as "heterosexual" actually partake in "homosexual" sexual practices or have same-sex erotic feelings, challenged the acceptable social norms of the time and continues to do so today.

BACKGROUND

Alfred Kinsey was a pioneer in the scientific examination of human sexuality. He was the first scholar to comprehensively document what people do sexually and how they feel about their behavior. Kinsey overcame many obstacles and challenged numerous critics in the development and subsequent publication of his two wide-ranging volumes on human sexuality. The trailblazing nature of Kinsey's research cannot be comprehended without understanding the historical context in which he was raised. Understanding who Kinsey was as a person assists in examining how and why the controversies developed over his research in reference to subject matter, research participants, and methodology. The most well-known and controversial elements of Kinsey's research, the Heterosexual-Homosexual Rating Scale, which places sexuality on a continuum and delinks sexual behavior from identity, continues to be hotly debated even now. Undoubtedly, Kinsey's influence on the public and public perceptions of sexuality have changed since he developed his scale.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF HUMAN SEXUALITY

To understand the significance of Alfred Kinsey to the study of human sexuality, it is necessary to understand the social environment that preceded him and shaped his ideas. Historically, the study of human sexuality began in earnest in the early nineteenth century (Table K.1). During this period, religion and its moralists were the leading authorities in defining what was appropriate behavior and what sexual knowledge was to be shared with the public. The lives of citizens were centered on the doctrines and religious laws created by the Church, which shaped how people interacted with one another, including sexually. The approach of religion was based on a Judeo-Christian perspective, which focused on the moral necessity of heterosexual sex to ensure procreation. Activities outside of sex for reproduction, including sex for pleasure or personal enrichment, were considered immoral and punishable by God. Slowly, the control over sexuality and its study shifted to the law, with its focus on the rights of property owners. This change was a result of the increasing power of the wealthy and the declining importance of the Church as a moral authority. As such, the law tended to focus on crimes against the wealthy, for instance a laborer having sexual relations with his employer's daughter or his employer's farm animals, and these acts were severely punished. The punishments were not as a result of the sexual element of the act, but reflected the desire to preserve the socioeconomic class structure. By the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the authority over sexuality shifted again, this time to the medical establishment with its focus on the disease and deviance aspects of human sexual functioning. The concentration on deviance allowed society and lawmakers to better define the types of behavior that were considered socially and culturally acceptable. Recently, a hybrid model has been used whereby authority over sexuality is found in the medical establishment, law, and the social organization of society.

Table K.1

Judeo-Christian Religion		*Law*		*Medical*		*Hybrid -* Medical, social and legal
(Focus on so-called right and wrong sexual activities)	→	(Focus on rights of the wealthy and property owners)	→	(Focus on disease and deviance)	→	(Focus on defining and punishing deviance and treating the diseased)
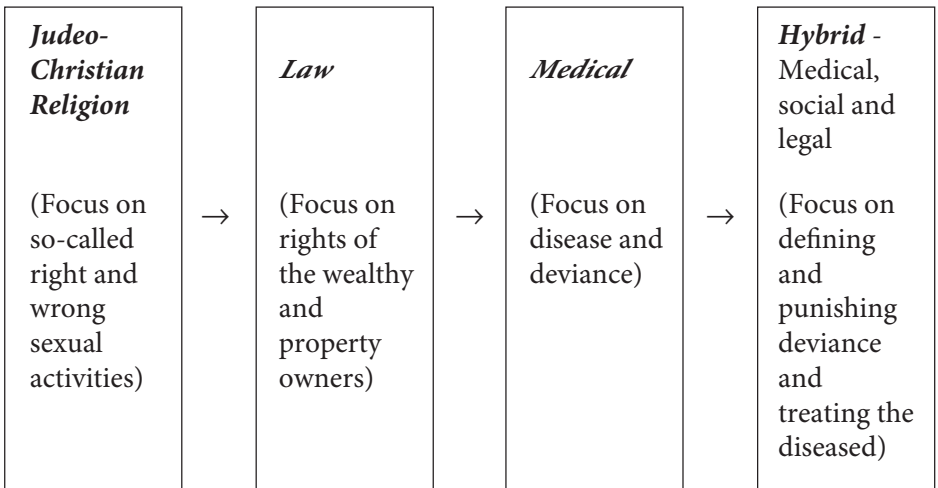
KINSEY'S OWN HISTORY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HIS RESEARCH

Alfred Kinsey was born in Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1894 to a traditional Victorian-era family. He had very little experience sexually during his formative years and held traditional values about appropriate sexual behavior—all of which changed dramatically over the course of his lifetime. He attended Harvard University where he received his doctorate in biology in 1919, and he moved to Indiana to teach zoology at the state university in 1920. Kinsey was originally best known for his research in taxonomy and evolution, and his meticulous attention to detail in his research studies. When asked to assume responsibility for the marriage course at Indiana University in 1938, he applied the same attention to detail in structuring the course content. Kinsey soon learned that very little accurate research existed about human sexuality and set out to gather his own research through the collection of sex histories. A renown workaholic, Kinsey and his staff collected more than 18,000 sex histories in the course of his career and published two volumes on the research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male and Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, which are still relevant today. Kinsey died in 1956 at the age of 62. His legacy remains alongside all of his research materials at The Kinsey Institute (formerly the Institute for Sex Research) at Indiana University.

It has only been in recent history that sexuality has been associated with shame and indignation, and it is during this time period, referred to as the Victorian era, in which Alfred Kinsey was raised. Despite his conservative upbringing, Kinsey decided to approach the study of sexuality as an objective scientist with a goal of documenting the full variety of sexual behavior in minute detail. The purpose of Kinsey's research was to provide a basis in which to study human sexuality scientifically without placing value judgments on the activities or the participants. Kinsey gathered his research through personal interviews that covered topics such as masturbatory experience, premarital petting, nocturnal emissions ("wet dreams"), premarital intercourse, homosexual contacts, and animal contacts. His findings for males were released in 1948 and his findings for females in 1953.

CONTROVERSIES IN KINSEY'S RESEARCH

Kinsey's research challenged the most basic assumptions the public had regarding human sexuality and demonstrated that supposedly "normal," law-abiding citizens engaged in a wide array of sexual activities. The subject matter was extremely controversial because it dealt with matters the public regarded as private. Moreover, controversy surrounded whom Kinsey selected for his research subjects and the methodology he used. Kinsey was the first to learn that sexual responsiveness and participation in sexual activities are different across socioeconomic classes and education levels. Previously, members of society assumed that everyone complied with the Victorian social values and norms of abstinence until marriage and having sexual relations only to produce children. Moreover, Kinsey was the first to discover that orgasm is unrelated to ejaculation in men, and that orgasm is experienced differently by each individual (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1948, 159, 160).

There was controversy over the subjects Kinsey interviewed for his studies. Critics contended that Kinsey was using data obtained from children, and that children were being asked about their sexual practices and observed engaging in sexual behaviors. Critics argued that Kinsey sexualized children by seeking to understand the types of sexual activities in which they partake. The view that children are not sexual and do not express themselves in sexual ways is a holdover from the Victorian era. Kinsey's critics claimed that publicizing that children masturbate and engage in sexual play encourages the activities of pedophiles and child molesters. In fact, several of the critics actually considered Kinsey and his team pedophiles. In actuality, Kinsey's research subjects were all adults and mostly Caucasian, Protestant or Catholic, and from the upper socioeconomic classes. Those subjects from rural communities and lower socioeconomic classes were often found in prisons, as more than 17 prisons contributed inmates to Kinsey's research (Kinsey et al. 1948). Moreover, Kinsey did not interview children regarding their sexual habits, but instead gathered his data on childhood sexuality from interviews with adults who were asked to recall the sexual things they did as youngsters. What was discovered is that sexuality and sexual expression exist from birth and are expressed in a variety of ways throughout the developmental cycle. Kinsey was instrumental in illustrating that at least 70 percent of preadolescent children have genital play with other youngsters, and that most of that play is homosexual (Kinsey et al. 1948, 167).

KINSEY'S RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Alfred Kinsey conducted his sexological research using face-to-face interviews with participants. Although some of the elements listed here may seem commonsensical, in the 1940s and 1950s they represented significant departures from standard research methodologies. Kinsey contended that for research to be scientifically valid, it must contain the following elements:

- A minimum of 300 interviews for each group of people studied (e.g., men, women, Catholic, homosexual).
- Shortcomings must be identified at the outset. For Kinsey this was a lack of older participants, the exclusion of children, lack of religious representation, too few participants from the lower socioeconomic classes, and few minorities.
- Data must be recorded in real time, using a rapid-fire question system. Kinsey and his staff covered more than 300 questions in less than 45 minutes.
- Questions must be asked using the language the participant comprehends, and subjects must be forced to prove their answers to the interviewer by reiterating responses throughout.
- Disclosure of personal information or controversial issues, such as religion or politics, must be avoided, as it may taint the research findings.

The methodology used by Kinsey to conduct his research was controversial. Many considered suspect the use of in-depth interviews to gather data on such a sensitive topic. Critics contended that subjects would be less inclined to give truthful answers in a face-to-face setting and were likely to provide the answers they thought the interviewer wanted. Kinsey went to great lengths to ensure that the subjects were comfortable with the interviewer and that their privacy was ensured. Kinsey detailed how effective interviews should be conducted and outlined when and how the interviewer should probe the subject if they suspected the subject was holding back information or not being completely honest (Kinsey et al. 1948, 44–74). The techniques developed by Kinsey continue to be a model used by academics and researchers in how to conduct interviews.

The most controversial finding in Kinsey's research was his discovery that sexuality is not constant and that most people engage in both heterosexual and homosexual activities throughout their lives. Kinsey's research was published at a time when homosexuality was illegal, and prisons were filled with men who were convicted of having consensual sex with other men. What made this finding contentious was Kinsey's inclusion of the heterosexual-homosexual rating scale. This scale visually demonstrated a range of possible sexual orientations from exclusively heterosexual, with no homosexual contact ever (a 0 on the scale), to exclusively homosexual, with no heterosexual contact ever (a 6 on the scale). What Kinsey learned was that very few individuals rated a zero or a six, and most fell within the remaining five categories (see The Kinsey Institute Web site for more information www.kinseyinstitute.org/resources/ak-hhscale.html).

THE HETEROSEXUAL-HOMOSEXUAL RATING SCALE

The intent of Kinsey's scale and its actual use by academics and therapists varied considerably. Kinsey intended his HHRS to illustrate the fluidity of sexuality; however, the scale has been used to assign labels to people's sexual orientation and to characterize homosexuality as medically and/or psychologically abnormal. For Kinsey, the development of the HHRS as a classification system based on relative amounts of experience with heterosexuality and homosexuality did not equate with how an individual self-identified their sexual orientation. In reference to the HHRS scale, Kinsey claimed, "The world is not divided into sheep and goats. It is a fundamental of taxonomy that nature rarely deals with discrete categories" (Kinsey et al. 1948, 639). Moreover, Kinsey believed, "While emphasizing the continuity of the gradations between exclusively heterosexual and exclusively homosexual histories.... An individual may be assigned a position on this scale, for each period in his life.... A seven-point scale comes nearer to showing the many gradations that actually exist" (Kinsey et al. 1948, 639, 656). As such, a person may be exclusively homosexual at age 10, and by age 30 that person may be exclusively heterosexual in their behavior. This would result in the individual being placed in different categories for the different age periods.

One of the critiques of the HHRS is that it focuses solely on behavior and does not account for feelings and fantasies. Critics suggest that by categorizing

someone on the HHRS, it attaches a label to their sexuality, which often has significant political implications. Labels limit the possibilities of behavior and thought and are fundamentally irrelevant to what an individual thinks and feels sexually. Labels attached to sexuality developed in the nineteenth century as a way to reinforce Victorian mores (Foucault 1978). It may be difficult in our society to have a label removed; if someone is labeled homosexual, bisexual, or a sexual deviant, that label is likely to remain with them indefinitely. For this reason critics of Kinsey have identified the HHRS as problematic. In our society, people label others according to their behavior (or suspected behavior) and there are often consequences attached. For instance, until recently people who had sexual relations with members of the same sex were considered to be mentally ill and subject to incarceration and civil commitment into mental institutions. Although society's attitudes have become more tolerant concerning homosexual behavior, there are many other sexual labels that exist resulting in discrimination and intolerance (e.g., bisexuality, frigidity, promiscuity).

According to critics, self-identification is the most relevant "label" people can attach to themselves (Klein 1978, 9, 12, 20; Diamond 2005, 125). For instance, if a man is in prison and engages in homosexual activity simply because that is what opportunity exists, but regards himself as strictly heterosexual, according to critics of Kinsey, he should be labeled as exclusively heterosexual as he self-identifies as such. Kinsey, however, studied only behavior and was not concerned with how people labeled themselves or their attitudes about sex and sexuality. Consequently, Kinsey would categorize this individual as homosexual during the time period he spent in prison. Although the argument made by critics regarding divorcing behavior from emotion is valid politically and socially, it misinterprets the intent of the HHRS. Kinsey never attached a label of heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual to any of his subjects and strongly believed in separating individuals from their behavior (Young-Bruehl 2001, 187). Kinsey regarded his subjects as more than what they do sexually and believed it was more appropriate to describe the nature of sexual activities or sexual stimuli that individuals respond to erotically (Young-Bruehl 2001, 187). Kinsey believed that such sexual activity and stimuli are a product of cultural mores and values.

INFLUENCE OF KINSEY'S RESEARCH ON THE PUBLIC

The publication of Kinsey's research was highly anticipated and received significant media attention. This represented the first time that the public had access to such candid and far-reaching information on sexuality. The media highlighted and sensationalized the sections on masturbation, homosexuality, animal contacts, and prostitution. The research findings on women, published five years after the male volume, were much anticipated by the public. Alongside the media hype, several negative consequences resulted from the public release of Kinsey's research. The public was now confronted with scientific statistics as to what people actually did sexually. This ultimately led to the creation of expectations for both women and men. The number of partners one had sex with, how many orgasms one had, the types of positions that should be used during

THE KINSEY INSTITUTE (FORMERLY THE INSTITUTE FOR SEX RESEARCH)

The Kinsey Institute has its origins in the first course on marriage that Kinsey taught at Indiana University. Students approached Professor Kinsey with a variety of questions he was unable to answer. This led him to search for scientific research on human sexuality; however, he quickly discovered that few studies existed and those that did were heavily value-laden and relied on very small samples. As a result, Kinsey assembled a team of researchers and began to take the sex histories of students, faculty, and friends. Soon, Kinsey and his staff had accumulated a great deal of sexological information, and, to guarantee the confidentiality of the records, he established the Institute for Sex Research as a nonprofit organization in 1947. The first trustees of the Institute were Kinsey, Paul Gebhard, Clyde Martin, and Wardell Pomeroy. The purpose of the Institute was to continue research related to human sexuality and administer research materials, a library, case histories, and other related items. The Kinsey Institute, as it is now called, has broadened its mandate to include the promotion of research and scholarship in the areas of human sexuality, gender, and reproduction. It now provides education to the community and professionals, clinical and research training, and public tours and presentations.

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sex, and how often one should masturbate all seemed to be dictated by Kinsey's findings. Without an adequate understanding of statistics, the public could not separate averages and incidences from normality. Slowly, women and men began to question their sexuality if their behavior did not coincide with Kinsey's findings. Such expectations still exist today and have been reinforced by the public release of other highly regarded sexological research such as Masters and Johnson's sexual response cycle findings. Similar to Kinsey, Masters and Johnson conducted laboratory tests to ascertain what physical and physiological changes occur when individuals are sexually excited. The result of their research was the development of the sexual response cycle. Although the intent of the cycle is to explain generally what changes occur in the body during sexual arousal and activity, the media and the public regard the cycle as an absolute. Consequently, individuals who do not respond sexually in the same manner as represented in the cycle are considered sexually dysfunctional. The end result has been a perpetual curiosity and near obsession with all things sexual.

CONCLUSION

Alfred Kinsey's research had a profound impact on the study of human sexuality. His findings challenged society's conservative, Victorian outlook. Kinsey learned that sexual expression is extremely varied, and that people who appear "normal" and moral are engaging in activities considered inappropriate by much of society, such as masturbation. Kinsey demonstrated that socioeconomic factors, such as level of education and income, are the greatest predictors of sexual behavior. Behavior, and not attitudes, was considered to

be the most important element to be studied. As such, Kinsey developed the Heterosexual-Homosexual Rating Scale to categorize his subjects' behavior at particular times in their lives. Although the main intent of the scale was to demonstrate the fluidity of sexuality over the course of a lifetime, it is now used to assign labels to individuals and to pathologize certain forms of behavior. Despite the shortcomings of his research, which Kinsey clearly articulated in his 1948 volume, his research methods and interview format continue to be in use in academic institutions around the world. Kinsey was a pioneer in the field of sexology and has laid the foundation on which all present sexological research is based. It is likely his influence will continue for many more years.

See also Bisexuality; Female Sexuality and Dysfunction; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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L

LEFTIST ARMED STRUGGLE

Women's participation in leftist armed struggle and revolutions involves the contradictory deployment of their traditional gender roles, tensions between motherhood and political activism, and the paradox of actively engaging in violent combat, which often ends life, to defend life as they understand it.

BACKGROUND

Scholars have long been fascinated by the nature of women's participation in leftist armed struggle and revolutionary movements. In contexts as diverse as Mozambique, Cuba, Nicaragua, Ireland, Chechnya, South Africa, Palestine, and the United States, some women have chosen to take up arms as a way to defend their beliefs and fight for what they see as a more equitable society. Feminist scholars disagree as to whether women's participation in armed struggle leads to changes in gender relations, or whether they are simply fighting alongside their male counterparts for reasons that are fundamentally the same as those that motivate men. Often, women join armed struggles to "live in freer countries and to have more options in life" (Kampwirth 2002, 6); to struggle for independence, as in the case of the Palestinian struggle for statehood; to combat serious inequalities, as in the case of apartheid South Africa, where women played a key role in its dismantling; and to combat military authoritarian rule, as in the case of Central American countries long controlled by right-wing military regimes. Rather than fighting for "gender justice," as is the case for many self-defined feminist movements around the world, these women have joined struggles based on their ethnic, racial, religious, or imagined national community. Yet through

their participation, many have also changed their views on gender and in some cases, they have developed new movements that reflect their newly formed gender consciousness. This has been true in the New Left in the United States, where women who had participated in male-based social movements during the 1960s, including the antiwar, peace, free speech, civil rights, and socialist democratic movements, later formed their own movements, which became the basis of what we now consider second-wave feminism.

WHY WOMEN PICK UP ARMS

Women who participate in armed struggle are seen as heroes by some and brainwashed, naïve, or co-opted by others. In the Palestinian Occupied Territories, women have long been recruited to join the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and more recently, Hamas. Although Palestinians have been divided on how to acquire official statehood, either through violence or nonnonviolence, women have often been recruited to join the armed struggle as a result of the ongoing lack of male soldiers and to the perceived desperation of their living situation.

Research on female suicide bombers points out that there are both "supply" and "demand" reasons for the increased presence of women in the ranks of suicide bombers, which has led some to argue that "the face of terror is increasingly female" (Handwerk 2004, 1). It is true that women have been recruited in higher numbers since the 1980s, but there are also structural and ideological reasons why women are opting to join in higher numbers than before. Although important debates continue as to what constitutes revolutionary activism versus terrorism (Kampwirth 2002; Neuberger and Valentini 2004), what these acts of martyrdom demonstrate are women's forms of commitment to defending their imagined community—whether on the basis of ethnicity, religion, or the pursuit of statehood—through violence.

WHY WOMEN DISARM

Just as women have joined leftist armed struggles, so too have many later made the transition to other forms of activism that do not involve violence, some even adopting an alternative nonviolent or pacifist strategy. Scholars have asked, how or to what extent is this transition linked to their understandings of their gender roles? Sometimes, women disarm alongside their male counterparts as their revolutionary movements successfully achieve control of the state, as in the case of the Cuban revolution, or acquire independent statehood, as in the case of anticolonial movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Yuval-Davis 1997). As revolutionary movements take on state power, women have sometimes been recruited to be part of the new state vanguard, as in the case of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, which incorporated women into the governmental leadership, whereas other women have been asked to "return to their homes," the idea being that they return to their traditional gender roles as mothers and caretakers, leaving the official domain of politics to men, as in the

case of many independence movements fighting against European colonization, where women's rights were seen as secondary to the larger anticolonial struggle and placed on the back burner once independence was acquired (Yuval-Davis 1997). Yet women who become actively involved in politics, whether violent or nonviolent, have difficulty balancing their newly created public roles with their traditionally expected roles in the private realm of family life. As a result, many women in revolutionary movements throughout the world, including in the United States, have gone on to create their own forms of women's rights movements that directly address "gender justice," a theme that many women fighters did not see as necessary at the beginning of their participation, yet later came to identify as important.

CONCLUSION

Many observers agree that women often joined leftist armed struggle, including Marxian-influenced revolutions, nationalist, and anti-imperialist movements, as a way to struggle for a "freer society or country" rather than as a way to seek "gender justice." Through their participation, they face a series of paradoxes concerning their gender roles in armed struggle, including the tension between serving in active combat versus performing their traditional gender roles, and additional tensions concerning whether they should partake in forms of violence to achieve equity and combat discrimination in their communities or nations, or seek alternative, nonviolent channels to protest what they view as a lack of rights or freedom.

See also Politics and Political Ideologies: Leftist Women; Political Parties; Terrorism and National Security.

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Amy Lind

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER MOVEMENTS

Social movements working to secure lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights face opposition from both conservative and radical sectors, placing them in conflict with both external and internal actors about how to achieve equality for sexual and gender minorities.

BACKGROUND

A social movement is loosely defined as a group of people with a common objective who collectively organize their efforts for the purposes of social change. In the twentieth century, LGBTQ social movements have worked individually and collectively, with multiple objectives, including decriminalizing same-sex sexual activity, garnering public visibility, securing equal rights, achieving mainstream acceptance, and AIDS activism. Although the objectives shifted in different periods and within various movements, the obstacles facing LGBTQ social movements continue to take fairly consistent forms: homophobia, social conservatism, religious beliefs that condemn same-sex relations, the assumed correctness of heterosexuality, lack of LGBTQ representation in media and politics, the protection of rigid definitions of gender, and internal divisions. The organizations, key individuals, and events that have shaped LGBTQ movements are slowly working their way into the heterodominant narratives of U.S. history. This entry offers one history of U.S. LGBTQ social movements, emphasizing key organizations and events that shaped these complex histories.

HOMOPHILE MOVEMENT

The homophile movements marked the earliest stages of LGBTQ organization. In a time when same-sex attraction was not only taboo, but criminalized as "obscene," homophile organizations were geared toward creating safe spaces where gay men and women could meet, build relationships, and find support systems. In 1897, German physician Magnus Hirschfeld founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, thought to be the first advocacy for homosexual and transgender rights. In 1926 in Chicago, Harry Gerber founded the first known U.S. homophile organization, The Society for Human Rights. The organization was short-lived, as a member's wife reported its existence to the police and Gerber was arrested for obscenity. The appearance of homosexuality in early Hollywood was curbed by the 1935 motion picture code's ban of any and all references to homosexuality. In 1937, the homosexual prisoners of Nazi concentration camps were first marked with pink triangles, which later became a prominent symbol for gay oppression. Bohemian collectives continued to offer a gay underground in larger American cities in the first half of the twentieth century, but the mere accusation of homosexuality could lead to loss of employment, loss of parental custody, arrest, institutionalization, and public humiliation in local papers.

The 1948 publication of Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* challenged the popular misconception that homosexuals comprised a fractional percentage of the population. The Los Angeles-born Mattachine Society had its first meeting in 1950, with five men in attendance, including Radical Faeries founder Harry Hay, who is claimed to have written the first gay rights manifesto in the United States. The Mattachine Society splintered in 1952, leading to the creation of One Inc., a group containing the Mattachine Society as well as female members. Their publication, *One Magazine,* became the first pro-gay periodical in the United States. The group eventually published the *One Institute Quarterly,* which is now known as *The Journal of Homosexuality.* In 1952, the

"sex-change" operation of Christine Jorgenson became an international story and brought immense visibility to transgender issues.

In 1955 in San Francisco, the meeting of four lesbian couples led to the first national lesbian rights organization in the United States. Founders Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon of the Daughters of Bilitis began a nonprofit organization exclusively for lesbians, opening an office in 1957. Their publication, *The Ladder,* sought to explore the differences between gay men and lesbians, educate membership and the general public on lesbian issues, endorse women's movement solidarity, and promote lesbian poetry and literature.

1960s TO STONEWALL

Extending on the work of homophile groups of the 1950s, the 1960s introduced a period in which gay and lesbian organizations further pushed objectives of visibility, media representation, and legal protection. The *New Left,* a term used to distinguish itself from the politics of the 1950s *Old Left,* sought to extend past labor issues and adopt a broader agenda for social justice and equality. Heterosexism and misogyny, however, were ever-present in the political organizing that often characterizes the 1960s-era activism of the New Left. The radical movements that united to end racism, poverty, and the Vietnam War reportedly engaged in gay-baiting activities, outward antigay sentiment, and the perpetuation of misogyny. This forced many homosexual men and women who were active in social justice efforts, such as the civil rights movement and the National Organization for Women (NOW), to downplay or disguise their homosexuality, whereas others opted to remove themselves completely.

In 1961, San Francisco drag queen Jose Sarria ran for city supervisor, becoming the first openly gay person to run for public office. In 1962, Illinois became the first state to legalize same-sex acts between consenting adults. "Gay Lib" was emerging throughout the latter 1960s, pushing for media visibility and government recognition. In June 1964, *Life* magazine ran the cover story "Homosexuality in America," offering increased visibility for the growing gay subculture. In 1965, the "Gay is Good" movement and the creation of ECHO (East Coast Homophile Organization), led by longtime activist and D.C. Mattachine president Frank Kameny, held the first of many protests at The White House and government agencies. The movement actively worked to alter the negative image of homosexuality as sick, perverted, and sinful, enforcing a strict dress code for protests—men in suits and women in dresses. The strategy of presenting "safe" representations of gays and lesbians by adhering to traditional gender roles alienated transgender communities. In January 1967, the Los Angeles homophile group Pride led a several hundred-person protest in response to police raids of gay bars.

The Stonewall Riots of June 1969 marked a historic event and a radical shift in the social and political advancement of LGBT movements. On June 28, 1969, plainclothes officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a Greenwich Village bar commonly frequented by drag queens; however, the events escalated from a routine raid to an impromptu demonstration. There is no concrete reason why this

raid, a common practice at the time, was met with resistance. Some argue it was because queer icon Judy Garland had just passed away. Others argue it was just time to fight back; they were simply fed up with the harassment. Outside the bar, an assembled crowd of bar patrons and local pedestrians taunted the police, throwing various objects, until the police were forced to retreat into the bar. The police reported "riot" lasted approximately 40 minutes; however, news of the events spread throughout the community, and larger crowds assembled the next evening. On this night, and on the third night of rioting on July 2 (there were two days of rain), the demonstration grew more violent, but also more organized. The police tried to clear the streets, but the protesters refused to hide, insisting on standing their ground, claiming their rights, no longer willing to run away in fear. These three nights are now referred to as the historic Stonewall Riots. The riots made international news, creating a surge of LGBT visibility, which showed gays and lesbians resisting shame, harassment, and persecution.

IS STONEWALL THE BIRTH OF GAY PRIDE?

One year after the Stonewall Riots, in June 1970, approximately 15,000 gays, lesbians, and drag queens came together for a series of Pride events, celebrating the one-year birthday of gay liberation. Approximately 1,000 marched in Los Angeles, and others gathered in Chicago and San Francisco. Internationally, commemorative celebrations were reported in Buenos Aires, Argentina; Lima, Peru; and Nicaragua.

This annual celebration, now referred to commonly as "gay pride," is celebrated internationally. The efforts and organizations that existed decades before Stonewall should not be overlooked in their important contribution to the movement, and the designation of "birth" is contested, but the Stonewall Riots marked a major turning point in LGBT liberation. As much as Stonewall is recognized globally as a major moment in gay history, however, it is problematic to locate the birth of all LGBTQ rights in the United States. For example, many countries have their own "Stonewall," such as in Australia. At the first Sydney Mardi Gras in 1978, police officers arrested lesbian and gay partygoers. Numerous marches and protests took place across the country and led to the release of the arrested individuals. This effective response built strong momentum to the Australian lesbian and gay movement and is likened to the Stonewall Riots in the United States. Similar parallels are drawn in countries such as Canada and Ireland, who honor Stonewall, along with their own unique histories and accomplishments. Many countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Canada, South Africa, and many Eastern European nations, have achieved far greater equality for LGBTQ populations than the United States. Furthermore, the notion of a LGBTQ rights is arguably a Western concept, as sexuality and sexual identity take on different meanings within different cultures. Although LGBTQ movements throughout the world differ greatly, many do honor the Stonewall Riots in their pride celebrations and marches. The rainbow flag, designed by San Francisco artist Gilbert Baker, has become an international symbol for LGBTQ pride.

THE POST-STONEWALL 1970S: THE CONSOLIDATION OF A GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENT

After Stonewall, the goals of gay and lesbian visibility, legal protection, and social acceptance gained national momentum, introducing a strong awareness of diversity within LGBT communities. Several organizations emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), the Radicalesbians, and smaller organizations like The Latin American Homosexual Committee, the Gay Latino Alliance, and the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR). Led by the motto, "Out of the closets, into the streets," the GLF sprang up in multiple U.S. cities. Although short-lived, the GLF introduced a radical alternative to the homophile organizations that came before it, rejecting assimiliationist tactics and pushing for radical reform. The tension of assimilationist politics, or the strategy of trying to fit into dominant ideas of "normal," and anti-assimilation perspectives anticipates the queer politics of the early 1990s. Although bisexuals were active in early homophile organizations, the anti-assimilation politics of groups such as GLF allowed bisexuals freedom from rigid gay/straight definitions. As the GLF adopted a broad agenda, supporting the women's movement, the Black Panthers, and protesting the Vietnam War, some members of the GLF split off to the form the Gay Activist Alliance. The GAA sought an agenda more immediately focused on the advancement of gay rights. A second division resulted from female members who felt the GLF privileged the concerns of gay men over lesbians. The Radicalesbians originally formed in 1970 under the name Lavender Menace, a response to Betty Freidan's comment that lesbians were a "lavender menace" to the advancement of women's issues. The Radicalesbians sought to claim their rightful place in the women's movement, arguing that gender oppression and homophobia were inextricably linked, both tied to the project of patriarchy. The group attempted a nonhierarchal structure and insisted on female separatism, completely distancing themselves from all men, as well as from women who accepted traditional heterosexual values. Although the group was short-lived, its work in the early 1970s had a profound impact. In 1971, the National Organization of Women officially declared lesbian rights as a feminist issue.

In 1970, Black Panther leader Huey Newton openly declared support for the gay liberation movement. In 1971, Dr. Frank Kameny ran for U.S. Congress as the first openly gay candidate. In 1974 Kathy Kozachenko became the first openly gay or lesbian to hold U.S. public office, soon followed by Elaine Noble. In 1972, the United Church of Christ ordained William Johnson, the first openly gay ordination in a mainstream U.S. church. That same year, lesbian and gay rights were advocated at the Democratic National Convention. Lesbian and gay activists began appearing on television, popular magazines, and newspapers and lesbian and gay representations appeared in several films. In 1975 the first ever gay Native American organization was formed, Gay American Indians, soon organizing in more than 20 different tribes. Male cross-dressing support groups proliferated throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The first trans-inclusive civil rights protection legislation was passed in Minneapolis in 1975.

The National Bisexual Liberation Group (1972) and Bisexual Forum (1975) were formed. In 1977, The National Coalition of Black Gays was founded in New York. On December 15, 1973, all homosexuals across the nation were "instantly cured," as homosexuality was declassified as a psychiatric disorder by the American Psychiatric Association.

MID-1970s: THE BIRTH OF MODERN ANTIGAY ACTIVISM

The price of political and social gain in the post-Stonewall era was soon met with conservative backlash. In 1975–1976, Robert Grant founded The American Christian Cause to counter the "gay agenda." The most visible figure of this backlash was Anita Bryant, a former Miss America contestant and orange juice spokesperson, who launched a nationwide crusade accusing "militant homosexuals" of corrupting the nation's children through recruitment. Her "Save the Children" campaign began in response to an ordinance in Dade County, Florida, preventing housing and employment discrimination against homosexuals. Marking the first of a series of setbacks, Arkansas recriminalized same-sex acts between consenting adults only two years after repealing its antisodomy laws. The Dade Country ordinance was repealed, and Florida signed legislation to prevent gays and lesbians from adopting children. Openly gay San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk, however, fought and successfully led a defeat to the Briggs Initiative, which would make it illegal for openly gay, lesbian, or gay/lesbian advocates to teach in California public schools. On November 27, 1978, former supervisor Dan White assassinated Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone. Upon White's conviction of manslaughter, rather than murder, thousands of outraged protesters demonstrated outside city hall, leading to a violent night of rioting in the streets. The 1970s began with the fueled momentum of Stonewall and concluded with the growing backlash of the Religious Right. In September 1979, however, the first openly gay judge, Stephen M. Lachs, was appointed to the Los Angeles Supreme Court. In October of that year, the first National Lesbian and Gay Rights March on Washington D.C. was held, with approximately 100,000 participants in attendance.

THE 1980s: GAY RIGHTS ENTER NATIONAL POLITICS

In 1980, The Democratic National Convention became the first major political party to take on a gay rights platform. In 1981, Mary Morgan became the first openly lesbian judge. In 1982, approximately 50,000 people attended the first-ever Gay Games. Although slowed by the backlash of the Moral Majority's antigay crusade, LGBT visibility and social advancements continued to move forward. This took a dramatic shift, however, beginning with the report of a "Rare Cancer Seen in Homosexuals" in the *New York Times* on July 2, 1981. Within a year, the "gay cancer" was officially termed AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome), and rapidly spread to epidemic proportions in the gay male community. LGBT objectives radically shifted to community support and political outcry. Gay Men's Health Crisis, founded by a group of gay New York

males including Larry Kramer, organized support for the escalating numbers of sick and dying within the community and fought for government and media recognition of the growing epidemic. As the majority of the early AIDS cases in the United States afflicted gay men, the fear of spreading AIDS and an ignorance surrounding transmission ushered in a wave of homophobia.

The media's construction of the AIDS epidemic, although shamefully slow to respond, began with the representation of primarily anonymous white gay men. Gay men of color and trans-communities were highly underrepresented, but greatly affected. AIDS awareness was subject to the cult of personality, as the death of Rock Hudson, the horrific AIDS-phobic stand-up routines of comedians like Eddie Murphy, and later figures such as Ryan White and Magic Johnson shaped the popular conceptions of HIV and AIDS. While President Reagan remained silent and Reverend Jerry Falwell declared AIDS as God's wrath on the homosexual, two organizations mobilized to demand attention for the thousands of lives being lost in silence. In 1987, Larry Kramer and more than 300 activists founded the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP), launching a series of public demonstrations and public disturbances. Highly controversial in its tactics, ACT-UP was successful in forcing attention to a multitude of injustices surrounding AIDS prevention, education, and awareness. A second response to the nation's refusal to address the AIDS epidemic was the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. Since 1987, this public memorial has brought together more than 40,000 individual sections, which travel around the country, testifying to the enormity and humanity of the lives that continue to be lost.

Increasing visibility in the political sphere, Massachusetts Representative Gerry Studds announced he was gay on the House floor in 1983, becoming the first openly gay member of Congress. Congressman Barney Frank came out in 1987, the same year as the second lesbian and gay march on Washington, which reported approximately 500,000 participants. Two days later, the largest protest in the history of LGBT politics took place on the steps of the Supreme Court, resulting in more than 600 arrests. The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) was founded in 1980 and grew into the largest LGBTQ organization in the United States. The HRC claims a mission to work to secure rights for LGBT populations, support LGBT political candidates, and create a strong LGBT presence in the political system, although it has been heavily criticized since the early millennium by many gay activists for lack of results and for primarily serving the needs of white, middle class gay men. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, founded in 1973, differs in its outspoken claim to support coalitional systems between issues of race, class, gender, and sexuality, but lacks the size or funding of the HRC.

1990s–2000s: GAY VERSUS QUEER MOVEMENTS

Still battling the devastating effects of AIDS on the gay community, LGBTQ social movements splintered even further, adopting a broad range of agendas. The 1990s brought in a revitalized militancy in certain factions of the LGBT movement, most visibly by Queer Nation. Adopting a radical and combative

agenda, Queer Nation used short-term, attention-grabbing demonstrations to increase LGBTQ visibility and combat homophobia. Slogans such as "We're Here, We're Queer, Get Used to It" and "Dykes and Fags Bash Back" exemplify their no-apologies politics. Sometimes working directly with ACT-UP, the loosely organized Queer Nation gained attention for demonstrations, such as same-sex kiss-ins in malls and infiltrating straight bars for "Queer's Night Out." The reappropriation of the term *queer* and queer politics was more welcoming to the bisexual and transgender populations, who had commonly been marginalized by more reform-based organizations.

A multitude of additional movements within the LGBTQ movement umbrella continued to organize. In 1991, the first Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event took place in Washington D.C. The Lesbian Avengers assembled their first meeting in 1992, and by April 1993 took part in, what is argued to be, the largest lesbian demonstration to date. The third march on Washington in 1993 grew to more than a million participants. Media representation in film, television, and a handful of LGBTQ celebrities pushed mainstream visibility. In 1995, the UN integrated sexuality and gender identity into the agenda for human rights. LGBTQ visibility was at an unprecedented high, but with this visibility there came several setbacks. Clinton's signing of the Defense of Marriage Act denied same-sex partners access to spousal benefits offered by the federal government to married couples. The military "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy was instituted in 1993, forbidding lesbian and gay members of the military to come out of the closet. In 1998, the murder of Matthew Shepard, a young gay male from Wyoming, made international news. The Shepard murder brought the discussion of homophobia and hate crimes to the forefront of media discussion, as well as garnering attention for the man who protested Matthew Shepard at his own funeral, Reverend Fred Phelps.

CONCLUSION

As the LGBTQ movements continue to grow and change, the agendas, tactics, inclusions, and exclusions will continue to shift as well. From GenderPAC, an organization dedicated to creating safe social spaces for all gender identities, and the prominence of female-to-male (FTM) activist Jamison Green to the existence of bisexual organizations that refuse to cloak bisexuality within strictly gay, lesbian, or heterosexual categories, the movements are extending away from the once white, gay, male center of gay liberation. From radical queer politics that seek to abandon the institution of marriage entirely, all the way to Log Cabin Republicans who continue to fight for gay assimilation, marriage rights, and normative inclusion, the multiple identities and politics under the umbrella of LGBTQ movements in the United States remain both for and about the diversity of sexual and gender experiences.

See also Bisexuality; Female Sexuality and Dysfunction; Homosexual Reparative Therapy; Kinsey Scale of Sexual Behavior; Lesbians and Gays in the Military; Queer; Same-Sex Marriage; Sexual Identity and Orientation; Sexual Orientation and the Law; Transgender and Transexual Identities.

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Dustin Goltz

LESBIANS AND GAYS IN THE MILITARY

From the time of the Revolutionary War to the era of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," evidence of homosexuality has been grounds for exclusion or discharge from the U.S. military. The continued presence of lesbians and gays in the military has prompted heated debate over military necessity, personal rights, and the culture of the armed forces. The outcome of this controversy will likely affect other contemporary conflicts between lesbian and gay rights movements and traditional values.

BACKGROUND

In June 2006, the Department of Defense found itself back in the middle of the controversy over lesbians and gays in the military. Researchers from the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military had recently uncovered an official Pentagon document that classified homosexuality as a mental illness. Members of Congress and medical experts were quick to criticize the document, pointing out that the American Psychiatric Association had stopped classifying homosexuality as a mental disorder in 1973. This debate triggered a much larger dispute over how lesbian and gay service members should be classified by the military. Since the Department of Defense declared that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service" in 1982, lesbian and service members have become a topic of heated debate. Should sexual identity be a standard for inclusion or exclusion from the U.S. military? Does sexual identity have any impact on military performance? Should lesbian and gay individuals be allowed to enlist and serve as long as they do not reveal their sexual orientation? Should they be able to serve openly? What consequences do these military regulations have for the broader social debate over lesbian and gay rights in the United States? Politicians, military leaders, legislators, judges, activists, and service members have all struggled with these questions.

The introduction of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass" in 1993 addressed some of these concerns, but not all. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," as the policy came to be known, officially prohibits the military from asking recruits or current service members about their sexual orientation. Lesbian, gay,

or bisexual service members, however, are still prohibited from revealing their sexual orientation or engaging in "homosexual conduct" (Belkin and Bateman 2003). Supporters of this policy argue that allowing lesbians and gays to serve openly would be bad for troop morale and damaging to unit cohesion, which could significantly diminish military performance and put other soldiers at risk. They also point out that the military operates under its own rules and regulations, making it immune to state and federal antidiscrimination laws. Opponents of this policy argue that the military's current bias against lesbians and gays is equivalent to its previous opposition to racial integration. They contend that the stigmatization and harassment of lesbian and gay service members are violations of basic rights, and they view the numerous military investigations into the sexual lives of service members as governmental interference into private life. Finally, they argue that any benefits generated by "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" are outweighed by the high costs of investigations and discharge proceedings.

HISTORY BEHIND THE MILITARY'S REGULATION OF SEXUALITY

U.S. military regulation of sexuality goes back as far as the Revolutionary War, when Lieutenant Gotthold Frederick Enslin became the first American soldier to be dismissed for homosexual conduct. In March 1778, Enslin was court-martialed and dishonorably discharged from the Continental Army for his actions. Contemporary conversations about lesbians and gays in the military often reference this incident, but it is important to note that Lieutenant Enslin's removal from the army was not based on his sexual orientation. He was removed for engaging in sexual acts that were prohibited by military law. Until World War II, the military had no specific laws or policies regarding homosexuals. The Articles of War of 1920 classified "sodomy" as a punishable offense, but were applicable to both straight and gay service members (Burrelli 1994).

The lack of specific regulations did not prevent the U.S. military from policing sexual conduct. The Newport Sex Scandal of 1919–1921 was one of the military's first systematic attempts to purge gay service members from the ranks. Afraid that sailors stationed at the Navy base in Newport, Rhode Island, were in danger of being morally corrupted by the local gay community, the Navy set out to investigate. They recruited several enlisted sailors to entrap and then testify against suspected "perverts" in court (Brenkert 2003). During the course of this investigation, a number of sailors were caught, court-martialed, and sent to prison. Prominent civilians, such as the Reverend Samuel Neal Kent, were also caught up in the dragnet, bringing the investigation—and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Delano Roosevelt—to national attention. Significantly, the scandal did not result from the navy's findings, but rather from the graphic accounts given by the young sailors who had volunteered for the investigation.

Lesbians and gays were not officially excluded from military service until World War II, when the introduction of standardized psychological screening shifted the military's focus from homosexual conduct to homosexual status. In 1942, the army revised its draft regulations to include criteria for differentiating

KEY DATES

1778: Lieutenant Gotthold Frederick Enslin becomes the first American soldier dismissed from the American military for homosexual conduct.

1919: Navy orders first systematic investigation into allegations of homosexual conduct at Newport naval base. Numerous sailors are entrapped, court-martialed, and sent to prison.

1942: United States Army begins to mandate screening of sexual orientation for all who enlist.

1950: Uniform Code of Military Justice standardizes exclusion of lesbians and gays from all branches of the armed services.

1982: Pentagon declares that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

1994: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy is enacted by the 1994 Defense Authorization Act.

2005 and 2007: Representative Martin Meehan introduces and reintroduces Military Readiness Enhancement Act, which seeks to overturn "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

between homosexual and "normal" draftees, and added procedures for rejecting those who were not deemed "normal" by the screening protocol. Women who wished to enlist in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) were screened using the same criteria, although homosexuality did not become an official reason for disqualification until most of the WAC recruiting had been completed (Berube 1990). During this time, the high demand for service members meant that many of the regulations were loosened or ignored to allow gays and lesbians to enlist and serve. After the war was over, however, Congress enacted the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which standardized the military's restrictive approach to homosexuality across all branches of the armed services.

As the lesbian and gay rights movement emerged in the United States in the 1970s, military policy on homosexuality became the subject of both protest and legal challenge. Although this movement was unsuccessful in overturning the ban against gays and lesbians serving in the military, it did uncover enough inconsistencies in enforcement to prompt the military to review and revise its regulations in the early 1980s. The new policy sought to establish more uniform procedures for discharging lesbian and gay service members and to identify the extenuating circumstances under which those who had engaged in homosexual conduct might be retained. But the basic approach to lesbians and gays in the military remained—the first sentence of Department of Defense Directive 1332.14 reads: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

"DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL"

The development and enactment of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" in the early 1990s remains one of the most significant—and most contested—revisions of military policy on homosexuality. In 1993, shortly after taking office, President Bill

WHAT IS "DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL"?

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" refers to the current policy on lesbians and gays serving in the U.S. armed forces. According to this policy, the military is prohibited from asking recruits or current service members questions about their sexual orientation; and lesbians, gays, and bisexuals currently serving in the military are prohibited from revealing their sexual orientation or engaging in homosexual conduct. This policy was the product of a compromise reached between President Clinton, the Pentagon, and Congressional leaders, and was enacted in 1994.

Clinton announced that he planned to fulfill his campaign promise by lifting the ban on lesbians and gays in the military. He gave Secretary of Defense Les Aspin six months to draft a new policy, one that would end discrimination based on sexual orientation in the U.S. military. While waiting for this policy, President Clinton ordered the Department of Defense to stop asking military recruits about their sexual orientation, and asked that those who were being discharged under the current policy be placed on stand-by.

Clinton's proposals were strongly opposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, high-ranking Pentagon officials, Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC) chair Sam Nunn (D-GA), and many conservative members of Congress. While Secretary of Defense Aspin commissioned studies on the current policy, both the SASC and the House Armed Services Committee held numerous hearings on the topic, during which Pentagon officials, military commanders, service members, and various experts testified on the potential impact of allowing lesbians and gays to serve openly in the U.S. military. The majority of the testimony offered was in opposition to lifting the ban (Herek 1996).

The final outcome of this controversy was "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass," a title that reflects the compromise reached in the new policy. Before "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," military officials were permitted to ask potential recruits or current service members about their sexual orientation to prevent the enlistment or initiate the removal of lesbians and gays from the military. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" prohibits military officials from asking direct questions about sexual orientation, but it also prevents lesbians and gays wishing to enlist and serve from saying or doing anything that would reveal their sexual orientation to others. They are also prohibited from engaging in any type of homosexual conduct, whether on duty or off duty. Also, if a commander believes that a service member has demonstrated a "propensity" for homosexual conduct, discharge proceedings can be initiated (Halley 1999). That lesbians and gays are now allowed to serve as long as they don't serve openly has done little to dampen the debate over gays and lesbians in the armed forces.

ARGUMENTS FOR UPHOLDING THE BAN

Individuals and organizations opposed to lesbians and gays serving openly in the U.S. military offer various arguments in support of their position. Moral

values certainly play a role in this debate, but the most common arguments involve issues of military necessity and key distinctions between military and civilian law. During the Congressional hearings held in 1993, for instance, Pentagon officials testified that lesbians and gays must be banned from military service to maintain necessary levels of troop morale, unit cohesion, and discipline.

These arguments have less to do with the actual performance in the military, and more to do with the responses of heterosexual service members to lesbians and gays in their own units (Halley 1999). During basic training and deployment, military personnel live in close proximity to one another. Service members also have little to no privacy when they dress or shower. Proponents of banning lesbians and gays from military service argue that allowing homosexuals to train and reside with heterosexuals would be like giving male service members the opportunity to observe female service members in various states of undress. Service members would feel awkward or uncomfortable and troop morale would decrease significantly.

Openly lesbian or gay service members are also viewed as a threat to unit cohesion. Unit cohesion is generally defined as the fostering of mutual trust and commitment to one's fellow soldiers, and is necessary for both overcoming hardship and achieving military objectives. Proponents of the ban contend that even if military officers are instructed to exhibit tolerance, the homophobic culture of the military will lead to tension and additional violence between gay and straight service members (Herek 1996). They also argue that the inclusion of lesbians and gays in sex-segregated units will increase the possibility of sexual harassment and precipitate breakdowns in the chain of command.

Finally, those who support the military's right to exclude or discharge service members based on sexual orientation point out that the military acts under its own laws, rules, and regulations; that service members are faced with a number of restrictions on their personal behavior that would not be acceptable for civilians; and that the U.S. military is immune to both federal and state laws prohibiting discrimination (Ray 1993). Important distinctions between civilian and military law help to account for the failure of numerous legal challenges to "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

ARGUMENTS FOR ALLOWING LESBIANS AND GAYS TO SERVE OPENLY

Because they are arguing against the status quo, gay-rights advocates and others who favor overturning the current ban have to both refute the arguments of their opponents and offer their own arguments for allowing lesbians and gays to serve openly in the military. They have uncovered studies commissioned by the Department of Defense and conducted independent research to dispute the claim that lesbian and gay service members are bad for troop morale or disruptive to unit cohesion. According to these advocates, recent surveys of enlisted military personnel show a marked increase in the number of service members who say they would be comfortable serving alongside lesbian and gay service members (Kuhr 2007).

WHY CAN'T LESBIANS AND GAYS SERVE OPENLY IN THE U.S. MILITARY?

Department of Defense Directive 1332.14, formalized in 1982, contains many of the military's main arguments against lesbians and gays serving in the armed forces: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the Military Services to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among service members; to ensure the integrity of the system of rank and command; to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of service members who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; to recruit and retain members of the Military Services; to maintain public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breaches of security."

From the perspective of advocates on this side of the debate, the military ban is symbolic of a more general refusal to grant full citizenship rights to lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. Like the right to vote or the right to enter into legal contracts, military service is a key "marker" of citizenship in the United States (Belkin and Bateman 2003). The controversy that surrounded the integration of African Americans into the U.S. armed forces in 1948 contained the same tension between military inclusion and social progress. Opponents of the current ban point out that the military advanced similar arguments in this debate, stating that the integration of racial minorities would jeopardize military performance by dampening morale and damaging unit cohesion. Pursuing this analogy, they contend that the general success of racial integration in the U.S. military—and the number of foreign militaries who now allow lesbians and gay men to serve openly—suggests that overturning the ban would not adversely affect military performance.

Moving from principles to procedural issues, opponents of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" argue that the policy costs too much, and that the money and time it takes to investigate and discharge could be better spent elsewhere. According to a California blue ribbon commission report released in 2006, the policy cost American taxpayers $364 million and resulted in the loss of almost 10,000 service members in its first decade (White 2006).

CONCLUSION

More than 25 years after the U.S. military said that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service," the country finds itself facing a combination of historical and cultural factors that are likely to have a significant impact on the debate over lesbians and gays in the military. In the face of an extended war in Iraq, the military has been forced to step up recruiting efforts and prolong tours of duty, but a troop shortage remains. It is clear that the discharge

or exclusion of particular service members has come into conflict with military necessity.

At the same time, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has been denounced by dozens of former senior military officers and service members. John Shalikashvili, an army general who was head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when the Pentagon adopted the policy, changed his mind and came out against it in early 2007. In 2005, Representative Martin Meehan (D-MA) introduced the Military Readiness Enhancement Act, which would allow lesbians and gays to serve openly in the military. The bill had 122 co-sponsors, but failed to pass the Republican-controlled House. Meehan, a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, reintroduced the measure in February 2007, reinvigorating the debate over gays and lesbians in the U.S. military.

See also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Movements; Military History; Sexual Identity and Orientation; Sexual Orientation and the Law.

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Carrie Anne Platt

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MAIL-ORDER BRIDES

Mail-order brides are chosen by their prospective husbands through self-described advertisements in catalogs, newspapers, Internet sites, or video clips, or through marriage broker services that are paid a fee to make introductions in the hope of a marriage. This practice is viewed by feminists as possible only in a patriarchial society that views women as property and men as owners of that property. Supporters of the practice, in contrast, argue that marriages arranged through a third party, whether through parents or a marriage broker agency, have been a part of most societies historically and can be as fulfilling as non-arranged marriages.

BACKGROUND

Since the 1970s, an increasing number of women in the United States have worked outside their homes, breaking with traditional notions of the nuclear family with a stay-at-home mother and a father who works to support the family. During the 1980s and 1990s, many men from the United States and other Western nations began looking outside their own countries for more "suitable" women to marry, women who would fulfill more traditional roles as stay-at-home wives and mothers. Usually, these men are financially secure individuals who look for wives through the Internet, catalogs, marriage agencies, newspapers, and magazines. The women who marry men from Western cultures through these channels have come to be known as mail-order brides. Mail-order brides advertise themselves or use others to advertise their marriage eligibility and are then "ordered" by men who respond to the advertisements.

THE "CASKET GIRLS": MAIL-ORDER BRIDES
IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Since colonial days, mail-order brides have been part of American life. Many people who live in the New Orleans region, for example, claim to be descended from the original "casket girls," a term derived from the chests in which women sent from France by Louis XV to marry Louisiana colonists carried their belongings (Garin 2006).

Thousands of women from all over the world are advertised as available for marriage to strangers. Most of these women are from developing countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, Ukraine, Colombia, Russia, and the Philippines. Women who sign up to become mail-order brides often hope to escape economic poverty and oppression (Sun 1998). Some mail-order brides live happy and successful married lives, while others end up being abused or treated as slaves. The wives in these situations often feel that they are trapped in their marriage arrangements. Language barriers and a lack of resources prevent women from reporting abuse or choosing to leave if domestic violence occurs.

THE DEBATE: SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS
OF THE MAIL-ORDER BRIDE INDUSTRY

Supporters of the mail-order bride industry feel that marriages set up through international introduction services or marriage broker agencies can be just as fulfilling as nonarranged marriages—or at times even more successful. According to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS), mail-order marriages and other forms of arranged marriage have a lower divorce rate, at 20 percent, in comparison to the nation's average of 50 percent for nonarranged marriages. People who support the mail-order bride industry often feel that the mail-order marriage broker services help to preserve family values from further disintegration at the hands of the feminist movement, encourage families to stay together, and maintain the traditional patriarchal societal order. Any regulations imposed on the mail-order bride industry are strongly opposed by the men seeking mail-order brides, especially in the United States, because these men feel that the American government has no right to have any say in how its citizens meet and marry their spouses, whether through a national dating service or international introduction services (Bunagan 2006).

Although 80 percent of the marriages arranged through mail-order services appear to be successful, some brides end up being abused or treated as slaves (for details, see Immigration and Naturalization Service [now USCIS] reports and studies). Many are subjected to all types of abuse from their husbands, who seek out women whom they believe they can control. Because men have paid large amounts of money through agencies and paid for the women's transportation to the country where the potential husbands reside, they feel that they own their wives. The inequity of the relationship is further complicated by the mail-order brides' immigrant status. Even if the wives want to report the battering they

experience, they often feel that they are trapped, because they are afraid that if they report any violence in their homes perpetrated by their husbands, they will be deported. They choose instead to tolerate the abuse. Language barriers prevent women from finding out how to report abuse or obtain help in leaving their husbands if domestic violence occurs.

MAIL-ORDER BRIDES AROUND THE WORLD

Asia

The American mail-order bride industry has become a multibillion-dollar business, marketing women from developing countries as potential brides to men in Western nations (Sun 1998). Significant numbers of mail-order brides come from Asia because Asian wives are highly desired by Western men (So 2006). Because Asian women are perceived as more likely to maintain traditional family values than most Western women, some Western men seek out Asian women. Filipinas are often stereotyped as "dream wives" because they are perceived as faithful and as good mothers. Because of this stereotyping, the Philippines are currently the largest exporter of mail-order brides, and Filipinas outnumber prospective mail-order brides from any other country (So 2006). Every year, an estimated 5,000 Filipina mail-order brides marry Americans. Between 1986 and 1997, an estimated 55,000 Filipinas entered the United States to marry Americans (Vergara 2000).

In 1990, Philippines President Corazon Aquino signed a law that outlawed the bride trade but to little effect. To date, women of all social classes continue to be lured by the hope and expectation of better lives and opportunities in the United States. In general, many women from Asian countries opt to become mail-order brides as a way to escape the poverty and hardship of living in a developing country; often, once they are in the United States, they send money home to help support their families. They become mail-order brides to help their families, but the arrangement seldom works out as hoped. Once in the United States, these women generally have little connection to Asian-American communities and often do not know where to go in case of abuse. Asian mail-order brides are often vulnerable to abuse since their husbands feel that they own their wives. Women often feel that they have the obligation to be "perfect" wives because they are indebted to their husbands for rescuing them from the poverty and hardship of their lives back home.

Africa

Although there are no detailed reports on mail-order brides in Africa, trafficking and prostitution in women and children of various ages is believed to be a large-scale problem. In Algeria, for example, during the 1990s, women who were targeted for their ethnicity, religion, or assumed secularism were kidnapped and made into sex slaves by rebels fighting in the name of Islamic revolution (Crossette 1998). Children are the largest group to be at risk of trafficking and prostitution in Africa; in Togo and Benin alone, local nongovernmental

organizations (NGOs) have estimated that more than 700 children (both girls and boys) were recaptured on the Benin-Togo border and the Benin-Nigerian border during 1997 and returned to their families (*All Africa News* 1998). In Ghana, a bill was introduced in 1998 stating that anyone involved in the enslavement of others, including Trokosi priests (priests who enslaved girls to become wives of gods), would be punished (Equality Now 1998). Since the introduction of this bill, some Trokosi churches have given up their tradition. Some countries, such as South Africa, have become international transit zones for child pornography and prostitution (Kirmire 1998). In general, women and children throughout Africa tend to be more at risk of forced sexual slavery or forced marriage during periods of civil war.

The Americas

The mail-order bride industry not only affects women in Africa and Asia but women in the Americas as well. With the high demand for foreign brides and the widespread popularity of the internet, the mail-order industry spread to the Americas, especially Latin America, during the 1990s (Miteva 2006). A study conducted by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service shows that mail-order brides from Latin America are often among those who become victims of gendered violence after marriage, with some instances of abuse resulting in murder (Northam 2003).

Scholars and academics focusing on the mail-order bride industry often highlight the exploitation of underprivileged women in developing countries by Western men. But in developed and progressive societies of the Americas, the mail-order bride industry has successfully appealed to middle-class and/or professional Latina women. Many Latina women are drawn into the mail-order bride industry upon answering advertisements after reading success stories of married couples on marriage broker Web sites. For Latina women, American men represent opportunities for a stable, middle-class lifestyle and increased status within their families and communities. In addition, a myriad Latina women report dissatisfaction with the way they are treated in Latin America and feel American men would be more equitable marriage partners (Schaeffer-Grabiel 2006).

American men view Latina women as especially desirable in marriage based on the stereotypes of Latina women as being better mothers and more passionate, feminine, family oriented, willing to please men sexually, willing to put husband and family ahead of themselves, untainted by modern capitalism, seductive, and accustomed to large age differences. Some American men even go as far as to believe that women from Latin America have better genes than American women. A majority of American men seeking foreign brides also cite frustration in relationships with American women, who are often perceived as being dominant, career oriented, selfish, rude, obnoxious, and materialistic. The mail-order industry appeals to men who are interested in submissive women who would permit men increased authority and a central role within the family. In addition, these men blame the disintegration of male-dominated and middle-class family structures on feminism, the increased number of women in

the workforce, and women of color who are welfare recipients. Latina women, according to these men, will protect the moral fabric of the family and elevate the men's social capital by accepting the patriarchal notion of a traditional wife and family (Schaeffer-Grabiel 2006). Like Asian and Russian women, who tend to be highly desired in the mail-order bride industry for what are assumed to be their submissive qualities, Latina women are eroticized and desired for their submissiveness. In advertisements, many such women are portrayed as educated, beautiful, and in favor of traditional family values.

Today, in the United States there are as many as 200 mail-order agencies, making the United States a global leader in the industry. Several heartbreaking stories concerning the fate of foreign mail-order brides in the United States have captured the nation's headlines. For example, Anastasia King, a 20-year-old woman from Kyrgyzstan, met her American husband through a mail-order bride service. After she was murdered by her husband in 2000, the investigators discovered that the husband had had a restraining order against him from a former mail-order bride. In 1995, a pregnant Filipina, Susana Blackwell, was shot to death by her husband outside a courthouse in Seattle, Washington, during divorce hearings. In 2003, Alla Barney, a 26-year-old Ukrainian, was stabbed to death by her husband (Garin 2006).

In the light of these tragic events, there have been some recent efforts to regulate the mail-order industry in the United States. Human rights activists, legislators, and others are hoping that criminal background checks will help to protect women's rights and ensure that women are properly informed of their legal rights. President George W. Bush signed into law the International Marriage Broker Regulation Act of 2005, an act that will regulate the mail-order industry by requiring that prospective foreign brides be provided with information about American men's martial and criminal backgrounds, including information obtained from a search of state and federal sex-offender registries (Garin 2006). Earlier, the U.S. Congress passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, which evaluates the efforts to combat trafficking made by governments in other countries. For those governments that fail to meet certain standards, economic sanctions that adversely affect trade will be put in place. Various marriage broker services that set up European tours and put American men in touch with women from other countries, such as Russia or Ukraine, fear that business will be weakened or lost due to increased federal regulation. Supporters of marriage broker services argue that the services help to build strong families by encouraging marriage (Northam 2003).

Europe

There are three main sex trafficking routes in Europe: the Balkan route into Italy or Greece, the Baltic route from Russia and Asia into Finland or Germany, and the Mediterranean route from northern Africa into Spain or Italy. Many women are enticed into the mail-order industry by bogus mail-order bride advertisements placed in newspapers, in magazines, or on the Internet. Men then develop women's trust through constant e-mails and telephone conversations.

When women decide to meet these men in person, they become at risk of being taken as victims in the sex-trafficking industry, where women are forced to participate in sexual activities to repay the costs incurred during transportation to destination countries, the cost of food, housing, and medical expenses, and any other fees (Sulavik 2003).

Marriage broker services often set up European tours to introduce men to prospective brides through lavish social get-togethers, lasting as long as four hours or more, at which the ratio of women to men is at least five to one. Some tours may cost as much as $4,000 for two weeks (Garin 2006). Men are provided with clean hotels, transportation, and translators. During the tour, they hope to find their brides and begin the paperwork needed to bring the brides back to the United States. Among some men, European women, especially those in Ukraine, have a reputation for being wild, uninhibited, and open minded, qualities that are viewed by some as ideal for wives.

European women struggle to find men, often citing population imbalance due to wars and the shorter life expectancy for men. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency reports that the ratio of men to women in Ukraine is 86 men to every 100 women. In the United States, there are 97 men for every 100 women. As a result of the shortage of men, European women turn to the mail-order bride industry in the hope of finding men of their dreams and having a family (Garin 2006).

CONCLUSION

According to human rights activists, even the strictest regulations fail to address the fundamental problem of the mail-order bride industry. From their perspective, it is a form of sexual exploitation that is no different from prostitution. In fact, it may even be worse than prostitution, because marriage contracts and immigration laws give it a more permanent nature. Impoverished women surrender their lives and sexuality because they hope to obtain economic security—but their dreams for a better life often turn into the cruelest nightmares. Woman are abused and treated as slaves. Often because of language barriers, cultural barriers, and fear, for example, women tolerate the many wrongs that are done to them. This leads to a lifetime of injustice, often unreported or ignored by the government, or even to death.

Despite these criticisms, proponents of the mail-order bride industry continue to view arranged marriage through third parties as an acceptable practice. They view this industry as a modern version of a practice that has existed for centuries in many societies, and they point out that arranged marriages can be strong and lasting. Because the industry has only recently begun to be regulated, little research has been conducted on the practices of the industry, and much has yet to be understood in terms of the positive and negative outcomes of these marriages for the women and men who participate in them.

See also Human Rights: International Laws and Policies; Sex Trafficking.

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Sara Collins and Arlyn Penaranda

MEDIA IMAGES OF WOMEN: ADVERTISING

Debates about women and advertising concern whether or not advertising directly affects women's identities and roles in society, including their self-esteem, their purported sexualization or objectification, and reported increases in eating disorders and violence against women.

BACKGROUND

Images of women in advertising have been analyzed from various perspectives and span several decades of reforms in the advertising industry. Today, over $266 billion are spent annually on advertising. Average Americans will spend three years of their lives looking at advertisements (Campbell, Martin, and Fabos 2007; Kilbourne 1999). Advertising has crept into some of the most intimate spaces, such as bathroom stalls, and can be seen plastered over bus sides, benches, billboards, grocery carts, magazine covers, and other people's clothing. It seems to be that everywhere one looks there is a label or logo, sometimes with messages, written or symbolic, sometimes just the brand name. Advertisements can be dismissed as silly, inconsequential, sometimes entertaining, and mostly harmless (Kilbourne 1999). Many people do dismiss them in this way. However, some critical theorists disagree, arguing that the effects of advertisements are

much greater than simply instilling brand recognition in consumers. They argue that advertisements both construct and reflect reality, and that the reality they create is a damaging one, particularly to women (Cortese 2004).

Advertisers themselves argue that they are only doing their job, that it is what they get paid to do in the mass media marketplace. Depending on whom you speak to, advertising stimulates the economy, provides information to consumers, and provides greater choice and competition among consumer goods. Critics of advertising state that it is deceptive and manipulative, that it raises the prices of consumer goods, that it promotes false and unattainable expectations and realities (Campbell, Martin, and Fabos 2007; Cortese 2004), and that it exacerbates and exploits stereotypes as well as ideals harmful to individuals. Critics of advertising agree that its effects on women's self-esteem and body image are harmful, but it is important to note that different critics view the advertising industry in differing ways. Some critics of advertising believe the advertising industry is unethical because it does not act on the negative effects of advertising that have been found in studies. Others attribute broader, more political motives to advertising, with the idea that its effects are known, intentional, and part of a larger agenda created to weaken women, especially after the rise of the second wave feminist movement.

HISTORY OF THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY

Advertising has steadily grown over the last hundred years, and now generates a larger amount of revenue and influence than ever before. All mass media outlets are supported by two sources of revenue. The first is user fees, which include items such as subscriptions, the single-copy sale of magazines, and television and Internet fees. The other source of revenue is advertising. Advertisers seek out different media outlets because they target different consumers. Demographic research is conducted on subscribers and hawked to advertisers (Kilbourne 1999). Advertisements are placed in response to the audience for the medium.

Advertising is defined as a "mass mediated attempt to persuade" (Cortese 2004, 3). Persuasion has steadily taken a larger role over the last century. Earlier advertisements were created for the primary purpose of informing. Advertisements announced land sales and stagecoach schedules, for example. Early newspapers and magazines refused to carry advertisements. In contrast, contemporary magazines average about half editorial content and half advertisements (Campbell, Martin, and Fabos 2007; Kilbourne 1999). Paradoxically, although the abundance of advertisements keeps subscription costs low, the advertisements themselves make brand name products more expensive. The first advertising agency, Volney Palmer, was created in 1841. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, there are more than thirteen thousand advertising agencies in existence (Campbell, Martin, and Fabos 2007). These agencies are so numerous and profitable because of the enormous amount of revenue they generate. To cite some contemporary statistics, the average television commercial costs $250,000 to produce, and another $250,000 in payment for airtime. The

advertising industry's money pays for more than 60 percent of newspapers' and magazines' costs. Advertising pays $40 billion to television and radio annually and $30 billion to newspapers and magazines (Kilbourne 1999). Many media critics contend that with so much money at stake, contemporary media outlets and their featured content are being influenced in ways profitable to advertisers and deceptive to consumers. Media critics such as Jean Kilbourne state that the advertising agencies and the corporations that back them influence the media in various ways. Kilbourne argues that the editors of magazines, television programs, and newspapers edit content to remove any negative or conflicting information about the products advertised, and that supposedly objective editorials are sometimes not so objective. Kilbourne would argue that the placement of an editorial about how high heels make one feel more empowered next to an advertisement for Gucci shoes is not coincidental.

CURRENT DEBATES ON WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

The debates about gender and advertising involve a series of questions. The first question to consider is: Are there harmful gendered effects from advertising? If yes, what are these effects? And are the effects a result of ignorance on the advertising industry's part, of negligence, or of failure to put things right, or are they the result of malice—that is, is the advertising industry maliciously targeting women with messages the industry knows are harmful, in order to achieve some sort of larger, sexist objectives?

Media critics such as Susan Douglas, Naomi Wolf, and Jean Kilbourne contend that advertising images are in fact harmful to women, that media portrayals of women are sexist, racist, unattainable, and exploitative, and that media portrayals of women have obvious effects, whether intended or unintended. These critics address a range of effects, including negative effects on women's self-image; increased rates of eating disorders; sexualization, objectification, and racialization of women; and increased rates of violence against women. Although these critics have slightly different ideas on how and why advertising functions in its portrayal of women, they universally agree that advertising involving and directed at women impacts women negatively.

THE EFFECTS OF ADVERTISING ON WOMEN'S SELF-IMAGE AND THE OBJECTIFICATION OF WOMEN'S BODIES

In marketing to a general audience, most advertisements use the "association principle." This principle involves associating a product with a positive and usually unrelated image. Potential consumers will see advertisements involving a naked woman draped over a car hood, or a woman with shoes or a purse covering her otherwise naked breasts. The mantra that "sex sells" applies here. While the association principle is not in itself harmful—one cannot blame advertisers for wanting their products to be associated with happiness—media critics argue that the link between commodifying feelings such as happiness or sexual desire and commodifying women as people is harmful. This is commonly referred to

as the objectification of women; that is, seeing the women in the advertisements as objects and then treating women in the real world accordingly (Campbell, Martin, and Fabos 2007). Jean Kilbourne contends that the practice of dismemberment, which occurs at a higher rate in advertisements involving women and includes cutting women's body parts out of the frame of the advertisement and showing women as parts of something else, usually an inanimate object, is linked to violence against women. Both Jean Kilbourne and Naomi Wolf argue that the "culture of thinness and perfection," which has evolved from the presentation of atypically thin and conventionally beautiful models in advertisements, is harmful to women, playing a part in their plummeting self-esteem and body image and in the rise in eating disorders. Jean Kilbourne and Susan Douglas also argue that the contradictory messages shown to women through advertisements are harmful and difficult for women and girls to reconcile.

Jean Kilbourne believes that the main fault in the advertising industry is its lack of change and its continued objectification of women. Kilbourne's views reflect the argument that, yes, the intent of advertisements is to sell a product, but the other, maybe unintended, consequences of advertising cannot be ignored. In her book, *Deadly Persuasion: Why Women and Girls Must Fight the Addictive Power of Advertising,* as well as her video lecture series *Killing Us Softly,* first produced in 1979, Kilbourne critiques the advertising industry. In her video lecture "Slim Hopes," she examines in depth the effect of the atypically thin and perfect models on the way women perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. In Kilbourne's view, the negative effects lie in the cumulative compounding of the advertisements that women see every day. Research studies conducted at Stanford University and the University of Massachusetts found that 70 percent of college women feel worse about themselves after looking at women's

DOVE'S "REAL BEAUTY CAMPAIGN"

In 2005, Dove launched its "Real Beauty Campaign," claiming: "At Dove we believe that every woman's look, shape, and spirit are what creates her own unique beauty." The advertisements for Dove's products show women who are atypical of the models one is used to seeing in advertisements: none of the women in Dove's advertisements is a size 2 or lower. The products marketed in this campaign are firming creams, anti-aging creams, and lotions. While many welcomed the campaign as a step forward, in that it provides some relief from the barrage of waif-like models seen in ads, some feminists and critics dispute this. Jennifer Ponzer, a writer for *Bitch* magazine, claims that despite all its pro-real-women rhetoric, the Dove campaign is still a marketing design, and that it states and exploits a co-opted message of feminism. Many critics feel that the ads are manipulative. Further complicating the debate is the fact that Unilever, which markets Axe body spray in a campaign that many consider blatantly objectifies women, is also the parent company of Dove and its "Real Beauty Campaign." Most critics have mixed feelings, believing that this is a step in the right direction, but that Dove's campaign is insincere.

magazines (Kilbourne 1999, 133). According to the results of this study, the cumulative effect of the advertisements in which we are immersed, all showing the "perfect body," is to lead women to believe that such an unattainable figure is normal, and that they should feel guilty and bad about themselves if they fail to attain it. Kilbourne argues that advertisers use our emotions against us, our desire for happiness and fulfillment—and our guilt (Kilbourne 1999, 132).

GENDER AND RACIAL STEREOTYPES IN ADVERTISING

Stereotyping in advertising spans race, class, and gender, capitalizing on our interpreted desires to try and persuade us to buy the product or service advertised. While it is true that this tactic spans genders, Kilbourne argues that advertisements directed at women are often directly contradictory in ways that men do not experience, and that women are objectified to a much higher degree than men. To give an example, Kilbourne focuses on the way that food is often shown by advertisers as a comfort for women who are upset; that is, women are urged to become obsessed with chocolate, cake, and ice cream. However the twist lies here: women are told by hundreds of advertisements a day that they really should love these foods, but they should not look as if they do. An advertisement for chocolate frosting is followed by a diet ad showing an impossibly thin model in a bikini. This is an example of a double bind, a contradiction that women must reconcile, but one in which there is really no possibility of winning. Women experience double binds in many different messages given by advertising, not just food-related messages. Kilbourne argues that the double binds keep women insecure and looking to products for their solution, products about which advertisers are more than happy to inform us. Kilbourne argues that while the advertisements are probably not designed deliberately to prey, in a hidden fashion, on those who have food addictions or disorders, their creators certainly know about the existence of eating disorders. When it comes to issues of weight and fat, it is important to note the stigma that has resulted from the changing body images presented by advertisers to women. In Kilbourne's words, "In the old days, bad girls got pregnant, in these days, they get fat" (Kilbourne 1999, 120). What is now a $36-billion-a-year diet industry benefits from the stereotype of the ultra-thin woman, although Kilbourne acknowledges that the advertising industry does not directly cause eating disorders; rather, she argues, it promotes abusive and abnormal attitudes toward women's physical selves.

Advertisements present an unattainable and contradictory ideal image of women and girls, the ideal image being someone who both loves sweets and eats them with abandon yet is thinner than 95 percent of women; someone who both is sexually knowledgeable and seductive yet naïve and innocent; someone who is eternally youthful despite the natural aging process. Advertisements also predominantly reflect white standards of beauty, with the norm being lighter-skinned models with straight hair and blue or green eyes. African American women are often portrayed in outdoor scenes, associated with or dressed up like animals. Asian women are portrayed as china dolls, as erotic, passive sex objects,

while Latina women are portrayed as seductive, "luscious Latinas" (Cortese 2004, 90, 97, 101, 104).

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

One of the worst effects of all, Kilbourne argues, is the link between violence against women and portrayals of women in advertising. It is this, she argues, that differentiates portrayals of women and portrayals of men in advertising. Women are objectified passively, and sexuality is mixed with violence. An ad for a bar in Georgetown states, "If your date won't listen to reason, try a velvet hammer." Kilbourne contends that this is disturbing because of the prevalence of alcohol in most date rape cases. She also states that the objectification and dismemberment to which women are subjected in advertisements, particularly alcohol advertisements, contribute to violence against women. The first step in abusing a person is to turn that person into a thing, such as a beer bottle or car (Kilbourne 1999, 274). The advertising industry acknowledges the sexism in alcohol advertisements in a 1991 editorial in the advertising magazine *Advertising Age:* "Clearly, it's time to wipe out sexism in beer ads" (Kilbourne 1999, 278). Yet the ads have continued to proliferate on television and in magazines. Kilbourne points out that the climate that is created and shown as reality has unrealistic and harmful connotations for women. While she does not strongly condemn advertisements as malicious attempts to devalue women, she does critique the lack of action on the part of advertisers to act upon the effects that have manifested themselves.

ADVERTISING AND THE POLITICS OF BEAUTY

Naomi Wolf, author of the 1989 book *The Beauty Myth,* states that advertising's portrayal of women is a direct and malicious response to women's liberation. As in the 1920s, when Marlboro marketed its cigarettes to newly liberated women, Naomi Wolf argues that women are offered beauty as liberation in contemporary times. Wolf argues that women are offered the chance to change the world … with their hairdryer. She calls the advertising world's portrayal of women a "beauty backlash," which she names "the beauty myth," and argues that "images of female beauty are used against women as a political weapon against women's advancement" (Wolf 1989, 10). Wolf contends that beauty pornography, a type of advertising where commodified beauty is linked to sexuality, is used to sell products. Using cultural standards as a means of control, women's empowerment through feminism is being co-opted through advertising promising advancement through nail polish while continuing to objectify women. Wolf compares the contemporary ideal of femininity to the iron maiden, a torture device in medieval times. The iron maiden is pretty and smiling on the outside but hides a painful and terrible interior (1989, 17). Wolf not only criticizes the advertising industry for its unattainable and harmful portrayals of women, but she frames images of women in advertising as part of a larger agenda to combat women's power. Wolf calls beauty maintenance—that is, plucking eyebrows and

TIMELINE

1704: The first newspaper advertisement features land deals and ship cargoes.

1841: The first advertising agency, Volney Palmer, opens in Boston.

1914: The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is established to monitor advertising abuses, such as false claims.

1920: Women gain the vote; Marlboro markets its cigarettes to women as "liberation."

1960: Second wave feminism organizes for women's rights.

1968: Feminists protest the Miss America Contest in Atlantic City, Georgia.

1971: The tobacco industry agrees to stop advertising on television.

1976: Sociologist Erving Goffman publishes "Gender Advertisements," a deconstruction of advertisements involving men and women.

1979: Jean Kilbourne releases *Killing Us Softly,* a video lecture series deconstructing advertising's portrayal of women.

1989: Naomi Wolf publishes *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Advertising Are Used against Women.*

2005: Dove Launches its "Real Beauty Campaign."

managing hair—a "third shift" on women's time, adding on to the time spent at work and in the home. This, she argues, is in response to women heading out into the workforce in higher numbers. Not only is showing an unattainable ideal as the norm good business for advertisers, but, Wolf argues, it keeps women running on a treadmill of work, spending both their energy and the wage they earn (which is still only three-quarters of what men earn for the same work) on the carrot dangled in front of them—the products that will supposedly end wrinkles, cellulite, weight gain, and so on. Wolf argues that advertisers intentionally keep women in a self-hating, insecure state because it serves dual purposes, both political and economic.

CONCLUSION

Though advertisers and critics have different viewpoints, the manifest effects of advertising are hard to deny. While 50 years ago, advertisers might be able to state that the effects of advertising were unknown, research and vocal critics have publicized the ways in which sexist and racist attitudes in advertisements influence women's opinions of themselves and men's opinions of women. While some critics, such as Jean Kilbourne, have blamed the industry for its failure to act to remove the harmful effects of advertising, other critics, such as Naomi Wolf, argue that the advertisers knew what they were doing all along, and that they continue to act deliberately to benefit the patriarchy. As advertising continues to gain influence in the media and generate more income in our society, it is important to be media literate—that is, to actively deconstruct what we see in the media, in particular advertising, so that we can see what the advertisements are really selling, and what consumers are buying into.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Industry; Media Images of Women: Music; Media Images of Women: Television and Film.

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Laura Turner

MEDIA IMAGES OF WOMEN: MUSIC

Female musicians' roles in the contemporary music industry have been debated in terms of their limited creative and financial access to musical production, ongoing gender biases concerning their musical talent, and gender and racial stereotypes in music videos and lyrics.

BACKGROUND

Though music as an art form has existed for centuries, the role of women within the contemporary popular music industry has changed dynamically since the inception of this industry. In the genres of rock, hip-hop, punk, and Indie music, female musicians have stated that they face many barriers that do not exist for their male counterparts, such as sexism within the industry, having their work and contributions devalued and exploited by the mass media, and hostility from other musicians and fans. Thus while there are now many commercially successful popular female musicians, ranging from Mary J. Blige to Melissa Etheridge, Sheryl Crow, Madonna, and Cristina Aguilera, most female musicians continue to face a set of institutional and cultural barriers when it comes to the way they are represented in the visual media and reviewed by their peers.

Many female musicians have expressed resentment at the current musical environment, and many of those same musicians have increasingly taken a stance against what they feel is sexist and/or racist exploitation by labels and the media, leading them to produce their own music labels and magazines. Some choose

to incorporate feminist or pro-woman messages into their music, perform at benefits, or create events that feature female artists, events such as the Lilith Fair and the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival.

HISTORY OF WOMEN IN MUSIC

Earlier Western institutions that taught music professionally catered primarily to male students. In European societies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, musical students either studied at a cathedral school or became apprentices to a master musician. Women did not have access to either of these opportunities. Researcher Eva Rieger has found that churches in the Middle Ages barred women from liturgical rites, keeping them from the high music culture of the time. Women were barred from playing in professional orchestras until the early twentieth century, and then they were only allowed to play the harp, because it was deemed a "feminine instrument" (Lewis 1990). This historical exclusion of women from music can be seen as influencing the sexist attitude many females encounter when they begin to play instruments—the attitude that women are not supposed to do so. In rock, this attitude is particularly pervasive, as driving guitars and drums are two hallmarks of the genre. For example, Kristen Pfaff, the bassist of the band Hole, found that she had to work twice as hard to be taken seriously (Raha 2005).

Rieger also describes the beginning of an assumption many contemporary female musicians fight against, that women are not capable of creating their own work. The few women who were involved in the music culture of the times were invited to perform, not create, and thus were not granted the artistic status that comes with the creation of works. Many men asserted that women had a "natural creative deficiency" (Lewis 1990, 57–58). This false assertion has trickled down through history, causing many successful contemporary female musicians, such as Madonna and Courtney Love, to be accused of having a man write some of their best albums for them (Lewis 1990; Raha 2005). Madonna, in particular, was accused of using her sexuality rather than her musical talent to exploit producers and gain an audience. In an accusatory cover story in *Rolling Stone,* printed in 1984, an article about Madonna snidely states, "She's an unqualified success. But did she exploit people to get there?" (Lewis 1990, 130). Accusations of female artists "sleeping their way to the top" are often voiced in the media, while male musicians are rarely accused of such actions.

ISSUES AND DEBATES CONCERNING WOMEN'S INCREASED VISIBILITY IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY, 1970s–1980s

Women in the 1970s, empowered by the feminist movement, began taking a larger role in music. While there had been "girl groups" in the 1950s such as the Shirelles and the Supremes, women in the 1970s began taking more creative control of their music and became more assertive in their messages. However, female singers of the early 1970s still had far to go. The mass media promoted female folk singers who expressed an "asexual, feathery [vocal] lightness," and

female artists were seen mostly singing and writing, with very few playing instruments (Raha 2005, 5). When mainstream female artists were shown as having a sex drive, it was shown or described in a passive, decorative or demure way. In the male-dominated rock music scene, women were still relegated to the sidelines, in what Maria Raha (2005) calls a strict division of labor, with most women expected to play the role of an adoring, swooning fan or a willing sex-toy groupie. The mass media coverage of female musicians, such as it was, promoted the most sellable, most sexualized, and least threatening version of the female artist.

While women in mainstream music continued to gain ground, one of the most notable movements that influenced women's role in music was the underground genre of punk in the 1970s and 1980s. Punk provided an opportunity for women to adopt the genre's do-it-yourself attitude: pick up an instrument, and join or create a band.

In the rock genre, one of the earliest all-female groups was the Runaways, created in 1975. Featuring five teenage girls, the Runaways briefly switched around the typical gender roles of star (male) and fan (female), and used their music to express their sexuality in a more aggressive way then their predecessors, but they were often represented as sexually tantalizing "jailbait." The media and reviewers were also intensely critical of the band. One review of their 1977 album *Queens of Noise* opened with the line: "These bitches suck" (Raha 2005, 24). In fact, many female or female-fronted bands, up to the 1990s, noted how appalled they felt at the vicious language used to describe their members. It has not been uncommon for editors of magazines and reviewers to use sexist language to describe female bands, referring to members as "bitches, cunts, man haters, and dykes" (Raha 2005, 204), making it particularly difficult for women to succeed in the music industry, despite popular perceptions that women were "making it" as rock and other music stars.

The Runaways, being one of the first female-fronted bands in rock, were plagued by an issue that female musicians continue to struggle with, particularly when they take the main stage, that of their sexuality being valued over their music. Female musicians have tried to overcome this obstacle by making subversive statements, for example, artist Suzie Quatro appearing in *Penthouse* clothed from head to toe, or Plasmatics singer Poly Styrene stating that she would shave her head if she ever became a sex symbol (she eventually felt she had become one and did shave her head: see Raha 2005, 88). Wendy O. Williams, another female artist known for her over-the-top stunts, agreed to pose for *Playboy* on condition that she would skydive in the photo. Women consistently face issues concerning their image that are not exemplified in media interpretations of their male peers. Pat Benatar, an artist in the late 1970s, spoke of her ongoing battle with the media and her image. Female artists such as Benatar found that when the spotlight was on her, every viewed action or press article was framed or interpreted in a way that represented the female artist in a stereotypical, objectified female fashion (Lewis 1990). For instance, a *Rolling Stone* article featured Benatar as the "happy homemaker, cleaning up after the boys" (Lewis 1990, 88). In this way, even female musicians who gained fame or success were undermined in their representation in the media.

In 1982, the Go-Gos became the first all-female vocal and instrumental group to make the Top 10 record charts. Like their female predecessors, Go-Gos' members recall the pressure placed on the group by the media and producers to fit a certain image. Bandmember Margot Olaverra spoke later about the "Go-Go diet" that the group was put on by the manager, stating that it made near anorexics out of the girls, and led some members, such as Jane Widlen, to turn to drugs such as crystal meth to lose weight (Raha 2005). Likewise, Debbie Harry of the 1980s band, Blondie, stated her disgust after seeing a poster of herself in a see-through black shirt, saying that it certainly wasn't her idea, and that record companies exercise their power in multiple ways over the artists themselves, and not just over the music that is produced (Raha 2005).

FEMALE MUSICIANS AND MTV

In 1981, MTV created a revolution in musical broadcasting with the introduction of music videos on television. The creation of MTV had some undeniably positive effects on adolescents, particularly females, who were exposed to music from which they had previously been isolated, and MTV's practice of airing previously unknown bands on the channel increased the visibility of some female musicians. However, the music videos shown on MTV overwhelmingly featured men, and the objectification of women in music videos, an issue that is front and center today, was a common occurrence. Naomi Wolf, author of the influential publication, *The Beauty Myth,* argues that MTV set a negative beauty index and role for women and men to imitate and internalize. Wolf addresses the way that sexual violence against women is portrayed in music videos. She states that, for example, Motley Crue's videos have women as sexual slaves in cages, and in a video by Rick James, he rapes his girlfriend. Wolf states that female beauty is shown by MTV for men as "that which never says no and that which is not really human," citing date rape statistics to show the legacy of such messages (Wolf 1989, 164). Also connected to this message is the abuse that women encounter at rock and roll concerts, including sexual assault.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS AND VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN

Many scholars would concur that women encounter the most blatant and widespread hostility in the music genres of rock, hip-hop, and rap, although this too depends largely upon factors such as the band, the producers, and the way their music is represented visually. While hip-hop music, sometimes defined interchangeably as rap yet sometimes viewed as a distinct but related genre, was originally intended to reflect the realities of the street culture out of which it was born, African American women often find themselves trying to deal with many hip-hop singers' treatment of women, in both lyrics and video. Patricia Hill Collins, a noted African American scholar, notes that although the messages in rap may not have been originally intended to do so, many songs now operate as "an important site for the spread of sexism and homophobia" (Hill Collins 2005, 82).

For example, in a music video scene of his song "tip drill," rapper Nelly slides a credit card down a scantily clad dancer's butt crack, and in another song, rapper Eminem sings about how he wants to choke to death his now ex-wife Kim. With peers and images like this permeating the hip-hop scenes, the environment created for female artists in hip-hop such as Eve, Missy Elliot, and Mary J. Blige is undeniably hostile.

Female musicians in rock encounter some similar stereotypes in terms of how women are represented in rock music videos. Another disturbing feature, however, is that women as fans within the rock scene encounter assault and abuse at concerts to a frightening degree. This could be due in part to the messages in rock music regarding women. For example, Limp Bizkit, an artist who fuses rap with rock, claims that much of his music is inspired by his lying, cheating ex-girlfriend. While relationships are common subjects for songs, the issue becomes much more relevant when it "bubbles over into a general, sweeping misogyny" on the part of male artists (Raha 2005, 228). At the 1999 Woodstock festival, several sexual assaults were documented, including two in which women were raped while in the crowd during a band's set.

FEMALE MUSICIANS AND INDEPENDENT LABELS: AN ALTERNATIVE IMAGE

Since the 1970s, many female musicians have chosen to abandon the mainstream musical industry, including the accolades and high salaries that go along with it, in order to create their own independent labels, forms of music, and alternative expressions of women's lives. These musicians range from the early feminist protest singers of the "Women's Music" movement, including those on the famous Redwood Records label, to rockers such as Joan Jett, who created her own label in 1980, Blackheart Records, and subsequently released the hit "I Love Rock and Roll"; Indie rocker Patti Smith, who decided to focus on gender-neutral topics with the aim of creating an "artistic androgyny" (Raha 2005); and Indie musicians such as Ani DiFranco, who has produced at least 18 CDs on her Righteous Babes record label.

In the 1990s, two prominent female-led movements emerged: the Lilith Fair and the Riot Grrls. In 1997, Sarah McLachlan, by then a well-established artist, created the all-female music festival, the Lilith Fair, to showcase female artists. With bands including the Indigo Girls, Erykah Badu, Sheryl Crow, Paula Cole, Cristina Aguilera, Queen Latifah, and Natalie Merchant, among many others, the Lilith Fair was an instant success in many cities around the country, albeit a short-lived one, as the last tour took place in 1999. Lilith Fair organizers donated a small percentage of ticket proceeds to local women's organizations in each community they visited. In many ways, the Lilith Fair combined alternative music with the mainstream music industry, thus making it more of a commercial success than the earlier Women's Music movement.

The success of the Lilith Fair, coupled with the increased commercialization of women's rights, led to further examples of female artists who espoused pro-woman agendas through their work. Since the 1990s, many more female artists

have donated proceeds to organizations with pro-women agendas (Savage 2003). Some bands have also incorporated their political views into their musical tours. For example, the members of L7, a feminist band founded in 1994, created their own record label, Wax Tadpole, and founded the influential Rock for Choice festival in 1991. Their activism became more radical when, in 1999, L7 arranged to have a banner flown over Warped, a touring music festival with an overwhelmingly male line-up, that stated "Warped needs more beaver. . . . Love L7" (Raha 2005).

One of the most notable movements of women in music was the early 1990s Riot Grrl movement. Riot Grrl was born out of the frustration many women still felt with the punk, rock, and Indie scenes of the time. Partly because of the exploratory do-it-yourself attitude of punk and rock, women were inspired to start their own bands and sing about issues that they felt were important. Because Riot Grrl began as an underground movement, there was little control by record labels and producers and more control by the artists themselves. Though the movement was short-lived, in part due to a media blackout and also due to capitalist co-opting, Riot Grrl participants consistently blended feminist messages with their music and wrote songs protesting sexism, rape, abuse, and violence, quite literally putting the "grr" into "girl" (Fudge 2006, 157). Artists and bands

MICHIGAN WOMYN'S MUSIC FESTIVAL

The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival was born out of 1970s radical feminist activism, as a way to create a women-only space where women were involved in every aspect of the festival's financial, physical, and creative production. Since its inception in 1976, the festival has served as an important space for the promotion of "Women's Music," a genre of music influenced largely by lesbian and radical feminisms. The festival is organized, built, and staffed entirely by women. Many attendees camp out during the event, and there are designated "women of color-only," "chem-free," "scent-free," and "over 50s" spaces. In the 1980s, festival organizers collected enough money to purchase a piece of land in Hart, Michigan, where the festival continues to be held annually. Singers such as Cris Williamson, Meg Christian, and Holly Near all have roots in this festival. Tracy Chapman began her career there.

Almost since its inception, the festival has been faced with controversy. Perhaps the biggest issue concerns whether it should be a woman-only space, defined as a space for "women-born women only" (WBWO). Festival organizers do not allow transsexual women to attend, since they view them as "not real women." Founding organizers Lisa Vogel and Barbara Price have publicly stated that "the Michigan Festival . . . always has been an event for women, and this continues to be defined as women born women." As a result of this WBWO attendance policy, transsexual and transgender activists, beginning in the early 1990s, organized an alternative protest festival, Camp Trans, which is held on adjacent land. Some musicians have also proclaimed their disagreement with the WBWO policy on stage or have boycotted the festival altogether.

involved in the Riot Grrl movement consistently released albums on their own or on progressive labels, such as the band Sleater-Kinney, which released records on the Riot Grrl–friendly label, Kill Rock Stars. Riot Grrl bands took a hint from other musicians who were not allowed easy access to the mainstream music industry (including, for example, earlier female and African American musicians and contemporary rap musicians), who, fed up with managers and producers parading them around as novelties, started their own labels.

CONCLUSION

More often than not, female musicians of various genres, including rock, hip-hop, folk, and Indie music, face barriers that male musicians do not, including the way they are (re-)presented in public, treated by producers, and reviewed by their peers. The legacy of excluding women from music is historic, but since the rise of second wave feminism, women have made great strides in being taken seriously as musicians instead of being stereotyped as amateurs or groupies. Mainstream female musicians such as Madonna have made a lasting impact on music, not just because of the groundbreaking, main-stage roles that musicians such as Madonna have played in their careers, but because of the autonomy they have wrested away from producers and managers. While not all musicians have been as commercially successful as Madonna, her self-presentation as an empowered female creates a challenge to historical stereotypes about women's gender roles, including their very roles as musical creators and performers. Today, more women are given credit for their work than ever before. However, the representation and sexualization of female artists, specifically in mainstream pop music, is still a pervasive issue, and misogyny in rap, hip-hop, and rock songs is still an issue that needs to be confronted and resolved. Many female artists have found the most success where they have expended their creative energies in creating their own bands, labels, and events, enabling them to enjoy more artistic and creative freedom. The Riot Grrl movement encouraged women to become more aggressive in their music, and to sing, play, and write about controversial issues that had not been discussed before. As women take more control over their art in the historically male-dominated sphere of music, they continue to move forward and counteract the sexism in the music scene.

See also Feminist Art Practices; Media Images of Women: Advertising; Media Images of Women: Television and Film.

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MEDIA IMAGES OF WOMEN: TELEVISION AND FILM

Since the early twentieth century, representations of women in television and film have changed dramatically, from powerless damsels in distress in the 1940s and 1950s, to butt-kicking, demon-fighting, and financially successful career women in the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century. While many feminists have decried past stereotypical representations of women in popular culture, some have questioned whether current portrayals of women as violent and aggressive are truly leveling the social playing field or whether they continue to represent women through a male gaze.

BACKGROUND

Since the mid-1950s, the women's movement has been one of the most vocal critics of representations of gender roles in television and film. Feminist scholars argue that stereotypical media portrayals of women and men during the early and middle twentieth century kept women in a state of social powerlessness. Popular culture portrayals of women as childlike, passive, dependent, indecisive, physically vulnerable, and emotionally unstable reinforced a social status quo in which men and masculinity are dominant. From the late 1970s through the 1990s, coinciding with the second and third waves of feminism and the women's movement's efforts to diversify portrayals of women in popular culture, gender stereotypes gradually changed. While women in the 1940s and 1950s were predominantly portrayed as housewives, mothers, and victims, from the late 1960s they also began to be shown as independent, assertive, and career minded. Although the mass media continued to frame men within one-dimensional (hegemonic) masculinity, women's portrayals became much broader. This representational diversification was extended to African American women who, historically, had been excluded from or severely marginalized in mainstream television and film. In large part due to the civil rights movement, African American women became less often typecast in roles such as housemaid, mammy, or cook, and were more often seen as independent working professionals.

Much of feminist scholarship has focused on the ways in which women are portrayed in popular culture. Some media scholars suggest that stereotypical media representations of women are harmful because of the sexist political ideologies behind them and the ways in which these reinforce gender inequality in society. Other media scholars contest the notion that media messages have any significant effect on audiences' self-perceptions, on their views of the world, and therefore on society. Instead, they point to debates on the censorship of violence and nudity in popular culture to assert that media effects are not embedded in the messages themselves, but in how society uses these messages. Debates about the alleged effects of violent media on youth, then, fundamentally, serve to mask the true underlying causes behind social problems like youth violence: the damaging effects of hegemonic masculinity or the lack of adequate educational opportunities for many underprivileged young people.

Although the "no-effects" view has its supporters, "direct-media-effects" scholars lean in the opposite direction. A direct-media-effects approach suggests a cause-and-effect relation between media messages, people's self-perceptions, and social problems. Such a link, for instance, is illustrated by studies that suggest a negative correlation between a woman's exposure to gender stereotypes in the media and her levels of self-esteem, potentially leading to eating disorders such as anorexia or bulimia. However, not all media-effects scholars believe this correlation to be direct. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1980), for example, believes that individuals do not passively interpret and internalize media messages but actively negotiate a message's meanings. Media messages are intended to be read in accordance with message producers' preferred meanings. Hall suggests that, instead, messages are interpreted within the contexts of audiences' social and national identities and political convictions, and the social networks in which the messages are discussed. An upper-middle-class African American woman in New York, therefore, is likely to have a different interpretation of the spy-series *Alias* than a working-class woman in China.

Whether direct or indirect, media-effects theories are rooted in the idea that social reality is constructed with help of information dispensed by the media. The concept of media-constructed realities rests on the notion that individuals use media messages to supplement their understanding of the world around them and their positions within it. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) states that when individuals give meaning to the world, they do so through a framework of interpretation. This framework organizes, positions, and negotiates all of the information an individual receives within previously held beliefs and patterns of interpretation. Through these processes, individuals construct social reality. Stereotypes in mass media, thus, are harmful because they fail to question the patriarchic organization of society. By rendering women's voices invisible, a process that media scholar Gaye Tuchman (1978) calls symbolic annihilation, stereotypical representations of women reinforce dominant, hegemonic ideologies about appropriate gender roles in society.

Symbolic annihilation, or mediated invisibility, does not necessarily mean that women are absent from the mass media altogether. Media scholar Margaret Gallagher (2001) suggests that mediated invisibility also includes the nonrepresentation of women's perspectives or the framing of women within male-constructed, biased, contexts. Perpetuation of gender inequality is, therefore, an interactive process; mass media reflect dominant ideologies in society and society in turn relies on media to represent these ideologies. Tuchman's and Gallagher's views show that because media encourage stereotypes and confer social status on groups and individuals, they are potentially powerful agents of socialization and social change.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN IN TELEVISION AND FILM

From the 1950s to the 1970s, men dominated the film and television screens. During this period, less than half of the characters shown were female,

and an even smaller percentage of those characters were shown in paid work contexts. (Tuchman 1978) Women were predominantly portrayed as middle-class housewives, mothers, or daughters. African American, Latina, and Asian American women fared even worse; they were hardly represented in the mainstream media at all, except in roles that reflected and reinforced their marginal social status, like Oscar-winning actress Hatty McDaniel's loyal Mammy in the movie *Gone with the Wind* (1939), Rita Moreno's fiery Anita in the *Romeo and Juliet*–inspired film-musical *West Side Story* (1961), or Miyoshi Umeki's placid bride-to-be Mei Li in the first all–Asian American movie, *Flower Drum Song* (1961).

As a rule of thumb, women on television shows were relegated to the situation comedy genre, where their roles as mothers, daughters, and wives revolved around the family. In these roles, women were portrayed as passive, indecisive, emotionally immature, and insignificant in decision-making processes, thereby reinforcing (white) men's "superior" status within the family and society. Some media scholars criticized the portrayals of women during the 1940s and 1950s as narrow, bearing no resemblance to how women really looked or lived their lives. Gender role portrayals certainly were class and race biased and, to a degree, failed to reflect women's social status with accuracy. However, until the second wave of feminism in the 1960s, white middle-class women were mainly confined to the domestic sphere, to home and caregiving roles in the family, and often excluded from major political and economic decision-making processes in society. Also, for many working-class African American women, domestic employment tended to be one of the few available paid labor options in mainstream society. Thus, while representations of women in the 1940s and 1950s certainly were incomplete and helped to reinforce their socially marginal status, these representations also reflected the ways in which women's social and racial status limited their social and economic opportunities.

In the 1960s, women's roles in television programs started to change. The comedy *Father Knows Best* often focused on mother Margaret Anderson's and eldest daughter Betty Anderson's desires to break free from the chains of domesticity, to gain some financial and social independence, and the conflict these desires caused in the family. Other situation comedies such as *The Lucille Ball Show, I Dream of Jeannie,* or *Bewitched* also focused on women's desire for independence, but framed these desires within narrow definitions of rebellion, for example, by showing wives going against the wishes of their husbands or, in the case of *Jeannie,* her "master." While these comedies proved a step in the right direction, they continued to frame women through a male gaze—within contexts of male authority and dominance. Women's rebellion, as often seen in *The Lucille Ball Show,* tended to be used solely for comedic purposes rather than as critique of social patriarchy.

Feminist media scholars generally credit the 1960s *Mary Tyler Moore Show* as the first prime-time television series to strike a significantly feminist tone. For many women, and some men, its lead character, Mary Richards, a newsroom employee of the fictional Minneapolis-based television station WJM, was a breath of fresh air: an independent, single, career-oriented woman in

JULIA, THE FIRST FEMALE AFRICAN AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS CHARACTER ON PRIME-TIME TELEVISION

In September 1968, the comedy series *Julia* premiered on NBC. *Julia* was a milestone in television history for two reasons. Prior to the 1960s, most prime-time television shows featured mostly middle-class white women in predominantly domestic environments. *Julia,* a nurse, was not only a working woman but was also played by an African American actress, Diahann Carroll. For decades, African American women had largely been absent from prime-time television or relegated to stereotypical supporting and extra roles as domestics and cooks. Some critics considered *Julia,* both the series and the lead character, "too white" to make any significant contributions to political debates about racial diversity. However, the fact that Diahann Carroll had not been typecast and played the lead in a prime-time television series did open doors toward more racial diversity in historically race- and class-biased entertainment formats.

paid employment. However, some noted that Richards tended to be a little too deferential to her boss, Lou Grant, and that her single-woman status reinforced the idea that women could not "have it all." Shows like the 1960s *Julia,* the first prime-time sitcom featuring an African American female lead character, Diahann Carroll, the 1970s *Maude,* and the 1980s *Kate and Allie* were representative of the television industry's attempts to include a more feminist consciousness and discourse in their shows—to diversify women's portrayals in popular culture. Furthermore, crime dramas like the 1970s *Police Woman,* the 1980s *Cagney and Lacey,* and *Murder She Wrote* finally broke with the television industry's tradition of placing women predominantly in situation comedies.

The 1980s and 1990s also introduced audiences to series such as *The Cosby Show, Roseanne, Grace under Fire,* and *Murphy Brown,* which featured women who defied most conventional standards of traditional femininity: age, race, social class, family status, and body image. Although gender stereotypes in television shows still prevailed, in the late twentieth century, women were increasingly shown as emotionally, physically, and sexually assertive and autonomous, as in the teen television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* or the *Hercules* spin-off, *Xena Warrior Princess.* Representation of women in film largely followed the same pattern as on television. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, women predominantly were shown as passive, dependent, and emotionally and physically fragile, waiting for men to either rescue or victimize them. In the late twentieth century, like their counterparts on television, movies such as *The Terminator* (1984), *Working Girl* (1988), *Jackie Brown* (1997), *Charlie's Angels* (2000 and 2003), *Aeyon Flux* (2005), *Ultraviolet* (2006), and *The Devil Wears Prada* (2006) increasingly portrayed women as emotionally and physically assertive, independent, and financially successful.

BUFFY THE VAMPIRE SLAYER'S CULT FOLLOWING

The popular television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* debuted in 1997 on the Warner Bros. Network. The series followed the trials and tribulations of Buffy Anne Summers and her close circle of friends in the small Southern Californian town of Sunnydale. During the day, Buffy and her friends, like all teenagers, attended high school where they dealt with issues like popularity, self-esteem, and sexual confusion. However, at night, Buffy and her friends battled vampires, demons, and other dark forces. The series quickly garnered a large cult and academic following. Academics from a wide variety of disciplines, ranging from cultural studies to gender studies, used the series' storylines to explore issues of gender, sexuality, and teen angst. The body of scholarly work that emerged from these studies became known as "Buffy Studies." Many academics have credited *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* for its nonstereotypical gender portrayals and frank discussions of issues such as gender role expectations, homosexuality, and popularity.

Nontraditional women's roles in television and film, however, also were systematically defined through frameworks of masculinity. These frameworks suggest that female masculinity as gender performance, its defining elements ranging from sexual and physical assertiveness to financial independence, continued to be seen as deviant, and therefore as (socially) costly. Sexually assertive women, such as Sharon Stone's murder suspect Catherine Tramell in the thriller *Basic Instinct* (1992), Glenn Close's doomed Alex Forrest in the adultery drama *Fatal Attraction* (1987), or Kim Cattrall's sexually liberated public relations woman Samantha Jones in the television series *Sex and the City,* are portrayed as emotion-

ANGELINA JOLIE'S SUCCESS

Both off and on the silver screen, Oscar-winning actress Angelina Jolie is seen by many as the embodiment of a twenty-first-century woman; she displays independence and social awareness, she is financially successful, and, at least according to a plethora of tabloid reports, she is physically and sexually assertive. The daughter of actor Jon Voight and actress Marcheline Bertrand, Jolie shot to fame in her Oscar-winning role as mental hospital patient Lisa in *Girl, Interrupted.* In 2001, the fantasy-action movie *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider,* based on an immensely popular videogame, established her as a female action star. Jolie's 2005 movie collaboration with Brad Pitt, in the action thriller *Mr. and Mrs. Smith,* proved to be her biggest commercial success to date, but also contributed to her controversial off-screen persona as femme fatale. Jolie and Pitt, at the time still married to *Friends* actress Jennifer Aniston, were rumored to have fallen in love during the movie shoot, and their subsequent off-screen romantic involvement attracted much tabloid fascination and public condemnation. While well known for her acting and off-screen romances, Angelina Jolie also is a UN goodwill ambassador, tirelessly campaigning on behalf of land-mine victims and political refugees.

ally unstable. Violent women are represented as either visually masculine, like Sigourney Weaver's alien-hunting Officer Ripley in the science fiction–horror movie *Alien* (1979) or Linda Hamilton's Sarah Connor, a mom fighting androids from the future, in *The Terminator* (1984); or highly sexualized, like Charlize Theron's title character in the science fiction thriller *Aeyon Flux* (2005) or Angelina Jolie's heiress-adventurer Lara Croft in the computer game–inspired action movie *Tomb Raider* (2001). In order to understand the double-edged sword of changing representations of women in popular culture, first, a closer examination of the gendering of violence is warranted.

WOMEN AND VIOLENCE IN TELEVISION AND FILM
A MOVE TOWARD EQUALITY?

The 2005 action thriller *Mr. and Mrs. Smith* was a major international box office success, in large part due to feverish tabloid reports on the rumored off-screen chemistry between its two leading stars, Angelina Jolie and the then still-married Brad Pitt. The movie centers on wife and husband Jane and John Smith who, unbeknownst to each other, lead secret lives as highly skilled assassins and eventually are hired to kill one another. The Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde–like framing of Jolie's Mrs. Smith character, used to represent the double life she leads, is indicative, as discussed earlier, of the ways in which Hollywood tends to justify violence in female characters. Mrs. Smith, the wife and homemaker, acts and looks like a modern-day version of Barbara Billingsley's June Cleaver—the ultimate mother and housewife of the 1960s television series *Leave It to Beaver*. In contrast, Jane Smith, the assassin, is the quintessential twenty-first-century woman, smart, confident, and physically and sexually assertive; a woman whose wit, physical aggression, and skills match those of her husband. While visually, Mrs. Smith, the housewife, is placid and sexually demure, Jane Smith, the assassin, is highly sexualized, often wearing nothing more than a men's dress shirt. Throughout the movie, there exists a positive correlation between the violence performed by Jolie's Jane Smith and the character's visual sexualization.

In Western society, violence is about power, which in turn is associated with masculinity. Gender scholar Edward LaFrance (1995) suggests that media portrayals of violence committed by men have become institutionalized, something that we no longer take notice of. Stephen Whitehead (2002) adds that there seems to be a social dimension to men's violence: a persuasive social discourse that is articulated through the media and pervades most cultures, social and state institutions, and the practices of individual men. This discourse is a set of practices and attitudes that render men's violence as normal, hegemonic, and therefore inevitable. Consequently, Whitehead suggests, men's violence has assumed the status of a cultural arrangement across most societies.

Since violence is culturally defined as a masculine concept, violence in women tends to be portrayed within frameworks that justify this masculinity. As previously illustrated, either the woman is portrayed as masculine and therefore her aggression is an extension of this female masculinity (Halberstam 1998) or her femininity is exaggerated to adjust for the masculinity of her violent disposition.

For instance, in the now defunct ABC spy series *Alias,* Jennifer Garner's character Sidney Bristow—a CIA spy—may know how to use her fists, but she "kicks ass" while wearing a pair of sexy stilettos. Also, the systematic portrayal of financially successful businesswomen as coldhearted, backstabbing, and emotionless helps to reinforce the double standard—rooted in gender stereotypes—that dominate the business world and have traditionally prevented women from climbing the corporate ladder. It perpetuates the idea that business is inherently masculine and that, therefore, women can achieve financial success only at the cost of adopting corporate masculinity.

Because masculinity in women is perceived as unnatural, it is often shown as distorting traditional notions of femininity. Joan Collins's portrayal of ruthless business tycoon Alexis Colby in the television series *Dynasty* or Meryl Streep's demanding and cynical *Runway Magazine* fashion editor Miranda Priestly in the movie *The Devil Wears Prada* are examples of successful women who, therefore, must be portrayed as "bitches." While this may not necessarily be problematic in itself, as traditional femininity is a social construct to begin with, it does reflect the price women are expected to pay for financial success. In popular culture, "bitches," by definition, are portrayed as emotionally dysfunctional. Miranda Priestly is single and emotionally unavailable, and Alexis Colby is a "bad" mother and wife who puts her own success and happiness before that of her family. While these are not necessarily distorted realities—in order to be successful in the male-dominated business world, women are often forced to play by men's rules—such representations do perpetuate the unequal sacrifices women are expected to make to achieve financial success and independence: a loss of femininity, which in the eyes of media producers is tantamount to devaluation of the self, and therefore, inevitably, a deprivation of emotional fulfillment. While the portrayal of women as financially successful is, in itself, a positive development, at the same time, by portraying these women as emotionally dysfunctional it also serves to perpetuate deterministic ideas about the perceived masculinity of the business world and women's place within it.

CONCLUSION

Some scholars believe that the recent trends toward violent women in popular culture aren't such a bad thing after all; that these portrayals help to deconstruct the hegemonic ideologies on which society is built. Since there is no proof that violence is not inherent to femininity and no evidence to link it to gender performance, it can be assumed that violence as a masculine performance is a social construction. Therefore, deconstructing its gendered meaning and hegemonic function in society means that women are given a new voice and more visibility (Gattuso Hendin 2004). At the same time, because of the prevalent assumptions of masculinity inherent in violence, increasing the number of violent women on television or film may not be the most effective way to achieve gender equality, on or off the screen. This establishes a double-edged sword: increasing the number of violent and financially successful women in popular culture challenges the status quo in society, yet it may also reinforce a situation in which

women are "allowed" to play in a male-constructed and male-dominated world, by using male rules, rather than in an environment that women and men shape equally.

See also Media Images of Women: Advertising; Media Images of Women: Music; Sexism in Language.

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Marc J. W. de Jong

MEDICINE AND MEDICALIZATION: VIEWS ON WOMEN'S BODIES

How does medicine affect women's everyday lives and the feminist struggle for justice? Some scholars assert that medicine liberates women from various physical burdens while others say it is a patriarchal institution that oppresses them.

INTRODUCTION

Medicalization is the process whereby life experiences are defined and treated as medical problems—experiences that were not previously described in medical terms. The concept of medicalization emerged in the early 1970s out of an intellectual movement critical of science and medicine. Prior to this time, most people took for granted medicine's role in society as healer, assuming that it

helped people live healthier, longer lives. However, a critical perspective grew among social observers who were becoming leery of what they saw as the increasing power of the medical field. They warned that medicine produced less benign effects.

Many researchers refer to three levels of medicalization, developed by the sociologists Peter Conrad and Joseph Schneider: conceptual, institutional, and interaction. On the *conceptual* level, everyday life occurrences are defined and considered inherently medical in nature, and medical language is used to describe them as illness. On the *institutional* level, the field of medicine attains societal authority and legitimacy to manage these illnesses. And the *interaction* level refers to the contact doctors have with their patients, including consultation, diagnosis, and treatment.

There are two key debates among scholars of medicalization. First, what is the process of medicalization? That is, how did it emerge and how does it proceed today? Second, what effect does it have on individuals? Feminists are particularly concerned about the effects of medicalization on women.

Two main perspectives have arisen and they answer these questions differently. On the one side are scholars who have framed medicine as imperialistic. For them, medicalization is a sign that the medical field is extending its domination and gaining more power over individuals' lives. Meanwhile, individuals are becoming increasingly dependent on it. Medicalization is the result of structural factors and the domineering behavior of doctors, managed care, and the pharmaceutical and insurance industries. For these scholars, the outcomes of medicalization are generally negative, including poorer health and disempowered individuals. However, they acknowledge that medicalization has been beneficial for some patients.

Others have critiqued the passive role patients have played in this framework. Instead of invoking a top-down model, they argue that medicalization emerges through the participation, active involvement, and complicity of the lay populace. Rather than being submissive and compliant, patients are prime movers, in some cases pushing the medicalization process, and in others resisting it. Also, they do not agree that medicalization is necessarily negative, arguing that it can actually empower patients.

HOW MEDICALIZATION HAPPENS

Medical Imperialism

Scholars who frame medicalization as a sort of medical imperialism focus on the expansion of medicine's professional domain on the institutional level. They argue that medicine's jurisdiction continues to expand as more moments in everyday life come to be defined as illness and in need of medical supervision. One example they point to is premenstrual syndrome (PMS). In 1987, a premenstrual syndrome–related condition was classified as a psychiatric disorder when it was included in the American Psychiatric Association's reference book, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*. This

conceptualization of PMS as a medical problem gave physicians the power to diagnose women's behavior, moods, and feelings as illness and to determine how best to manage this illness, usually with drug therapy. The decision to include this condition in the *DSM* was controversial, with opponents arguing that it would stigmatize women. Critics of medicalization see the inclusion as evidence that medicine's dominion continues to grow.

Marxist scholars have noted that capitalism has been central to the spread of medicine's domain. The relatively recent shift toward consumer-oriented health-care has enlarged the bounds of the pharmaceutical industry, which actively pursues patients as potential customers. Since 1997, when the Food and Drug Administration Modernization Act was passed, pharmaceutical companies have created markets for their products by directly advertising to patients. They have been able to increase awareness of conditions, essentially marketing diseases and the drugs to treat them, such as the profitable Viagra for erectile dysfunction (ED).

Medicine's jurisdiction has also expanded, according to critics, through the creation and maintenance of professional boundaries and authority. Largely by gaining the support of the state, medicine has successfully warded off competing professions to become *the* legitimate system of healing available in our society. Licensing laws have required individuals to obtain permission to practice healing from the medical community, in the form of a formal education and license. While official medical history would suggest that these laws logically followed the development of good science and improved medicine, critics argue that they were the result of political maneuvering.

Until the mid-1800s, doctors in the United States were essentially indistinguishable from the many lay healers who were practicing at the time. To separate themselves from the rest, they (mostly white, upper-class men) called themselves "regular" doctors and emphasized their formal training. In those years, however, the education they received was not formal in the way we think of it today. Extensive medical research did not exist then, and some regulars received as little as a few months of training. Many of their practices were generally no better than the potions and cures of their competitors (often female and racial minorities), and some, such as bloodletting, were much more deadly. Between 1915 and 1930, as more women were having babies in the hospital, the rates of infant death due to birth injuries increased substantially.

In spite of evidence that doctors were not the best of healers, they were able to garner the backing of the state and eventually all but eliminate other autonomous healing professions. Feminist scholars argue that this was a tactic to purge women. For centuries women had been the primary healers. As formal medicine took hold, they found their healing practices rendered illegal and were initially barred from entering medicine. Not until the 1970s were women admitted more widely to medical school. In 1970, 11 percent of accepted applicants were women; this rose to one-third in 1984. In 2006, 49 percent of the entering class were female, but segregation within medicine is still prevalent, with women disproportionately underrepresented in higher-paying and prestigious fields such as neurosurgery.

Those healing professions that women do occupy in great numbers, such as nursing and midwifery, are largely directed by and subordinate to the medical field (which is still dominated by men). For example, the state has given medicine the right to approve the practices of these fields and their licensing. Most states require midwives to undergo medically approved state certification. Those who have resisted these laws and practice lay midwifery have been fiercely prosecuted. And physicians often supervise the practice of midwives, overseeing the records of their patients even if the patient never sees the physician in person. Meanwhile, nurses play a submissive role in the hospital, assisting rather than replacing physicians and serving at their request.

Ultimately, medicine has been able to maintain its professional dominance by defining its knowledge as specialized and its technology as sophisticated. Only *experts* possessing extensive formal training can interpret scientific medical data and wield biomedical technology. Such assertions have allowed them to retain control over technical procedures such as surgery and prescription writing. Excluding others from these activities then makes sense to the general public,

A QUESTION OF RACE

The struggle for reproductive freedom has been different for white middle-class women than for poor women of color, who have faced a history of coerced sterilization. In the 1950s, the Puerto Rican government and private agencies waged a campaign to get women on the island to undergo sterilization. By 1968, more than one-third had had *la operación,* the highest rate in the world. Most of these women had not received accurate information about the procedure. In the 1970s, it is estimated that between 60,000 and 70,000 Native American women were sterilized often without informed consent. And many poor African American women were required to "consent" to the procedure before receiving welfare benefits, delivering a baby, or having an abortion. In 1973, a class action lawsuit was filed after two poor African American sisters (12 and 14 years old) had been sterilized without their parents' knowledge. It was revealed that federally funded programs had sterilized 100,000–150,000 poor women. About half were black.

Meanwhile, white middle-class women found it difficult to obtain sterilization. Doctors followed the 120 Formula, which instructed that "if a woman's age multiplied by the number of children she had totaled 120, she was a candidate for sterilization" (quoted in Roberts 1997). A woman with two children would have to wait until she was 60, a woman with three would have to wait until she was 40. Even then, many doctors required the consultation of two other doctors and a psychiatrist.

This disparity of experiences created competing goals among activists. The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse sought informed consent, a 30-day waiting period, and restrictions on consent given during labor or in the postpartum period. The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) and Planned Parenthood, which worked to expand sterilization rights, voted against these guidelines. And other pro-sterilization organizations filed lawsuits against medical facilities for refusing white women elective sterilization.

based on our trust in medical expertise and our suspicion of those who lack it, thereby solidifying medicine's professional dominance.

This largely exclusive power to define, diagnose, and treat illness is dangerous, according to critics. They argue that medical experts have been granted societal influence beyond their expertise, and this exaggerated status has unduly shielded them from external scrutiny. Without supervision, medical professionals have become agents of social control with unchecked power over vast parts of our lives beyond medicine. For example, their power to define illness empowers them to determine who receives jail versus medical attention. Because almost any aspect of daily life could be medicalized, critics warn that medicine has the potential to control more and more of our experiences.

Also of concern, for these scholars, is the loss of individual autonomy associated with medicalization. As medical knowledge and technology become more powerful and legitimate, individuals lose their own sense of capability and authority. This produces widespread dependence on medicine, disempowering individuals and undermining other institutions, such as the family and religion.

Active Participation

Other scholars argue that the imperialism thesis oversimplifies medicalization and overlooks the important role that the laity has played. Proponents of this perspective do not deny that structural factors are important; however, they assert that the active participation of patients is equally important to consider.

On various occasions, lay people have participated in the medicalization process, actively seeking a medical definition for particular conditions. For example, alcoholism became defined as a disease partially through the efforts of Alcoholics Anonymous. Beginning in the 1930s, Activists promoted the idea that alcoholism was an allergy (a physiological disease), not a mental or moral problem. Many doctors initially resisted a physiological explanation for "drunkardness" but the persistence and organization of activists prevailed. In the late 1970s, caregivers for sufferers from "senility" began to form advocacy organizations to support their loved ones. In coalition with neurosurgeons, scientists, and the National Institute of Aging, they pushed for further medicalization of Alzheimer's disease. They have thus increased public awareness of the condition and boosted research funding for it.

In addition to encouraging medicalization, individuals have participated in *de*medicalization. For example, homosexuality was declassified as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association in 1973, largely in response to lobbying by the gay liberation movement. This victory demonstrates the collective power individuals have developed even to define what is and is not disease. In less public fashion, some women essentially demedicalize artificial insemination by using turkey basters or similar tools themselves at home. These private acts simply dismiss the need for medical practitioners and their technology.

There are also many cases of lay people resisting and questioning medicalization and critically evaluating the risks associated with it. For example, the use of hormone replacement therapy (HRT) has been met with both intrigue and

skepticism by women. Many actively research the risks involved, drawing on information from loved ones and the media, as well as searching out medical evidence. Similarly, survivors of ruptured silicone breast implants have shared their stories with one another, publicly rallied for increased awareness of the severe side effects, and called for a moratorium on implant sales. This activism influenced the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA's) decision to restrict the sale of silicone breast implants in 1992. In 2006, the FDA lifted the ban but required manufacturers to conduct follow-up studies.

While acknowledging some of the problematic outcomes of medicalization, scholars who support the active participation of patients tend to focus on its benefits. They assert that medicine offers patients more options and more control over their experiences. For example, various prenatal tests can warn parents if their fetus has genetic maladies. Some parents use this information to choose abortion out of a concern for the child or their ability to raise him/her. Others might use the findings of these tests to gather information about the relevant disease and start to receive advanced support for their new life. Medicalizing problems has also provided for people experiencing stigmatized symptoms a shift in the public eye from deviants to patients. For instance, drunkards who were morally questionable became alcoholics with verifiable medical needs.

Another benefit of medicalization, according to these scholars, is the relief that some patients experience when they are finally able to name their distressing experience and have someone take it seriously. For example, the medicalization of PMS gives credence to real problems associated with it and provides women with the possibility of abating their symptoms.

EFFECTS OF MEDICALIZATION: IS IT HEALTHY FOR WOMEN?

As discussed, the debate about medicalization has taken place on many fronts, including disability, alcohol use, and homosexuality. One of the most controversial of these has been the gender front. At the heart of the debate is how medicalization affects women. Is medicine ultimately healthy for women?

This was the central question of the women's health movement in the 1970s. Of great concern to this second wave of feminists was regaining control of their bodies from men, doctors, and the law. They were acutely aware that women's bodies were more likely than men's to be medicalized and were critical of the effects. They asserted that male doctors, in conjunction with the law, controlled women by restricting their reproductive freedoms and constantly supervising their bodies, behaviors, and relationships.

They also highlighted gender bias in scientific research, noting that its findings were influenced by dominant societal values about women. For example, in the nineteenth century, women's illnesses were generally explained as the outcome of their bodies' inherent defectiveness, or the result of pursuing strenuous activity beyond what their weak constitutions could handle. Women's reproductive organs were thought to compete for energy with the rest of their bodies. Because women's role as mothers was so significant, medical doctors encouraged

women to refrain from strenuous activity, especially during important reproductive times, such as menarche, pregnancy, and menopause. Too much studying or physical activity could lead to atrophy of the uterus. This misunderstanding of female physiology was based on the lack of basic knowledge of female anatomy. Until the late eighteenth century, scientists believed that female internal genitalia had the same general structure as male external genitalia. And prior to the nineteenth century, it was believed that women's bodies provided vessels for the life that men deposited there. Feminists asserted that remnants of these historically sexist misperceptions remained prominent in medicine and created an environment hostile to women.

One of the most widespread tactics that members of the women's health movement employed was the collective support of one another. Rather than turning to mainstream medicine, they began to depend on other forms of healing, for example, using self-help groups and drawing on their own experiences as wisdom. The Boston Women's Health Book Collective, for example, was established and published the ever-popular *Our Bodies, Ourselves* as a source of knowledge for women, by women.

Though the women's health movement made many gains, its stated concerns remain among feminists to this day. Feminist scholars continue to critique medical research that is affected by and reinforces cultural assumptions about women, for example. The image of the passive woman and the active, virulent man has been found permeating medical textbooks describing the relationship between the egg and the sperm. And the male body is still largely considered the neutral, generic human body. In 1990, U.S. congressional hearings exposed the fact that women were often not enrolled in research whose findings would eventually be generalized to them. Though heart disease is the number one killer of women, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) study that found aspirin could reduce heart attacks included 22,071 men and no women.

However, the role medicine should play in women's efforts for justice today is debated among feminists. Some maintain that medicine is an inherently flawed system that provides men the tools to control their bodies and corporations the means to profit from their fears and dependence.

Others assert that women can use medicine, even in its current patriarchal state, as a tool of empowerment. They argue that women can counter the patriarchal structures in society by using the power and legitimacy of medicine. They also emphasize that medicine does indeed provide them with greater options central to the freedoms they seek. This debate has emerged in regards to various topics, including contraception, childbirth, and infant feeding, among others.

Contraception

In 1839, the technology of vulcanizing rubber was invented by Charles Goodyear and was soon used to produce condoms, diaphragms, and intrauterine devices (IUDs). By the 1870s, women could purchase a variety of birth control products in the United States from catalogs, pharmacists, and rubber vendors. However, in 1873, Congress passed the Comstock Law, which prohibited the

dissemination of "obscene" material (including birth control products and information) through the mail or interstate commerce. In 1916, birth control advocate Margaret Sanger opened a birth control clinic, which was shut down after 10 days. Two years later, the courts ruled that women could use contraception for therapeutic purposes and Sanger soon opened a birth control clinic, launching the birth control movement. Primarily privileged white women joined forces with the medical community in an effort to produce contraceptive devices and legitimize contraception. In 1951, Margaret Sanger petitioned scientist Gregory Pincus to develop a "magic pill" that would be as easy for women to take as an aspirin, a project that he worked on with doctor John Rock for a decade. By 1962, there were 1.2 million American women using the pill. Soon, there were reports of serious, even lethal, side effects. After public pressure, the pill manufactures developed a lower-dose formula that has fewer side effects.

To modern-day feminists, medicalized contraception is a mixed bag. On the one hand, it provides women with more control over their reproductive capacities, which is a central tenet of feminism. The medicalized forms, such as the pill, IUD, and injection, are more effective in avoiding pregnancy and are generally considered convenient, allowing women to focus on other parts of their life.

However, medicalized contraception also has its disadvantages. First there are the side effects, which range from mild discomfort to serious blood clots and infertility. And the fact that women are primarily at risk brings up a second concern: the lack of concern for women's safety. Would the medical establishment be more conscientious about eliminating side effects if they were dealing with men's bodies? Feminists also argue that contraception provides another opportunity for medical supervision and control of women. The pill requires a yearly visit to a physician and prescriptions, and the IUD and Norplant (a device placed under the skin of the upper arm that releases hormones over a five-year period) require a physician for both insertion and removal. And several cases of abuse against women of color have been reported, including the government coercing poor women to use Norplant as a legal punishment and doctors refusing to remove it before the allotted five years.

Also, while some prefer complete authority over their birth control method, other women would prefer their partners to take responsibility. They argue that maintaining birth control as a woman's issue reinstitutes women's place in the home, in charge of the family. Finally, as contraception became a medical, profitable product, its political nature subsided and it is no longer associated with feminist empowerment for most of the women who use it.

In response to these concerns, some feminists have turned to nonmedical forms of birth control including barrier and natural fertility awareness methods. Others find medicalized methods better for their lifestyle. For them, having these options is more empowering than not having the options.

Childbirth

In the early twentieth century, middle- and upper-class women rallied for the availability of anesthesia during childbirth to relieve pain. "Twilight sleep,"

a combination of morphine and scopolamine, was soon introduced and was widely used through the 1950s. It later became the target of feminist critique as women remained asleep for the entire birth and aftermath. Doctors eventually stopped using it due to its side effects. Since then, pain medication has improved and, when it works properly, women can now remain mentally alert throughout delivery without feeling labor pains.

However, critics disagree with the biomedical model that defines pregnancy as a problematic state in need of constant expert supervision. While most doctors focus on risk management, these feminists argue that pregnancy and childbirth are perfectly normal, natural events that most women can handle with little assistance. While they agree that medical technology is helpful in crisis situations, they argue that constant medical supervision causes more problems than it solves. For example, hospital policies that restrict movement can slow the natural progress of labor and lead to unnecessary induction or cesarean sections. And as women enter the hospital, the domain of medical professionals, their autonomy and authority diminish. They are met with standardized policies that are rigidly enforced, such as restrictions on mobility, food and drink, and visitors. After delivery, various tests, ointments, and shots are automatically given to the baby, often without the parents' explicit permission. Deviations from these policies usually involve fear-filled warnings and liability waivers. Proponents of home birth argue that women control more of their childbirth experience when it takes place in their own domain, attended by midwives. They argue that medicine has focused public attention on pain and convinced women that they cannot handle it. They hope to reclaim women's right to the joy and power of experiencing labor uninhibited by foreign substances or outside authority.

Others emphasize that medicalized birth provides women with the ability to choose the type of birth experience they want to have. For them, there is nothing necessarily heroic about withstanding pain. Rather, a woman should evaluate her situation, beliefs, and feelings to make the best choice for her. Medicine provides her with this possibility. And many women appreciate the option of having a cesarean section or being able to induce labor according to their needs or desires. Birthing in the hospital also provides women with more support, which is especially important to those with partners who do little domestic work. At the hospital, they are able to rest and heal without needing to feed children or wash dishes. They themselves are cared for and have someone available to help with the new baby.

Infant Feeding

Prior to the late nineteenth century, most women nursed their babies, or relied on friends or relatives to nurse them if they were unable to do it themselves. The upper classes often relied on wet nurses, as breastfeeding had become unfashionable among these classes. As science gained prestige, all things "natural," including breastfeeding, were considered debased. At the same time, medical doctors claimed that upper-class women were too delicate to do such things as nurse their babies.

By the 1890s, improved farming and preservation techniques had created a surplus of cow's milk and producers were searching for new markets. Doctors were initially leery of the nutritional quality of cow's milk and preferred breast milk. However, there was also the dominant medical idea that women's bodies were not completely healthy. Around the turn of the century, it was believed that the dysfunctional nature of women's bodies was likely to convert healthy breastmilk into "poison" by the time the baby received it. One of the doctors who prominently asserted this claim, Dr. Thomas Rotch, developed and sold his own formula.

To address nutritional concerns, doctors began to experiment with different ingredients and calculated formulas. With an air of scientific sophistication, they sold these formulas as superior to breast milk. They soon created alliances with milk companies, testing their products and giving them the seal of medical approval. In return, the milk companies put few directions on the containers, encouraging women to seek assistance from their doctors. Some formulas were sold by prescription only.

For many women, the availability of infant formula was a godsend. With industrialization, increasing numbers of women were leaving their babies to work in factories. Formula provided them a means to keep their babies fed while they were away. And upper-class women preferred bottles to wet nurses, who were the objects of their babies' affection. Increased access to milk also helped babies who were unable to be breast-fed because their mothers were ill or had died.

However, various studies dating back to the early twentieth century showed that bottle-fed babies were much more likely to die than those who were breast-fed. This was due to compromised bottle hygiene, which caused diarrhea, and the lack of antibodies obtained through breast milk, which made bottle-fed children more susceptible to communicable diseases. Yet there was little protest by the medical field against the marketing of these products. Soon they were aggressively marketed throughout the world, which ultimately led to the death of millions of babies. In recent decades, infant formula has become safer and more nutritious due to scientific research, but poor babies in third world nations still suffer from its use.

Today the medical community, specifically the American Academy of Pediatrics, endorses breastfeeding and most hospitals have lactation consultants on staff. However, hospitals also provide new mothers with free samples of formula and bottle-feed babies in the nursery, which makes learning to nurse more difficult. And women often find that their doctors and nurses have little helpful advice on nursing problems.

For many feminists, independence from breastfeeding is an important aspect of reproductive freedom. From this perspective, a woman cannot become truly equal to her male partner if there are domestic activities that only *she* can accomplish. This reiterates her "natural" role as caregiver and the logic of retaining women as domestic labor. And as long as she is obliged to nurse her children regularly, she cannot be competitive in the workforce. Finally, a women's body should be her own, and neither her partner nor the world should see it as an object for feeding her baby.

Feminist advocates of breastfeeding, on the other hand, draw on scientific evidence to argue that bottle feeding is less nutritious for babies and denies women various health benefits of breastfeeding, such as reduced rates of some cancers and prolonged infertility. They are critical of multinational corporations interfering with their newborns' nutrition and their relationship with their babies, and profiting from this interference. They also assert that women can attain social freedom and empowerment only when they are proud to be women. Rather than trying to deny their biology and become man-like, these feminists argue that women should embrace nursing and demand that the world around them respect it. Fathers should provide new mothers and babies with quiet time, by cleaning and taking care of the other children. Meanwhile, public spaces, especially the workplace, should be more nursing friendly, providing on-site childcare and nursing breaks.

CONCLUSION

Thus, even among feminists, there is no single clear answer to the question of how medicine affects women. Many see the structured patriarchy of medicine as inherently oppressive and, as such, to be resisted as much as possible. They are also concerned about feminism embracing medicalization because it neutralizes the social and political relevance of injustice. For instance, medicalizing domestic violence has taken attention away from the domineering patriarchal power relationship between men and women that is rampant throughout society.

Others argue that this perspective perpetuates the passive image of women by not acknowledging the active role women have played in bringing about medicalization. They also emphasize that medicine has provided women with important options, allowing them to live as they choose, in spite of its patriarchal tendencies.

Sociologist Catherine Kohler Riessman described medicalization a paradox, a patriarchal structure that some women have been able to use to empower themselves. It has freed women from certain biological limitations and provided them with more choices and opportunities. But, at the same time, women have become dependent on medicine to enjoy these freedoms, thereby losing their own authority.

See also Birthing Practices; Menstruation and Menopause; Mental Health: Gender Bias in Diagnoses of Women; Population Policy.

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Andrea Bertotti Metoyer

MENSTRUATION AND MENOPAUSE

The debates on menstruation and menopause center on whether girls and women view these bodily processes positively or negatively. In addition, academic researchers disagree over whether doctors should treat the problems some girls and women experience during menstruation and menopause.

BACKGROUND

How do scholars debate issues of the body, in this case, menarche and menopause? Both certainly occur because of biological and genetic reasons. Menarche refers to the first menses, and in the United States, the mean age of first menstruation is 12.5, but girls can begin as early as 9 and as late as 16. Menopause refers to the last menses, and according to the medical definition, a woman is menopausal when she has not menstruated for 12 consecutive months. Although the average age is 51, women can stop menstruating as early as their late 30s and as late as their mid-50s. Research studies debate how girls and women regard menstruation and menopause, and the role of medicine in treating the difficulties that can occur with both. Some scholars argue that girls view menstruation negatively while others contend that girls can associate menstruation with a sense of empowerment. Similarly, researchers disagree about how to understand the ways in which women undergo menopause. Some focus on physical and psychological changes in women's bodies, such as hot flashes and mood swings. Others argue that those changes must be understood in the context of what else is happening in women's lives as well as whether women associate menopause with aging.

Scholars also dispute whether doctors should treat menstruation and menopause. On one hand, some girls and women *do* suffer, and to ignore their suffering sends the message that their difficulties and therefore their bodies are not important. On the other hand, to define menstruation and menopause as medical conditions supports the cultural view that women's bodies are naturally weaker than men's because of their unique reproductive systems. Overall, the debates focus on how cultural assumptions about girls' and women's roles as well

as medical views about the female body influence experiences with menstruation and menopause.

MENARCHE: GIRLS' ROLES, EDUCATION, AND PUBERTY

Research studies indicate that most cultures associate girls' menstrual status with their reproductive ability. However, they present conflicting findings about whether girls view menarche positively or negatively. Most girls in the United States report mixed feelings, but compared to the past, they are more open about their perspectives. Yet studies show a range of experiences: for example, some girls feel confused because of a lack of knowledge about their bodies, some are embarrassed because menarche signals their sexual status, and others feel empowered because it is a sign that they are approaching adulthood.

For example, some studies report that girls look forward to menarche but then express regret or ambivalence after it starts. Research suggests that the limited ways in which girls learn about first menses influence them to view it as embarrassing or as a sign of weakness. When health classes teach about menstruation, many separate boys and girls, which suggests that this topic is private and should not be discussed openly. Classes also focus on the biological causes and do not share stories about how periods feel, and the many different ways in which girls experience periods. Consequently, girls do not know the range of physical and emotional changes that can occur. They also do not have knowledge about their bodies, in particular their genitals, so they are not informed about the sensation of menstrual bleeding or of inserting tampons. Therefore, many experience these occurrences with confusion or fear.

Another issue is that menstruation and puberty are associated with adult female sexuality, which can make girls anxious or self-conscious about their bodies. Menarche and the development of a mature female body can lead adults, especially parents and teachers, to treat girls differently. In particular, they may start talking to girls about sex and the potential for pregnancy. Linking menses with pregnancy can perplex girls. Often they do not understand the biology of pregnancy, and some think that once they begin menstruating, any sexual interaction with a boy can make them pregnant. For example, a girl in one study reported as follows:

> A lot of girls that I hung around with thought as soon as you got your period at any moment you could spontaneously be pregnant. . . . When kids start getting their periods, they hear all this stuff like, "When you're not pregnant you get this." So they're like, "How do I get pregnant?" and stuff like that. It's scary. (K. Martin 1996, 28)

Girls may also feel embarrassed by the sexual attention that boys give them as a result of their developing bodies. Overall, these studies show that girls associate menstruation with puberty and sexuality, and consequently may view it as confusing, embarrassing, or frightening.

Other studies emphasize the empowering aspects of menstruation, and disagree with research contending that girls view menses only negatively. Some

research emphasizes the positive roles that mothers can play. For example, one study finds that girls who have feminist views experience menstruation positively, in part because their mothers have taught them that it is a sign of growing up. Therefore, girls see it as part of their identity as women. Another study suggests that when mothers talk openly and positively about menses as well as provide concrete details about how to use menstrual products like pads and tampons, then girls feel at ease with their first menstruation. This study emphasizes that girls will feel empowered by knowing what to expect and what to do when they menstruate (K. Martin 1996).

Other research indicates that girls use their knowledge about periods to confuse boys and thus to attain power in daily life. In one study, girls talked about bleeding to "gross out" boys as a way to assert themselves and, in doing so, they showed that they would not passively let boys tease and embarrass them at school (Fingerson 2005). Thus they are creatively finding ways to be self-assured in interactions with boys. In sum, these studies argue that girls can be taught to view and therefore experience menarche positively.

MENOPAUSE: WOMEN'S ROLES, MIDLIFE, AND RELATIONSHIPS

Researchers in the United States debate about what type of social-scientific research is best for understanding how women go through menopause. Some favor surveys that quantify the number of times that physical and emotional changes occur for large numbers of women. Others argue that one-on-one interviews provide more detailed information about how women experience menopause, even though such research includes smaller numbers of women. Overall, the two types of research provide different understandings of how women go through menopause.

For example, until recently, much of the sociological and psychological survey research on women in the United States asked women the number of times a particular menopausal change, such as hot flashes, night sweats, and vaginal dryness, occurred. It found that women who no longer menstruate have higher rates of hot flashes and night sweats compared to women who are going through hormonal changes as they approach their last period. Research on the relationship between menopause and moods, however, is conflicted, with some studies finding that the onset of menopause is not associated with an increased risk of depression, while others report that women tend to feel more depressed when the menopause transition begins than after periods cease.

Some scholars disagree with these studies because they ask only about negative changes, and this perpetuates the idea that menopause is only unpleasant. Furthermore, such research implicitly supports the U.S. cultural view that aging itself tends to be primarily bad. These scholars also argue that the word *symptom* is problematic because it presumes that menopause is a disease; therefore, they avoid that term and use menopausal "changes" instead. They point out that few studies ask women about positive changes, and the handful of studies that do ask about these find that some women report increased energy, relief, and a sense of

freedom after their last period. Therefore, they argue that researchers should ask women about negative and positive changes in survey research in order to fully understand their experiences (Mansfield and Voda 1997).

Other scholars maintain that surveys do not allow women to explain for themselves what is most important about menopause and, therefore, risk overlooking its range of meanings. These researchers prefer studies based on in-depth interviews so that they can document and analyze women's narratives. For example, one study finds that menopause is not important for some women because of stress. Women do have physical changes like hot flashes and vaginal dryness, but they are also coping with cancer, marital difficulties, or ill parents, so they do not have time to think about how they feel or the fact that they are going through menopause. Therefore, they say menopause is "no big deal" (Winterich and Umberson 1999). Another study that used one-on-one interviews finds that women view menopause positively because it means an end to periods as well as a new stage in their lives. They do not associate menopause with an end to fertility, since most of them stopped having children long before menopause. Also, they do not associate menopause with feeling old, since they will live, on average, 30 more years. Consequently, they see it as a new time in their lives, a time to take care of themselves, to travel or start a new career. Taken together, these studies show why asking about changes in women's bodies is not enough to achieve a full understanding of what they mean in the context of women's lives.

MEDICAL RESPONSES TO MENSTRUATION AND MENOPAUSE

The current debate on menstruation and medicine focuses on whether menstruation is medically necessary. Some argue that since women do not bear as many children as women did historically, frequent menstruation is not necessary. Others maintain that using medication to stop menses could harm women's health. The debate on menopause also centers on the role of drugs in helping women with physical and emotional changes.

In 1999, a controversial book, *Is Menstruation Obsolete?* was published. It argued that regular menses are unique to modern women. The book contends that women throughout history menstruated less often due to frequent pregnancy and lactation, so now medicine should eliminate periods to avoid women's "unnatural" discomfort each month. Four years later, Barr Pharmaceuticals put on the market the drug Seasonale, which reduces periods to four times a year. Since then, increasing numbers of women have been using their hormonal contraceptives without stopping for menstruation. Scholars and doctors who support this use of contraceptives as well as the development of drugs to avoid menstruation altogether argue that allowing periods increases the risks of unwanted pregnancies. Those on this side of the debate agree with the prevalent cultural view that menstruation is a nuisance and thus it should be eliminated.

Those on the other side of the debate do not agree that women's monthly bleeding is unnatural. They argue that the evidence supporting women's infrequent menstruation in the past is sparse; in contrast, an abundance of evidence

documents women's menstrual rituals and ceremonies. These researchers contend that ideas about what women's bodies should and should not do are based on culture, not biology. And they are concerned about the lack of scientific evidence on the safety of eliminating menstruation. What are the health risks of not bleeding each month? Scientific studies of the long-term use of contraceptives do not yet exist, and so some researchers caution women to avoid such use of contraceptives until more data are available.

The debates on the medical treatment of menopause have persisted for almost 50 years and, like menstruation, they center on whether women should take medication.

On one hand, until doctors understood how the transition time to the final menses, known as perimenopause, affects women's bodies, they either ignored women's concerns or told them they were imagining their symptoms. This treatment supported the cultural view that women are weaker than men and that women exaggerate their symptoms. Meanwhile, women suffered from physical and emotional discomfort. On the other hand, once doctors prescribed hormone drugs to treat women's symptoms, they viewed menopause as a disease in itself as well as a cause of other diseases like thinning bones (osteoporosis) and heart disease. Academics argue that this medical approach supports the cultural idea that women's bodies are naturally weaker and sicker than men's.

However, scholars agree that the history of medical support of hormone drugs has put women's health at risk. Doctors first promoted estrogen drugs after menopause in the 1960s and early 1970s because they thought the benefits outweighed the risks. In 1980, however, several studies showed an increased risk for cancer of the lining of the uterus, endometrial cancer, in those women who took estrogen. Doctors' prescriptions decreased and most women stopped taking hormones. Meanwhile, medical researchers discovered that by adding a synthetic progesterone, progestin, to estrogen removed the risk of endometrial cancer. So by the mid-1980s, prescriptions soared again for the new drug, called hormone replacement therapy (HRT).

Doctors advised women to take HRT not only to cope with hot flashes and vaginal dryness but also to prevent osteoporosis and to help prevent heart disease. Many women used the drug; between one-sixth and one-fourth of all postmenopausal women took Premarin, the most common form of HRT in 1995. However, this medical advice was based on observational studies. These studies are limited because they examine people's behaviors and, through statistical analyses, make connections between those behaviors and their health. So the federal government initiated the first clinical trial in 1991 to test the benefits and risks of HRT. Clinical trials are the "gold standard" studies in medicine. They are very expensive but they more clearly show the specific role of drugs in people's health because they compare those who take placebos with those who take the drug being tested. Researchers compare those on the drug with those on placebos. in order to understand the specific benefits and risks of the medication.

The preliminary results of the clinical trial of HRT were alarming because they indicated that it actually put some women at an *increased* risk for developing blood clots, strokes, heart attacks, and breast cancer. In other words, doctors

DID YOU KNOW?

A type of premenstrual syndrome, premenstrual dysphoric disorder (PMDD), was first classified as a psychological condition in 1987 in the American Psychological Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*. The classification was intended to diagnose women with extreme physical and mental symptoms in the week before menses starts. Women who experienced these symptoms felt relieved that they had options to enable them to feel better. The Food and Drug Administration approved two medications to treat PMDD: Zoloft and Sarafem. Sarafem is the antidepressant Prozac, but the drug makers repackaged it under a new name to market it for the treatment of PMDD. Women's health activists argue that while the scientific evidence does show that women have premenstrual days, it is inconclusive about whether a psychiatric premenstrual disorder exists. They also contend that even though some women have benefited from antidepressants, research indicates that dietary and exercise changes as well as self-help groups can help too. Those who support the *DSM* classification, however, maintain that although PMDD occurs rarely, among from 3 to 8 percent of all women, it significantly impairs a woman's ability to function and thus requires treatment.

thought that HRT helped women's hearts but the trial indicated that it actually put some women at an *increased* risk for heart problems. Consequently, the principal investigators stopped the clinical trial in 2002, three years ahead of schedule. Now doctors give the most cautious advice they have ever given since they first promoted hormone drugs: if women must take HRT to help with hot flashes, they should take the lowest dose possible and limit its use. Medical researchers are continuing to explore various combinations of hormone drugs that will alleviate menopausal symptoms without putting women's health at risk. Academics are concerned about how these new drugs will affect women; at the same time they want safe options for those who need medical treatment in order to feel better during menopause. Overall, scholars continue to disagree as to whether doctors should give women medication at all.

CONCLUSION

The debates about menarche and menopause focus on how girls and women experience menstruation and menopause, and whether medical practitioners should play a role in treating these bodily processes. Some argue that the physical and emotional changes that occur with menstruation and menopause need to be taken seriously so that girls and women do not needlessly suffer. Others argue that girls' negative experiences with menarche could be avoided with better education about what to expect, and women's menopausal experiences could be improved with greater understanding of the context of midlife. Whether medication should play a role in avoiding menstruation and treating menopause is hotly contested as well. Some contend that drugs allow women to avoid discomfort, while others maintain that drugs carry risks that can be avoided. As

more medications become available for both menstruation and menopause, the debates will undoubtedly intensify.

See also Aging; Birth Control; Birthing Practices; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Julie Winterich

MENTAL HEALTH: GENDER BIASES IN DIAGNOSES OF WOMEN

The diagnosis of mental disorders is seen by health professionals as important for the treatment and care of patients experiencing emotional and behavior difficulties. Critics contend that the mental health system is fraught with gender biases that negatively affect women in the diagnosis and consequent treatment of symptoms.

BACKGROUND

The diagnosing of mental disorders is an age-old practice. Throughout history, philosophers, religious leaders, astrologers, tribal healers, medical doctors, and many others have attempted to explain human behavior. Figuring out what is "normal" and finding the causes of and cures for the "abnormal" have proven to be difficult, often comical, and always imprecise endeavors. Treatments for abhorrent behavior have included lobotomies (disconnecting the two sides of the brain), exorcism (forcing out evil spirits), bloodletting, castration, electric "shock" treatment, incarceration, prescription medication costing billions of dollars, public humiliation, and a great deal of prayer. What is clear is that efforts to explain and treat ailments in the human mental and emotional

PROZAC NATION

In her autobiography, *Prozac Nation: Young and Depressed in America* (1994), Elizabeth Wurtzel documents the debilitating, painful, and stigmatizing aspects of living with depression. Her realistic portrayal of the good, the bad, and the ugly aspects of mental health problems gained her a cult following after the publication of her best-selling book. The book also shed light on the fact that women are twice as likely as men to be diagnosed with clinical depression and to be prescribed antidepressants such as Prozac for their treatment. In 2001, a film based on the book, starring Cristina Ricci, was released at the Toronto Film Festival and greeted with critical acclaim by some and disdain by others. As a result, Miramax Studios shelved the project until 2003, when it was released for a limited run at national theaters with little fanfare.

system have followed closely the political, religious, scientific, and economic realities of the time.

Modern psychology is no exception. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM),* published by the American Psychological Association, is the most widely recognized body of work that attempts to scientifically categorize mental illnesses. It is used by psychiatrists, primary care physicians, psychologists, researchers, social workers, and others with an interest in human behavior. It is, however, fraught with controversy regarding the validity of its characterizations of abnormal behavior and the reliability of its use by doctors and therapists who treat patients. First published in 1952, the *DSM* has undergone several revisions, many of the changes being motivated by a growing body of research about psychiatric disorders, others by pressures from the conservative and liberal agendas of the day. Its contributing experts are largely white males, and they arrive at decisions by consensus. Detractors say the classifications and descriptions of mental disorders are inherently biased with regard to women and people of color (Zur and Nordmarken 2006). Still, the *DSM* is the most comprehensive work to date that attempts to make distinctions between various mental disorders and makes possible a common language among behavioral health professionals.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DIAGNOSING MENTAL DISORDERS

While there are no differences between men and women in the overall prevalence of diagnosed mental and behavioral disorders, the frequency and type of diagnoses given to men and women are notably different (World Health Organization 2002). For example, women are more than twice as likely to be diagnosed with depression and significantly more likely to experience eating disorders, dissociative identity disorder (formerly known as multiple personality disorder), and somataform disorders (physical complaints and body distortions). While men complete suicide more often than women in almost every

developed county, women attempt suicide far more often. The most debilitating of mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia and bipolar disorder, occur equally in men and women; however, men are more likely to have early onset of schizophrenia and women are more likely to experience more severe forms of bipolar disorder. Women carry the diagnosis of borderline personality disorder, characterized by an inability to "regulate" emotions, three times more often than men (Skodol and Bender 2003). Other personality disorders, such as antisocial personality disorder (often associated with criminals and psychopaths), psychopathic gambling, disorders associated with sexual behavior, and intermittent explosive disorder are twice as likely to be associated with men. The same is true for substance use disorders like alcoholism.

Many explanations, both biological and social, have been put forward to account for these differences. Some believe that men are biologically predisposed to violence, while others believe that socialization toward aggressive and sexually acting out behaviors is responsible. Women are often thought to be biologically predisposed to emotionality and problems associated with hormone fluctuation, while others believe that society teaches women to be passive, dependent, and emotional and places strict limits on their roles and autonomy. These expectations can lead to depression, anxiety, and other affective disorders. But what about the definitions of mental disorder themselves? What bias may exist in the assessment and diagnosing of mental problems? What is clear is that the history and current practice of diagnosing and treating mental illness are interwoven with stereotypes and biases that may affect the psychological well-being of both women and men; however, the history and current practice of psychiatry reveal the extent to which women are especially vulnerable.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OVARY

Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, the ovaries and uterus were thought in the medical profession to be the cause of many physical and virtually all psychological disorders. "Female castration," also known as "ovariotomy" or removal of the ovaries, "cauterization" of (sealing off) the uterus, injections into the uterus, and many other painful and sometimes deadly treatments were thought to be the cures. In 1906 it was reported ovaries were removed from 150,000 women in the United States (Ehrenreich and English 2005, 136). According to historian Barker-Benfield (1972),

> Among the indications were troublesomeness, eating like a ploughman, masturbation, attempted suicide, erotic tendencies, persecution mania, simple "cussedness" and dysmenorrhea [painful menstruation]. Most apparent in the enormous variety of symptoms doctors took to indicate castration was a strong current of sexual appetitiveness on the part of women. (quoted in Ehrenreich and English 2005, 136)

Throughout the development of modern medicine, the treatment of physical and mental illness in women has been infused with religious, social, and

patriarchal bias. Women were (and may continue to be) a mystery to the male practitioners of the day. Assumptions about the inner workings of the female body and mind are rooted in answers to the "woman question," painting a picture of the female as innately inferior, primitive, prone to illness, and intensely pathological. Wiping out all manner of problematic behaviors associated with what the ancient Greeks described as the "wandering uterus," known as hysteria and said to gain control of the female personality, was the goal of early psychological interventions. The term *hysteria* appeared in the first version of the *DSM* in 1952. While hysteria could be diagnosed in men, it was overwhelmingly a woman's mental condition. The disorder was later divided into two disorders, hysterical personality disorder and conversion disorder (a neurological-like disorder with no known medical cause, or the "conversion" of intrapsychic distress into physical symptoms). The earlier concept of hysteria would eventually find its way into later versions of the *DSM* disguised as the more palatable histrionic personality disorder, with roots reportedly in the Latin word *histrionicus* or "pertaining to an actor" (Chadoff 1982). With this change in the definition came an evening out of prevalence in the diagnosing of men and women with the disorder, although the diagnosis in men more often is accompanied by gender identity disorder. This is significant because it tells us that only males with stereotypically female traits or what is often labeled "gender role confusion" will likely be given the diagnosis.

Among the leaders of psychiatry in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Sigmund Freud developed his now famous—if not discarded—theories about psychological ailments in women. His work with white, mostly affluent women led Freud to believe women were entirely responsible for their own conditions. He thought of women as a kind of mutilated male, a species that must learn to accept their "deformity" (the "lack" of a penis). This famous doctor is widely thought to have contributed a great deal to the vocabulary of misogyny (hatred, dislike, or mistrust of women: see Ballou and Brown 2002).

During the 1950s and 1960s, there developed a perspective in gynecology that saw pregnancy as in itself a pathological condition that caused women to become temporarily insane (Ehrenreich and English 2005). The root of the problem, it was thought, was the woman's rejection of her femininity caused by the unpleasant changes in her body. Gynecologists at that time began the practice of diagnosing mental illness in women not just during pregnancy but as a routine part of their gynecological care, often using the patient's reaction to the pelvic exam as a way to diagnose problems with sexual adjustment.

In 1986, after a literature review regarding the commonly diagnosed mental illness in women, psychiatrist Paul Chodoff concluded that the hysterical (histrionic) personality is a "caricature of femininity," developing under the influence of cultural forces, particularly male domination, and is not a "natural attribute" of women. It was around that time that psychiatrists finally acknowledged that even though diagnostic criteria do not mention gender, clinicians diagnose women's and men's behavior in different ways (Ford and Widiger 1989).

DID YOU KNOW?

The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM),* published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA), is the manual most commonly used to diagnose mental health disorders in the United States. The *DSM* has gone through five revisions and the sixth version is due for publication in approximately 2011. The *DSM* was created to give psychiatrists and other doctors a diagnostic basis for psychiatric research and practice. It has been controversial, however, and some classified disorders have been heavily debated. Critics point out that men and women are often diagnosed according to different criteria, and although the *DSM* is written in gender-neutral language, in practice men and women tend to be diagnosed differently according to gender role expectations.

DIAGNOSING MENTAL ILLNESS IN WOMEN TODAY

One of the most researched mental illnesses in which differences between men and women are evident is depression. The National Institute of Mental Health reports that in any given year, 10 to 14 million people experience clinical depression; women 18–45 years of age account for the largest proportion of this group (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism 2006). By most accounts, women are twice as likely as men to experience depression and are also far more likely to experience comorbidity with depression. Comorbidity is the occurrence of more than one disorder at the same time and may include physical illnesses as well as other mental disorders and substance abuse. There exists a gender bias in the diagnosing of these comorbid factors as well. For example, women with both depression and substance abuse are more likely to be diagnosed with depression as the primary diagnosis, while the opposite is true for men. Men are more likely to be diagnosed and treated for substance abuse even when the same depressive symptoms are present. This bias could lead to substance abuse issues being taken less seriously in women and depression being taken less seriously in men (Hannah and Grant 1997).

More broadly, some argue that the entire *DSM* is inherently biased, generally coding attributes most often associated with females as pathology, including emotionality and relationship interdependence, but not attributes most often associated with males, such as autonomy and individuality. Clinicians have also been found to have numerous gender biases when treating female patients, such as judging women as more mentally ill than men with the same symptoms, believing what male patients say more than what female patients tell them, prescribing mood-altering drugs more often for women than men, and believing female patients require more monitoring than their male counterparts (Zur and Nordmarken 2006).

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

There is a vast body of research that documents the presence of mood swings associated with hormone changes as part of the menstrual cycle. Women also

experience considerable distress and disorders associated with reproductive health conditions. In direct contrast to earlier beliefs that women are better off without their reproductive organs, infertility and hysterectomy have been found to increase women's risk of mood disorders. Bladder control problems, premenstrual cramping and bloating, and other common gynecological conditions in women are thought to cause symptoms of depression and anxiety. Hormonal fluctuations are linked to antenatal (during pregnancy) and postnatal (after birth) depression.

In 1994 the *DSM* listed a disorder called premenstrual dysphoric disorder (PMDD), characterized by severe emotional and physical symptoms prior to and during menstruation that drastically affect a woman's mood, sense of well-being, sleep, appetite, and so forth. For some, its inclusion as a psychiatric condition legitimized the real mental distress brought about by the female menstrual cycle. For others, it is another example of clear gender bias in the diagnosing of mental illness, pathologizing the normal functions of the female reproductive system. As researchers Zur and Dordmarkin (2006) point out, PMDD's inclusion in the *DSM* was hotly debated among professionals and was decided upon after a vote just before publication. These authors correctly point out that there is no parallel process for men and there are no gender-neutral categories for dysphoria due to hormone imbalance. In their extensive review of the literature on the prevalence of depression in women versus men, Pincinelli and Wilkinson (2000) found that while factors such as adverse experiences in childhood and sociocultural roles likely play a role in the development of depression, the evidence does not support the notion that genetic or biological factors do so. Such findings are likely to discourage some and please others.

GENDER ROLES

It is thought that culturally determined gender roles play a huge part in the prevalence and types of mental disorders diagnosed in females, beginning in childhood and continuing through old age (World Health Organization 2002). Conduct disorders are most often diagnosed in boys during childhood. In adolescence, girls experience lower self-esteem and more anxiety related to body image, both of which are associated with depression and eating disorders. In adulthood, social roles place women more often in situations in which they lack control over their lives. Pressure created by their multiple roles and by gender discrimination resulting in poverty, hunger, malnutrition, overwork, sexual abuse, exposure to violence, and financial insecurity play a role for low-income women in the development of depression. In addition, severe life events that cause a sense of loss, inferiority, humiliation, or entrapment can predict mental illnesses such as depression and anxiety.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Globally, sexual violence is experienced by more girls and women than men: an estimated 1 in 4 women in contrast to 1 in 10 men will be victims of sexual

abuse or assault in their lifetime (Orsillo 2006). There is a direct correlation between sexual violence and the development of multiple mental health problems later in life, including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD historically was diagnosed primarily in men who served in combat and was also known as battle fatigue. The evening out of the numbers of men and women diagnosed with this disorder correlates directly with the recognition that the trauma experienced during sexual abuse and violence is equal to the trauma experienced by war veterans as a result of experiences during combat. It is estimated that up to 70 percent of patients diagnosed with borderline personality disorder and dissociative identity disorder were sexually abused in childhood; in addition, these patients are considerably more likely to experience sexual violence as adults than patients without the disorder. Many women with eating disorders, which are diagnosed five times more often in women than men, share the same sexual abuse history.

RESEARCH AND THE DELIVERY OF TREATMENT SERVICES

Historically, the study of mental illnesses and responses to treatment interventions has been largely limited to men, except for the study of disorders, such as postpartum depression, that affect only women. Research subjects for the study of the development of disorders and the response to medications have largely been men, and the results have then been generalized to women. It is important that studies be conducted with both men and women so that gender variables can begin to be sorted out. Research that has done this has yielded some interesting results. For example, women diagnosed with schizophrenia are more likely to have affective (emotional) symptoms compared to men, respond better to certain types of medications, have better outcomes in programs using a psychosocial approach, and have better outcomes overall than men with the disease (Blackshaw et al. 2006).

Complicating the picture of the rates of mental illnesses in women versus men is the fact that women are more likely to seek services for mental health issues than men and are more likely to be referred for mental health services by medical professionals (World Health Organization 2002). Still, the rates of detection, treatment, and appropriate referrals by health professionals are low (Orsillo 2006). Less than half of people meeting the *DSM* criteria for mental disorder are identified by their primary care doctors. Only two in every five people experiencing a mood, anxiety, or substance abuse disorder seek treatment within the first year. These realities make it difficult to identify those who could benefit from treatment, and further complicate the gender bias picture.

CONCLUSION

Diagnosing and treating mental illness has been described by some as "more of an art than a science" (Zur and Nordmarken 2006). Mental health professionals operate under imprecise guidelines that are loaded with cultural

and personal gender bias. Because of the status of women and the biased and negative manner in which mental disorders have been and sometimes are addressed, women remain especially vulnerable. It is believed that reducing the overrepresentation of debilitating disorders in women such as depression would drastically reduce the global burden of disability caused by mental health problems. But first, patients and professionals alike may benefit from taking a critical look at the multiple factors involved in the development of definitions of disorder and the gender bias that affects the identification and treatment of women.

See also Depression; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Lanai Greenhalgh

MEXICAN FEMALE MIGRANTS

The reasons women migrate from Mexico to the United States are complex and often disputed. The common belief is that women migrate to the United

States primarily to reunite their families. However, the ability to find work plays an important role in migratory patterns.

BACKGROUND

The numbers and proportion (relative to men) of women who migrate to the United States from Mexico are on the rise. They come to reunite their families, but they are able to do this because they can find work here. The longer they live in the United States, the more likely they are to have children who are U.S. citizens. Mexicana (female Mexican) migration and the establishment of families in the United States forge new cultures and identities with implications for our economy and culture. Do women migrate to join their families or for work? Are they likely to settle in the United States, or will they return to Mexico? Who benefits from Mexicana migration?

Beginning in the 1990s, the number of Mexican women migrating to the United States has significantly increased. This is due in part to economic conditions in Mexico, but is also due to labor demand and immigration laws in the United States. The increase in women's migration includes new destinations in the southern, eastern, and midwestern United States, a reflection of changes in the labor market, as demand in California has fallen off and demand has increased in other regions.

The United States has a long history of Mexican migration, dating back to the days when Texas and California were part of Mexico. "Mexican" migration to the United States began in the mid-nineteenth century, when Texas declared its independence and the United States annexed it. The expansion of the railroads in the late nineteenth century opened the rest of the country to the movement of migrants throughout the country. In the first half of the twentieth century, war and economic depression slowed Mexican migration; after 1940, the *bracero* program provided Mexican labor to replace and supplement U.S. labor in the fields. Even when the *bracero* program ended in 1964, Mexican migration continued, although at a lower rate until the 1980s (Massey et al. 1987), when Mexican migration, including female migration, increased (Cornelius 1991; see also LaBotz 2006 and Massey 1995).

Latinos (people of Latin American descent, including Brazilians; Hispanics are people of Spanish-speaking descent, including Spaniards) are the largest minority in the United States, with an estimated population of 40 million. They grow by more than 1.7 million a year. In 2002, Latinos represented 13.3 percent of the total U.S. population; two-thirds (66.9 percent) of these were of Mexican descent. More than one-eighth of the people in the United States are of Latino origin; 10 percent of the population born in Mexico live in the United States. Not only are Latinos an important minority, but they are growing rapidly, accounting for 40 percent of population growth between 1990 and 2000 (United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, 2007, http://www.ushcc.com/). By 2006, 44.7 million (or 15 percent) of the U.S. population was Hispanic, accounting for 53 percent of U.S. population growth in the last decade (Pew Hispanic Center 2006). Women represent an even faster-growing proportion

MEXICAN MIGRATION TIMELINE

1836: Battle of the Alamo; Texas declared independence from Mexico.

1845: The United States annexed Texas: Mexicans became *migrants.*

1942–1964: *Braceros* replaced U.S. workers and continued to supply agricultural labor.

1965: The Immigration Law of 1965 emphasized reunification of families.

1980: A total of 300,000 women were recent migrants from Mexico.

1987–1988: The Simpson-Rodini Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) gave legal residence rights to long-term residents of the United States.

1990s: Mexican immigration increased; women's migration increased.

2001: September 11 attack on the World Trade Center.

2004: A total of 1.1 million women were recent migrants from Mexico.

2007: An immigration reform bill was introduced.

Source: LaBotz 2006.

of Mexican immigrants, increasing from 300,000 in 1980 to 1.1 million in 2004 (Fry 2005).

WHY DO THEY COME?

The causes of Mexicana migration lie in the economic and political conditions in Mexico and the United States; these conditions represent the local effects of globalization (the increased and faster links between political, cultural, and economic systems) (Rees and Smart 2001). These effects of globalization can be traced to the world economic crisis that started in the 1970s. The crisis was both economic (falling rates of profit, increasing debt, rising oil prices) and political (legitimacy crises and electoral crises). The crisis began to be felt in the United States and Mexico in the 1980s. In the United States, rates of profit fell and well-paid, unionized jobs disappeared as industrial production migrated to multiple sites with cheaper labor. In the United States, wages have never regained their precrisis levels. New jobs in the United States are mainly in the unskilled and semiskilled sectors (Castells 1980; Portes and Walton 1981). In the United States, the demand for cheap labor brought more migrants and more women into the labor force.

Political and legal measures worked to facilitate the movement of capital by reducing barriers to foreign capital. International financial institutions, plus agreements such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), forced the Mexican government to freeze wages, float the peso, eliminate agricultural price guarantees, reduce subsidies on basic foods, and open Mexican markets to goods from all over the world. Many internal producers went out of business, the price of maize fell, and unemployment increased. The reform of Article 27 of the Mexican

Constitution privatized land and increased landlessness. These conditions benefited the international sector of the Mexican economy: the incomes of the richest 10 percent of the population increased (de la Garza and Salas 2005), but political resistance was widespread and eventually brought down the governing party. These conditions encourage increased migration to the United States.

Legal mechanisms such as NAFTA facilitate the mobility of capital and products, but workers are constrained by immigration and other laws and local practices, and continue to be, if not controlled, at least penalized for their mobility. Major changes in the organization of production and technology did not eliminate, but rather created, "new world borders" (Rees and Smart 2001) that control the human beings who must cross them. Stepped-up border control and

DISPELLING MYTHS ABOUT MEXICAN MIGRATION

1. *Economic Development.* Migrants do not come from the poorest nations but from growing nations: Mexico is the largest source of immigrants to the United States, with an urban, industrialized economy and an average per capita income of about $9,000 (Massey 2005).

2. *Population Growth.* It isn't overpopulation that fuels migration; women in Mexico have an average of only 2.3 children (Massey 2005).

3. *Wages or Other Resources.* It isn't wages, but a lack of other resources, such as credit, mortgages, and insurance that brings Mexican migrants to the United States (Massey 2005).

4. *Public Services.* Immigrants pay taxes and are not a drain on public services in most cases; immigrants are less likely than others to use public services; 66 percent have Social Security taxes withheld, only 10 percent have sent a child to public schools, and under 5 percent have used food stamps, welfare, or unemployment compensation (Massey 2005). Some data do indicate that, especially with regard to refugees, migrants may be a drain on the public coffers (discussed in Massey 1995). Migrants, however, pay sales taxes and some may subsidize Social Security as they often cannot claim Social Security benefits.

5. *Length of Settlement.* Migrants do not stay long: 75 percent stay less than two years (Massey 2005); Steward, Raub, and Elliott (2006) show that the average stay for Mexican males is 11 years. They all say they would return home if they could.

6. *Criminality.* Mexican immigrant men have a lower rate of incarceration (0.7 percent) than U.S. born Hispanics (5.9 percent) or U.S.-born males (3.5 percent) (Rumbaut, Rubén, and Ewing 2007).

7. *Wage Levels.* Immigrants don't lower wages for native U.S. workers, except for those with less than a high school education. They mainly lower wages for other immigrants (Peri 2007).

8. *Cost of Vegetables.* Undocumented immigrants lower the price of vegetables from 3 to 6 percent (Huffman and McCunn 1996).

new immigration laws have not slowed the flow of migrants, but they have made crossing the border more expensive and more dangerous, especially for women. Migrants have reduced the number of their trips home, and this encourages women to migrate to join their husbands (Donato and Patterson 2004). Mexican women migrate to reunite with their husbands in the United States, often helped by women's networks (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Women join their husbands now more than in the past, because their husbands cannot get back home but also because there are more jobs for women.

WHAT DO THEY DO HERE?

Mexican women migrate to the United States to reunify their families, but most of them work for a living: 51 percent worked at least 47 weeks in 2000 (up from 46 percent in 1980), although more of them work part-time than before. Due to changes in the labor market, jobs are temporary, low-paid, and without benefits. Agricultural employment dropped from 10 percent of female migrant labor in 1980 to 6 percent in 2000; employment in manufacturing dropped from 44 percent to 20 percent. A total of 20 percent worked in food service (Fry 2005). Locally, the makeup of the job market varies. Mexican women migrants have moved from California to other states, where they work in the low-paid service sector.

Latina women earn less than other women, but in some places, they earn more relative to men than other groups. In Butler County, Ohio, for example, Hispanic women's income is 62 percent of men's, higher than that of African American and white women (57 percent). This lesser disparity is due to the fact that all Hispanic workers work in the lowest-paying jobs. Women may earn almost the same as men, but both earn the lowest salaries. High rates of female and male employment may contribute to the anti-immigrant backlash and racial tensions (Massey 1995). In Butler County, Ohio, for example, tension is especially high because (white male) workers have lost well-paid industrial jobs and the only jobs available are assembly and light manufacturing jobs that pay $5/hour. Most of the myths about Mexican migration—criminality, welfare use, remittances as a drain on the U.S. economy, lowered wages, permanent settlement, and so forth—are not supported by the data. Migrant households with women present have more stable housing, more income, and higher church attendance than do households consisting only of men (Rees and Miller 2002; Rees and Nettles 2002).

HOW LONG WILL THEY STAY?

Today, Mexicana migrants are more likely to stay in the United States because crossing the border is particularly dangerous for women, who face harassment and assault by the *coyotes* or border crossing agents (Donato and Patterson 2004). Women's occupations may be less visible and thus women may be less at risk of deportation. Women who work in domestic service do not congregate in large numbers like (mostly male) factory workers. Since women migrate, on average,

a few years after their husbands, they are less likely to have immigration documents, a situation that may give their husbands a hold over them. Women may also be less likely to leave because their children are U.S. citizens. Most Mexican migrants do not stay their whole lives—men stay an average of 11 years, according to Steward et al. (2006)—but this may be changing.

Some version of an immigration reform bill is likely to be passed before the end of George W. Bush's presidency by August 2007. Current versions include a guest worker status that prioritizes skills over family, which would increase family separation. Guest worker programs create two categories of workers with different rights—guests and hosts—and are rejected by immigrant rights groups such as the National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities (www.nalacc.org) and the Coalition for Immigrant Rights and Dignity, a local affiliate in Ohio. Some versions contain a punitive "touch-back" provision that would require the head of the family to return to his home country for a period of time; other versions would simply require him to leave through any border and come back.

Immigration reform may increase the likelihood that Mexicanas will migrate to the United States permanently. They, like women everywhere, make decisions based on their perception of how they can support their family values and survive. Current law and policies make it more likely that women will migrate to the United States and that they will stay and raise their families here.

CONCLUSION

The reasons Mexican women migrate are multiple and dynamic. An analysis of the job market, the history of migrant destinations, and migrant employment indicates that male migrants initially leave Mexico because of economic crisis, and that they go where there are jobs. Mexicanas migrate to reunite their families, but only where they, too, can find employment.

Although most say they want to go home, most cannot support themselves in Mexico, and all are afraid of crossing the border under current conditions. They are likely to stay in the United States, forging a new culture of the twenty-first century, with dynamic identities and new kinds of communities. The anti-immigrant discourse refers to some of the myths about immigrants, but also to the cultural changes that this new majority-minority population has already wrought in language, religion, working style, and neighborhood and household structure. The future points the way toward a global labor market reinforced by local, national, and international barriers, producers, and enclaves. Mexican migration supports the United States' Social Security system and lifestyle.

See also Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Immigration: Laws and Policy Concerning Entry into the United States; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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MILITARIZED PROSTITUTION

The historical legacy of militarized prostitution has been perceived as natural or acceptable by some and exploitative by others. It is important to understand who benefits from this practice and how different feminist perspectives frame the discussion.

BACKGROUND: OPPRESSION OR LEGITIMATE LABOR?

Long before American women were officially allowed to serve in the U.S. Army, women's lives were militarized. Militarization, according to Cynthia Enloe, "is a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military *or* comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas" (2000, 3). While most women remained at home during the eighteenth-century wars, some women—known as camp followers—accompanied military forces. These women were wives, relatives, and prostitutes whose duties included laundry, nursing, and cooking in addition to providing companionship and sex for servicemen (Nagel 2003). Joane Nagel notes that "Throughout history local women have been involuntarily 'drafted' in the sexual service of militaries as rape victims and sexual slaves" (2003, 181). While there are clear instances of women being forced into militarized prostitution, some feminists argue that women entered this profession of their own accord.

Other scholars describe all prostitutes as victims and do not believe in the existence of voluntary prostitution. Janice Raymond states that prostitution is

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KARAYUKI-SAN: COMFORT WOMEN

- A total of 100,000–200,000 Asian women from Korea, China, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, and Taiwan, and white women from the Dutch East Indies were deliberately and brutally forced by the Japanese Government to work as prostitutes for the Japanese Army during World War II (Enloe 1993).
- Despite earlier representations by comfort women survivors and their allies, it was only after Professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi discovered an official document from the 1930s, "Regarding the Recruitment of Women for Military Brothels," that the Japanese government acknowledged that this occurred (Enloe 1993).
- A Survey of Japanese junior high school textbooks shows that the issue of comfort women receives only one or two lines, and the description does not go further than to say that comfort women were treated badly (Sancho 1998).
- The only charges that have been brought against the Japanese were brought by the Batavia Court, which convicted 13 men of forcing Dutch women into prostitution (Choi 1997). The Tokyo War Crimes Trial heard no cases about the Asian comfort women (Choi 1997).

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violence against all women and not a type of work (2005). On the other hand, Kamala Kempadoo "view[s] prostitution not as an identity—a social or psychological characteristic of women, often indicated by 'whore'—but as an income-generating activity or form of labor for women and men" (1998, 3). In an effort to combat widespread reluctance to include sex work among other forms of labor, Jill Nagle (1997) offers the argument that sex work is emotional labor, not entirely different from massage therapy, childcare, and psychiatry. In further analyzing resistance to the mainstreaming of sex work, Kempadoo suggests that "Perhaps one of the most confounding dimensions in the conceptualization of prostitution as labor concerns the relation that exists in many people's minds between sexual acts and 'love,' and with prevailing ideas that without love, sexual acts are harmful and abusive" (1998, 4). Here Kempadoo challenges Kathleen Barry's (1995) perception of sex as a sacred, emotional, and psychological act that should only be shared privately. Barry's stance is commonly held among feminists and stems from the stereotypical portrayal of women as overly emotional, caring, and sensitive beings who are unable to have sex for pure physical enjoyment. The opposing feminist perspectives of sex work inform the discussion of militarized prostitution without which military histories would be incomplete.

CONTROVERSY: WHO IS BENEFITING?

Three dollars paid for three minutes of intimacy in Hawaii during World War II, and almost 250,000 took advantage of this great deal each month (Enloe 1993). Prostitutes, however, were not available to all men. The reports that Honolulu brothel managers submitted to Hawaii's military governor tell us something about the racial attitudes of soldiers (Enloe 1993). Prior to the war, both white men and men of color received service from Hotel Street brothels, although they used segregated entrances. With the increase in white males, managers began refusing men of color, as a mixed-race clientele might offend white soldiers and lead to a decrease in revenue (Enloe 1993). From this example, it is evident that militarized prostitution is connected to racial issues.

Militarized prostitution is not limited to Hawaii nor is it limited to wartime (Nagel 2003). Even in times of "peace," military bases—not limited to those of the United States—provide "a convenient and lucrative market for the sex industry" (Nagel 2003, 187). Local women, whose sexual labor services soldiers, describe how their relationships with local men as well as their lack of financial support influence their decision to become prostitutes (Enloe 1992). Military bases are among many environments that allow prostitution to take place. Feminists acknowledge that choice is always constrained by the politics of peoples' histories, locations, and globalized economics, yet still question whether these women are victims or workers seeking employment. As militarized prostitution still exists today, there continue to be divergent perspectives on this and other intersecting institutions such as racism, homophobia, globalization, and imperialism.

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Mail-Order Brides; Military History; Terrorism and National Security.

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Nadia Dropkin

MILITARY HISTORY

Whether women should be allowed to participate in the military and what the nature of their participation should be are questions that have long been debated by men and women alike. Controversies surrounding women's active duty in the military stem from long-held views on traditional gender roles; biological arguments that women are not suited for combat; and historical processes in which women have been viewed as outside the realm of war and battle.

BACKGROUND

Historically, women have accompanied the military in its entourage, as families coming along for support, and to cook or clean for the troops as camp followers. Some have also followed for less "honorable" reasons, seeking to make

an income by working as prostitutes, a trend that continues today near military bases around the world. Originally, women who wanted to be members of the military had to disguise their gender and masquerade as men in order to serve their country. Nursing was the primary means for women to aid military causes. During World War II, women were finally allowed to enlist in the military, but as members of auxiliary forces. It was not until the 1970s that women were integrated into the various branches of the military, but there were restrictions on the positions they could fill. Even today, while the roles for women have been expanded, they are still barred from many occupations deemed unsuitable for women due to their close proximity to combat.

EARLY PATRIOTS

During the American Revolution, women were present as camp followers. There were also women in uniform, none suspecting their true identity. Among these women was Deborah Sampson, who, under the name Robert Shurtliff, served with the 4th Massachusetts, performing various duties. She was wounded twice, and her gender was not detected until she came down with a fever. Apparently, she was discreetly discharged from service, and resumed life as a civilian (Leonard 1999, 166–68). During the attack on Fort Washington, Margaret Corbin assumed her husband's position on an artillery piece when he fell wounded. Congress awarded her a pension for her heroism in 1779 (Leonard 1999, 102–3).

In the War of 1812, Lucy Brewer, a farm girl from Massachusetts, served on board the USS *Constitution,* or "Old Ironsides," under the name George Baker. It was many years before the Marine Corps would acknowledge that she may well have been the first woman marine. Women would not be recruited for the Marine Corps until 1918 (Wilson 2007).

During the Civil War (1861–1865), women were allowed to aid the war through efforts with the Sanitary Commission or ladies' aid societies, or as nurses. Others, like Jennie Hodgers, disguised their gender in order to fight in combat. Known as Albert Cashier, Hodgers served the duration of the war, and continued in her male persona even after the war (Leonard 1999, 185). Some women served in the role of vivandière, or "daughter of the regiment." While never officially recognized by the military, these women performed various duties, including cooking, cleaning, carrying water for the troops, and flag bearing. Some even fought alongside the men. Marie Tepe, Kady Brownell, and Annie Ethridge were among the more famous vivandières (Leonard 1999, 106–21). After graduating with a medical degree, Dr. Mary Walker was refused a commission as an army surgeon, but served on a volunteer basis in a hospital in Washington, DC. For almost two years she served as a field surgeon, then was appointed assistant surgeon of the 52nd Ohio Infantry. She received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1865 (Reeves 1996, 83). Raised a slave in Georgia, Susie King Taylor served as a nurse, cook, and laundress with the First South Carolina Volunteers (an all-black unit) (Leonard 1999, 152–53).

With advancements in medicine, preenlistment physicals became more strict, making it nearly impossible for women to "pass" as men in order to serve in the

military. Because of the introduction of physical examinations, women could no longer show their teeth and wear bulky clothes in order to pass as adolescent boys. Now they were forced to find alternative ways to aid the military cause.

WOMEN AS NURSES

Nursing was the way for most women to aid the military. Prior to the American Civil War, medicine had been a largely male occupation, even nursing. But it was obvious that women made good nurses, and there was a need within the military to care for wounded soldiers.

During the Spanish-American War, typhoid epidemics ran rampant through the camps. Congress authorized the procuring of female nurses by the U.S. Army. However, these women would not be given military status: they were hired as "civilian contractors." From 1898 to 1901, over 1,500 women served in the U.S. military, on hospital ships and overseas (Reeves 1996, 88–89).

In 1901, the Army Nurse Corps was established. This was mainly to meet the acknowledged need for educated nurses for the military, as well to provide a way to regulate them. The Navy Nurse Corps was established shortly thereafter, in 1908 (Reeves 1996, 90).

In World War I (1917–1918), nearly 21,500 army nurses served in military hospitals in the United States and overseas. Over 250 military nurses died during the war, most from the "Spanish flu" that swept through military camps. During the war, the army recruited bilingual telephone operators to work switchboards in France. The navy enlisted 11,880 women as yeomen to serve stateside, enabling sailors to go to sea. A total of 305 women marine reservists were recruited to fill positions as clerks and telephone operators on the home front to "free men to fight" (Reeves 1996, 97). In 1930, following the war, the National Defense Act was passed, granting military nurses the status of officers with "relative rank" from lieutenant to major, but not with full rights and privileges (Reeves 1996, 98).

WOMEN IN AUXILIARY GROUPS

During World War II (1941–1945), women found additional ways to serve in the nation's military. In addition to the 60,000 army nurses who served, others joined the WACs, WASPs, and WAVES. The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was established by the army in 1942, then converted into the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in 1943 (Moore 1996, 116). Of the more than 150,000 WACs, thousands were sent to the European and Pacific theaters. The Women Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs) were organized to serve as civil service pilots, flying stateside missions. Of the more than 14,000 navy nurses, at least 16 were held as prisoners of war. Approximately 80,000 women were recruited into the Navy Women's Reserve, called Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) and established in 1942. The Marine Corps created the Marine Corps Women's Reserve in 1943, and the women who joined it served stateside in a variety of clerical and administrative positions. In 1942, the Coast Guard established its Women's Reserve, known as SPARs (after the motto *Semper Paratus*)

and these women were also assigned primarily to clerical and administrative posts. By the conclusion of the war, over 400,000 American military women had served in nearly all noncombat jobs. With the establishment of the United States as a world power, it was forced to maintain the largest peacetime military in the history of the nation, but mustered out all but a few servicewomen (Sadler 1999, 40–41).

When women began joining the military in the 1940s, a woman's character and reasoning were called into question. It was thought that she was joining the military to find a husband or find multiple sex partners, or that perhaps she wished she were a man. Yet the majority of these women served with dedication.

During the Korean War (1950–1953), servicewomen who had joined the reserves after World War II were involuntarily recalled to active duty. Over 500 army nurses served in combat zones and many more were assigned to hospitals in Japan. Navy nurses served on hospital ships in the Korean theater as well as navy hospitals stateside. Air force nurses served stateside, in Japan, and as flight nurses in the Korean theater (Reeves 1996, 106–7). Captain Lillian Kinkela Keil (the inspiration for the film *Flight Nurse*) flew hundreds of air evacuation missions during World War II and in Korea while in the Air Force Nurse Corps She was one of the most decorated women in the U.S. military, earning decorations including the European Theater of Operations Medal with Four Battle Stars, the Air Medal with Three Oak Leaf Clusters, the Presidential Unit Citation with One Oak Leaf Cluster; the Korean Service Medal with Seven Battle Stars, the American Campaign Medal, the United Defense Medal, and a Presidential Citation, Republic of Korea (Wilson 2007).

In 1951, the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) was created in order to provide advice on the recruitment of military women for the Korean War. Due to pressure from DACOWITS, Congress removed the ceiling on the number of women who could serve and revised the promotion system (Sadler 1999, 42).

Thousands of American military women served in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War (1965–1975). Over 6,000 army, navy, and air force nurses and medical specialists served. There were over 500 WACs, and 600 women in the Air force stationed in Vietnam. The women served with MASH units, on medical evacuation flights, in operations groups, and in information offices, as well as in other clerical, intelligence, and personnel positions (Wilson 2007).

INTEGRATION OF THE MILITARY

The 1970s saw a great deal of change for women in the American military. In 1970, the chief of the Army Nurse Corps and the Women's Army Corps director were the first women to be promoted to brigadier general. In 1972, the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) was opened to women. With the end of the draft and the establishment of the all-volunteer force in 1973, the doors were opened to expand the roles and numbers of servicewomen. Between 1976 and 1978, the separate entities for servicewomen, such as the WAC and SPAR, were

disestablished and women were integrated into their respective services (Sadler 1999, 42–44).

In the 1990s, the United States had numerous dealings with the Middle East. During the first war in the Persian Gulf (1990–1991), 40,000 American military women were deployed during Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm. The 1990s also saw important legislative changes for women, including the National Defense Authorization Acts of 1992 and 1993, which repealed the combat exclusion laws the prohibited women from permanently being assigned to combat aircraft. In 1998, during Operation Desert Fox, a woman fighter pilot delivered a payload of missiles and laser-guided bombs in combat. This was the first time in American history that a woman had served in such a combat role (WIMSA MF 2007).

As of 2003, servicewomen were still barred from several positions. In the army, they are not allowed in the infantry, armored units, special forces, combat engineer companies, ground surveillance radar platoons, and air defense artillery batteries. In the Air Force, they are not allowed to serve as combat controllers, in para-rescue, and in those units and positions that routinely collocate (are embedded) with direct ground combat units. In the navy, they are not allowed in submarines, coastal patrol boats, mine warfare ships, SEAL (Special Forces) units, joint communications units that collocate with SEALs, and support positions (such as medical or chaplain) that collocate with Marine Corps units that are closed to women. In the Marine Corps, they are not allowed in infantry units at the level of regiments and below, artillery units at the level of battalions and below, all armored units, combat engineer battalions, reconnaissance units, riverine assault craft units, low-altitude air defense units, and fleet antiterrorism security teams. In the Coast Guard, all positions are available to women (WIMSA MF 2007).

CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS

In general, the integration of women into the military has been slow and uneven. The need for women's involvement has peaked according to the nation's need, especially in times of war. It was in World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War that the numbers of women involved, and seeking involvement, reached their highest points. However, there have always been women who have wanted to serve and have been denied. In the twenty-first century, with the United States military stretched across various points around the globe, women could be an asset.

Sexual tension has been cited by many opponents of women's participation to explain why women should not be allowed in the military. The concern is over possible sexual relations that could result in unwanted pregnancy, or cause conflict when facing combat, as in the argument that a man would be more likely to protect his lover than fight for his country. Studies have been conducted, however, showing that gender-integrated combat units are as effective as male-only combat units, and that the members of these units are more likely to develop brother-sister binds than sexual bonds (Peach 1996, 167).

With regard to pregnancy, the historical argument against allowing women in combat was their conflicting roles as mothers, or potential mothers. It is the notion of protecting the nation's childbearers. While the argument remains that women lose more duty time than men due to pregnancy, this may not be accurate if the rates of men's loss of duty time for being absent without leave, for desertion, for drug and alcohol abuse, and for confinement are tallied. While pregnancy does prevent a woman from serving to her fullest capacity, women's potential to be mothers should not prevent all women from serving. (Peach 1996, 170–71). Women still have to contend with the image of women as caregiver and the argument that women are more "naturally" suited to caring for others, and thus that they are best as carers for a child once it is born (Herbert 1998, 28).

Another argument against the inclusion of women in the military has been that women are weaker than men. It is the societal understanding that women, being "feminine," are weaker than and inferior to "masculine" men. (Herbert 1998, 68). The scenario depicted is that of a woman of inferior physical strength leaving a comrade behind. While this might have been a worthy argument in years gone by, the modern age of warfare relies more on technology and button pushing than on physical contact with the enemy (Peach 1996, 168).

Republican members of the House Armed Services Committee pushed a provision (Section 574) in the 2006 Defense Authorization bill (H.R. 1815) that would bar women from serving in "any unit below brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground." After objections from the Pentagon and the army, the committee adopted a revised amendment. However, the revised amendment incorporates language from a 1994 memorandum, which excludes women from assignment to forward areas "exposed to hostile fire" and with a "high probability of direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel." If this wording were to be incorporated into federal law, within the army, more than 20,000 forward support and related positions currently open to women could be closed (Shiozaki 2005).

There are several issues relevant to women beyond their being barred from certain military jobs. In 2006, a survey taken at the Citadel indicated that sexual assault is a problem. Of the 118 female cadets (of whom 114 responded) nearly 20 percent reported having been sexually assaulted since they started classes. A total of 68 percent reported experiencing sexual harassment, usually on campus and involving another cadet. An Associated Press (AP) investigation indicated that in 2005 more than 1,000 potential female recruits were victims of sexual misconduct by recruiters. The Department of Defense has failed to implement a military-wide system of data collection on reports of incidents of sexual assault and harassment. Women like Suzanne Swift, who reported being sexually harassed and raped, have found no justice after reporting the situation to the military authorities. There are reports of U.S. service members sexually assaulting and raping civilian women in the Middle East (Shiozaki 2006).

Women are currently serving with distinction in Iraq and Afghanistan. All soldiers, regardless of their specialty, are "in harm's way." Interestingly, during the Vietnam War, nearly three-quarters of all military women were subjected to

combat positions (Peach 1996, 156). The very concept of warfare has changed, since there is no longer a "front line." The mission of the "direct ground combat" (DGC) troops is still the same. Direct ground combat is engaging or attacking the enemy with deliberate offensive action under fire. Current Defense Department regulations require that direct ground combat units be male. Support units that are embedded (collocate) with smaller direct ground combat battalions 100 percent of the time are to bar female soldiers. However, army officials have placed female soldiers in forward support companies (FSCs), which do collocate with all-male infantry/armored maneuver battalions 100 percent of the time, although the secretary of the army and other officials claim that female soldiers will not be present when DGC units are "conducting" direct ground combat. Additionally, the army has dropped multiple launch rocket systems (MLRS) and Reconnaissance Surveillance and Target Acquisition (RSTA) squadrons from the list of DGC units coded to be all male, without Department of Defense authorization or notice to Congress. Therefore, while women may be gaining admission to units from which they were once barred, this is not official or sanctioned. Any changes within the structure of the military need to be formally made so that accountability can be enforced (CMR 2007).

CONCLUSION

Throughout American history, women have shown determination to join the military. When women were barred entirely, and physical exams were lacking, numerous women disguised their gender to join the military. When that was no longer an option, women turned to nursing as a means to aid their nation's military. But this was not enough. Gradually, women gained recognition for their efforts, and in the 1970s women were integrated into the military forces of the United States.

However, there are many positions from which women are barred because of regulations intended to keep women from direct combat situations. In this age of modern warfare, there are no longer certain front lines. Women have proven that they are capable of fighting alongside men and should be allowed admittance to the remaining positions. In light of escalating military involvement around the world, soldiers are needed. Why should qualified women be turned away?

See also Comparable Worth; Equal Rights Amendment; Glass Ceiling; Lesbians and Gays in the Military.

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Darla Bowen

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NATIONALISM

Debates concerning women and nationalism involve contrasting views on women as biological and cultural reproducers, on whether women should participate in political processes and nationalist movements, and on how nationalist ideologies either exclude or include women as citizens.

BACKGROUND

Nationalism, or national identity, comprises the commonly held beliefs and feelings that unite the members of a nation. Nationalism is mobilized for both positive and negative reasons. Nationalism is constantly shifting and changing, redefined in response to historical legacies, in light of current realities, and with an understanding of future possibilities. Patricia Hill Collins defines a nation as "a collection of people who have come to believe that they have been shaped by a common past and are destined to share a common future" (2000, 229). The people who inhabit nations generally share a common language, cultural practices, a sense of common history, and an identity that makes them different from those outside the national collective. Together, they share a sense of belonging to what some scholars call an "imagined community," since nation-states are human-made constructions that have developed, in elaborate ways, throughout modern history (Anderson 1983). A nation, however, does not require a geographic territory. Rather, multiple nations can occupy one nation-state. For example, Native American nations have national identities distinct from that of the U.S. nation-state. And nations can transcend the boundaries of nation-states; for example, Chicanos/as living in the United States often feel that they

are part of the Mexican nation despite their geographic location outside of the Mexican nation-state.

Nationalist ideologies are often mobilized in order to justify processes of war making and militarization: People go to war in the name of the nation. For example, the so-called war on terror is waged in the name of protecting the U.S. nation-state and U.S. nationalistic ideals of freedom and democracy. Anti-state struggles are also often framed by ideas of nationalism and national identity. The antiapartheid struggle in South Africa is an example of a revolutionary movement that mobilized nationalist ideologies in order to resist the nation-state. The Palestinian movement is another example of an ethnic and religious community mobilized on the basis of nationalism; in this case, those who support this struggle wish Palestine to be acknowledged as an independent nation.

While feminist scholars have become increasingly interested in nationalism, traditional scholarship on nationalism and national identity has failed to examine the role of women in the nation. Women have traditionally been seen as marginal to the nation and insignificant in the establishment of national identity, despite their important roles in movements both for and against nation-states, both on the left and on the right. To counter this historical omission, feminist scholars have examined how ideas of citizenship and national belonging are gendered, raced, and classed. By examining how the "ideal" citizen is constructed, feminists have illustrated how nation-states are based on an ideal citizen type that tends to privilege those who fit within that mold while marginalizing segments of the nation deemed inferior, both

FEMALE SUICIDE BOMBERS

The increasing phenomenon of female suicide bombers is an issue of great controversy because according to traditional gender ideologies, women are not expected to play such militant roles in defending a nation or national community. In 1985, the first known female suicide bomber drove a truck into an Israeli Defense Force truck, killing two soldiers (Zedalis 2004). One study documents the fact that between 1985 and 2006, there were 220 female suicide bombers worldwide, comprising nearly 15 percent of the total number of suicide bombings in that time period (Schweitzer 2006, 8). While stereotypes of women as docile and innocent have allowed many female suicide bombers to be successful, some religious leaders and organizations have voiced strong opposition to women's martyrdom through suicide bombings. Because female suicide bombers tend to garner significant media attention, are less likely to be searched at checkpoints, and are increasingly seen as a necessity for nationalist movements with a scarcity of soldiers, some male-based nationalist movements have increasingly supported them (Zedalis 2004). Hamas and the High Islamic Council in Saudi Arabia, among others, use the rhetoric of necessity as a justification for the use of female suicide bombers. They argue that it has become necessary for women to participate in suicide bombings for both tactical and personnel reasons, that is, because of the depletion of male suicide bombers (Zedalis 2004). The entry of women into the role of suicide bomber illustrates how in times of war and conflict women's responsibility to and role in the nation shifts and changes.

formally and informally. For example, many observers have pointed out that people of color, women, and gays and lesbians have been excluded from the citizen rights afforded to those of heterosexual, European/white, male backgrounds.

WOMEN AS BIOLOGICAL REPRODUCERS OF THE NATION

According to scholars of women and nationalism, women are typically viewed in their traditional gender roles, as both biological and cultural reproducers of the nation. Biologically, women are responsible for reproducing the next generation of citizens, thus making their reproductive lives of prime importance to the nation. Within different contexts, women are either encouraged to reproduce or discouraged from reproducing. Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) has identified three primary nationalist discourses that serve to shape how women's reproductive capacity is conceptualized in relation to the nation: the people as power discourse, the eugenics discourse, and the Malthusian discourse.

The people as power discourse is based in the belief that the survival of the nation is dependent upon its continual growth. The need for people can arise for a variety of reasons. For example, the nation may need soldiers to sustain a military struggle, or in order to provide a continuous supply of laborers necessary for economic growth. This discourse generally encourages women to produce new members of the nation, at times admonishing women who choose not to reproduce. Within the context of this discourse, reproduction is women's national duty. The people as power discourse is intimately tied to the eugenics discourse when some citizens or national members are encouraged to reproduce while others are discouraged from reproduction.

The eugenics discourse is more concerned with the "quality" of the nation rather than the size of the nation. The eugenics discourse has been mobilized historically and continues to be used today. Nazi Germany provides the clearest historical example of a nationalist eugenic project. Also of importance to feminists is the historical legacy of sterilizing certain populations in order to prevent the reproduction of certain groups of people. Within the U.S. context, sterilization campaigns have targeted Native American women and women of color. Currently, we can see the eugenics discourse mobilized both in the United States and internationally. Patricia Hill Collins argues that welfare policies that serve to discourage poor women of color from reproducing are fundamentally rooted in a eugenics discourse, continuing the legacy of forced sterilizations (2006). Within an international context, the prime minister of Singapore has deemed it the patriotic duty of highly educated women to reproduce and has offered a cash award to poor, uneducated women who agree to be sterilized (Yuval-Davis 1997, 32). Supporters of eugenicist policies believe in defending a nation's "purity," typically on the basis of race, and in their view women play a central role in either contaminating or purifying the nation.

The Malthusian discourse is focused on decreasing national growth overall. This discourse is rooted in the fear that unregulated population growth will lead to the economic and political collapse of the nation. The Chinese population control policy is the clearest example of the implementation of the Malthusian

discourse. The Malthusian discourse tends to have gendered effects. For example, because male children are often more highly valued than female children for social and economic reasons, in many situations where nationalist policies limit women's reproductive capacity we also see high rates of selective abortion and infanticide directed at female children.

Critics of these three approaches argue that policies, laws, and cultural practices should not be directed at women simply because they are responsible for childbearing. Because societal values play important roles in shaping people's ideas about national belonging and about gender roles, these observers argue that women should be viewed as contributors to the public realm of politics, economics, and culture as much as biological reproducers, if not more than as biological reproducers (Yuval-Davis 1997).

WOMEN AS CULTURAL PRODUCERS OF THE NATION

In addition to their role as biological reproducers of the nation, women are also typically viewed as cultural reproducers of the nation. According to this view, women contribute to the cultural reproduction of the nation in two distinct ways. First, women are traditionally responsible for teaching the next generation of citizens the cultural traditions and ideologies of the nation. Through their roles as mothers and caregivers, women have the power to either reinscribe or transform national ideologies. Second, women exist as the symbolic boundary markers of the nation. Through "proper" clothing and "proper" behavior, women embody and perform the collective understanding of national gender identities (Yuval-Davis 1997, 46). When women transgress their traditional position within the nation they are often ostracized by the nation, or in extreme circumstances eliminated from the nation. On the other hand, women who defend "proper" behavior are often rewarded for their efforts and seen as important leaders of change.

Recent demographic changes in the United States, partly catalyzed by immigration patterns, have challenged scholars' understandings of women's role as cultural and biological reproducers. For example, transnational adoption pushes us to question the significance of women as the biological reproducers of the nation. Scholars have begun to question what it means for a nation when the idea of common blood can no longer be imagined. Furthermore, the increasing presence of foreign-born domestic workers and nannies forces us to develop new ways of understanding who can contribute to the reproduction of the nation (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). Understanding how certain populations actively contribute to the reproduction of other nations and understanding the effects of this transnational reproduction process are increasingly relevant.

FEMALE PATRIOTS: WOMEN AND NATIONALISM DURING TIMES OF WAR AND CONFLICT

Women's relationship to the nation is constantly shifting and changing, particularly during times of war and conflict. Traditionally, women have been defined as

those most in need of protection, and men have been defined as those most capable of protecting them: men go to war in the name of the nation in order to protect women and children. History has shown, however, that women are increasingly incorporated into armed struggle, as armed combatants, when the survival of the nation is dependent on their participation. This trend is most clearly seen in nationalist revolutionary struggles, such as the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the antiapartheid struggle in South Africa, and in cases where voluntary service does not fill the necessary ranks, as is currently the case in the United States.

Some scholars have argued that women's incorporation into the military is a precondition for women's achievement of full citizenship. This argument is based on the belief that dying for one's nation is the ultimate citizenship duty and that full citizenship rights are conditional upon one's willingness to fulfill this duty (Yuval-Davis 1997, 93). However, there are two general outcomes of women's incorporation into a nation's armed forces. First, when women are incorporated into armed struggle because of a lack of willing and capable male soldiers, we see a general rolling back of women's roles in the military and in the nation once armed struggle has ended. Women are mobilized when necessary and then expected to retake their marginalized position when their labor is no longer needed. Second, even when women are incorporated into a nation's military, there still generally exists a sexual division of labor. For example, women have been increasingly incorporated into the U.S. military; however, they are still

RADICAL NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS AND GENDER IDEOLOGIES

Nationalist organizations focused on creating a "pure" or "ideal" national body exist around the world. Aryan Nations, based in the United States, is one such organization. Founded in 1974 by Pastor Richard G. Butler, Aryan Nations preaches racial and religious purity, wishing to turn North America, and the United States in particular, into a land in which only white Christians reside (Aryan Nations). Their rhetoric is anti-Semitic and often misogynistic.

While Aryan Nations is run by men, many women who share similar ideals have created similar organizations. For example, an organization called Women for Aryan Unity, based in Canada, utilizes traditional female roles to promote Aryan purity in Canada and the United States. These women believe that their roles as wives and mothers are under attack and that the best way women can contribute to the Aryan movement is to "keep [your husband's] home, provide for his comfort and teach your children well" (Women for Aryan Unity). Drawing on the people as power discourse, organizations such as Women for Aryan Unity utilize stereotypical images of women as wives and mothers as part of their campaign to increase the number of national members.

Organizations like Aryan Nations and Women for Aryan Unity utilize nationalist ideologies to create a common understanding among their members. The members of these organizations collectively imagine their "ideal" nation and actively (often violently) work to make it a reality.

prohibited from serving on the front lines and are not fully incorporated into elite forces such as the Green Berets and the Special Forces divisions. Thus, while women give their lives for the nation, we have yet to see an example of a national military that fully incorporates women on equal terms with men for a sustained period of time. Women's incorporation into the armed forces of the nation continues to mirror women's marginalized relationship to the nation in general.

CONCLUSION: GENDER AND NATIONALISM IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

Demographic changes brought about by global changes, including immigration as well as economic globalization, are challenging scholars to develop new understandings of nationalism and national identity. As people are increasingly crossing borders, nationalism is becoming less tied to citizenship and geographic location. It is becoming more common for individuals to live in a nation-state with which they do not identify or to identify themselves as members of more than one national collective. Furthermore, the rise of transnational economic agreements and global militarization has created a context in which the policies of one nation-state greatly affect the lives of those in other nation-states. For example, transnational trade agreements such as NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and CAFTA (the Central American Free Trade Agreement) tie the citizens of North America together in new and complicated ways. The realities of globalization challenge scholars of nationalism to develop new ways of understanding national identity beyond, within, and across borders. Those who study women's relationships to nationalism must take these new transnational processes into account, in addition to continuing to ask important questions about why and how specific groups of women choose to either support or defend their nations, and how and under what circumstances certain women are (or are not) considered full citizens according to the laws and nationalist ideologies that shape their experiences of belonging to a nation.

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Military History; Terrorism and National Security.

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Jill Williams and Damaris Del Valle

NATURE VERSUS NURTURE

Whether individual behaviors, actions, and identities are shaped by innate biological factors (nature) or by environmental factors (nurture) is highly controversial and debated at length in scientific, legal, and popular-cultural arenas. In particular, people are divided over whether gender and sexual identities are acquired through learned behavior or through genes.

BACKGROUND

The phrase *nature versus nurture* refers primarily to the debate on biological determinism versus social constructionism. In this debate, *nature* implies that one is "born that way," whereas *nurture* implies that one is a "product of the environment" that surrounds us. Biological determinism is the belief that a person's genes, as opposed to environmental factors, determine a person's behaviors and actions. There are very few people who strictly adhere to the idea that genetic makeup is entirely responsible for actions because, as scientific studies have shown, there is little research to support such a hypothesis (Fausto-Sterling 1985). However, a number of people believe that certain traits are encoded into our DNA and are then triggered to affect our behavior or identity, including sexual or gender identity.

Theories rooted in social constructionism start from a different point of departure and often present a challenge to theories of biological determinism. Social constructivist theories of identity posit that behaviors or actions are a result of learned environmental factors in a person's specific social or cultural surroundings. Supporters of this approach believe more often than not that the socially constructed environment is the sole factor in shaping actions, behaviors, and the development of identities. In contrast, supporters of biological determinism either believe that "biology is destiny" or there is a combination of influences that include both biology and culture. Most supporters of biological deterministic theories of identity hold mixed views, as it is much harder to prove conclusively that environmental factors have nothing to do with actions, behaviors, or identities, because researchers cannot control for environmental factors

(Fausto-Sterling 1985). Because everyone grows up immersed in culture and society, the mixed view holds, it is hard to control for its effects on individuals. This is one of the reasons why the nature versus nurture debate has continued without any conclusive resolution. It is simply too difficult to prove, one way or the other. However, there are a great many people who believe that while many attributes or behaviors are socially constructed, certain aspects of them may be encoded in our DNA. In both camps, most supporters believe in a combination of nature and nurture, although there is disagreement on which one is more influential in our development.

DEBATES ON NATURE VERSUS NURTURE: GENDER ROLES AND SEXUAL IDENTITY

Current debates on nature vs. nurture have centered primarily on two general issues: gender roles and sexual identities.

Gender Roles: Are Men Naturally Superior to Women?

Gender roles have been one of the most frequently argued issues in the broader nature/nurture debates. Historically, sex and gender were seen as biologically determined and one and the same. Philosophers Simone de Beauvoir (1952) and Michel Foucault (1978), along with several other feminist theorists, have challenged the notion that gender roles are derived entirely from biological sex and that these two categories are inseparable. Generally, contemporary social-scientific and medical theory distinguishes between sex as being rooted in the biological differences between biological males and females, whereas gender encompasses the social roles, norms, and attitudes attributed to the sexes. Especially beginning with second-wave feminism in the 1960s, some traditional arguments, such as the idea that women are "naturally" caregiving, more fit to raise children because they give birth to them, began to be questioned and re-thought.

In contrast, in the nineteenth century, some scientists thought that any women who worked outside the home were setting themselves up for "a struggle against nature" (Bagehot 1879). While the traditional viewpoint of many societies argues that there are natural differences between women and men, such as strength, intelligence capabilities in specific areas, and nurturing and caregiving roles, contemporary feminists questioned the naturalness of these differences. However, recent scholars have pointed out that even these feminists often, ironically, used similar naturalist arguments to assert their points of view. These scholars' arguments hinged on debating *what* was natural, not *whether* anything was (Smith and Carroll 2000). Other more recent feminist arguments have emphasized that biological reasoning has been used historically to attempt to legitimate misogynistic practices, arguments, and structures.

For example, sociobiologists have argued that evolutionary history informs our sexual relationships. They argue that "Man's natural sexuality sends him in search of many sex partners, making him an unstable mate at best, while

woman's biological origins destine her to keep the home fires burning, impelling her to employ trickery and deceit to keep hubby from straying" (Fausto-Sterling 1985). In this example of "natural" ideology, men are inherently oversexed, while women are inherently trying to trap a man. Here the stereotypes of women as passive, deceitful, and manipulative and men as aggressive and incapable of commitment are seen as natural instead of resulting from social constructions of men and women's gender roles. These particular stereotypes have been challenged by feminists, who assert that they benefit only men and are used as a justification for violence against women, cheating by men in stable relationships, and retaliation against women who refuse to fulfill their traditional gender roles in the household and elsewhere.

Another focus of feminist debate and controversy concerns women's education, due to the supposedly inherent differences between men and women. Historically, hysteria, in which a woman's womb "wandered," and damage to reproductive organs was believed to be the result of women's attempt to learn (Fausto-Sterling 1985). Women were not allowed to go to college or even to read or write, while men were encouraged to do so for a great deal of modern Western history. Eventually, upper- and middle-class white women secured the right to create women's colleges in the late nineteenth century, and later secured the right to attend "male" colleges. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, women were told to learn different things, even in college, such as home economics or food preparation, instead of math or science. The increasing numbers of women in college and in math and science majors is a direct result of women's rights advocacy for increased opportunities and an acknowledgment that these supposedly inherent differences in ability to learn were in fact a result of stereotypes about gender that manifested themselves in differing relationships between teachers and students rather than a result of natural biological differences. Thus, now, many observers point out that it is not that women are inherently worse at math and science due to brain size or capacity, but instead that women are not given the opportunities to learn math and science at a young age, and are not typically encouraged to study these subjects while young boys are.

The recent emphasis on nature versus nurture by feminist scholars is in response to the second wave of feminist activism that occurred during the 1960s and the 1970s. Betty Friedan's 1963 publication, *The Feminine Mystique,* addressed the question of whether women actually belonged in the home or not. For a great many years, white middle-class women were expected to rear children and be homemakers while their husbands worked for pay in the public sphere. Friedan and several other liberal feminists challenged the idea that women were natural caregivers and should be relegated to the private (versus public) sphere. They explained that this supposedly natural caretaking role was simply a way for society to keep women in positions of servitude and inequality (Friedan 1963). As a result of these feminist arguments, more women began working outside the home and agitating for public recognition of women's equality.

In general, feminists have taken a remarkably wide array of stances on the idea of gender as biologically based or socially constructed. In particular, radical cultural feminists, who believed in biological differences and were sex repressive,

were pitted against radical libertarian feminists, who adopted a social constructionist approach and were sex positive, as they both tried to interrogate issues of patriarchy as the root of oppression (Tong 1998). Radical cultural feminists noted the biological differences between men and women and held up menstruation and childbirth as means with which to acknowledge a "women's culture." They then used this "women's culture" to posit that "women are [inherently] gentler and kinder than men." The strategy for activism would be for a "women's culture" to infiltrate male-dominated spaces to affect change, for example, to eliminate conflicts such as wars and to gain equity in pay and other areas of inequality (Tong 1998). This ideology clearly accepts "natural" biological determinism in women's actions and identities, and while it was present in the second wave of feminism it was also present in many early feminist writings of the first wave, such as the work of Jane Addams in the early years of the twentieth century. Radical cultural feminists, however, did not see a distinct "women's culture" in which all women were inherently more gentle and kind than men. Instead they viewed patriarchy as encouraging these ideas, which were biologically unfounded, in order to oppress women and keep them in the home.

As feminist thought expanded, the debate over whether or not certain stereotypical feminine traits were inborn or socially constructed continued. Judith Lorber, who wrote "Night to His Day: The Social Construction of Gender" (1993), an often-quoted feminist text on these ideas, explains that gender is so endemic in our ways of life, through our gender roles and sex-stereotyping activities, that most people inherently believe their gender is inborn. However, she argues that the characteristics that seem so inborn are actually gender roles that we attribute to ourselves as a result of our social environment. Lorber shows that different societies do not view men and women in the same way. For example, historically or cross-culturally, third genders, including *hijras,* neither men nor women in Indian society, and *kathoey,* biologically born males who grow up as women in Thailand, exist (Nanda 2000). Showing how gender identity varies by culture calls attention to the ways in which it is a product of culture (nurture) rather than biology (nature).

Sexual Identity: The Causes of Homosexuality

The other current controversy that draws much attention to debates on nature versus nurture concerns the cause of homosexuality. Historically, the cause of homosexuality has often been the subject of scientific research studies looking for a biological reason for variances in sexual identity. One of the more recent and famous studies in this area was conducted by a gay scientist, Simon LeVay, in the late 1980s. LeVay's study of the postmortem brains of 35 men and six women found that a section of the hypothalamus was not as large in the gay men and the women as it was in the heterosexual men studied (LeVay 1991). His research conclusions met with heavy criticism in the medical profession and the media, and gays and lesbians themselves were divided over the issue. Critics argued that LeVay's study sample was not nearly large enough to prove the validity of these results, and that most of the men included in the study had died

from complications from AIDS, which was not controlled for in the study. To further complicate matters, in the following year Laura S. Allen and Roger Gorski performed a similar study of the anterior commissure on a larger number of men, with the opposite result (Allen and Gorski 1992). A couple of years later, Canadian researchers found that the corpus callosum was 13 percent thicker in gay men (Hogan and Hudson 1999).

While most of the early studies designed to find the biological cause of homosexuality focused almost entirely on gay men, lesbians were included in the "Finger-Length Ratios and Sexual Orientation" study (Williams et. al. 2000). In this study it was found that lesbians have a more masculinized ring finger to pointer finger ratio than other women. The researchers assert that this is due to prenatal exposure to androgen hormones. The hypothesis is that lesbians are more exposed, in the womb, to androgens than other women, and that these factors vary for homosexual men depending on how many older brothers they have. Marc Breedlove, one of the researchers conducting the study, asserts that nearly 15 percent of homosexual men would not be homosexuals if their mothers had not had as many sons before they were born (Williams et al. 2000).

More recent studies involving twins, and studies carried out to isolate gene traits, have been less ridiculed than some of the previously mentioned studies. Twin studies find higher rates of homosexuality between identical twins than between fraternal twins or single sisters or brothers, but the correlation is still far from 100 percent. While they are still looking to prove causation, most studies now hold that there may be a genetic predisposition to homosexuality, but that genes do not work in isolation from the environment, as the identical twin studies reveal (Hogan and Hudson 1999).

In contrast, many other researchers have focused more on the question of the environment and its role in shaping gay, lesbian, or heterosexual identities. One issue concerns the fact that scientists tend to focus on genetic makeup or biology whereas social scientists and humanities scholars tend to focus on studies of culture and environment. It is often difficult to bring together these disparate fields of study. Furthermore, gays and lesbians themselves are divided on whether their identification as gay stems from biology or culture, just as many women are divided on where their desire (or lack thereof) for parenting and household responsibilities stems from, nature or nurture. Recent examples from queer studies and transgender studies illustrate the complexities involved in arguing for a purely nature or a purely nurture approach to identity, roles, and expectations.

ADDITIONAL RECENT DEBATES

Generally speaking, both queer and transgender studies scholars have provided important critiques of earlier feminist, medical, and sociological views on nature versus nurture. Queer theory, which is founded on the premise that gender and sexual identities are socially constructed and regulated, has challenged heteronormativity, or the centrality of the heterosexual experience, in

feminist understandings of men's and women's gender roles and biologies. Philosopher Judith Butler, author of *Gender Trouble* (1990), explicitly challenges assumptions about "biology as destiny" in her examination of gender as performance. In this widely cited publication, Butler identifies gender as performative, meaning that it is remade in an image of itself over and over again, supporting the idea that there is no true gender. As queer theory is heavily influenced by poststructuralist and postmodernist thought, the foregrounding ideology is the idea that gender is first and foremost constructed.

Drawing from queer theory yet in contrast to it, transgender theory is divided on whether identities are socially constructed or are inherent in the person and therefore biologically based. Some transsexuals believe that they are "trapped in the wrong body" and support the idea of biological foundations for their gender and sex identities. However, some transgender and genderqueer people believe the opposite, that their identities are more fluid than that, and they exhibit themselves as proof. Many of these differences are demarcated by generation: the younger the transidentified person is, the more often s/he will view sex and gender in less scientific, binary terms (Beemyn and Rankin forthcoming).

Intersexed people (formerly known as hermaphrodites), who are born as not only male or female, have made visible their political struggle for a rethinking of the medical codification of sex as rooted in dichotomous biological terms. Since the 1950s, individuals born with ambiguous genitalia (genitalia being the marker for male or female in current Western medical practice) have often undergone sex assignment surgeries shortly after birth in order to make their genitalia conform to a male or female sex category. Some intersexed adults who have survived these surgeries have grown up to discover that their medically assigned gender is incorrect; they have then chosen to switch genders, going against the medical advice originally given to their parents. The individuals who have chosen to make public their struggle are advocating for a different medical protocol, one that is not based on biology but rather on socialization; they are asking doctors to wait for children to grow to a certain age and to decide upon their own gender before having to undergo invasive medical procedures. In essence, then, these advocates are making visible the fact that even sex is socially constructed, in the sense that the medical and psychological fields have socially defined the medical protocol for treating individuals based on genitalia and other body parts, rather than on people's own ways of identifying themselves in terms of gender and/or sexual identity (Chase 1998).

CONCLUSION

Most contemporary feminist and queer theorists emphasize nurture or social constructionism as the prominent explanation for individual action, behaviors, and identities. Often it is argued that searching for a biological cause of gender and sexual identities should not matter. What should matter is the elimination of the social inequalities that exist based on sex, gender, and sexual identity. There is a great deal of literature and a general understanding in many communities that society has at least a modicum of influence on identities

and actions. Essentially, in the struggle for human rights, it should not matter whether some identity or action is biologically based or caused by environmental factors. Yet the source of gender and sexual difference continues to be much debated in cultural, political, scientific, and religious terms, and will surely continue to influence the policies and laws concerning those who do not fit within prescribed gender and sexual roles, including gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people. Those who believe that we should be asking a different kind of question, instead of the question of how nature shapes us, argue that people should be treated equally regardless of the reasons for differences between them. However, the nature versus nurture debates surrounding gender and sexual roles, expectations, and identities are likely to continue without resolution for quite some time.

See also Femininities and Masculinities; Gender Socialization; Sex versus Gender; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Kai Kohlsdorf

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PLASTIC SURGERY, TATTOOING, AND PIERCING

Women's decisions to modify the external appearance of their bodies through plastic surgery, tattooing, or piercing have been promoted by some as expressions of women's freedom to control and enhance their physical appearance. Opponents contend that they can be socially coerced forms of self-mutilation used by women who feel pressure to conform to societal stereotypes of the "ideal" physical appearance.

BACKGROUND

In 1959, the first Barbie doll was introduced; it would signify to many the ideal look of the female body for many years to come. Women such as Marilyn Monroe would be idealized by men as the "perfect woman." On the other hand, the fashion industry would set the feminine ideal as being that of a little, thin girl lacking adult female characteristics (Thesander 1997). By 1965, this would change, with the introduction of the miniskirt, which changed the female look by once again aiming to sexualize and objectify women. The women's liberation movement rejected the ideals of femininity found in magazines and moved to have clothes desexualized. Women began to rebel against the feminine ideal, which they felt contributed to sex discrimination and inferior roles in society. Some women stopped using makeup and stated that the body was to be accepted as it was and didn't need to be "improved" (Thesander 1997).

During the 1970s, the natural ideal blossomed, with a lessening in the use of corsets and bras. In the 1980s, the body ideal changed with the introduction of physical fitness as the new standard. More demands were placed on the

look of the physical body than on clothing. Women used exercise to obtain firm bodies, slim waists, and narrow hips (Thesander 1997). The shaping of women's breasts made a comeback with the use of underwire bras. Women began to wear male-inspired clothing, such as suits, in the workplace. Many believed that looking younger and more physically attractive would enhance their social lives. For women who could not meet the new body standards, plastic surgery became a new way to meet this ideal.

In the late 1980s, a new curvy and full-busted woman was introduced into fashion as the ideal. Many women now had established jobs and were able to pay for plastic surgeries, and many felt that this ability empowered them. They could now change their bodies with the aim of increasing their self-esteem and self-confidence. Body modification, including plastic surgery and the more recent tattooing and piercing trends, all represent ways in which women of particular age groups and socioeconomic backgrounds have developed forms of expression related to beauty. Whereas plastic surgery has become more culturally acceptable over time (although still controversial), and many women undergo this type of body modification as a way to acquire normative, traditional beauty standards, tattooing and piercing have been adopted by younger generations as a means to call traditional beauty standards into question. Debates continue as to whether these forms of body modification are culturally acceptable, and much depends upon the socioeconomic and cultural context within which each type of modification occurs.

HISTORY OF PLASTIC SURGERY

Today there are a number of readily available procedures for permanently modifying the external appearance of the body. These procedures include semipermanent liposuction to reduce body fat; botox and collagen injections to reduce wrinkles; minimally invasive but permanent tattoos and makeup; body piercing; and more invasive procedures such as outpatient surgery, required for face and body tightening and face, breast, and buttock implants, and major surgery required for gender reassignment.

The contemporary word *plastic* comes from the Greek word *plastikos,* which means "to mold" or "to give form." The term was first coined in 1818 by Carl Ferdinand Von Graefe, who developed surgical remedies for certain eye disorders. Plastic surgery can be traced back to over 2,600 years ago in Egypt and India. Hindu texts of that time describe nose, ear, and lip reconstruction techniques. These would use skin grafts and pedicle flaps to change the form of the body. In Egypt, the "Edwin Smith Papyrus" provides descriptions of surgeries used to manage facial trauma. Later on, both the Greeks and Romans created texts, such as *De Medicina* and *Synagogue Medicae,* that would detail the use of reconstructive surgery. The use of surgery as a way to reconstruct damaged and/or altered anatomy would continue through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, even though there were few surgical developments over these years.

By the late 1890s, there was a shift from performing plastic surgery for reconstructive reasons only to what is now called cosmetic surgery. The introduction

of anesthesia and sterilization techniques created a shift to more modern forms of surgery. Cleft lip repair, palate repair, and skin grafting became an option for those seeking the physical enhancement of their bodies. The development of microinstruments in the 1950s would change the range of possibilities for both reconstructive surgery and cosmetic surgery. While facelifts and other forms of cosmetic surgery were commonly undergone by American film stars and the wealthy during the second half of the twentieth century, in the 1980s increasing numbers of ordinary people were opting for such surgery. There was a 175 percent growth rate in cosmetic surgery during the 1990s (Ciaschini and Bernard 2007). Currently, liposuction is the most common cosmetic surgery performed, followed by breast augmentation. Women most commonly have liposuction and breast operations, while men most commonly opt for nose and/or eyelid surgery (Thesander 1997).

TATTOOING AND PIERCING

In contrast to plastic surgery, tattooing and piercing have emerged more recently in many U.S. subcultures. Tattooing, creating permanent designs on the body by applying dyes through punctures in the skin, is probably the most popular form of body adornment in America today (UPM, "Tattooing," 2007). Tattooing is commonly practiced in cultures around the world and has a history that dates as far back as ancient Egypt. This cultural history, however, also highlights the gender issues associated with tattoos and other body modifications. Until contemporary times, Maori men in New Zealand had extensive, painfully applied facial tattoos that were meant to impress and intimidate opponents in battle, while Maori women had tattoos only on the lips and chin. Meanwhile, even today throughout Africa, girls' faces are extensively and painfully scarified to create patterns of scar bumps, sometimes dyed, that are considered attractive, both to look at and to touch, by male suitors (UPM, "Tattooing," 2007). As with piercing, tattooing has become increasingly popular among American teenagers since the 1990s. Permanent makeup, an increasingly popular form of body modification particularly for women, involves the use of techniques similar to those used for tattooing.

Piercing, involving cutting a hole through the skin or a body part and inserting an ornament of metal, bone, glass, and so forth, also has a long history and

BODY TATTOOING: DID YOU KNOW?

According to a survey of over 1,000 people conducted by the Scripps Howard News Service and Ohio University, about one in every seven adults in the United States has a tattoo; 30 percent of people between the ages of 25 and 34 have tattoos; about 28 percent of adults younger than 25 have tattoos; and in all, the members of the post–baby boomer generation are more than three times as likely than boomers to have tattoos.

Source: American Tattooing Institute, http://www.tatsmart.com/tattoo_statistics.

is commonly practiced around the world (UPM, "Piercing," 2007). Throughout history, and still today, the most commonly pierced body parts have been the ear lobes, with the number of ear holes and earrings often signifying social status for both men and women. A recent variation on this practice in the United States is the stretching of ear lobes through the insertion of large disks or weights. Lip and nose piercings and rings are also commonly found in various cultures around the world today. Starting in the early 1990s, a body art movement that espoused extensive body piercing and tattoos has grown in popularity particularly among American teenagers as a form of self-expression and rebellion against conventional social norms (Pitts 2003). More extreme piercings now include piercing of tongues, navels, nipples, and genitals.

FEMINIST DEBATES ON BODY MODIFICATION: EMPOWERMENT AND SELF-ENHANCEMENT VERSUS MISOGYNY AND SELF-MUTILATION

Feminist scholars have long debated whether (especially extreme forms of) body modification are beneficial or detrimental to women. Feminist scholars of the 1970s criticized beauty practices that caused women to diet and use makeup; they viewed these practices as conforming to masculine aesthetic standards that ultimately caused women to feel that their bodies were somehow inadequate in their natural state. By the 1980s and 1990s, however, this critique itself came under attack by newer generations of feminist scholars, who argued that feminism had given women the choice of using makeup and body modification technologies to feel good about themselves, not just to conform to the standards of men in their lives or to a male-dominated society. Postmodern feminists, influenced by discourse analysis, pointed out that the body was merely a text that

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THE BOTOX REVOLUTION

In 2002, the Food and Drug Administration accepted the use of Botox in minimizing the appearance of glabellar lines, otherwise known as wrinkles, paving the way for the much-publicized Botox parties held in cities around the country. With new, easy access to a relatively inexpensive form of body modification, women as well as men have undergone Botox injections as a way to get rid of unwanted wrinkles, bags under their eyes, or sagging skin related to aging. Especially in upper-middle-class communities, Botox parties have been held in salons and individual women's homes, where a licensed cosmetic surgeon is called in for the day to administer injections to women, while the remaining attendees enjoy elaborately presented food, wine, and conversation. Unlike earlier days, when women (and men) often retreated to special spas in places such as Palm Springs, California, to recover, sometimes for weeks at a time, from invasive cosmetic surgeries, today, Botox allows women the freedom to acquire a sense of beauty quickly, with less bodily invasion, and less expensively than surgery. Now that many salons offer Botox and chemical peels alongside hairstyling and manicures, these forms of modification have become normalized by those who use them.

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could be modifiable at will. Extreme modifications through extensive tattoos and piercings and through surgery were thus idealized as a form of creative self-expression (Jeffreys 2005).

Some scholars also consider weight lifting and exercise routines as expressions of body modification, although weight lifters' and exercise practitioners' bodies are often seen as works of nature, despite the very active modification taking place as people train. Eric Gans points out that all of these types of body modification—weight lifting, tattooing, piercing, and surgery—are ways in which people turn their bodies into created exhibits of "the arbitrary and painful meaningfulness of the inscribed sign" (Gans 2000, 160). According to this view, body modification becomes a narrative, where each succeeding modification creates both significance for and a historical record of the person's life. Such modifications are particularly attractive to a youth culture rebelling against conventional social norms and exalting their freedom and mastery to achieve "the gratuitous and unproductive extremes of physical and spiritual experience" (Gans 2000, 165). While erotic needs are clearly a major motivation for body modifiers, Gans also notes that the self-description of many body modifiers as "modern primitives" reflects a desire to "humiliate the flesh," a harkening back to ancient self-sacrificial, self-flagellating practices in the name of spiritual enlightenment.

While Victoria Pitts' (2003) interviews with body modifiers confirm many of the emotional and political motivations and fulfillments described by Gans (2000), Pitts is ultimately not entirely comfortable with the postmodern feminist idea of the body as a purely created object. She sees mixed messages in the meanings women ascribe to their body modifications, wonders about the extent to which such ascribed meanings are merely reactions to conventional social norms, and is concerned that important distinctions of race, gender, sexual orientation, social class, and so forth are glossed over by an emphasis on the created body. Finally, she asks, where does the emphasis on individual control of the body fit in with a feminist perspective on social reality that emphasizes the relationships and interconnections between people?

In contrast, Sheila Jeffreys (2005) argues that beauty practices in Western societies, ranging from the use of cosmetics to cosmetic plastic surgery, are "harmful cultural practices." In this view, the culture of Western male dominance causes the common occurrence of socially accepted practices that harm women. The idea of harmful cultural practice has already been recognized by international human rights organizations with regard to the brutal body modification of female genital mutilation, practiced in various African, Middle Eastern, and Asian countries. Such mutilation includes but is not limited to the cutting off of the clitoris of girls to deliberately reduce sexual pleasure and ostensibly ensure marital fidelity. Jeffreys argues that in Western societies women have in the past been willing to put toxic chemicals on their faces and force restrictive diets on themselves to conform to male conceptions of the ideal physical form for women. She is alarmed that now women are demonstrating an increased willingness to have their bodies cut into, with body parts removed or implants inserted, as a response to this societal coercion.

WHAT IS BODY DYSMORPHIC DISORDER?

Body dysmorphic disorder (BDD) is a psychiatric diagnosis (American Psychiatric Association 2000) characterized by a preoccupation with minor or imaginary physical flaws usually of the skin, hair, and nose, such as acne, scarring, facial lines, marks, pale skin, thinning hair, excessive body hair, and a large or crooked nose. There can be intense anxiety and stress about the perceived flaw, and a large amount of time will be spent focusing on it. People with BDD tend to have various types of cosmetic surgeries to try to correct the "flaw(s)." Even if the surgeries are successful, many are unhappy with the outcomes.

Source: MedicineNet.com, 2007.

Jeffreys (2005) describes the ancient Chinese body modification practice of foot binding, in which girls' feet were crushed and the girls consequently crippled, so that when they were adults they could wear tiny pointed shoes, considered erotic by Chinese men. She then compares this brutal practice with the crippling injuries suffered by contemporary Western women wearing fashionable pointed, stiletto-heeled shoes. Her analyses include a discussion of how the increased practice and exhibition of male transvestism/transsexualism, starting in the 1970s, in which men adopted "feminine" beauty practices, demonstrated that such practices were not, in fact, "natural" to women and that in men's minds such practices were about sexual subordination. She argues that the growth of the pornography and prostitution industries during the 1970s also helped influence new fashion norms for women, which, in some cases, involved increasing amounts of flesh being exposed. Jeffreys concludes by arguing that, in such a coercive society, the idea that women have the ability to freely "consent" to the self-mutilation inherent in body modification procedures is dubious at best.

Psychiatrist Armando Favazza (1996) provides clinical support for Jeffrey's argument by drawing parallels between body modification and clinically defined self-mutilation, a syndrome involving repeated self-injury. He argues that what often drives both self-mutilators and those who engage in body modification is the desire to relieve troublesome symptoms of overwhelming anxiety, racing thoughts, and depersonalization. Self-mutilation relieves such symptoms by creating the illusion of control. Also consistent with Jeffrey's argument is the higher incidence of self-mutilation among women as compared to men and the association of self-mutilation with eating disorders, which are also heavily female biased. Surveys of college students have found that having body modification is associated with psychopathic tendencies, nonconformity, and low self-esteem (Nathanson, Paulhus, and Williams 2006), while approval and reported future likelihood of cosmetic surgery in college women was associated with greater media and family/friends' exposure to such procedures and with greater self-reported importance of appearance for self-worth (Delinsky 2005).

CONCLUSION

In Western societies, advances in medical technology and in women's economic resources and personal freedom have spurred a large increase in women's use of body modifications ranging from tattooing and piercing to cosmetic plastic surgery. While some feminist theorists and many women who have such body modifications done argue that such modification is personally empowering, there is evidence to suggest that these modifications are quite possibly unconsciously coerced reactions to ideals of the feminine form set by a still male-dominated society. At the very least, women will continue to hold a variety of views on their own participation in cosmetic surgery, tattooing, or piercing, and observers remain divided on whether these cultural practices are empowering or harmful to women, or perhaps a bit of both.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Industry; Self-Injury and Body Image.

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Julie Nagoshi and Craig Nagoshi

POLITICAL PARTIES

Many people believe that electing more women to political office will work to achieve gender equality and change the policies and issues considered in the

national agenda. Others argue that a representative's personal identity is irrelevant, because the electoral concerns of constituents are the dominant concerns.

BACKGROUND

As of 2007, women comprise 16.3 percent of Congress, which ranks the United States in 66th place in terms of women's equality in politics worldwide. At the local level, women comprise 23.5 percent of state legislators. Why are women so dramatically underrepresented in politics when they comprise about 50 percent of the total population? Women's exclusion from equal representation in politics is based on the masculinized status quo of politics. Women have made, and continue to make, slow progress toward political equality, but face unique obstacles to gaining equal representation in elective politics. Scholars have identified a variety of explanations for women's underrepresentation, ranging from cultural norms and stereotypes to institutional barriers keeping women from gaining political equality with men.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

After the suffrage movement and the passage in 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting the women the right to vote, it was expected that women's involvement in elected politics would dramatically increase. While the first woman elected in her own right to the House of Representatives was Janette Rankin, a Republican from Montana (where women gained the right to vote in 1914), in 1916, women did not vote or run for office in large numbers. In fact, women did not vote in nearly equal numbers to men until 1968, and women's entrance into elected office progressed slowly. The first women in Congress were widows and their purpose was to serve out their dead husbands' terms as token leaders rather than as serious members of Congress. Working on behalf of their deceased husbands legitimized their involvement in the traditionally masculine field of politics and also served to de-legitimate their involvement in the political process. From the beginning, elected women representatives were seen not as equals to their male peers but as token representatives of their deceased husbands.

For example, in 1922, Rebecca Felton, a Democrat from Georgia, was appointed by the governor to serve as the first woman in the U.S. Senate. During her time in office, Congress never met and she never had the opportunity to vote. Nellie Taylor Ross, the first woman governor, was elected in 1925 and replaced her deceased husband. In 1932, Hattie Caraway, a Democrat from Arkansas, won election to the U.S. Senate after serving out the rest of her deceased husband's term. It was not until 1948 that Margaret Chase, a Republican from Maine, was elected in her own right as a U.S. senator.

The political climate for women began to change during World War II as women entered the workforce in large numbers to replace men who were serving in the military. This paved the way for the cultural changes of the 1960s, which contributed to more opportunities for women in politics. In 1964, Patsy

Takemoto Mink, a Democrat from Hawaii, became the first woman of color and the first woman of Asian–Pacific Islander descent to serve in the House of Representatives, and in 1968, Shirley Chisholm of New York became the first African American woman to serve in the House of Representatives.

By the 1970s, research on women in politics began to emerge. In 1971, the Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University was established; it remains the leader in statistical and empirical research regarding women in politics. In the beginning, researchers could only speculate about the differences women as legislators would make, because of the lack of women politicians. In 1984, Geraldine Ferraro became the first woman to run for vice president on a major party ticket. She ran on the Democratic ticket. In 1989, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Republican from Florida and of Cuban decent, became the first Hispanic woman elected to the House of Representatives.

Research on women in politics exploded after the unprecedented increase in female representatives in the 1992 election, dubbed "the year of the woman." The election was unique in that a record number of women ran for office and won. There were several reasons why 1992 was such a successful year for women candidates. First, the Anita Hill hearings raised awareness about women's lack of representation and involvement in the nation's highest offices. Second, the record number of open seats available during the 1992 election increased the number of women in Congress, as open seats are much easier for new candidates to win. Finally, the campaign environment in general favored women. At this time, Nydia Velasquez became the first Puerto Rican woman to serve in the House of Representatives, and Carol Moseley Braun, an Illinois Democrat, became the first African American woman and the first woman of color to be elected to the U.S. Senate. Because of the dramatic increase in women legislators in 1992, researchers began to document the obstacles to women's political representation, the difference women make in legislative agendas, and the role gender plays in legislative decisions.

In 2001, history was made as Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) was elected by her colleagues as the House Democratic whip, making her the highest-ranking woman in the history of the U.S. Congress. In 2007, Pelosi made history again as she became the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives, achieving the highest-ranking office a woman has ever held in elective U.S. politics.

DEBATES ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

When discussing women in politics, it is important to have a clear understanding of representation in general. Descriptive representation is based on the idea that because a representative is a member of a certain group, he or she will be representative of that group. It is often thought that increasing descriptive representation will lead to better substantive representation, which represents group interests (Pitkin 1967). Alternatively, others argue that the connection between the representative and the interests of the constituents is the most important factor in determining a representative's behavior and not their personal identity markers. For example, women as a group do not necessarily share

monolithic, distinct interests and thus one woman can't be counted on to represent the interests of all women.

There is a range of ideological views of women's increased visibility in the traditional political area. In feminism, two dominant theories are used to support women's involvement in politics. These are equality feminism (liberal feminism) and difference feminism (Burrell 2004). Advocating for increased representation of women in politics in order to achieve numerical parity with men is within the boundaries and expectations of liberal feminism. Liberal feminism has a commitment to autonomy and choice and advocates these freedoms for women as well as men. Liberal feminism is often critiqued for not challenging the standards, rules, or structures themselves, but advocating for equal access to the established framework. For example, Ruth Bader Ginsburg spent much of her life's work advocating for women's equal position under the law, but is often critiqued for not acknowledging that the laws and structures themselves uphold the status quo and were created and maintained by men.

By contrast, difference feminism relies on the understanding that women and men are inherently different and that women will bring to politics different styles and approaches that will change the institution to better reflect women's needs and interests. Difference feminism is based on the premise that women's oppression stems from associating the differences between men and women with social constructions, cultural attitudes, ideologies, socialization, and organizational structures. This branch of feminism can be problematic, as advocating for differences between men and women can often work against the overall feminist project of advancing women's stance in society, as it can be used to limit or deny women's equality with men. For example, pregnancy has been used to demonstrate women's unique difference from men and thus demonstrate that women are worthy of special rights in the workplace, but conversely, it can be used to advocate that women's worth is based solely on reproduction and thus provide a justification for limiting women to the home.

DO WOMEN MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

One large area of academic research is the substantive difference women make in politics. In particular, scholars aim to find out if having more women in politics transforms or engenders the political arena, or if their mere participation is enough to create feminist political change. One scholar who has studied the difference women make in Congress is Michelle Swers. Through her research, Swers (2002) has found that gender and other identity markers do make a difference in terms of the policies, issues, and interests addressed in the congressional agenda. In particular, she has found that Democratic and moderate Republican women are more committed to the pursuit of women's interests than are their male colleagues. Female representatives pursue the interests of women, children, and families most strongly at the bill-sponsorship level, demonstrating women's commitment to women's issues. While legislators are limited by their positions within the institution and their concern for the political context, their gender still makes a difference in their commitment to women's issues in public policy.

NANCY PELOSI'S 2007 VICTORY

Nancy Pelosi, the highest-ranking woman in U.S. politics to date, became the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives on January 4, 2007. She represents the Eighth District of California, which includes the San Francisco area, and has done so since 1987. Speaker Pelosi made history previously when she became the first female House Democratic leader. Speaker Pelosi comes from a political background; both her father and brother served as mayors of Baltimore. Prior to her election to Congress in 1987, Speaker Pelosi served in a variety of leadership positions, for example, as chair of the California Democratic Party. She also raised five children with her husband, Paul Pelosi, prior to her Congressional career.

While Democratic women are seen as leaders in feminist and women's legislation, moderate Republican women play an interesting role in supporting women's issues in politics and clearly show the limitations and constraints of their party. For example, moderate Republican women are more able to pursue liberal women's issues when their party is in the minority, because they are expected to bring along their contingent of votes. When the Republican Party is in the majority, however, Republican women generally reduce their support for liberal positions on women's issues and stick to the party line because they risk retaliation by party leaders. Furthermore, liberal women's groups tend to lobby these Republican women in the hope of generating policy changes, and this, again, complicates their stance within their party and makes their balancing act even harder.

In addition to sponsoring women's legislation, women politicians are often used to attract women voters to their party. This can be advantageous for women legislators as it allows them to advance policies for women to some degree. Thus, women become spokespeople or political symbols for their party on certain issues. For example, the Democratic Party highlights its women representatives in order to emphasize and expand its preexisting advantage in terms of female voters and support of women's issues. Conversely, Republicans highlight their women legislators in order the combat the Democratic efforts to paint Republicans as opposed to women's policies.

Overall, research demonstrates that increasing the presence of women in Congress allows for the introduction of more gender-related policy issues. However, in addition to increasing the number of women, activists and supporters of women in politics must continue to pay attention to women's place within the institution, such as their committee membership and their level of seniority, as well as their party status, as in majority or minority status and seniority within the party itself, in order to achieve women's continued goal of parity with men in politics.

BARRIERS TO WOMEN IN POLITICS

Scholars have documented a variety of explanations for women's underrepresentation in politics. The first barrier to women's equal representation is cultural

stereotypes and attitudes (Lawless and Fox 2005). Cultural stereotypes are based on gendered expectations about appropriate behavior for men and women. Gender stereotypes associate behaviors and expectations with men and women based on preassigned notions of gender-appropriate behavior. For example, people often say politics is "not a women's place" or is "too dirty" for women, because men are stereotypically seen as better leaders and better able to make difficult decisions on certain issues such as foreign policy, law and order, and the economy. Furthermore, women are stereotypically seen as more responsible for social and moral issues and are viewed as more honest, more trustworthy, and better able to understand ordinary people. These gender stereotypes encourage men and women to assume different gender roles in society and they specifically work against women who upset those gendered norms when they run for political office.

Societal rejection of women and discrimination against them is much less overt now than in the past, but gender expectations and stereotypes still persist and affect women running for office. For example, women candidates, regardless of party, are seen as more liberal than men; they are less likely to think about running for office, they don't consider themselves qualified for public office, and they are less likely to be told to run. Also, concerns about balancing family and work cause women not to run for office. However, conditions have improved for women candidates. While in the 1930s, 60 percent of U.S. citizens rejected the idea that there should be more women in politics, a poll of 1,000 adults taken for *Newsweek* in December 2006 found that 86 percent of respondents said that if their party nominated a woman for president, they would vote for her if she were qualified for the job (Alter 2006).

The second barrier to women in politics is media bias. There is a wide variety of academic research that documents the different treatment of male and female candidates by the media as well as the different candidate communication styles of men and women (Witt, Paget, and Matthews 1994). For example, women candidates receive less issue coverage and are portrayed as less viable than men; and the media focus on women's personal characteristics such as their hair, age, marital status, family, personality, appearance, and clothes while highlighting men's issue positions, voting records, and leadership abilities. This affects women's credibility as candidates, which can then affect a voter's decision to vote for a woman candidate.

The third barrier to women in politics is family demands. Motherhood and politics are often seen as mutually exclusive, and those who challenge this myth often upset gender and cultural stereotypes. The prevailing social attitude is that women with children are less suited than other people for public office. For example, politicians are expected to travel away from their home and keep odd hours, which do not fit in with familial responsibilities; and familial responsibilities do not allow a candidate to fully commit to political responsibilities. In order to compensate for this conflict of interest, women politicians are either childless, have fewer children, delay their entrance into politics because of their children, remain single, or marry a supportive spouse.

A fourth barrier to women in politics is the political institution itself. As has already been mentioned, familial and political responsibilities conflict with each

other. Furthermore, issues surrounding money and fundraising have been a huge problem for women in the past (Burrell 1998). For example, women candidates are usually newcomers to the political field and therefore lack knowledge of and access to the fundraising mechanisms necessary to run a successful campaign. One way women have combated this problem is the implementation of women's political action committees (PACs), which have dramatically increased women's fundraising efforts. Now, women such as Patty Murray and Hillary Clinton are top fundraisers for their party. Feminist scholars have also found that women generally do not financially support women who run for office, because of their historic exclusion from higher-paying jobs and their lack of control of familial income.

Another problematic factor for women is the single-member, winner-take-all district (in which scholars have found that women fare less favorably than in proportional representation districts). In addition, certain districts are less likely to elect women because of certain characteristics specific to women-friendly districts. Palmer and Simon (2006) identify these characteristics as urban settings in upper middle class neighborhoods. Woman-friendly districts are defined as districts that, based on geographic and demographic characteristics, are more likely to elect women (Palmer and Simon 2006). Democratic women tend to represent districts that are upscale, diverse, and highly urbanized, while Republican women represent districts that are upscale, less conservative, more urban, and more diverse than those of their white male Democratic counterparts.

The most problematic factor women face is incumbency, as the political system favors those with prior political experience or those who have previously run for office. Incumbents seek reelection more than 75 percent of the time, and are 90 percent more likely than others to win their reelection campaigns. Because women have been excluded from equal participation in politics, incumbents are overwhelmingly male.

Finally, a large barrier to women in politics is the "pipeline" problem. The pipeline refers to careers which traditionally lead to politics, such as law and business, and from which women have been historically excluded. It is generally believed that if women gained access to these careers, they would become involved in politics. Today, encouraging young women to become involved in politics is crucial to increasing the numbers of women in the pipeline to politics.

CONCLUSION

Research has found that when women run, they are just as likely to win as their male colleagues are. Despite this finding, women are still drastically underrepresented in elective office. The debate about women's involvement in politics stems from differing opinions on representation. Women's underrepresentation can be explained by a variety of barriers based on gender issues. Despite the fact that the U.S. is considered a leader in democracy, women's involvement in elective leadership proves otherwise.

See also Politics and Political Ideologies: Leftist Women; Politics and Political Ideologies: Right-Wing Women; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Samantha Casne

POLITICS AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES: LEFTIST WOMEN

Leftist theories of women's roles in society and their revolutionary potential have led to a series of questions about whether capitalism or patriarchy is the primary cause of women's oppression; whether leftist political strategies empower or oppress women; and whether a socialist or capitalist economy is better for them overall.

BACKGROUND

Women have participated in leftist movements in various contexts, both within the United States and globally. In the United States, it is important to distinguish between leftist political parties and broader notions of "the Left," which potentially include labor, antiwar, peace, women's, gay and lesbian, environmental, anti-globalization, and other movements for self-proclaimed progressive causes. In the 1960s, the New Left began to take shape and be conceptualized as a left that broke with many of the dogmatisms of earlier leftist party politics. Prior to the 1960s, women played important roles in leftist political parties, most of which adopted some version of Karl Marx's original beliefs, as laid out in his 1848 publication, co-authored with Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,*

commissioned by the German Communist Party, and Marx's treatise on capitalism, *Das Kapital,* of which the first volume was published by Marx in 1867 and the remaining three volumes were published posthumously. *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital* provided important critiques of industrial capitalism, including Marx's insights into class formation, whereby the ruling class, or bourgeoisie, owns the means of production (for example, land, labor, capital) whereas the working class, or proletariat, provides labor for a wage and is therefore exploited for its labor. According to Marx, the rise of industrialization in Europe (and later in North America) paved the way for heightened inequalities between social classes. Marx believed that women played particular roles in what he called the capitalist division of labor: As wives without property or inheritance rights (in both British and European law during the nineteenth century), he argued, they were bound by feudalistic relations with their husbands, given the unpaid nature of household labor. In other words, their roles in biological and social reproduction, including childbearing and childrearing, contributed to their oppression as women, regardless of their class location. As laborers in the market economy, proletarian women were also exploited as workers. As they provided labor for a wage, they helped the ruling class accumulate capital, thereby reinforcing and reproducing the system of inequality that they were born into as members of the proletariat. Women of the ruling class were seen as even more oppressed, since they were entirely bound by their housewife roles and were therefore unable to make any profit from their labor. Of course, they benefited from their relationship to men of the ruling class, but some Marxian scholars would argue that this was a form of false consciousness, since ruling-class women had access to this privilege only while they remained married (Lukács 1999; Zaretsky 1976).

In *Das Kapital* and other publications, Marx theorizes about what he sees as the evolutionary stages of the economy. He believed that just as feudalism led to the liberal revolutions in Europe, which formalized the separation of church and state and paved the way for a new kind of citizenship and labor relations, capitalism would (or could) eventually lead to what he termed *communism.* To achieve a truly communist society, it was necessary to go through a temporary stage of state-led socialism, in which the state would direct the economy through state ownership of enterprises and property until it was no longer needed. According to Marx, in a truly communist society, we would no longer need a state to oversee citizenship or the economy; thus, according to his original theory, as of the present century we have not yet witnessed true communism, except perhaps in "primitive" societies that continue to rely upon an exchange of goods rather than on a monetary system that involves the accumulation of capital. Rather, we have seen state-led socialism, many examples of which have utilized authoritarian, rather than democratic, state practices, another important distinguishing factor between Marx's original theory and contemporary forms of socialism. Confusion between Marx's own theory of communism and contemporary uses of the term is compounded by the fact that Western political scientists often use the term *communist state* to refer to any state that has a one-party system, is authoritarian in structure, and is Marxian influenced.

Marx's original ideas have been adapted by later revolutionaries in a variety of ways. Political leaders and/or philosophers as diverse as Rosa Luxemburg, Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Mao Zedong, Georg Lukács, Jean-Paul Sartre, Walter Benjamin, Che Guevara, and Louis Althusser all held very different perspectives on how to interpret and translate Marxian thought into practice. While most concur that there is a need for a revolution, in which the proletariat takes over capitalism, thus paving the way for true communism, historical disagreements on how to stage such a revolution, and women's roles in it, have occurred since the mid-nineteenth century. For example, whereas Leninists believe that a vanguard is needed to lead the revolution, a philosophy adopted by most "communist" countries during the cold war period and contemporary Cuba, Trotskyists take a more anarchistic approach and argue against the use of a vanguard on the basis that it leads to state-based authoritarianism, such as that witnessed during Joseph Stalin's years of iron-fisted rule in the USSR.

Female intellectuals and political activists developed their own theories of gender and class oppression by drawing from Marx's original insights, and many of the leftist parties and movements that are studied today continue to build upon Marx's insights, even as they challenge or reframe it. Early leftist female intellectuals included German-born Clara Zetkin and Polish-born Rosa Luxemburg, both of whom were members of leftist political parties in Germany and were actively involved in the struggle for women's rights. On March 8, 1911, Zetkin organized the world's first International Women's Day in Copenhagen, a day of tribute that continues to be celebrated by women's groups around the world.

WOMEN, LABOR MOVEMENTS, AND LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many women became active in labor movements, where some began to learn about Marxian and other leftist philosophies. Early female labor activists included Sarah Bagley, the first president of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (LFLRA). Founded in 1844, LFLRA pushed for better pay and working conditions for the "mill girls." Mary Harris Jones, better known as Mother Jones, fought tirelessly for labor rights and helped found the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Other women prioritized their participation in political parties rather than labor movements. In the United States, major leftist political parties include the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party USA (CPUSA), the Maoist-inspired Revolutionary Workers' Party, and the Trotskyist-influenced Workers World Party and Socialist Action Party. CPUSA has been perhaps the most widely known and influential party in the country; it was particularly so before several splinter parties and newer parties emerged. Although it is difficult to trace how many women have been members of leftist parties in the United States, given these parties' underground nature due to persecution, particularly during the McCarthy era when known Communists were censured, fired, and sometimes imprisoned, many women have been actively involved in leftist parties. Often, these

MOTHER JONES

Mary Harris Jones, a.k.a. Mother Jones (1837–1930), was a well-known labor activist. In 1905, she helped found the anarchist-based Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), whose members were commonly known as Wobblies. She was also active in the United Mine Workers and the Socialist Party of America. She was a union organizer on behalf of women, men, and children and she brought child labor to the attention of national politicians. One district attorney at the time considered her "the most dangerous woman in America," a phrase immortalized in the title of her biography (Gorn 2001). In 1976, *Mother Jones* magazine was founded and named after her; the original editors considered it a news magazine rooted in progressive political values. It currently has the largest readership among progressive publications in the United States. Scholars debate whether Mother Jones was a feminist or not. She dedicated herself largely to labor issues and she was a very strong female role model in a male-dominated political environment, but she did not describe herself as a feminist.

women believe that class struggle should be prioritized over other forms of oppression such as sexism or racism. Others believe in struggling to reform their parties from within, in part by including a women's rights agenda as part of their broader goals. Yet another group of women chose to leave leftist parties precisely because they did not represent or prioritize women's needs or rights; many of these women later joined other social movements that were prominent in the 1960s, including the free speech, antiwar, and women's movements.

ANGELA DAVIS AND THE U.S. LEFT

One example of a legendary activist who worked both within old Left political parties and New Left social movements is Angela Davis. Davis, who became a well-known figure in the media for her association with a 1970 Black Panther effort to free prisoners at the Marin County Hall of Justice, her subsequent status as a fugitive for 18 months, and her capture and imprisonment, was once a member of the Communist Party as well as a supporter of the Black Panthers and a feminist activist. Davis's history serves as an example of the gendered contradictions of leftist party involvement, and reveals some of the reasons for the emergence of the New Left in the United States.

Beginning as a student, Davis became actively involved in leftist intellectual circles, and in college at Brandeis during the late 1950s and early 1960s had the opportunity to study with German-born philosopher Herbert Marcuse of the Frankfurt School, an influential group of scholars dedicated to neo-Marxist thought that was based at the University of Frankfurt. Davis later earned her PhD in philosophy at Humboldt University of Berlin, then in the German Democratic Republic (otherwise known as socialist-led East Germany). Upon her return to the United States, she worked as a philosophy professor at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). In 1969, she was fired from her job at UCLA because of her ties to the Communist Party, a move supported by Governor

Ronald Reagan, only to be rehired several months later, following an outpouring of community support.

Davis worked closely with the CPUSA for many years. In 1980 and 1984, she ran unsuccessfully for vice president on the CPUSA ticket, alongside the CPUSA's five-time presidential candidate, Gus Hall. She later left the party to help found the Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism, which broke with CPUSA after it supported a 1991 coup attempt in the former Soviet Union, essentially siding with authoritarianism, which Davis rejected in favor of democratic socialism.

As a professor of the history of consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC), Davis continues to dedicate herself to Marxian analysis, particularly as it relates to struggles against racism and sexism. Her influential 1983 publication, *Women, Race and Class* ([1983] 2001), was one of the first in women's studies scholarship to address the intersectionality of gender, race, and class as they shape women's, and especially women of color's, experiences in a stratified society. She has since published several books and articles on topics including the prison-industrial complex and the prison abolition movement, cultural studies, violence against women, and black feminist thought. Earlier, she had published an autobiographical account of her experience as a target on the FBI's Most Wanted list and her political imprisonment (Davis [1974] 1989).

Davis's participation in the Communist Party, coupled with her membership in the black nationalist Black Panther Party and her general involvement in social justice causes, exemplifies the types of activism that women on the left have been involved in during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in the United States. Although Davis believes in democratic socialism, she challenges many of the premises of Marxian thought, particularly where women and racial minorities are left unexamined. Her experience, like that of thousands of other women who have served as members of leftist political parties, exemplifies the tensions that exist in supporting Marxian revolutionary struggle while also believing that racism and sexism are equally oppressive to women. For those who stand outside the Left, all of these perspectives, be they party based or movement based, tend to be viewed as threats to democratic capitalism and are often disputed. Some dismiss these views altogether, due to broader perceptions in U.S. society about the Left in formal politics.

WOMEN AND THE NEW LEFT

In the 1960s, several protest movements emerged that were influenced by leftist thought. At the height of the Vietnam War, many students, workers, and citizens became discontented with the war and demanded an end to it. The civil rights movement was in full sway, with its landmarks including the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which was originally designed to protect African Americans and other U.S. citizens from discrimination on the basis of race (among other things), black power movements came into being, and various identity-based groups drew from Marxian and other progressive ideologies to frame their struggles for social justice. In this context, "the Left" came to be construed as not

only emanating from Marxian ideologies and class struggle but also encompassing "progressive" struggles that focused on social justice or human rights. The women's movement, in particular, attracted women leftists who were frustrated by their secondary roles as secretaries and coffee makers in the male-based revolution, and many of the earliest second wave feminists, including *Ms. Magazine* founder Gloria Steinem, were influenced by leftist ideologies. Some women joined the peace, antiwar, free speech, or ethnic nationalist movements and attempted to address sexism from within these movements; others joined the women's movement and developed socialist-feminist theories of social change. Some of the women who participated in non-gender-specific movements, such as the free speech movement or the antiwar protests, acquired leadership skills through their participation and began to think differently about their gender roles, particularly those women who experienced the effects of sexism within the movement or at work, at home, or in their communities. Some of these women then went on to play key roles in social justice, identity-based, and community-based movements. Others remained marginalized due to their gender status within the male-led ranks.

Early second wave socialist-feminist philosophers and activists—those that joined the women's movement—included women who wrote about a wide range of topics: Zillah Eisenstein's 1979 publication, *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism,* perhaps best captures an overall goal of this group of feminists, namely, to achieve a feminist-oriented socialist society by eradicating capitalist and patriarchal inequalities. While the "marriage" of Marxism and feminism resulted in a plethora of creative theories about gender, class, and other forms of social stratification and oppression, some observers viewed the relationship between Marxism and feminism as an "unhappy marriage" at best, as portrayed in Heidi Hartmann's oft-cited 1981 article, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union." Hartmann argued that the marriage of Marxism and feminism has been like that between husbands and wives in English common law: "Marxism and feminism are one, but in fact, one means Marxism" (Hartmann 1981, 2). Others went on to critique additional oversights in Hartmann's framework and in feminist thought and practice in general, including the general lack of discussion of racism and homophobia within the women's movement (Joseph 1981; Riddiough 1981). Within feminism to this day, many debates continue as to whether a socialist-feminist approach is the most appropriate, both in theory and in practice, in contrast to other types of feminisms such as liberal, cultural, poststructuralist, antiracist, or third wave.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps there will always be an "unhappy marriage" between Marxism and feminism. At the very least, the prevalence of patriarchal-based sexism and capitalist class exploitation continues to be heavily debated by socialist-feminists, in both the old Left and the new. In addition, new forms of thinking and activism have emerged that draw from these earlier debates and develop new platforms

for action. Third wave feminism, such as that advocated by younger generations of feminists, is one example of this new, hybrid political identity that draws from the past but projects a new form of "doing politics" (Baumgardner and Richards 2000). At the level of political participation, few socialist women, let alone socialist-feminists, have been elected into office, with some exceptions at the municipal level. On a general level, while much debate continues about the Left versus the Right in the United States and about women's appropriate roles in politics, at the very least observers might agree that the second wave feminist movement that emerged during the 1960s was heavily influenced by other social movements associated with the New Left in the 1960s. Some of these ideologies have been incorporated into more centrist approaches to politics, in the Democratic Party, for example, while others exert influence outside the realm of formal politics, in emergent struggles concerning immigrant rights, antiracism efforts, homelessness and housing movements, queer and women's movements, and movements for the poor. In addition, Marx's original thought has greatly influenced liberation theologies around the world, leading to new and interesting discussions about the relationship between religion and politics.

From the point of view of scholars of Marxian thought and leftist movements, in U.S. society there continues to be much reluctance to understand and critically analyze Marxism, due in part to longstanding anti-Communist sentiments. Interestingly, this distinguishes the United States from most other Western democracies, which have allowed a broader political spectrum in formal politics. Whether women are better served by leftist political strategies or by reformist or right-wing strategies will continue to be debated as long as there continues to be a stratified social system, be it capitalist, communist, or any other, and as long as people remain divided over political ideology, appropriate forms of governance, and women's roles in the public realm of politics.

See also Leftist Armed Struggle; Political Parties; Second and Third Wave Feminisms; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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Amy Lind

POLITICS AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES: RIGHT-WING WOMEN

Guided by the dictum that women should "submit to their husbands in every thing," contemporary right-wing women have been critical of and sometimes actively opposed to women's rights initiatives that are viewed as threats to a particular model of marriage and family life that they view as biblically ordained. Feminists and other liberal observers contend that these women are uninformed, in denial, or biased in their approach.

BACKGROUND

Like their male counterparts, right-wing women are part of a broad coalition of active and vocal supporters of religious and political ideologies that are linked with cultural conservatism. A literal reading of Christian scriptures informs their moral and ethical worldview on issues ranging from U.S.-Israel relations and national sovereignty to abortion, euthanasia, and public education. However, it has often been their stances on questions related to gender and sexuality that put right-wing women in the media spotlight.

The labels of "Left" and "Right" have historically been used to identity ideological positions along a political continuum oriented around a moderate center. The terms *liberal* and *conservative* are often associated with the left and right wings of American politics, respectively. So, the "left" wing of contemporary political discourse in the United States is dominated by the Democratic Party, while the "right" wing is dominated by the Republican party. While these tags are perhaps too broad to represent the many types of attitudes and approaches to government that they include, in general, we say that "liberals" tend to talk about the "spirit of the law" in their interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and that "conservatives" refer to the "letter of the law" in theirs.

A relatively recent phenomenon is the use of these terms to describe coalitions of activists (each accused by the other of being extremist or too far from the mainstream). Since the 1960s, the label "New Left" has generally been used to refer to those groups of activists and philosophers whose roots are based in their opposition to McCarthyism and other cold war–era nationalistic measures, and the "New Right" usually describes groups concerned about the influx of countercultural ideals and values—especially those related to gender and sexuality—into mainstream culture. The "New Right" has also been called the "Religious Right" or the "Christian Right," because of its close ties with evangelical and conservative

TIMELINE

1972: Activist Phyllis Schlafly organizes STOP-ERA (later Eagle Forum) in response to concerns that the ERA will degrade women and undermine the structure of the American family.

1973: The Supreme Court issues its decision in the *Roe v. Wade* case, which overturns state laws prohibiting abortion.

1974: *The Total Woman,* an advice book for wives interested in more traditional marriage roles, defeats Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men* to become the *New York Times* Non-fiction Book of the Year. The book will sell over 10 million copies in over a dozen languages before going out of print.

1976: The passage of a human rights ordinance in Miami/Dade County mobilizes right-wing activists in Florida and across the United States.

1977: Anita Bryant publishes *The Anita Bryant Story: The Survival of Our Nation's Families and the Threat of Militant Homosexuality.*

1978: Pastor's wife Beverly LaHaye organizes Concerned Women for America, a profamily, anti-ERA lobbying group in Washington, DC.

1980: Ronald Reagan is sworn in as 40th president, having overwhelmingly defeated Jimmy Carter in an election that turned largely on social issues and religious themes.

1982: The Equal Rights Amendment proposal dies in Congress after 354–24 approval in the U.S. House of Representatives and 84–8 approval in the U.S. Senate. It falls three states short of the 38 (three-quarters) required for ratification.

1983: Feminist author/activist Andrea Dworkin publishes *Right-Wing Women,* one of the first outside analyses of a large and growing cultural group.

1986: Concerned Women for America (CWA) founder Beverly LaHaye testifies in support of Antonin Scalia in congressional hearings on Capitol Hill.

1991: A CWA legal representative testifies in support of Clarence Thomas in congressional hearings on Capitol Hill.

1995: Norma McCorvey ("Jane Roe") becomes involved with antiabortion group Operation Rescue.

1997: Norma McCorvey leaves Operation Rescue to found her own ministry, Roe No More.

2004: Death of Terry Schiavo, a Catholic woman whose parents lost their battle to keep her feeding tubes connected for religious reasons. The court granted her husband's request despite the intervention of Congress.

Catholic churches and its understanding of America as a nation grounded in the Judeo-Christian heritage.

THE NEW RIGHT: ISSUES AND STRATEGIES

Because many of the debates that engage the New Right are related to what are sometimes viewed as women's issues, such as education and the family,

MISSION STATEMENTS

Two contemporary organizations have been especially vocal in advocating for right-wing women's issues at the national level: Concerned Women for America, established by pastor's wife Beverly LaHaye in 1978, and Eagle Forum, the organization that grew from activist Phyllis Schlafly's STOP-ERA movement of the 1970s. The groups' mission statements can be found on their official Web sites:

> *The mission of CWA* [Concerned Women for America] is to protect and promote Biblical values among all citizens—first through prayer, then education, and finally by influencing our society—thereby reversing the decline in moral values in our nation. (http://www.cwfa.org)

> *Eagle Forum's* mission is to enable conservative and pro-family men and women to participate in the process of self-government and public policy making so that America will continue to be a land of individual liberty, respect for family integrity, public and private virtue, and private enterprise. (http://www.eagleforum.org)

right-wing women have played a significant role in grassroots activism and policy and strategy development in politics at local, state, and national levels. Right-wing activists have long understood the importance of state-level elections and their impact on social and cultural initiatives. They have been especially successful in garnering support and building coalitions in the once overlooked area of school board elections, the results of which are related to curriculum choices, sex education, textbook content, the teaching of evolution, and a host of other key issues that motivate a large bloc of voters in many communities.

A popular local issue has been the question of the sex-education curriculum in public schools. This is an issue that often divides conservatives. On the one hand, most conservatives reject attempts by the federal government to force a local entity (for example, a city) to comply with a national policy. In school districts, especially, parents (and other taxpayers) insist on the right to guide decisions that will affect the curriculum their children will follow. At the same time, some right-wing activists have supported the involvement of government at various levels in the establishment of sex-education curricula. Federal and state funds have been used to generate and implement "abstinence only" curricula in health and science classes. Such programs warn about the dangers of premarital sex (from disease to the potential for psychological damage) but prohibit the dissemination of information about protection from pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases, for fear that such information is too provocative and leads to immoral sexual behaviors.

At the national level, right-wing women have been particularly active in debates related to gay and lesbian rights, the role of women in the family and society, and birth control, abortion, and other right-to-life issues. In 1976, beauty contest winner, popular singer, and sometime television commercial actress Anita Bryant became perhaps the first mobilizing personality in the new

Religious Right—male or female—when she spoke out against a human rights ordinance being debated in her home state of Florida. When she learned from her pastor that the ordinance protected rights for gays and lesbians, Bryant says she felt compelled to take action, having indirectly supported the nomination of the Miami city councilwoman who drafted the ordinance. In her 1977 book, *The Anita Bryant Story: The Survival of Our Nation's Families and the Threat of Militant Homosexuality,* Bryant described her private campaign to convince the councilwoman to reverse her position and the decision to become an activist and a public opponent of what many feared was a "homosexual agenda."

Buoyed by their successes in Miami, Bryant and husband-manager Bob Green went on to found a ministry called Save Our Children (later, Protect America's Children), which aimed to prevent gays and lesbians from "recruiting" children. The organization was neither successful nor long lived, however, and Bryant's career suffered extensive damage in the campaign's aftermath. Sponsors quickly terminated their endorsement contracts with Bryant and promoters canceled shows and projects. Bryant might have survived all this, however, had she not divorced Green in 1980 after 20 years of marriage. Even her most loyal support-ers felt betrayed by what they saw as the hypocritical actions of a woman who had spent her public life defending marriage and the Christian family. Despite this sensational rise and fall, Anita Bryant and the Miami crusades are still stud-ied as examples of faith-based grassroots activism at its most effective, and the work they accomplished had a lasting impact that continues to influence Florida adoption law.

In addition to the struggles against gay-rights initiatives, right-wing women have worked on a larger scale to support and defend a nuclear family struc-ture that adheres to Judeo-Christian standards with regard to roles for men and women and parents and children. To this end, they have published hun-dreds of books of advice for parents and couples. During the 1970s, a hand-ful of right-wing women, including Anita Bryant, published books that advised other women about biblical marriage and femininity. These works based their arguments on scriptural precepts about wives' submission to their husbands and silence in the churches.

Particularly during this period, as more Americans were debating issues raised by women's liberation movements, right-wing women spoke up about the need to maintain the distinct gender roles that were ordained by God in the Gar-den of Eden and about the need for children to have a full-time mother not only in their early years but through childhood and adolescence as well. Because they believed these ideals were under attack by the feminist movements in general and by the proposed Equal Rights Amendment in particular, many homemak-ers became politically active for the first time during the 1970s as attorney/activist Phyllis Schlafly launched STOP-ERA, a campaign that eventually reversed the trajectory of the proposed amendment after it had passed easily through both the U.S. House and the Senate. Schlafly and her trained corps of volunteers crossed the country, working one state at a time to ensure that the ERA would not earn the majority (38 states) needed for ratification and amending the U.S. Constitution. STOP-ERA was successful, holding the number of affirmative votes to

35 states, and the proposal died when the final extension expired in 1982. As with the Anita Bryant campaign in Florida, many political analysts have studied the work of Phyllis Schlafly, STOP-ERA, and her current organization, Eagle Forum, as models of large-scale political change effected by coalition building at state and local levels.

ABORTION AND PRO-LIFE POLITICS

While Anita Bryant and Phyllis Schlafly and the movements they led are often associated with a particular time in history, issues related to the right to life—birth control, euthanasia, and especially abortion—link right-wing women across the decades. From the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision to current congressional debates, right-to-life issues have inspired passion and activism and also some internal division among women (and men) of the Religious Right. Subjects of more recent debates have included the ethics of carrying out research on embryonic stem cells (cells taken from an aborted human embryo). Though stem cells have the potential to yield life-saving cures for debilitating or deadly diseases, some conservatives fear an increased desire for stem cells might encourage future abortions, or, worse, the establishment of a pregnancy for the sole purpose of termination of the embryo and the harvesting of stem cells. Stem-cell research proponents respond to this concern by asserting that only existing cells (that is, cells that have already been collected) and the cell lines derived from those cells would be used in research. Most medical ethicists agree that the act of creating an embryo for the purpose of termination would be a violation of medical practice; however, stem-cell research opponents warn that it would be very difficult to prohibit intentional conception and termination while at the same time allowing research on cells acquired in another way.

Some prominent Republicans have acknowledged their support of a woman's rights to safe and legal abortion despite the fact that the Republican Party maintains a right-to-life agenda in its presidential platform. Former first lady Nancy Reagan urged her party to reconsider its stance on stem-cell research, arguing that discoveries in the field might lead to an eventual cure for Alzheimer's disease, the disease her husband, President Ronald Reagan, suffered from for 10 years before his death in 2004. Despite these sometimes vocal minority voices, the Republican Party remains a pro-life party, thanks in large part to the political clout of women of the Religious Right.

Since the *Roe v. Wade* decision, right-wing activists have increasingly turned their focus to the selection and appointment of state and federal judges and especially Supreme Court justices to ensure a long legacy of case law that will continue to limit and maybe even overturn the rights afforded by *Roe v Wade.* One group, Concerned Women for America (CWA), which like Eagle Forum was founded in the 1970s as a response to the ERA campaign, has focused its efforts on lobbying Congress in support of measures that support its mission and agenda. The group's founder and first president, Beverly LaHaye, wife of pastor and popular end-times novelist Tim LaHaye, has a considerable amount

of political clout and a broad coalition of allies. Headquartered in Washington, DC, CWA advocates for the nomination and confirmation of conservative justices and sent representatives to testify before Congress on behalf of justices Robert Bork, Clarence Thomas, and Antonin Scalia during their appointment hearings.

In 1995, pro-life activists from Operation Rescue, a group that often uses violent tactics to prevent women's entry into the clinics of abortion providers, announced that Norma McCorvey, the plaintiff in the case of *Roe v. Wade,* had converted to Christianity and become involved with the group's work. Some 20 years after serving as the test case for abortion rights, McCorvey now began accepting public-speaking engagements for pro-life groups, formed a ministry called Roe No More, converted to Roman Catholicism, and publicly expressed disdain for feminist activists and lawyers for their ambition and condescending treatment of her throughout the trial. McCorvey remains full of regret over her decision to participate in *Roe v. Wade,* despite the fact that she did not have the abortion she sought, having won her case too late in her own pregnancy.

Right-wing women continue to work together on issues related to their goal of the eventual reversal of the *Roe v. Wade* decision; the most important component of their work is their commitment to seeing that like-minded judges are appointed to courts at all levels.

OTHER ISSUES

Though so-called women's issues like sexuality, feminism, and abortion have remained at the heart of right-wing women's political agendas, groups like Eagle Forum and Concerned Women for America have, since the 1980s, expanded the scope of their involvement in political affairs at the national level to include issues related to national sovereignty (and a rejection of most United Nations initiatives), the right to bear arms, a free-market economic system, the cultivation of close ties with Israel, and many other areas that link them to the larger ideology of American conservatism.

See also Equal Rights Amendment; Family Values; Political Parties; Right-Wing Women's Movements.

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Jennifer Heller

POLYGAMY

Popular discussion of American polygamy has focused on groups connected to the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS), whose practice of it is seen as sexist, racist, and violent. The polygamists view the practice as a religious calling founded on the idea that plural marriage is commanded by God. These conflicting ways of imagining polygamy tap into the conflict many Americans feel between the right to freedom of religion and personal liberty and sexual values strongly influenced by the idea that marriage involves "one man and one woman."

BACKGROUND

Polygamy, marriage to more than one spouse simultaneously, has historically been practiced in a number of cultures around the world. The most common form of polygamy is polygyny, which occurs when a man takes more than one wife. Polyandry, which occurs when a woman takes more than one husband, occurs primarily in cultures where land is passed in equal shares to male children in a family and where the notion of partible paternity (the theory that more than one father can contribute genetic material to and should participate in the nurturing of a child) is considered possible and desirable.

On January 5, 2007, the CBS crime drama *Numb3rs* aired an episode called "Nine Wives," which portrayed "the fundamentalist leader of a polygamous sect who is on the FBI's most wanted list for committing numerous crimes, including rape and murder" (http://www.cbs.com/primetime/numb3rs/). The show ended with a fiery explosion engineered by the sect leader, who saved himself in a narcissistic display of heartlessness toward his most loyal followers. This television event was clearly motivated by public interest in polygamy resulting from the 2006 placement of fundamentalist Mormon Warren Jeffs on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list and his subsequent arrest on charges of sexual assault on a minor and conspiracy to commit sexual conduct with a minor. The media spotlight on Jeffs and the polygamous sect he led also contributed to the success of documentaries, docu-dramas, and an HBO dramatic series titled *Big Love,* all dealing with fundamentalist Mormon polygamy in the United States. Though there are in the United States several small groups whose members practice polygamy, much of the popular discussion of polygamy has focused on groups connected to the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS). In general, the media have portrayed that group's practice of polygamy as rooted in sexism, racism, and violence. The polygamists themselves, especially those affiliated with FLDS, view the practice as a religious calling founded in the idea that plural marriage is necessary for "the creation of earthly tabernacles (bodies)

HBO'S *BIG LOVE*

Big Love, the HBO series about a contemporary polygamous family living in the suburbs of Salt Lake City, Utah, focuses on the daily lives of Bill Paxton, his three wives, and their seven children. Paxton and the second of his wives, Nicki, were both raised in Juniper Creek (notice the play on Short Creek, the former name of the best-known polygamist FLDS enclave in the United States), and Nicki is the daughter of Roman Grant, Juniper Creek's ruthless leader. The other two wives in the family are Barb (Bill's first wife) and Margene (Bill's third and youngest wife). The three wives live with their children in adjacent homes that share a backyard, and Bill (who owns two successful home improvement stores) splits his time among them. Much is made of the pressures Bill experiences as a result of managing three households; Barb, Nicki, and Margene vie for Bill's emotional, sexual, and financial resources as they struggle to maintain their own homes and families. As a result, Bill begins a regular regimen of Viagra and seeks support from his friend and fellow polygamist, Don. Reviewers of the show are often careful to mention that the creators of *Big Love,* Mark V. Olsen and Will Scheffer, are a gay couple, the implication being that there is a clear connection between polygamy and gay marriage. The show attempts to establish polygamy as a reasonable choice for contemporary Mormon families at the same time that it highlights the difficulties faced by a family that must remain fairly isolated from judgmental, prying neighbors.

for the countless number of spirits waiting to come to this earth" (Bradley 1996, 3). These conflicting ways of imagining polygamy's purpose tap into the intense conflict many Americans feel between the right to freedom of religion and personal liberty on one hand and sexual values strongly influenced by the idea that marriage involves "one man and one woman" on the other.

MORMON POLYGAMY IN THE UNITED STATES

The Mormon religion is based on four main texts—*The Book of Mormon, The Pearl of Great Price, Doctrine and Covenants,* and the Bible. The text that contains the revelation on polygamy that Joseph Smith, the founder and first leader of the Mormon Church (also known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or LDS), claimed to have received from God is in *Doctrine and Covenants* (*D and C*). Article 132 of *Doctrine and Covenants* was officially recorded on July 12, 1843, though the Mormon Church did not acknowledge the practice among its members until 1852. Polygamy was practiced by Smith, who had by the time of his death in 1844 "married at least thirty-three women, and probably as many as forty-eight" (Krakauer 2004, 7). Of the 66 parts of this revelation, only parts 59–66 actually set forth the doctrine of plural marriage; most of the revelation refers to the "eternity of marriage" and describes the LDS stand on the nature and purpose of marriage. On the issue of polygamy, though, this section of the *D and C* is clear: if a Mormon man wishes to take more than one wife "he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him; therefore

is he justified" (*D and C*). This portion of the *D and C* also makes it clear that women are not commanded to engage in polyandry and that the particular role of women in the church is to "multiply and replenish the earth" (*D and C*).

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE CONTROVERSY

Polygamy created a significant controversy that impeded Utah's initial endeavors to achieve statehood. Mormons, persecuted in the Midwest, had finally settled in the Utah Territory, which was making a second bid for statehood in 1856, after unsuccessfully attempting admission as the state of Deseret in 1850. The Republican Party responded to the 1852 Mormon admission that polygamy was a basic principle of their religion by presenting the following resolution as part of their presidential platform:

> *Resolved:* That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy, and Slavery. (http://www.ushistory.org/gop/convention_1856.htm)

Partly because of the extraordinary popular success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a play based on it, slavery was seen by many in the North and West as one of the most pressing human rights issues of the day. By aligning polygamy with slavery, the party was identifying plural marriage as another issue of human rights, equality, and personal liberty, ideas that have become core components of the polygamy controversy in the United States.

The tactic of connecting polygamy to slavery reinforced the way most Americans saw the Mormons and their practice of polygamy in the Utah Territory. President James Buchanan (the Democrat elected in 1856) sent federal troops into the Utah Territory to quell "the Mormon Rebellion," a move that was designed to "dismantle Brigham Young's theocracy, and eradicate polygamy" (Krakauer 2004, 6). In 1862, the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act, the first piece of antipolygamy legislation in the United States, was passed, and in 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker Act disincorporated the LDS church and the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which provided aid to Mormon converts who wished to settle in Utah. The Edmunds-Tucker Act required the LDS church to forfeit all property in excess of $50,000 and "stipulated that legal wives could testify against their husbands, abolished women's suffrage, instituted a test oath for public service and voting that disqualified any supporter of polygamy, and made judicial and school appointments federal prerogatives" (Bradley 1996, 217). Essentially, polygamy (and Mormonism more generally) had become the focus of such controversy that it was clear to most people that Utah would not be granted statehood until the Mormons renounced polygamy.

In October 1890, Prophet Wilford W. Woodruff delivered to a group of Mormons gathered for the LDS general conference the first manifesto on polygamy, in which he announced that the LDS church would not teach polygamy or plural

marriage, "nor permit any person to enter into its practice" (Bradley 1996, 6). In the manifesto (now incorporated into the Mormon *Doctrine and Covenants* as "Official Declaration 1"), which claimed that the charges of polygamy against the LDS church "are false," Woodruff also announced that

> There is nothing in my teachings to the Church or in those of my associates, during the time specified, which can be reasonably construed to inculcate or encourage polygamy; and when any Elder of the Church has used language which appeared to convey any such teaching, he has been promptly reproved. And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land. (*Doctrine and Covenants,* "Official Declaration 1")

The manifesto both renounced the practice of polygamy in the LDS church and denied its existence as part of current Mormon doctrine and practice, by claiming that allegations that current church leaders had "taught, encouraged and urged the continuance of the practice of polygamy" were "false" (*Doctrine and Covenants,* "Official Declaration 1").

Within the LDS church, the manifesto caused deep divisions. LDS members who had been practicing polygamy without official censure were suddenly faced with a dire personal dilemma. Either they must renounce a tenet of LDS doctrine that they believed was central to their spiritual belief system and that defined the nature and parameters of their families, or they would be excommunicated from the church. Feeling disenfranchised, some polygamists chose to leave or were forced out of the mainstream Mormon Church, and most of this group eventually settled on the Utah/Arizona border. The town of Short Creek, Arizona (now Colorado City), is the best-known polygamist FLDS enclave in the United States, mostly because of a series of antipolygamy raids on the town, all of which were covered by the national media. All three of the raids—in 1935, 1944, and 1953—were supported by the mainstream Mormon Church. In fact, the 1944 raid was named the "Boyden Raid," after Mormon U.S. Attorney John S. Boyden, who planned and executed it with Utah State Attorney General Brigham E. Roberts, the grandson of B. H. Roberts, who had been denied a seat in the U.S. Congress because he was a polygamist (Bradley 1996). Characterizing the mainstream Mormon Church as "solidly respectable," *Time* magazine reported on March 20, 1944, that Boyden intended to prosecute the 50 men and women arrested during the raid under the Mann Act, also known as the White Slavery Act. The Mann Act prohibited the transport of females across state lines for "immoral purposes" ("Fundamentalists" 1944). Originally, the Mann Act was adopted to allow the prosecution of Jack Johnson, an African American heavyweight boxer who traveled across state lines with a white woman whom he later married; Johnson was convicted and spent a year in jail.

Arizona Governor Howard Pyle's 1953 raid on Short Creek backfired when the public was shown images of children being separated from their parents during the raid; in the public imagination, the government went beyond protecting women and children and ended up abusing them and infringing on their civil liberties. The 1953 raid on Short Creek may well have been the reason for

Pyle's subsequent failure to secure a second term as governor. The Short Creek debacle of 1953 also contributed to a general hesitancy on the part of government officials to interfere in the lives of FLDS polygamists who had been living there for over 50 years.

THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY

In the first years of the twenty-first century, a number of events refocused attention on polygamy and on FLDS sects, particularly the one based in Colorado City, Arizona, and Hildale, Utah. In June 2002, 14-year-old Elizabeth Smart was kidnapped from her Salt Lake City, Utah, home by Brian David Mitchell and Wanda Ilene Barzee, because Mitchell (who was later found mentally incompetent to stand trial) had received what he believed to be a revelation from God that he should take seven virgin wives, one of whom was Elizabeth. Because this case linked self-proclaimed polygamists Mitchell and Barzee and the Smart family, who were mainstream Mormons, together in the public consciousness, it recalled for some Americans the mainstream Mormon roots of the FLDS practice of polygamy in this country. In September 2002, approximately six months before Smart was recovered, Rulon Jeffs, the beloved leader of the FLDS sect in Colorado City, died, and his son Warren took control of the group.

In 2004, a division of Random House published Jon Krakauer's *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith,* which focused on the murders of Brenda Lafferty and her daughter Erica by Ron and Dan Lafferty, who claimed to have received a commandment from God to commit the murders. Probably the most widely read discussion of polygamy available to date, Krakauer's book became a national bestseller and was named a *New York Times* notable book, solidifying an awareness of polygamy in the contemporary national consciousness. Partly because of the publication of Krakauer's book and partly because of Warren Jeffs's notoriety, popular media treatments of polygamy and tales of the FLDS members' polygamous lifestyle have become fairly common in the United States.

CONCLUSION

Controversies about the definition and scope of marriage are both implicitly and explicitly connected to sexual mores in the cultures where they occur, and discussions of those controversies in American popular culture tend to reveal those connections. Because the current discussion of polygamy is coincidentally occurring at precisely the moment at which Americans are considering the issue of same-sex marriage, some writers have drawn connections between the two discussions. Writing for a conservative publication, the *Weekly Standard,* Stanley Kurtz (2003) joined other conservative cultural commentators when he connected the issues of same-sex marriage and polygamy:

> Among the likeliest effects of gay marriage is to take us down a slippery slope to legalized polygamy and "polyamory" (group marriage). Marriage will be transformed into a variety of relationship contracts, linking

two, three, or more individuals (however weakly and temporarily) in every conceivable combination of male and female. A scare scenario? Hardly.

Clearly, Kurtz believes that the legalization of marriages other than those bounded by monogamy and heterosexuality would be dangerous and would finally call into question a number of sacrosanct sexual strictures. The fact that Kurtz is so easily able to make the mere mention of polygamy carry such weight recalls the earlier connection of polygamy with slavery.

Of course, the controversies surrounding polygamy are much more complex than all this indicates. Questions about the rights of women and children to enjoy freedom of thought, association, and expression, as well as sexual autonomy, are among those related to the polygamy controversy. What is more, since many women and male children who have escaped or been expelled from polygamous communities report a culture of physical and sexual abuse of women and children, controversies around polygamy force questions about the line between individuals' rights to practice their religions in their homes and communities and the responsibility of the government to protect citizens from harm.

Women's status in FLDS communities is defined by their relationships to their fathers and husbands. This fact is perhaps central to some of the controversies—historical and contemporary—over polygamy. In most FLDS communities, women are not afforded significant opportunities to choose their husbands, and FLDS women are taught that their access to eternal life is dependent upon the good favor of a husband. Combined with the fact that the doctrine on polygamy requires plural wives to be virgins, these factors create a circumstance in which women and young girls are encouraged, coerced, and sometimes forced, to enter marriages at a very young age and often with much older men. This practice impacts the lives of young boys as well, since boys are sometimes expelled from

FLDS AND RACE

Because FLDS groups hold to the fundamental or original tenets of Mormonism, not only their practice of polygamy but also their attitudes toward racial diversity and women's equality are seen by many as wrong headed at best and dangerous at worst. In his role as FLDS prophet, Warren Jeffs made clear the FLDS doctrine on the relationship between his church and African Americans: "The black race is the people through which the devil has always been able to bring evil unto the earth" (Southern Poverty Law Center 2005). This characterization of the FLDS's belief about race is informed by the actions of two of the early leaders of the Mormon Church. Both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young believed that black members of the church could not become members of the priesthood. That practice continued until 1978, when church president Spencer Kimball received a revelation that the church should extend "priesthood and temple blessings to all worthy male members of the Church." Kimball's extension of priesthood and temple privileges to black men is now an official part of the *Doctrine and Covenants* as "Official Declaration 2."

FLDS communities, ostensibly as punishment for showing romantic attention to girls their own age. Julian Borger reported in 2005 in the *Guardian Observer* that Jim Hill of the Utah Attorney General's Office had attributed the expulsion of boys from Colorado City to the "ruthless sexual arithmetic" of the polygamous sect, implying that the intent is to make it easier for older men to marry (and thereby have sexual access to) underage girls (Borger 2005).

Current Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, a Mormon, included in an address to a 2005 St. Patrick's Day breakfast in Boston, Massachusetts, a joke meant to refer to the complicated historical relationship between the mainstream Mormon Church and the practice of polygamy: "I believe marriage should be between a man and a woman…and a woman…and a woman" (Reilly 2006). Of course, Romney's reference is to discussions about same-sex marriage and to the key role the state of Massachusetts has played in that controversy. As Romney's remarks imply, proponents of polygamy are not likely to align themselves with proponents of same-sex marriage, though the two groups share the desire that the United States begin the process of redefining the legal parameters of marriage.

See also Religion; Religious Fundamentalism.

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Michelle Gibson

POPULATION POLICY

Debates on women and population policy revolve around issues pertaining to the controversial notion of overpopulation and its causes, to women's political rights concerning their reproductive choices, to the reasons why specific groups

of women are (or are not) considered worthy of motherhood, and to the question of who should be allowed to control others' ability to have children or not.

BACKGROUND

Behind population policy, there are often assumptions about a population "problem" that needs to be managed. This problem is often framed in terms of overpopulation, but underpopulation and declining population can also be considered problems in certain contexts. Those who believe that overpopulation or population growth causes poverty and hunger, and other ills such as political instability, are often called Malthusians. Many see economist Thomas Robert Malthus's writings on population about 200 years ago as the starting point of the population debates that continue until today. Malthus believed that the earth has limited resources and that these resources are in danger of being stressed to the limit by too many people (Meadows 1993). He warned that the world's food supply would not be able to keep up with the rapid population growth, and he advised against helping poor people, as giving aid to the poor, he argued, would only allow them to procreate more and worsen the population problem.

Today, Malthusians still believe that population growth is out of control and that if we simply reduce the number of people, we will have more resources and less poverty. On a small scale, this way of thinking seems to make sense: for example, if we think of two families with similar resources and incomes, one with two children and one with eight children, it seems easy to argue that the family with the higher population would be poorer because of the larger number of mouths to feed. Indeed, partly because of its apparently simple logic, this view of poverty being caused by an overpopulation crisis has become so ingrained as to be considered conventional wisdom, and it has certainly impacted population policy over the years (Hartmann 1987).

However, others argue that the population explosion is a myth and that the causes of poverty are not as simple as Malthusians make them out to be. Rather than simply concluding that more people equals more poverty and fewer resources, scholars take into account a number of factors that play into the complex

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DID YOU KNOW?

On average, one U.S. citizen consumed as much energy as the following, in the indicated years:

2001   2.1 Germans
2002   12.1 Colombians
2003   28.9 Indians
2004   127 Haitians
2005   395 Ethiopians

Source: Sierra Club, http://www.sc.org/population/consumption/.

issue of population, such as culture, gender roles, education level, access to and information about birth control, eugenics and racism, different conceptions of what makes a "normal" family and what constitute "normal" standards of living, and so on. How population policy is crafted is dependent upon how these types of factors and attitudes are taken into account (or not taken into account) and also upon what are presumed to be the causes of population growth and shifts.

LOOKING AT THE "BOOM" AND ITS CAUSES

Some scholars have examined whether or not there has even been a population boom or threat, as well as examining the causes behind population growth. During the span of the twentieth century, there was indeed a remarkable increase in population. According to a recent report from the United Nations Population Division, the world's population increased from 1.65 billion in 1900 to 6 billion in 1999. Although this is the largest population the world has experienced, it does not necessarily have to be considered an out-of-control threat. Indeed, instead of such a growth causing a scarcity of food as Malthus had predicted, much of the boom is said to be caused by advances in food production, as well as advances in health and medicine (Hartmann 1987). Economist Dennis Avery reports that just in the years between the 1960s and 1990s, we have more than doubled the world's food supply (Simon 1995). In addition, initial rapid growth has now stabilized, and some countries are actually experiencing a decline in population.

It is interesting to note that in contrast to the view held by some Westerners that population growth is caused by people in the third world "overbreeding," much of the world's population growth can be attributed to Western advancements. However, because three-quarters of the world population live in the third world (Hartmann 1987) and because of the poverty we see in many parts of the world, critics argue that it is easy to forget about the surplus of food the world actually has and instead blame the poor for having too many children. From this perspective, the population issue cannot be understood unless people consider the underlying structural causes of poverty as they relate to social

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DID YOU KNOW?

- Even though the world's food production has increased at a far greater rate than world population growth, about 830 million people in the third world continue to go hungry (Millen, Irwin, and Kim 2000).
- In the world, there are about 200 billionaires and more than 3 million millionaires, but there are also 100 million homeless people (Durning 1992).
- If the 225 richest people in the world gave even 4 percent of their wealth away in aid to the poor, it would be enough "to achieve and maintain access to basic education, basic health care, reproductive health care, adequate food, safe water, and adequate sanitation for all people living on the planet" (Millen, Irwin, and Kim 2000).

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reproduction. The underlying structural causes of poverty include the ways food, wealth, and resources are distributed; inequalities in levels of education, healthcare, and social services throughout the world; and related attitudes about race, class, and gender as they shape how people think about survival, development, and poverty.

DEBATES ON POPULATION POLICY AND POVERTY

As mentioned above, there have been advancements in food production since Malthus's era, and the evidence of food surplus helps negate his concerns about a population "problem." Thus, many scholars have moved away from the stance that population growth causes poverty. Instead, they argue that an unequal distribution of resources is a main cause of poverty, and that population growth is in fact a symptom of poverty. Poor families throughout the world often deliberately have multiple children because they do not view children as just mouths to feed. Rather, multiple children may mean more hands to help tend the farm or to work in other ways to bring in more income for the family. More children also help ensure that the parents will be taken care of in their old age (Hartmann 1987). While many people in the United States have the luxury of Social Security and can afford retirement or nursing homes, not everyone in the world (and not even everyone in the United States) has such safety nets, and many people depend on their own children to look after them later in life.

People living in poverty may also have more children because of high infant mortality rates. Again, because not everyone has equal access to proper nutrition and adequate healthcare, many women face the reality that some of their children will die: "Each year in the Third World more than 10 million children die before reaching their first birthday. The average infant mortality rate is more than 90 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to 20 in the industrialized countries.… The poor are thus caught in a death trap: They have to keep producing children in order that some will survive" (Hartmann 1987).

Not only are there unequal levels of wealth and resources throughout the world, but there are also unequal levels of consumption and energy use between the first and third worlds. While the mainstream notion is often that the poor masses of the developing world are draining our energy resources and harming the environment, "Analysts…point out that the developed world's consumption and capital are often more responsible for resource depletion in the poorer countries than are the growing populations of those countries" (Sagoff 1994). While the developing world makes up 75 percent of the world's population, the developed countries still manage to "account for 75 percent of world energy use and consume 85 percent of all forest products and 72 percent of steel production" (Sagoff 1994). Thus, many social scientists are pushed to rethink the "over-" population problem as a problem of "over-" consumption by a small segment of the world's population; many do not agree that harsh population control policies should be imposed on those living in the third world because of the reality that the first world often has both greater wealth and greater power to consume energy and resources.

DEBATES ON POPULATION POLICY AND EUGENICS

Many scholars argue that eugenicist and racist attitudes have been evident historically throughout population debates and have been a driving force behind many harmful and oppressive population policies. A eugenicist belief is a belief that there are lesser peoples who should be eliminated or at least decreased and contained, and a belief that there are better races or classes of people who should be preserved and whose race should remain "pure" or "uncontaminated" by the undesirable "others." Well-known extreme examples of eugenics include the genocide in Rwanda and the Nazis' extermination of Jews during the Holocaust. With regard to population policy and the control of fertility, there are eugenicist, racist, and classist attitudes about who should be permitted to reproduce and who should not. The inaccurate assumptions that many in the West or developed world have about birth rates in developing countries, for instance, may be due in part to a lack of examination of the unequal distribution of resources. However, the idea that third world people are somehow hypersexualized or not intelligent enough to use proper birth control also has racist connotations.

Historically, eugenicist policies have been implemented in the United States as well as elsewhere. In the late nineteenth century, some states began imposing restrictive population policies on a range of people considered undesirable, such as criminals, alcoholics, and the "feeble-minded." The states passed laws to restrict marriage among certain targeted populations, in order to prevent the propagation of children who might share the same characteristics as their parents (Jalsevac 2004). In the early years of the twentieth century, laws enforcing the sterilization of those somehow deemed unfit were also passed in most states, and by 1968, 65,000 U.S. citizens had been forced to undergo sterilization (Chase 1975).

Margaret Sanger is often considered one of the pioneers of the eugenicist movement in the United States. Although she helped found Planned Parenthood, which today helps to provide for the reproductive health of many women, she has been criticized for racist remarks and for her ties to eugenics groups (Hartmann 1987; Jalsevac 2004). Scholars such as Betsy Hartmann (1987) argue that Sanger's ideas about population control and birth control were fraught with ideas about who is suitable to have children and to make intelligent decisions about reproductive choice, and who needs to be controlled. In a 1930s article, Sanger's plan to spread eugenics included a call for aspiring parents to apply for a parenthood permit, as well as the suggestion that "feeble-minded persons, habitual congenital criminals, those afflicted with inheritable diseases, and others found biologically unfit should be sterilized in cases of doubt and should be isolated so as to prevent the perpetuation of their afflictions by breeding" (cited in Jalsevac 2004, 36).

High incidences of sterilization and other forms of unsafe or long-term birth control continue for certain segments of the population. Feminist scholar Andrea Smith (2002) notes that Native American women and women of color in general are seen as "polluting," and Smith cites numerous studies from the 1970s showing that Native American women (and sometimes men) were systematically sterilized, usually without their consent. Despite the desire of many poor

or third world women to have large families, because of concerns about having enough children to work and support the family, these women do indeed want reproductive choice and access to safe and effective means of birth control, just as women of privilege do. Hartmann (1987) describes women she met in Bangladesh who particularly wanted birth control options that would allow them to space their pregnancies. However, the Bangladeshi women seemed to be experiencing one of two extremes: In some areas there was simply no access to birth control, and in other areas, women were persuaded and coerced, with little medical screening or counseling, to undergo irreversible sterilization or to try methods, like Depo-Provera or IUDs, that resulted in negative side effects. These "other" women were viewed and continue to be viewed as inferior and undeserving of the right to reproduce, and undeserving of the right to choose and have access to safe and effective means of birth control.

Whether we talk about an official, sanctioned international family planning policy or about the unofficial habit of a U.S. doctor to recommend sterilization for young, poor U.S. women deemed "welfare queens," population policy takes many forms and varies depending on its intended target. Supporters of top-down types of population policies believe that far-reaching birth control programs will curb poverty and will enable women in third world countries to have fewer children. In contrast, critics contend that women themselves should be able to make their own reproductive decisions and that population policies are often disproportionately implemented and/or encouraged in specific targeted communities, often in discriminatory ways.

DEBATES ON POPULATION POLICY AND REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

Additional debates concern how population policies serve either to empower women or to limit women's reproductive rights. Feminist scholars and social scientists have noted the complicated ways in which population policy and reproductive rights are interrelated. Scholar Betsy Hartmann argues, for instance, that although excessive sterilizations without consent are not good for women, antichoice groups that have supported putting an end to these sterilizations do not necessarily have women's best interests at heart:

> The population control and antiabortion philosophies…are both antichoice. Population control advocates imposed contraception and sterilization on women; the so-called Right to Life movement denies women the basic right of access to abortion and birth control. Neither takes the interests and rights of the individual woman as their starting point. Both approaches attempt to control women, instead of letting women control their bodies themselves. (1987, xii)

Indeed, population policies are often crafted in a disinterested manner, removed from the women and families they will influence. Feminists have pushed to shift the focus and reframe the "problem" of population as a problem of women's lack of reproductive freedoms.

LA OPERACIÓN IN PUERTO RICO

Rather than understanding Puerto Rico's economic problems in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of the United States' conquest of the island and its resources, U.S. officials declared that overpopulation was the main problem (Mass 1977). For example, with the help of exploitative trade policies, U.S. sugar interests moved in and disrupted the economy, uprooting thousands from their land and leaving 70 percent of the people landless by 1925 (Hartmann 1987). Instead of seeing this change in the distribution of wealth and land as a cause of poverty and social unrest, authorities identified overpopulation as the problem. With funding from the United States, the Puerto Rican government and agencies like the International Planned Parenthood Federation promoted *l'operación*, the sterilization of women, as the remedy. Other contraceptive methods were deemed too complicated for poor Puerto Rican women, and although many women wanted birth control of some kind, many did not understand that sterilization was permanent. By 1968, "one third of women of childbearing age had been sterilized on the island, the highest percentage anywhere in the world at that time" (Hartmann 1987).

Although much of the current debate concerning reproductive freedom, at least in the U.S. context, centers on access to birth control and the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, another basic reproductive right that is not necessarily discussed as much is the right of women to *have* children. Because the right and choice to have children are highly contextual and dependent on women's different circumstances, many feminists have argued for a broader definition of reproductive rights. For example, some argue that corporations that dump toxic chemicals infringe on the reproductive right of a woman to raise a child in a clean and healthy neighborhood. Anannya Bhattacharjee writes about how poor women and women of color are criminalized and are robbed of their right to be mothers because they are incarcerated at an excessive rate (2002). These concerns can be seen as a sort of population control, and are just as much violations of reproductive freedoms as are enforced sterilizations.

CONCLUSION

In general, women, rather than men, bear the greater burden of reproduction concerns. Although, biologically, women may have to go through pregnancy and bear children, from a social constructivist view it is not inherently necessary for women to be primarily or solely responsible for birth control, nor to be the sole targets of population policies (Hartmann 1987). Women generally have less political and economic power than men, have less access to formal education, are less able to get jobs outside of the home and are paid less if they do have jobs, and are more likely to be victims of rape or abuse during their lifetimes (Hartmann 1987). Despite these forms of structural inequalities, poor women in particular are often blamed for their reproductive decisions or practices. Thus, women are often put in a lose-lose situation because they can be blamed for having too

many babies and punished for it through population policies like unnecessary sterilizations, while they are simultaneously told that their only value is as mothers and caregivers. While supporters of population policies believe that they are helping societies develop or modernize by lowering birth rates, critics of these policies tend to emphasize women's subjective experiences of motherhood and reproduction, and to acknowledge women's "rights" in controlling their reproductive lives as against the "rights" of governments to determine birthing patterns in a given country or community.

See also Birth Control; Birthing Practices; Gender and International Development; Medicine and Medicalization: Views on Women's Bodies.

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Heidi Pitzer

PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography has been opposed on the grounds of indecency, obscenity, its purported harmful effects on viewers, and its role in the objectification of women. Anti-pornography advocates, including neoconservatives and feminists alike, who argue that harmful images should not be protected under free speech laws, have fought to ban pornography through censorship. Sex-positive feminists and pro-pornography advocates typically defend free speech and argue that not all pornography is bad and that censorship will not end violence against women.

BACKGROUND

While various forms of visual erotica have been around for centuries in cultures around the world, in modern Western society pornography has become a highly commercialized phenomenon. In the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, the meaning of pornography, including the question of what distinguishes art from pornography, has been a subject of heated debate. What does it mean to call something pornography? Does pornography have a positive or negative effect on women's (and men's) lives? These are some of the central questions asked by both supporters and critics of the modern pornography industry.

Many scholars agree that the 1980s were the decade when pornography debates exploded into national discussion. Three major groups have been involved in the debates around pornography: (1) pro-censorship, anti-pornography neoconservative groups; (2) pro-censorship, anti-pornography feminist groups; and (3) anti-censorship feminist groups. Interestingly, although feminists and right-wing neoconservatives rarely agree on issues, in the case of pornography some groups of feminists have sided with right-wing neoconservatives (many of whom are men) in their fight to ban pornography and promote its censorship wherever possible. This has prompted other groups of women's rights advocates to take a different stance on pornography by focusing on freedom of speech and the labor rights of women who work in the pornography industry rather than focusing on its censorship. Additionally, some groups argue that violent and/or sexual visual images do not have an adverse affect on people's socialization; therefore, they point out, pornography is no different from other forms of erotica that are often viewed as socially acceptable forms of art. Finally, critics of anti-pornography crusaders point out that often these individuals target groups they perceive as deviant, such as African Americans and/or gays and lesbians, adding fodder to an already complicated debate about the effects of pornography as a visual medium on people's consciousness.

HISTORY OF PORNOGRAPHY LEGISLATION AND POLICY

In 1986, the Meese Commission, officially known as the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, published a controversial report claiming a causal link between pornography and violence, with little scientific evidence to back up this claim (Hefner 1987, 25). Despite its widely recognized lack of scientific evidence, this report has provided a strong justification for subsequent federal policies concerning pornography and violence against women. For example, following the Meese Commission's report, the 1992 Pornography Victims' Protection Act and the 1994 Violence against Women Act were passed, both contributing to criminalizing the production, distribution, and consumption of pornography.

Following the Meese Commission's report, right-wing neoconservative Senator Jesse Helms led a censorship crusade that targeted specific artists. In particular, Helms led a crusade against the artist Robert Mapplethorpe and the portion

DID YOU KNOW?

The 1986 Meese Commission Report on Pornography argues that while free speech is protected, anything that causes harm can be censored. Although the commission gathered information with the purpose of showing that pornography causes violence, some have pointed out that the commission's own evidence did not support that claim (Hefner 1987, 25). The Meese Commission used the term *pornography* with all its negative connotations to describe everything from magazines like *Playboy* to anything that depicts sexuality. Critics charge that the members of the commission exaggerated their report by evaluating only the most violent images and by imbuing their argument with biases about homosexuality, cross-racial desire, and other forms of sexuality that they viewed as deviant. Ironically, this report and subsequent legislation, including the 1994 Violence against Women Act and President George W. Bush's legislation on sex trafficking, were designed in the name of women's rights, yet arguably through a neoconservative lens.

of his art that depicted homoeroticism and sadomasochism. Robert Mapplethorpe's photography included many types of subjects, including still lifes, portraits, human nudes, and studio depictions of sadomasochism (a small percentage of his work). Robert Mapplethorpe's exhibit, *The Perfect Moment,* provoked a national campaign for the censorship of his explicitly gay-themed and sado-masochist-themed photographs.

Following Helms's attack on Mapplethorpe's exhibit, *The Perfect Moment,* a gallery director in Washington, DC, refused to display Mapplethorpe's exhibit on the grounds that it would only provide more material that Jesse Helms would exploit in his attacks on lesbian- and gay-themed work. The exhibit moved to the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, where curator Dennis Barrie faced criminal charges for exhibiting "obscene" material. (The charges were later dismissed.) In 1989, the director of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) withdrew funding from Mapplethorpe's exhibit, and in 1990 the NEA withdrew funding from four other artists, three of whom produced work on lesbian and gay identities and sexualities while the fourth produced work opposing violence against women (Duggan and Hunter 2006, 24–25).

In that same year, the rap group 2 Live Crew was prosecuted in Florida for the "obscene" lyrics in their album *As Nasty as They Wanna Be,* while white comedian Andrew Dice Clay peddled racism and misogyny on nationwide television and Madonna performed sexually explicit acts during live performances. Certainly 2 Live Crew's lyrics, which refer to black women as "cunts," bitches," and "hos" and advocate violent sex and even rape, are misogynist and deserve strong criticism, but is prosecution under obscenity laws the correct response (Crenshaw 1993)?

In 1991, Congress limited National Endowment for the Arts funding to art that passes a test of "decency," further institutionalizing the view that certain forms of art that are erotic in nature (especially gay and lesbian art and art that challenges heterosexual, white, middle-class norms) are potentially "indecent"

and must be further assessed before being funded by the government. Between 1992 and 2000, during the years of the Clinton administration, less emphasis was placed on pornography and indecency in art. However, in 2005, under the leadership of George W. Bush (2000–2008), Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez resurrected the Meese Commission report and associated legislation in order to create the Justice Department Task Force on Obscenity and renew the prosecution of lesbian and gay, racial, and other controversially themed art (Duggan and Hunter 2006, 28).

ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY DEBATES

Those who oppose the production and consumption of pornography, including many neoconservative groups, tend to view pornography as obscene. Their notion of obscenity or indecency is often based on religious or cultural arguments about socially acceptable forms of art in modern society. They apply their definition of pornography to material that is self-defined as such, including magazines such as *Hustler* and *Playboy,* and to some sexually themed art, such as that of Robert Mapplethorpe.

Right-Wing Conservatives

Prominent neoconservative crusaders in the anti-pornography movement include Senator Jesse Helms, Reverend Jerry Falwell, and the right-wing women's Eagle Forum founder, Phyllis Schlafly. As early as 1977, in her crusade against feminism, Phyllis Schlafly fought to ban the Boston Women's Health Book Collective self-help manual for women, *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* on the basis of pornography. The manual, which is now in its eighth edition and has been translated into at least 19 languages, focuses primarily on women's health (BWHBC 2007). The American Library Association lists culturally transformative literary classics such as *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker, *Of Mice and Men* by John Steinbeck, *The Catcher in the Rye* by J. D. Salinger, and *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood among the top 100 challenged books of the twentieth century.

Many anti-pornography activists claim that because pornography is obscene and therefore not art, it is not subject to protection under the U.S. Constitution's guarantee of free speech. Some also argue that pornography causes violence against women through individual men copying practices they see in pornography, although research on this subject is highly divided. Particularly in cases of serial sexual murder like that of Ted Bundy, individual men have admitted to imitating pornography and named it as the cause of their sexualized violence (Cameron and Frazer 1994, 242–47). The "copycat" and "addiction" models can lead to excusing the perpetrators' sexualized violence by saying that they copied the violence of pornography and that they became addicted to it following the addiction models used for drugs and alcohol (Cameron and Frazer 1994, 248–53). According to this addiction model, the perpetrators start with less violent pornography to obtain their "fix" but then need more and more violent images, until watching the most violent pornography no longer satisfies them

and they must commit the violent acts themselves (Cameron and Frazer 1994, 243–44).

These causal models of pornography ignore the following facts: (1) that most pornography is not violent (Hefner 1987); (2) that most incidents of sexualized violence are not copies of pornography (Cameron and Frazer 1994, 243); and (3) that the models pathologize the perpetrator of the violence as the victim of an illness who is therefore not responsible for the violence. What is most troubling is the way that causal models deny individual agency by ignoring the fact that the vast majority of consumers of pornography do not commit sexualized violence. What is more credible than a linear, causal model that leads from the consumption of any and all pornography to the consumption of violence is an analysis that focuses on the subset of pornography that *is* violent, and here, as feminists have argued, rape and other forms of sexualized violence are first and foremost violence, not sex.

Feminists

Anti-pornography feminists, historically led by Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, protest pornography on the basis that it causes violence against women. Legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon names pornography as the cause of violent acts against women and the overall subordination of women in society. She views pornography as one symptom of the patriarchal mistreatment of women. In contrast to neoconservatives who have sought to ban pornography on the basis of obscenity laws that imply criminal penalties under the law, MacKinnon was among the first to argue that pornography is a violation of women's civil rights and that women harmed by pornography should be allowed to press charges in civil courts (MacKinnon 1987). She and other pro-censorship feminists advocate restricting the production, sale, and consumption of pornography due to their belief that ending or reducing pornography would end or reduce violence against women and the subordination of women. Andrea Dworkin, a writer and radical feminist activist who died in 2005, worked with MacKinnon to ban pornography through local ordinances and federal legislation. This led to the unlikely alliance of feminists and right-wing neoconservatives in the crusade to ban pornography.

MacKinnon's and Dworkin's perspectives on pornography were the product of the broader radical feminist movement that emerged in the late 1960s and continued through the 1970s. The 1970s were the decade of lesbian feminism, which was dominated by white women and included consideration of violence against women and responses that named sexism as the central cause of inequality, and called men and patriarchy the sources of violence against women (Lorber 2007). Anti-pornography, pro-censorship groups, of which Women against Pornography is the most famous, were formed during the 1970s in response to the theory that pornography, with its violent and sexualized images of women, caused violence against women through individual men copying scenes from pornography and through the creation of a misogynist society. They also denounced the production of pornography as exploitative of the women

ANNIE SPRINKLE, SEX-POSITIVE FEMINIST

A former prostitute, stripper, and porn star, Annie Sprinkle left the traditional porn industry to become a sex-positive performance artist and educator. She received her PhD in human sexuality studies and has produced several performance tours and sex-positive videos including *The Sluts and Goddesses Video Workshop—Or How to Be a Sex Goddess in 101 Easy Steps*. She has also published a memoir, *Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Media Whore* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998).

who worked in the industry. It was not uncommon to read about local feminist groups committing acts of civil disobedience by entering stores that sold pornography and tearing up pornographic magazines in front of store owners and clients. Many feminists were willing to go to jail to defend their cause. In northern California, members of the Preying Mantis Brigade, an underground revolutionary feminist group, emphasized this type of civil disobedience as a reflection of their belief that violent representations led to violent crimes against women, including rape, sexual harassment, and sexual abuse. Some even trained themselves in arms as a way to protect women against what they perceived as an abusive, patriarchal society.

Anti-pornography feminists hypothesized that outlawing pornography would reduce its production and consumption, which would in turn reduce violence against women and the objectification and exploitation of women as well as all others involved in the pornography industry. In 1983, MacKinnon and Dworkin worked with neoconservative legislators and activists to write the first anti-porn law for the City of Minneapolis, which was twice passed by the City Council and twice vetoed by the mayor. In 1984, the City of Indianapolis successfully passed the first anti-pornography legislation based on MacKinnon and Dworkin's civil rights framework, legislation that was later ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. To date, this case is considered legally significant in debates on free speech versus pornography.

ANTI-CENSORSHIP DEBATES

Anti-censorship feminists, while they agree that pornography may include degrading and dehumanizing pictures of women, do not believe that all pornography is exploitative or that restricting pornography would reduce the incidence of violence against women. They argue instead that censorship, the main vehicle of attempts to suppress pornography, differentially suppresses free speech and is ineffective in reducing the production, sale, and consumption of pornography.

Anti-censorship feminist groups were formed in the 1980s in response to the attack on freedom of expression. The Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce began and grew to four chapters in 1984. Anti-censorship and pro–freedom of speech advocates generally do not argue that there is nothing wrong with pornography and the way it represents women (see, for example, Cameron and

Frazer 1994). Rather, they argue against censorship because it is a violation of the right to free speech, which in the United States is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Concerned by Dworkin and MacKinnon's alliance with right-wing neoconservatives, many groups of feminists began to oppose the feminist anti-pornography stance on the basis that it was problematic or elitist, leading to what many scholars now refer to as the "sex wars" of the 1980s (Duggan and Hunter 2006). Anti-censorship feminists have pointed out that not all pornography is violent, and that often neoconservatives have selectively targeted forms of art that they view as controversial because of their own racism or homophobia, rather than because of objective societal standards on decency in art. They also point out that even in the mainstream media, there are many violent representations of sex and of men and women that may cause as much harm to viewers as pornography. That is, if pornography causes violence against women by devaluing and degrading them, one must critique all the other types of images that devalue and degrade women. Finally, they argue that banning pornography will not alleviate the problems it allegedly causes: It will not eliminate the demand for pornography, nor will it eliminate the supply of a product that is so cheap and easy to produce. Some also point out that completely removing pornography from circulation will have a detrimental effect on the livelihoods of people who act and are photographed in pornography, which is now a multi-billion-dollar industry.

DOES PORNOGRAPHY CAUSE HARM?

Central to the debates on pornography is the idea that sexual images may cause harm to viewers. The question has been raised, then, as to whether pornography causes harm, and if so, what can be done to reduce or eliminate it. This, of course, also depends upon how one defines pornography, further complicating any policy or legal discussion. Some observers point out that one must differentiate between the different types of harm that pornography may cause: harm to those who make porn, harm to individuals who view it, and harm to society. Debates also continue on whether the harmful effects of pornography, however defined, should be criminalized or addressed through education, and how censorship boards can most appropriately distinguish between harmful and nonharmful images, in mainstream popular culture (for example, television, film, radio) as well as in the pornography industry itself.

CONCLUSION

Is pornography a reflection of violence in society or a cause of it? This question continues to perplex both supporters of free speech and supporters of censorship, feminists and neoconservatives alike. On an interpersonal level, most men do not perpetrate violence against women, although clear gendered cultural patterns exist that illustrate a disproportionate amount of violence against women, including rape, sexual harassment, and sexual abuse, MacKinnon herself being one of the most widely cited feminists writing on this topic. On a

societal level, pornography may arguably normalize violence against women and dehumanize women in ways that make violence more likely, but mainstream images also objectify, dehumanize, and sexualize women. As the mainstream media are so ubiquitous, what is the ultimate merit of focusing on a small subset of largely avoidable images to the exclusion of all the other ways in which women are exploited, visually and physically? Just as criminalizing pornography would not stop its production, eliminating pornography would not necessarily end violence against women. At the very least, more research needs to be conducted to assess the relationship between violent images and violent acts. And importantly, what we now know as pornography has long existed in both Western and non-Western societies, a historical fact that many current crusaders tend to forget.

See also Crime and Criminalization; Media Images of Women: Music; Media Images of Women: Television and Film; Sex Trafficking; Sex Work.

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Chana Wolfson

POSTFEMINISM

Postfeminism is a term as complex and imbued with multiple paradoxes as its predecessor, *modern feminism.* There is vocal and vigorous debate about

whether the term *postfeminism* represents a profeminist position, signifying the next stage of feminist evolution, or an antifeminist position, claiming that feminism is "dead," no longer necessary, or problematic.

BACKGROUND

Postfeminism is not a concept with a unified meaning for those who might be considered stakeholders in the ongoing social discussion, debate, and research on women's status in the social world. Given the conflicting definitions of the term being circulated and the multiplicity of interests and constituents, it is useful to begin with a brief examination of its genesis.

The term *postfeminism* is generally believed to be an artifact of late-twentieth-century rhetoric. It is asserted (usually in the mass media) that postfeminism is a term of the 1980s, some placing its inauguration in 1982, with the publication of Susan Bolotin's article, "Voices from the Post-Feminist Generation," in the *New York Times Magazine.* In this article, Bolotin describes the phenomenon of 20-year-old women who have benefited from second wave feminism and endorsed feminist goals but rejected the label of "feminist." This piece is only one of many pronouncements of the death, demise, end, or rejection of feminism to appear in mass media outlets from the early 1980s onward. Taken together they represent a concerted assertion of the collapse of feminism and feminist goals (Brooks 1997; Faludi 1991; Gamble 2000; Hawkesworth 2004). Some have placed the use of the term *postfeminism* as beginning with Susan Faludi's 1991 *New York Times* bestseller, *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women,* and through her analysis of the development of the social momentum against the gains made by second wave feminism in the United States.

This genealogy contrasts with that of Phoca and Wright (1999), who argue that postfeminism initially developed in France during the late 1960s as an extension of the deconstructionist movement in French feminist theory. For these scholars, the genesis of the term is not an ending but rather a new beginning. It signals an intellectual movement against the assumptions and categories established in the first and second wave feminist movements. Thus the foundational concepts of these movements are not simply challenged but destabilized and rejected, so as to advance feminist theory and reposition it in the face of reasserted institutional patriarchal authority (Andermahr, Lovel, and Wolkowitz 1997; Murray 1997). Despite these arguments for the mid- to late-twentieth-century development of the term, there is persuasive evidence that it was in use much earlier. According to some scholars, postfeminism was in use near the end of first wave feminism in the early twentieth century. Cott (1987) points out that at that time, "some progressive women were referring to their position as 'post-feminist'" (13). This use of the term was not a repudiation of feminism or feminist goals but a statement about the next stage of engagement. Faludi argues that the postfeminism that emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s is the result of a concerted conservative effort to roll back the gains of second wave feminism and reimpose traditional gender hierarchies. The competing understandings of the origin(s) of postfeminism are important, as they serve

to influence the themes that can be glimpsed in its use and meaning within the currents of the mainstream media and academic discourses pertaining to shifting power relations.

THEMES AND CONTROVERSIES

Five fairly distinct motifs and themes are typically revealed in the various meanings given to the term *postfeminism.*

Profeminism and the Antifoundational Movement

The first usage of the term is as a theoretical outgrowth of the antifoundational movement. The postfeminism that grew out of the deconstructive analysis of French feminists led to a new set of self-reflective queries about the subject of feminism; these queries grew out of the antifoundational movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Brooks 1997). The past few decades have seen the emergence of a number of antifoundational "posts," in particular, postmodernism, poststructuralism, postfeminism, and posthumanism. Each of these has its roots in the deconstructive techniques of Jacques Derrida and each has become influential within academia and academic feminism. All of these "posts" serve to challenge, albeit in different ways, the fundamental canons of social theory, social structures, the concept of society itself, and the human subject, along with claims to truth made by classical social theories. The stance here is not one that rejects or repudiates feminism because its work is concluded, but one that significantly seeks to deconstruct the notion of gender and heterosexuality while building on its initial stages of development. From within this perspective, this is the necessary next step, and only by calling into use and borrowing the deconstructionist tools to deconstruct concepts of power, social categories, and gender is there a way forward for gender equality.

However, this deconstructive focus is one that has engendered some significant criticisms as being not at all useful or practical for dealing with oppression. This focus has been seen as an abandonment of the "real-life problems and discourses of most women" (Murray 1997, 44). For some scholars, the deconstructive techniques of postmodernism, and thus postfeminism, leave little space for addressing the more critical questions: What sort of social world do we desire? How can we improve the overall lives of women if we can make no claims about what should be done? Young (1997) even argues against theory altogether, by stating that

> feminists do not need and should not want theory in this sense. Instead, we should take a more pragmatic orientation to our intellectual discourse. . . . I mean categorizing, explaining, developing accounts and arguments that are tied to specific practical and political problems. (Young 1997, 16–17)

From this pragmatic perspective, it is of little use to ask for a deconstruction of the feminine as a category of subordination if it leaves little room for an active engagement with women's status and oppression.

The Backlash against Second Wave Feminism

A second common usage of the term *postfeminism* is as a social rejection of feminism. This usage has been popularized by the media and by social critics, especially on the political and religious right, in what has been described (see Faludi 1991; Henry 2004; Marx Ferree and Hess 1995) as a "backlash" against second wave feminism. In this analysis, postfeminist rhetoric seeks to place all feminisms in an antipleasure, antimasculinity, antifemininity, and antifamily framework. Observers who claim that we live in a postfeminist society often believe that feminism has destabilized the family, gender social relations, the economy, religion, and the very fabric of society. Thus, the corrective action is to restore women to the home and men as "heads of families," as the only cure for the excesses of feminism. The relegation of the period of the 1980s and early 1990s to postfeminism is key to the backlash against feminism and is therefore seen by profeminists as a conscious strategy deployed by antifeminists to further their political cause. As Henry (2004) points out, "the notion that the 1980s can be dismissed as a post-feminist decade is, in great part, a fiction that has helped to propagate conservatives' views of feminism" (21). In other words, as profeminists have pointed out, this view of postfeminism has served to persuade women, in a Madison Avenue–like manner, that feminism is dangerous, unnecessary, and passé.

Postfeminism as the Next Stage of Feminism

A third way of looking at the term *postfeminism* focuses primarily on the historical continuity and development of feminism as a form of social thought and action. In this analysis, postfeminism is the next developmental stage for feminism. It has become the inheritor of the gains of first and second wave feminism and thus it is really a sort of linearly anchored feminism that continues the work of previous feminisms. In this view, postfeminist thought also includes new voices that are addressing new concerns, particularly in a feminist context. In this scenario, postfeminism is sometimes conflated with third wave feminism, since both have provided important critiques of second wave feminist political practices. However, most would agree that postfeminism and third wave feminism are distinct theoretical strands of feminism, each with its own proponents. One of third wave feminism's strongest voices, Rebecca Walker, stated in a 1992 interview in *Ms Magazine* that "she wasn't post-feminist, she was the Third Wave" (Walker 1992, 41). In the foreword to the anthology *The Fire This Time: Young Activists and the New Feminism,* Walker states, "we want to be linked with our foremothers . . . but we also want to make space for young women to create their own, different brand of revolt, and so we chose the name Third Wave" (1995, xvii). This statement points to one of the areas of tension between postfeminism and third wave feminism: The generational relationship between mothers and daughters became the focus of feminist debate within a moment of social transition. A key component of third wave feminism is the continued importance of feminism in politics, economy, culture, and education, as these areas involve more than mere social institutions that required the corrective remedy

of inclusion to dismantle patriarchy. As Labaton and Martin (2004) argue, "the feminism of younger activists goes beyond the rhetoric of inclusion. The significant important lesson we have learned from the second wave's faux pas is that a feminist movement cannot succeed if it does not challenge power structures of wealth and race" (xxix). However, some would argue that the claim by some third wave feminists that they seek to create a feminism that is outside the second wave ignores the fact that historically the third wave has emerged from and developed after the second wave. Furthermore, the notion that third wave feminism is outside second wave feminism, rather than a continuation of it, can be seen as emblematic of the rejection of earlier (that is, second wave) feminists by the current "twenty something" feminists who tend to identify with the third wave. The ongoing definitional efforts of third wave feminists point to the continued ontological evolution of feminism. It is worth noting with that while the *Routledge Critical Dictionary of Feminism and Post-feminism* includes "postfeminism" in its title, the editors of the dictionary argue for a superior functional quality for the term *third wave feminism* over *postfeminism*. This advantage is, according to the authors, that third wave feminism "stands on the shoulders of other, earlier, feminist movements" (Gamble 2000, 54). Thus the implication is clear: third wave feminism allows the ready acceptance of ongoing feminist efforts because it builds on a foundation laid by earlier feminists. In sum, while some equate postfeminism with third wave feminism, there are at least as many voices claiming that they are entirely different concepts.

Postfeminism as Personal Empowerment

A fourth meaning given to the term *postfeminism* is that of a type of personal empowerment that rejects the so-called Victorian effects of prior feminisms.

WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN A POSTFEMINIST ERA

It is ironic that in an era when *postfeminism* often means that feminism is dead and that feminists have moved on from collective social action, on Sunday, April 25, 2004, more than a million people converged on the mall in Washington, DC, for the largest march on Washington in U.S. history. Named the March for Women's Lives, it was the latest and largest in a series of women's marches that date from 1989. The March for Women's Lives was organized by seven national women's rights groups to support woman's access to legal abortion and birth control. In addition, a diverse range of supporting organizations with varied constituencies and interests also participated, including the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, the Black Women's Health Imperative, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Feminist Majority, Planned Parenthood, and representatives from 57 other countries. The issues raised included economic rights, women's reproductive health issues, and global family planning. Although the march focused on reproductive rights, it was also a political rally around a variety of social justice issues such as AIDS, equal pay, and healthcare access.

Denfeld (1995) maintains that embracing feminism means the development of "a moral and spiritual crusade that would take us back to a time worse than our mother's day—back to the nineteenth-century values of sexual morality, spiritual purity, and political helplessness…current feminism would create the very same morally pure yet helplessly martyred role that women suffered from a century ago" (46–47). According to this view, second wave feminism was antisex and is as sexually repressive as Victorian ideologies (Denfeld 1995). In this analysis, postfeminism is a pro-pleasure or sex-positive perspective (typically heterosexual) that argues that since second wave feminism was "antisex," it follows that postfeminism is sexually liberated, feminine, and fun. An example of this is the assertion of Camille Paglia, one of the postfeminist pundits of the early 1990s: "The reform wing of feminism to which I belong burst into public view in the early 1990s, but it actually has a long lineage. The most radical pro-sex of us began our struggles with the *puritanism* and *groupthink* of feminist leaders from the moment the women's movement revived in the late 1960s" (Paglia 1997). In addition to Paglia's work, there emerged other, equally visible, antifeminist postfeminist voices. The early 1990s postfeminist movement publications, such as René Denfeld's *The New Victorians* (1995), Katie Roiphe's *The Morning After* (1994), and Christina Hoff Sommers's *Who Stole Feminism?* (1995), catapulted the so-called crisis of feminism into the public's eye. In different ways, each of these authors serves up a cautionary tale with feminism as the villain. All of these works enjoyed considerable mainstream media attention and fueled the media's claims of a crisis and of the "death" of feminism.

An important aspect to the rise of these works is that each author claims a type of feminism for herself that gives her a credibility that the other critics of feminism lack. Further, these authors employ a "common sense" stance with regard to gender relations that emphasizes what they describe as the extreme nature of feminism, which, they claim forced women to view themselves as victims.

Feminism as No Longer Necessary

Finally, there are those who maintain that the "post" really refers to the obsolescence of second wave feminism as a necessary tool for destabilizing patriarchy and/or addressing gender inequities. From this perspective, the work of feminism has been accomplished, since we now have gender equality. Dow (1996) points out that "media accounts [of feminism] often assume that opportunity for women has exploded, thus confirming the belief that feminism has triumphed, at least in the public sphere" (87). Thus, in this view, if women aren't successful in the public sphere it is the result of individual choices and a personal lack of resourcefulness. Critics of the obsolescence argument (see Faludi, 1991; Marx Ferree and Hess 1995) maintain that women have been seduced, primarily by the media, into believing that gender inequality is passé or unnecessary. Central to the message that feminism is largely irrelevant is the notion that women have achieved all that is achievable. The critics of what might be termed a type of postfeminist false consciousness argument ask us to consider who has been left out of this achievement. From this perspective, then, it is clear

that working-class and poor women, lesbians, transgendered women, women of color, and disabled women (to name only a few) comprise a category of "other women" for whom the feminist ideals have yet to materialize.

Often the argument that feminism is irrelevant is linked with the notion that feminism is responsible for the multiple problems besetting U.S. women today as they enter the public sphere while maintaining their private realms, often with little help or formal support. In this interpretation of feminism, it is argued that the contemporary pressures of having to work and manage family life are the result of the "successes" of second wave feminism, which is blamed for having seduced women into "having it all" but at a cost. The increasing demands of work and family have placed women in a no-win situation that forces them into the competing demands of work and home. Proponents of this notion argue that women who choose home and family, such as "stay at home" moms, are viewed as "victims" by feminists.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that among the varied voices claiming a postfeminist stance there are distinct and at times oppositional themes that are part of the larger circulating tropes of gender, sex, and feminism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. These themes are imperfect yet provide the building blocks for a basic working understanding of the concepts under contention in postfeminism. It is both ironic and significant that the term *postfeminism* implies that there is some level of ideological agreement about the term *feminism.* Further, it implies that this agreement serves as the foundation for some sort of ontological stability within feminist enterprises. This implied stability belies the fact that the term *feminism* has never existed as a specific concept. There has never been *a feminism* but rather *multiple feminisms* that share a common core concern—that of women's status in the world. And while the multiple feminisms that have developed share a core concept, that of gender as a central social force or set of social relations, the tensions between them provide a useful tool for exploration and for developing new understandings. The disparate feminisms will likely never agree on the exact shape and structure of this social force and its impact on the lives of women. Some might maintain that the lack of unity is a weakness that leaves feminism powerless to affect social and economic change. However, this position is shortsighted, because the value of feminist discourses lies in the very debates and dialogues that occur within all areas of feminism, including postfeminism.

See also Family Values; Politics and Political Ideologies: Right-Wing Women; Postmodernist and Poststructuralist Feminisms; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Elizabeth Jenner

POSTMODERNIST AND POSTSTRUCTURALIST FEMINISMS

Postmodernist and poststructuralist theories, both of which challenge earlier philosophical traditions, have been central to questions about identity, representation, and politics in the contemporary era. Feminist debates concerning postmodernism and poststructuralism involve disputes as to whether universalistic thinking is appropriate or not, the nature of the self in Western society, and whether gender and sexual differences function as oppressive or as liberatory.

BACKGROUND: WHAT ARE POSTMODERNISM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM?

Postmodernism is often used as an overarching term that describes a general break with conventional and dominant ways of thinking (poststructuralism and some strands of feminism are frequently classified as tenets of postmodern thinking). Although there are many theoretical perspectives that fall under

postmodernism and poststructuralism, these two terms mainly designate the collapse of wholeness or totality in Western philosophical concepts, notions of the self, and modes of representation. The "post" in postmodernism and post-structuralism indicates that these theories come after and in response to earlier (broadly conceived as from the early twentieth century through the middle of the century) ideas about what constitutes "modern" identity and society. In being prefaced with "post," both terms would seem to delineate historically specific periods of critical theory; however, as terms, postmodernism and post-structuralism are not so much about naming time periods as they are about rethinking and expanding upon previous theories and cultural practices. These terms generally refer to particular arenas of critical thought that emerged in the post–World War II era. Both terms are used to question hierarchical models, power structures, and the integrity of authority, although they tend to maintain different emphases.

Postmodernism, as a critical term, is often used to theorize cultural production, that is, literary and artistic practices, and what these practices reflect about how society operates. The term has been used to describe textual and cultural methods that respond to a wide range of turn-of-the century and early-twentieth-century avant-garde practices known as modernism; modernism is generally characterized in terms of unconventional methods of representation (such as Picasso's scrambling of facial features in his paintings of women). While modernist practices accent individual style, authorship, and originality, these styles have become classic rather than retaining the radical effect they had at the time of their creation. Postmodernism tends to blur the boundaries between high art and popular culture, often attacking the elitism that modernist styles are thought to represent. For example, art made of found objects and art that depicts banal items are categorically postmodern. Like modernist styles, postmodern styles are historically contingent in becoming standard art practice; thus postmodernism often characterizes aesthetics that parody older styles and art that calls attention to artistic processes themselves (Jameson 1991). In critiquing general ideas about individual creativity and about what constitutes reputable art, postmodernism, then, parallels feminism's critique of "masterpieces" as mostly being work by men. Because it indicates socially and politically relevant theoretical thinking that problematizes dominant thinking as such, postmodernism should not be thought of as merely designating artistic styles. Therefore, what Jean-François Lyotard (1984) calls a rejecting of "grand narratives," or denying the universals behind much philosophical thinking, points to feminist views of questioning the idea of "man" as the universal marker for humanity; in other words, what becomes universally "human" is that which operates through a specifically male-dominated framework. Generally speaking, second wave feminism shares with postmodernism a critique of master narratives, in this case, examining how men are viewed as the unmarked, natural norm in society whereas women are viewed as "others" (de Beauvoir [1952] 1989).

Poststructuralism, on the other hand, is a field of inquiry concerned with the relationship between language and culture. Important poststructuralist thinkers include French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1978), whose theories

FRENCH FEMINISMS

Psychoanalytic theory is a key methodology used and critiqued within debates between feminism and poststructuralism. Psychoanalytic constructions of the female body—as hysterical, as multiple, and as "lack" (of a penis)—directly link to the ways in which feminist psychoanalytic theorists destabilize language and writing as male forms of signification. By using fluid, poetic, and unconventional syntactical styles, these feminist theorists tackle the patriarchal underpinnings of psychoanalytic understandings about "femaleness" in demonstrating their critiques at the level of their theoretical texts' structures. Luce Irigaray's *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1985) and Hélène Cixous's essay "The Laugh of the Medusa" (1976) are frequently referenced examples of this theoretical writing. Also known as "French feminism," or *l'écriture feminine* (feminine writing), these theories have been criticized for attempting to radically destabilize putatively masculine expressions through styles of writing thought to reflect a biologically centered notion of female difference.

highlight language's inability to fully signify stable meanings, as well as French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault (1973), whose work emphasizes the link between language, as a power structure, and the regulation of universal ways of thinking. While the earlier school of structuralism posited that meaning is culturally independent, poststructuralists view meaning as inseparable from culture and ultimately unstable. Thus, poststructuralists tend to emphasize the instability inherent in how meanings are generated by the structure of language. The linguistic sign, in structuralism, is composed of the signifier (the word) and the signified (the concept of the word). By breaking down how meaning is constructed via this linguistic structure, structuralism shows that the link between a word and its concept is random (de Saussure [1916] 2000). For instance, the same concept may be expressed by several different words depending on the language used to communicate that concept. Going beyond the arbitrary relationship between a word and its concept, poststructuralism instead shows that signifiers infinitely point to other signifiers (Lacan 1977), that concepts themselves are linguistic formations. Put differently, there is nothing stable about the concept of a word because words' definitions are simply other words. Thus, because the human subject conceives, understands, and communicates itself through language, the idea of an individual or unified sense of self cannot exist, since it cannot exist outside of language.

FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF POSTMODERNISM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM

Feminist scholars have been heavily divided on the significance of poststructuralist and postmodernist thought for feminist scholarship and activism. Some feminist scholars have been suspicious about postmodernism's gaining theoretical ground at the height of the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s. For these feminists, the skepticism revolves around the notion that postmodernist

MICHEL FOUCAULT AND FEMINISM

French-born Michel Foucault, often considered an important philosopher in the structuralist and/or postmodern traditions, has been highly influential among feminist theorists, although tensions have always existed between Foucault's male-based analysis and the gendered visions of feminist scholars. Foucault's genealogical method involved tracing the historical development of institutions or fields as wide ranging as the medical profession, the criminal justice system, psychology and sexology, and academia. Significantly, Foucault emphasized the relationship between power, knowledge, and discourse through his historical examinations of these institutions, causing many to consider him a philosopher of discourse, and his work continues to be highly influential in contemporary discourse analysis. His insight shook the foundations of modernist thought as he addressed the making of subjectivities as produced and exercised through relations of power, which he viewed as occurring not only within powerful institutions such as the state or the military, as earlier liberal and Marxian scholars posited, but also through people's everyday interactions, expressions of identity, and most intimate feelings. Because of his emphasis on subjectivity, biopolitics, and power, which he viewed as something we all possess and exercise even if we are also oppressed, therefore making the exercise of power contradictory at best, his work has influenced many strands of feminism. This is perhaps ironic, since Foucault himself never theorized gender identity or gender inequalities in Western society and some even consider him misogynist in his thinking. Because of this, feminist scholars have debated the significance of his work for their own understandings of power, as reflected in publications such as Caroline Ramazanoglu's 1993 edited volume, *Up against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions between Foucault and Feminism.*

Foucault did, however, write three volumes on the history of sexuality, which earned him great admiration among contemporary queer studies scholars and activists, who have largely viewed his work as pivotal for their own thought and activism (Foucault [1978] 1990; Halperin 1995). In addition, AIDS activists have been greatly influenced by his work on sexuality, and radical groups such as the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP), which was particularly strong in the 1980s in the United States, utilized Foucault's genealogical method in their fight for governmental and societal acknowledgment of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS. A dedicated scholar turned AIDS and gay rights activist in the 1980s, sadly, Foucault himself died of AIDS complications in 1984.

theory may be "male" theory: the argument being that just when feminists begin to have some voice of political authority, the very notion of "authority" begins to be questioned (Nicholson 1990). In general, though, the debates that have surrounded feminism and theories of postmodernism and poststructuralism are less about necessarily working with or against these theories and more about reconceptualizing and negotiating with them. Rather than either strictly reifying or rigidly opposing postmodernism, many scholars, coming from both feminist and nonfeminist perspectives, have questioned postmodernism as itself counterintuitively becoming a "grand narrative" like the one it theoretically seeks to

oppose. In exposing the patriarchal sources of the way power socially functions, feminism is similar to postmodernism's critique of dominant power structures, but it also retains some of postmodernism's contradictions. Feminism, too, shares the problem of being perceived as a "grand narrative": while feminism resists and reveals formulations of sexism that function to marginalize women, it may do so under a universal definition of feminism. For instance, feminism was largely critiqued as "white" and "middle-class" by theorists and activists who looked at feminism as falling into other traps of dominant thinking in trying to represent all women.

FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURALIST/POSTMODERNIST SCHOLARS

In contrast to those discussed above, many feminists have embraced and utilized poststructuralist and postmodernist thinking in their own theoretical production. Judith Butler (1990) is one of the best-known examples of a feminist poststructuralist scholar. As a philosopher, Butler questions the biological ground of feminism by asking what women actually share in politically mobilizing under the signifier "woman." For Butler, the problem lies with claiming that there is a stable idea of "woman" and, therefore, of feminism's aims. Radicalizing previous feminist views that gender is constructed while biological sex is fixed, Butler argues that the sexed body's meanings are constructed and mediated by (heterosexist ideas about) gender. What ensues is a clash between theory and politics: how to have a definition of feminism without a concrete idea about what "woman" signifies and how differences in race, class, and sexuality may modify issues around social inequalities and political identifications.

FEMINIST DEBATES ON THE POLITICS OF POSTMODERNISM

Several feminist viewpoints on the uncertainty about the "real world" significance of postmodern feminism developed, alongside reservations about connecting women's oppressions with set ways of identifying with being female-bodied in society. For many feminist scholars, then, the question becomes how to position oneself both politically and theoretically: in other words, how to adhere to feminist principles of doing away with dominant thinking that has the effect of subordinating women while simultaneously not having a fixed idea about who feminist subjects are and what a feminist issue should encompass. Yet for a number of theorists, postmodern feminism is a viable feminism of multiplicity: recognizing differences among women without claiming that the political needs around these differences will be universal (Fraser and Nicholson 1990). In short, theorizing feminism alongside postmodernism and poststructuralism means understanding that there is not just one way of "doing" feminism, that feminist political projects may diverge, meet, and be in conflict in their various aims.

CONCLUSION

The intersections, conflicts, and affinities between feminism and postmodern/poststructuralist theories have been and continue to be central for questions about the political implications of feminist critical theory. While postmodern feminist perspectives have been regarded as more elusive about the political stakes of doing away with collective notions about women and feminist issues, these perspectives have also been integrated into political critiques of dominant universals and patriarchal notions about the individual self. Ultimately, the seeking out of middle grounds within these perspectives will continue, potentially creating ways of articulating feminisms that both embrace diversity and simultaneously reinforce political commonalities.

See also Postfeminism; Second and Third Wave Feminism; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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Yetta Howard

Q

QUEER

Queer is most often used as the reclamation of a previously hurtful term for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people. Since it retains the mark of stigmatization, *queer* is employed controversially even among insiders in order to designate a political stance against assimilation. Activists and theorists use the idea of queerness to criticize the gay and lesbian rights movement's adherence to conventional and conservative gender and sexual roles.

BACKGROUND

A word with the baggage of perversity, *queer* is often reappropriated by activists in the twenty-first-century United States as an emblem of pride and as a marker of difference from traditional sex, gender, and sexual norms. While clearly there is a range of views on the meaning of homosexuality and gender and on the status of individuals who do not fit within prescribed gender and/or sexual roles in U.S. society, nowhere has the debate on queerness been more intense than among gay, lesbian, transgender, and queer activists and scholars themselves. On the one hand, gay and lesbian activists have fought for their inclusion in U.S. policy and law and for their equality with heterosexuals. On the other hand, queer activists have challenged the gay and lesbian rights movement and created their own, which calls into question the underlying theoretical premise of identity in Western society, thereby calling into question the very meanings of *gay* and *lesbian* as well as *heterosexual.* In doing so, they have referred to gay and lesbian rights-based political models as reformist and assimilationist rather than radical or transformative. While clearly the dominant heterosexual society

continues to hold biases toward these groups, and while some people with homophobic attitudes continue to use the term *queer* in a derogatory fashion, the more explosive debate has concerned whether or not activists and scholars themselves should reappropriate such a historically derogatory term as a way to advance their own liberatory cause. Queer activists often claim that gay and lesbian activists are reproducing the very analytical biases that heterosexist society has created to define them as "deviant" in the first place; gay and lesbian activists often claim that queers are too radical and that the term *queer* is derogatory, harmful, and not useful for advancing a civil rights political agenda.

HISTORICAL USAGE OF THE TERM

Historically, the notion of queerness has held a variety of connotations. *Queer* is generally attributed to the sixteenth-century German word *quer,* meaning "at an oblique angle" or "out of alignment." Some scholars have also associated the word with sixteenth-century slang for counterfeit money (Fisher 1999, 1). They contend that "shoving the queer" has colloquially implied trying to use counterfeit money. Queerness continues to imply illegitimacy, oddness, or a poor comparison to an original, when used by outsiders in a derogatory fashion.

In the early twentieth century in the United States, the notion of queerness was not necessarily tied to the sexual. Rather, it was sometimes used as a way to designate all kinds of human activity and identity that were apart from what was considered "normal":

> Girls are so queer you never know what they mean. They say No when they mean Yes, and drive a man out of his wits for the fun of it.

> *Louisa May Alcott*

Historically, this usage as a synonym for "deviant" or "abnormal" has carried negative connotations, usually implying that an object or person is odd, peculiar, unacceptable, curious, or bizarre:

> Any child knows that history can only be a reduced representation of reality, but it must be a true one, not distorted by queer lenses.

> *Samuel E. Morison*

> If I read a book that impresses me, I have to take myself firmly by the hand, before I mix with other people; otherwise they would think my mind rather queer.

> *Anne Frank*

In these quotes, *queer* signifies "odd," "abnormal," or "distorted." Even in current use, *queerness* might signify a range of outsider experiences not limited to the sexual alone, and can allude to crossing the borders of acceptability or normalcy.

By the early twentieth century, however, *queer* also took on meanings of sexual "oddness." Effeminate gay men first bore the brunt of disdain as queers for transgressing gender ideals but with the added onus that they transgressed sexual boundaries as well. This meaning is widely attributed first to gay poet W. H. Auden, who first deployed the word in 1932 as an epithet against and synonym for homosexuality, implying that gay sexuality made someone illegitimate *(Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. *[OED]).* However, the *Oxford English Dictionary* also cites a U.S. Department of Labor report labeling sexual transgression as queer as early as 1922. "A young man, easily ascertainable to be unusually fine in other characteristics, is probably queer in sex tendency," the report claimed (Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 8, in *OED*). This description suggests that gay sexual transgression was associated with gender transgression, and that one could be surmised from the other: in other words, that effeminacy in men meant that they would likely choose other men as sexual partners. In this definition, queer sexuality and gender roles go hand in hand, contrary to recent usage of the term.

The first modern reclamation of the word *queer* came in 1969, when countercultural writer Paul Goodman penned his well-known essay "The Politics of Being Queer." In the essay, Goodman contended that rigidly straight sexual attractions were as pathological as rigidly gay ones. He argued that his own relationships with young boys were neither, as public opinion contended, exploitative nor pathological. Same-sex sexuality, according to Goodman, was often a healthy precursor to friendship and to a successful student/teacher relationship, even across the adult/child divide. While Goodman's ideas were not all taken up by the emerging lesbian and gay civil rights movement, galvanized in the 1960s, his reclamation of the word *queer* and the assertion that queerness was not pathological were instrumental in laying the groundwork for activist reclamation of the term.

Currently, those who self-identify as queer do so as a way to reclaim and challenge its historically derogatory usage. Individuals use this term as a way to describe their gender and/or sexual identities as outside the norm and importantly, to reclaim that which is viewed as abnormal by mainstream society. Intellectuals, artists, and activists also use the term to explain their approach, or methodology, to analyzing popular culture. For example, filmmaker Prathibha Parmar describes her queer artistic vision as one stemming from a "politics of difference." Parmar says:

> We are not interested in defining ourselves in relation to someone or something else, nor are we simply articulating cultural and sexual differences. We are creating a sense of ourselves and our place within different and sometimes contradictory communities, not simply in relation to…not as a corrective to…in and for ourselves. Precisely because of our lived experiences of racism and homophobia, we locate ourselves not within any one community but in the spaces between those different communities. (Parmar 1993, 5)

Parmar tells us that queerness falls in the spaces between identities rather than encompassing any whole identity in and of itself. This definition gels with the word's etymology.

In spite of the different meanings historically given to *queerness,* the term *queer* is often employed in current parlance as a synonym for LGBT sexual relationships, since they necessarily break apart the idea that erotic attachments can only form across the sex and gender divide. Recent U.S. television programs like *Queer as Folk* and *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* help to popularize the terms as interchangeable. However, many non-LGBT people also consider themselves queer, as noted in a recent autobiographical piece, "I Am A Queer Heterosexual" (Kelly 2003). Typically these individuals are critical of normative gender and sexual categories within the range of heterosexual experience, and therefore choose to consider themselves queer or claim to have a queer perspective.

QUEER STUDIES: RETHINKING SEX, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY

In many ways, contemporary political notions of queerness emerged in intellectual settings. Michel Foucault's groundbreaking research on the history of sexuality in Western society paved the way for more recent scholars to address and rethink heteronormativity, the view that heterosexuality is the norm and homosexuality is abnormal, in Western thought. This led to changes in university curricula concerning courses on gay and lesbian topics. By the 1990s, in many universities, queer theory began to be taught in various disciplines, and scholars attempted to avoid a dichotomous divide such as that of heterosexuality/homosexuality or male/female. At the same time, gay and lesbian studies programs were becoming institutionalized. Today, universities have adopted a variety of approaches to addressing gender and sexuality studies in light of this new scholarship: some universities describe them as "Gay and Lesbian Studies" or "Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies"; others use "Queer Studies," while yet others use "Sexuality Studies." Many of these debates on queerness and their relationship to institutional and political change remain unresolved.

Scholars of queer studies take issue with the way in which biological sex has become inextricably tied to people's gender roles and sexual identities. For example, women's biological sex is often assumed to be tied to traditionally defined feminine gender characteristics such as passivity, emotionality, or compassion. Likewise, men are assumed to carry traits such as strength, stoicism, and violence. Queer studies scholars argue that these social roles and expectations are mapped onto people's bodies in a way that is not natural but rather socially constructed. They also point out that in a culturally normative relationship (one that fills the expectations of the dominant norms in a given society), the biological sex and social roles of two romantic or erotic partners are seen as necessarily opposed. In this scenario, masculine males sexually pursue feminine females. Men exclusively pay for dates, open doors for their romantic partners, and make the first moves. They value delicacy, demureness, and prettiness in their partners, who take a more submissive role, accepting advances or gifts but never initiating relationships or erotic encounters. An example of the dominance of this model is the Western, Christian wedding ritual: a woman, dressed in white to symbolize sexual innocence, is escorted to her partner on her father's arm; the partner stands watching the procession, including his bride, as she moves toward him.

Her father "gives her away" to her new husband, and rice is thrown to remind the couple of the duty to produce and raise children within the union. Flowers, also symbols of fertility, are likewise abundant.

A queer outlook questions the comfortable truth of an unbroken sex/gender/sexual grouping, pointing to the range and diversity of human experience instead. It is because of this stance that queers consider themselves anti-essentialist, or against the idea that our identities are innate. Queer activists point to changes across nations and time periods in our notions of sex, gender, and sexuality, in order to break down the popular biological assumption. They argue that very few human relationships actually follow the narrowly defined normative gender and sexual roles prescribed for people and they seek to challenge binary constructions of gender such as strong versus weak, producer versus reproducer, protector versus protected, and he versus she. They seek to celebrate the instability and fluidity of gender, sex, and sexuality, ultimately dismantling a system that normalizes men, masculinity, and heterosexuality while relegating women, femininity, and queer identification to a position of otherness. Queers question the traditional nuclear family as a fiction entrenched in power norms rather than in any material reality. With 25–40 percent of U.S. children born to "single" moms and other nontraditional heterosexual households, and an increasingly significant percentage to gays and lesbians, only a fragment of families reflect the ideal of the traditional nuclear family, they say. Further, queers call attention to the ways in which our individual identities, in addition to our romantic relationships, do not mirror the absolutist social rules.

Not only may our own identities not be congruent with one another, say queers, but they may change across our lifetimes. For example, we can alter our biological sex by medically changing our genitalia or by taking hormones. Our gender may change as we shift roles from pursuer to pursued in a new romantic relationship, or take up a new hobby that is not ordained as appropriate in the existing gender order, like car mechanics or baking. Our sexuality is also unstable, changing when people "come out," when the object of our attraction changes sex, or when we discover that the person who catches our eye is a different sex than we first supposed.

Often, queer theorists point out that sexuality is a function of representation: it is constructed in the culture through representations (Case 1991). Queer theory assumes that representations exist prior to identities, that they define identities rather than vice versa. In other words, people compose their sexualities by working within and against the existing representations that the culture provides to us. This notion differs from that of mainstream gay and lesbian activists whose brand of sexual accommodation posits that sexuality is constructed in the womb, not by the culture. As such, they argue, sexuality is unchangeable and therefore lesbians and gays "can't help" their orientation and therefore should not endure discrimination. And even those gay and lesbian activists who view sexuality as socially constructed have fallen into the trap of using existing dichotomous representations of "gay" versus "straight" to further their cause, a problem according to queer theorists and activists who believe that the dichotomy itself is the problem in the first place.

Some have pointed out that the notion of "queer" is vague and difficult to pin down. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, often considered one of the founders of contemporary queer theory, contends that the difficulty in pinning down "queerness" is part of the essence of queerness itself, which she describes as "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances, and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made or can't be made to signify monolithically" (1990, 8). Though the word *queers* is sometimes used as an umbrella term for sexual "others," queers are not united by any common behavior or identity but merely by their opposition to normalizing identities (Seidman 1993, 16). In short, queer activists attempt to define queerness lightly, excluding as few people and practices as possible, and instead they define queerness as any identity or practice that flies in the face of conventional, heteronormative, and patriarchal relationships. A queer point of view questions why continual and often repressive adherence to social role playing makes some relationships legitimate and in fact, natural, while those that do not measure up suffer stigmatization.

QUEER POLITICS VERSUS GAY AND LESBIAN POLITICS

People who identify in nonnormative terms in relation to their gender and/or sexual identities strongly disagree on the usage of the term *queer* and on the deployment of a queer political approach. This debate pits the gay and lesbian movement, often perceived as liberal and assimilationist by queer activists, against the queer movement, often perceived as too radical or agitative by gay and lesbian activists. In the wake of the 1969 Stonewall Riots at a New York City bar, gay liberation activists began to take up traditional activist campaigns as a way to influence local and national political processes. The historical struggle for gay and lesbian rights has been largely based on a civil rights model, in which gays and lesbians have sought to eliminate their second-class-citizen status through struggles for legal equality with heterosexuals. Especially since the 1980s, gay and lesbian activists have fought for legal recognition on a variety of grounds: antidiscrimination legislation (for example, with regard to hate crimes, and to protection in employment, housing, and healthcare), custody of children, inheritance rights, the right to serve in the military, marriage rights, and the appeal against antisodomy laws are only a few of the legal issues that they have addressed. For example, the 2003 U.S. Supreme Court's overruling of antisodomy laws, commonly known as *Lawrence v. Texas,* challenged the way in which U.S. courts traditionally viewed the state's role in people's private lives and helped pave the way for future legal victories for gays and lesbians. Over the years, various national and regional marches and protests have been organized, including the well-known marches on Washington. The 1987 March on Washington, for example, heralded the first public display of the AIDS quilt, in homage to lives lost from the disease.

The AIDS pandemic fueled high levels of activism by gay men and lesbians. Although HIV/AIDS first became public in the early 1980s, it was not until the late 1980s that the federal government mentioned the word, let alone addressed

MICHELANGELO SIGNORILE'S GOSSIP
WATCH COLUMN IN *OUTWEEK*

Michelangelo Signorile, a controversial gay journalist, is considered an "outing" pioneer by many in the queer generation. In his "Gossip Watch" column in *Outweek,* a national gay news magazine that began circulation in 1989, Signorile regularly outed celebrities and public figures such as Malcolm Forbes, the publisher of *Forbes* magazine, Sonny and Cher's daughter, Chastity Bono, movie actor Richard Chamberlain, and several politicians who supported homophobic legislation. *Outweek* publisher Gabriel Rotello viewed outing as an "equalizer" of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Some supporters of outing have even offered monetary rewards for the outing of individuals from specific institutions such as the Catholic Church or the U.S. Supreme Court. Critics contend that outing violates the privacy of people's personal lives and have largely framed their opposition in terms of the right to privacy. Interestingly, Signorile himself is often considered to be a conservative despite his belief in outing.

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the crisis, in public. Given that initially it was largely perceived as a "gay disease," and given the large numbers of gay men dying during that period, many gay men and lesbians felt alienated by the mainstream political strategies of seeking change from within the system, which they felt had caused thousands of deaths. Faced with a neoconservative political climate in the United States, these activists began centering their efforts on the urgency of the AIDS crisis and on what they viewed as the horrific underbelly of violence against lesbians and gays. They rallied around the term *queer* in order to highlight the ostracism felt by those whose most basic human rights needs were being ignored. So influential was the swelling of anti-assimilationist activism that the *Advocate,* the largest circulating gay news magazine, called 1990 "the year of the queer" (Thompson 1994, 357).

Unlike earlier gay social movements, which emphasized fitting into mainstream society, 1980s and 1990s queer organizations did not encourage their members to dress conservatively or to behave obsequiously, but instead urged them to demand acceptance on their own terms. Queer agendas were AIDS centered and more broadly addressed the needs of LGBT people. Members of the movement started organizations with names like Queer Nation, ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), Lesbian Avengers, Stonewall Now!, WHAM! (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), OutRage, Subversive Street Queers, Gran Fury, and a proliferation of queer organizations acting for global progressive causes such as Queers United in Support of Political Prisoners. In fact, the queer agenda spurred human rights organization Amnesty International to begin lobbying on behalf of jailed gay and HIV-positive prisoners, and queers were also active in antiwar protests during the U.S. Gulf War in January 1991. So wide did they cast their activist net, in fact, that many questioned whether or not the queer umbrella undermined its own goals by focusing on too many issues and being too inclusive (Jagose 1997).

QUEER THEORIST JUDITH BUTLER

Judith Butler's research has been highly influential in the field of queer studies. Her 1990 publication, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,* was among the first to systematically attempt to destabilize gender, sex, and sexuality. Drawing from poststructuralist thought, including the work of Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Monique Wittig, and Michel Foucault, in *Gender Trouble* Butler argues that the coherence of gender and sexual identities results from their stylized repetitive acts over time. These stylized acts result in the appearance of an ontological "core" gender. Viewing gender as essential, natural, and unchangeable also contributes to reinforcing the notion that sex and sexuality themselves are natural categories. Over 100,000 copies of *Gender Trouble* were sold immediately following its publication, and it is now considered a classic text in feminist and queer theory. Fans have published scholarly books about Butler's work and even an intellectual fanzine, *Judy!*

Queer Nation, founded by ACT-UP members, sought to bring direct-action activist tactics to the issue of violence against gays and lesbians. The organization was founded in 1990 and employed controversial strategies in the fight for visibility, including "outing" prominent gay and lesbian political leaders, publicly exposing their sexuality, and targeting those who had voted against gay civil rights legislation. The strategy of outing created one of the biggest divisions among activists during this time period. Posters began appearing in New York, outing politicians, actors, and business leaders as "absolutely queer"; individuals were then forced to make public statements about their identities. This provoked a national debate on the tactic and on the sexualities of figures that most heterosexuals had heretofore taken for granted. The debates led to public controversy: should gay and lesbian lives be confined to bedrooms or declared in public spaces? Since the 2003 overruling of *Bowers v. Hardwick* (by *Lawrence v. Texas,* which overturned the antisodomy laws), gay bedrooms could hardly be considered private. But queer activists persevered, calling attention to the erroneous divide between public and private. Governors bent on signing discriminatory legislation were outed, children of conservatives were outed, and military spokespersons were outed.

Whereas gay and lesbian activists can be credited with developing political strategies that influenced state legislatures and the federal government through traditional political mechanisms such as lobbying, polling, voter mobilization, and political campaigning, queer activists can be credited with broadening the scope of the political platform. Specifically, queer activists adopted an intersectional approach to understanding oppression: They often fought against racism, sexism, and class exploitation alongside the struggle against heteronormativity and gender normativity in the law. Racism, biphobia, and global imperialism were typically seen as queer problems, as evidenced by queer protests against gay and lesbian groups that failed to include these issues under their rubric of

acceptance. For example, queers protested a Lambda Legal Defense Fund fund-raiser that featured the play *Miss Saigon,* because of its stereotypically racist depictions of Asian women. Others protested the First Gulf War in the Middle East on the grounds that monies spent on securing Kuwait's independence and guaranteeing U.S. dependence on foreign oil could have funded research and development for 109 new AIDS drugs. Queers first defined the sense that inter-locking oppressions, whether they involved race, class, transgender representa-tion, or capitalism, were all related to the plight of lesbian and gay people.

Queer Nation also took up the negative portrayal of lesbians and bisexual characters in the media: they protested what they considered the problematic depiction of a bisexual, ice-pick-wielding murderer in 1992's *Basic Instinct,* arguing that negative representations were not mere fiction, but that they influ-enced the ways in which straights thought about real-life gays and the ways in which gays thought about themselves. The group delayed filming by blowing whistles on the set and by wielding signs asking nearby motorists to honk their horns "if they support U.S. troops" as a noise-making tactic (Fox and Rosenthal 1991). The group also penned controversial slogans like "We're here, we're queer. Get used to it!," "Fags and dykes bash back," and "2, 4, 6, 8, How do you know your kids are straight?" The Lesbian Avengers, like Queer Nation, emerged out of local ACT-UP chapters and utilized direct-action tactics like street theater and fire eating in order to convey their pro-lesbian and pro-activism message. "Be the bomb you throw," the Avengers told young women.

All of these instrumental groups believed that they must demand acceptance rather than asking for tolerance or acceptance based on heterosexual norms. Mall kiss-ins and the distribution of safe-sex materials to high school students cemented Queer Nation's reputation for actions counter to the moderate tac-tic of accommodation. Further, the groups cemented queer organizing meth-ods as decentralized, without permanent leadership, but instead as grassroots democratic organizations in which all members might participate in planning protests. The feminist impulse toward decentralization, in which each member's voice can be heard, coupled with the immediacy of their goals in the face of an ever-escalating AIDS death rate, meant that the organizations were often caught between contradictory desires, wanting to make each member's voice meaning-ful and yet also needing to actualize their events quickly and efficiently. This contradiction made it difficult for queer groups to realize their goals, and many disbanded in the early 1990s, including Queer Nation, whose San Francisco chapter folded in December 1991 over issues of religion, race, and gender.

Apart from the need to see AIDS and LGBT discrimination as a direct and pressing risk, the wave of queer activism in the late 1980s derived from a genera-tional shift in LGBT politics, with teenage and 20-something activists at the fore in the queer movement and their elders entrenched in more mainstream LGBT groups. Queer youth were less likely to see their interests represented by the vanguard of the mainstream movement and to look elsewhere for representa-tion. Economic challenges added to the alienation of young LGBT people from mainstream organizations. The methodology of direct action was useful for these disenfranchised members of the LGBT community who had little opportunity

to air their views through traditional LGBT channels. The use of the term *queer* highlighted their difference within the LGBT movement as well as their disenfranchisement. They embraced militancy and rage uncompromisingly as tools in the fight for belonging *as different* within the greater heteronormative as well as LGBT cultures.

During the height of the queer activist movement, queer organizing spread to music and the arts as well as to direct-action protesting. An aesthetic and a celebration of otherness bubbled in popular music; queer groups such as homocult (later queercore) rose out of the punk rock scene at the same time as independently produced advertisement-free magazines (called zines) proliferated, giving voice to marginalized minorities within the movement and creating a forum that was democratic and inclusive in principle. Riot grrl offered the same visibility, community, and safe space within music to women, many of whom became involved with radical antiessentialist organizing and zine publishing. The Radical Cheerleaders' anarcho-protest cum performance tactics dominated pride marches as chapters cropped up in the mid-1990s, spreading both feminist and queer-positive messages.

AGAINST THE NOTION OF QUEERNESS

Critics of queerness often argue that the term is vague, harmful and/or problematic when used to deploy a concrete political agenda. Gay and lesbian rights activists who base their struggles on a civil rights model continue to believe that legal reform is necessary, important, and central to the overall goals of the movement, despite the queer critiques. If it were not for organizing on the basis of gay and lesbian identity, they argue, homosexuals would not have gained historical and political visibility. So despite using the terms of the oppressor, as queer activists might contend, calling oneself "gay" or "lesbian" can be empowering and can serve to mobilize large communities of people to effect social change.

Furthermore, given that the origins of the contemporary political usage of *queer* are in poststructuralist intellectual traditions, some also consider queer studies to be inaccessible to the majority of people, who have not been trained in this academic tradition. Within academia, queer studies has been most influential in the humanities and arts; hence the emphasis on cultural studies, which tends to focus on popular culture more than on issues of political economy and social stratification. Critics argue that this approach, as an academic enterprise that focuses on popular culture and representations, therefore forgets the real conditions of oppression in people's lives (Jagose 1997).

An additional critique of the notion of queerness concerns the fact that it too can become a hegemonic identity marker just like any other label. For example, some gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people from communities of color claim that the term *queer* is often associated with whiteness, thereby limiting its political salience and potential in communities already at odds with a racially stratified society (although this is also disputed within ethnic/racial communities). And in contexts where the term *queer* is still used derogatorily, often in conjunction with violence against gays and lesbians, there is great

hesitancy about, and sometimes outright rejection of, the use of this term as a way to describe a liberatory project.

Finally, the new gay Right has emphatically dismissed some of the primary strategies and ideas put forth by queer scholars and activists. While many scholars have pointed out that gay and lesbian politics (and, later, queer politics) emerged primarily from progressive social movements in the 1960s, conservative gay public intellectuals such as Andrew Sullivan and Bruce Bawer have promoted an entirely different kind of political agenda since the 1980s. Bruce Bawer, author of *Beyond Queer: Challenging Gay Left Orthodoxy* (1996), argues that fighting for gays' inclusion in the military and for same-sex marriage are based on inherently conservative ideas about family and serving one's country, values that reflect the traditional values of most Americans. Bawer opposes queer activism because he disagrees with its general emphasis on critiquing free market capitalism and the principles of liberalism. Like other gay conservatives, Bawer wishes to delink the struggle for homosexual acceptance from what he views as sexual and gender deviance. Marshall Kirk and Hunter Madsen (1989) make a similar argument when they argue that activists must "counteract the association of homosexuality with political radicalism, gender-bending and sexual excess" (see Robinson 2005, 11). Gays and queers must change, they argue, because "they are making a bad impression on heterosexuals" (Robinson 2005, 10)

CONCLUSION

Despite the controversies surrounding the historical usage of the term *queer,* it appears that notions of queerness are here to stay. Queer studies is now an important area of scholarship in university curricula and the "queer wars" continue to rage among political activists of various ideological and party affiliations in the United States (Robinson 2005). While the broader issue of heterosexist bias continues to affect the way gay people are perceived by mainstream heterosexual society, for example, being deemed deviant, abnormal, or queer, activists who wish to address heterosexism and homophobia are deeply divided as to whether or not notions of queerness, in its many definitions, are necessary or useful for effecting political change. The new gay Right, in particular, is decidedly opposed to all definitions of queerness as they have been presented by progressive gay, lesbian, and queer activists and scholars. Given the general political, cultural, and ideological context within which queerness is understood and negotiated, these debates will surely continue in the future.

See also Bisexuality; Family Values; Heterosexism and Homophobia; Nature versus Nurture; Sex versus Gender; Sexual Identity and Orientation; Transgender and Transsexual Identities.

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Jessica Share

RACE AND RACISM: SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Increasingly, scholars have addressed the intersection of gender, race, and class, although they often disagree as to which influences social stratification more. Controversy surrounding the causes of social stratification in U.S. society stems from longstanding views on racial, gender, and class categories and from disagreements over the sources of poverty and inequality in marginalized communities.

BACKGROUND

In every society, social stratification exists. Some skills that are needed in society require more talent and training than others. For example, becoming a doctor requires years of education and training while becoming a store clerk does not. Therefore, when people make sacrifices to develop their talents they are usually rewarded (Tumin 2001). Social class distinctions are especially seen within the United States, a country characterized by a wide range of immigrant groups and classes: as Fischer et al. state, "Americans have created the extent and type of inequality we have, and Americans maintain it" (2001, 73). Some argue that class is the least understood of these forms of stratification: "Americans believe that they live in a classless society, that class is a matter of achievement, and that, in theory, anyone can make it to the top" (West and Fenstermaker 2002, 539). Many observers would argue, however, that in the United States, social class is not usually based solely on merit. Other factors, including race and gender, factor into a person's social class, and debates on why some groups are less

successful than others, economically speaking, stem from the divergent views on what these factors contribute to social stratification.

Recently, scholar and popular author Barbara Ehrenreich has written about her investigations of social class. In *Nickeled and Dimed* (2001), a book that has also been turned into a play, Ehrenreich went undercover to live a working-class life. She found jobs as a maid, a waitress, and a Wal-Mart clerk, and discovered that her salary could not cover her expenses or keep her standard of living above the federal poverty line. In her next book, *Bait and Switch* (2005), she went through the process of looking for a middle-class job, where she encountered many obstacles related to industrial downsizing. She described the financial, mental, and emotional stresses that come with taking on both of these class identities. Ehrenreich shows how social class can impact women's lives. Whether it concerns wages, employment, education, health, childcare, or retirement, socioeconomic class is a material aspect of women's daily existence.

Yet, there is usually contention as to what impacts social stratification more, including the questions of why some racial groups end up poorer than others and how gender or race play into this process. Many feminists believe that being a woman results in lower pay and being left out of decision-making arenas; beginning in the 1960s, this was one of the central tenets of liberal feminist thought. However, the same is true regarding race. When people must contend with both racism and classism, the question of which is more salient arises. Which impacts social stratification more? Many feminist scholars focus on gender. However, other scholars, such as womanists, multiracial feminists and third world feminists also discuss the huge impact of race and ethnicity on social stratification, including poverty.

The question of what affects social stratification the most is of considerable importance, as the answer greatly influences political and policy responses to poverty. Some believe that people can work themselves out of poverty. In the United States, it is often assumed that people are able to succeed and achieve the American dream simply through hard work. Yet some observers such as Michael Zweig explain that luck has much to do with financial success (Zweig 2000). Major catastrophes, such as illness, death, or natural disaster, also greatly impact how people fare economically.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE WORKPLACE

When women are in the workplace they come up against the assumption that they would rather spend more time with their children than in moving up the corporate ladder (Wood 2005). This belief disadvantages both men and women. Women are seen as not taking their jobs as seriously as men. Employers think either that women have a husband who is supporting the family or that women will need to put their families first at the expense of their jobs. Men are expected to concentrate on their jobs at the expense of their families (Wood 2005). However, many men want to focus on their families instead of their careers. When women prioritize their families in the workplace, it is known as being on the "mommy track." There has been increasing discussion regarding the "daddy track" for men.

CLARENCE THOMAS HEARINGS

During Clarence Thomas's 1991 confirmation hearings, Anita Hill, Thomas's former aide, stepped forward and stated that Thomas had sexually harassed her. This led to strong reactions by American viewers, whose perspectives were often shaded by their own gendered and racialized experiences. Although both of the individuals involved were African American, many white women supported Hill, whereas many black men supported Thomas and viewed the hearing as another example of white racism, given the fact that Thomas would be the first African American Supreme Court justice to be appointed in U.S. history. Black women were often divided in their opinions. Some, for example, believed that Hill should have stayed silent in order to support her race; others supported her and believed that she was standing up for women's rights. Ultimately, Thomas was sworn in as a Supreme Court justice and Anita Hill lost her case, making this case a failure for sexual harassment advocates and underscoring the long history of racial and gender tensions in U.S. society.

Many men are opting to follow the "daddy track" and are using many of the employment policies that were originally designed for women. Achieving a work-life balance, taking paternity leave after the birth of a child, and using flex time have allowed men to take a more active part in their families' lives (Wilcox 1989). Many of these policies have arguably helped men as much as women (Brady 2004).

However, these policies have social class implications. Many of the people who describe using these policies are middle-class employees. Thus, employees who depend on hourly wages do not see the benefits of many of these policies. Also, maternity or paternity leave is not guaranteed through the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 for every workplace, nor does the act mandate employers to pay their employees while they are taking time off.

People who depend on hourly wages must either go without pay or forgo the opportunity to spend time with their families. Rarely are flex time or parental leaves an option for lower-middle-class or working-class families. Technological devices such as cell phones, e-mail, or fax machines will not help those in areas such as construction, housecleaning, waiting at tables, or other blue-collar jobs. Furthermore, employees in blue-collar jobs are more likely to be racial minorities, which puts them at a disadvantage due to the racial bias or discrimination that they are likely to face.

THE PAY GAP

Pay inequity, or the difference in pay among people in society, furthers the social class divide regarding race and gender. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, women make approximately $.76 for every $1.00 a man makes. This is the same amount black men earn compared to white men. Wage inequality is even more severe when both race and gender are factored into the equation: women members of minority groups are among the lowest-paid workers. The National Committee of Pay Equity states that in the year 2000, black women earned

64 percent of the income of white men. During that same year, Hispanic women earned 54 percent of the median income of white men. At the same time, women with bachelor's degrees made only $1,545 more than white males who had completed high school (National Committee on Pay Equity 2004–2006). This data point toward inequality based not only on gender but also on race, which explains, in structural terms, why so many women members of minority groups live in poverty.

Some dispute this research by saying it makes unfair comparisons. They argue that the numbers assume that every factor is completely equal. That is, in the research, everyone is assumed to be the same age, with the same education, and with the same work experience. These critics argue that comparing a young college graduate to an older educated person with more experience is unfair in analyzing pay. Furthermore, the research does not take into account the fact that women tend to go into fields that pay less, such as liberal arts or nursing (Keller 2000). This further illustrates the devaluation of women in regard to pay.

Some argue that gender and race impact the type of labor that people participate in. For example, women tend to be responsible for domestic work in their homes and they also work in the domestic labor market much more frequently than men. Some women work as maids or nannies or in other jobs outside the home while they must come home to take care of their own families. Some argue that this leaves women at a disadvantage. Others emphasize the racial implications of this experience over the gender dimensions. Historically, for example, African American women participated in hourly paid work, especially in domestic labor such as housekeeping and working as nannies. However, now, as African American women have acquired access to other job arenas, many Latinas are filling these low-paying, insecure types of domestic labor (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001).

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND UPWARD MOBILITY

Many people believe they can improve their social class status. However, social mobility is difficult to achieve. Leonhardt (2005) and Egan (2005) both studied the experiences of white men without a college education. According to their research, even though these men were able to achieve middle-class status, they felt as though they were in a precarious situation. Losing their current jobs would create the difficult situation of trying to find a new one without having a college education. With no college degree to fall back on, they could potentially find their middle-class social status threatened. Without a college degree, however, some of these men obtained management jobs in their industries. Yet rarely can an uneducated woman or a member of a racial/ethnic minority group achieve the same level of success, as these and other studies indicate.

One way in which many people try to change their social status is by obtaining a higher education. A college degree should allow doors to be opened for people of various socioeconomic classes. However, obtaining a college degree is difficult, especially for women of minority groups. Many students struggle with racial, gendered, and class issues that arise within higher education.

Social stratification occurs at the college level, where structural inequalities based on gender, race, and class become clearly apparent. The scholars bell hooks (2000) and Kathleen Wong (2004) explore the ways in which their social class intersected with their race and gender while attending college. They describe feelings of isolation and uncertainty; the need to navigate various identities based upon their gender, race, and class; and the difficulty of obtaining support from family and friends who did not understand what they were going through. Sometimes families may feel threatened by the new status of their relative (Engen 2004) or believe that their relative is a "traitor" (Bell et al. 2000). These reactions within the community can affect the success of a student. Students may not understand the college system and may not know how to find social support; at the same time, many colleges may not know how to provide such support (Alessio 2006). Also, the low numbers of minority students on many college campuses can aggravate the problems. Despite all this, the arguments regarding higher education rarely include discussion of the importance of social and community support.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action policies, which are designed to give historically disadvantaged minority groups an equal opportunity to participate in employment and higher education, have been highly controversial in terms of their impact on social stratification and upward mobility. Some argue that affirmative action allows companies and colleges to mirror societal social variations: because society is diverse in race and gender, colleges and the workplace should be diverse as well. Race, in particular, is what has been viewed as the most important issue in terms of implementing affirmative action policies. Due to historical discrimination, including the institutionalized discrimination of slavery and segregation, many argue that affirmative action is necessary. However, some argue that it puts white men at a disadvantage because it favors less-qualified people in gaining access to competitive jobs and schools (Steele 1994). It has also been argued that many minority groups other than African Americans, such as women, people from other racial and ethnic minority groups, and people with disabilities, have benefited more from affirmative action than African Americans, whose civil rights struggle in the 1960s largely paved the way for the successful legislation of this policy (Edmond 1995). Since the 1990s, such policies have been under attack, especially in regard to higher education. And even with affirmative action policies in place, there continues to be stratification among social classes and within power structures.

In addition, little has been done to address forms of social stratification that affirmative action alone cannot address. The micro-inequities that occur within organizations, where, for example, employees of racial minority backgrounds or women are treated as inferior to white male employees or treated differently from them, are difficult to address at the legal level, unless systematic discrimination has occurred and a group of employees can file a class-action lawsuit. Even though there are laws specifying that state companies must recruit or hire

people of certain racial or gendered groups, there are no laws that say such people must have their say or be allowed to participate in the social aspects of the organization (Steele 1994).

In the most recent challenge to affirmative action policies, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Gratz v. Bollinger* that in its undergraduate admissions process the University of Michigan could not give points to applicants for being part of a particular racial group, making it more difficult for minority students to be accepted. At the same time, in *Grutter v. Bollinger,* a parallel case that the court also reviewed, the court determined that race could be a factor in considering applicants to the University of Michigan's law school, as long as applicants did not receive an explicit benefit from being in a particular minority group. Being part of a minority group can be an influence on decisions, but explicit benefits, like the point system used in Michigan undergraduate applications, were deemed illegal.

This has led many higher education institutions to try to increase diversity without using racial or ethnic classifications. Many universities and colleges have now eliminated scholarships and programs that were geared toward African American and/or Hispanic applicants, or have changed the requirements so that they are more inclusive. Institutions have tried to increase diversity by identifying students not by race but by socioeconomic class. Recruiting and programming geared toward students from disadvantaged backgrounds is one way in which colleges and universities are attempting to increase diversity without using race or ethnicity as a factor (Schmidt 2006).

The implications of these decisions are twofold. First, the new emphasis on socioeconomic class over race validates the view that socioeconomic class can impact students' achievement. This type of policy works to help students whose social class puts them at a disadvantage, regardless of their racial background. In addition, this type of policy differentiates levels of need. Students who are in a particular racial or ethnic category may belong to a privileged social class (for example, middle-class African American, Hispanic, American Indian, Asian); they are therefore not necessarily those most in need, despite their racial disadvantage in a stratified society.

CONCLUSION

In examining gender, race, and class, it is difficult to determine which of these impacts social stratification the most. Women experience inequality in pay, higher education, and many other aspects of their lives. However, middle- and upper-class white women have access to privileges that provide them with access to opportunities that many racial minorities and poor communities cannot access. Racial minorities contend with some of the same issues: they, too, experience inequality in pay, in higher education, and in their daily lives. While scholars disagree on which factor is most likely to affect one's access to opportunities or promise of upward mobility, some scholars simply argue that all of these factors matter. For example, feminist scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins (2000)and Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (1996) discuss

the multiple oppressions that occur, particularly as they affect black and other minority women. Whereas Hill Collins argues for a specifically black feminist approach to understanding these multiple forms of oppression, Zinn and Dill argue for a multiracial approach; in both cases, these scholars are pointing us in the direction of an intersectional approach to understanding how gender, race, and class interact with each and in combination lead to what we understand as social stratification in U.S. society.

See also Affirmative Action; Race and Racism: Whiteness and White Supremacy; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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LaKresha Graham

RACE AND RACISM: WHITENESS AND WHITE SUPREMACY

Whiteness and white supremacy are both founded on the concept of a racial hierarchy in which people are privileged and oppressed according to the color of their skin. This logic is also based on hidden systems of sexism and gender oppression, with different results for men and women.

BACKGROUND

The controversy over whiteness challenges the normative status of white men and women in today's society, calling attention to the power and privileges that accompany such positioning. Perspectives vary on how whiteness and white supremacy are made manifest and on appropriate methods of response. In the last two decades there has been a proliferation of scholarship on the concept of whiteness, or how and why the position of the white heterosexual male is viewed as superior to that of other groups in society, including white women, men and women of racial and ethnic minority groups, and/or gays and lesbians. Whiteness works with patriarchy in setting up a hierarchy that privileges certain people while oppressing others. While gender has been used to oppress women since the time of ancient Greece, race has arguably been used in this way only since the 1600s. Interdisciplinary studies of whiteness, largely aligned with feminist perspectives, have attempted to explain the origins of whiteness; how it works in everyday life; and the connections and gaps between whiteness, white people, and white culture. Additionally, this work tries to understand the ways in which the concept of whiteness is founded on white supremacy and sexism, and the fact that even analyzing whiteness can still result in support for a white supremacist and patriarchal view of the world. Some people argue that whiteness is entirely oppressive and discriminatory so we should get rid of it, and race, altogether. Others claim that some, perhaps most, of whiteness is problematic, but that parts of it are not necessarily so. Consequently, they assert that whiteness can be fixed. Is whiteness completely oppressive? How is whiteness different for men and for women? What can be done about whiteness? Can we resist it without re-creating it? There is a far more foundational question for many people (particularly, but not only, people who are white): does whiteness really exist? These questions, and the concept of whiteness itself, are complex and controversial because they are intertwined with issues of race and racism, privilege and guilt, culture and everyday life. White women are faced with a set of contradictions pertaining to

their inferior gender status and superior racial status; women of color are faced with the double burden of racism and sexism.

WHAT IS WHITENESS?

Whiteness often escapes definition, or at the very least resists it. Whiteness can be seen as an abstract concept that orders our world. It exists broadly in and through social institutions like education and the legal system. It is also involved with the way people, both white and nonwhite, relate to each other. At the same time, whiteness has material or concrete consequences such as how much a person earns or where she or he can purchase a home. In both senses, abstract and material, whiteness is historically located and gender specific. This means that over time, the meaning of whiteness changes, as does the way it is enacted. In the 1950s, being a white man helped you get a job, whereas being a white woman meant you shouldn't have to work. Today, being a white woman will help you to get a job, though not the same salary as a white man. There are some key characteristics of whiteness that can be used to describe it, including normativity, power, and privilege, as well as how whiteness is linked to the ideas of white supremacy and patriarchy.

At its core, whiteness is seen as the unquestioned norm or the status quo, instead of simply one of many different options. Usually taken for granted, it remains invisible. People, specifically white people, are taught not to question the fact that they are privileged by the way society works. These norms have developed over time based on the behavior and cultural traditions of white men who have historically been in social positions of power. Essentially, the way white folks do things becomes the "normal" way to do them, the commonsense way, the status quo. Society continues to work around and with these norms without questioning who is advantaged by this framework and who is disadvantaged. For example, in popular culture, and even in everyday conversation, race is often used when describing other people. Charlie Wheeler from *Friends* would likely be described as "the black woman that Joey and Ross both dated." But white is not seen as raced; it is seen as the normative. So white people are not marked as racially white people; they are simply people. Mike Hannigan would be described as "the guy Phoebe married on *Friends.*" He is not constructed as a *raced* person; he is merely a "normal" person. It happens all the time and there are many different consequences of this type of practice. First, through language, Charlie is connected to black women. When she speaks, she is seen as speaking from a specific standpoint, from the viewpoint of a black woman, and thus she speaks for black women. Second, Mike is not linked to any particular group (either raced or gendered), so he is not seen as speaking for any group of people in particular. Instead he is just a normal guy speaking for and to all people. When you are framed as just human (as white men are) you get to speak for all of humanity. When you are framed as gendered or raced (as women and nonwhite people are), you are only allowed to speak for your race and/or gender. Third, because the nonmarked person is constructed as normal, racially marked people are, by default, constructed as different and abnormal. The hierarchy of power between

normal and abnormal functions as a subtle form of racism. So not only is whiteness based on the historically overt racism of white supremacy, but it continues to covertly locate white people in positions of power based on their unmarked race. This positioning also comes with unearned privileges that are given and available to white people based solely on the color of their skin (see sidebar, "Peggy McIntosh's *White Privilege and Male Privilege*"). White privilege works to unfairly benefit some, because the entitlements are not universally available, and consequently confers dominance upon white folks (McIntosh 1995). For white women, this is complicated, as they are both privileged by their race and oppressed by their gender. Unlike extreme examples of white supremacy such as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nation, and other hate groups that are often

PEGGY MCINTOSH'S *WHITE PRIVILEGE AND MALE PRIVILEGE*

One of the foundational readings on whiteness is feminist scholar Peggy McIntosh's (1995) *White Privilege and Male Privilege.* McIntosh describes white privilege as "an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear and blank checks" (77). She goes on to articulate 46 specific effects of this privilege, including the following (the original numbers are given):

3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, fairly well assured that I will not be followed or harassed by store detectives.
7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
12. I can go into a book shop and count on finding the writing of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods that fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can deal with my hair.
13. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance that I am financially reliable.
18. I can swear, or dress in secondhand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
25. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure that I haven't been singled out because of my race.
30. If I declare there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn't a racial issue at hand, my race will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have.
35. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.
41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
46. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.

WOMEN IN WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS

There is a wide variety of beliefs concerning women within white supremacist groups. While they are largely encouraged to participate in white supremacist movements, there is much debate over what form that participation should take. Based on traditional notions of gender, some argue that white women's great contribution is found in the domestic realm—church, home, and children. Others argue that white women should be involved in violent action and political office in order to further the cause. In most cases, white women find themselves playing traditional roles in the movement; often they are used to recruit others and they typically lack the authority of their white male counterparts in the groups.

condemned even by white people, everyday practices of whiteness often go unnoticed due to their appearing normal and natural rather than deviant, hierarchical, power-laden, or racist (Dyer 1997).

DOES WHITENESS REALLY EXIST?

To claim that whiteness exists is also to claim that race still matters. In the current political climate, drawing such attention to race is often controversial. On one side, the notion of racial colorblindness, or not seeing anyone's race, is valued. This position argues that we have reached a state of racial equality and that drawing any attention to skin color is problematic. For white people, the only acceptable option is not to have anything to say about race, otherwise one risks being labeled racist just by having something to say. The other side argues that despite recent advances, racism still exists. While overt and extreme racism is no longer socially accepted, there are myriad ways in which people of color are still marginalized. From this perspective, denying the visibility of race covers up the subtle ways in which race still functions in society. Racial equality can be achieved only by continuing to discuss issues of race, including the white race and whiteness and the complicated relationships between race and gender.

THE PROBLEMS OF STUDYING WHITENESS AND WOMEN

It should be noted that whiteness as a legitimate area of study did not gain widespread currency until white women and men started looking at themselves. This was despite the fact that racially marginalized scholars and lay people had for centuries made white people and whiteness objects of inquiry (Roediger 1998; hooks 1992). Feminist scholars, in particular, laid some of the groundwork for examining how whiteness affects the lives of white and nonwhite women in U.S. society (Frankenberg 1993; Winddance Twine 1997). Ruth Frankenberg's research on white women and racism identified how white women of various socioeconomic backgrounds come to identify themselves as "race-less," a reality that is not possible for women who are not white. France Winddance Twine's research on "brown skinned white girls" demonstrates how African American girls growing up in primarily white suburbs identify as "white" in terms of their

identification with mainstream U.S. (white) culture. This type of scholarship shows us that whiteness is an ideological construct with powerful material effects for all racial and ethnic groups in society.

While there is a political need to analyze and critique whiteness, this project does not come without certain problems. One danger is using whiteness scholarship to justify focusing on only white people and their achievements, events, and so on, when most of the educational curriculum in the West already does that. A second risk is that of permitting white victimhood, the sentiment of "it's so hard to be white these days," along with calls of reverse racism. White guilt is a third problem associated with talking about whiteness; in this case, the focus is taken away from the oppression caused by systemic whiteness and shifted onto the extremely penitent white person effectively paralyzed by guilt over his or her own unconscious contributions to a racist system (Dyer 1997).

ABOLISHING WHITENESS

One position in the debate on whiteness, held by the "new abolitionists" and articulated through the journal *Race Traitor,* advocates for the abolition of the white race. New abolitionists are quick to explain that this does not mean destroying people with white skin; instead it is the destruction of race as a meaningful concept. They argue that because race has been socially constructed over time, it can also be undone. They claim that there is nothing positive about whiteness and that it is wholly oppressive. Based on this premise, *Race Traitor* has adopted the motto "treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity" (Ignatiev and Garvey 1996, 10).

New abolitionists visualize the white race as a club that inducts its members at birth without their consent. These white people go through life reaping the benefits of whiteness without reflecting on its racist costs or its support of white supremacy. The club is perpetuated primarily through the assumption that those who look white are loyal to the system that provides them with unearned privileges. Social institutions dole out these advantages to people who look white, to induce their continued consent. Simultaneously, people who do not look white are assumed to be enemies of the structure and are routinely and systematically punished by these social institutions. To disband the club and destroy whiteness, the central assumption of loyalty/enmity based on skin color must be undermined. This can be accomplished by white people becoming traitors to their race. Race traitors are white people who publicly display their disloyalty to whiteness. This includes rejecting the notion that they are white, drawing attention to unearned privileges, and working to subvert institutions that reproduce race. Race traitors are not limited to socially acceptable means of protest, as these norms are often meant to reproduce whiteness (Ignatiev and Garvey 1996).

A number of scholars, including Dreama Moon and Lisa Flores, have critiqued the new abolitionist's position for perpetuating whiteness despite the professed goal of destroying it, arguing that the line of thinking is problematic in a number of ways. First, the discussion trivializes the contributions of racially marginalized people in history. The emphasis is placed on the white person

who becomes a race traitor and identifies with the racially marginalized groups rather than on the accomplishments of those groups. This continues to position white folks as the agents of change, and thus in a dominant position, since only they possess the power to perpetuate whiteness or to destroy it and enable social progress. Second, against whiteness, which is portrayed as monolithically evil, blackness is uncritically lauded and valorized. Framing black culture as the exotic "other" oversimplifies the discussion, presenting a white/black binary and erasing other racially marginalized cultures and people. Third, the race traitor move is itself an exertion of white privilege. Only white people who systematically avoid being racially marked can renounce a racial identity, claiming not to be white. And despite this rejection, they do not dislodge the power that accompanies being white.

As Alcoff (1998) points out, some feminist scholars argue that a focus on racist oppression distracts from oppression based on sexism, which has a longer history. They claim that discussions of whiteness and race divide women so that they will not focus their efforts on fighting patriarchy. Other feminist scholars advocate for an intersectional approach. They claim that racism and patriarchy do not work in isolation; or, to put it another way, white women are always already both white and women. You cannot simply reject a single part of your identity because it exists in the intersection of gender, race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, age, religion, and other social identity categories. Whiteness is inherently tied in complex and fluid ways to patriarchy, heteronormativity, and other forms of oppression. From this perspective, any approach to changing whiteness must be both coalitional and intersectional (focused on multiple axes of identity) (Alcoff 1998; Moon and Flores 2000).

TRANSFORMING WHITENESS

Another position in the debate on whiteness is that rather than trying to abolish it, scholars and activists should work to further understand it. This perspective sees whiteness as a system that has been used for domination but is not entirely oppressive. Therefore research should work to articulate how whiteness functions and develop methods of resistance and transformation. A related objective, from this viewpoint, is to differentiate between whiteness (as predominantly and systemically oppressive) and white culture or a white cultural identity (based upon the lived experiences of white folks).

This perspective argues that whiteness is constantly made and remade through language. As an oppressive system, it retains its power through what is said and, significantly, what is left unsaid. Scholars have worked to identify and make visible the rhetorical strategies that are used to further whiteness. For example, one study discovered how white people talk about being white in ways that make white seem only natural or equate being white with a national identity (Nakayama and Krizek 1995). Carrie Crenshaw (1997) demonstrated how silence is used to maintain whiteness as the invisible norm and how Senator Carole Moseley Braun's racially marginalized, female bodily presence in the U.S. Senate functioned as a powerful (and successful) counterargument.

Lorraine Kenny (2000) has explored the cultural norms of white middle-class girls in order to discover what might be called white female culture or a feminine white cultural identity. This position argues that part of the cost of whiteness's invisibility is a lack of understanding of the cultures of white folks. When whiteness and masculinity are rejected as the universal norm, the cultural practices of white men and women are not seen as normal or natural but rather culturally specific. This view does not claim there is a singular white culture but rather many cultures that are predominantly racially white and also intersected with other identity categories, such as gender, regional, and socioeconomic statuses (see also Frankenberg 1993).

These approaches believe that with further understanding of whiteness, people can call attention to how whiteness functions, preventing it from continuing to be the invisible norm in society. At the same time, there are parts of whiteness, tied to the lived experiences of white folks, that do not confer dominance upon them. As pointed out with regard to white women, part of the experience of being white, for them, is still an experience of being oppressed as women (whereas for white men, being recipients of gendered oppression is not part of white culture). Part of transforming whiteness includes separating what is oppressive from parts of the white experience that are neutral or positive.

CONCLUSION

Through these discussions we can see that whiteness is gendered as masculine. The normative strategies of whiteness and white privilege run parallel to patriarchy and male privilege. Responses to whiteness view it as something to be dealt with independently, relying on the masculine value of autonomous individuality. Segrest (2002) further explains that whiteness has harmed the souls of white folks with its masculine violence and repression of emotion. The interwoven nature of whiteness and masculinity works to privilege white men, while providing grounds on which to feminize racially marginalized men. Racially marginalized women are further excluded from dominant subject positions while in certain respects white femininity is paradoxical.

As the numerical majority of white people continues to decline, the controversy over whiteness will likely intensify. Identifying the diversity of racial and gendered positions and acknowledging differences within these categories will become increasingly important as we work toward equitable representation in the workplace and educational systems (for example, through affirmative action programs), as well as within the realms of the media, law, and medicine. Feminist and LGBTQ social movements continue to grapple with the way invisible whiteness and white privilege undermine goals of equality. Intersectional analyses continue to highlight the ways in which power and privilege work across identity categories, including gender, race, and class. In this context, identifying whiteness, and working to either abolish or transform it, challenges its normative status and contributes to a crisis of identity for white folks. For white women in particular, this forces a realization of the way their whiteness works to oppress others, contradicting feminist values of community and

collaboration. Questions remain about the possibility of reconfiguring whiteness or rescuing a nonoppressive white cultural identity. On the other hand, supporting a policy of racial colorblindness maintains the hierarchy of white patriarchal supremacy.

See also Affirmative Action; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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Jason Zingsheim

RELIGION

Women's roles in religion and gender ideologies regarding religion have undergone major changes in the twentieth century. On one hand, critiques of the patriarchal bias within most institutionalized religions have led to women's extended participation and leadership rights in various religious institutions as well as to the search for new forms of religious expression. On the other hand, some religious groups resist these reforms and continue to enforce a conservative gender ideology.

BACKGROUND

The major religious institutions in the world—Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism—have all historically been dominated by men. Men have generally held leadership positions in these religions while women have usually occupied roles that were only of a supportive nature and peripheral. Still, while women historically had fewer laity and no leadership rights in these religious institutions, they were crucial in the development and establishment of these institutions.

Broadly speaking, men dominate in traditions that rely on written and theological interpretation, such as the classical Judeo-Christian tradition. These traditions emphasize scripture and cultivate a professional priesthood. Since women, until the middle of the twentieth century, had little or no access to education and advanced literary training relative to men, they were excluded from the beginning from the decision-making process of the religious traditions. In the religious traditions that are transmitted primarily orally and that emphasize roles guided by divine inspiration (that is, where a person believes him/herself to be qualified to communicate a sacred revelation) rather than by authority (that is, where a priest is authorized by religious doctrine), women tend to have leadership functions. In shamanic traditions, for example, women have held shamanic positions equally with men. In radical Christian and quasi-Christian movements, such as those of the Quakers and the Pentecostals, women have held many preaching positions. Women founders of religions are usually found in more recently established religions, in sects, cults, and new religious movements, while all of the founders of the main world religions were men (King 1989).

The story of women and religion in the United States includes continuity and transformation at the same time. In the last 30 years, as a result of the first and second waves of feminism and broader social changes with regard to habits and cultural norms, gendered religion has increasingly been criticized. There are more and more challenges to the patriarchal bias of religion in contemporary Western society. What was once taken for granted as ultimate truth is now questioned primarily by feminists. Pertinent questions are the following: Why have women generally been excluded from higher religious leadership and laity positions? Where does the seemingly inherent male bias in institutionalized religion come from? And can institutionalized religion, as it is currently practiced in the United States, still give meaning to women today? While, on one hand, within mainline Protestant denominations women gained full leadership and laity rights by the end of the twentieth century, they continue to encounter more or less subtle forms of resistance and discrimination. On the other hand, as a reaction to the changing cultural norms and habits, fundamentalist and evangelistic religions have been enforcing a conservative gender ideology that strictly separates the roles of women and men. Finally, women-centered religious groups with a specific female spirituality hope to offer women a holistic alternative to the mainline religious traditions.

WOMEN'S CRITIQUE OF GENDERED EXPERIENCE
WITHIN TRADITIONAL RELIGION

Religion and religious ideologies have been regarded as major avenues for the social control of women. The justification of the exclusion of women from positions of church leadership and from ordination to the priesthood or full-time religious office is primarily based on theological teaching. At the same time, scholars have argued for an expanded role for women, based on certain biblical passages that emphasize a more egalitarian core of the religious tradition. Feminist scholars have concluded that most of the unequal treatment of women in religion is not part and parcel of the teachings of Christianity but an attempt by male clerics to ensure that any equality among women and men will not come to fruition (*Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* 1998). At the core of feminist theology is the belief in the full equality of women and men in church and society. Feminist theology argues that Christianity and Judaism are essentially patriarchal and that they have contributed to the oppression of women. Therefore, according to these feminist scholars, change is needed.

A feminist critique of religion began in the nineteenth century and reemerged in the last decades of the twentieth century as similar ideas were taken up by feminist thinkers: they include the power of religion in safeguarding gender inequalities, issues of female ordination based on new scriptural interpretations, the authority of the Bible, and the idea of an ancient matriarchate.

At the core of their critique are three issues: the patriarchal and sexist bias within religion, the androcentric (male-centered) language within religious scripture, and the female religious experience. With regard to these themes, one can differentiate between two different approaches to a feminist critique: the approaches of the reformers and the revolutionaries (Lindley 1996).

Reformists: Reinterpreting Religious Scripture

The goal of the reformist feminist thinkers is to create change from within their various religious traditions. While they critique patriarchy and point out that its power should never be underestimated, feminist theologians like Rosemary Radfort Ruether, Elizabeth Schuessler Fiorenza, and Phyllis Trible argue that there are resources and themes within the religious tradition and its scripture that support equality and liberation for women. According to them it is the task of the feminist historian today to recapture this theme and to make it available for women who are on a spiritual journey.

Via the methods of retrieval, reinterpretation, and reconstruction of scripture and tradition, feminists are arguing for change today. Scholars have taken a closer look at the Gospel of Luke, for example, a gospel showing that women played an important role as disciples, apostles, and aides in the early Christian ritual meal, as well as at examples in Jesus' teachings (King 1989).

The "language question" remains a big part of the debate. It questions the validity of much of the "male" God language and looks for changes in language, to achieve "neutral language" or the addition of female images to male ones. It

assumes that language about God is symbolic or metaphorical. As such, many passages in the Old Testament have been interpreted to express maternal aspects and activities of God. In addition, feminist researchers have pointed to the feminine aspects of the figure of the Holy Spirit, which is part of the Trinity. Sally McFague has suggested an altogether different model of God. It consists of three parts, which have a more holistic and relational approach to God, and includes an ecological awareness: God as Mother (or Father, in a parental sense), God as Lover, and God as Friend (Lindley 1996).

Moreover, reformists stress the role of human experience in theology, particularly women's experience, which has largely been ignored. However, their views of the nature of men and women differ. While some argue that men's and women's nature is essentially the same and that they are thus equal, others argue that there are some basic differences and that patriarchal structures have simply devalued the different nature of women.

Another important leitmotif within reformist feminist theology is the "wisdom tradition." This implies a concept of divine wisdom, as illustrated by the feminine term "Sophia," which first appears as a female personification of God in Hebrew scripture and which is then carried forth into other Christian texts, such as the New Testament. The image of Sophia provides a way for contemporary feminist theologians to argue against the normative maleness of Jesus as savior. It presents a way to critique gendered God language (King 1989).

Significant, influential reformist women thinkers of the nineteenth century included Frances Wright (1795–1852), Ernestine Rose (1810–1892), Margaret Fuller (1810–1855), Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), and Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898). All of these writers argued that women's rights are rooted in a view of men and women as persons first and that their equality is based on this. They were all critical of the male leadership of the church and supported the view that priesthood was the main reason why women had few or no rights compared to men. Their goal was to educate women to think for themselves, rather than buying into what the church led them to believe. This meant a more critical interpretation of the Bible. While Fuller and Stanton disqualified only parts of the Bible and still saw validity and usefulness, even for women, in parts of Christianity, Gage and Wright were more radical in their approach in that they supported a total rejection of the Bible (Lindley 1996).

The sociological work *Defecting in Place: Women Claiming Responsibility for Their Own Spiritual Lives,* by Therese Winter, Adair Lummis, and Allison Strokes (1994), is an example of the impact of feminist theology on religion. The authors argue that many women who are involved with the church challenge the institution from within by working with women's spirituality groups.

Revolutionaries: The Creation of a Feminist Spirituality outside the Dominant Cultural Tradition

In contrast to the reformist approach to a feminist critique of religion, revolutionary feminists regard Christianity and Judaism as irrevocably sexist. While the reformist feminist approach is focused on religious reconstruction,

the revolutionary approach is interested in the creation of new religious movements, which seek religious experience outside traditional religion. These new religious groups are relatively small and more research needs to be done on them.

The most prominent theme among feminists is the "Religion of the Goddess." This concept is used as an alternative to Christianity and Judaism, based on the anthropological theories of an ancient matriarchy, to which some of the nineteenth-century feminists had also referred. The concept of the goddess varies among groups (King 1989). However, the various forms of goddess religion all share common themes. They reject the patriarchal god-image and replace it by the mother-goddess symbol. They support religious communities and rituals run by women or entirely composed of women, and they all have a strong connection to nature. Moreover, rather than emphasizing a divine transcendence and an otherworldly afterlife, they stress the immanence of the divine in all humans and in all of nature. Finally, personal experience plays a crucial role in their theology and spirituality, and their religious life is lived in a multitude of ways. Rituals involve enacting ancient myths from a feminist point of view, revering nature, sacralizing women's bodies, and mourning the abuse of women in patriarchal society. The goal of the rituals/ceremonies is to share experiences and to increase self-confidence and bonding. The woman's spirituality movement is characterized by both retraditionalization and religious innovation. It is a synergy of both old and new. In contrast to traditional religion, the theology of the goddess religion emphasizes symbols rather than rational explanations.

The most prominent tradition within the goddess religion and the major producer of its goddess theology is the feminist witchcraft movement, also sometimes referred to as neopaganism. Research shows that for women the symbol of the witch is empowering, even though feminists and nonfeminists alike have challenged this notion. The Dianic Coven, also known as Feminist Witchcraft and Feminist Wicca, is a radical form of this religious belief system and belongs to the "women-only tradition." Since the 1990s there has been a growing interest in paganism and goddess religions in America. In 1990, there were as many as 100,000 witches, mostly women, in the United States.

Feminist matriarchy groups provide another direction within feminist spirituality. Characteristic of the matriarchy are the values of peace, harmony, and female ascendancy. The members of matriarchy groups believe in the primacy of matriarchal society. They are devoted to the cult of the goddess and propose a woman-centered worldview. They also connect spirituality and politics as a way to create a new social order. Matilda Joslyn Gage's *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman through the Christian Ages: With Reminiscences of the Matriarchate* (first published in 1893) and Merlin Stone's *When God Was a Woman* (1978) are classic texts on the topic. Critics of matriarchy concepts argue that the exclusive focus on the female is not that different from the exclusive focus on the male—how can one bring about social transformation if the same dualisms are being perpetuated? Matriarchy groups are also criticized for their lack of historical, empirical evidence. Because of this lack, it is not possible to link images of female goddesses to the actual roles and positions of

women in society, that is, to draw parallels between statues, symbols, and sacred images, the cult of female deities, and actual women's life in society. Moreover, within feminism there are many contradictory arguments with regard to matriarchy and the goddess movements (King 1987).

The model of the androgyny leads to another important debate among revolutionary feminists. This model entails the symbolic integration of male and female aspects with regard to the concept of "ultimate reality." However, while the idea of the androgyny seeks to overcome the male-female dualism, it remains dualistic in that it continues to facilitate an opposition of male and female.

Feminists continue to search for a symbol that goes beyond patriarchal, matriarchal, and androgynous models, a symbol that transcends these oppositions and addresses a unitary expression of the religious. Some argue that this integral concept of God can actually be found in the classical theologies of many religions as well as in the discussion about transcendence and the immanence of the divine.

SUPPORTERS OF GENDERED EXPERIENCE WITHIN RELIGION

Traditional Judeo-Christian Religion

While feminist critiques led to reforms within the mainline Judeo-Christian tradition, some Christian denominations continue to support the argument that women's traditional roles in the church are acceptable and should not be drastically changed. Among these groups are the Roman Catholic Church (even though the Second Vatican Council announced significant changes in female religious leadership), the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, and the various Eastern Orthodox churches. They, for example, never endorsed the views on female ordination that most mainline denominations within the Judeo-Christian tradition accepted. The reasons for adhering to a more conservative congregational polity vary. Some religious groups are trying to keep their ethnic identity and are attempting to shield their members from too much Americanization. Others justify the continued exclusion of women from leadership positions by using a theological interpretation of religious scripture that denies female ordination. Still others simply want to keep in line with their tradition.

Rather than referring to the law against female ordination as an aspect of female inferiority, these groups emphasize a "complementary" understanding of

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Second Vatican Council took place in 1962–1965. It significantly empowered women within the Roman Catholic Church, who could now act as eucharistic ministers, as chancellors of dioceses, and as lectors. However, up to the present, women in Roman Catholicism are not allowed to be ordained as priests. The Vatican adheres to its traditional argument that women cannot function as natural symbols of Christ because of their gender.

In the early 1980s, the woman-church movement emerged from a coalition of Catholic feminist organizations in order to keep the issue of ordination going.

male and female humanity. This means that, according to their religious understanding, gender-specific roles at home and in the church are beneficial for both men and women.

Fundamentalists, Evangelicals, and New Religious Movements: Reactions to Social Change

The Episcopal Church's decision to ordain women in 1976 has led fundamentalist groups to enforce conservative gender ideologies (Baber 1987). In addition, there was a backlash within Holiness and Pentecostal groups, which had formerly begun to endorse female leadership rights but were now reverting to conservative views on women and ministry. These groups' resistance to reforms is based on a more general resistance of these groups to social change, changing moral habits, changing popular culture, and the increase in women working outside the home. These developments were regarded as negative and as a threat to the ordered worldview of fundamentalist groups. They were interpreted as a possible threat to the male-dominated structure of the church and were thus not likely to be welcomed by conservative male clergy. Fundamentalists and evangelicals used theological assumptions to justify the continued gender inequality within their groups. The "modern" woman, for example, according to religious fundamentalists, symbolizes a rebellion against biblical authority and the traditional social order. The tumultuous years of the 1960s and 1970s reinforced the rise of conservative religious groups (Lindley 1996).

But what is it that causes modern Western women to be attracted to conservative religious groups? From a sociological point of view, the appeal of fundamentalist and evangelistic religions to women lies in a theology that advocates a certain, structured universe, which is not affected by the uncertainties of life in modern society. Studies of women's roles in new religious movements (NRMs) link women's interest in these movements to the challenge of social change as illustrated by gender confusion, family breakdown, and moral ambiguity in contemporary North American society. A study of seven groups, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, the Unification Church, the Rajneesh Movement, the Institute of Applied Metaphysics, the Messianic Community, the Raelian Movement, and the Institute for the Development of the Harmonious Human Being, supports the argument that most women are voluntarily seeking involvement in these NRMs because they are attracted by the groups' theology of love. This reinforces their identity as women, while at the same time taking away the burden of being "worker-wife-mother-housekeeper" and giving a spiritual meaning to their relationships (Palmer 1994). Some of these groups emphasize the traditional role of a woman as procreator and housewife; others free women from this expectation by denouncing pregnancy altogether and allowing their members to remain "youthful" in all regards. These NRMs offer the space and setting in which each ideal can be lived without restrictions imposed by mainstream society.

What all seven groups have in common is that they challenge preconceived notions of sexuality and family and address the issues of instability and

insecurity that come with the decline of the traditional family. These diverse NRMs provide women with specific models of womanhood. They offer solutions to the increasing fragility of the marriage bond, the declining parent-child bond, and the increase in female breadwinners by providing an environment that supports the desired, fulfilling relationship and family life without taking anything away from a woman's identity. At the same time, a close examination of these NRMs shows that these groups can serve as areas of experimentation for women to explore unconventional forms of relationships and sexuality. The author of the study of seven NRM groups argues that the rules and rituals in these groups help women define their feminine identity and helps prepare them to cope with the challenges of "normal" society (Palmer 1994).

WOMEN'S ROLES WITHIN MAINLINE PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

Gendered Religious Experience as a Breeding Ground for Female Rights

The twentieth century witnessed many crucial changes with regard to women's religious leadership and laity rights in most mainline denominations within the Judeo-Christian tradition, the most important being the right of female ordination in the Protestant churches and Reform Judaism. It is important to note that these changes did not occur suddenly but were the result of the work of women in the nineteenth century who increasingly questioned the patriarchal bias within religion and demanded more, if not equal, religious rights for women.

Women's roles here were twofold: on one hand, they played a crucial part in the spread of Christianity. On the other hand, while most mainline churches have historically regarded women as subordinate to men, it was precisely women's work within the churches that provided a space from which they could challenge these sexist structures and work for more female rights in the church and in society.

Women played a big part in the revival of Christianity during the Second Great Awakening (roughly from the end of the eighteenth century through the first three decades of the nineteenth century) because they outnumbered men as converts and church members. They were interested in joining the church because it helped them shape their lives and female identities apart from the domestic sphere (Lindley 1996). Gendered religious experience, thus, fostered the rise of female rights. The church community gave women a space where they could thrive outside their prescribed domestic realm. At the same time, as converts they could spread their religious belief at home, where the role of mother now gained a whole new significance in that it served a greater, missionary cause.

Women's work in the churches took place primarily within the context of women's church groups. Here they focused on foreign and home missions, on Bible study and spiritual development, and on practical support for individual churches, for example, cooking for church suppers, funerals, and weddings,

cleaning the church, and taking part in maintenance activities. Also during these years, a number of religious associations that provided specific areas of organization for women emerged. These areas included maternal associations, the Sunday school movement, and charitable organizations. A general belief in the significance of women's work as religious guardians of the home also led to increased women's education. This in turn fostered the establishment of various female reform movements that proved to be pivotal in promoting women's rights.

The female-based religious groups were of crucial importance to women in that they were a source of meaning, a source of activity, and a source of female fellowship at a time when women's lives were usually restricted to the domestic sphere. Moreover, female religious reform groups and benevolent activities made women's voices heard in a more public sphere (Lindley 1996).

Religious suffrage for southern Methodist women was achieved in 1920, marking a special year in the history of women's religious rights. Still, religious suffrage and other laity rights varied greatly within denominations, and it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that laity rights became widespread. Even then, until they were given the right to formal ordination, women's status remained limited.

ORDINATION OF WOMEN

Historical Development

Female ordination is one of the most important recent developments within religious institutions in the United States. While a few Protestant denominations ordained women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not until the 1970s that female ordination became widespread. The vote of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church to allow women to be ordained as priests in 1976 sealed the official right for women to enter leadership positions within liberal Protestant Christianity.

Several factors led to the rapid expansion of female clergy. Formal theological education was opened to women after World War II, and this led to the erosion of the cultural assumption that a woman's place was in the home. While traditionally women were excluded from advanced learning and teaching in most religions, after the war, theology courses became more available to the laity and thus to women. In addition to preparing them for careers in the church, theological education gave women a better understanding of their religious tradition and thus fostered a critical view of it. The move toward women's rights in the twentieth century was generally accepted within mainline Protestant denominations—thus, female religious leadership was not seen as a very drastic change and was fairly easily accepted. Society in general took to these reforms with relative ease because of the ongoing overall process of social and cultural change. Male opposition to female ordination eventually surrendered to the reforms put forward by Protestants; "white men" in mainstream Protestantism still constituted the "cultural establishment" and thus did not need to fear loss of power any time soon (Lindley 1996).

Furthermore, conservative and mainstream Protestants differed in their view of the nature of sin: for evangelicals, sin meant rebellion and disobedience, while mainstream Protestants had a less literal understanding of sin, one that was more influenced by liberation theology—to them, sin was linked to injustice, dehumanization, and oppression, as well as to a lack of self-acceptance or self-realization. In the former case sin is linked to a paradigm of hierarchy, while in the latter case it is linked to a paradigm of partnership and equality. This latter understanding of the meaning of sin reflected the general value change that that had already begun to take place in the 1960s in society in general (Lindley 1996).

The first denominations to ordain women were the Methodist, Baptist, Free Baptist, Congregational, Universalist, and Unitarian churches. While by 1921 approximately 3,000 women had positions as ministers in the United States, by 1998 women constituted approximately 15 percent of all clergy in most mainline denominations (Lehman 2002). In 1995, female religious leadership reached another high point, when women reached the highest levels of some major Christian denominations: the Lutheran Church elected two women bishops, and the Episcopal Church four women bishops; among the Methodists, eight women had been elected as bishops and 80 as district superintendents (Lindley 1996). By the end of the twentieth century, American women could be ordained as ministers and priests in most mainline Protestant denominations, and as rabbis in three of the four major Jewish groups. In evangelical and fundamental groups, 7 percent of all clergy members were female.

Arguments in Favor of Female Ordination

Supporters of the ordination of women refer to biblical passages that point at the inherently egalitarian core of the Christian tradition. Among these is the passage in Genesis declaring both male and female as being created in the name of God, as well as the numerous examples of women as prophetesses and witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus Christ and at Pentecost. Others argue that women's successes within the church and as religious missionaries, as well as the qualities of "womanhood," qualify them for ordination (Lindley 1996).

Arguments against Female Ordination

The exclusion of women from ordination was historically based on theological arguments that were also in line with current conventions and cultural

ANTOINETTE BROWN: FIRST ORDAINED WOMAN IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Antoinette Brown, born May 20, 1825, was the first woman to be ordained to the ministry in the history of Christianity. She was ordained on September 15, 1853, at the First Congregational Church in Butler, New York. Antoinette was a revolutionary in her time, but due to pressures from conservatives she had to resign after only a few years of work. Antoinette stuck to her vocation and, 10 years later, in 1863, she was ordained again, as a Unitarian minister.

assumptions about men and women. A common justification of the law against ordination of women is the Creation and Fall narrative in Genesis, which is interpreted as proof of woman's lower status, as well as her guilt in the Fall of man. Protesters against female ordination refer to biblical passages showing the social hierarchy of husband and wife. Others argue that women are unable to function as natural symbols of Christ simply because, visually, they can never be a symbol of Jesus Christ (Baber 1987).

However, according to some studies, theological issues alone do not account for the resistance to female clergy (Lehman 2002). Men have been found to hold conservative views of the role of women in society beyond religion. The belief in certain female and male characteristics that attest to inherent differences between men and women and therefore make women unfit to act as leaders is a popular justification for opposition to female ordination. Women are regarded, for example, as receptive, patient, nurturing, and intuitive, while men are supposed to be initiative-taking, rational, and detached, and they supposedly transcend the natural order (Baber 1987). In line with this reasoning is the argument of the incompatibility of motherhood and ministry. It states that the nature of womanhood provides an inevitable conflict between the role of women as mothers and guardians of the home and their duties as ministers.

Women's Continued Struggle in Religious Leadership Positions

Female ordination, however, did not automatically mean that women were actually accepted as ministers by their peers and fellow clergy members. Studies have shown that women continue to be disadvantaged as ministers: the timing of pregnancy and pregnancy leave and problems with regard to the geographic mobility of married women are but a few of the reasons why the path to women's ordination is prolonged. Then, once ordination has occurred, placement issues appear. Frequently, women are overrepresented in junior positions and seem to be ignored in the selection process. In addition, once a woman has been ordained as a minister, she often faces continued resistance from her male colleagues. Recent research has shown that some male clergy members feel threatened by ordained women. In order to prevent the "feminization" of the ministry, they try to limit women's involvement as leaders in the church. This then causes a backlash regarding females' religious rights in some churches (Lehman 2002). The continued sexist behavior is most likely linked to the sexist cultural stereotypes of men and women that are still present in mainstream society.

Women's Experience within Asian Spirituality

Since the 1950s, the United States has witnessed a steady interest in Asian forms of religiosity and spirituality, influenced mainly by Hinduism and Buddhism. The interest in these religions has been explained, for example, as a reaction to an increasingly materialistic society that values status and money above everything else. Interestingly enough, while these religions are community

oriented in their original nature, American women and men converts hope to find through them a way toward individual self-fulfillment, which is often accompanied by detachment from broader social bonds. And while most seekers of Asian spirituality are disenchanted with the money-oriented emphasis of American society, the average white member of religious groups of Asian origin tends to be quite prosperous and unusually well educated (Lindley 1996). Groups like Transcendental Meditation and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), which were first introduced to the United States in the 1960s, as well as Siddha Yoga, introduced in the 1970s, offer individual paths to enlightenment through a specific theology that, among other things, emphasizes the practices of meditation and yoga. While most religious leaders in these groups are men, most members are women. Still, there are a few women leaders and women gurus in Siddha Yoga, and it has been argued that women are attracted to these religious groups because they generally espouse a theology that implies the acceptance of women in roles other than those within the domestic sphere (Lindley 1996).

In addition, research on popular yoga groups in the West has shown that it is primarily women who partake in this exercise. There are indicators that yoga, when practiced with an emphasis on its spiritual and philosophical framework, helps women cope with the challenges of an increasingly fast-paced daily life in modern, Western society (Henrichsen-Schrembs 2007).

CONCLUSION

Feminist research, theory, and practice show that women have been challenging the patriarchal bias of traditional Western religion in the United States in many different ways. However, even though, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, female religious leadership and laity rights, equal on paper to those of men, have been established within liberal Protestant Christianity and Reform Judaism, women continue to be faced with latent and subtle sexism in the church or synagogue and beyond. Despite women's official recognition in the ministry, a gendered division of labor still exists in many churches. Whether the presence of women in the ministry will eventually lead to a truly egalitarian church, or whether women will experience a reactionary backlash, remains uncertain. Nevertheless, because women have entered positions of power in churches, the female perspective on religion is now taken into account in order to develop new, more appropriate statements of belief.

Moreover, other avenues of religious expression are being explored: The women's spirituality movement, in its various forms, hopes to give meaning to those who are disenchanted with the patriarchal structures of the Christian tradition. At the same time, some Christian denominations adhere to their traditional view of women, and as a reaction to the drastic reforms of the twentieth century, fundamentalist religious groups and NRMs purposely enforce a conservative gender ideology.

Whatever direction women will take, they might find answers in a new reading of the traditional religious scripture or in alternative forms of religiosity.

See also Gender Socialization; Polygamy; Religious Fundamentalism.

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Sabine Henrichsen-Schrembs

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

Historically, women have been drawn to fundamentalist religious traditions despite feminist criticism. Often we think of feminist Christians and feminist Muslims as an oxymoron. This entry summarizes the debate over gender and fundamentalism by explaining the feminist critique of fundamentalism as well as presenting reasons why women are attracted to fundamentalism.

BACKGROUND

The topic of women and fundamentalism is controversial because of debates related to patriarchy, the church, leadership roles, and gender roles. Women continue to have a strong involvement in fundamentalist strains of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam although all of these religions are seen as patriarchal. In general,

research suggests that women are often drawn to fundamentalist traditions because of clear gender norms, support for the traditional family, friendship networks, and a safe sense of community. In addition, research on fundamentalist Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities suggests that women in these communities find their roles empowering and not oppressive. Though outsiders view these communities as oppressive, women tend to find ways of negotiating power within fundamentalist congregations.

Feminist criticisms of women in fundamentalism have focused on issues and questions related to patriarchy. Feminists raise questions such as the following: How can women be attracted to religious traditions in which they cannot be leaders of congregations? How can women choose to be submissive to men? Why would women want to be in traditional marriages?

THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF FUNDAMENTALISM

What exactly do we mean when we use the word *fundamentalism* in regard to religion and gender? There are many definitions of fundamentalism. This essay focuses on a sociological understanding. Steve Bruce traces the origins of the term *fundamentalism* to 1920s America. The term was first used to describe "the consciously anti-modernist wing of Protestantism" (Bruce 2000, 10). Bruce differentiates between individual fundamentalism and communal fundamentalism (2000). He sees Islamic fundamentalism as having more of a communal form and Protestant fundamentalism as having an individualist form. There are four key characteristics of world fundamentalism: scripture is considered divine revelation (the Bible and the Quran); followers believe that at some time in history an ideal version of the religion existed; fundamentalisms are threatened by change so they are radical revisions of the past; and they often appeal to a marginalized group (Bruce 2000, 14). Religious fundamentalism in Protestantism and Islam is very concerned with norms surrounding gender, sexuality, and family. Therefore, changes in women's roles are problematic to basic fundamentalist ideology (Bruce 2000, 32). The family and gender norms help organize social life in fundamentalist traditions. Therefore, clear and rigid gender norms are strongly reinforced.

Ammerman (1987) also finds that fundamentalist ideology is created in opposition to modernity and that this fundamentalist ideology is only able to thrive with support from a strong community. A focus on community is seen in the research on Jewish, Muslim, and Christian fundamentalisms. A strong community is required to reinforce the norms of the fundamentalist groups.

Pasquinelli's (1998) research examines Protestant and Islamic fundamentalism with an emphasis on their relationship to modernity and tradition. Like Bruce, she claims that fundamentalism is characterized by its reference to a text that is believed to contain revelations and infallible truths. She argues that despite a prevalent ideology of antimodernism, fundamentalist movements do not negate modernity. Instead, they use modern technologies to come to terms with modernity by fighting against the notion that modernity has only one path forward.

DID YOU KNOW?

- That there is a tradition of modesty in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity? In Orthodox Judaism, women today still cover their hair, often with wigs or short scarves. In Islam, women often cover their hair wearing a scarf *(hijab)* or a full *nikab* (which covers the hair and face, leaving only the eyes exposed). Until the 1950s, many Christian women covered their hair in church. Today the Amish and Mennonite sects continue to observe modesty norms.
- That Muslim woman can get divorced? Many people see Islam as the most patriarchal religion because of its strict gender norms. However, Islamic law does allow women to initiate divorce in some countries.
- That strong friendship networks are one of the most significant gains that women in fundamentalist congregations cite? Women in fundamentalist congregations often enjoy very strong friendships that are reinforced by shared values and belief systems.

Riesebrodt's research correlates fundamentalism with literalism. His research examines fundamentalism in Iran (Shia Islamic) and the United States (Protestant). His research reiterates the idea that Christian and Muslim fundamentalism reinforce traditional patriarchy. Fundamentalism aims to maintain patriarchy through its interpretation of scripture, societal norms, and community (1993, 178).

In the end, a theoretical understanding of fundamentalism is complicated; as Appleby (1994) points out, it is difficult to define fundamentalism in general as it applies to all religious traditions. However, there are some key themes that seem to appear in the sociological research on fundamentalism. Fundamentalism tends to flourish in times of crisis and conflict. Fundamentalism grows in modernity. Sociologists of religion claim that fundamentalism is a social construction. It is not a true return to a pristine version of Christianity or Islam. A pristine or perfect version of religion never existed. Sociologists of gender and religion see the apparent return to an earlier or more traditional version of religion as a reaction to the contemporary social climate. As gender roles become more fluid, fundamentalists choose to reinforce conservative and traditional gender norms as a form of control.

APPEAL OF FUNDAMENTALISM TO WOMEN

Though Western feminists continue to regard fundamentalism as oppressive and patriarchal, women continue to join fundamentalist traditions. Women are attracted to fundamentalist strains of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The fundamentalist traditions offer women a strong sense of community, access to peer networks, and clear gender roles.

An interesting aspect of the recent research on women and fundamentalism is that fundamentalism appeals to women in both the West and the East. Franks chooses to use the term *revivalism* rather than *fundamentalism* when referring

to conservative religious traditions. Her research examines the appeal of revivalism to women. She specifically focuses on issues related to the empowerment that Christian and Muslim women find through fundamentalism or revivalism. Her analysis finds that women attain spiritual, intellectual, emotional, practical, and material gains through a revivalist, traditional religion (2001, 170). Franks defines the practical gains as those things that make life easier, such as a clear family structure. Another example she gives of practical gains is the *hijab,* or scarf-like garment used by observant Muslim women to cover their hair, because, she contends, it allows women to move around more freely than Western clothing (2001, 177).

Another type of gain that fundamentalist women acquire is what Franks terms material gain. This is related to financial gain that women receive either through marriage within the community or as financial help from the religious community in terms of housing. "Intellectual" gain is seen in becoming more educated or knowledgeable about one's traditions. Spiritual and emotional gains come in both individual and communal forms. Spiritual gains often come in the form of feeling a closer connection to God. Emotional gains are often in the form of emotional support from family and friends in the religious community. Franks is able to make a strong argument that women are attracted to fundamentalist strains of Christianity and Islam because they feel empowered by the "gains" they make.

There are also several similarities in the themes found in the research on women in the West and women in the Middle East. Gerami's research finds that fundamentalism in Iran, Egypt, and the United States increases women's group solidarity and feminist consciousness. Women gain support networks while at the same time they become more conscious of their identities. This research shows that participation in these networks enables women to reexamine their relationship to power in the family and in society and increase their group solidarity and feminist consciousness. Gerami ultimately argues that "Current fundamentalist movements within Islam and Western Christianity promote reconstruction of rigid sex roles" (1996, 3). She also asserts that "Despite their call for a return to original scripture, religious fundamentalists do not seek replication of the early years of a religion; rather, they reformulate their religious ideology to formulate a political agenda" (1996, 19).

Gerami finds that a substantial concern about morality and sexuality causes Protestant and Muslim fundamentalists to focus on women and the family. Strict gender norms are therefore a significant focus of fundamentalism. Ultimately, Gerami cites the losses and gains that fundamentalism provides for women. She highlights the following as losses: essentializing women as mothers, "constructing family as a tool of political manipulation and conformity," "constructing female symbolism as a vehicle of boundary maintenance," demonizing female sexuality, and reinforcing the ideal of women as submissive (1996, 155). Gerami also highlights several gains, which include encouraging Muslim women who are from the middle and working class to mobilize, encouraging women to read and interpret scripture, creating a grassroots movement, and reaffirming "motherhood as a legitimate feminist agenda" (1996, 156).

Finally, Gerami's research affirms that Islamic feminists like some Christian feminists oppose gender equality and espouse "gender complementarity." They believe that man's role is to be a provider, and women's role is to be a caretaker. For them, this is the foundation of their feminist goals. Therefore Muslim and Christian women who are involved in fundamentalist strains of these traditions do not necessarily see feminism and religion as in opposition. They believe that a women's role is different from a man's role, not a lesser role.

Christianity

Brasher finds that fundamentalist Christianity is empowering to women because it creates two gendered congregations. One congregation is led by women while the other is led by men. Thus, women have power within the female congregation (1998, 4). Women-only activities such as women-led Bible study play a special part in empowerment. Empowerment comes in the forms of female networks, material and spiritual resources, and political coalitions (Brasher 1998).

Judaism

Judaism like Christianity is a scripture-based tradition. Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism exist in the United States. Recent research in the United States suggests that women continue to be attracted to Orthodox Judaism because of the ethno-religious identity it offers. However, more specifically, this ethno-religious community offers clear gender norms, reinforces traditional families, and provides a strong sense of community for women (Davidman 1991). Davidman puts this succinctly when she writes: "Joining a religion community in which women are placed squarely in the home is thus one way of avoiding the tensions and difficulties that face the women who challenge the system by attempting to have both successful careers and families" (1991, 195).

Islam

Since September 11, 2001, Islam has become synonymous with fundamentalism, the *hijab* continues to be a symbol of oppression, and women's rights in Muslim countries continue to be an area of controversy. However, Muslim women continue to challenge our understandings of women and religion. Read and Bartkowski's recent research (2000) on the veil and Muslim women suggests that women choose to wear the veil. Muslim women in the United States choose to wear the veil because they believe it is a modest way to dress, it is prescribed in the Quran, it gives them respect within the Muslim community, and it is often empowering.

In addition, Muslim women in the United States continue to be active participants in religious communities. The Islamic Society of North America elected a female president in its 2006 election.

However, though it can be argued that there is a central role for Muslim women in society, fundamentalism remains a common strain of Islam. Literalist

interpretations as well as revivalist groups comprise an Islamic fundamentalism that continues to attract women. Muslim women continue to be attracted to fundamentalism for many of the same reasons that Protestant and Jewish women are. They find fundamentalist Islam a stricter and more orthodox version of Islam. Fundamentalist Islam may not emphasize "choice" for women; however, it does reward women for their traditional gender roles. For example, fundamentalist Muslim women have the right not to work. Therefore, any money a married Muslim woman earns is her own.

SUPPORT OF WOMEN IN FUNDAMENTALISM

Brink and Mencher find that the impact of fundamentalism on some women has been beneficial and has led to greater economic power and autonomy. In other areas, women must maneuver within the constraints of fundamentalism to gain power and autonomy.

Most fundamentalist groups are concerned with control of female sexuality. "Thus, they draw strict boundaries between good and proper behavior for their women and deride the so-called free western or secular women"(Brink and Mencher 1996, 3). Nonfundamentalist women are viewed as confused and overburdened.

Fundamentalist women know their roles within the family and the community. They are aware of women's place. However, nonfundamentalist women become torn over careers and families. This often results in women feeling they have to do it all. Fundamentalist women, however, know that their roles surround being primary caregivers as wives and mothers.

CRITICISM OF WOMEN IN FUNDAMENTALISM

Feminists are critical of religious fundamentalism because they see it as oppressive. Clear examples of this can be seen in the scholarly responses to Islamic polygamy (Hawley 1994). Hawley and other scholars of Islam point to the practice in some Muslim societies of allowing men to have more than one wife (up to four). This practice is based on the sharia (Islamic law). The sharia allows Muslim men to take up to four wives as long as they provide for them equally in financial and emotional ways. This practice is often viewed as patriarchal and oppressive to women, both within Muslim societies and among outsiders.

Other common areas of criticism include leadership. Within Islam, fundamentalist Protestantism, and Orthodox Judaism, women can not become imams, ministers, or rabbis. In addition, women generally cannot lead the prayers of mixed congregations in Islam.

Another area of criticism is the laws pertaining to divorce and family. Women in Christian fundamentalist traditions are not permitted to divorce. Women in Islam are permitted to divorce, but in most Islamic countries men must initiate the process and therefore it can be very difficult for a woman to be granted a legal divorce. In addition, in fundamentalist communities, women are strongly discouraged from gaining a divorce because divorced women are often viewed as deviants.

Fundamentalist traditions also strongly reinforce women's roles of childbearing and childrearing in the family. In many fundamentalist traditions including those of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, it is a woman's primary duty to have children and be a homemaker. The reason why some feminists are critical of this is that there is often no choice in the matter.

CURRENT RESPONSES

Current responses to women in fundamentalism are mixed. Historically, Western feminists were critical of all fundamentalisms and found them harmful to women. However, in the present period of cultural relativism, scholars including feminists realize that fundamentalism can function as a sacred canopy for some women, especially in non-Western cultures (Gerami 1996).

In particular, research on Muslim and Christian fundamentalism has found that women see fundamentalism in the United States, Egypt, and Iran as empowering, as it allows them to develop strong community ties as well as a "feminist consciousness" (Gerami 1996). Muslim fundamentalists in particular use the intellectual gains they find in fundamentalism to empower their strategies for social activism.

CONCLUSION

Women in the Abrahamic traditions of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism will continue to be attracted to fundamentalist sects. These fundamentalist ideologies offer women community, friendship, and often a sense of empowerment. Women within these fundamentalist traditions do not see religion as anti-woman. They see these traditions as giving women a special place in their religious communities, a role that is viewed as complementary to men's roles in society.

Feminist criticism will continue to point to the patriarchy and the disempowerment of women to which fundamentalism can lead. Feminists argue that within patriarchal structures, women are oppressed and limited in their opportunities. However, as feminist studies reexamine the women-led groups within fundamentalist groups, perhaps these conclusions may also be challenged.

See also Polygamy; Religion.

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Farha Ternikar

RIGHT-WING WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Right-wing women have made significant contributions to conservative political movements around the world, yet they are often viewed by their opponents and even by some men in conservative movements as pawns or of negligible importance. Opposing views of the desired nature of society and women's roles within it, competing definitions of family, sexuality, and women's social status, and differing cultural, religious, political, economic, and ideological beliefs contribute to the participation of women in right-wing political movements.

BACKGROUND

In the early twentieth century, Afrikaner women in South Africa helped construct the Afrikaner national identity through their social and educational programs for poor whites, programs that simultaneously emphasized race and religion (the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church) and oppressed the majority African population. In the 1990s, Hindu nationalist spokeswoman Sadvi Rithambara provoked Hindu nationalist men to anti-Muslim violence through speech-performances that traveled via cassette recordings into the homes, courtyards, and streets of India. Islamist women in Turkey have demanded the right to wear the veil in institutions such as schools and Parliament. Their actions simultaneously challenged the secular state established by Kemal Ataturk in the early twentieth century and sparked mass protests when the government rejected their requests and sanctioned those women who donned the veil in public institutions. Anti-Communist women in Chile built up a movement against the socialist government of President Salvador Allende, applauded the military coup that overthrew him on September 11, 1973, and supported the 17-year military dictatorship that ensued. Why did these women do what they did? Why are they considered right wing?

THE ANTI-ALLENDE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CHILE

On December 1, 1971, more than 5,000 women marched through the streets of Santiago, Chile, beating pots and pans to protest the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. During the next two years, they organized a movement of women against Allende. This movement successfully convinced the majority of Chilean women that the socialist government was responsible for the problems they experienced: lack of food and supplies and high levels of insecurity. The variety of anti-Popular Unity activities these women engaged in—ranging from the distribution of leaflets and the circulation of petitions to demonstrations and demands that the military overthrow the government—undermined the government and fostered an atmosphere that favored the military coup of September 11, 1973. Although it was elite women who began the movement against Allende, they built a cross-class movement of women that opposed the Popular Unity government. In the March 1973 parliamentary elections, the last elections held before the September coup, 60 percent of women voted against Allende and for the opposition. The key factors that facilitated the multiclass organization of women were the fact that many women felt that the policies of the Allende government were responsible for the economic shortages that plagued Chile, the spread of social chaos and street-level violence, and the fear and insecurity that these problems produced. Because they associated womanhood with motherhood, many women believed that their inability to feed their families signified their personal failure as mothers. These women taunted the members of the armed forces, calling them weaklings because they did not intervene in Chilean politics. Once the military overthrew Allende, many of these women celebrated and, like women in Nazi Germany, ignored the imprisonment, torture, and murder that thousands of their fellow citizens suffered under the repressive regimes these women supported.

To answer these questions, I begin with a brief discussion about what it means to be right wing. The definition of the Right is not fixed; it changes depending on the historical context and the spectrum of other political forces involved. Nor is the Right a monolithic force; it ranges along a continuum from extreme to moderate. Thus, in the 1930s and 1940s, both the Nazi Party of Germany (extreme) and the Conservative Party of Britain (moderate) were on the right. Nevertheless, they fought each other during World War II. During the second half of the twentieth century, the Right in the United States and around the world was strongly nationalistic and anti-Communist, upheld capitalism, supported racial hierarchies and a conservative social agenda, viewed militarism positively, and opposed feminism and gay and lesbian rights.

Right-wing women accept, sponsor, and actively promote many of these political ideas. They maintain essentialist ideas about what it means to be a woman or a man. They reject the notion that femininity and masculinity are socially constructed. Instead they believe that the biological differences between women and men define the roles, identities, personalities, and vocation of each sex. Far from viewing these set conceptions about women and men as limiting or oppressive, they accept them as just and as necessary to the smooth functioning of

society. Thus, being female means being a wife and a mother. Heterosexuality is the desired norm and homosexuality is an abhorrent aberration, a sin, or both. The heterosexual family constitutes the ideal realization of a woman's destiny; it is within this institution that she is fulfilled, spiritually, sexually, emotionally, and mentally. Because feminism challenges the belief that a person's sexual organs define that person's personality, identity, and function, most right-wing women reject it as an alien and dangerous philosophy.

Two other factors are key to understanding right-wing women. First, fear plays a powerful role in defining their political beliefs and personal identity. Fear is a potent emotion, and the ability to produce and manipulate it offers those in positions of power—or those hoping to obtain positions of power—enormous advantages. Many right-wing women respond to the personal and political fear they experience by calling for authoritarian measures and repressive governments. For example, women in Chile who feared the socialist government of Salvador Allende called for his overthrow and supported the installation of a military dictatorship. In a similar fashion, following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States a large number of women (and men) in this country supported military attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq, the erosion of civil liberties, and the use of torture. A second element that defines many right-wing women's attitudes is their construction of the enemy "Other," which for conservative Chilean women was the Communist and for many in the United States since 9/11 has been the terrorist, the Arab, or the Muslim. The element of fear and the construction of the enemy "Other" are powerful forces that coalesce to shape many right-wing women's worldview and guide their political decisions and actions.

RIGHT-WING WOMEN AND FASCISM

In the 1920s and 1930s, extreme right-wing forces came to power in Europe and gained support in the United States. Although popular images equate the Nazi Party in Germany or the U.S.-based Ku Klux Klan (KKK) with men, in fact women were active in both movements. Conservative women contributed to these fascist movements and to the Right in general because they successfully interpreted many women's grievances and longings and skillfully formulated a political agenda that reflected their realities, demands, and goals. Right-wing women's ability to incorporate women into these projects enhanced (and enhance) the capacity of right-wing parties or movements to implement their agendas and achieve their objectives.

Despite the fact that many Nazi Party leaders were openly misogynist (they viewed women fundamentally as breeders and considered them, at best, as second-class citizens), hundreds of thousands of German women joined the party, propagated its ideas, and carried out its program. They supported German nationalism, opposed the conditions of the Versailles Treaty that followed the German surrender at the end of World War I, considered Jews as vermin who were responsible for most of the nation's misfortunes, hated Communists, and rejected the liberated women of the 1920s because they challenged other women's ideas about femininity. They marched, attended rallies, campaigned,

and voted for the Nazi Party prior to its seizure of power in 1933. Women continued to support the party once it assumed national control, despite their exclusion from any real positions of power. They joined sewing circles where they studied *Mein Kampf,* or the Nazi-run Women's Bureau; provided a secure and serene home that belied the reality of Nazi brutality and (ideally) restored the soul and encouraged the fighting spirit of the German man; produced and raised children for the Third Reich; carried out charity work in their communities, in the service of the Nazi state; and turned a blind eye to the atrocities that their government carried out against other human beings. Their acquiescence and support contributed to the functioning of the Nazi state and, ironically, to their own treatment as inferior beings.

In the 1920s, close to half a million white women joined the U.S.-based Ku Klux Klan (out of a total membership of two or three million), at a time when the KKK was anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, and xenophobic, and preached white and male supremacy. Many women joined the Klan (and were confined to all-women's sections within it) because they believed that membership would serve to guarantee their rights as white Protestant women. These women believed that the radical Right offered them security and respect, as well as offering the vision of a racist society that ensured them a secure place within it. Klan women were very effective in conducting the organization's campaigns. They joined Klan marches, making them simultaneously family affairs and angry displays of racial hatred; prepared the picnic lunches that people ate as they watched black people being lynched; organized boycotts of stores owned by Jews or Catholics; voted for KKK or Klan-endorsed candidates in elections; and organized other white Protestant women to share their beliefs and join in their actions.

RIGHT-WING WOMEN AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

In 1945, World War II ended and the cold war began. Many women joined the anti-Communist crusade, both in the United States and around the world. Fighting Communism in the United States was linked to the family, which was defined as the basic unit of society and one of the most important defenses against Communist penetration of the country. Thus, many women in the United States believed that by performing their critical functions in the family they were at the same time contributing to the domestic fight against the Communist "other." As wives, they offered their husbands a secure, warm, and welcoming environment, a satisfying sexual relationship (to prevent him from straying and undermining the family), and confirmation of his role as breadwinner and head of the family. As mothers they maintained the unity and strength of their family, provided a nurturing and moral environment, and educated their children in patriotic and anti-Communist values.

Conservative Greek women also participated in the anti-Communist fight. After World War II, a civil war between the right-wing government, backed by the United States, and the Democratic Army, led by the Communist Party, took place. Right-wing women contributed to the government's victory by mounting a highly successful national and international campaign against Communists.

Claiming that Communists were abducting Greek children and sending them to Eastern bloc nations, these women, led by Queen Fredericka, the "mother of the nation," set up "childtowns" throughout Greece to house the children they had "saved from the Communists." Portraying themselves as mothers whose only concern was the preservation of the family, and by extension the nation, these women took their case to the United Nations and convinced that body that it must recognize their efforts to save the children and their nation by sponsoring the repatriation of the children. Their appeals served a dual purpose: to undercut support for the leftist forces and to vindicate the women's right to speak for the nation, not as politicians but as mothers.

Right-wing women marched in cities throughout Brazil in the name of motherhood and against Communism in 1964. Claiming that the elected government of João Goulart supported Communism and threatened democracy and religious freedom, they mobilized against his government, calling their protests the "March of the Family with Liberty for God." They supported Goulart's ouster by the military and, after his overthrow in April 1964, held marches to thank the armed forces for their (antidemocratic) actions.

RIGHT-WING WOMEN AND ANTI-FEMINISM

Many women welcomed the (re)emergence of the feminist movement in the United States, Europe, and globally in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and the changes it proposed and, in some cases, achieved; right-wing women did not. The feminist movement questioned many of the patriarchal values and practices that conservative women esteemed and relied on, and therefore it represented a threat that they mobilized to oppose. Feminists became the new "other," the source of fear and the target of right-wing women's oppositional campaigns. Conservative women organized to defend the "naturalness" of gender, the notion of separate gender spheres, the conflation of womanhood with motherhood, the heteronormative family, and heterosexual sexuality as the only legitimate form of sexuality.

In the United States, conservative women joined together to oppose reproductive rights for women and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Phyllis Schlafly (see sidebar, "Phyllis Schlafly") and the Eagle Forum convinced a large number of women that if the ERA passed they would lose the rights they had as women, along with the privileges they enjoyed as "ladies."

Antifeminism extended beyond the United States. In France in the 1990s, women in the right-wing National Front Party claimed they were liberating women from feminism, which, they claimed, worsened women's position by dissolving the heteropatriarchal family. Islamist women's repudiation of feminism is complex and reflects both their own position as (former) colonial subjects and their position as women who accept defined gender roles. Many Islamist women's opposition to feminism parallels their rejection of the West and their identification with Islam. (Islamism is a quintessentially political ideology and movement, dedicated to bringing about an Islamic regime that will rule by sharia [Islamic law] and thereby Islamizing the entire society. It is distinguished from

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

If any one person can be credited with the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1982, it is Phyllis Schlafly. Her success was due to the fact that she skillfully marshaled public opinion against the ERA and built an activist movement to oppose it. Schlafly spearheaded the national campaign against the passage of the ERA and devised much of the negative publicity about it. However, Schlafly's contributions to the conservative cause began much earlier and stemmed from her profoundly anti-Communist beliefs. In 1945 she worked as a researcher at the American Enterprise Association, now the conservative think tank called the American Enterprise Institute. She published *A Choice Not an Echo* (1964) to promote Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign and anti-Communism; although he lost the election, her book sold three million copies. She embodies the bridge between anti-Communism and anti-feminism. Angered by the rise of the women's liberation movement, she founded the Eagle Forum in 1975 to oppose it.

Schlafly is highly educated; she earned an undergraduate degree from Radcliffe and a law degree from Washington University. A tireless political activist and a prodigious writer, she has given dozens, sometimes hundreds, of speeches a year; written several books and numerous pamphlets; published a weekly column appearing in 100 newspapers; and edited the *Phyllis Schlafly Report.* A wife (now widow) and mother of six children, she advocates domesticity as women's natural calling in life, ignoring her own active political life. A firm believer in sex-based differences between men and women, Schlafly castigates the "women's liberationists" for denying the true nature of women and claims they are imprisoned by their own negative view of men, society, and themselves.

Schlafly's message fell on receptive ears. She convinced a large number of women, and men, that instead of women gaining rights, the ERA would cause women to lose the privileges they enjoyed. At a time when the draft and the Vietnam War were still fresh in people's minds, she scared women by telling them that the ERA would lead to the drafting of 18-year-old girls. Anti-ERA propaganda also horrified women by stating they would have to share public bathrooms with unknown (and presumably dirty and dangerous) men. These fear tactics worked, and in 1982 the states needed to ratify the ERA fell short by three; as a result, the ERA failed to pass, largely due to the efforts of Schlafly and the Eagle Forum.

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mainstream Islam, which eschews political ambitions.) Islamist women equate feminism with Western imperialism and a decadent, immoral, and ultimately insecure lifestyle.

One reflection of this approach has been seen in Turkey. In Turkey, conservative women lead the new veiling movement, which is the struggle to ensure Islamist women's right to wear the veil. These women reject the secular Turkish state that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk established in the 1920s and argue for their right to appear veiled in public and in Parliament. Instead of viewing the veil as a sign of oppression, these women see it as an affirmation of the golden age of the Islamic (Ottoman) Empire and a rejection of Western and secular norms of conduct. Donning the veil, according to these women, is a source of empowerment,

since it allows them to be intelligent, brave, chaste, productive, and virtuous women and to lead their lives through complete submission to Islam.

RIGHT-WING WOMEN AND TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Right-wing women from different nations have worked with each other, united by shared ideologies. During the cold war, anti-Communism inspired women to share ideas and resources. Today antifeminism plays much the same role, as was evidenced in the 1995 Women's Conference in Beijing. Conservative women who opposed the use of the word *gender,* fearing that it would open the door to the legalization of abortion and gay and lesbian rights, joined with the Vatican and Islamic fundamentalists to fight for a conservative social agenda for women.

One earlier example of transnational connections between anti-Communist women occurred following the military overthrow of João Goulart in Brazil in 1964. Leaders of the women's groups that had organized the anti-Goulart marches traveled to the United States in November 1964, invited by the U.S. State Department, to share the lessons of their success with women in this country. They traveled around the United States and spoke to women at Wellesley College, to the League for Women Voters, and to the 32nd National Convention of Catholic Women, telling them how they had built such a large and successful anti-Communist women's movement. Chilean women who opposed socialist Salvador Allende traveled to Brazil to speak with these Brazilian women about their work and to attend the 1967 conference the Brazilian women sponsored for anti-Communist women throughout the region.

CONCLUSION

Right-wing women have made and continue to make significant contributions to the causes they support. Far from being pawns of male leaders, they join the Right because they share its beliefs and want to advance its program. During much of the twentieth century, they opposed Communism, which they associated with the loss of religious and political freedoms. Today, with the demise of socialist governments, right-wing women oppose feminism and are active in antiabortion and anti–gay rights movements. They uphold ideas about women and men's fixed roles in society and oppose the questioning of gender roles that feminism presents. Frequently motivated by fear, they construct the enemy "other," against which they call on masculine institutions, the military or the state, to defend them.

See also Nationalism; Political Parties; Politics and Political Ideologies: Right-Wing Women; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Margaret Power

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SADOMASOCHISM, DOMINATION, AND SUBMISSION

In sadomasochism, traditional gender roles are often inverted or challenged through role playing. Debates concerning sadomasochism revolve around conceptions of gender socialization and sexuality, issues of power, and controversy concerning the fine line between sexual consent and sexual force or abuse.

BACKGROUND

Sadism refers to one's arousal being caused by dominating, humiliating, or inflicting pain on one's partner(s), while *masochism refers* to one's arousal caused by being submissive, controlled, or humiliated, or by receiving pain during sexual activity. In 1886, Krafft-Ebbing was the first person to define the terms *sadism* and *masochism,* in his book *Psychopathia Sexualis.* This book was intended to be a forensic reference work for doctors and judges that outlined and labeled specific perversions or sexual deviancies. The word *sadism* is believed to be derived from the name of a nineteenth-century Frenchman, the Marquis de Sade, whose books *Justine* and *120 Days of Sodom* caused a public outcry due to their depiction of torture and pain. The word *masochism* is believed to be derived from the name of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, who is infamous for portraying a beautiful woman dressed in furs with a whip as a symbol of strength in his book *Venus in Furs.* Sigmund Freud also had theories about sadomasochism. He believed that sadists were trapped in the anal stage of development and were attempting to control the parent figure. Freud believed that sadomasochism may be linked with childhood parental punishment and adult fantasies about punishment. Today, some people identify with the sadomasochist or S and M

movement as consenting adults. In contemporary sadomasochism, the idea is that as long as the behavior is chosen, is consensual, and doesn't undermine autonomy, that is, freedom and choice, then the act is not considered to be a threat (Sanchez, Kiefer, and Ybarra 2006). This sexual act is considered to be role play and can be stopped at any time by certain cues given by the partner that signal the dominating partner to either ease up on the act or stop the act completely.

MEN'S AND WOMEN'S EXPRESSIONS OF SEXUALITY

In heterosexual relationships in U.S. society, most men are socialized to express their sexuality by expressing desire, engaging frequently in sex, and trying new sexual activities. Men are shown to be highly aroused by both sexual fantasies and sexual behaviors. Women, on the other hand, are taught to play the more passive, submissive role in sexuality. Women who are sexually submissive display characteristics that show they are fearful of being sexually assertive, are unwilling to ask for what they desire, and/or believe that sexual satisfaction is tied to the man's arousal and orgasm but not their own (Tevlin and Leiblum 1983). Women are reluctant to express their sexual desires and are told to refrain from sex and to be hesitant about new sexual activities (Warshaw 1998). Women who are sexually assertive and dominant question these traditional sexual roles.

WOMEN AND MASOCHISM

Scholars debate why women might choose to engage in S and M. Recent research shows that many heterosexual women are unlikely to engage in masochistic activities due to their past experiences with rape and/or child abuse (Leitenberg and Henning 1995). A woman's smaller size and lack of physical strength may keep her from a sexual encounter that she may find to be risky. Women may also not be as aroused, because of the similarities they experience to past rape or child abuse. They may become conditioned to associate sexual submission with negative sexual arousal. Submission may then be correlated with unpleasant memories or flashbacks of past rape or abuse, thus making women uncomfortable when they feel they are not in control. On the other hand, some women have been conditioned to experience sexual arousal through sexual abuse. When they grow older, many women then correlate their sexual desires with the need for the man to be in control of the sexual activities.

WOMEN AND SADISM

Women who engage in sadistic, dominant activities are thought to be transgressing expected gender roles and men's expected use of power. The sadistic woman is considered the dominant one and the man is expected to play the passive role. According to some scholars, in extreme cases, some women use sadomasochism as a way to turn the tables on someone, such as a person who has abused them (Warren 2000). This power helps women to feel that they are controllers instead of victims.

Women's sexuality can spill over to other parts of their relationships where they may want control and/or power. This can be a concern for men, who like to assume the role of the dominant partner. This may also be of concern to women, since some researchers point out that the more successful a woman is, the less likely it is she will find a husband (Hewlett 2002).

CONCLUSION

If women play the passive role, are they letting society dictate that role? If women play the dominant role, are they transgressing traditional gender roles? For many heterosexual women, the argument for assuming a more aggressive gender role will continue. For many men, the argument for assuming a passive sexual role will also continue. Defining and recreating these sexual roles and deciding when painful sexual interplay constitutes force, abuse, or loving consent between partners will clearly be debated and questioned throughout the years to come.

See also Female Sexuality and Dysfunction; Femininities and Masculinities.

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Julie Nagoshi

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Same-sex marriage is a major civil rights issue that has been heavily debated on legal, political, moral, and religious grounds. Opposing views of personal rights, competing definitions of marriage and its purpose, and differing moral and religious beliefs on sexuality and gender are the driving forces behind this debate.

BACKGROUND

Same-sex marriage is one of the most hotly contested political issues in the twenty-first century. Quite possibly, no other social issue today has been more

passionately debated in churches, courtrooms, state houses, and living rooms across the nation. Since the mid-1980s, same-sex marriage has been debated as part of a broader legal discussion about the right to privacy among consenting adults. Opponents have drawn from a combination of legal and moral claims to argue that same-sex couples have no legitimate right to privacy. Supporters argue that same-sex couples deserve equal access to the institution of marriage under the law. The federal government continues to weigh in on the topic, although most legal experts support the idea that it is a states' rights concern. Schools, popular culture, health and religious institutions, families, and communities have all played important roles in shaping cultural perceptions about same-sex marriage and about homosexuality and sexual identity more generally. Gay celebrities such as Rosie O'Donnell, Melissa Etheridge, and Elton John have announced their weddings to the press, setting an important public precedent for other same-sex couples. While there is a great deal of disagreement among gay rights activists about the merits of marriage privileges for lesbians, gays, and bisexuals (LGB), many claim same-sex marriage as one of their primary goals. Opponents claim that marriage has been and should continue to be a sacred commitment exclusively between a man and a woman. The administrations of William J. Clinton (1992–2000) and George W. Bush (2000–present) have publicly supported legislation opposing same-sex marriage, and conservative religious sectors continue to oppose it and to oppose homosexuality more generally. Why the controversy? Why so much dissent within and among groups about the importance of securing or prohibiting same-sex marriage rights? Differing moral and religious beliefs about sexuality and gender, as well as divergent perspectives on the role of the state in regulating people's private lives, contribute to the controversy. While some claim that allowing same-sex marriage would contribute to the erosion of family values in the Unites States, proponents argue that same-sex marriage would help to establish equality under the law for gays and lesbians. Broadly speaking, public opinions about same-sex marriage and about the institution of marriage in general underscore broader debates on citizenship, religion, and what it means to be a "proper" American (Brandzel 2005).

LESBIAN ACTIVISTS DEL MARTIN AND PHYLLIS LYON MARRY IN SAN FRANCISCO

On February 12, 2004, Del Martin, 84, and Phyllis Lyon, 81, became the first legally married same-sex couple in U.S. history when, on his 12th day in office, Mayor Gavin Newsom of San Francisco, California, instructed the county clerk to allow same-sex marriages. Mayor Newsom interpreted the ban on same-sex marriages as being discriminatory and in violation of the equal protection clause in the California State Constitution. Martin and Lyon's legally sanctioned marriage was short-lived, as on August 12, 2004, the California State Supreme Court declared that Mayor Newsom did not have the legal authority to change the state marriage laws. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon had been intimate partners for over 50 years, and they founded the first national lesbian rights organization, Daughters of Bilitis, in 1955.

WHAT IS MARRIAGE?

Marriage rights include a range of laws and policies and involve legal as well as moral and religious dimensions. A civil marriage is typically a ritualized ceremony of commitment between two people to share a life together that is legally sanctioned by the state. The marriage license, issued by local government authorities, becomes a binding contract providing access to numerous government protections and benefits that ensure financial and social security for couples and their children if they choose to create a larger family unit. Marriage is considered a core institution in the United States and is often considered important for social well-being and stability. Over 1,000 federal laws and benefits are tied to marriage (Cahill 2004). Marriage is also considered a core institution in religious communities, and religious institutions are very often the places where civil marriages are performed, in conjunction with religious ceremonies based on church traditions. This intersection of church and state creates a contested terrain where conflicts arise on how marriage is defined, who has the right to define it, and ultimately who has the right to marry.

SUPPORTERS OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Many liberal ideologies view the right to marry as a basic civil right that is denied to same-sex couples based on discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals as a class of citizens. This view holds that marriage is a secular institution that should not be denied to any citizen who wishes to claim this right. The argument continues that the denial of the right to marry interferes with an individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and violates a person's right to equal protection under the law. The 1967 Supreme Court decision in *Loving et ux. v. Virginia* (U.S. Supreme Court, 388 U.S. 1, June 12, 1967), which found the laws banning interracial marriage to be unconstitutional, is often used in comparison to the banning of same-sex marriage today. Justine Warren wrote in the majority decision that "marriage is one of the basic civil rights of men [*sic*]" and that the freedom to marry is "one of the vital personal rights essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men [*sic*]."

While many gay rights activists support same-sex marriage, some believe that legalizing same-sex marriage would not in itself bring equality to gays and lesbians because it does not challenge the exclusionary nature of the institution of marriage or the state's role in regulating sexuality. For example, some scholars argue that marriage creates "selective legitimacy" as it necessarily privileges some couples over others and so, by definition, is discriminatory (Warner 1999). Others argue that there are other more important issues to address than same-sex marriage: hate crimes and antigay violence, job discrimination, social and economic policies that privilege heterosexual over gay families, and lack of access to healthcare are just some of the issues that create additional daily inequalities and hardships for lesbian, gay, and bisexual people according to this view (Warner 1999).

DEFENDERS OF TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE

More conservative ideologies view marriage as a fundamental institution protected by the state to support a union between a man and a woman. In this view, marriage is seen as an institution that furthers procreation, protects the rearing of children, ensures the caretaking of families based on traditional gender roles, and creates financial security for the stability of society (Sullivan 2004). Marriage is viewed in some religious traditions as an institution based in religious principles and ceremonies that do not support the right of same-sex couples to marry. Not all religious communities ban same-sex marriage, and heated debates have taken place within and among religious communities about their views and institutional policies on same-sex marriage. There is a lack of consensus on this issue. Currently, some large churches that support same-sex marriage include the United Church of Christ, the Unitarian Universalist Association, the Episcopal Church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The United Church of Christ has over a million members and is considered as the first major U.S. Christian denomination to support same-sex marriage (Glassman 2005). The case for denying same-sex marriage is often based in religious beliefs that view homosexuality as morally wrong and against biblical teachings. The Christian Coalition, one of the most powerful conservative lobbying organizations in the nation, has developed an explicit political agenda to counter the same-sex marriage movement. According to conservative Christians, allowing same-sex marriage is an attack on traditional Christian notions of "family values" and on the institution of marriage, an institution they perceive as already unstable due to high divorce rates, single-parent families, and pregnancy without marriage (Sullivan 2004).

STATE AND FEDERAL RESPONSES

Federal and state governments have played important roles in shaping the debate over same-sex marriage. It became a topic of significant national debate in 1993 when the Supreme Court of Hawaii in *Baehr v. Miike* (formerly known as *Baehr v. Lewin*) ruled that the denial of marriage licenses to same-sex couples was sex discrimination. This ruling fueled national fears that same-sex couples would marry in Hawaii and then return to their home states and expect their marriages to be recognized. In reality, states had the legal right to deny these marriages. The underlying debate was primarily a moral one about who should have the civil right to marry. Religious institutions wanted to maintain the power to decide this question for themselves and for society at large, and politicians began to see this as a possible wedge issue between conservatives and liberals to be exploited for political gain. As it turned out, same-sex marriages were never allowed in Hawaii because of a state constitutional amendment, passed after the ruling, that defined marriage as a union between a man and a woman. The ruling, however, set the stage for the national dialogue that continues until today.

Because of the Hawaii ruling and other cases that were making their way through state court systems, a few states began to pass legislation that defined

marriage as a union between a man and a woman. This type of legislation, known as "defense of marriage" legislation, continues to be pushed as a way to prevent same-sex marriage legislation from being passed. While the federal government had historically taken the position that marriage law was a states' rights issue, it decided to enter the dialogue. In 1996, the U.S. Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which President William J. Clinton (1992–2000) signed into law. DOMA defined marriage, for federal purposes, as a union between one man and one woman. It also allowed states not to recognize the marriage laws of other states that grant same-sex marriage. As same-sex marriage proponents pointed out, this second clause was not necessary, as states already had this right. At the time the federal Defense of Marriage Act was passed, no states allowed same-sex marriages. Nonetheless, following its enactment, a flood of states began passing their own state-level defense of marriage bills. Currently, 41 states have such laws. This appears to be a strong reaction to a hypothetical situation, but the passage of the Defense of Marriage Act represented the social sentiment that homosexuality is an illness, deviant and/or sinful, and that gay people do not deserve the right to marry. In addition, to further reinforce the legal protection of this sentiment, numerous states went on to amend their constitutions to define marriage as a union between one man and one woman. To date, 19 states have amended their constitutions (National Conference on State Legislatures 2006). Many states also have strong citizen movements organized to oppose these legislative initiatives.

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS

Thus far, two types of legal partnership frameworks have been proposed for same-sex couples: marriage and civil unions. Same-sex couples currently are denied the right to legally marry in every state except Massachusetts, although in some states they are allowed to form civil unions. The Massachusetts law came into effect in 2003, following the legal case brought by seven couples who were refused marriage licenses by city or town clerks and challenged the state law. In November 2003, *Goodridge v. Mass. Department of Public Health* (440 Mass. 309, 798 NE2d 941, November 18, 2003) was ruled on by the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The court ruled that the ban on same-sex marriage violated the state's constitution by denying due process and equal protection under the law to same-sex couples. The court argued that civil marriage is a government-created secular institution from which all citizens have a right to benefit, and that central to the state's legal definition of personal freedom and security is the assumption that the laws of the state will apply equally to all citizens. Based upon this ruling, the state legislature initially passed a "separate but equal" civil union law that conferred state rights and benefits on same-sex couples. Later, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that a "separate but equal" civil union created second-class citizenship and that it was not constitutionally acceptable. Rather, the court argued, only civil marriage would meet the standard set by the court. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first and only state (thus far) to grant same-sex couples the right to marry. Obtaining the right to marry in Massachusetts was a historic moment for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB)

people and their supporters. For the first time ever, same-sex couples had equal legal status with heterosexual couples and this was seen as a civil rights victory by supporters of same-sex marriage rights.

However, the backlash from the Massachusetts decision is significant and continues today. Many same-sex marriage opponents fear that a case may someday be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court that will universally overturn the ban on same-sex marriage. As a result of this decision, President George W. Bush and other conservative politicians are calling for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to further define marriage as a union between one man and one woman. In January 2005, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee passed a resolution to amend the federal Constitution. In the spring 2006, First Lady Laura Bush indicated in public statements that she does not believe a constitutional amendment defining marriage between a man and a woman should be used as a campaign strategy in the mid-year election cycle, illuminating how significant a wedge issue same-sex marriage is between conservative and liberal politicians and their supporters. At the same time, the majority leader of the Senate, Republican Bill Frist, called for a debate of the full Senate on the constitutional amendment resolution. He claims that an amendment to the U.S. Constitution is important in order to stop the attack on marriage by "activist judges" who are overturning defense of marriage laws in states. Although such a resolution has not yet progressed through Congress at the time of writing, President Bush and other conservative politicians and religious sectors continue to support it.

Opposition to same-sex marriage also continues at the state level, where there has been a significant push to amend state constitutions to define marriage as a union between a man and a woman. In some cases, these amendments also void domestic partnership laws. Currently, 19 states have successfully amended their constitutions: a victory for opponents of same-sex marriage who fear that the institution of marriage will deteriorate if marriage rights are extended to gay and lesbian couples. Proponents of same-sex marriage point out that the "defense of marriage" laws have had unintended consequences for same-sex as well as heterosexual couples. For example, in the state of Ohio, the constitutional amendment effectively banned same-sex marriage and all domestic partnership arrangements in the state. This more encompassing attack made void, among other things, domestic violence laws that protected intimate partners in

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE VERSUS CIVIL UNIONS

May 17, 2004, marked a historic day in the expansion of civil rights for same-sex couples when the first legally sanctioned marriages were performed in the state of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts State Supreme Court ruled in November 2003 that the laws prohibiting same-sex couples from marrying violated the state constitution. Seven couples had sued for the right to marry. Massachusetts is the only state that currently allows same-sex couples to marry. State Supreme Court decisions in Vermont and Connecticut require same-sex couples to have access to the same benefits that married couples are given. Those states created a "separate but equal" status called a civil union.

nonmarital relationships and domestic partner laws and policies for heterosexual couples. Seven additional states currently have amendments to ban same-sex marriage on their ballots.

CONCLUSION

The debate over same-sex marriage will likely continue into the foreseeable future. It is difficult to determine what the outcome will be in the legal and public policy arenas. To date, most state and federal legislation continues to ban same-sex couples from marrying. Only one state has granted the right to marry and perhaps one or two more will grant this right in the near future. While numerous municipalities (over 60) have set up domestic partnership registries that offer recognition to same-sex and opposite-sex partners, states play the leading role in making major public policy decisions in this area. At the same time, federal politicians opposing same-sex marriage continue to push for more significant federal action. namely, amending the U.S. Constitution. While Americans have increasingly shown more support for same-sex marriage in general population surveys, the votes still show a very divided public on the issue. However, the majority of Americans do not feel that the U.S. Constitution should be amended to ban same-sex marriage. And so the debate continues.

See also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Movements; Queer; Sexual Identity and Orientation; Sexual Orientation and the Law.

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Stephanie Brzuzy

SECOND AND THIRD WAVE FEMINISMS

The twentieth century saw the emergence of three "waves" of the feminist movement in the United States; while the first wave focused on the goal of suffrage for women, the second and third waves have focused on a wider range of issues, including women's rights to sexual self-determination and gender expression, freedom from violence, access to institutions, pay equity, feminist cultural projects, and women's health issues. Participants in the second and third waves often disagree about the origins of women's oppression and the strategies feminists should use to address gender and sexual inequality.

WHAT IS FEMINISM?

What is feminism? Both formal and popular definitions, as well as positive and negative definitions, have circulated across the three waves of the women's movement. Early-twentieth-century activist Rebecca West quipped, "I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat" (1913). Second wave feminists Cheris Kramerae and Paula Treichler circulated a definition of feminism as "the radical notion that women are human beings" in their 1997 *Feminist Dictionary.* A detractor, the evangelical minister Pat Robertson, at the 1992 Republican National Convention, opined that "the feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians" (Robertson 1992). While one classic second wave description of feminism defines it as "a movement to achieve the social, political, and economic equality of women with men," one pair of third wave writers refers to feminists as including "each and every politically and socially conscious woman or man who works for equality within or outside the movement, writes about feminism, or calls her- or himself a feminist" (Baumgardner and Richards 2000). These writers also elaborate on the definition of feminism by drawing attention to the fact that there is no singular "women's experience" but that gender is shaped by its intersections with systems of race, sexuality class, ability, nationality, and other forms of social hierarchy: "because 'women' is an all encompassing term that includes middle-class white women, rich black lesbians, and working-class straight Asian women, an organic intertwining with movements for racial and economic equality, as well as gay rights, is inherent to the feminist mandate. Some sort of allegiance between women and men is also an important component of equality. After all, equality is a balance between the male and female with the intention of liberating the individual" (Baumgardner and Richards 2000).

SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

The second wave of the women's movement in the United States emerged in the context of what sociologists call a "cycle of protest." As a result of a complex combination of demographics, politics, and economics, a number of movements for social change in the United States emerged from the late 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s (Rupp and Taylor 1990). These movements included the civil rights movement, the anti–Vietnam war movement, the free love movement, the gay liberation movement, and the women's movement, also known as the women's liberation movement or feminist movement. Many early women's liberation activists learned movement politics, theory, and strategy in other movements, including the civil rights movement; their experiences in these movements, however, also helped them to develop a critical consciousness about the status of women in society and even in these radical movements, in which many felt relegated to secondary status because of their sex (Evans 1980). Increasingly frustrated by their own sense of oppression within so-called progressive movements for social change, radical women activists began to organize around issues of concern to women.

Second wave feminists often deployed the motto "the personal is political" to draw attention to the power imbalances between men and women in interpersonal relationships, the domestic sphere, and the workplace (Morgan 1970). From a feminist perspective, "politics" had been previously limited to considerations of events in the public sphere, mostly a male domain, while power imbalances at home were seen as private, domestic problems. Second wave feminists used a methodology called consciousness raising to help make clearer the systematic oppression of women. By creating consciousness-raising groups, spaces in which women gathered to share their personal experiences, second wave feminists began to make apparent the systematic nature of dynamics previously considered personal and idiosyncratic: domestic violence, sexual exploitation, dissatisfaction within marriage, sexual harassment, workplace inequalities, and sexual assault all became more visible as women shared their stories and came to understand that these experiences were (a) not unique or individual and (b) served systematically to limit women's mobility, autonomy, equality, and power (Richardson 1987).

LIBERAL VERSUS RADICAL FEMINISM

Second wave feminists devised a wide array of strategies for addressing the concerns of the movement. The second wave may be conceptually divided into two branches or streams: the liberal and the radical. While the media and anti-feminists often bandied about the phrase "militant radical feminist" to discredit women's movement activists, even radical feminists were rarely militant, in the conventional sense of the word—though this description of them indicates the anxiety their presence caused to nonfeminists. Radical feminism sought directly to address root causes of the oppression of women, often working to design alternatives to existing systems. Liberal feminists, on the other hand, worked within

existing institutional systems, operating under the assumption that the institutions themselves were not irredeemable, simply exclusive of women; within that framework, the goal was not to replace or transform existing institutions but to give women equal access to them or to address women's needs within them.

The example of violence against women provides an interesting opportunity to illustrate the difference between liberal and radical feminist approaches. Although feminists from both liberal and radical perspectives analyzed violence against women as a systematic form of men's social control of women, their activism around sexual and domestic violence took different directions. Liberal feminists worked to reform laws so that domestic and sexual violence became seen as crimes punishable by law; they also worked to establish battered women's shelters and rape crisis centers that provided support, respite, and intervention for women who had been sexually assaulted or otherwise violently victimized by men. While radical feminists appreciated the value and impact of these efforts, they also criticized them as insufficient. From a radical feminist perspective, the liberal approaches did little to prevent men's violence against women or to eradicate it from society; instead, they seemed to treat men's violence as a given and merely offer support to women unfortunate enough to experience it, after they had been violated.

Radical feminists took the position that violence against women must end and explored ways to pursue that vision. Women in the feminist self-defense movement, for example, learned and then taught other women how to defend themselves against attack, thereby preventing or reducing their vulnerability. They advocated for and developed educational programming designed to teach young people how to resolve conflicts nonviolently, as well as programming designed for men around ending the "rape behaviors" frequently taught to boys as part of their sexual socialization. Whereas liberal feminism addressed the problem in the context of existing institutions, radical feminism advocated the prevention of sexual assault and domestic violence as the most powerful response to the inculcation of fear in women through the use or threat of physical force.

Because of their commitment to creating feminist alternatives to existing institutions, radical feminists of the second wave founded a wide range of programs, services, and cultural institutions dedicated to supporting women and women's work. For example, in response to the exclusion of women writers by mainstream publishing houses, second wave feminists founded women's presses and women's bookstores, a move that pressured mainstream presses and bookstores to carry women's books, once they recognized their profitability. Second wave feminists started recording companies, auto mechanics' shops, community centers, and "women's lands"—large parcels of land owned, occupied, and maintained by women. Second wave feminists founded *Ms. Magazine,* which has now served as an extremely powerful voice in the women's movement for four decades.

Liberal feminists concurrently worked to make established institutions—in education, government, the law, religion—recognize women as full, equal participants. They accomplished legal reform in the areas of educational access, athletics, employment, and family law, as well as in religious institutions, which

have increasingly recognized women in leadership roles and have revised their liturgies and religious laws to make them more feminist friendly.

Closely related to both the liberal and the radical branches of the women's movement was the emergence of women's studies as an academic discipline. Feminists developed a thorough critique of the ways in which Western scholarship ignored women's interests, women's perspectives, women's scholarship, women's writing, and women's research. In addressing this problem, women scholars within traditional disciplines began the processes of drawing attention to the ways in which women and women's work had been ignored, erased, or exploited by male academics, and to ways of making that work visible. More radically, scholars began to institutionalize a new "interdiscipline" devoted explicitly to the multidimensional analysis of women. By working both within established disciplines and in the new field of women's studies, feminist scholars changed the shape of knowledge and knowledge production, as well as the representation of women in higher education, in a few brief decades.

DIFFERENCE FEMINISM VERSUS SAMENESS FEMINISM

In addition to conceptualizing second wave feminism along the liberal-radical continuum, it is possible to understand second wave feminism along another axis—that of "difference feminism" versus "sameness feminism." Much second wave activism centered on achieving the same rights for women as those enjoyed by men—hence, "sameness." People who use a sameness perspective argue that all citizens in a democratic society should have access to the same resources, opportunities, and rights, regardless of sex, gender, sexual identity, race, class, ability, or other forms of difference.

"Difference" feminists argued that to advocate that women be treated the same as men was (a) to set the movement's sights too low; (b) to allow men's interests to set the terms of women's achievements; and (c) to ignore real differences between men and women that reflect both biology and socialization. From this perspective, women are best served by the recognition of uniquely female needs they may have, and by activism focused on meeting those needs. For example, in the area of childbirth, difference feminists argue that women should be given extended maternity leave after the birth of a child, no matter what benefits are available to men. The intersection of these two perspectives has resulted in some interesting policy changes—for example, recognizing that women have the need for job protection and leave time after giving birth (difference) has resulted in gender-neutral policies that also allow men leave time after the birth of a child (sameness).

FEMINISM AND SEXUALITY

Lesbianism figured prominently in the discourses generated by and about the second wave women's movement. Playing on deeply entrenched homophobia in U.S. society, people hoping to discredit the women's movement frequently referred to feminist activists as "militant dykes." This stereotype, designed to

provoke anxiety, has persisted to the present, as the Reverend Pat Robertson's Republican National Convention invective illustrates.

"Lesbian baiting" created a challenge for second wave feminists: on one hand, to acknowledge that many women did discover an erotic connection with other women in the movement would add fuel to this particular fire designed to discredit the movement; on the other hand, if the movement itself denied women's right to form social and sexual relationships with other women, it ran the risk of hypocrisy as well as the risk of creating divisions between lesbians and heterosexual women within the movement. While feminist scholars developed a well-considered critique of compulsory heterosexuality, feminist activists continued to experience difficult choices about when to make lesbian issues prominent and when to de-emphasize them.

Lesbians, of course, played a critical role in the second wave. Although the phrase "women-loving-women" has been challenged as a description of lesbianism by subsequent generations, lesbians of the second wave used this conceptualization of themselves to support the emergence of a wide range of thinking about feminist ethics and practices. The women's movement empowered many women to "come out" as lesbians; it also challenged lesbians who had been out during the 1950s to reconceptualize lesbian gender. As the women's movement critiqued traditional male-female roles in heterosexual relationships, it also examined how the dynamics of heteropatriarchy shaped butch-femme roles among lesbians, roles that were common in many lesbian communities at the time. Younger lesbian activists rejected butch-femme roles in large part, preferring to adopt a model of androgyny that combined elements of conventional masculinity and femininity (a model that would be revisited by the third wave of feminist activists). Among lesbians of the second wave there were also "political lesbians." Although many political lesbians were women whose primary sexual attraction was to men, their political conviction that giving attention, support, and "energy" to men was contrary to the goal of ending male dominance inspired them to create primary relationships with women instead of with men.

SECOND WAVE FEMINISM AND RACE

Issues of race and class figured significantly in the feminist theorizing of the second wave. Many of the earliest activists in the second wave women's movement had earned their activist credentials in the civil rights movement, and therefore had a connection to issues of concern for women of color (Evans 1980). Theorizing by women of color themselves made clear their unique position—marginalized as people of color in the women's movement, and as women in the civil rights and black power movements (Davis 1983). From this unique speaking position, feminist theorists of color in the second wave were able to deepen the women's movement's analysis of inequality. For example, such theorizing made clear that while white women were oppressed by white men, they also often benefited from white privilege and had a history of actively engaging in the exploitation and oppression of people of color. Women of color who theorized

SECOND WAVE FEMINIST STRATEGIES: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

A central concern of second wave feminism was the issue of violence as a systematic means to control women. Through consciousness-raising groups, women shared their experiences of male violence and began to articulate a collective understanding of domestic violence as a *means* of social control: through the use of force or threats of force, men in relationships with women pressure them to live in fear. Because of women's economic dependence on men, women's choices for leaving battering relationships are often limited. When women try to address this issue through increasing their educational achievement, employment status, and income, or by leaving the relationship, they are prevented from doing so by male partners' use of violence.

Looking closely at battering relationships, psychologist Lenore Walker was able to identity the three stages of violence relationships and to argue that such relationships follow a predictable cycle: tension-building, battering, contrition. Following an acute battering incident, batterers show remorse and promise never to be violent again, in an effort to convince their victimized partners to stay. When the partner agrees to stay, a new tension-building phase begins, lasting until it culminates in another acute battering incident. In addition to the structural constraints of economic inequality, the intermittently positive interactions between the batterer and victim, as well as common beliefs about women's obligations to husbands, children, and the domestic sphere, discourage women from leaving battering relationships.

from a lesbian speaking position further enriched feminist thinking by examining the complexities of sexuality between women across the lines of social difference and challenging lesbian feminists to develop a critical race consciousness as a means to ending male dominance, infused as it is in this society with race privilege and heterosexism (Lorde 1984).

THIRD WAVE FEMINISM

Although many historical developments lead to the emergence of a movement, some stand as signal events. For the women's liberation movement of the 1970s, one of those was the 1968 Miss America beauty pageant, at which women staged a protest centered on a ritual bra burning. For the third wave, such a moment came on the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1991, when Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill came forward with allegations of sexual harassment against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, for whom she had worked years earlier. Hill recounted, in detailed, sworn, televised testimony, in front of a riveted audience of millions of U.S. citizens, the graphic details of Thomas's alleged sexual misconduct toward her. Thomas denied her allegations and called the proceedings a "high tech lynching." When the Senate confirmed Thomas as a Supreme Court Justice despite Hill's testimony, a generation of women came to political consciousness. Despite the advances women had made in the 1970s and 1980s, it was clear that sexual harassment was still regarded by the men in power in the U.S. political machinery as irrelevant.

The Hill-Thomas controversy challenged the complacency of a generation of young women who had been raised in the most feminist environment in the nation's history, and who had assumed, based on their socialization, that women and men were equal. The hearings created a national conversation on sexual harassment, and inspired many women to document and report the unwanted sexual experiences they endured in their workplaces. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission filings of sexual harassment cases more than doubled, from 6,127 in 1991 to 15,342 in 1996, while financial awards to victims increased from $7.7 million to $27.8 million (Center for History and New Media 1996).

Attention to and action on sexual harassment in the workplace, however, also inspired third wave interest in electoral politics:

> Another repercussion of the Hill-Thomas controversy was the increased involvement of women in politics. The media heralded the 1992 election year as the "Year of the Woman" when a record number of women ran for public office and won. In the U.S. Senate, eleven women ran and five won seats—including one incumbent candidate. In the House of Representatives, twenty-four women won new seats. Many commentators saw this increase as a direct reaction to the Thomas nomination. His appointment dismayed many women, who felt that Anita Hill's allegations were not taken seriously by a Senate that was 98% male. (Center for History and New Media 1996)

The abeyance period between the heyday of the second wave of the women's movement and the third wave of feminist activism in the United States was shorter than that between the first and second waves (Rupp and Taylor 1990). As a result, many activists who participated in late second wave activities have been active in the cultural and intellectual work of the third wave. Many third wave women are also daughters of second wave feminists, and have been raised in environments infused with feminist consciousness as it was articulated by the second wave. Indeed, Rebecca Walker, who popularized the phrase "the third wave" is the daughter of black feminist writer Alice Walker.

Third wave feminism continues to articulate concerns about many of the issues significant to second wave women: violence against women, reproductive freedom, and sexual self-determination figure prominently in the writings of third wave women. In addition, women of the third wave have worked to further expand definitions of gender and practices around the presentation of the gendered self. Often embracing a radical indeterminacy relative to both gender and sexuality, many third generation women prefer to define themselves as bisexual rather than as heterosexual or gay. to preserve a sense of sexual possibility. Many third wave thinkers embrace the possibility of expressing gender in ways that transcend conventional notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as the second wave's notion of androgyny, and accept the possibility of combining new forms of gender expression with sexuality to create innovative social categories referencing both gender and sexuality.

Third wave feminist perspectives reflect a social milieu in which sex and gender have become even more complex since the emergence of second wave feminist theory and women's studies. Throughout the 1990s (Kessler 1998), academics

and activists drew attention, for example, to the situation of intersexed children, whose bodies incorporate features of both biological masculinity and biological femininity. Academics and activists have both challenged the long-standing practice of the medical profession of surgically reconstructing such children as biological males or biological females shortly after birth; as a result, more intersexed children are being allowed to follow their natural developmental pathways until they are old enough to decide whether to live as men, women, or intersexed people. Third wave feminists acknowledge the diversity of sexes possible among human beings.

Mirroring the recognition of additional categories on a sexual continuum is the third wave understanding of gender as exceeding a simple masculine/feminine binary. Among third wave feminists there are increasing numbers of transgendered people, people whose gender presentation incorporates elements of both masculinity and femininity, or whose gender presentation differs from people's expectations of their biological sex. While second wave feminists critiqued rigid gender roles and often adopted various forms of androgyny, they were often critical of and hostile to male-to-female transsexuals, whom they criticized as reinforcing stereotypes of sex and gender by adopting hyperfeminine forms of gender presentation or continuing to use male privilege following their surgical transitions. Third wave feminists have embraced the possibility of people crossing over the gender divide, as well as the prospect of people living out or "performing" gender in ways that are ambiguous within this cultural context.

Third wave feminists further recognize ambiguity and indeterminacy in the area of sexuality. While claiming bisexual identity was anathema to many second wave feminists, who regarded it as reflecting a woman's inability to commit to loving other women fully, bisexual identity has become institutionalized over the course of the 1990s, making it a common and commonly accepted identity marker for women of the third wave, who often express the opinion that bisexuality is a more flexible and inclusive way of describing sexuality and is therefore more consistent with the feminist goal of sexual egalitarianism.

Second wave feminist scholars used the activist tool of consciousness raising and the academic resources of social science research to articulate a feminist speaking position and capture the systematic oppression and exploitation of women in workplaces, education, government, politics, the academy, and domestic life. A powerful tool in drawing attention to inequalities between men and women, scholarship that directly and simply addresses "women's situation" also sometimes neglects the complexities of difference among women. Third wave feminist scholarship, in the recently emerged disciplines of queer studies, post colonial studies, and so forth, emphasizes these very differences. In a challenge to both nonfeminist and feminist scholars who are prone to talking about "women" as a category, third wave feminists are deeply interested in the ways in which the differences among members of any particular category complicate conceptualizations of their locations in society. Like their second generation feminist forebears who were concerned with "gender, race, and class," third wave feminists have explored these forms of difference while also asking questions about diversity within the categories of sex, gender, race, and sexual identity themselves.

While nonfeminist and feminist scholars of previous generations have spoken generally about black women, for example, third wave scholars have criticized generalizations that do not reflect both the biological indeterminacy of race and the multiracial histories of most women who are considered black. Using this epistemological approach, third wave feminist scholarship expands the nuances of understanding regarding the language of social categories. At the same time, such understandings create challenges in the process of devising antiracist, antisexist strategies for social change; if it is impossible to identify a common experience or unified speaking position, it also becomes less possible to advocate for social change that will benefit the members of a particular group.

Despite having these differences with second wave feminists, third wave women have continued to carry on work in areas addressed by previous generations of activists. In the area of sexual violence, third wave women have continued to organize feminist "Take Back the Night" marches, and have extended community awareness of violence against women by enthusiastically staging Eve Ensler's (2002) edgy *Vagina Monologues* in fundraising events to support violence prevention/intervention initiatives across the country. Third wave women have also continued the struggle to secure women's employment access and pay equity, women's rights to sexual self-determination, including the right to abortion and contraception, and women's educational success.

Many third wave women were raised by feminist parents and educated by feminist teachers in environments that gave girls the message that they could be or do anything they wanted to be or do, unlike second wave feminists who were raised with a clear awareness of the limitations girls and women faced in employment, education, sports, politics, and culture. As a result, many third wave feminists come to consciousness as feminists comparing the ideal that "girls are as good as boys" with the real practices they encounter in the wider world, in which women are still underrepresented in politics, underpaid in the employment sector, objectified in popular culture, and harmed by sexual assault and domestic violence. Because of

THIRD WAVE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON SEXUALITY AND POWER

Issues of sexuality and violence against women continue to be important concerns for third wave women activists and scholars. Leora Tanenbaum's 2007 book, *Slut! Growing Up Female with a Bad Reputation,* documents in painstaking detail the ways in which a "sexual double standard" for men's and women's sexuality still prevails in the United States, especially among adolescents. Tanenbaum shares stories of young women whose lives have been made intensely painful by rumor, gossip, and innuendo that describes them as sexually active or available—independent of their actual sexual behavior. Girls and women who abstain from sex with men may be labeled "sluts" in retaliation, as may women who date boys another woman is interested in. Women who are sexually active may also be labeled "sluts," or may be coerced into unwanted sexual behavior by men who threaten so to label them. Men, by comparison, do not often suffer from sexual stigmatization because of either their actual or their reputed sexual behavior.

the institutionalization of feminist ideals, if not the institutionalization of feminist practices, nearly 70 percent of respondents in popular polls "agree with" feminist statements such as "women should be paid the same as men for doing the same work," although substantially fewer actually call themselves feminists. For third generation women, politicization often occurs when the now taken-for-granted ideals of feminism fail to correspond with their lived realities. In that breach, the work of activist third wave feminist women (and men) begins.

See also Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Postmodernist and Post-structuralist Feminisms; Third World and Women of Color Feminisms.

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Amber Ault

SELF-INJURY AND BODY IMAGE

Self-injury tends to be associated with young women and girls, whereas injuring others is associated with young men and boys. Both behaviors may be understood as forms of gendered violence, directed outward for men and boys and inward for women and girls. While boys learn to act *through* their bodies with physical violence, girls learn to act *on* their bodies with self-inflicted violence.

BACKGROUND

Adolescence and young adulthood are rife with both physiological trans-formations (for example, puberty) and social transitions (for example, chang-ing schools, shifting orientation from family to peers) that young people often experience as distressful. However, there is evidence suggesting that the ways people respond to this distress are gendered. Specifically, girls and women are more likely to direct their distress inward, taking it out on themselves, while boys and men are more likely to direct their distress outward, taking it out on others. This can be seen in the higher rates of other-directed violence among boys and young men and higher rates of eating disorders and self-injury among young women.

Of these responses to distress, self-injury has only recently received attention from the media and scientific communities, increasing public attention and de-bate about the topic. First and foremost, these debates center on the definition of self-injury. Currently, most researchers view self-injury as some type of deliber-ate harm to one's own body without conscious suicidal intent. However, defini-tions of the behavior vary greatly in terms of social acceptability, severity, and frequency. For example, some researchers include such behaviors as interfering with wound healing (that is, picking at scabs) and nail biting in their definition, while others specify much more severe and stigmatized behaviors such as self-castration and bone breaking. Additionally, some researchers focus on repetitive self-injurious behaviors, such as head banging or self-hitting, particularly among people who are differently abled. Finally, researchers even disagree about what to call the behavior. While "self-injury" is probably the most common term used, other terms include cutting, deliberate self-harm, self-abuse, self-injurious be-havior (SIB), self-mutilation, and suicidal or parasuicidal behavior.

In addition to disagreement about how to define self-injury, there is also dis-agreement about who engages in self-injury and how common it is. Estimates of the prevalence of self-injury vary from less than 1 percent to 4 percent in the general population, and from 15 to 35 percent among adolescent and college-aged samples (Briere and Gil 1998; Favazza 1996; Gratz 2003; Laye-Gindhu and Schonert-Reichl 2005; Whitlock, Powers, and Eckenrode 2006). These differ-ences are mostly due to the fact that there are no nationally representative data on self-injury, so most samples are small or highly specific (for example, stu-dents sampled in a university class). Also, while most research has focused on self-injury among white women in the United States, there is a growing body of research on self-injury among other racial groups and in other countries, par-ticularly among Asian women (see Bhardwaj 2001, and Marshall and Yazdani 1991, on self-harm among Asian women; Kinyanda et al., 2005, on self-harm in Uganda). Additionally, there is some research suggesting that self-injury is more prevalent among gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (Adler and Adler 2005; Alex-ander and Clare 2004, Whitlock, Powers, and Eckenrode 2006) as well as among prison populations. One of the few consistencies across most studies is that self-injury typically begins during adolescence or young adulthood and tends to persist for an average of 10 to 15 years, though it may continue for decades

TALKING ABOUT IT: SELF-INJURY ONLINE

A 2006 study by Whitlock, Powers, and Eckenrode identified over 400 online message boards dedicated to the topic of self-injury, with girls and women between the ages of 12 and 20 visiting the boards more than men. The study found that these message boards provide a relatively anonymous forum for self-injurers to share personal stories and problems, voice opinions and ideas, and give and receive support—all of which may be particularly helpful for adolescents and young adults who may have no one else to confide in. However, the study also found that some message boards may encourage self-injury when, for example, they provide instructions for new self-injury techniques or promote self-injury as a pleasurable, painless behavior.

(Favazza 1996; Muehlenkamp 2005). However, there is some research indicating that self-injury may be likely in some elderly populations, due in part to higher rates of depression and isolation (Dennis et al. 2005).

For the most part, media depictions of self-injury paint it as a uniquely adolescent and female problem, as evidenced by movies such as *Thirteen* and *Girl, Interrupted,* as well as talk shows such as *Oprah* featuring only female guests who self-injure (Brickman 2004). Yet, because there are no nationally representative data on the prevalence of self-injury, it is unclear to what extent women really *are* likely to self-injure, or if it is a media myth. While a few clinical and community studies have shown that self-injury is as common among men as it is among women (Briere and Gil 1998; Gratz 2003), other studies show that self-injury is less common among men and may be carried out differently among men as well. For example, a study of 2,875 students at Cornell and Princeton found that 17 percent had self-injured at some point in their lives, and females were about 1.5 times as likely as males to be repeat self-injurers (Whitlock, Powers, and Eckenrode 2006). Additionally, females were more than twice as likely as males to scratch or cut themselves, while males were almost three times as likely as females to punch an object. This difference in the method of injuring reflects a bigger pattern: women and girls may be more likely to act on their bodies, for example, by cutting or scratching themselves with an object, while men and boys may be more likely to act through their bodies, whether by punching some*one* else or by punching some*thing* else.

SELF-INJURY AS GENDERED VIOLENCE

Whether inflicted through punching an object or punching, cutting, scratching, or burning oneself, self-injury can be seen as a form of violence toward oneself and one's body. For instance, James Gilligan (2004) defines violence as

> the infliction of physical injury on a human being by a human being, whether oneself or another, especially when the injury is lethal, but also when it is life-threatening, mutilating, or disabling; and whether it is

caused by deliberate, conscious intention or by careless disregard and unconcern for the safety of oneself or others. (6)

This somewhat broad definition of violence differs from more traditional definitions because, although it is limited to physical injury, it includes the act of injuring oneself. Self-injury, according to this definition, is a form of violence, whether or not the self-injurer interprets it as such. Self-injury meets all of Gilligan's qualifications: it involves the infliction of physical injury on a human being by a human being (oneself), it is mutilating and sometimes life threatening, and it is done by "deliberate, conscious intention." Viewing self-injury as a form of violence allows us to compare it to the other-directed or "outward" forms of violence more common among men.

James Messerschmidt's study of adolescent boys' violence toward others in *Nine Lives* (2000) is a particularly useful reference. In this book, Messerschmidt considers the social settings—such as family, school, neighborhood, and even one's own body—that influence and are influenced by violence. He also takes an explicitly gendered approach to violence, arguing that social settings also influence and are influenced by gender. In other words, one's family, one's school, and even the larger society (for example, the media) influence how we define masculinity and femininity, and how we behave according to these definitions. From this perspective, gender is not just about one's biological "male" or "female" status, but instead it is something that we "do" in everyday social interactions, including how we walk and talk, dress, sit, and eat, and even how we do violence.

In *Nine Lives,* Messerschmidt argues that boys are not violent by nature, but they are more likely to become violent if they have been in social settings that define sexually and/or physically fighting back as *the* appropriate expression of masculinity or *the* best way to "be a man." For instance, John, a young man who experienced severe sexual abuse at the hands of his father, learned that "dominating someone sexually" was "what a male just did" (37). On the other side of the coin, Sam came from a nonviolent home but was abused by peers at school because of his body size and shape (short and overweight). Lacking the physical resources to fight back, he instead made up for the masculinity threats at school by sexually assaulting the young girls he babysat. As these cases illustrate, the masculinity "lessons" do not come from just one source but can grow out of any one or more of a variety of settings—family, school, neighborhood, or even one's own body.

Within this framework, self-injury can be seen a form of violence that stems from a variety of social sources. Furthermore, self-injury may be as gendered as other forms of violence. While lessons in masculinity taught the boys in Messerschmidt's study to inflict violence on others, lessons in femininity lead some women (and fewer men) to inflict violence on themselves. Girls and women learn from various social settings—the media, family, school, peers—that they are "inferior" and some women and girls take this out on themselves and their bodies (Brown 2003). This self-inflicted violence is manifested in the various body projects women and girls engage in, from restrictive dieting to starving oneself, and from piercing to cutting (Jacobs Brumberg 1997). Whereas boys

SELF-INJURY AWARENESS, PREVENTION, AND TREATMENT

- Awareness of self-injury is increasing, as evidenced by the movement for a Self Injury Awareness Day, set for March 1 of every year, on which people may promote awareness by wearing an orange ribbon.
- As awareness increases, prevention becomes easier. First and foremost, self-injurers may be best served by being listened to and encouraged rather than stigmatized or ignored. Building allies in communities and schools, raising awareness, and promoting a sense of power among young people—particularly young women—are all essential steps toward prevention.
- Treatment for self-injury is available in many places, in many forms. The SAFE (Self Abuse Finally Ends) program supports a national hotline: 1–800-DONTCUT. There are also many therapists, counselors, and other mental health professionals who specialize in treating self-injury. Visit http://www.selfinjury.com for more information.

learn to act *through* their bodies with physical violence, girls learn to act *on* their bodies with self-inflicted violence.

CONTROL, BODY IMAGE, AND SOCIETAL MESSAGES

Why are girls and women more likely to act *on* their bodies? Some argue that control is at the center of the picture. Like many self-injurers, some of the boys in Messerschmidt's study had been physically, sexually, and/or emotionally abused at home or at school, resulting in a sense of helplessness and lack of control. In turn, they sought and gained a sense of control by physically and sexually assaulting others, often people whom they viewed as weaker (for example, girls and younger boys). But girls and women sometimes view themselves as weaker or inferior as well, and so instead of trying to control those who are more powerful (that is, men), they try to gain control of girls, including themselves. Lyn Mikel Brown (2003), for example, argues that fighting between girls exists in part because of girls' struggle for power, voice, and legitimacy. The limited power to which girls have access often stems from "qualities they either have little control over, don't earn, or openly disdain," such as their bodies and appearance, and so they take their frustration out on each other and themselves (32).

Furthermore, when this search for control is combined with poor body image and self-esteem, it often results in self-harming practices such as extreme dieting and exercise, disordered eating, and self-injury. From a young age, women and girls are bombarded with images of unrealistically thin and beautiful women in the media. Often these images are so airbrushed and digitally altered that even the models themselves do not measure up. These images, along with other social influences, set a standard of femininity that is thin and beautiful, sexy but sweet, yet relatively passive and powerless. One of the few "appropriate" sources of power regularly advertised to girls and women is sexiness through their bodies and appearance. As a result, girls and women sometimes go to great

lengths to fit the sexy media image. As this image is virtually unattainable, their efforts become self-destructive rather than self-enhancing. Adolescent women and girls may be particularly susceptible to this, given the powerlessness they often feel amid the myriad physical, hormonal, and social changes they have to contend with. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to argue that media images and societal messages directly cause girls and women to engage in self-harming behaviors, they certainly do not help girls and women gain the sense of control and independence they may be seeking.

CONCLUSION

Although self-injury has only recently received mass media attention, it is not a new problem. People have been self-injuring in cultural and religious rituals, and likely in private as well, for centuries (see Favazza 1996). While the definitions and explanations of self-injury and the responses to it have varied greatly, the practice itself has not changed dramatically: people inflicting violence on themselves without necessarily intending to die. Like violence toward others, violence toward the self results, at least in part, from social surroundings. If boys' and men's violence toward others stems from settings that define fighting back and controlling others as appropriate and valued expressions of masculinity, then perhaps girls' and women 's violence toward themselves results from social settings that define fighting back and controlling others as inappropriate. Instead, girls and women are encouraged to control themselves, to be pretty, nice, and quiet, and this results in either turning aggression down—like young girls who learn to lower their voices when fighting—or turning it toward themselves (Brown 2000). Until these messages change, girls and women will continue to find ways to "take it all out" on themselves, with boys and men sometimes taking it out on them too.

See also Barbie and the Feminine Ideal of Beauty; Beauty Industry; Plastic Surgery, Tattooing, and Piercing.

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Margaret Leaf

SEX REASSIGNMENT SURGERY

Debates on sex reassignment surgery concern an individual's right to determine his or her self-identity; societal views on gender as a binary versus a continuum; and medical, cultural, and religious views on surgically modifying one's body.

BACKGROUND

Sex reassignment surgery (SRS) is controversial in raising broader issues about socially ascribed male and female gender identities and invoking strong reactions with regard to what is "best" for the person considering this type of surgery.

People who identify as transsexual may be either pretransition/operative; transitioning, that is, in the process of hormonal and surgical sex reassignment; or posttransition/operative (Bornstein 1994). While some transsexuals want to live as the "opposite gender," others care little about fitting into one of the two normative gender categories, "male" or "female." Some transsexuals may want to have the surgery done, but cannot do so due to costs, medical barriers, or religious reasons. Some people identify as transgender rather than as transsexual, as a way to invoke a different gender identity altogether, one that does not fall into either the male or the female category. "Transgender" often refers to the concept of breaking and/or transcending the boundaries of gender identity and roles as they are traditionally defined (Green 2004). Many transgender individuals have little or no intention of having genital surgery (Bornstein 1994), although transgender views on SRS vary greatly depending upon personal self-definition and beliefs.

HISTORY OF SEX REASSIGNMENT SURGERY

Lili Elbe was the first person to have sex reassignment surgery, in a series of five operations carried out over two years (1930–1931). Sadly, she died in 1931 due to surgery complications. In 1952, Christine Jorgensen made headline news due to her sex change, which included the first use of hormone therapy. Many other, less well-known individuals also opted for surgery, which became more commonly practiced beginning in the late 1960s, as medical technologies improved.

Though many may want access to the hormones and surgery, there are many obstacles to this process. There are very few surgeons willing to perform SRS. Certain steps must be followed before SRS is permitted. Most jurisdictions and medical boards require a minimum duration of psychological evaluation, hormone replacement therapy (HRT), and living full-time as a member of the "target gender," that is, what some doctors refer to as the real life experience (RLE) or real life test (RLT; see HBIGDA 2001).

Opponents of SRS argue that getting SRS and HRT is not in the best interest of the individual. These surgeries and treatments can cost tens of thousands of dollars, and insurance companies will usually not pay for them. There are also many risks associated with the surgery. Though medicine has advanced, many people are left permanently scarred and/or without physical sensation, and there are people who still die due to complications (Stryker and Whittle 2006).

MATCHING IDENTITY TO A NEW BODY

Many transgender and transsexual individuals are searching for a physical embodiment that conforms to their personal sense of self. Many transsexuals are not comfortable identifying as simply "male" or "female" before or after the surgery, and neither are they aspiring to meet the stereotypical ideals of being a male or female in their postoperative life. Yet having sex reassignment surgery helps facilitate being perceived by others as a man or woman, thereby allowing individuals to better fit into society (Green 2004). In general, society requires people to fit into the male or female gender box throughout their daily functioning, with regard to, for example, their driver's licenses, work histories, birth certificates, school

transcripts, and parents' wills, and what public restroom to use (Green 2004). The problem of needing to conform to society's binary gender arrangements often becomes a secondary motivation for transsexuals to have the surgery.

Scholars and activists debate what rights transsexuals and transgenders should have regarding SRS. Leslie Feinberg (1996) argues that it is the right of the individual to be able to modify the body through surgery. Feinberg points out that women already get HRT for menopause and fertility assistance, and many have cosmetic surgery done, including breast implants, breast reductions, face lifts, or belly tucks. In contrast to cosmetic surgery, SRS patients must be diagnosed as having gender identity disorder and must undergo extensive evaluations. To get around these institutional barriers, some transsexuals buy hormones on the street, get prescriptions from underground doctors, or travel to other countries for the surgery, placing them at further health risk (Feinberg 1996).

TRANSGENDERISM AND FEMINISM

The presence of transsexuals brings into consideration the category "woman," and some feminists reject the idea that male-to-female transsexuals can ever be "real women" (Stryker and Whittle 2006). Gender politics are based upon male-female categories, even when practiced by feminists and gay rights advocates, thus remaining problematic. Many feminists, for example, insist on the idea that feminism is about embodied women, that is, those born female, and their struggle to acquire the same social privileges as men, that is, those born male. This viewpoint reinforces the gender binary in both gender roles and the physical basis of gender. Many transsexual individuals look at gender roles and gender identity as being more fluid and on a continuum, while others still see their transition as a way to conform to society's binary gender role ideals (Bornstein 1994).

CONCLUSION

The debate on whether or not a trans individual should have the right to surgery will continue for years to come. Yet recent researchers argue that the need to change one's gender is based on a false premise to begin with, since gender is experienced on a continuum rather than as a mere binary. The question remains, should gender be redefined as fluid and/or continuous, or does society need to maintain the binary system? This debate will continue as long as transgenders and transsexuals redefine these roles from both a biological and a social perspective, and as long as sex reassignment surgery is seen as more problematic than socially accepted forms of body modification such as plastic surgery.

See also Gender Identity Disorder; Transgender and Transsexual Identities.

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Julie Nagoshi

SEX TRAFFICKING

While most people agree that sex trafficking is a problem that merits legal or policy intervention, debates continue as to how to frame the problem, who the primary victims are, and how to legally combat human trafficking within and across national borders.

BACKGROUND

Broadly speaking, sex trafficking can be understood as the often forced, deceptive, or coerced recruitment, transport, holding, purchasing, and selling of persons for commercial sexual exploitation. While the U.S. State Department reports that approximately 14,000 to 17,000 people are trafficked into the United States annually, though not all for purposes of sexual exploitation, other reports put the number closer to 45,000 to 50,000 a year (Lederer 2005; World Conference against Racism 2001). Around the world, roughly 600,000 to 800,000 people are trafficked annually (Lederer 2005). While trafficking flows change over time, the majority of the women trafficked to the United States into the sex industry originate from either Latin American or Southeast Asian countries.

While sex trafficking is often thought of as a recent phenomenon, laws concerning the trafficking of women and children in the United States date back

BORN INTO BROTHELS

Many U.S. audiences were introduced to the idea of sex trafficking through the 2004 Academy Award–winning documentary *Born to Brothels.* This film, directed by Zana Briski and Ross Kauffman, presents a view of the lives of children who grow up in the Sonagchi red-light district of Calcutta, India. The film follows several children as they learn how to use cameras and begin to capture their own perspectives of Sonagchi on film. Many acclaim the documentary as a step in helping these children have a better life as well as for bringing important attention to the experiences of individuals living and working in Sonagchi. Many, however, criticize the film for the stereotypical way it represents the children, their mothers, and the red-light district in general, as well as for a narrative progression that depicts yet again white Western women saving brown children. Take a look at this film if you haven't already, and consider the way the film represents sex work and the mothers and children as agents, as well as trafficking policy and activist work.

to the early twentieth century. The 1910 Mann Act, the so called White-Slave Traffic Act, prohibited "white slavery" and the transport of women across state lines for the purpose of prostitution or immorality. This meant that any immigrant woman, either living in the United States or seeking entrance to the United States, who was suspected of prostitution could be deported, regardless of how long she had been in the United States. This law was part of the federal immigration legislation that was designed to exclude "immoral" immigrants from entry into the United States (Moloney 2006).

At an international level, concern about sex trafficking was first addressed by the United Nations in 1949, when it introduced the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. This convention, which was ratified by 49 nations, urged states to "punish any person who procures, entices or leads away another person for purposes of prostitution, even with the consent of that person; exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person; or keeps or supports a brothel" (United Nations n.d.). In the 1980s, following the emergence of women's rights activism around the world, activists began to make connections between sex trafficking and violence against women. Gretchen Soderlund explains that this happened in two ways: "in a broad-based campaign to introduce women's sexual and reproductive rights into traditional human rights doctrine and in media attention to the plight of sex trafficking victims" (2005, 69). This then led to an international push to recognize gendered and sexual violence as human rights violations.

POLITICAL AND POLICY RESPONSES TO SEX TRAFFICKING

In 2000, the U.S. government became a major actor in the debate concerning sex trafficking. Surprisingly, this was not initiated by the feminist and human rights actors of the 1990s; rather, the legislation was initiated by new antitrafficking actors including former U.S. senator Linda Smith of Shared Hope International, Gary Haugen of the International Justice Mission (IJM), and Dr. Kevin Bales of Free the Slaves (Soderlund 2005). The first proposed bill, the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), was designed to target sexual trafficking as well as some forms of forced labor. This bill proposed a concept of "sexual slavery" that did not distinguish between forced and voluntary prostitution. A second bill, sponsored by Senator Paul Wellstone, aimed at prosecuting those who perpetrated all forms of forced labor—not solely trafficking for sexual purposes, and did not include voluntary prostitution as part of its definition of trafficking. Many key actors, including sex worker rights groups and President Clinton, supported this bill; however, abolitionist feminist groups such as Protection Project and faith-based groups such as IJM lobbied strongly against it, "threatening to publicly label the Clinton Administration 'pro-prostitution' should the bill be signed into law" (Soderlund 2005, 73). Under this pressure, the TVPA was signed into law.

The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act (VTVP) also went into effect in 2000, creating the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in

Persons. The VTVP established safeguards so that targets of trafficking are not prosecuted. Under this law, however, perpetrators of sex trafficking are tried as rapists. Furthermore, the act designated funds to support the rehabilitation of targets, including provisions for shelters, as well as educational programs and allotments for small business grants.

Those heralding these legislative moves considered both of them a step toward vanquishing forms of sexual slavery prevalent throughout the world, as these moves set up ways to prosecute traffickers, protect trafficked persons, and prohibit the overall trafficking system (Chuang 2006). Opponents of this approach stress that the legal approach may respond to trafficking but it does not combat the causes of trafficking. Moreover, opponents call for an understanding of the current legislation as part and parcel of the current national desire to "secure borders" and curtail women's sexual and reproductive freedom. Additionally, the criminalization of trafficking, alongside border security legislation, often fails to consider the difference between smuggling and trafficking of persons; Chaung explains that trafficked persons—those protected under the antitrafficking legislation—are often caught in the middle when picked up in border areas, and sometimes incarcerated or deported (2006).

CONCLUSION

The current national and international debate over sex trafficking involves two major components. First there is a discussion of whether sex trafficking should be taken up as a feminist and human rights issue, and if so, how best to do that without infringing on sex workers' rights and freedom. Second, we see a debate about how best to respond to sex trafficking. Currently the legal model's mantra—prosecute traffickers, protect trafficked persons, and prevent trafficking—is predominant. Supporters of this model say that the goal is to stop sex trafficking and the best way to do that is through the law. Opponents of this model note that prosecution does not solve the systemic problems that propel sex trafficking to occur.

See also Child Sexual Abuse; Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Human Rights: International Laws and Policies.

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Sara McKinnon

SEX VERSUS GENDER

Whether differences between women and men are rooted in biology or in socialization constitutes the central "sex versus gender" debate. This issue has been central to social struggles over civil rights for women, issues of educational and employment access for women, and issues of domestic power within heterosexual households.

BACKGROUND

Even in the twenty-first century, women in Western societies do not enjoy full civil rights or social and economic equality with men. Women earn less money, own less property, do more housework, and suffer more relationship violence than do men. Men far outnumber women in positions of power: as elected officials, Supreme Court appointees, corporate CEOs, and university presidents. Women are disproportionately represented in low-wage jobs without health and retirement benefits and in the ranks of the poor.

The United States still has no equal rights amendment in its Constitution: although one that read "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex" was proposed in 1923, it was never ratified, because the required number of states did not approve it by 1982 (Eisler and Hixon 1986).

This pattern of systematic inequality has long been a source of contention; the first wave of the women's rights movement in the United States sought the right for women to vote and eventually succeeded in gaining it, with the idea that an electorate inclusive of women would shape a government responsive to the full inclusion of women (Evans 1997), an idea long since disproved. The second wave of the women's rights movement sought to further women's equality in the United States by advocating a series of legal reforms ending discrimination in employment, guaranteeing educational access (including access to athletic programs) to girls and women, promoting the criminalization of sexual assault and domestic violence, and increasing women's access to no-fault divorce (Morgan 1970) Across the discourses on women's equality in the twentieth century, ongoing attention has been paid to this question: are differences

between men and women a function of sex or of gender? This question has been treated as significant in conversations on women's equality; the status of this question is similar to the status occupied by questions in discourses around slavery about whether African Americans were fully human. Such questions clearly serve as a distraction from giving direct attention to the simple, broader issue that some social groups are oppressed by others. In all such instances, groups with the power to control social systems adopt arguments that center on biological essentialism, while subordinated groups adopt positions centered on social constructionism.

BIOLOGICAL VERSUS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST EXPLANATIONS OF GENDER DIFFERENCE

Biological essentialism is a philosophical stance that explains differences among human groups in terms of purported biological differences among them. In the case of the sex versus gender debate, biological essentialists emphasize biological differences between human males and females as a way of explaining the different social statuses occupied by each sex. Social constructionism, on the other hand, is a philosophical stance that explains differences between groups in terms of social factors that create groups and maintain differences between them. In the sex versus gender debate, social constructionists emphasize the ways in which societies shape the behaviors of boys and men and girls and women in order to create appearances of differences between these groups and to subsequently use these differences to justify giving greater privileges to men than to women. In the conversation on sex versus gender, biological essentialists focus on sex while social constructionists focus on gender as a way of explaining both differences and inequalities between women and men.

WHAT IS SEX?

As a concept, *sex* refers to biological differences between males and females in any given species. In our species, Homo sapiens, all of us carry one X chromosome inherited from our mothers; our genetic sex is determined by our biological father's contribution to our genetic makeup: an additional X chromosome promotes development as an XX/female individual; a Y chromosome promotes development as an XY/male individual. In some instances, individuals will carry a complement of more than two sex chromosomes, with varying implications for development. Moving from the level of genotype to the level of phenotype, that is, to how genes are expressed, sexual characteristics are often sorted into "primary" and "secondary" categories. Organs of reproduction are defined as primary sexual characteristics and other patterns of biological difference between males and females are defined as secondary sexual characteristics. Primary sexual characteristics in biological females consist of the ovaries, uterus, and vagina, while secondary sexual characteristics include breast and hip development and facial contours; primary sexual characteristics in males include the penis and testes, while secondary characteristics include the development of prominent Adam's apples and more extensive facial hair growth, although this varies by genetic

population. Our species is generally conceptualized as sexually dimorphic, that is, as consisting of two neatly and clearly defined sexes, one male and one female, with each making different and necessary contributions to sexual reproduction. Such definitions offer a clear introduction to the concept of sex, but may create the impression that human males and females are more different than alike, that there is little variation within each sex, and that human beings are never "sexed" in ways that combine genetic, hormonal, or structural features of both sexes.

Recent scholarship has challenged all of these notions. A consideration of secondary sexual characteristics provides an important example. European-derived Western understandings of the secondary sexual characteristics of human males and females, for instance, focus on differences in height and weight, facial and body hair, breast development, and voice quality as points of differentiation. Cross-cultural comparisons demonstrate that these differences do not always hold between men and women, and that members of one sex from different genetic populations across the world exhibit many differences from one another. Some male populations, for example, have little or no facial hair, while others are hirsute; women in some populations have an average height several inches taller than men in other populations; and ultimately, there exists more variation among members of each sex in the species than between the two sexes (Fausto-Sterling 2000).

The existence of a clear, distinguishing line between biological maleness and femaleness has also been challenged in recent years by both scholarship and activism around intersexuality. Suzanne Kessler's (1998) research on children born with sexual anomalies has been used to support the idea that significant numbers of children are born with a constellation of sexual traits that does not neatly conform exclusively to the criteria for maleness or the criteria for femaleness, and that, indeed, such children often have features of both sexes. This development raises interesting questions about the distinctiveness of maleness and femaleness, as well as about how our genetic and phenotypic sexual biology expresses itself in culture and society.

WHAT IS GENDER?

Gender refers to those traits and behaviors in human beings that are socially associated with masculinity and femininity. While *male* and *female* are biological terms, *boy* and *girl* and *man* and *woman* are gender terms that refer to a person's social status. When we encounter a person, we are usually aware of our sense of the person's gender; unless we meet the person when he or she isn't clothed, we can't truly know his or her sex. Unlike other species, which, as far as we know, are "sexed" but not "gendered," humans have devised myriad ways to express their masculinity and femininity. These include clothing styles, color codes, hair lengths and styles, ways of sitting, walking, running, and horseback riding, variations in material objects coded as boys' or girls' things, modification of the body, language use, and variations on ways of practicing social customs.

Feminist theorists have used the concept of gender to highlight the fact that many of the differences between men and women that have been presumed to reflect essential biological differences are actually socially produced. For example, U.S. society expects women to shave their legs to create the impression that

WOMEN ATHLETES: THE WEAKER SEX?

The belief that women should not compete in athletic events, and that they should especially avoid endurance events, was common throughout the twentieth century in the West. This belief is an effect of gender, not of biological sex, as recent evidence makes clear. Although women were not permitted to compete in an Olympic marathon until 1984, they have quickly become some of that sport's most ardent and competitive enthusiasts. T. J. Murphy (2006), reporting in *Triathlete Magazine,* notes that in 1976, of the 1,175 athletes entered in the Marine Corps Marathon in Washington, DC, only 40 were women; in 2006, the same race had a field composed of 30,000 runners, 47 percent of whom were women. In the 2006 Boston Marathon, a race that requires athletes to meet a qualifying time in order to participate, women outnumbered men in the 18–39 age group. In the triathlon, in which athletes swim, bike, and run various challenging distances, men still outnumber women, but the picture is changing rapidly: at the national youth triathlon competitions in 2006, girls outnumbered boys. Murphy predicts that by 2010, women will constitute at least 40 percent of the adult field in one of the world's most challenging sports.

women and men are biologically distinguishable with regard to body hair. On a more psychological level, feminists argue, boys and girls are socialized differently, leading men and women to emphasize different emotional, intellectual, and personality traits, although the potential for all of these characteristics is not sex linked but fundamentally human. Members of one sex who engage in the behaviors typically associated with the other are, in Western societies, often stigmatized or punished in order to pressure them into gender conformity (Butler 1990). For feminist theory, the concept of gender provided a means to distinguish between the social and the biological, to see how gender is systematically produced and tied to dynamics of power, and to question the cultural assumption of the "natural" basis of inequalities between men and women.

Feminist scholars have documented the extensive, pervasive, and ideological quality of gender socialization. Following on from decades of feminist women's theorizing of gender, Robert Connell (1995) proposed the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" to make explicit the relationship between the social expectations for masculinity and the links between masculinity and social power. Judith Butler (1990), challenging earlier models of gender as so deeply inculcated during socialization as to be unconscious, posited the concept of "gender performance," suggesting that even in societies in which normative concepts of masculinity and femininity are deeply entrenched and fiercely enforced, individuals exercise agency in their presentation of gendered selves.

In the world beyond social theory, the emergence of visible transgendered populations in the West has held dual significance for social understandings of gender. On one hand, the existence of people who choose to present a gender contrary to their sex points out the socially constructed nature of gender and its wide variability; on the other, a discourse arguing that transgendered people are members of one sex born into bodies of the other deploys an updated biological determinism

to suggest that there is, after all, something essential about gender, and that one is "born" one gender or the other, even if one may be in the "wrong" body.

SEX VERSUS GENDER IN EXPLAINING SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Although sexual differentiation is a far more complex a process than it would usually appear to the casual observer, human societies universally use sex as a primary principle of social organization. No matter the genes, reproductive organs, or facial hair of the people described as women or as men, in any particular society, people in those categories are socialized to fill distinctive roles. Most societies organize work, economies, familial roles, religious roles, education, and knowledge production along the lines of sex (de Beauvoir [1949] 1952). It is important to note that while differences between groups do not by necessity reflect inequalities, most contemporary societies exhibit patterns of social differentiation in the status of men and women along the lines of power, privilege, and access to goods, services, and resources that can be described as socially stratified, that is, as fundamentally unequal.

In the sex versus gender debate, neither side contests the fact that men and women have different levels of access, privilege, control, or power in society; instead, they focus on sex or gender as a means of explaining these inequalities. For biological essentialists, women's biology both explains and justifies women's treatment as social inferiors. Sometimes it is argued by biological essentialists that men and women play different gender roles but that these are not necessarily unequal or hierarchical in nature; they are simply reflections of men's and women's naturally prescribed gender roles in the societal division of labor. For social constructionists, gender as a social system explains how men and women come to accept inequalities between them, as well as how those differences are enacted at an individual level.

Feminist scholars have often conceptualized the social stratification of men and women as being rooted in patriarchy, a system of social organization in

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SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), French philosopher, social critic, and writer, made a significant impact on the world with her 1949 book *La Deuxième Sexe* (translated as *The Second Sex*, 1952), which claimed that dominant groups always position subordinated groups as "the Other." She argued that men systematically position women as "other" in Western society and similarly, racially dominant groups position members of nondominant groups as different and deviant. De Beauvoir provides a critique of classic Western philosophy and argues that men of European origin describe themselves and their qualities as normal, natural, and right, making women the "Other" by describing the ways in which they are different as deviant, wrong, or inferior. De Beauvoir's most famous line, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman," laid the foundation for contemporary women's studies in both the United States and Europe. As a self-defined bisexual, de Beauvoir's relationships with men and women no doubt gave her an intimate view of both men's and women's experiences in society.

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which males are dominant and control the society's resources through a variety of mechanisms ensuring that men will continue to inherit and accumulate power while women will continue to be excluded from access to power. Patriarchy assumes the right of men to control women's sexuality and fertility, and this assumption is reflected in religious, social, and legal standards (Richardson 1988). For example, in extremely patriarchal societies, women have little or no self-determination about when, whom, or how they will marry; girls' sexuality is seen as a resource belonging to their fathers, and violations of a girl's sexual integrity are seen as violations of the father's property that make it impossible to marry the girl to other men, so that the girl represents less exchange value. While patriarchal ideologies justify male dominance as rooted in biological determinism and the natural order of things, feminist scholars have challenged the claim that male dominance is universal. Challenges have come both from specific locations contesting specific claims, for example, the claim that women are constitutionally incapable of doing physically demanding labor (Fonow 2003), and from historians of patriarchy itself. Gerda Lerner's (1987) carefully researched *Creation of Patriarchy,* for example, makes the very strong argument that patriarchy is a historical phenomenon designed to consolidate male power and privilege through the exploitation of women's labor; Lerner argues that because patriarchy is neither universal nor biologically determined, it can be displaced by more egalitarian forms of social organization in which women and men share access to resources, power, and privilege.

Sexual essentialists, in contrast, argue that women are physically weaker than men, less aggressive than men, more emotionally variable than men, and more nurturing than men, and that, as a result, they should be restricted from positions of political leadership, military combat, and a wide range of occupations (Richardson 1988). Feminist scholars have dismissed both of these claims by arguing that they reflect the biases of the group with the most accumulated privilege. For example, scholars note that all wars have been initiated and executed by men, in an example of men's extreme emotionality, and that the privileging of aggression reflects men's tendency toward it, instead of any inherent value in aggression.

CONCLUSION

In both popular culture and academic research, the debate over the best explanation for differences between men and women and their unequal statuses in society continues. Biological determinists seek to explain academic differences between boys and girls by looking at structures in their brains; social scientists seek to explain academic differences between boys and girls by looking at the structures in their societies, in their socialization, in their treatment by teachers, in the kinds of role models available to them, and in the kinds of punishments and rewards they receive for excelling in particular areas of study.

In some areas of life, the collapse of the conceptual distinctions between sex and gender have become increasingly common as political debates over women's roles in society have become intensified. In the everyday world, the words *sex* and *gender* are commonly used interchangeably, resulting in their widespread misuse. For example, official documents often now ask patients, students, and

applicants to identify themselves by gender instead of by sex. Inquiring about both a person's sex and a person's gender might provide healthcare providers and educational institutions with useful information. Knowing that a person uses a masculine name and presents himself as a man although he is biologically female could be helpful to a healthcare provider in delivering care to the patient or helpful to a college in making residence hall assignments. Asking only for gender, however, as is commonly the practice, seems simply to elide the differences between sex and gender, collapsing the two and giving the impression that sex and gender are interchangeable, that sex is gender. Obviously, this move reproduces earlier models that naturalize social differences between men and women, undermining the power of distinguishing between those aspects of men's and women's lives that are not natural but indeed rooted in long-held beliefs and biases about gender identity.

Alternative ways of conceptualizing the sex versus gender debate shed light on the limitations of its terms. For example, unlike U.S. feminists, leading scholars in French feminist theory have embraced the notion that women are different from men, and have seen the U.S. feminist goal of achieving equality with men as setting the bar too low, advocating instead a whole range of rights and reforms that take into account women's unique needs (see Cixous 1994). In some areas of interdisciplinary research on how social interaction and biology mutually shape each other, scholars are beginning to suggest that our genes, our hormones, and our features are shaped by our interactions with other people, and that our behavior is, in turn, shaped by our biology (Goleman 2006). Expanded into the sex versus gender debate, such insights hold the suggestive possibility that sex and gender are *both* systems of social organization, and that the interaction between them may explain the human sense of masculinity and femininity, as well as the behaviors that keep inequalities between women and men in place.

See also Femininities and Masculinities; Gender Socialization; Nature versus Nurture.

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Amber Ault

SEX WORK

Discussions about sex work inspire a range of reactions and opinions, including those related to morals, rights, law, and gender inequalities. Many of these arguments can be distilled into a specific controversy that revolves around the competing assertions either that sex work empowers women or that it victimizes them. It is important to explore the intricacies of this empowerment/victimization debate to arrive at a full understanding of the issue of sex work.

BACKGROUND

The controversies about sex work are as old as the profession itself. It is difficult to discuss sex work, which ranges from prostitution to stripping, without invoking a combination of arguments related to law, rights and freedoms, morality, and gender. Although some types of sex work are legal and others are not, there are times in the public arena when its condemnation or support seems a matter of greater preoccupation than its legality. Conservative religious groups have denounced strip clubs on the basis of morality, residents have protested the existence of such establishments in their neighborhoods, but bachelor parties are rarely considered complete without the requisite visit to the local "gentleman's" club. Even celebrities are involved: in 1995, movie star Hugh Grant was famously arrested in Hollywood for soliciting the prostitute Divine Brown.

Debates about sex work also cue wider-ranging, deeply rooted cultural conflicts about gender, sex, and inequality. Since most sex workers are women, sex work is of feminist concern. Yet feminist thought is fractured on the issue. One perspective, endorsed by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon, suggests that "the very meaning of sex is male domination. Prostitution and pornography only reveal this message more clearly" (Chapkis 1997, 17). In contrast, there are those who see sex work as potentially liberating for women. Some, like sexual libertarian Camille Paglia, view women's capitalization on their sexuality as women's greatest source of power. These two extremes funnel into camps—one believing that sex work victimizes women, and the other asserting that it empowers women. Taking this controversy to its extremes, however, ignores the complexity of the argument and the nature and nuances of power. Feminist sex radicals, for instance, assert that "sex is a terrain of struggle, not a fixed field of gender and power positions" (Chapkis 1997, 26). One way to challenge the victimization/empowerment dualism is to consider how the day-to-day lives and experiences of sex workers are located within broader understandings of gender issues in our society. Such an analysis might reveal contradictions and negotiations that inform debates about this social issue.

WHAT IS SEX WORK?

Sex work is "a generic term for commercial sexual services, performances, or products given in exchange for material compensation [money]" (Weitzer 2000, 3), and includes prostitution and exotic dancing (stripping), as well as peep shows, telephone sex, and pornography. Social attitudes toward the women

LOCAL COMMUNITIES RESPOND TO STRIP CLUBS

Law and religion collide across the nation as various conservative groups agitate to restrict the existence of strip clubs in certain areas of towns, arguing that the establishments are immoral, and that they increase crime and lower property values. Opponents of such restrictions believe this violates the First Amendment's protection of free speech. Legislation like Proposition 401 in Scottsdale, Arizona, is placed on local ballots in an attempt to garner votes to shut down strip clubs. Proposition 401 aimed to outlaw lap dances and other types of touching at two Scottsdale-area cabarets. It failed in September 2006, with 23 of Scottsdale's 87 precincts voting against the proposed legislation.

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workers are generally harsher than those toward the male customers, and this is reflected in institutions like the criminal justice system. Until the 1960s, the Model Penal Code stated that prostitution was a misdemeanor, punishable by incarceration, while being a "john" was simply a violation, warranting only a fine. Many state laws continue to punish patrons less severely than prostitutes (Weitzer 2000). Further, 90 percent of prostitution arrests are arrests of the female worker rather than the male customer (Monto 2000).

Unlike prostitution, which is illegal in all but two states, exotic dancing is legal across the United States. Beginning as burlesque entertainment, exotic dancing has evolved into a highly sexualized performance (either nude or topless) that involves a stage show and can include "table dances," "lap dances," or "private dances." Management often expects dancers to "work the floor" when they are not performing on stage. This involves approaching customers and soliciting an individual dance. At some clubs, these dances occur at the customer's table and last for the length of one song. During table dances, the dancer performs for the customer, and the two are in very close proximity. Customers and dancers are more likely to have body contact during table dances, although officially there are strict rules about the type of contact allowed. Some strip clubs tacitly allow lap dancing, which involves the dancer straddling the customer and grinding against the customer's genital area. Officially, lap dances are illegal in many states. Indeed, the lap dance is "situated in a legal gray area in the United States between prostitution, which is illegal, and performance, which is protected" (Chapkis 2000, 184). Enforcement of these rules varies wildly from establishment to establishment; customers may try to take advantage of dancers by groping or fondling them, or dancers will engage in sexual activities to make more money.

THE CONTROVERSY

Victimization

The position that sex work victimizes women begins with the idea that it reduces women to sex objects. One definition of sexual objectification goes as follows: "A person is sexually objectified when her sexual parts or sexual functions

are separated out from the rest of her personality and reduced to the status of mere instruments or else regarded as if they were capable of representing her" (Bartky 1990, 26). In general, modern feminist thought suggests that the sexual objectification of women is a large component of female identity as well as a tool for the oppression of women (Bartky 1990; Bordo 1993; Chapkis 1986; Griffin 1981; Martin 1992):

> The disciplinary project of femininity is a "setup": it requires such radical and extensive measures of bodily transformation that virtually every woman who gives herself to it is destined in some degree to fail. Thus, a measure of shame is added to a woman's sense that the body she inhabits is deficient.... In spite of unrelenting pressure to "make the most of what they have," women are ridiculed and dismissed for the triviality of their interest in such "trivial" things as clothes and make-up. (Bartky 1990, 72)

In other words, although the ideal is largely unattainable, the sexually objectified view of female bodies garners women more attention than any other aspect of their identities. At the same time, this sexually objectified view of women is not particularly respected and can be used to justify treating women badly (Bartky 1990; Chapkis 1986). (It is easier to devalue people when they are seen only, for instance, as "tits and ass"). The present author's research, based on in-depth interviews with exotic dancers, reveals the ways in which work in the sex industry compounds these conflicts for the women involved (Wesely 2002, 2003). One interviewee, Sheila, noted that dancing "reinforced everything from my childhood, that sex was all important—and once I started dancing, I was a piece of meat, that's all they want. It just reinforced what I thought. Day after day after day." Julie, another study participant, stated, "It didn't have anything to do with my brain, or stimulating my mind, or passion. It all had to do with, yeah, you want to feel my 36–26–36, you just want to touch my tits." Being degraded—feeling "like a piece of meat"—corresponded to the women's objectification in the strip club.

Not only does sex work focus on the sexually objectified image of women, but it revolves around the exchange value of this objectified body: how much is it worth in cold hard cash? Those who suggest that sex work victimizes women point to this as an inherently unequal transaction, since the trade makes it difficult for sex workers to avoid reducing their own bodies to their weight in dollars. Valerie noted, "All you're doing all day long is asking someone, 'Am I worth five dollars to you?'" Similarly, Sheila stated,

> You're peddling yourself.... You have to go to these different guys, you think they're the scum of the earth anyway, but these people, they have your livelihood in their hands.... There's always the fact of who's really in control. They're in control, because they have the money.

Sheila also experienced strong reactions when she was not paid at all:

> They weren't paying me, and I was there, and that's my body, and they're wanting to just take it without doing what they're supposed to do. 'Cause

they're paying for your body, no matter how they say it, they're paying for your body. Five bucks a song, five bucks a song. Buy the song. But you're ruining my mind. And my soul. So when they were sitting there thinking they didn't have to give me the money, I felt violated. And I felt very angry. Rage.

Money worries can compel sex workers to take jobs they would otherwise avoid, jobs that make them feel vulnerable and degraded. Marie, a stripper, worked at a private bachelor party to make extra money:

There was a prostitute that was supposed to come after I left to take care of the bachelor. I guess the prostitute took all the money and went out of the picture. Then I was there and they were looking at me like, how are you going to take care of it? I did let them ejaculate on my breasts.... And that was the worst thing I ever did. I went home and showered, and scrubbed and cried. I sat on the floor of the shower and cried. I felt like I was raped. I felt so disgusting when I walked out of that house. I cried all the way home.

Marie felt violated in the extreme, reduced to a sexualized body that she compromised for money. Feeling repeatedly reduced, degraded, or violated has psychological (as well as physical) consequences for sex workers. They may struggle to cope and begin to feel numb, disconnected, or dissociated from their bodies. As Marie stated:

When I was in [the dancing industry], I had no clue how much pain I was in. Things that I was doing because I knew that that was the only way I was going to get something out of somebody. Lower myself. To get a dollar out of them. There was a situation where I gave a blow job to a manager at the club. After work, had a couple beers, doing the job all night long. And you feel like you can't say no. "I'm going to turn on the music, why don't you dance for us?" It's like, what can you say? I've been doing it all night long, you've seen me do it all night long, so what does it matter? You start to get to the point, well, what *does* matter? You've given yourself up to so many situations, it really doesn't matter anymore.

The seeming indifference and numbness Marie described is dangerous, because it makes her more vulnerable to further exploitation, violation, and violence.

Those who argue that sex work victimizes women point to the elevated levels of violence against them. In fact, the homicide rate for prostitutes is one of the highest for any occupation in the United States, and sex workers are inconsistently and unreliably protected from violence. This is illustrated by Marie:

He'd try to show off in front of his guy friends and bite you on the rear end. All the friends would go, wooo! The bouncer would say, don't do that. If you got bit in a grocery store, the guy would get prosecuted for

that, and go to jail. You do it in a topless bar and it's OK. It's ridiculous. Just because you're in the atmosphere you have permission. It's like when we get bit on the rear, they don't give you counseling for that. But if a police officer came to a case where you got bit, they would give you a card: here, you can call this counselor, this is a form of victimization or whatever. And you would go to get counseling. But dancing, all these things would happen to you and you don't get one ounce of counseling. You're just getting victimized left and right. And they don't treat it as victimization, they treat it as, oh, it comes with the territory. They don't tell you that when you're getting hired! They don't tell you, oh, you can get bit, get slapped, men call you names, men can spit on you. They don't tell you those things.

The types of violations Marie mentioned segue into increasingly severe violence. Gina agreed to go on a date with a customer at the strip club where she worked, and was raped:

Anyway, he invited himself in afterwards. And so he came downstairs to my area of the apartment at the time. And we were sitting on the couch, and he decided he wanted to have sex with me....But I didn't really want to have sex with him, and I ended up having sex with him, because he wouldn't take no for an answer. I felt very disgusted, very out of control. He held me down. I mean, at the time I was using so many drugs.... Many times I tried to struggle against him, like no, I don't want this, come on, stop kissing me. And eventually I just gave up. I was like, alright, fine, whatever, do your job. I knew I was just a cheap little piece of ass to him.

Rape, sexual assault, and stalking occur at higher rates among women in the sex work industry, and the argument that sex work victimizes women identifies the extreme exposure to risk that is involves.

Overall, a sex worker's success depends on how well she can embody sex in performance, appearance, behavior, and activity. She exists for the sexual pleasure, visual and/or physical, of the customer. Since her living revolves around the limited and devalued objectification of her body, it is argued that she is a more likely target for exploitation and abuse.

Empowerment

Those who assert that sex work is empowering for women suggest that women are taking control over the objectified meanings of their bodies by cashing in on them. Sex work then becomes the ultimate expression of sexual freedom, as women use their bodies and sexuality for their own purposes and gain. By making customers pay for the sex and/or the sexual performance, the sex worker is empowered. As Ronai and Ellis (1989, 295) note, "Being the purveyors and gatekeepers of sexuality has always provided powerful control for women.... it serves this function even more for those women who make sexual turn-on into an occupation." Gina, a stripper, stated that

The power comes in when there's the money exchanging hands issue. There's the "I'm controlling you for the next three minutes"—a dance is three minutes long—"I'm controlling everything you're thinking, I'm making you want me. With everything. For the next three minutes." It's almost like they just kind of sit there and give it up to you. And I've had guys say to me, my god, that is better than some sex I've had. And it makes me feel very powerful.

Gina suggested that it was almost as if the customers surrendered their will when they handed their money over to her. In her description, the man supplicates, willingly abandoning power—both his money and his sexual desire—to her.

A sex worker who feels empowered by using her body as a moneymaker might identify this as a source of women's advantage over men. For example, Cory, an exotic dancer, likes being a woman because she can use her sexual objectification to her benefit. She said, "We can use our body and make good money, unlike guys. I mean, sometimes I go into a store, and I just give them this look while carrying on a conversation, and guys are like, do you want me to give that to you? I'm like, yeah, I want a discount!" Similarly, Marie stated, "I always felt like you could use your body to get men. 'Cause I remember even before I started dancing I could go into a bar and be watching a game and I knew any guy in the bar would buy me a beer. I knew I could use my body to get something from men." Seeing this as power allows for the construction of the customers as foolish or stupid, whereas the sex worker is savvy and sharp:

I think men are mostly idiots. I didn't think they were that stupid until I started being a dancer. They will give their money away. And they actually think that the more money they spend, they're actually going to get the time of day....I've seen men that come in [to the strip club] every single day. But she doesn't want them, she wants their money. And you'd think they'd be smart enough to know that. (Lana)

Another dancer, Rita, had a similar viewpoint:

I like to think of it as I'm in charge, guys are paying to glorify me, and they're the ones getting ripped off. A lot of people are like, oh, that's so shameful, that girls have to stand up there, and do that, men paying for their bodies....I'm the one making out here, in my mind. They're the stupid ones paying for this. Most of the time they're paying for my conversation, to stare at me. You're like, I cannot believe you pay for this, and they pay a lot. Like, this kid was dropping $1,000 a night to sit and be my friend. To stare at my tits, maybe?

There is some research that alludes to an additional component of the empowerment argument—namely, that many sex workers experienced a loss of power over their bodies due to childhood abuse, and sex work is a way to reclaim that power. To explore this idea, it is helpful to examine this relationship more closely. According to Raphael (2004), across 20 recent prostitution studies, the lowest percentage of women sexually abused as children was one-third, while the highest was 84 percent. In fact, rates of child sexual abuse (CSA) for women both

as prostitutes and exotic dancers are higher than those in the general population (remembering that for both groups these rates are undoubtedly underestimated). Although there may be higher numbers of CSA survivors among sex workers, CSA certainly does not cause women to go into sex work. So what *is* the relevance of CSA?

The first issue is that of survival. It is estimated that 70 percent of teenage girls on the streets are running away to flee a violent home (Chesney-Lind 2001). Because these girls are desperate and have few resources at their disposal, sex work or survival sex become viable options for them. It is confirmed in prostitution samples from Los Angeles to Chicago that the overwhelming majority of prostitutes ran away from their childhood homes (Raphael 2004). Putting together this information, a study of jail detainees in Chicago found strong support for the hypothesis that "sexual abuse and having run away influence entry into prostitution" (McClanahan et al. 1999, 1611). Second, and more closely related to the empowerment argument, is the reality that the lessons taught by the sexual abuse have produced "traumatic sexualization" (Finkelhor 1988). CSA teaches children to use sexual behavior as a strategy for manipulating others in order to have their needs met. In addition, the sense of control, lost through early sexual assault, could feel reclaimed through adult sexual power over men. "Remaining in the sexual arena to grab the power back, women in prostitution, the majority of whom are incest victims, end up developing personal power only in relation to men and sex, or within sexually defined gender roles" (Raphael 2004, 26). Skye, a stripper, determined that feeling powerful was compensation for the way she was victimized by sexual abuse as a child. She described her attitude toward customers: "Because I lost that power as a child, I'm going to use it on your pocketbook." Many dancers described the ego boost they got from receiving the customer's money and adoration, and Paula also perceived this as reparation for her past:

> It's also kind of an ego thing. . . . I had a guy actually bow down on stage and kiss my feet. As if I were a god. And I know these men are so enchanted by the idea of me. That they're going to go home smelling their shirts, laying in their beds next to their wives, thinking of me. There's something about . . . Being at all the foster homes I've been, something I've always wanted is to be remembered. Now it's my chance to get even.

For Paula, dancing ascribes to her a sex symbol status that burns her image into the minds of her customers; they are unable to forget her. The power seemingly regained tips the balance in a way that makes the women feel superior to their male customers.

The position that sex work is empowering for women thus focuses on women taking control of the meanings of their bodies and being rewarded monetarily for those meanings. Some argue this is the ultimate form of sexual freedom for the female sex worker, and that the customer is the one getting short shrift in the exchange. Sex workers may also feel as though the rewards they receive in return for their bodies are compensation for the loss of power over their bodies that they experienced in childhood. By capitalizing on their sexual objectification, they can be seen as more strongly in control of their sexual selves.

COMPLICATING THE DEBATE

There are policy implications for the sex work victimization/empowerment debate, so it is essential to take the debate seriously. If sex work only victimizes women, it makes sense to abolish it; if it is empowering for women, why not legalize it in all its forms? In reality, victimization and empowerment are opposite poles between which lie a range of complicated arguments. Above, it was noted that one way to challenge the victimization/empowerment dichotomy is to consider how the day-to-day lives and experiences of sex workers are located within broader social realities. An exploration of this complexity begins with the sex workers themselves, and the ways they negotiate their lived experiences.

Complex personhood means that "even those who live in the most dire circumstances possess a complex and oftentimes contradictory humanity and subjectivity that is never adequately glimpsed by viewing them as victims or, on the other hand, as superhuman agents" (Gordon 1997, 4). Accordingly, sex workers are not just passive recipients of objectification; nor are they unrestricted agents making choices about their bodies from a full array of options. Sex workers feel, simultaneously and often contradictorily, different combinations of power, powerlessness, and indifference. Gina, a stripper, described this as follows;

> Being on stage is another powerful time. When everyone's looking at you, you're putting on a good show, it's 4:00 on a Friday and you've got everyone's attention and people are hooting and hollering, and guys are coming up and throwing money on stage, yeah, you feel very *powerful.* 'Cause you have everybody's attention, right there, in your hand. But at the same time, when it's Friday at 4:00 and everybody's watching stage two because Pamela Anderson's on it, *that really destroys you.* (italics added)

The money and attention given to one dancer is thus easily diverted to another, and the power is lost. Marie also demonstrated a struggle regarding power:

> No, I didn't think I had control over my body. But you have control over how much you tease somebody and how much you don't. You have

COYOTE

COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) was the first prostitutes' self-advocacy organization, founded in 1973 by former sex worker Margo St. James. With the exception of the early 1990s period, COYOTE was run by former prostitutes. The goals of organizations like COYOTE are to provide education and support. Other agencies take the approach that it is most important to help prostitutes find strategies to exit the industry. These are antiprostitution organizations, and include the Council for Prostitution Alternatives (CPA) in Portland, Oregon. CPA receives city and county funding and private grants and is run by social workers as well as former prostitutes.

control, you're in the driver's seat. You can break them or make them whenever you want. But you lose control of your body when you go in there. Because it's not yours, it's somebody else's. They decide what looks good and what doesn't.... So that's what I mean when I say you walk in the doors and lose control of who you are. But you do have control of the situation. You can search out a guy in the club and you know he's vulnerable, and you know he has a wallet full of money and you can get every dollar out of that wallet. And it's that knowing that you can do that that gives you power.

Marie's statement vacillated between assertions of power over the customers—"you have control over how much you tease somebody," "you're in the driver's seat," "you can break them," "you can get every dollar out of that wallet"—and her feelings of vulnerability at the hands of the customers—"you lose control of your body when you go in there," "they decide what looks good and what doesn't," "you...lose control of who you are." This negotiation revolves around an ongoing conflict for sex workers: although the women make money from their bodies, the bodies that are rewarded are determined by the male customers. This removes some aspects of control from the women's hands, and makes feelings of power, though present, seem fleeting and only skin deep.

Ronai and Ellis (1989) suggest that in a society that awards women little influence in larger spheres, women learn to obtain various needs through emphasizing and being rewarded for behaviors and appearance that focus on their objectification.

Interaction in the strip bar also reflects power dynamics in mainstream society. As a subordinate group, women in general have responded to men's macromanipulation of societal institutions by using micromanipulation—interpersonal behaviors and practices—to influence the power balance (Lipman-Blumen 1984). Women in the bar play a game that they know well; in some form, they have been forced to play it for years (Lipman-Blumen 1984, 295)

According to this statement, sex workers are engaging in and capitalizing on one of the few strategies available to women to achieve any power. This can also trap women in a system of disadvantage, since some argue that the attention paid to women's sexually objectified bodies translates into very little power in "legitimate" arenas, or those seen as culturally valuable. In other words, women's sexual objectification or the attention they receive for their sexualized bodies does not elevate their status or influence in the political, social, and economic realms that help shape or change society (Irigaray 1985). This creates contraction and struggles for sex workers, since their feelings of power are legitimate but impermanent and limited in influence and impact.

In conclusion, both poles of the sex work victimization/empowerment debate retain some integrity on the level of the individual sex worker. Because sex workers may at times *feel* empowered, there is power there. Because they may *feel* or *be* victimized, victimization exists. Just as legitimate are the sex workers' experiences of contradiction and struggle. Yet just as it is important to pay attention to the sex workers' individual experiences, their interpretations of power and victimization must be located within the larger social context in which they occur.

In short, as Wendy Chapkis (1997) points out, women working in the sex industry operate within the constraints of social prejudice and unequal privilege. Not surprisingly, these differences of location produce dramatically different experiences of sex work. As a consequence, reforms directed at the sex trade itself will only partially address the problems sex workers face. The far greater challenge lies in tackling the structural inequalities reflected in the industry but rooted in society at large (Chapkis 1997, 106).

Chapkis's (1997) statement points to the limitations of directing policy concerns about sex work at the industry only. Although individual sex workers have a range of experiences concerning power, victimization, and everything in between, no real positive changes will result for this group until the role of structural inequalities is linked directly to the reality of sex work.

See also Militarized Prostitution; Pornography; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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Jennifer Wesely

SEXISM IN LANGUAGE

Language gives meaning to and reflects components of all cultures, yet scholars disagree as to whether language itself creates gender biases or whether it merely reflects gender biases that already exist in society. Feminist scholars have debated whether language itself should be the focus of reform, or whether sexism should be addressed in other aspects of society such as the economy, the political process, or in educational institutions.

BACKGROUND

Simone de Beauvoir (1952) has said that "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." When children are born, they are given names that reflect their sex. Hospital nurseries provide *pink* caps for female infants and *blue* for males. Children grow up into *boys* and *girls* through socialization via gendered social cues and they learn to see other children as boys and girls. At all stages, language plays a vital role in defining how boys are different from girls, and how gender relations are perceived and give meaning to a given social order. Many scholars have analyzed the relationship between language and sexism, or discrimination on the basis of sex and/or gender, including the question of how or if language influences the socialization process. Some argue that language is merely a reflection of an already-existing sexist society; others argue that language itself is sexist and helps reproduce gender inequalities in society at large (Richardson 1997).

WHAT IS LANGUAGE?

Language is a system of signs. Sounds count as language only when they serve to express or communicate ideas; otherwise they are just noises. And in order to communicate ideas, noises must be part of a system of conventions, part of a system of signs (Culler 1988). The sign is the union of the *signifier* (a sound image or a written shape) and a *signified* (a concept). *Signifier* and *signified* exist as components of the sign. The signs of a language are deeply rooted in the culture that produces that language and therefore language is a social system.

Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) revolutionized the study of language. In outlining a general science of signs, semiology, he provided the means of analyzing the systems of conventions that give significance to human behavior. His findings opened a new world of possibilities for the exploration of the relationship between language and social order. Post-Saussurean linguistics saw language as an important cultural tool that operates at various levels and takes varied forms. Feminist scholars have built on this scholarship and raised important questions about the question of women and sexism in language.

DEBATES ON GENDER AND SEXISM IN LANGUAGE

Language is available in verbal and visual forms. Verbal is that which is spoken or heard while visual is that which we read or see, as in literature of all kinds, or

as in sign language used by people who are deaf or hearing impaired. Language can also be a set of images grouped together to generate meaning sometimes supported by words as in advertisements, or even graffiti and writings on the walls of public places such as trains, public toilets, and so forth. All these forms of expression are included in language and they are rooted in specific cultures and generate specific meanings when read. They express certain opinions about people and incorporate certain attitudes towards them.

Sexism in language has an important role to play when it comes to the construction of male and female stereotypes in a given literature and culture. French feminists such as Helene Cixous (1992) and Luce Irigaray (see Whitford 1991) have drawn from psychoanalytic and linguistic theory to analyze the uses and misuses of language for women. They argue that language is inherently phallocentric, or centered on a male view point, one that typically involves domination over women. In this view, language directs the understanding of the roles assigned to men and women in patriarchal societies. Language is not independent of its social connotations and cannot be seen in isolation. It signifies meanings and commands and controls the attitudes rooted in specific cultures. This, in turn, gives meaning to our understandings and perceptions. Literature is one component that clearly demonstrates the ideas proposed by language. And if one examines literary history for example, it exclusively refers back to the concept of man, to *his* torment, and *his* desire to be (at) the origin. The reference is always directed back to the male, particularly to the father figure. There is an intrinsic bond between the philosophical and the literary (to the extent that it signifies, literature is commanded by the philosophical) and phallocentrism. The philosophical construct itself starts with the abasement of woman, the subordination of the feminine to the masculine order that appears to be the condition for the functioning of the society (Cixous 1992). This is a *man-made* world where *mankind* thrives. Darwin's theory of evolution for example, suggests that *mankind* has evolved through time into our present form. History (*his-story*) documents facts and findings about mankind as if mankind is an all inclusive term.

Language also directs the logic of cultural thinking. Language loaded with sexist terms has typically looked down on womanhood or glorified and tailored it to suit to the needs of male-dominated societies. Women in literature, for example, have been represented by male writers as embodiments of tolerance, affection, love, and patience, they are also portrayed as belligerent, wicked, and gossipy. Both sacred and profane roles are assigned to women and language has served as an instrument in establishing inequality by defining social rankings and promoting social hierarchies.

The discourse of language is loaded with images and metaphors used time and again to gain a certain meaning in specific sociocultural contexts. These meanings define the qualities attributed to people and inscribe undertones in what is signified. Femininity for example is pitted against masculinity. Powerful, strong, and huge are considered as one set of images with beautiful, tender, and soft as their opposites. The opposite of masculinity (femininity) is viewed as inferior. Thought in literature, philosophy, and criticism are typically

MONIQUE WITTIG'S "THE LANGUAGE YOU SPEAK"

French author and feminist theorist Monique Wittig (1935–2003) played an important role in challenging phallocentrism in language. In her own writing, she struggled passionately for a woman's voice free of male domination, which she attempted by both writing about sexism in language and by utilizing nongendered signifiers in her own stories, which were often centered on utopian societies devoid of men (Wittig 1976 and 1985). Following is an excerpt from her writing.

> The women say, the language you speak poisons your glottis tongue palate lips. They say, the language you speak is made up of words that are killing you. They say, the language you speak is made up of signs that rightly speaking designate what men have appropriated. (Monique Wittig in Showalter 1992, 341)

understood by opposition, by dual hierarchical opposition (Cixous 1992). The binary oppositions used in language unfortunately subscribe to a hierarchy that consciously or unconsciously control women's lives and writings; this is the view held by scholars who believe that language produces social reality. This view, which emerged through de Saussure's revolutionary thinking, continues to be put to the test in academic studies. Laurel Richardson (1997) provides a helpful list of six ways to think about how sexism is embedded in the English language.

1. By including *women* under the generic *man.*
2. By attributing different personality traits and career aspirations to men and women—"Nurses, secretaries, and school teachers are almost invariably referred to as 'she;' doctors, engineers, electricians, and presidents as 'he'" (Richardson 1997, 116).
3. By defining women as immature, incompetent, and incapable and males as mature, complete, and competent.
4. By defining women in terms of their sexual desirability (to men) and men in terms of their sexual prowess.
5. By defining women in terms of their relations to others (e.g., men, children, families) and men in terms of their relations to the world at large.
6. By using pejorative or demeaning language that is gendered (e.g., "lady," "mistress," "girlie," "hussy").

SEXISM IN LANGUAGE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF WOMANHOOD

According to Laurel Richardson (1997) and other feminist linguistic and literary scholars, language serves to reinforce gender difference in part by invoking specific notions of womanhood and domesticity. Patriarchal societies consider motherhood as one of the most important functions of womanhood. Motherhood is given a very special place and an ideal mother is portrayed and understood as an embodiment of womanhood. Through language, chastity

is valorized and chastity takes a prime place in the role-modeling of "a good woman." If a woman does not embody the role of the good woman she may be humiliated through insults to her body and sexuality. This is illustrated by proverbs from around the world:

> "Women are saints in the church, angels in the street, devils in the kitchen, and apes in bed." (English)
> "Women have got long hair and short sense." (Maltese)
> "Women have their brains below their knees." (Indian)
> "Of women and horses there are none without defects." (French)

Language contributes abundantly to the construction of domesticity as a domain for women. Susan Brownmiller (1984) speaks of "setting the table," the household game played by girls in the United States and elsewhere. Forks were placed to the left of the plate, knives and spoons to the right. When a knife or a fork dropped to the floor, it meant a man was unexpectedly coming for dinner. When a spoon dropped to the floor, it announced the surprise arrival of a female guest. Despite the fact that these visitors never arrived on cue, girls learned the rule of gender identification. Men were straight edged, sharply pronged, and

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GENDER STEREOTYPING IN LANGUAGE

Take a look at the following sentences.

- *Man* gives birth to *mankind.*
- "One small step for man, one giant step for mankind."
- "Man overboard!"
- We are so different from the *early man.*
- We (*men*) represent *mankind* and enjoy this land left behind for us by our *forefathers.*
- You need proper *manpower* to execute this plan.
- Our language should be so simple that even a *layman* can understand what is said.
- Students of fine arts should be familiar with the works of the *old masters*; only then can they be *masterful* enough to develop their own skills and have *one man shows.*

These are expressions that deny female existence altogether. Some feminist scholars have attempted to counter this usage of language by creating new words that do not invoke a traditional gender hierarchy, such as *womyn* (instead of women), *herstory* (instead of history), *chairperson* (instead of chairman), *Ms.* (instead of Mrs. or Miss), and *flight attendant* (instead of steward or stewardess). By contrasting these terms used for the same subject, we can see that there is a range of attitudes and feelings in society toward that subject. The use of these terms heavily influences how we think about men's and women's identities and societal roles.

Source: Richardson 1997.

formidable. Women were softly curved and held their food in a rounded well (Brownmiller 1984).

The idea of domesticity is generally associated with the state of being tamed and conditioned. Domesticity is related to the idea of home and all that it stands for. Domesticity gives security, shelter, and protection. Concepts such as family and children lead to the above conditioning. The socially constructed notions of motherhood, marriage, the duties of a wife or a daughter, and other icons of femininity and womanhood, all work as tools for fostering domesticity.

Concepts such as home, family, workplace, tradition, and other social constructs participate in the formation of domesticity. Language actively promotes the idea of domesticity through the meanings associated with these concepts. Women's space, for example, is often associated with metaphors of home and kitchen, and with jobs like cooking, washing, cleaning, and homemaking. These metaphors are associated with the notion of the feminine and in turn understood as nonmasculine and therefore nonintellectual. While women in literature have been represented by male writers as embodiments of tolerance, affection, love, and patience, they are also portrayed as belligerent, wicked, and gossipy. Both sacred and profane roles are assigned to women.

LANGUAGE: NATURE AND THE NATURAL

Elements of nature are exaggerated and beautified in literature. The beautification of nature is carried out by invoking the female body. The female body is brought to the forefront and nature is perceived in the form of a woman. The woman is appropriated to nature and a certain persona is sketched out for her. The femininity imposed on her in this manner is seen as natural to her.

For example, expressions such as *woman's heart* (a tender heart), *woman's natural expression, naturalness in her expression, purely feminine consciousness,* and so forth, are often used to characterize poems by women poets. If one looks carefully, these uses of language try to restrain women's poetic expression within traditional patriarchal frameworks (Sagar 2004).

Feminist critics have argued that it is important to "embark on a revisionist re-reading of our entire literary inheritance" (Hawkes 1985). While arguing the case for women's writing, Dale Spender (1989) criticizes Ian Watt (1963), author of *The Rise of the Novel,* and comments that the only reason why writings by women do not count in the histories of literature is the fact that they are written by women. Spender points out that the worth of women writers is not based on any consideration of their writing; it is a worth determined by their gender.

CONCLUSION

As feminist scholars have pointed out (Cixous 1992; Whitford 1991), because women use language in which the embedded metaphors and meanings are often molded to suit patriarchal interests, it becomes difficult to express opinions. Language itself reinscribes oppressive structures. Women in general, feminist

critics and women writers in particular, have shown resistance to the varied aspects of sexism in language in their own ways.

American, French, and British feminist critics have all drawn attention to the philosophical, linguistic, and practical problems of women's use of language and the debate over language is one of the most exciting areas in linguistic and literary criticism. Poets and writers have led the critiques of language, arguing that while it often appears to be abstract and void of social consequences, it is in fact through the medium of language that we define and categorize areas of difference and similarity, which in turn allows us to comprehend the world around us (Showalter 1992). Male-centered categorizations dominate American English and subtly shape our understanding and perception of reality; this is why attention has been increasingly directed to the inherently oppressive aspects of a male-constructed language system (Furnam in Showalter 1992).

The debate on sexism in language demonstrates the importance of language as a strong component of patriarchy. It reveals the role played by language in supporting women's lower status in society based on gender. Sexism in language recreates restricted social spaces for women and speaks as if these spaces are natural to them. However, feminist scholars disagree as to whether language should be prioritized as the primary source of critique or whether other factors such as culture, religion, or political economy should be viewed as "outside" language and as sources of sexism or gender inequalities themselves.

See also Education; Gender Socialization; Nature versus Nurture.

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Mamta Sagar

SEXUAL ASSAULT AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The gendered nature of sexual violence is well documented in academic research, organizational and policy studies, and government documents. Viewpoints on why men are responsible for the vast majority of rapes and cases of sexual harassment, with the victims being largely women and girls, often clash in the social, political, and advocacy arenas. Battles between nature and nurture, social construction and biology, and feminism and conservatism contribute to divergent views on both the causes and the consequences of these behaviors.

BACKGROUND

While men are sexually assaulted by women, and same-gender sexual assault does occur (for example, a man sexually assaults a man), statistics indicate that the majority of sexual violence perpetrators are men, and the majority of victims are women. In fact, 91 percent of the victims of sexual assault are women and 9 percent are men, and nearly 99 percent of offenders in single-victim assaults are men (BJS 1997). However, not all men who commit acts that meet the legal definition of sexual assault identify their behavior as such. For example, 1 in 12 male college students surveyed report engaging in acts that meet the legal definition of rape or attempted rape, but 84 percent of them report that what they did was "definitely not rape" (Warshaw 1994). The debate about the gendered nature of sexual violence exists in multiple contexts in society. Some argue that it is men's nature to sexually dominate and control women. Driven by a biological need to procreate, men sexually dominate women to ensure the continuation of the species and of their own biological line. Thus, when presented with a situation that imposes a barrier to reaching this goal, such as a woman who does not want to have sex, a man's biological predisposition takes the driver's seat, resulting in a disregard for the woman's wishes and leading to sexual assault. However, others argue that it is the patriarchal U.S. society and systemic oppression by men of women that explains the prevalence of men's sexual violence. In what is called a culture of violence, dominance and control are presented as positive attributes of masculinity in society. According to this argument, men and women's socialization begins in childhood, where toughness is valued in boys and submissiveness is valued in girls. Observers and advocates point out that these messages, paired with a society where men's sexual violence is tacitly accepted, lead to rampant sexual violence with minimal consequences.

THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE CONTINUUM

Regardless of their ideological perspectives on sexual violence, most observers would agree that the phenomenon of sexual violence in the United States has

grown into an epidemic. With statistics indicating that a rape occurs every 2.5 minutes in the United States and that one in every six women in the U.S. is a victim of rape or attempted rape (RAINN 2006), sexual violence causes increasing alarm and commands increasing attention. When viewed as a systematic form of violence, sexual violence is not seen as a single act; rather, sexual violence refers to a range of behaviors commonly described as a sexual violence continuum. These behaviors include stranger rape, date/acquaintance rape, intimate partner rape, and sexual harassment, as well as incest, child sexual abuse, voyeurism, and unwanted sexual touching. The concept of a sexual violence continuum is used as an explanatory model by rape crisis centers and sexual assault coalitions nationwide. While various versions of the model use slightly different stages, they generally refer to a range of behaviors beginning with socially accepted behavior and ending with sexually violent death.

This continuum serves as a road map for exploring the many facets of sexual violence in a larger, societal context.

SOCIAL NORMS VERSUS CRIMINALIZATION

While violent crimes such as stranger rape are criminalized in our society, the social norms, that is, the attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs that are considered acceptable in a society, about violence against women often contradict or undermine laws and policies. Thus, while institutional policies and laws may specifically denounce and sometimes criminalize a behavior, social norms may contradict this by allowing, or failing to respond to, certain behaviors. For example, in most states it is illegal to initiate sexual activity with someone who is asleep, as that person is unable to give consent to the activity. However, many fairy tales tell of a prince kissing a princess who is asleep as a result of a wicked spell. The kiss is the only thing that can break the spell, and it is seen as loving and romantic. In fact, many young girls wait for their "prince" to carry them off to a castle to live happily ever after. The idea, or social norm, that kissing a sleeping princess is romantic is both powerful and pervasive in U.S. culture, and strongly contradicts legal definitions of nonconsensual sexual behavior. Social norms create an atmosphere in which behaviors are accepted and even socially rewarded based on responses from peers. Imagine a situation in which a number of college-age young adults are attending a party. Most guests are drinking alcohol, there is music, and plenty of people are dancing and kissing. In this situation, there may be peer pressure for young women and men to behave in certain ways. Young men receive messages that they are supposed to "get a girl," and they receive positive peer reinforcement for initiating and maintaining intimate contact with one or more young women. In fact, the more the man encourages a woman to drink alcohol and engage in intimate behavior, the more social messages the man receives from his peers, praising him as a "stud." At the same time, the young woman receives messages that she should feel flattered by the sexual attention and that she should do as the man encourages or wants. The social norms of this situation send messages to the woman that she should not assert her own feelings or desires if it will cause a scene or embarrass the man, and the

man receives messages that he should continue to push the woman, regardless of her wishes. These messages create an environment where unwanted sexual behavior can occur with little or no intervention from bystanders. This has important consequences for the way observers of rape and sexual harassment patterns assign blame and design policies and laws to address these behaviors.

INDIVIDUAL BELIEF SYSTEMS

Despite existing social norms, sexual violence can occur only when the perpetrator holds individual belief systems that allow him to engage in sexually intrusive behavior. These belief systems include the ideas that men have ownership or control over women, that a woman owes a man sexual behavior in exchange for some interaction (for example, "If I buy you dinner, you owe me sex"), and that men have earned or have the right to sexual activity regardless of a woman's wishes. These belief systems are reinforced by the larger societal context of systemic oppression and sexism, which sends messages about gender roles, power, and control though the media and social norms. No amount of alcohol or peer pressure can "make" a person force sexual behavior on an unwilling participant if his/her individual belief system does not already support such action to some extent. The controversy lies in people's support for or opposition to individual belief systems that view rape as consensual ("even if she says 'no,' she means 'yes'") and in the belief that sexual harassment is natural and simply part of a man's natural sex drive, rather than an unjustifiable act of aggression toward a woman.

RAPE AND SEXUAL ASSAULT

While there are many legal definitions of *sexual assault* and *rape,* in general the terms refer to oral sexual contact or intercourse without consent. While stranger rape is the most publicized type of rape, it is one of the least often committed. Among female victims of sexual assault, 67 percent reported they were assaulted by intimate partners, relatives, friends, or acquaintances (Catalano 2005). In addition, only 8 percent of sexual assaults involve weapons, again in contradiction to the stereotypical idea of stranger rape. This is important, because societal myths about rape and sexual assault affect offenders, victims, bystanders, and those responding to the crimes through law enforcement and social service systems. In struggling with these myths, many victims either believe that the rape was their fault or fail to identify what happened to them as rape. According to one study, only approximately 35 percent of sexual assaults were reported to the police in 2004, an increase in recent years but still a rate substantially lower than the rates for non-interpersonal crimes (Catalano 2005). Many victims choose not to report because of shame, fear, guilt, or concern about others' perceptions. The responses of varying social systems, and in particular of law enforcement, can reinforce these feelings if the victim feels blamed by first responders. While on one hand the judicial system is set up to address charges of rape, based on the societal view that rape is wrong, in practice, many people find it difficult to address the issue, and there

RAPE MYTHS AND FACTS

Myth #1: If I am careful, I will never be raped.

Fact #1: Anyone can be raped. While there are steps people can take to protect themselves, such as going out with a friend or meeting dates in a public place, it is the rapist who chooses to assault the victim. Only the rapist can prevent the crime.

Myth #2: Rape is about sexual desire.

Fact #2: Rape is about power and control. Sex becomes the weapon of humiliation, not the goal.

Myth #3: Most rapists are strangers.

Fact #3: Approximately 60–80 percent of rape victims know their attacker, and for women 15–25 years old, 70 percent of sexual assaults happen during dates (Kanel 2007).

Myth #4: Women who are drinking or wearing revealing clothes are asking to be raped.

Fact #4: No one asks to be raped, and the rapist holds sole responsibility for the crime. Women should be able to wear anything and drink alcohol without fear of being sexually victimized.

Myth #5: Once men get turned on, they can't stop.

Fact #5: Could he stop if his mother walked in? (Kanel 2007, 233). There is no "point of no return." Both men and women can choose to stop sexual behavior at any point, even if the result may be discomfort or embarrassment.

Source: Adapted from Kanel 2007.

is often great silence and shame experienced by victims as well as by perpetrators, families, law enforcement officials, and other people involved in the process.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is even more difficult than rape to legally define and document; observers disagree as to when an act actually constitutes harassment. According to law, sexual harassment is an illegal form of sex discrimination that violates two federal laws: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Both laws address sexism and gender discrimination; the Civil Rights Act focuses on nondiscrimination in the workplace, while the Education Amendments focus on nondiscrimination in educational settings. As defined by the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission (USEEOC), "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment

when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment" (USEEOC 2002, 1). In an educational environment, this sexual harassment can "threaten a student's physical or emotional well-being, influence how well a student does in school, and make it difficult for a student to achieve his or her career goals" (U.S. Department of Education [ED] 2005, 1). There are two types of sexual harassment as defined by law: quid pro quo and hostile environment.

Quid pro quo, which means "something for something," is a type of sexual harassment that occurs when "an employee [or student] is required to choose between submitting to sexual advances or losing a tangible job [or educational] benefit" (Rubin 1995, 2). Examples may include a boss harassing an employee, a teacher harassing a student, or a coach harassing an athlete. In quid pro quo sexual harassment there must be a power differential between the target and the harasser. The harasser must be able to exercise control over the threatened job or educational benefit. Sexual harassment occurs regardless of whether the target chooses to accept the sexual behavior, as long as the conduct is unwelcome.

Hostile environment harassment is "unwelcome conduct that is so severe or pervasive as to change the conditions of the claimant's employment [or education] and create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment" (Rubin 1995). Hostile environment harassment can include gender- or sexual orientation–based jokes or comments, calling people by derogatory gender-related names (for example, "slut"), threats, touching of a sexual nature, offensive email or Web site messages, talking about one's sexual behaviors in front of others, spreading rumors about co-workers' or other students' sexual performance, and negative graffiti (for example, in a bathroom stall).

In general, the standard for sexual harassment is what a "reasonable person" would find offensive. However, a decision by a 1991 circuit court allowed for a "reasonable woman" standard, allowing for differences in perception of offensiveness across gender lines (Rubin 1995). Some argue that jokes, comments, and sexual innuendos are actually compliments to women, and are men's natural way of bringing their biological drive toward sexual behavior to the

NORTH COUNTRY

North Country, a Hollywood film starring Academy Award winner Charlize Theron, is based on the nonfiction bestseller *Class Action.* The film and book are based on the true story of Lois Jensen, one of the first women hired to work in a northern Michigan mine in 1975. As one of a handful of female miners in the company, Jensen was subjected to repeated incidents of harassment including derogatory language, pornographic graffiti, stalking, and physical assaults. In 1984, she decided to file a complaint against the company. Although at first other female miners were afraid to become plaintiffs in the case, eventually many of them joined Jensen and, with a strong team of lawyers, they won their case in court, making this case the first successful sexual harassment class action lawsuit in the United States.

forefront. However, men and women often report different perspectives on whether behavior is flattering or offensive.

Additional issues related to the legal criminalization of sexual harassment and rape concern encroachment on a person's sense of sexual safety and invasion of a person's space. This type of behavior may include a physical intrusion, such as "accidentally" brushing against someone in a sexual manner, but often does not involve actual touch. Sexual jokes, catcalls and whistles, leering at a sexual body part, and making sexual comments are all invasions of sexual space. Some argue that such behavior by men is actually complimentary to women, and frequently those who speak up by identifying such behavior as degrading and disrespectful are labeled as vindictive feminists, jealous, or too serious. Comments such as "Lighten up, it's a just a joke" reflect this view. Sexual assault activists argue that this type of commentary sends a message condoning harassment and also contributes to silencing bystanders who seek to intervene. According to some activists, unwanted sexual touch is the first point on the sexual violence continuum. This is a point at which gender role messages conflict with sexual safety. In most social settings, men receive positive messages with regard to engaging in such behavior in a public setting, and women are often acutely aware of the message that it is not acceptable to embarrass a man. Often, if a woman rebuffs the initial stages of sexual touching, this results in both the woman and the man being viewed negatively in a social context.

SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION: RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Traditional sexual assault prevention programs focus on risk reduction strategies for women and girls, teaching them how to avoid situations in which sexual assault is likely to occur, based on knowledge of risk factors. However, some argue that risk reduction programs inherently carry a biased view, namely, that victims can prevent sexual assault if they simply learn to behave in the "right way." Therefore, more recent strategies involve addressing men's socialization processes as well. Literature on engaging men in rape prevention activities focuses clearly on how essential it is to appeal to men as bystanders, not as perpetrators or potential perpetrators (Katz 2001). In order for bystanders to intervene, they must understand the dynamics and risks of sexual violence, have empathy for the devastating impact of sexual violence on victims, and have the skills and confidence to intervene. In social situations, many young people report feeling uncomfortable when they notice a woman who is the target of sexual attention that appears to be unwanted, but they also report feeling embarrassed at the reaction of their peers if they intervene (Warshaw 1994). Men's love and care for the women in their lives can be a powerful tool in building empathy. And it is men who are "embedded in peer culture" with other men and who are in the most influential position to intervene (Katz 2001, 7). Additionally, activists point out that we cannot challenge the systemic oppression of patriarchy, men's entitlement and privilege, and violence as acceptable without engaging men. According to Katz, "as empowered bystanders, men can interrupt attitudes in other

men that may lead to violence. They can respond to incidents of violence or harassment before, during or after the fact. They can model healthy relationships and peaceful conflict resolution" (2001, 7). Teaching men to intervene at the earlier stages of the sexual violence continuum, especially at the social norms and individual belief systems stages, will result in preventing sexual assaults from occurring.

CONCLUSION

When viewed through the lens of the sexual violence continuum, it can be seen that there is a clear connection between sexism, social norms that condone violence and the transgression of sexual boundaries, gender role socialization messages to men and women, and sexual harassment, abuse, and assault. According to this model, intervening at the initial stages will prevent the later stages (sexual violence). Ultimately, though, sexual assault activists argue that sexual violence will end only when it becomes completely intolerable in society. Due to long-held beliefs in men's innate sex drive and women's innate desire to be protected, conquered, or gazed upon, debates on how to address rape and sexual harassment will surely continue. Whereas some observers believe that the federal government should support sexual assault initiatives, others believe that only state or local governments or the private sector should be held responsible for addressing these behaviors. This reveals how difficult it is to legally address behaviors that we are socialized to see as naturally emanating from biology rather than from our social environments, although of course sexual assault activists have worked hard to change these beliefs.

See also Child Sexual Abuse; Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment.

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Kathryn Woods

SEXUAL IDENTITY AND ORIENTATION

The notion that every person has a sexual identity or a sexual orientation that can be described as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or heterosexual has become commonplace in modern industrialized Western nations. Controversies concerning sexual identity stem from debates on the causes of homosexuality and heterosexuality, the degree to which the environment shapes identity, the accuracy of the categories used to describe sexuality, and the question of which civil rights and forms of social justice should be extended or denied to people who define themselves according to sexual identity categories considered deviant by the majority.

BACKGROUND

Debates on sexual identity have tended to focus on the origins and meaning of homosexuality in modern society, obscuring until recently critical investigations of the causes and social implications of heterosexual behavior and the identities attached to it. Ethnographers and historians have documented a wide range of social and cultural contexts in which people we might describe today as gay, lesbian, or bisexual have been socially recognized, validated, and accepted. As early as 600 B.C., the first recorded laws mentioning homosexuality were found in ancient Crete and Sparta and encouraged men to engage in homoerotic relationships with one another. The late Yale historian John Boswell (1995) documented the Catholic Church's blessing of male same-sex unions over the course of several centuries leading up to the modern era, and ethnographer René Gremaux (1993) reported on a sizable number of cases of women, often called "sworn virgins," living as men in eastern European societies during the past century. The significant leadership roles of people of both sexes (two-spirit people) in North American Plains Indian tribes have been widely documented (Blackwood 1984; Roscoe 1993), as have the almost commonplace romantic friendships of women in the United States in the early twentieth century (Faderman 1998). In the broad sweep of history, people who express same-sex attractions have been valued and validated in a variety of ways across a wide range of contexts.

Laws against same-sex sexuality can also be dated back to the ancient world, particularly in cultures that adopted the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In contemporary nation-states around the globe, men and women who define themselves as gay or lesbian "suffer from discrimination virtually everywhere," as Adam, Duyvendak, and Krouwel note in their 1999 essay, "Gay and Lesbian Movements beyond Borders: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement." During the twentieth century, many of the world's countries formalized new laws oppressive of people whose sexual identities,

desires, or actions centered on people of the same sex. In some instances, homosexuality has been considered an illness as well as a crime, and those accused of same-sex sexual behavior have been not only imprisoned as criminals but also institutionalized and "treated" for mental illness, using a variety of methods that have often resulted in bodily and emotional harm—including lobotomy, sex change surgery, sexual aversion therapy, and sexual identity "reprogramming."

In response to this intensive repression, people who identify themselves as gay, lesbian, and bisexual have formed groups around their common marginalization; they and their allies have engaged in much social movement activity over the last 125 years in efforts to end the oppression of people in sexual minority groups. Adam, Duyvendak, and Krouwel (1999) note that around the world, local lesbian and gay activism focuses on two general issues: (1) ending discrimination and (2) creating public spaces in which gay and lesbian people may gather for political and social purposes.

In the United States, the early-twentieth-century homophile movement and its mid-century successor, the gay and lesbian liberation movement, worked to decriminalize homosexuality by lobbying legislators to remove antisodomy laws from local and state statutes (D'Emilio 1998). In a related move, the movement worked to depathologize homosexuality by convincing the American Psychiatric Association to remove "homosexuality" as a diagnostic category from its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual;* being able to diagnose homosexuality as a disease had allowed medical professionals to institutionalize lesbian and gay people and subject them to a range of horrifying "treatments" devised to "cure" people of homosexuality (D'Emilio 1998). After they won this victory, gay men and lesbians, who had collaborated to achieve this important goal, often saw themselves as having different interests and agendas, and developed somewhat segregated single-sex communities throughout the 1970s.

When the AIDS crisis began in the United States in the early 1980s, gay and lesbian activists began to collaborate more closely to end official government silence around AIDS, and to fight discrimination against those infected with the virus, as well as discrimination against the broader gay and lesbian population. The magnitude of the AIDS crisis in the United States and its devastating impact on the gay male population contributed to the politicization of many gay and lesbian people, as well as to the increased visibility of gay and lesbian people in the media, politics, art, education, religion, and other social institutions. In recent decades, in response to activist pressure, a number of countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, and Spain) have legalized same-sex marriage and created protections for gay and lesbian parents; still more have legalized same-sex unions (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, France, Germany, Finland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Britain). In other places, including the United States, debates rage on regarding whether same-sex couples should have rights equal to those of people in cross-sex relationships, including the right to marry, to legally protect their partnerships, to parent, and to be free from employment discrimination. Some states in the United States have legalized same-sex unions, while others have adopted amendments to their state constitutions precluding

the possibility of establishing same-sex marriage within those states. In some countries, homosexual acts remain punishable by death (Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Iran, the Chechen Republic, Saudi Arabia), imprisonment, or censure, and lesbian and gay activists continue to be subject to harassment.

WHAT "CAUSES" HOMOSEXUALITY? ETHICAL, CULTURAL, AND BIOLOGICAL DEBATES

Most of the discrimination, oppression, conflict, debate, and conversation around homosexuality centers on fundamental questions about (1) whether same-sex sexuality is "natural"; (2) whether human beings may legitimately be categorized as gay/lesbian, heterosexual, and bisexual; and (3) whether some of these identities are more morally acceptable than others. While the system of sexual categorization on which this conversation turns (gay/straight) is taken for granted in most contexts in the United States today, it is not universal. It has been the working model in Western industrialized nations for only a short period of time, and has diffused from these countries, which have a disproportionate impact on global culture, to other cultural contexts. Without the assumption that it is meaningful to describe people as being lesbian, gay, bisexual, or heterosexual, it would be impossible to talk about gay people and straight people, let alone to debate whether gay marriage should be legalized. It would still be possible, however, to advocate for same-sex marriage rights and to describe sexual behavior in terms of same-sex and opposite sex sexuality and affection. In short, while same-sex sexuality appears to be universal, describing same-sex sexuality in terms of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities, like describing cross-sex sexuality as attached to "straight" identity, is a product of scientific modernity in the Western industrialized world.

Just as racial categories are historically specific, culturally variable, and used by members of dominant racial groups to define "others" who may be deprived of rights and privileges, categories of sexual identity have been used by members of the dominant group to create sexual-social categories and to use their social, legal, and economic power to exclude members of "sexual minority" groups from full social rights and privileges. In the case of race, the social belief that members of each racialized category are biologically different from each other is contradicted by the scientific and social evidence that most people are multiracial in background. In the case of sexual identity/orientation, research indicates that, as a species, humans possess a far more fluid sexuality than the presumptive categories of sexual identity/orientation would indicate.

Although more people identify as heterosexual than as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, conversations about sexual identity and orientation often focus on the minority, for a number of reasons. These categories came into circulation in the late nineteenth century, originated by a group of European physicians. Working as "sexologists," these thinkers, mostly physician-scholars, were interested in how we as human beings experience and organize our sexual lives. Because they regarded same-sex sexuality as unusual or atypical, it served as a topic of much interest for investigation and theorizing (Ellis 1897, [1915] 1923). The French philosopher Michel Foucault (1990) has noted that before Western society could

talk about "the heterosexual," it first defined "the homosexual" as "a species." This conceptualization is consistent with that of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1963 [1893]), who had noted nearly a century earlier that in almost all domains, social groups define the deviant category first, as a way of establishing what is "normal" or "normative" in contrast to it; without the definition of which groups are " outgroups," we could not define which groups are "in" or "normal." As a result, conversations about sexual identity often focus on lesbian and gay identities instead of on straight or heterosexual identities; this allows heterosexual or straight identities to seem natural, normal, and right, instead of as deeply social in their invention and maintenance as every other sexual identity. Only recently have scholars begun to study heterosexual identity as a distinctive, culturally produced, identity form (Richardson 1996; Katz 1996).

WHAT IS SEXUAL ORIENTATION?

From a sociological perspective, the term *sexual orientation* connotes innate qualities of sexual attraction. Indeed, the term is used most commonly by people who make the assumption that people are born with some kind of sexual destiny or sexual constitution that is immutable. From this perspective, people are born with a predetermined or "hard-wired" sexuality that can technically be described as heterosexual (attracted to people of "the opposite" sex), homosexual (attracted to people of the same sex), or bisexual (attracted to people of both sexes). This particular assumption has an interesting political history. Sometimes it has been favored by those who oppose gay and lesbian rights, and sometimes it has been favored by the gay and lesbian movement, depending on the political climate and political goals of the period. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, during the heyday of the radical gay liberation movement, many gay activists argued that human sexuality was not fixed but fluid, that all people had both heterosexual and homosexual potential, and that as a society we needed to adopt a less rigid notion of sexual identity categories. The conservative counterdiscourse during this period involved the argument that people were born gay, that gayness was either a disorder or a disease in need of treatment, and that gay people should simply choose not to act on their same-sex attractions. In recent decades, the rhetoric of these two movements has been inverted. Mainstream gay and lesbian movement activists have adopted the position that people are born gay and, therefore, must be granted civil rights because to be discriminated against on the basis of an innate characteristic is patently unjust; the conservative antigay movement now frequently argues that being gay is a "lifestyle," and that people who live it should simply choose a "straight lifestyle" or face what members of the antigay movement believe to be justifiable discrimination (Herman 1997).

Is the direction of any individual's sexual attraction biologically determined? We know more about same-sex and opposite-sex sexuality at the levels of populations and species than we do about the causes of sexual attraction for any particular individual. Among humans, same-sex sexuality and affection have been documented widely, both transhistorically and cross-culturally, although the meanings assigned to sexual or romantic relationships between people of

the same sex have varied. For example, the anthropologist Gilbert Herdt documented male same-sex sexuality among the Sambia, a cultural group in New Guinea, in which boys are taught about sexuality by men who initiate them into sexual relationships over a period of years (Herdt 1987). Many of the boys go on to relationships with women, while some, as they come to maturity, prefer to assume the role of initiator. Among Plains Indian tribes in North America, women could take on male roles, marry women, and raise adopted children in these familial contexts; the women they married were seen as heterosexual women, while the "female-bodied men" were seen as men, not as women who loved women (Blackwood 1984; Roscoe 1993). In both instances, these forms of same-sex sexuality have been recognized and sanctioned by the community.

That there is much evidence of same-sex affection and sexuality among humans is not surprising, given its ubiquity among other species. In *Biological Exuberance: Animal Homosexuality and Natural Diversity,* biologist Bruce Bagemihl (1999) notes that homosexual behavior occurs in at least 450 animal species across the planet, in "every major geographic region and in every major animal group" (12). Far from being limited to the genital sexual contact that many imagine when they hear the word "sexuality," same-sex sexuality among animals, like same-sex and cross-sex sexuality among humans, involves a wide array of sensual, erotic, affectionate, and sexual behaviors. According to Bagemihl,

> On every continent, animals of the same sex seek each other out and have probably been doing so for millions of years. They court each other, using intricate and beautiful mating dances that are the result of eons of evolution. Males caress and kiss each other, showing tenderness and affection toward one another rather than just hostility and aggression.

SAME-SEX BONDING AMONG BOTTLENOSE DOLPHINS

In many species, same-sex pairs form lifelong bonds that include both sex and affection. One species in which this is common is the bottlenose dolphin. Adolescent male dolphins commonly travel in exclusively male groups, and within these groups they often initiate partnerships with other males that last the rest of their lives. These same-sex pairs, according to Bagemihl (1999), become "constant companions, often traveling widely; although sexual activity probably declines as they get older, it may continue to be a regular feature of such partnerships. Paired males sometimes take turns guarding or remaining vigilant while their partner rests. They also defend their mates against predators such as sharks and protect them while they are healing from wounds inflicted during predators' attacks. . . . On the death of his partner, a male may spend a long time searching for a new male companion—usually unsuccessfully, since most other males in the community are already paired and will not break their bonds. If, however, he can find another 'widower' whose male partner has died, the two may become a couple" (344).

Females form long-lasting pair bonds—or maybe meet just briefly for sex, rolling in passionate embraces or mounting one another. Animals of the same sex build nests and homes together, and many homosexual pairs raise young without members of the opposite sex. Other animals regularly have partners of both sexes, and some even live in communal groups where sexual activity is common among all members, male and female. Many creatures are "transgendered," crossing or combining characteristics of both males and females in their appearance or behavior. Amid this incredible variety of different patterns, one thing is certain: the animal kingdom is not just heterosexual. (11–12)

While there is much evidence that same-sex affection and sexuality are natural among the species living on Earth, the scientific evidence on the biological bases of sexual attraction/orientation/identity itself is both scant and weak, although many researchers have been interested in this question. In her research on "lesbians under the medical gaze," cultural theorist Jennifer Terry (1995) reviews the lengths to which the American physicians and scientists who succeeded the European sexologists in this line of enquiry went in their efforts to locate biological bases of difference between lesbians and heterosexual women. For instance, they mapped lesbians' heights and weights, tracked their facial features, and measured and sketched their genitals, expecting to discover physical differences that would explain differences in sexual interests and attraction. Although such efforts resulted in no determination of the bases for differentiating women into sexuality categories using gross anatomy, researchers have continued to pursue questions about biological differences between "gays" and "straights," investigating a wide range of possibilities, including differences in fetal exposure to sex hormones, genetic differences, and differences in brain development. Most of these studies have sought to establish people who consider themselves gay or lesbian as people of one sex who are somehow more like members of the opposite sex—thus, the researchers in Terry's study sought to establish lesbians as women with a sexual anatomy more like men's, while brain studies have investigated whether gay males' brains are "more like women's." By using a model of presumptive heterosexuality, such research ironically consistently positions gay and lesbian people as transgendered or proto-transsexual, instead of as people of one sex who are attracted to members of the same sex.

WHAT IS SEXUAL IDENTITY?

Setting aside the question of the causes of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality allows us to turn to the question of sexual identity. In sociological terms, identity involves individuals' or groups' senses of themselves. In the last 150 years in North America and Europe, and more recently in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, people have begun to think of themselves as having the sexual identities "lesbian," "gay," "bisexual," and "straight" or "heterosexual." Reflecting the work of the sexologists who defined these categories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these categories have undergirded the

THE CONTINUING SEARCH FOR BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN STRAIGHTS AND GAYS

During the late nineteenth century and through the first quarter of the twentieth century, scientific theorizing on the nature of homosexuality centered on the body; sexologists assumed that individuals who were sexually attracted to the same sex were somehow biologically or constitutionally different from those attracted to the opposite sex. Around the turn of the century, Sigmund Freud began to question biologically based theories of homosexuality, positing that homosexuality reflected psychological processes, not biological ones. A study in New York City conducted from 1935 to 1941 by the Committee for the Study of Sex Variants (Terry 1995) combined both theoretical models, asking homosexuals for details about their personal histories and relationship practices, and describing their bodies in painstaking detail, including the size, shape, and coloring of the genitalia. Such studies give evidence of the long-standing desire to define gay men and lesbians as biologically different from heterosexuals. Although such studies, conducted over nearly a century and a half, failed to identify biological sources of sexual differences between people, scientists continue to ask this question. Ethicists need to ask the related question: what difference would such a discovery make?

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efforts of dominant groups to pathologize and discriminate against those they consider deviant. In response, those oppressed by heterosexism in culture, society, and the law have challenged the limitations imposed upon them. As the dominant group wrote and enacted laws against gays and lesbians and same-sex sexuality, it actually helped to institutionalize the idea that people might define themselves as gay or lesbian. As more people came to define themselves in these terms, there emerged more visible lesbian and gay populations (D'Emilio 1998), and this, in turn, helped to establish the concept that everyone has a sexual identity that can be described in the terms mentioned above.

While the phrase "sexual identity" immediately draws our attention to sexuality, sexual identity often refers to more than sexual attraction or behavior. Because of the emergence of visible and politically active gay and lesbian movements and communities over the course of the last century, to have a gay or lesbian identity often means to have a sense of connection to those movements or those communities, whether one is sexually active or not, single or partnered, young or old, a member of a dominant racialized group or a member of a minority ethnic community. Recently, with the emergence of programs to support gay and lesbian youth in high schools, many people have been "coming out" in their teen years, developing a sense of identity as gay or lesbian before they have opportunities to date members of the same sex, just as heterosexual people often express their sexual identities in their adolescent years even before they become sexually active. Because heterosexuality is assumed to be the normative category, it has been undertheorized, compared with gay, lesbian, and other marginalized identities.

Sexual identity is often different from sexual behavior. In the United States, the same-sex behavior of men who are married and heterosexually identified was documented by the sociologist Laud Humphries in the 1960s. The AIDS crisis

made it even clearer that many whose social identities are rooted in one category engage in sexual behavior associated with other categories—for example, "straight" men who engage in sex with men, "gay" men who have sexual contact with women. Paula Rust's (2000) research on lesbian and bisexual women notes that many women with strong lesbian identities occasionally have sex with men without a disruption in their sense of self as lesbians.

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SEXUAL IDENTITY VERSUS SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Sexual identities and orientations might be codified in terms other than those provided by the current nomenclature, which focuses on what psychologists once called "object choice"—that is, the sex of the people to whom we are attracted. For example, we might conceptualize sexual proclivities along the lines of the sexual or affectionate activities people enjoy, the ways they express their sexuality in social spaces, or how they relate to others, regardless of sex, in sexual encounters. Within the current paradigm, which requires that we describe our own sexualities in terms of others—that is, the sexed bodies of those to whom we are attracted—debate continues to center on whether we are born straight, lesbian/gay, or bisexual; when we use the term *sexual orientation,* we signal our comfort with the idea that people have innate, immutable sexualities; when we use the term *sexual identity,* we situate identities in a broader context made up of communities, movements, politics, and the social world.

The significance of the biological determinist or biological essentialist view in political conversations on the status in society of people in the sexual minority cannot be underestimated. If we were to explore further the socially constructed qualities of heterosexuality, we would likely expand our understanding of the impact of both biology and social life on sexualities of all kinds. The recent ten-

TWO-SPIRIT PEOPLE

Plains Indian tribes in North America commonly recognized and valued "two-spirit people," who were called *berdache* by the Europeans who encountered and were reviled by them. Two-spirit people were/are commonly thought of as people with a spirit that is both masculine and feminine residing in one body, which may be biologically male or female. Historically, specific highly visible and important roles—such as spiritual leadership—were assigned to two-spirit people, who were often thought to have special powers and abilities because of their integration of the masculine and feminine. Two-spirit people were generally treated as members of their chosen sex, often enjoying special opportunities denied to other members of their biological sex—for example, male-bodied female two-spirits were often included in military expeditions from which female-bodied women would have been excluded. In many tribes, female-bodied two spirits married women and raised children with them, while being included in important tribal structures from which women historically were excluded.

dency within the lesbian and gay movement to promote an essentialist view of sexuality turns on the argument that if sexuality is a fixed feature of a person, gay and lesbian people cannot be expected either to change to comply with what feminist theorist Adrienne Rich (1980) has famously called "compulsory heterosexuality" or to live lives devoid of love, affection, sexual bonding, or the opportunities in civil society enjoyed by those in opposite-sex pairings. The essentialist view also promotes the drive to "prove" biological differences between gay/lesbian and straight people. Somewhat ironically, other oppressed groups— for example, women and people of color—have worked in the last century to use science to disprove their purported biological differences from majority groups that have used the idea of biological difference to justify discrimination. The risk for the gay and lesbian movement of promoting an essentialist view of sexuality is the risk of reestablishing the homosexuality as disease model, a model that may promote efforts to "cure" those seen as afflicted, whether through abortion, gene or hormone therapy, or surgery.

The concept of sexual identity puts aside questions of the etiology of sexuality as either innate or chosen and emphasizes instead a sense of self in relation to others, whether those others are romantic or sexual partners, members of a community or population, or participants in a social movement for change. Unlike the concept of sexual preference, which is currently out of vogue both in the lesbian, gay, and bisexual movement and among its antagonists, the concept of identity signifies a sense of a person in context. Nonetheless, because one's sexual identity and one's sexual behavior may not be perfectly correlated, epidemiologists, researchers, and sexual health advocates have recently begun to adopt language that simply conveys behavioral concepts, for example, by advising "women who have sex with men" "men who have sex with men" and "women who have sex with women" to take specific precautions against sexually transmitted diseases.

CONCLUSION

Cross-sex and opposite-sex bonds of affection and sexuality occur in a wide variety of species on our planet, including our own. Because we have limited understandings of the meaning of same-sex bonds among other animals, we may speak of their behaviors as heterosexual or homosexual or offer descriptions of their dyads as cross-sex or same-sex pairings. Among humans, the "meaning-making" species, contemporary Western interpretations of sexual affection, attraction, and behavior allow us to describe not only behaviors but also the identities that both reflect and inspire those behaviors. Although "lesbian," "gay," "bisexual," and "heterosexual" by no means constitute the only possible ways of constructing identities around sexuality, these categories have come to dominate Western thinking and popular discourse in the last century and a half. In the political sphere, activists for and against full civil rights for people defined as lesbian and gay continue to engage in debates around whether sexuality is innate or a function of culture and choice, assigning various meanings and implications to its origins, depending on their political goals. Although science has made repeated attempts to demonstrate essential differences between gays and straights,

no credible evidence has yet emerged indicating that sexual orientation/identity differences are a function of biology. Should such evidence emerge, those opposed to gay rights may well recommend altering the biological factors that produce same-sex desire, while advocates of gay rights will continue to argue that members of sexual minority groups should be accepted for who they are, without oppressive restrictions on their rights. Gay rights advocates might do well to consider changing the terms of this particular debate by emphasizing sexual identity over sexual orientation, since biological difference from a dominant group has almost universally worked against the interests of minority groups in U.S. history. By emphasizing instead the rights of all people in a democratic society to equal rights regardless of sex, gender, sexual identity, marital and parental status, partner choice, health status, sexual orientation, and race, no matter how individuals may have come to be defined in terms of these categories, activists in the lesbian and gay movement may create the foundation for a more thoughtful conversation oriented toward wider principles of social justice.

See also Heterosexism and Homophobia; Homosexual Reparative Therapy; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Movements; Queer; Sex versus Gender.

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Amber Ault

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND THE LAW

Debates concerning individual rights to sexual liberty and autonomy are rooted in the legal doctrines of economic due process, substantive due process, equal protection, and free speech, and in divergent views on what constitutes a legal minority group. While the Supreme Court has developed a framework that includes the decriminalization of sodomy, it has not yet recognized lesbian, gay, and bisexual people as a discrete and insular minority for purposes of strict review under equal protection, including in regard to harassment and hate crimes.

BACKGROUND

Sexual orientation has been understood in a variety of ways in legal arenas. Some argue that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people should be protected by the law; others argue that they do not merit the status of a protected class in the same way as groups exploited due to their race, creed, religion, or sex. In legal terms, a group of people that has been found in the court of law to be exploited is called a "discrete and insular minority." The Supreme Court has defined a discrete and insular minority as a group that shares an immutable characteristic, a history of discrimination, and a current state of political powerlessness. Courts have granted various levels of legal scrutiny for groups depending upon how they are viewed in the eyes of the law. For example, courts have granted strict scrutiny for groups defined by race or national origin, intermediate scrutiny for groups defined by gender, and low-level review for groups defined by sexual orientation, class, age, and disability. Future cases will continue to determine how each of these groups, including sexual minorities, will be legally treated.

LEGAL DOCTRINES THAT INFLUENCE HOW SEXUAL ORIENTATION IS LEGALLY UNDERSTOOD

To fully understand the intersection of sexual orientation and the law, it is important to address the four legal doctrines that have laid the groundwork for sexual liberty and autonomy: economic due process, equal protection, substantive due process, and freedom of speech. These legal doctrines stem from the Fourteenth Amendment, which was one of three Reconstruction amendments made to the U.S. Constitution following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. The amendment is commonly considered to be the guarantor of individual liberties. Three clauses are significant: the privileges and immunities clause, the due process clause, and the equal protection clause. The privileges and immunities clause

LAMBDA LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

The Lambda Legal Defense Fund is the oldest national legal advocacy group working in the United States on behalf of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people, and people living with HIV. Lambda selects the cases it will represent based on their potential impact on their target communities.

In the 1990s, much of the work done by Lambda had to do specifically with fighting attempts to prohibit antidiscrimination laws for LGBT people. This battle was largely won when the Supreme Court handed down its landmark decision in *Romer v. Evans.* Currently, the work done by Lambda focuses largely on national efforts to ensure that LGBT people enjoy the right to marry.

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was found by the Supreme Court in 1873 not to apply to laws made by the states. Therefore, this clause has been largely ineffective in guaranteeing the preservation of individual liberties. The due process clause, instead, has been the language from which the Court has determined what individual rights people may not be deprived of. Similarly, the equal protection clause is enforced by courts to prevent discrimination against discrete and insular minorities. Each of these clauses is significant for understanding how LGBT people are understood (or not) as discrete and insular minorities in the law.

The due process clause allows citizens to petition the U.S. courts to determine whether laws passed by the legislature are constitutional. Economic due process is the courts' practice of reviewing laws that regulate an individual's rights to own property or to contract. Substantive due process is the courts' practice of reviewing laws that regulate a person's private activities and relationships. The historical development of individual rights to sexual autonomy and liberty is grounded in the relationship between these two practices.

Contemporary interpretations of the equal protection clause stem from a 1938 case, when the Supreme Court handed down a decision in *United States v. Carolene Products.* In the "filled milk" case, it was argued that filled milk or milk with additives was sold more cheaply than products sold by other merchants, giving it an unfair comparative advantage in the market. Critics argue that the law was passed under pressure from special interest groups that had an investment in the profit from milk that was not filled. During the case, Justice Stone wrote that a more exacting and focused review might have been warranted if the filled-milk regulation was pointed at "discrete and insular minorities," implying that economic regulations are appropriate except if the regulation discriminates against a discrete and insular minority in violation of the equal protection clause.

The doctrine of substantive due process developed as the doctrine of economic due process declined and has important implications for contemporary legal debates on sexual privacy. Historically, the doctrine is substantiated by a series of decisions that debate the fundamental concept of "liberty" as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1923, the Supreme Court in *Meyer v. Nebraska* directed that the right to education was a fundamental component of "liberty."

Again in 1925, the Court affirmed that education was fundamental to individual liberty and held in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* that parents have the liberty to choose a private education for their children.

Until its decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), the Supreme Court had interpreted "liberty" to include rights that are expressly implied in the Bill of Rights. Yet, in *Griswold,* the Court found unconstitutional a state law that prohibited the use of contraception. Critics of the decision argue that the Framers of the Constitution took special care to enumerate which individual rights were protected; modern courts should not read beyond those rights to recognize new rights unintended by the Framers. On the other hand, supporters of the decision in *Griswold* argue a functionalist interpretation: the Constitution is a living document and was meant by the Framers to be a flexible and adaptable blueprint for individual liberties. The expansion of substantive due process is largely built upon this functionalist philosophy, which in *Griswold* was used to argue that a penumbra of implied rights emanated from each express right. The Court referred to these emanations as "zones of privacy."

SEXUAL PRIVACY AND THE LAW

Many of the Supreme Court's most controversial decisions have granted rights that exist in the zones of privacy, namely, abortion, marriage, and contraception, but the Supreme Court has only recently recognized sexual autonomy as a fundamental component of liberty. In 1986, the Supreme Court in *Bowers v. Hardwick* upheld a Georgia law that criminalized sodomy (sexual activity that is not intended for the purpose of reproduction) based on the rationale that states have the power to regulate the public health, safety, and welfare. This decision was criticized on grounds both of substantive due process (sexual activity is an individual liberty) and of equal protection (because the sodomy law was applied only to acts of sodomy between same-sex participants rather than to acts between participants of the opposite sex).

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)

Since 1920, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has been leading the battle to protect the civil liberties of citizens of the United States, particularly in regard to the right to free speech. The ACLU also works specifically with the LGBT community to ensure the installation of their constitutional rights. In this way, the ACLU often bridges the divide that sometimes exists between protecting the LGBT community and upholding civil liberties.

The ACLU has traditionally opposed cases that stripped students of their rights to free speech. The ACLU has recently supported the plaintiff in *Morse v. Frederick,* who was suspended in 2002 for displaying a sign saying "Bong Hits 4 Jesus" at a rally for the Olympic torch relay. The ACLU hopes that the Supreme Court will use the case to reaffirm its decision in *Tinker v. Bell,* which held that students retain their constitutional right to free speech while at school.

The Court's decision in *Bowers* was overruled in 2003 by its landmark decision in *Lawrence v. Texas.* Three justices dissented on grounds of stare decisis, the principle that laws should not be overturned, because people rely on laws for order and plan their lives accordingly. Justice Scalia further argued that the decision would result in the repeal of laws regulating bigamy, incest, same-sex marriage, and prostitution. The majority of justices, however, reasoned that consensual sex between adults is distinguishable from other sexual activities and ordered that the criminalization of these consensual, adult activities is a violation of the liberty guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court's decision in *Lawrence* has been the high-water mark for sexual liberties under the doctrine of substantive due process. Many gay rights advocates hope that the decision will be used to further convince courts that there is a constitutional right to marry. Under substantive due process, this achievement would require courts to find the right to same-sex marriage within the penumbras emanating from the Bill of Rights. If the right is to be found under the equal protection clause, then it will require an application of strict scrutiny and, as discussed, this application would be given only if same-sex couples were proven to be a discrete and insular minority.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND HARASSMENT IN SCHOOLS

Gay harassment in schools is another issue that has been raised in the courts. In 1996, in *James Nabozny v. Mary Podlesny et al.,* the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a gay student's constitutional rights were violated when his school did not protect him from being harassed and attacked for being gay. James had been "mock raped" by two other male students in front of 20 other students. On another day, male students took James into the restroom and pushed his head into the toilet. And finally, on yet another day, James was beaten so badly by other students in the hallway that he collapsed from internal bleeding. The school administrator, Mary Podlesny, told James and his parents that "boys will be boys" and that James should be prepared to accept such treatment because he was gay. When the harassment did not stop, school officials suggested that James should take a break from school. After nearly two weeks away, James returned; the harassment continued and James eventually attempted suicide.

James Nabozny filed his claim on grounds of equal protection, arguing that he had been discriminated against because of his sex and because of his sexual orientation. As to the claim for sex discrimination, the court found that it had occurred, because the school district admitted that it would have treated the case differently if James had been a female student attacked by a male student. As to the claim for sexual orientation, the court found that homosexuals are a discrete and insular minority for purposes of equal protection and accordingly found that there was no rational basis for allowing James to be harassed and attacked for being gay.

In response to the increased reporting of circumstances like those of James Nabozny, legislatures have begun to consider laws that prohibit harassment and

GAY LESBIAN STRAIGHT EDUCATION NETWORK (GLSEN)

The Gay Lesbian Straight Education Network (GLSEN) began as a local group in 1990 and has since become a national group composed of chapters all around the country. GLSEN focuses its mission on creating a world in which every child learns to accept and respect all people, regardless of their sexual orientation and gender expression.

One area in which GLSEN has been most productive is in its registering of gay-straight alliance (GSA) organizations in high schools and middle schools all over the country. A GSA organization functions in a school as a safe place for LGBT students and their allies. In its biannual report detailing the harassment and violence that LGBT students endure, GLSEN notes that schools that have a GSA organization are considerably more safe for LGBT students.

A second area in which GLSEN has been active has been the legislative lobbying for antiharassment statutes that prevent bullying based on sexual orientation and transgender identity. While only a handful of states currently have such laws, GLSEN hopes that the groundwork it lays by its annual reporting and continuous lobbying efforts will create change in the near future.

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bullying in schools. The Gay Lesbian Straight Education Network (GLSEN) defines this as one of their key objectives. Since 2001, GLSEN has published a biannual national report on the severity and pervasiveness of the harassment suffered in schools by lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) students. In 2004, GLSEN reported that 75 percent of students surveyed frequently heard the derogatory terms "faggot" or "dyke" at school and more than one-third of students surveyed reported experiencing physical harassment because of their sexual orientation or gender identity (Kosicw 2004).

The resistance to laws prohibiting harassment comes in many forms. Many policy makers are simply resistant to adding sexual orientation or transgender identity to any law that grants protections, for fear of strengthening the precedent for treating LGBT people as a discrete and insular minority. More interesting, however, are those legal advocates who are resistant to the antiharassment laws because of what they perceive as a conflict of interest between protecting the youth and protecting the values of free speech.

For example, this conflict was discussed by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in *David Warren Saxe et al. v. State College Area School District et al.* The plaintiff had brought a challenge to the defendant's implementation of a harassment policy that included the typical prohibitions of harassment based on sex, race, color, national origin, age, and disability but went further to include a "catch-all category of 'other personal characteristics'" including clothing, appearance, hobbies, values, or social skills. The Third Circuit, in an opinion written by current Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito, found the policy to be over-broad because it prohibited speech that was not vulgar and not sponsored by the school. The Court went on to state that the primary function of a public school is to educate its students and that unless speech is proven to be disruptive of this function, then it cannot be constitutionally prohibited.

The court's opinion in *Saxe* attempts to draw a line at which a student's right to free speech and expression overcomes another student's right to be free of harassment. On one side of the line, advocates for policies like the one implemented by the State College Area School District (SCAD) argue that language is a form of violence. An analogy might be drawn between verbal harassment and the violence suffered by James Nabozny: words, like physical violence, can be emotionally and psychically traumatizing to a student. Furthermore, harassment of any kind is an impediment to a student's right to education.

On the other side of the line, advocates for free speech argue that a person's substantive due process right to education and liberty does not extend to being free of any form of harassment at school. The danger in teaching children to be silent and not to acknowledge difference among individuals is more dangerous to democracy than is allowing students to be verbally taunted or even harassed. The speech that is prohibited by a policy such as SCAD's is distinguishable from the harassment endured by James Nabozny because that harassment clearly escalated to violence and inhibited Nabozny's ability to learn.

CONCLUSION

Today, while courts have incrementally protected lesbians, gays, and bisexuals, for the most part they continue to be seen as an unprotected group. The decriminalization of sodomy is one example of a federal legal protection; further successes have been limited to individual cases, as in the case of student James Nabozny, or to specific states, as in the case of the same-sex marriage law in Massachusetts.

In the case of school harassment, very few states have adopted laws that prevent bullying based on sexual orientation, gender identity, or other classes unrecognized by federal laws; but the debates that are occurring in statehouses regarding the principles of such legislation are debates that are grounded in the constitutional doctrines discussed above. The challenge of lawyers and advocates for LGBT people is to work within these complex frameworks of substantive due process and equal protection to find a balancing point of liberty that is also consistent with the values concerning free speech. More broadly, the legal framing of these debates will depend upon how the deeply entrenched values concerning privacy and the free expression of sexuality and gender evolve in the courts.

See also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Movements; Lesbians and Gays in the Military; Same-Sex Marriage; Sexual Identity and Orientation.

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Derek Mize

SPORTS: PROFESSIONAL

Although women's participation in professional sports has historically been discouraged, their increased participation in professional sports, including basketball, soccer, golf, and tennis, has been debated on the grounds of whether women's athleticism is an appropriate expression of femininity and whether women deserve equity in pay, media coverage, and treatment within the male-dominated sporting industry.

BACKGROUND

Because of political pressure, opportunities for women in professional sports are increasing. In the United States there are new participatory sporting leagues and women are working as coaches, commentators, media broadcasters, referees, sports writers, and trainers in both men's and women's sports. The Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) was successfully launched in 1997, albeit amid controversy; and several female tennis players, including sisters Venus and Serena Williams, have become media sensations, as have female golfers such as Korean American Michelle Wie (born 1989), who has also played on the male professional golf circuit. These openings, however, must be placed in social context and mediated by a discussion of cultural gender ideologies, patriarchal heteronormativity, social class and consumerism, postfeminism, and the politics of the women's movement as they have shaped the role of women in sports today.

WOMEN'S SPORTS AND GENDER EQUITY

Today, girls and women owe their opportunities for participation in professional sports to persistent and organized political pressure from members of the women's movement. For most of modern Western history, sporting activities

were characterized as exclusively male pursuits, effectively excluding half the population from participating. To counter the notion that women are physically unable to play or are uninterested in sports, activist groups have had to engage in sustained and creative confrontations to challenge firmly entrenched gender ideologies. They have also worked to reconstruct family obligations, in order to garner the time and resources necessary for women's active involvement in sports. These efforts have occurred at the global, national, and local levels.

In the United States, the most famous and no doubt most influential formal challenge to men's dominance over sports resources occurred in 1972. After activists had for decades engaged in lobbying the United States Congress, legislation in the form of Title IX of the Educational Amendments was passed. Although it took five years before the government enforced the law proclaiming that sex could not be used to exclude persons from participation in educational programs funded by federal dollars, it had an immediate impact on the everyday lives of girls and women and helped to create many professional opportunities in sports. It is interesting to note that this law did not even mention athletics. As many scholars of gender will argue, this lacuna speaks to the reality that sports are a crucial site for the contestation of gender politics in (post)modern times.

Internationally, activists have argued that sports are important arenas for enriching the lives of individual women through self-knowledge and expression, social interaction, body awareness, improved long-term health, skill development, and sheer enjoyment. Further, some groups contend that women's sports participation enriches communities, as sports are vehicles for social integration. When women are active in their communities, more responsible development occurs.

Those convictions underlie the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG), an activist group that promotes the development of physical activity and sport involvement for girls and women globally. The IWG's influence and efforts are vast and range from grassroots support to lobbying governments to fund international sports programs for women. The IWG was first formed in 1994 at an internationally diverse conference held in England. Concerned delegates from over 85 countries met to develop global equity standards that were initially known as the "Brighton Declaration." The unanimously signed document is used internationally by activists as they press for equal access to sports resources and opportunities. The IWG meets every four years to reaffirm its commitment to physical activity for women and to assess progress. These efforts and other pressures represent the now globally established goal of guaranteeing women and girls the right to sports participation, inspired and motivated by the women's movement.

"YOU THROW LIKE A GIRL!" GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND SPORTS

In almost all societies and throughout history, women have been limited by gender ideologies claiming that athleticism is a male characteristic. Activities involving coordination coupled with physical and emotional strength, control, and skill were reserved for men. Women's supposed inferiority in sports has long been seen as natural and the narratives surrounding sports support this notion. As

dominant ideology paints women as the opposite of men; taunting a boy by saying "he throws like a girl" is a common critical remark rhetorically framing girls' performance as the opposite of the performance of good (presumably male) athletes.

As social constructions, gender categories must be continually reified by people "doing" gender. "Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures'" (West and Zimmerman 1987, 126). Because gender ideologies become embodied, they are built into kinesthetic awareness of the way people move and experience the world with and through their bodies. This is one distinctive way in which sports, including athletics, matter in theorizing the implications of gender. Many feminist scholars argue that through sports, women tap into and utilize the power of their bodies and that this may have the transformative effect of empowering them. When society sees girls and women participate in a myriad of physical activities, it is challenging to the gender order, and this is why sports have been important sites for negotiating ideology.

Gender is powerfully displayed through sporting bodies, and institutionally sports, including athletics, are a primary site for the ideological construction of women and men as biologically different and as opposites. Physical activities are based on expectations and values that vary according to whether we are dealing with informal group recreation or inflexible, bureaucratically controlled sports organized for maximum individual competition. Sport sociologist Jay Coakley (2004) effectively contends that in the United States today, athletic activities are best understood as privileging a "power and performance" model. Here, sports that emphasize domination, competition, risk taking, quantitative record keeping, exclusive participation, hierarchy, and lifestyle-dominating commitment are prized, to the disadvantage of other ways of "doing" sports. These ideals are

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BABE DIDRIKSON ZAHARIAS, A WOMAN AHEAD OF HER TIME?

Babe Didrikson Zaharias, more commonly known as Babe Didrikson or simply "Babe" (1911–1956), grew up as a tomboy and played many sports traditionally viewed as belonging to the male domain, including basketball, track, golf, baseball, tennis, swimming, diving, boxing, volleyball, handball, bowling, billiards, skating, and cycling (Schwartz 2007). At a time when women were viewed as freakish or inappropriate, Babe qualified for five events in the track competition at the 1932 Olympics. She went on to become a golf star, winning 55 tournament victories, including three U.S. Women's Open tournaments. With her husband, George Zaharias, Patty Berg, and Fred Corcoran, she founded the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) in 1949. Babe was once voted the "Greatest Female Athlete" by the Associated Press. Despite criticism aimed at her from the media and from sports fans, she overcame great obstacles in order to pursue her athletic goals and passions. Biographer Susan E. Cayleff (1995, 1) says of Babe: "Her name, image, and impact transcended her deeds. She was like Muhammad Ali, whose magnetic presence overshadowed not only his competitors, but his era." Didrikson died of cancer at the age of 45.

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located in traditional masculine social constructions and are the standard by which sports forms are evaluated today. Football is now considered "America's pastime," as it epitomizes hegemonic masculinity, and although women have organized football leagues, they are not highly visible. When women play football organized for them by dominant groups it is called "powder puff football." Power and performance sports highlight powerful bodily performances and have been used as evidence of men's aggressive nature, their superiority over women, and their right to claim social and physical space as their own.

Prior to the mid 1970s, most people in society believed that women were too fragile to play sports. Traditional definitions of femininity relegated women to sports that could demonstrate their "natural" inclinations to grace and beauty, such as figure skating and gymnastics. Some women participated in swimming, tennis, and golf, but the power, strength, and speed aspects of those sports were downplayed. When organizers of professional tennis tournaments realized that women were competing "like men," they reduced the number of sets that women were required to play, justifying women's smaller earnings and alleging women's limited fitness.

Women athletes have demonstrated that claims to female fragility are rooted in ideology, not nature. In 1973, the famous match between female tennis pro Billie Jean King and former male tennis pro Bobby Riggs caught the eyes of the nation. At the height of the second wave women's movement, Riggs challenged King to play him in a "Battle of the Sexes" match on national television, which ended in King's victory. While clearly this match involved as much spectacle and sensationalism as actual sporting expertise, it nonetheless marked a historical moment in which a female athlete demonstrated that women are not always the "weaker sex."

PROFESSIONAL SPORTING LEAGUES

Historically, women's sporting leagues have ebbed and flowed, often reflecting the broader demand of U.S. culture to highlight women's athleticism when there has been a shortage of men, as in the case of the women's softball leagues established during World War II. As soon as the war ended, most of these women, many of whom had become excellent players, were asked to "return to their homes" so that men's sports could continue "as usual." This course of events, which was depicted in the 1992 Hollywood film, *A League of Their Own,* has occurred in other sports as well.

More recently, in the 1990s, an attempt was made for women to gain control over a women's professional sport, with the inauguration of the American Basketball League (ABL) in 1996 and the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) in 1997. The ABL played from October until March; players had salaries in the $40,000–$150,000 range; and the league was totally independent and self-supporting. The players had stock options in their organizations, played with the same size ball as men, used the same type of shots and shot clock, had timeouts and quarters, and played 44 games per season (Kampfner 2001, cited in Costa 2003, 156). Yet despite their tremendous start, ultimately they failed and had to dismantle the ABL the following year. Why did they fail? To begin with,

there was scant media attention: the media knew that the WNBA, the "sister" league of the NBA, was about to be launched. As a result, the media paid little attention to the ABL. Second, the ABL did not have sufficient financial backing. Whereas the WNBA had 11 sponsors and full financial backing from the corresponding NBA franchises, the ABL had little sponsor support and remained largely marginalized in mainstream press coverage of sports. Also, whereas the ABL season took place during the traditional basketball winter months with the men's NBA games, the WNBA season was arranged to take place during the summer months so as not to compete with the men's games.

To date, the teams of the WNBA and the NBA are the only professional teams that are close to gender and racial equity. This equality is the direct result of the way in which the WNBA was established. The commissioner of the NBA insisted that the women's teams be equal partners with their counterpart organizations in the NBA. They were given equal access to the same facilities for practices and games; equal access to coaching, media representation, officiating, and medical facilities; and most importantly, equal access to revenue dollars (Costa 2003). A total of 27 percent of WNBA players are from outside the United States, and many players spend the off-season playing for European teams.

In other sports, including golf and tennis, women's earnings have never equaled those of men, although the gender gap is closing in some sports and/or tournaments. For example, from 1996 to 2000, the annual LPGA prizes rose from $26.5 million to $38.5 million, a positive step, although men's prizes in the PGA range from $70 million to $167 million. Among the four Grand Slam tennis tournaments, held each year in Australia, France, Britain, and the United States, only Wimbledon continues to pay men more in winnings. According to one observer (Associated Press 2006), the All England Club argues that it is being fair to the men, while women tennis players call the practice a relic of the "Victorian Era." Additional sports that have been extremely supportive of women's leagues include soccer and volleyball, two sports that are played by women around the world. Despite the lack of support for male soccer teams in the United States, the women's national soccer team has won two Olympic gold medals (1996 and 2004), two Women's World Cups (1991 and 1999), and five Algarve Cups (2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, and 2007), attracting new forms of support and new respect for women's soccer in a country where the media and sporting industries have traditionally downplayed this sport because it represents cultures from which new Americans emigrated rather than the "new country" (Hartmann and Pfister 2003).

GENDER INEQUITIES IN SPORTS

While women have acquired some rights within professional sports, gender inequities in sports continue at institutional levels, both within the United States and globally. Simply counting the number of prospects for women in sports demonstrates the unequal distribution of resources and chances to play. For example, the 2004 Olympics in Athens had 125 medal events for women and 166 for men—of the 10,568 athletes, 41 percent were women. Women's groups

are currently challenging the International Olympic Committee's decision to eliminate softball as an event for women in the 2012 games. Included in the basic demand for gender equity and fairness is the recognition that softball can be played in "discreet" dress, which is particularly important for increasing the opportunities of Olympic participation for Muslim women (Feminist Majority Foundation 2007).

Prior to the 1980s, the longest distance women were permitted to run in track and field events was 1,500 meters. The Olympic Games' most famous race, the marathon, was reserved for men; organizers argued that women's health would be negatively affected if they ran such a distance. Several women runners, activists, and legislators demonstrated marathon success and then demanded that women have the right to run marathons. Seeing the opportunity to link their products with healthy active women, a number of corporations sponsored women's marathons in the 1980s and the event became almost mainstream (Lovett 1997).

MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOMEN IN SPORTS

The increased presence of women in professional sports has led to their increased coverage in the media. For the first time in history, beginning in the early 1990s, women have been able to see their exploits in sports consistently covered by the media. Although the amount and level of detail pales in com-

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BEND IT LIKE BECKHAM: FILM PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN'S SOCCER

Recent film productions from around the world have positively portrayed women entering the traditionally male domain of sports. The British film *Bend It like Beckham* (2002) depicts the clash of cultural ideologies present in two girls' lives as they explore their passion for soccer. One girl, Jess, is from an immigrant Punjabi family and her parents must contend with their daughter's dreams of becoming a soccer star like male soccer superstar David Beckham; the other, a white British girl, Jules, must contend with her mother's concern about her "becoming a lesbian." In Jess's case, because her parents prohibit her from playing soccer, she must sneak out to continue playing with her team, not always successfully hiding her passion. In the end, Jess's father comes to appreciate his daughter's talent, and her parents end up supporting her decision to attend college in the United States on a soccer scholarship.

Offside, a 2006 Iranian film, documents persistent gender biases in Iranian law that do not allow women or girls to attend public soccer matches. The film takes place during the 2005 World Cup qualifying match between Iran and Bahrain, and depicts several young women who each, for a variety of reasons, attempt to sneak into the game disguised as men. Discovered by the stadium police, they spend most of the game "offside," in a makeshift enclosed area outside the stadium walls, awaiting their transfer to jail. As with *Bend It like Beckham, Offside* highlights the contradictions experienced by family members and observers as they themselves must come to grips with their own reasons for barring women from either playing or viewing sports.

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parison with men's sports, there are increasing outlets for information. The media are a major force behind crafting the messages and meanings of women in professional sports. The Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) tour is consistently televised, as are many WNBA events and women's tennis matches that were previously viewed only on select channels or given sideline coverage. However, women's ice skating competitions receive the highest viewer ratings and many scholars attribute this popularity to the ideology of women in grace-and-beauty sports reifying gender expectations (Coakley 2004).

While the amount of coverage is modestly increasing, the form that the coverage takes is rather stereotypical. Women athletes feel as much pressure to look pretty (in that traditional, heterosexually seductive manner) as to hone their sporting skills. Many of the 2004 Olympic athletes posed for *Sports Illustrated* magazine in stages of undress, rather than in action photographs of their involvement in their respective sports, as most men are depicted. In 1999, after scoring the winning goal in the World Cup, soccer star Brandi Chastain peeled off her jersey revealing a discreet sports bra. This image of sheer joy and exuberance was translated into what the media referred to as a "strip tease" and she was offered endorsement deals for lingerie and later posed naked for a men's magazine (Messner, Duncan, and Cooky et al. 2003). Players in the WNBA are most often photographed in street clothes and with their children in an effort to frame this league as offering wholesome family entertainment. Many observers have pointed out that homophobia and women's sports have a long history and that the media most often objectify women athletes in a way that has historically pleased men (Kane 1998).

CONCLUSION

Because of political pressure and strongly motivated athletes, opportunities for women in professional sports are increasing. However, these openings must be placed in their social context and mediated by a discussion of social class and consumerism, the politics of gender roles, and gender equity advocates' demands in the shaping of modern sports industries. As many women have shown that they can play, perform, and succeed while maintaining their health and even raising families, historical arguments against women playing professional sports on the basis of their health are waning. However, female athletes are still portrayed by the media as graceful rather than strong, and as beautiful rather than powerful. An entire cosmetic fitness industry has surfaced, focusing on women as consumers of athletic products, with the idea of maintaining bodies that are attractive, rather than bodies that are active in sports. As many feminist and sports scholars continue to point out, in order for equity to be achieved in sports, such traditional gender ideologies must be challenged.

See also Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Title IX and Women's Sports.

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Carla Corroto

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TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Debates on what constitutes terrorism and responses to it in the form of national security involve historical and cultural perceptions of nationality, gender, family life, and citizenship. The debate about who is a terrorist and what should be national policy regarding terrorism is a contentious discourse with significant ramifications for women. Often, organized violence against women, such as rape, has not been considered a form of terrorism. Similarly, violent acts that prevent women from carrying out their caregiving roles have been left unexamined.

BACKGROUND

Terrorism, like nationalism, is related to political legitimacy. Global terrorism encompasses any collectively planned and systematically implemented injurious acts by a group against another group for political and economic goals (Gerami and Lehnerer, 2007). The gendered nature of terrorism and nationalism is revealed in the manipulation of biological sex and the cultural role expectations that accompany it. Consequently, global terrorism and national security become interrelated processes that affect women in many ways, from bodily injury including sexual assault to deliberate disruption of their social roles as caregivers.

Systematic sexual assault is a strategy of terrorizing a population, destabilizing a community, and challenging its national security. It is uniquely directed at women's bodies and at women's ability to reproduce. Rape is more than humiliation of the female victim and an attack on her (presumably male) partner; it is used to annihilate an ethnic group through forced impregnation

and childbearing (Allen 1996). The cases of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda serve as examples of the ways in which women's bodies and social roles can be used to construct ethnic unity, territorial integrity, and national security. The relationship of Iraqi women to American women illustrates a more subtle effect of fighting, or conversely, using terrorism to secure national security. In this case the social roles of women as nurturers and caregivers are used to create and defend political policies that pit women against each other based on nationality and ethnicity.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: MASS RAPE FOR THE SAKE OF ETHNIC HOMOGENEITY

The UN Commission on Human Rights in 1993 recognized systematic rape, forced slavery, forced pregnancy, and forced prostitution of women as war crimes (Barstow 2000, 237). In 1996, eight Bosnian Serb military and police officers were indicted on charges of raping Bosnian Muslim women (Enloe 2000, 135). It has become evident from the proceedings of the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, that Serbia is the modern exemplar for the use of women's bodies through rape as a weapon of war. The actions of the Serbian military (1991–1995) were directed at women's bodies and their reproductive capabilities with the goal of terrorism and ethnic cleansing.

Ethnic cleansing is accomplished through the use of "concentration camps, torture, sexual violence, mass killings, forced deportations, destruction of private and cultural property, pillage and theft, and the blocking of humanitarian aid" (Bassiouni and McCormick 1996, 5). Although all of these tactics were utilized by the Serbs, it was the use of rape and forced pregnancy that was most significant in regard to the construction of national security. It is estimated that twenty thousand women were tortured and raped during this conflict. The goal of this policy was to create a "greater Serbia" that would be a religiously, culturally, and linguistically homogenous Serbian nation (Bassiouni and McCormick 1996). This policy was planned and implemented by Serbian political and military leaders with the support of Serbian and Bosnian Serb armies and paramilitary groups.

The history of this policy begins in 1992 with the release of a Serbian ruling party document entitled "Warning" (Salzman 2000). This document, focusing on demographic issues, highlighted the fact that Albanians, Muslims, and Roman Catholics had much higher birthrates than Serbian women. A resolution was drafted that mandated a program of "population renewal." This program outlined a policy that was intended to stimulate birthrates in Serbian parts of the country and to deliberately lower birthrates in non-Serbian parts of the country. The Serbian Orthodox Church identified the low birthrate of Serbian women as the "White Plague" (Papic 1995). With the combination of political and religious forces, the cultural stage was set for the use of women's bodies to destroy the enemy's community, forge nationalism, and achieve security. Serbian women's bodies were to produce soldiers for themselves, Serbia, and God. Non-Serbian women's bodies were targeted for rape that ended in either death or impregnation.

Referring to the Serbian military policy of genocidal rape to achieve ethnic cleansing, Allen (1996) identifies three practices making it clear that the use of rape had as its endpoint ethnic cleansing. First, prior to the arrival of the Serbian military, locals who supported Serbian policy would publicly rape the women in their community. The women and other members of the community would flee and be unlikely to return, knowing that their assailants were there. Second, within Serb concentration camps, Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Croatian women were raped and then murdered. Third, at the "rape/death camps," the Serbians practiced forced impregnation through rape. As Allen (1996) points out, this last practice does not seem like a logical way to achieve ethnic cleansing. But, if we turn to the dialectical relationship between terrorism and national security we find logic behind this practice.

The reproduction of a "desirable" population as a means of achieving national security can only be understood if we recognize that the Serbs accepted the patriarchal myth that the father determines the ethnic identity of the child. What makes this belief even more powerful is the fact that it was also accepted by the victims, their families, and their communities (Salzman 2000, 79). As women from the rape/death camps have reported, their attackers would say they intended to have the women produce "Chetnik" or Serbian babies (Stiglmayer 1994). The intended outcome of ethnic cleansing is to remove the undesirables that are perceived as a threat to ethnic domination and national security. Fear of the "other" is the strong cord that links terrorism, national security, and gender. Fear of the other can be triggered internally as in the Serbian case or externally as in the Rwandan case.

DID YOU KNOW?

- The first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women took place in 1976. It was attended by over 2,000 activists, policy-makers, and advocates from over 40 countries. This and later conferences addressing systematic patterns of rape in war-torn countries such as the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda led to the establishment of institutional mechanisms for addressing rape as a war crime, as a crime against humanity, and/or as an act of genocide; the three areas covered in the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, which took force in 2002.
- The Rome Statute, the treaty that established the International Criminal Court in 2002, includes as rape those situations where the victim is deprived of her ability to consent to sex, including providing sex to avoid harm or to obtain basic necessities.
- The Rome Statute states that when rape and sexual violence are committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, they are considered crimes against humanity, and in some cases may constitute an element of genocide.

Source: Amnesty International, "Rape As a Tool of War: A Fact Sheet," available at: http://www.amnestyusa.org/women/pdf/rapeinwartime.pdf.

RWANDA: RAPE AS A MEANS TO TERRORIZE

The civil war in Rwanda (1993–1994) must be placed in historical context to appreciate the influence of colonization. The Banyarwandans, as they were known before colonialism, were composed of social strata defined by their relation to property, power, and the sharing of a language (Flanders 2000). The crossing of lines between groups was practiced, yielding a flexible and productive state in the middle of Africa. Belgium colonialists, applying nineteenth-century race theory, took over this state and began to classify groups according to "race." The Tutsis were identified as the "superior" race because of a mythologized connection to European roots. Tutsi women were idealized as being more beautiful than Hutu women. This idealization eventually set the stage for the events of 1994.

In addition, colonists backed the Tutsi leadership in their suppression of the Hutu. Most significant is the fact that the Belgium colonialists instituted a policy that not only grouped people according to "race" but issued identity cards that placed all Rwandans in groups. These groups were given more or less political power dependent upon Belgium backing. When independence was achieved in 1959, the members of the Tutsi minority not only lost power but were the recipients of a deadly backlash against past aggression. Over time and through many waves of violence between the Tutsis and the Hutus, Tutsi women were singled out by propagandists as "seductress spies" or female "serpents." Propagandists promoted a stereotype of Tutsi women as "arrogant, deceptive, and sexually special" (Flanders 2000, 97). When the genocide of 1994 began, Hutus were culturally prepared to wreak havoc on the bodies of Tutsi women. The "European" physiology of these women, including noses, necks, and fingers as well as genitals, was attacked symbolically and physically. As one survivor states, it was as if her rapist wanted to "see what Tutsis look like inside" (Flanders 2000, 97).

Between April and July of 1994, it is estimated that between 500,000 and one million men, women, and children were murdered in Rwanda. This genocide was perpetrated by the ruling Hutu government against the Tutsi minority and moderate Hutus. Women were systematically raped and often killed, with the intent of (1) dishonoring the women, and (2) making them unable to have Tutsi children. In contrast to the Serbian intent to produce more Serbians, the Hutus' intent was to ensure there would be no more Tutsis. This strategy was driven by the fact that the Tutsis, by cultural practice, would not marry a woman who had been raped by a Hutu (Barstow 2000, 238). The mark of the other on a woman's body made her a threat to ethnic unity and national security.

THE WAR ON TERROR: THE BOND THAT BINDS IRAQI
AND AMERICAN WOMEN

The United States' War on Terror, culminating in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, connects Iraqi and American women across international borders in the name of national security. Iraqi women and girls pay for America's definition of national security in many ways: they are victims of car bombings and random killings by insurgents or raids by U.S. forces. They lose children and other family members

and are becoming heads of households as men are killed, imprisoned, or leave to find work in neighboring countries. They are harassed by extremist forces on all sides as a convenient target of factional fights. Many are forced to leave their homes and become internally displaced persons or refugees outside the country.

For Iraqi women, Saddam Hussein's regime was a double-edged sword of socialist gender equality and cruel suppression of ethnic minorities. Iraqi women had one of the highest levels of legal protection among Arab countries. But Saddam Hussein's desire for regional control and his manipulation by the superpowers exposed Iraqi women to the hardship of three wars (war with Iran, 1980–1988; war with Kuwait, 1991; and war with America, 2003), the longest recorded embargo, and foreign invasions. Kurdish, Shiite, and now Sunni women continue to pay the double price of gender and ethnicity.

From 1991 to 2003, Iraqi women suffered the physical and social consequences of a long and difficult scarcity, planned presumably to stifle Hussein's plans for global terrorism and guarantee the national security of the Western powers. The effects of sanctions on the population were more severe than the effects of the eight-year war with Iran. After the Iran/Iraq war, Iraq was 50th out of 130 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index, with 97 percent of urban and 78 percent of rural population receiving primary healthcare and a school attendance rate of 83 percent. By 1995, Iraq had descended to 106th out of 174 countries and by 2000 to 126th. Between 1995 and 2000, infant mortality, which had declined during the two wars to about 60 per 1,000 live births, skyrocketed to 107 per 1,000 live births. The effects of this process of *de-development* are 10 times greater than the effects of the civil strife in Rwanda or of HIV/AIDS in South Africa (UNICEF 2003).

Since the start of the U.S./Iraq war in 2003, the conflict has seen over 3,000 American soldiers killed and an estimated 54,000 Iraqi civilians becoming casualties (Iraq Body Count Project January 2007). More than one million people have been internally displaced due to the 1991 war, Saddam Hussein's policies, and the current war. The fate of Iraqi women goes beyond death and the loss of loved ones. The current Iraqi government does not have the budget or the bureaucratic machinery to care for the families of dead soldiers or civilians. Amnesty International warns of the hazards of insecurity for women, including a potential rise in domestic violence (2005). Women who have lost husbands or family members to random car bombings or shootings fare badly when attempting to care for children. A report issued in November 2004 documented a 7 percent increase in malnutrition among children under the age of five since the current war began (Vick 2004). Since women are socially responsible for the care of children, caring for their families under the conditions of war is an often invisible burden that they have to bear.

American women have two interlocking functions in the post-9/11 War on Terror. Their role in the military campaign in Iraq is used to gender the war and make it inclusive. Politicians, speakers, and the media often use variations on the theme of "our men and women" in Iraq, "our men and women soldiers," and "our young men and women in uniform." This challenges the soldier-as-masculine notion, makes the war inclusive and more humane, and elicits a supportive response. While

it is true that women make up approximately 10 percent (17,000 members) of the forces conducting the military operation in Iraq (Ginty 2005), what is left unsaid is the high concentration of working class and racial minorities in the troops.

Similarly, variations on the words "military families" are intended to make the War on Terror part of the "family values" campaign of the conservative right in America. Another aspect of women's roles in the campaign is the use of military families against the antiwar/peace movement. During the past five years, whenever there is a sign declaring "Peace," or "Stop the War," there is an opposition sign, not expressing support for the war but saying "Support Our Troops."

Those with family members involved in the war pay a psychological, financial, and emotional price of government policy. The physical cost to women is less severe than the psychological and financial hardships they endure. They struggle with anxiety for family members' safety, and those who have lost loved ones always carry the emotional pain of the question, "Was it worth it?"

The roles of American and Iraqi women collide when we consider that a declared message of the war on terrorism is the liberation of Muslim women from the tyranny of their culture. According to Mrs. Laura Bush in a radio address of November 17, 2001, "The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women." By constructing Arab and Muslim women as victims in need of U.S. liberation, American policy makes violence against women an essential element in any definition of terrorism and national security. Hatem refers to this as "condescending" (2005, 39); and Cooke points out that "Politics in the era of U.S. empire disappears behind the veil of women's victimization" (2002, 469); that is, that political motives hide behind a humanitarian screen. Ironically, when fighting Soviet expansionism, the same imperialist notion of national security ignored the terrorizing of Afghan women by the Mojahidin and later by the Taliban, and dismissed women's calls for action against these groups.

CONCLUSION

An act of violence becomes terrorism when it is so defined, first, by those with the power of definition, and, second, by the victims. For the victims' definition to become accepted, ultimately it needs the powerful group's blessing, otherwise it will remain a marginal definition. In the cases covered, manipulating women's ability to reproduce and their social obligation to care for others became the cornerstone of terrorist as well as national security strategies. Therefore, any comprehensive discussion of terrorism and national security must include recognition and an examination of the various forms of violence directed at women and their dependents.

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Leftist Armed Struggle; Nationalism; Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment.

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THIRD GENDERS

"Third gender" is a concept that loosely refers to those individuals whose identities fall outside the Western binary of traditional male and female gender identities, roles, and forms of expression. Western scholars disagree as to whether third genders are simply deviant expressions of the traditional male versus female gender binary, or whether they represent a broader range of gender identity and expression that is simply limited by Western philosophical and medical understandings of identity.

BACKGROUND

There is inconsistency in the terminology that is used for third gender individuals across historical time periods and in different cultures. The clearest distinctions are between those individuals who assume a gender role not usually associated with their sex type due to cultural needs of inheritance and family leadership but are *not* seen as third genders; those who are seen as not-men and not-women, who fulfill occupational or spiritual roles in their communities, and *are* accepted as third genders; and finally, those who defy the connection between biology and gender and display alternative gender conceptions but are

denied third gender recognition. While perhaps a matter of semantics, these differences tell us quite a lot about a particular culture's understandings of gender and level of patriarchal control.

Whereas in Western culture, biology is the primary means by which gender is understood, in other cultures around the world one's occupation, social role, or spiritual role may predominate in terms of how gender is understood and how familial and community gender relations are organized. The *hijras* of northern India, for example, are among the most visible and culturally accepted third genders in the world (Nanda 1998). In Hindu traditions, multiple sexes and genders among humans and deities are often celebrated. *Hijras,* typically young boys who either choose to become *hijra* or are offered by their families to a *hijra* community, undergo ritual castration and dress as women. The name is sometimes translated as *eunich,* although in modern times some *hijra* may identify as transgender, cross-dressers, or gay men. After their operation and bodily transformation, they become agents of the Mother Goddess and acquire a spiritual status in traditional Hindu communities. They perform at weddings, births, and festivals, bestowing good fortune upon the participants. While sometimes viewed as objects of scorn, especially in contemporary society with its increasingly Westernized attitudes, this scorn is sometimes limited by the fact that their powers can also be used to bring misfortune upon a newly married couple or a newborn.

Another example concerns the *mahu* ("half-man, half-woman") of Tahiti and contemporary Hawaii. *Mahu* are males (as defined at birth) who take on feminine traits. In Samoa, males who take on feminine characteristics are called *fa'afafine* ("like a woman"); in Tonga they are called *fakaleiti* ("lady"). In Polynesia, these gender variants are not associated with a specific ideology, sacred meaning, or cultural role. The main signifier is that they engage in women's work. Other feminine gender markers include dress, speech, and dance.

The *acault* of Southeast Asia are men who take on feminine behaviors and traits due to spirit possession by the goddess Manguedon. They act as shamans and seers and are valued for the good fortune and success they bring as agents of the goddess.

ALBANIAN SWORN VIRGINS

Albanian "sworn virgins" are honorary men living mostly in remote areas of the northern part of the country. Their existence is a response to the need for a male head of household in a strict patriarchal society. If a family is without a son, there is no one to inherit the house, head the family, take care of the parents' souls after death, or defend the family. The "sworn virgins" wear men's clothing and take on men's roles, for example, taking up arms in blood feuds to defend the family's honor and representing the family in village meetings. In all cases, sworn virgins are celibate and can never marry or have children. Sworn virgins are not men because they identify as men in terms of biology or gender identification; rather, they become social men due to the specific social and economic needs of their culture.

In many African societies, women may become social males with all the privileges men enjoy; these women have been called "female husbands" by Western anthropologists. They own property and participate in community politics. The social male pays bridewealth for a wife and becomes the legal and social father of the wife's children. This is the case, for instance, among the Nandi of Kenya, where the female husband is an older woman who has not produced a male heir.

NATIVE AMERICAN THIRD AND FOURTH GENDERS/TWO SPIRITS

As elsewhere, third genders exist in North America, although scholars disagree as to how to conceptualize their identities. Historically, alternative gender roles were a distinctive aspect of some native societies throughout North America. They were originally known as *berdache* (a term meaning "male prostitute"), but today many of them self-identify as " two-spirit" people, a term also reclaimed by gay and lesbian Native Americans in recent decades. Will Roscoe has documented third genders (male-bodied two spirits) and fourth genders (female-bodied two spirits) in numerous North American tribes. According to Roscoe's accounts, the specifics of their gender behaviors were quite variable. Some cross-dressed, while others did not; some performed the work of both males and females, others the work of only one gender. In fact, the range of terms used for third and fourth gender people in different tribal languages demonstrates the adaptation of tribal cultures to the reality of two-spirit people. By the late 1800s, Native Americans were a conquered people and two-spirit people particularly suffered. As a consequence of the colonizers' rejection of two-spirit people, they were jailed, killed, or forced to use clothes and hair cuts different from those they wanted (Roscoe 1998).

THIRD GENDERS IN THE CONTEMPORARY UNITED STATES

Gender is viewed as an incontrovertible biological fact in the United States; this is a cultural assumption that makes the idea of third gender impossible to understand for most people. If someone identifies as a transsexual (a person whose gender identity does not match the body), that person is often pathologized with the psychological diagnosis of gender identity disorder. Sex reassignment surgery is then considered as a treatment option. The surgical focus on the genitals shows how solid is the acceptance of genitals as the determinants of sex and gender in the United States. There are no ritual roles for third gender people in the United States. However, there is a political movement advocating for the acceptance of fluid or alternative gender behaviors, types, and roles.

Alternative conceptions of gender include those of androgynous people who do not identify as men or as women and/or who want ambiguous gender presentations; butch women who view butch as a gender of its own, not just being masculine women; genderqueers who reject the sex and gender binaries and want to look and act according to different gender combinations or alter their gender based on their feelings; drag kings and drag queens who perform gender for entertainment; male cross-dressers who are content to be men but want

to express their femininity by presenting as females at times; transsexuals who go through varying stages of transition to live as the gender they feel they are, which is contrary to the body type with which they were born; and transgender individuals. The distinctions between some of these categories are often unclear, but there are some shared characteristics—no one in these categories feels completely at home with the traditional masculine/feminine binary and all of these individuals are stigmatized and lack civil rights.

CONCLUSION

The treatment of third gender individuals varies historically and geographically. In countries and regions where gender is defined less by biology than by occupational or spiritual status, the connection between the literal physical body and gender is less rigid than in Western societies. Where there is a religious or spiritual paradigm for mixed roles and genders and where individuals can occupy spiritual roles regardless of their biological sex, as in Hinduism, the idea of a third gender has been historically accepted. However, these individuals may not be literally called members of a third gender. Rather, they are integrated into the culture to varying degrees, recognized as not-men and not-women, feminine men, or female husbands.

In parts of the world where there are individuals who defy a gender binary and the culture relies primarily on biology to determine gender, third genders tend not to be socially accepted. In the United States, for example, there is no concept of third gender, even though there is a variety of people who reject strict gender roles. These people tend to experience discrimination and stigmatization as a result of these rigid gender categories.

See also Femininities and Masculinities; Queer; Transgender and Transsexual Identities.

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Lori Girshick

THIRD WORLD AND WOMEN OF COLOR FEMINISMS

Third world feminisms critique white privilege, stereotyping, and indifference to race in multiple social arenas. Third world feminist scholars argue

that white feminists have achieved certain forms of equality through excluding women of color and poor women. Some white feminists disagree, and believe that equality-based feminism is accessible to all women, regardless of their class, racial background, or ethnic background.

BACKGROUND

Western feminism has long been understood as the standard feminist method of discussing and writing about issues of race and gender and advocating for the right of women to control their bodies and gain equality within the workplace. Third world feminism has emerged from women in third world countries and from women of color in the United States who have introduced new ways of understanding and critiquing Western feminism. Some women of color in the United States have called themselves third world feminists to describe their positions as members of groups colonized by the United States or by European countries. Thus, the concept of "third world feminism" has been adopted by women of color in Western countries, and the concept is also used in analyses of feminisms and women's movements in non-Western countries.

Since third world women belong to the lowest level of the social, economic, and feminist hierarchy, third world feminists provide an analysis and critique of "living under the Western gaze" (that is, under the gaze of the Western world, which includes industrialized countries). Third world feminists such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991) critique Western feminism for examining women in non-Western contexts through an exclusively Western understanding of gender, racial, and class relations. Mohanty, who was born and raised in India and came to the United States to attend graduate school and work as a professor, argues that Western feminist perspectives on non-Western women's lives are part and parcel of the Western tendency to reduce all women in third world countries to the categories of "poor, illiterate, downtrodden and backward." Theorists of third world feminisms, such as African studies scholar Patricia McFadden, characterize African feminist thinking as committed to removing the monolithic view of African women as victims of sexual and imperial exploitation and oppression. For example, McFadden elaborates on the increased educational advancement of Zimbabwean women during the latter part of the twentieth century: they have "the most educated [female] population in the Southern African region" (McFadden 2005, 6). In summary, third world feminist scholars seek to examine non-Western women's lives in more complex, realistic terms than those, purportedly, of liberal Western feminists.

U.S.-based third world feminism refers to those U.S.-based feminist women who provide a counterargument to dominant theories within U.S. feminism regarding race, class, and national identity. Their analyses parallel those of scholars such as Mohanty, because women of color in the United States have also been viewed as racially inferior to white women. Women of color have criticized and stood in opposition to the liberal feminist notion that gender issues and concerns are more important than racial and class issues and concerns. Women of color see gender, racial, and economic inequalities as interchangeable and intimately

tied to white male dominance. In her book, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (2000), bell hooks argues that women of color think differently about gender than white women. Women of color, a term used by some feminist scholars to mark their political visibility or collective empowerment as nonwhite women, often see race first and gender second. For example, hooks notes that when black babies are born, skin color is the first thing that is noticed. In other words, black babies' skin color as well as their gender determines their fate in society.

Third world feminists also challenge the notion that "sisterhood is global"; that is, they call into question the liberal feminist idea that all women throughout the world share similar forms of oppression. Chicana feminist Chela Sandoval (2000), for example, rejects feminist attempts to assert a universal sisterhood among all women, since not all women experience sexism in the same way, and some women are privileged because of their color and class in ways that actually work to disempower or exploit women of color. Third world feminists typically utilize an intersectional approach to understanding oppression, an approach that emphasizes the intersection of gender, race, and class, along with other factors such as religion, nationality, or sexuality. In contrast, liberal feminists tend to emphasize gender over all other forms of oppression. These different views on women's roles in society stem from women's diverse historical experiences.

For example, African American feminism came into existence during the 1950s and 1960s, in the context of civil rights struggles and African American mobilization to end racist laws in the South. In 1975, black lesbian feminist Barbara Smith organized the Combahee River Collective, a group that called for a black feminist movement and spoke out against acts of racial, gender, and class discrimination and exploitation experienced by black women within their communities and the larger society. In a powerful and widely circulated statement originally published in April 1977 (CRC 2003), the Combahee River Collective critiqued the mainstream feminist movement for refusing to admit blatant and self-righteous forms of racism within their movement and for failing to account for the herstory and experiences of black women. They critiqued feminism for operating from within a "color-blind perspective"; that is, for refusing to see race as a factor in discussing issues relating to sexism. Whereas many white middle-class women identified with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), in which she argued that housewives were oppressed as a result of being household bound and personally unfulfilled because they could not pursue careers, many black women and other women of color pointed out that they had always been working, not necessarily to achieve personal fulfillment but because they had no other choice. Furthermore, they argued, in many cases, middle-class women could advance in traditionally male-based occupations such as law and medicine only because they hired poor women of color to clean their houses and care for their children. Thus, from this view, middle-class women's liberation even came at the expense of poor women of color. As a result of this type of bias in white middle-class feminist thought, women of color began to create their own theories by drawing from their own experiences of oppression and empowerment. Today, a large amount of research has been done in the area of black feminist

thought, including the important work of sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000, 2005). Black feminist thought calls for black-female-centered scholarship, referred to by Hill Collins and others as Afrocentric feminist epistemology and knowledge, that challenges and critiques both male and white biases in the Western production of knowledge about women's lives and experiences. Rather than placing black women on the margins of the scholarship, these scholars place them at the center, thereby creating an entirely different version of history from the dominant version published and disseminated in U.S. society.

Black feminists have also utilized the notion of "womanism" to describe their forms of thought and activism. In her book, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens,* originally published in 1974, Alice Walker coined the phrase "womanism" to describe black feminism and black feminist spirituality. She defines a "womanist" as a woman who loves being a woman and enjoys the company of other women (Walker 2003). Walker's work has been used by a wide variety of scholars and practitioners, including writers, theologians, policy makers, and academics.

In similar fashion, Native American feminists have addressed their own forms of oppression, which are related to the continued colonization of their communities, through the lens of multiracial or third world feminisms. In "Speaking to Survival" (2001), Diane R. Schulz discusses some of the primary issues for Native American feminists: petitioning for their democratic rights and advocating for land, water, and fishing rights and usages. Many Native American women activists strive to preserve the languages, histories, and experiences of Native American women as a necessary field of study and activism in feminism. Andrea Smith's important research on the historically high rates of sexual abuse among Native American women underscores the importance of linking domestic or sexual violence with larger processes of cultural genocide. According to Smith (2002), the cofounder of the country's largest women of color antiviolence network, Incite! Women of Color against Violence, Native American women continue to face high rates of sexual abuse due to the colonial legacy, the legacy of colonizers using sexual abuse as a form of control in native communities. Thus from a native feminist perspective, violence against women is not just about men's power over women; it also concerns issues of colonization, national sovereignty, and wars among cultures and nations (Smith 2002). Like Chicana and Latina women, Native American, Asian American, African American, Muslim American, and Jewish American women have also organized and written extensively on the intersecting nature of their particular experiences of oppression, a topic often overlooked by white middle-class scholars who continue to give primacy to gender as a category of analysis.

Multiracial feminism is another term utilized by some scholars and activists as a means to create a political stance by women of color with regard to their shared experiences of racial and ethnic oppression. This perspective emerged during the 1960s, in the context of the civil rights movement, and through newly created ethnic studies and women's studies departments in universities. Japanese American civil rights activist Yuri Koshiyama, for example, used an antiracist feminist perspective to deal with issues of racism in New York's Harlem district.

During the 1960s, Koshiyama worked with black political organizations in order to change the racist and sexist climate in Harlem and in Asian American communities. She attended classes in the Harlem freedom schools in order to learn more about black history and culture and she also worked for equality, better healthcare, and an end to job discrimination for Asian Americans. Her antiracist agenda became an important political statement about the need for a multiracial perspective (Hoshino 2004). Likewise, Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (1996) have written extensively about the need for a multiracial approach to addressing the lives of men and women, in both historical and contemporary perspectives. Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill argue that this type of framework "does not offer a singular or unified feminism but a body of knowledge situating women and men in multiple systems of domination" (1996, 322).

DEBATES AND ISSUES WITHIN THIRD WORLD FEMINISM

Third world feminism addresses issues pertaining to the lives of women of color. Often, these issues differ from those presented by white middle-class feminists. In recent scholarship, women of color have addressed a wide range of issues pertaining to their experiences with sexism, racism, and class exploitation. Some have also addressed the current context of immigrant women's lives as a way to understand the impact of citizenship and immigration laws on poor immigrant women, many of whom end up working at the lowest levels of the U.S. economy. While these issues span a broad range of topics, regions, and identities, together they shape the contemporary field of third world feminist scholarship in the United States.

RETHINKING THE GENDER GAP AND WOMEN'S MARRIAGEABILITY IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

In order to escape the problems associated with women being in the home, mainstream Western feminists have advocated for women to seek educational and marital improvements and advancements. Often they advocate for these types of women's rights based on the idea that women should have personal freedom to decide how to live their lives. Betty Friedan, for example, rejected altogether the idea of the housewife and called for housewives to enter the workplace and fulfill their career aspirations. She referred to housewives' boredom and depression, resulting from feeling useless, as "the problem that has no name," a now famous phrase (Friedan 1963, 3). During the period when Friedan wrote *The Feminist Mystique* and helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW), white middle-class feminists began pushing for women to demand pay and advancements equal to those of men. Friedan and other white, middle class feminists assumed that women would be able to maintain housekeeping and childcare duties, while also becoming committed workers in the labor force.

However, women of color and third world women challenge and problematize mainstream feminist views on woman's place in the home and society. To begin with, women of color with low socioeconomic status were already working

outside the home. They had to endure low pay and overwork at their jobs, while maintaining household and childrearing duties. In many families of color, women were the heads of their families and breadwinners for their families.

Third world women working in the United States as maids in white suburban families also challenge and problematize the gender gap existing between white middle-class women and women of color. White middle-class women experience a gender gap because they can't achieve the same professional goals as their husbands do; "migrant maids" are taking care of middle-class women's children and cleaning their houses for low pay. Migrant maids are unable to remain heads of their families since many of these women travel alone to the United States to work as maids. Instead they balance continuous child-care supervision and other household duties that they perform for white women. Thus, the gender gap" is much broader and more complicated than Friedan and other liberal feminists would argue.

Moreover, women of color from wealthy social and academic backgrounds struggle to maintain equal success within the workplace, marriage, and motherhood. Middle- to upper-class African Americans face a "double marriage squeeze" when they postpone marriage to secure educational and social advancements. Many successful black men have already married black women at an "appropriate" marriage age. Moreover, there is a shortage of emotionally available and financially secure black men to marry, because a disproportionate number of men are incarcerated. According to Harrison, Paige, and Beck, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "among males age 25 to 29, 12.6% of blacks were in prison or jail....the percentage of black males age 45 to 54 in prison or jail in 2004 was an estimated 4.5%—more than twice the highest rate (1.7%) among white males (age 30 to 34)" (2005, 11). Many black women choose to remain single or date and marry interracially. According to a 2001 census, 41.9 percent of black women never marry (McKinnon 2003). The issues we have discussed significantly affect how black women (and men) view their gender identities, including the opportunities or possible ways for them to advance in society. Thus, their career and marriage trajectories do not conform to a white middle-class analysis of women as married housewives, a point made by many third world feminist scholars.

In third world countries, educated women also face the "double marriage squeeze." One study points out that, like African American women, "highly educated" Vietnamese women postpone marriage with local men until after their educational goals are achieved; some never marry (Thai 2002). In choosing to postpone marriage or never marry, these Vietnamese women are choosing to disregard traditional Asian and Confucian notions of marrying as early as 20. As a result, they are unable to find equal partners, because traditionally, educated and successful Vietnamese men marry "traditional" women who are younger than themselves and hence have lower socioeconomic status. Thus, educated Vietnamese women become "unmarriageable" and "unmarketable." Some seek transnational husbands because of the promise of equal partnership. Others seek transnational husbands with low socioeconomic status, in the hope that such men will respect them more than Vietnamese men; this contributes to the

growing trend toward international marriages among upper-class Vietnamese women and working-class Vietnamese American men (Thai 2002).

DOMESTIC ABUSE AND ITS RELATION TO RACISM

Like marriage practices, issues of violence against women are quite distinct in communities of color. A third world feminist perspective on domestic abuse is different from a white middle-class Western perspective. Mainstream feminism notes that men oppress women due to male views that see men as controllers of the public sphere and male arguments labeling women as inferior to men in mind and body. Western notions of womanhood are defined by the ability to control one's sexuality and reproductive system and to make one's own decisions (Mohanty 1991, 493). As a result, Western feminists tend to view higher rates of domestic violence against nonwhite women as a sign of their victimhood at the hands of sexist nonwhite men. In contrast, third world feminists link the prevalence of domestic abuse against nonwhite women to their socioeconomic conditions, to racial stratification, and to definitions of masculinity within particular traditions and cultures. Native American feminist scholars often identify the main source of domestic abuse as their colonization as a people. According to this view, Native American men have adopted masculine traits from their oppressors (that is, white colonizers); these traits were not necessarily indigenous to their communities prior to their contact with European colonizers. Nonetheless, today, some Native American men practice European models of male dominance and aggression within marriage, which increases the likelihood of spousal abuse within native communities. According to a 2001 article in the *National NOW Times,* violence against Native American women is the highest in any racial group (Bhungalia 2001). Some Native American women risk losing custody of their children if they decide to leave their spouses or escape to domestic abuse shelters. In other cases, Native American women stay in abusive relationships because of their fear of communal rejection as well as Native Americans' historical mistrust of the American legal system. These structural factors greatly exacerbate and complicate the experiences of Native American women who are victims of domestic violence, a point often overlooked by white middle-class feminist scholars who attribute domestic violence only to men, rather than to broader structural inequalities and forms of stratification.

WOMEN OF COLOR AND THE LABOR FORCE

Scholars have long noted the fact that the most marginalized groups in society tend to have access to low-paying, often insecure jobs. Women of color are often at the bottom of the economic hierarchy, thereby creating a unique set of issues often overlooked in mainstream feminist scholarship. For example, during the Jim Crow period, African American women were often unable to find jobs except in low-paying fields such as housecleaning and childcare. Eventually, as African American women found work in better-paying occupations, immigrant women from Latin America and Asia began to fill those roles.

In "America's Dirty Work: Migrant Maids and Modern-Day Slavery," Joy M. Zarembka (2002) notes that the recent increase in demand for migrant household workers (for example, nannies, housecleaners) in the United States has also given rise to increased violence against these workers. Often working without legal protection, many of these women face verbal and physical abuse and exploitation by their employers due to their status as migrant workers. They are sometimes paid less than the minimum wage and are forced to work longer hours than stated in their contracts. Some of their employers take away their passports, contracts, and other important legal documentation; also they are often denied health and dental insurance and social security (Zarembka 2002, 146). Other scholars have documented physical abuse against migrant care workers (Anderson 2002). Third world feminist scholars such as Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001), a sociologist who studies the lives of immigrant domestic care workers in Los Angeles, point out that white middle-class feminist scholarship often overlooks the experiences of the most oppressed women. Migrant female workers enter the United States from the Caribbean, Central America, Africa, and parts of Asia with the hope of securing better-paying jobs by working in the homes of predominately white Americans. Though they sign contracts to work as domestic servants, nannies, or personal attendants, many simply become cheap labor. Third world feminists note that race, class, and gender inform the reasons why their employment opportunities are limited to the bottom rung of the economy, as well as the ways in which they are treated by their employers.

CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN OF COLOR IN THE MEDIA

In addition to pointing out the economic or material problems faced by women of color, third world feminists have focused a great deal of attention on the ways in which women of color are portrayed, often in negative and stereotypical ways, in popular culture and the media. Generally speaking, representations of women of color in the media are major issues debated within mainstream Western feminist circles. Many feminists have drawn from John Berger's influential 1972 publication, *Ways of Seeing,* in which he forcefully argues that in the visual world, men act while women appear (Berger [1972] 1990). In Berger's analysis, men look (or gaze) at women and women in turn merely react to the looking. In this way of looking, women are transformed into passive beings and objects that are pleasing to men's sight. The male gaze transforms women's bodies into sexual objects. Mainstream feminists criticize the media for representing women and women's bodies according to such traditional ways of looking. A feminist critique of representations of black females in music videos illustrates this point. Contemporary hip-hop artists such as Chingy, Nelly, Ludacris, Lil' Jon, and Cash Money, for example, refer to black women in derogatory terms in their lyrics and show them in sexually degrading ways in their music videos. The Big Tymers' song "Number One Stunner" (2000) celebrates the group's ability to wield so much sexual power (referred to as "stunning power"), so much that they can cause physical harm during sexual relations with black women.

But black feminists also argue that race must be taken into consideration when examining representations of black women in hip-hop lyrics and videos. Black feminists note that the soft-pornographic and misogynist messages found in contemporary hip-hop represent black women as they were represented in American slavery: as sexual servants. Black women's bodies are degraded in order for black rappers to feel powerful, just as white male slaveholders degraded black female slaves in order to feel powerful and in control. The degradation of black women's bodies helps to sustain black male notions of masculinity and reinforces and condones sexual violence within black communities. While statistics show that rape occurs every six minutes in the United States, according to third world feminist scholars, black women are raped in both the symbolic and the literal sense during the rotations of these music videos (Cole and Guy-Sheftall 2003).

Black feminists are also quick to note that contemporary female rappers such as Salt, Trina, and Eve offer a response that counters representations of black females in their male counterparts' videos. In contrast to misogynist rappers, female rappers choose to rap about black female sexual and social empowerment. They celebrate women's bodies and their ability to offer gratification within a loving and healthy relationship. Black female rappers such as Eve and Trina exemplify aspects of womanism. They celebrate black female agency, respect, and empowerment through verbal speech and through positive representations of black female sexuality and identity.

Another example involving stereotypical representations of black women in the music industry involves the hit VH1 reality show, *Flavor of Love*. In this show, which debuted in January 2006 and is one of the "most watched non-sports programs on cable," Flavor Flav, former "hype man" member of Public Enemy, invites women to live in his mansion and participate in a series of challenges in the hope of winning his heart. Flav judges them and then decides to either eliminate or keep them, after each challenge. The winner becomes his main interest. The show represents women of color and their bodies as sexual objects that are pleasing to the male gaze within stereotypical racist associations. These women's gender identities are redefined according to racist codes and ascriptions that deem them hypersexual (Hill Collins 2005). According to a third world feminist viewpoint, in this show, race determines gender, and black women are viewed through the lens of white producers and consumers rather than through their own eyes.

OPRAH'S LEADERSHIP ACADEMY FOR GIRLS

Oprah's Leadership Academy for Girls in South Africa, founded by business and entertainer mogul Oprah Winfrey, opened in January 2007 and promises to be an academic institution that will decrease the stigma associated with disadvantaged South African girls. South African girls in the school declare that they are being prepared to "take over the world." The school serves as a safe space for young South African women to develop the academic, social, and leadership skills needed to advance South African politics and to become leaders within their communities.

CONCLUSION

Women of color and third world women have addressed cultural representations of women of color in the media; the gender gap and women's marriageability in communities of color; domestic abuse and its relation to racism, economic exploitation, and colonization; and women's limited opportunities in the U.S. labor market, using an intersectional approach that takes into account the racial, class, and gendered locations of women of color. In the process, the issues facing nonwhite women are revealed to be multidimensional and the notion of shared experiences, in which white feminists once believed, is forever debunked.

Black feminists such as Barbara Smith (1993) have called for white feminists to address not only issues pertaining to women of color and third world women but also issues pertaining to white women's experiences of racial privilege. Smith sees this as crucial to removing the wall dividing white women and nonwhite women within feminist circles and debates; other third world feminist scholars point out that because white women "also have a raced, classed and gendered position in society" (Uttal 1990, 43), they too should begin to examine their lives using an intersectional approach that accounts for the forms of oppression they experience as much as it does for their forms of privilege.

Some scholars have begun to do just that: Anne Braden, for example, has described the effects of racism on white women trying to challenge white male dominance in the United States. In her 1999 book, *The Wall Between,* she notes that racism, which she refers to as the "disease of segregation," poisons and affects whites as well, perhaps more "terribly" than blacks. Braden argues that "Racial bars build a wall around the white people as well, cramping their spirits and causing them to grow in distorted shapes" (1999, 24–25). She asserts that the disease of segregation contributes to "death in the heart and soul of gentle white[s]" (29). Though some white feminists advocate for women of color and their experiences, much work has to be done to rethink whiteness in feminist studies scholarship and to better document and understand the lives of women through the lens of third world feminist scholarship.

On July 13, 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (ca. 1815–1902), a pioneer advocate for women's rights in the United States, planned the Seneca Falls Convention for women to express their grievances and demands for voting rights, leadership roles within the church, marriage rights, custody rights, property rights, and educational opportunities and advancements. These rights were compiled and read from a list called the Seneca Sentiments. In 1851, Sojourner Truth (ca. 1792–1883), a former slave, echoed these grievances in her speech at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, "Ain't I a Woman?" Truth's speech also draws attention to the problems facing black women in their fight to secure rights. Truth had been forced to watch as several of her 13 children were sold into slavery. She was unable to protect and care for her own children. As a black mother, she could not demand custody rights. Truth destabilized the term *woman.* She revealed that racism differentiates women and limits the ability of women from a particular racial group to petition successfully for equal rights.

Lora Jo Foo dedicates her time to raising awareness of the issues affecting Asian American females. Foo is president of Sweatshop Watch, a coalition committed to eliminating inhumane sweatshop conditions in the United States and globally. In October 2000, the Ford Foundation commissioned her to write a report on the issues facing Asian American females. Foo reported that Asian American females often face problems with homelessness, sex trafficking, sexual harassment, increased suicide rates, increased rates of hepatitis B and cervical cancer, and sweatshop abuse, among others. Foo calls into question the notion that Asian Americans are "model minorities." The model minority designation refers to the belief that particular nonwhite groups, in this case Asian Americans, achieve sociopolitical and socioeconomic advancement through hard work and the tireless pursuit of the American dream. Their model minority status serves as a model for other racial groups to follow. However, cultural stereotypes that portray Asian American women as exotic, passive, and studious cause some of them to become easy targets of sexual harassment and exploitation, mainly because men believe they will be passive and not fight back. Foo asserts that attention must be paid both to Asian American successes and to their problems due to racism, sexism, classism, and discrimination within the workplace and educational institutions. Foo's text, *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns, and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy* (2007) remains important to Asian American feminist scholarship because it provides an in-depth examination of the ways in which groups of Asian American females are changing the sexist climate within the United States.

See also Affirmative Action; Race and Racism: Social Stratification in the United States; Second and Third Wave Feminisms.

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Patrice Natalie Delevante

TITLE IX AND WOMEN'S SPORTS

Title IX is a federal law that was enacted to provide girls and women with equal access to educational opportunities in elementary, secondary, and postsecondary

institutions. Since Title IX's enactment in 1972, there has been a controversy over the need to provide equality in sports programs for women and girls. To date, there has been an increase in female participation in sport; however, men's teams have been cut due to budgetary constraints and male participation in sport has decreased, a situation that some have blamed on Title IX.

BACKGROUND

"Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is a federal law that prohibits sex discrimination in any educational program or activity at any educational institution that is a recipient of federal funds" (Women's Sports Foundation 2002). Title IX addresses a wide variety of issues including educational programs for medicine and law. In addition, female athletes benefit from this legislation, even though it was not specifically directed toward them. Title IX also suggests that a federally funded educational institution cannot discriminate by gender. In essence, if a high school or college receives any money from the government, all students, men and women, must have equal opportunity in educational programs including sport.

There are three ways of fulfilling the Title IX requirements. First, proportionally, they can be fulfilled by having the same percentage of female athletes as in the student body; for example, a school with a 50 percent female student body would be required to have the same percentage of female athletes in its athletic programs. Second, they can be fulfilled by showing that there is a conscious effort to increase women's sport; in other words, if an institution is gradually expanding women's programs or if the concerns of the female student body are being addressed, the institution does not have to worry about making sure that the programs have the same percentage of male/female participants as does the student body. Third, the requirements can be fulfilled by making sure that women's interest in a sport is being satisfied. Title IX also requires that male and female athletes receive the same treatment and benefits, including access to equipment, training, facilities, coaching, scholarships, and awards.

DID YOU KNOW?

- The modern founder of the Olympics, Baron Pierre Coubertin, never intended that women should participate in the Olympics.
- In 1942, the formation of the All-American Girls Baseball League was announced. These baseball players were talented but had to make sure that they showed they were women by wearing skirts, lipstick, and nail polish.
- In 1973, Billie Jean King, a female tennis player, played an exhibition match against Bobby Riggs and won. Riggs did not support female athletes; this event gave momentum to female athletes.

CONTACT SPORTS AND TITLE IX

The language of Title IX suggests that physical education classes need to be coeducational, with both sexes in the same class, unless students are engaged in a contact sport. Contact sports can include, but are not limited to, wrestling, boxing, rugby, ice hockey, football, and basketball. For example, a school must offer a coeducational physical education class if students are playing volleyball, but schools have the option to offer single-sex classes if students are engaged in wrestling, because it is deemed a contact sport under Title IX. There are also debates centered on coaching, facilities, scholarship, and the elimination of men's programs.

Opponents of Title IX suggest that Title IX encourages not equality but special treatment, in that Title IX's ability to create athletic opportunities for women places women in a special category and as a result leaves no room for men's sport (Walton 2003). The opportunity to participate in sport increases for women and in turn decreases for men. This suggests that Title IX encourages reverse discrimination. Some would imply that Title IX has created a "war on boys" (Walton 2003, 11). This goes back to the idea of reverse discrimination.

A 30TH-ANNIVERSARY CHALLENGE

In 2002, Title IX celebrated its 30th anniversary, but not without controversy. The main debate centered on the decline in men's sport. The National Wrestling Coaches Association suggested that Title IX was being used to eliminate men's varsity sports teams and that it caused men's sport to decline (Staurowsky 2003; Walton 2003). Supporters of Title IX suggested that other factors have affected men's minor sports, including increased costs (Walton 2003). In a study conducted by Anderson and Cheslock (2004), it is suggested that schools are more likely to add female participation than to cut male teams as they move closer to Title IX compliance. These authors acknowledge that there will be both intended and unintended effects on men's teams and on men's participation in sports.

As a result of this debate, in 2002, on the recommendation of George W. Bush, the U.S. Department of Education appointed the Commission on Opportunities in Athletics to gather information, analyze the issues, and obtain public input on Title IX (Staurowsky 2003). The commission seemed to respond to several men's minor sport constituencies, like the National Wrestling Coaches Association, which believed that Title IX encouraged an illegal quota system and was being used to eliminate men's varsity sports programs. The final decision by the Department of Education was in favor of upholding Title IX (Yiamouyiannis 2003).

TITLE IX'S INTERPRETATION AND THE COURTS

Title IX has been repeatedly challenged in the courts over the last 25 years. One of the more recent cases was *Cohen v. Brown University* (1997). Brown University was facing budget restrictions and cut two women's and two men's teams; this, however, did not ensure compliance with the Title IX requirements

of equal participation (Carpenter and Acosta 2005). The female team members sued. The courts concluded that the actual participants need to be counted to avoid any misrepresentation of participation, and that surveys or ratios cannot be used to determine compliance (Carpenter and Acosta 2005). Another recent case, *Pederson v. Louisiana State University* (2000), centered on female athletes' interest in soccer and softball. The courts ruled that ignorance on the part of the institution, where the institution appears not to take adequate account of the interests and abilities of the female student body, is not a reason for noncompliance, and the intent to treat the sexes differently is sufficient to trigger monetary damages (Carpenter and Acosta 2005). Even though Title IX continues to be challenged in the courts, in practice there still exists gender inequities in sports in educational institutions and every federal appellate court that has considered the validity of Title IX has upheld it as constitutional.

See also Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Sports: Professional.

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Giovanna Follo

TRANSGENDER AND TRANSSEXUAL IDENTITIES

While conflict and controversy around trans issues occur in conversations among non-trans people, transsexual and transgendered people also often find themselves in conflict with one another around issues regarding trans identities, the politics of "passing" as the "opposite" sex, and whether gender crossing coded in trans terms reflects personal pathology or a form of social protest. In

both their transgenderism and their transsexuality, however, trans people challenge the notions that sex and gender are always related in particular, predictable ways and that both sex and gender are innate and immutable.

BACKGROUND

The phenomenon of people of one sex taking on the social characteristics of the other—biological males assuming women's roles or biological females assuming the status of men—is documented across a wide range of cultures and historical periods. From Native North American two-spirit people of both sexes to the *hijra* of India, to women of various sexual identities passing as men in order to participate in politics, the military, male-dominated professions, and working-class wage economies, the practice of persons of one sex "becoming" the other, or at least assuming the gendered behaviors of the other sex, is fairly common. In premodern Europe, among alchemists, hermeticists, and the general public, there seems to have been a common understanding that under certain conditions females could become males, and that in other circumstances, people could be born as members of both sexes. There remain a number of records from the colonial period in the United States of individuals of one sex—usually male—identifying as female or being identified by others as women, despite their biological sex.

Among these examples, the meaning assigned to cross-gendered behavior, by both those who engage in it and those who observe it, varies widely. In the contemporary context, transsexuality and transgenderism have become common concepts in which to frame extreme cross-sex and cross-gender behavior; although it is possible to discern differences between transsexuality and transgenderism, debates about their origins, their meanings, and their relationships to broader social institutions continue to be lively. As anthropologist Ann Bolin (1993, 447) puts it, "the Berdache traditions documented globally have captured the anthropological imagination, offering serious challenges to scientific paradigms that conflate sex and gender. This complexity is reiterated in Euro-American gender variance among those who have come to identify themselves as preoperative, postoperative and nonsurgical transsexuals as well as male and female cross dressers and transvestites."

Transsexuality may be defined most narrowly as the process of transforming a body of one biological sex into a body that has the physical features of the other—as in the surgical and hormonal modification of a biologically male body so that it has the characteristics that define a body as female, and vice versa. Transgenderism may be most narrowly defined as the practice of a person of one biological sex engaging in the social presentation of the gender of the other sex, without medical modification of the body—as in a biologically female person adopting the mannerisms, speech patterns, and physical postures associated with masculinity in a particular culture, and vice versa. In the narrowest, most technical sense, while both transsexual and transgendered people modify the presentation of their genders, transsexual people acquire or seek to obtain surgery to modify their bodies in ways that are consistent with the gender they present, while

transgender people engage in "gender bending" without surgical or hormonal intervention. Differences among and between transsexual and transgendered people are, however, often in reality far broader than this technical distinction, and often center on differences in philosophy, interpretation, and identity. For instance, a preoperative male-to-female transsexual may engage in a gendered presentation of self very similar to that of a male-to-female transgendered person; but while these two people may seem very much alike to observers, the meanings they attach to their choices may be very different and, perhaps, even contradictory or contentious. While most transsexually identified people seek sex reassignment surgery (also known as SRS), many do not obtain it but use other forms of medical intervention, such as hormone therapy, to produce changes in their bodies, while some transgender people uninterested in surgical changes sometimes take feminizing or masculinizing hormones as well.

As Bolin (1993) documents, the widespread availability of the concept of transsexual identity in the United States may effectively be traced to the late 1960s, during which "gender clinics" began to appear on the American cultural landscape. By the early 1980s, more than 40 such clinics offering sex reassignment surgery were in operation, many affiliated with university hospitals and medical schools. In such clinics, biological males could undergo surgical and hormonal treatments that would modify their bodies, effectively reconstructing them in ways that reflect dominant notions of both normative female sexual characteristics and conventions of feminine gender presentation. Sex reassignment surgery for male-to-female transsexuals often involves a reconstruction of the genitals, resulting in the absence of a penis and the presence of a vagina, breast enlargement, and sometimes facial contouring and other procedures designed to give a more feminine appearance to the face and neck. Biological females could also seek SRS in gender clinics. Female-to-male SRS, which is less common in the United States (though some countries report equal ratios), involves mastectomy and chest reconstruction, and can involve phalloplasty, although this procedure has yielded mostly cosmetic results and many female-to-male trans people elect not to undergo the procedure.

As with most surgical procedures, considerable expense is attached to sex reassignment surgery. While people with wealth can afford to undergo these procedures as elective processes, others are dependent upon insurance companies to underwrite sex reassignment surgery and the associated hormone therapies, should they seek SRS. In both instances, physicians and surgeons need to justify their prescription of hormones and their surgical modification of healthy bodies. As a result, in order for those seeking sex reassignment surgery to be seen as legitimately eligible for these interventions, the medical establishment has required that they be diagnosed with an illness. Because there is as yet no documentation of any physical pathology that would justify sex reassignment surgery, the medical establishment has required that those seeking the procedures be diagnosed with a mental disorder, gender identity disorder (GID) of adulthood.

No other diagnosis in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)* advocates surgery, let alone genital surgery, as a legitimate treatment

for physically healthy individuals, as is done in order for people seeking sex reassignment to be considered qualified for the procedure. Equally ironically, in order to be diagnosed with this disorder, applicants for SRS must demonstrate the emotional stability necessary to accept the results of the surgery. As Ault and Brzuzy (n.d.) note, this diagnosis, tied to transsexualism and its medicalization, has become the most contested diagnosis at present in the *DSM*. Starting in the 1990s, many gender clinics have closed their doors, and fewer insurance companies have been willing to pay for sex reassignment as a treatment for gender identity disorder. Bolin (1993) argues that this change has spurred the appearance of larger numbers of people identifying as transgender; there have also emerged debates both within and around transsexuality and transgenderism and the status of both within lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) communities, the feminist movement, and our broader society.

THE DESIRE FOR CHANGE: PEOPLE WITH DISORDERS OR A DISORDERED SOCIETY?

Although, as Ann Bolin says, anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have documented gender-crossing behavior in a wide variety of social, geographic, and historical locations, the interpretations of these behaviors and the identities attached to them vary widely. In some societies, those of one sex who wish to be treated as members of the other are seamlessly integrated into the structure of the societies in which they live. In other contexts, including the present-day United States, the bodies of those who wish to live as gender variants from their sex face challenges that range from social ostracism and contempt to loss of employment, violence, and numerous health risks associated with the medicalization of trans bodies and desires. Among trans people themselves, scholars and practitioners who study or support them, and the general public, the ultimate source of the difficulties faced by trans people is the subject of contention and debate.

One perspective on the desire to transform one's body in such a way that it has the characteristics of the opposite sex is that those with this desire suffer from a disorder or illness. This perspective, articulated in the GID diagnosis and connected closely with the standards for sex reassignment surgery as they were articulated in 1966 by Harry Benjamin, a pioneering physician in the field of sex reassignment, holds that those seeking sex reassignment suffer from what sociologist C. Wright Mills calls a "private trouble," analogous to other random illnesses or disorders suffered by individuals (1976, 226). Trans people who adopt this perspective often report the sensation of being a person of one sex "trapped" in the body of the other—that is, being a man trapped in a woman's body or a woman trapped in a man's body. Although there is as yet no medical evidence that most people seeking sex reassignment are *physiologically* different from other biological males or females, the solution to this problem offered by medical science and often sought by trans people has been addressed to the bodily processes of the person: sex reassignment surgery and related hormonal therapies designed to bring a person's body in line with his or her sense of self.

An alternative perspective on the desire for sex reassignment surgery, one often articulated by feminist and queer theorists as well as by other scholars across a range of disciplines, is that it represents not a personal trouble, in Mills' vernacular, but, instead, a social problem—that is, a phenomenon that affects a large number of people and reflects broader patterns within a social context. From this perspective, transsexuality might be read as a function of a society with gender roles so rigid that a person of one sex experience feels gender dysphoric (the disjuncture between ones self-perception and one's assigned gender identity) when experiencing the feelings associated with the opposite sex or when enjoying activities associated with the opposite sex. For example, because of the rigid gender coding of this society, boys who play with dolls, as in the gender identity disorder of childhood diagnosis, may be seen by others as gender deviants and may come to regard themselves in this way, even though playing adult roles, such as parenting, is regarded by many as a healthy form of childhood socialization. From this perspective, trans identities reflect a rigid binary

"INDIAN TOWN ELECTS TRANS MAYOR"

On November 26, 2000, a town in northern India best known as a publishing site for Hindu scriptures made a *hijra* its mayor by a large margin. Although the name is often translated as "eunuch," most *hijra* are transgenders, cross-dressers, and gay men; after a long period living a marginal or even outlaw existence as entertainers and bringers of blessings and curses, they have only recently begun to win any official recognition as a minority group.

Asha Devi, 45, running as an independent on a platform of clean government and improved infrastructure, was elected by the more than 500,000 residents of Gorakhpur in the state of Uttar Pradesh by a margin of 65,304 votes. Devi's campaign was actively supported by another *hijra*, Shabnam Mausi, who was elected to the legislative assembly of the neighboring state of Madhya Pradesh in a special election a year earlier.

Some contested Devi's victory because the state election commission allowed her to run for a seat reserved for women after she changed her name from the masculine Amarhaht Yadav. However, she was legally considered a female and her election was upheld. In contrast, *hijra* Kamla Jaan was elected and sworn in as mayor of the Madhya Pradesh town of Katni in January 2000, only to be deposed on gender grounds by a state appellate court in 2003. The court ruled that Jaan is legally male. This ruling continues to place pressure on *hijra* politicians such as Devi, and the gender status of elected *hijras* continue to be challenged in the courts.

"Now I am going to prove to the people that all you need to excel as the first citizen is sheer love for people," Devi told reporters. Illiterate herself, she said her priorities would include "the uplift of women, encouraging literacy, building homes for the homeless and leaving no stones unturned to see the city spick and span." Her other infrastructural concerns include improving local roads, drainage, and drinking water.

Source: Planet Out (2000).

sex/gender structure: if the gender structure of the society were more porous, malleable, or fluid, individuals of both sexes could comfortably express their genders along a broader continuum; "crossing over" in such a context would be unnecessary, if not impossible, because it depends on sex/gender polarization.

IDENTITIES CROSSING OVER: NEWLY MINTED MEN AND WOMEN OR TRANSPEOPLE?

Although trans communities may include transsexuals, transgender people, transvestites, and their partners, children, and family members, conflicts often occur within these communities over interpretations of the origins and meaning of trans behaviors and identities. For those most comfortable with the medical model holding that trans people are individuals of one sex trapped in the bodies of the other, sex reassignment surgery is seen as a desirable medical treatment because it should provide relief from the constant sense of incoherence between the person's sex and his or her gender. For individuals most comfortable with this perspective, expectations for a life after sex reassignment surgery center on being able to move in the world and to be accepted as a member of the sex consistent with their sense of gender. Such individuals do not aspire to or espouse a trans identity; their perspective is that their sex/gender dysphoria has been treated and they now may live as fully functioning members of one sex. Their goal is to "pass" in mainstream society without calling attention to the history of their change in sexual status. Ann Bolin (1993) reports, based on her fieldwork, that within the trans community, such individuals see themselves as superior to other trans people who do not seek sex reassignment; indeed, those seeking or having obtained sex reassignment see those who do not pursue it as "sick" or just playing around.

For their part, transgendered people and transvestites often see themselves on a continuum with transsexuals, not as qualitatively different from them. Within the trans communities, however, the emergence of trans identities has been a cause of tension and anxiety, as well as a source of difficulty in creating a social movement strategy that supports the interests of all trans people. For those more comfortable with a social-constructionist approach to trans issues, the approach that sees the desire to cross gender lines as a reflection of the intractability of those lines, the goal of gender crossing, whether surgical or nonsurgical, is not necessarily to "pass" as members of the opposite sex. Individuals espousing a social-constructionist approach have argued that to do so, indeed, is not only unrealistic but also hypocritical. Kate Bornstein, for example, a postoperative male-to-female trans person, takes the position that because she was raised as a boy and lived much of her life as a male, albeit uncomfortably, she should not represent herself postoperatively as a woman but as something else, not a man, not a woman. For any number of post-op trans thinkers (Wilchins, Bornstein, Stone), as well as many non-op transgendered people, the desirable alternative is to lay claim to a trans identity. Sandy Stone (1991), for example, makes use of the concept *mestiza,* developed by Gloría Anzaldua, to characterize a posttranssexual or transgender identity that is neither male nor female.

When activists hoping to make a better world for trans people meet to explore strategies for achieving that goal, conflicts between those comfortable with the dual-sex model and those espousing a multiple-sex model arise. For those whose goal is simply to live as members of the sex opposite that of their birth, their political goals include the legal recognition of their new sex in employment and legal contexts, the solution of healthcare insurance issues, the acceptance of legal rights to children born before their transitions, and a range of other concerns associated with being able to integrate themselves as members of their new sex into existing social structures. Theoretical discussions must meet the real hostility encountered from those who think one is using the wrong restroom.

Those more comfortable with a social constructionist approach, who are less concerned with passing, are often more concerned with challenging existing

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THE COST OF SEX REASSIGNMENT SURGERY

The price range for SRS varies widely. Often those seeking SRS travel to Bangkok, Thailand, where costs are lower. In the United States, according to the *New York Times,* the cost of male-to-female (MTF) surgery is $37,000; and for female-to-male (FTM) surgery $77,000 ("San Francisco Workers Get Sex Change Coverage" 2001). These figures likely include a full range of procedures and follow-up care, including corrective surgery if necessary. For MTF transsexuals, SRS surgery could include breast augmentation if hormones have not produced acceptable breast growth, penectomy, and vaginaplasty. Frequently a series of operations is required to achieve desirable results. FTM surgery includes mastectomy, hysterectomy, and oophorectomy. Further procedures, such as penoplasty, are rarer, since results are less than satisfactory. The gender disparity in research, costs, and effectiveness of procedures is significant. Far more attention has been given to enabling successful male-to-female transitions than to enabling female-to-male transitions.

Healthcare coverage: some health management organizations (HMOs) cover hormones as treatment for GID. Though the costs of surgery are high for an individual, the cost per person in a large pool is relatively insignificant. Nevertheless, coverage for surgery is rare. Coverage may distinguish between "medically necessary" operations such as vaginaplasty or phalloplasty and "cosmetic" operations such as facial surgeries.

Many transsexuals save for years or spend their life savings to pay for surgery. For others, the prohibitive costs make surgery out of the question. MTF facial feminizing surgeries could include 15 separate procedures, from forehead/brow contouring to chin and jaw contouring. The number of surgeons, the range of procedures available, and the information on the results of FTM surgery are much more limited than for MTF surgery.

The process of transitioning can take two years if one follows standard protocols, including a year of "real-life" experience. Many transsexuals pursue hormones and surgery without this—circumventing the institutional barriers but taking health risks, such as injecting hormones from reused needles, at unregulated doses, with little or no education about the side effects, such as increased risk of heart disease in FTMs.

social structures and the existing institutional patterns of gender organization. While they, too, want job security and health insurance for their partners, they may see these as liberal or even conservative goals that simply reinforce the status quo. Whereas traditional transsexuals, to coin a phrase, are not interested in using their sexual transition to disrupt the conventions of sex and gender, less traditional transgendered people often see challenging the sex/gender system as a fundamental goal of social action among trans people.

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSSEXUALITY VERSUS TRANSGENDERISM

As a number of scholars have noted (Bolin 1993; Nestle, Wilkins, and Howell 2002; Stone 1991), transsexuality is both regressive and transgressive. On one hand, the idea that an individual's gender can vary from his or her sex challenges patriarchal and scientific thinking about an essentialist relationship between these two qualities of individuals. On the other hand, the idea that one might simply transition from being a member of one sex into being a member of the other leaves in place the fundamental notion that there are two mutually exclusive genders, and that in order to enact one or the other, a person must have a particular configuration of genitals. Feminists have criticized the medicalization of transsexuality on a number of fronts as a result.

Acknowledging the history of sex reassignment surgery as initially oriented toward "curing" gay men of homosexuality by turning them into women, feminists have argued that this practice is rooted in both homophobia and heterosexism, and have wondered whether many male-to-female transsexuals opt for sex reassignment surgery in lieu of accepting their homosexuality. Others have resisted the inclusion of male-to-female transsexuals in feminist political and social spaces (Raymond 1979), arguing that although such people have modified their physical bodies, their socialization as boys and men continues to result in their using male privilege in women's spaces. Heated conflicts have taken place around the inclusion of trans people at the Michigan Women's Music Festival, a predominantly lesbian space, as more transgendered and male-to-female transsexuals have requested admission and more "woman-born women" have expressed unease over sharing "women's space" with people initially socialized as men.

The inclusion of trans issues in the lesbian and gay movement has also been a cause of conflict within LGBT spaces. Although many formerly gay and lesbian organizations now bill themselves as serving lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people, the interests of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people often differ from those of transsexual and transgendered people. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities center on sexual attraction, whereas trans identities center on gender presentation. Early in the lesbian and gay movement in the United States, activists focused on convincing psychiatrists, policy makers, and the general public that they did not suffer from gender confusion but were, indeed, people of each sex comfortable in their masculinity or femininity and attracted to members of the same sex. While some transsexual people are lesbian, gay, or bisexual, many wish to live mainstream heterosexual lives after their transition, and many may experience the benefits of

heterosexual privilege, which are denied to gay and lesbian people. While many trans people feel allied with lesbian and gay people as cultural outsiders, lesbian and gay people may wonder whether precious movement resources should be devoted to trans concerns that do not seem directly related to lesbian and gay issues.

In addition to asking whether transsexuality and transgenderism reinforce or disrupt dominant systems of sex, gender, and sexuality, exploring the politics of these identities also requires that we examine who benefits from the practices involved in them. In the case of transsexuality, it is clear that several healthcare industries profit from the diagnosis and treatment of gender identity disorder through sex reassignment and/or hormonal therapy. In order to receive the diagnosis that qualifies a person for SRS, an individual must become a patient of a social worker, psychiatrist, or psychologist and establish a long-term relationship with that care provider; once a GID diagnosis is established, the person seeking SRS begins hormonal therapy that she or he will continue for the remainder of his or her life; eventually, if the person undergoes SRS, a team of surgeons and nurses and a hospital facility will all receive financial benefit from the patient who receives services. In the case of transsexual people seeking sex reassignment, therefore, a host of care providers stand to benefit from an individual's transition from one sex to the other. Regarding transgendered people, who may chose either to live with trans identities or to live as the opposite sex/gender

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SEX REASSIGNMENT SURGERY IS NOT THE ONLY HEALTH ISSUE TRANS PEOPLE FACE

For poor or economically disadvantaged trans people, especially people of color (POC), sex reassignment surgery and hormone therapy are simply unaffordable. Meeting basic healthcare needs is a struggle. The barriers to adequate healthcare include lack of access to health services in the community, lack of education, and lack of training for healthcare providers.

Healthcare services for communities of color are often lacking. For example, a district of 200,000 people in Los Angeles has no hospital in the community (Tamuno-Koko 2007). Information about healthcare available to trans people may be available in locations to which many trans folks in poor communities and communities of color have little access, such as colleges. "According to the Los Angeles Transgender Health Community Report (2001), of the 244 GV [Gender Variant] persons interviewed 47% reported being high school dropouts, 22% completed high school, and only 31% have more than 12 years of education. In addition, 50% reported they were sex workers" (Tamuno-Koko 2007). Furthermore, lack of education makes it difficult to navigate a healthcare system that is outside one's neighborhood and inattentive or even hostile to the specific healthcare needs of transgender folks.

Finally, barriers to medical care exist across class and race. Since GID disorder is characterized as a psychological disorder rather than a medical disorder, medical schools do not address the health issues faced by transsexuals and transgendered persons (Xavier et al. 2004). The lack of appropriate medical training means that even well-intentioned healthcare providers are simply uninformed about transgender/transsexual healthcare needs.

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without the impact of hormones or surgery, the financial gain for care providers is reduced.

CONCLUSION

Although many societies have integrated into their social systems people born one sex who desire (or are required) to live as the other, contemporary Western society offers limited legitimate options for integrating both masculinity and femininity into one personality or lifestyle. Because of the continuing rigidity of our sex/gender structure, some individuals who feel constrained by the expectations put on their assigned sex adopt either transsexual or transgendered identities. For transsexual people, the availability of both sex reassignment surgery and a medical discourse that posits the possibility of an essential discordance between the gendered self and the sexed body allows sexual body modification to appear a good and reasonable solution to the problem of how to appropriately and fully express one's sense of self. For others, the idea of transgendered identities that make transparent the integration of qualities of both genders and sometimes both sexes presents an alternative that does not involve passing but, instead, presenting new and alternative forms of gender presentation. While both strategies challenge the essentialist notion that the sexed body always results in a consistent gender, both also depend on a recognition of a binary gender structure; in order to "cross" categories, a perception of a clearly defined division must first be in place.

See also Gender Identity Disorder; Sex Reassignment Surgery; Sex versus Gender; Third Genders.

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Crista Lebens and Amber Ault

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WELFARE REFORM

Providing welfare assistance to poor women has always been controversial, although the dramatic overhaul of the United States' social welfare system in the early 1990s brought on a new set of debates. Controversies concerning women and welfare reform involve the questions of what the role of the state should be in providing for citizens in need; whether childcare and economic job security should be the mother's, the father's, or the government's responsibility; whether women are disproportionately affected by poverty or not; and how poverty and unemployment can best be eradicated.

BACKGROUND

The U.S. government has provided public assistance to poor women with children since the 1930s, with the passage of the federal Social Security Act of 1935. This marked the beginning of an era in which it was believed that the national government should provide for its most needy; women were often targeted in their roles as mothers of children and, by extension, as mothers of future generations and of the nation (Hill Collins 2006). The original federal program was called Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). It provided cash assistance to women and children who were in need, including poor, unemployed female heads of households and their dependents. The program changed in the 1960s and became known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). It still provided cash assistance to poor families but now this was extended to families with fathers present in the home, although the majority of families receiving assistance were still headed by women and the typical family receiving

TIMELINE

1935: The Social Security Act of 1995 is passed. Included in it is the first federal program for public assistance, known as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC).

1962: The name of the program changes to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to reflect the fact that government assistance would include both unemployed parents (mothers and fathers) as well as children.

1964: President Lyndon Johnson launches the War on Poverty as a part of his Great Society Program amid growing awareness of the poor in the United States.

1996: AFDC ends and is replaced with the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Program (TANF), a much more restricted public assistance program.

2005: TANF is reauthorized by Congress.

2006: The 10-year anniversary of TANF is marked by a decline in public assistance recipients, but still great controversy over the "success" of the program exists.

assistance was a mother with two children, utilizing services for two years or less. This program operated under the premise that government assistance was an entitlement. Entitlement in this context means that every person who could demonstrate need could receive government assistance. The federal government in conjunction with states would provide enough money to ensure that all families who qualified would receive services. AFDC also included job training and job placement programs (Trattner 1999). The AFDC program existed until 1996, when it was overhauled amid controversy. Opponents of the program argued that the accessibility of public assistance encouraged laziness and dependence on the federal and state governments. Supporters of the program argued that it was working exactly as it was designed to work and that most women and their children did not need services beyond a two- to three-year period. At the time, President Bill Clinton (1992–2000) wanted to end "welfare as we know it" and to create an assistance program that would support not "dependency" but rather "opportunity," two notions that have been heavily debated since they gained salience in public policy debates during this period (Fraser and Gordon 1994).

The result of the overhaul was the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, which ended AFDC and replaced it with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program, which ended the guarantee of benefits for poor families. As the replacement program for AFDC, TANF still provides cash assistance to poor families; however, it includes several new restrictions. In particular, it mandates that recipients work in order to be eligible for temporary benefits. Generally, states were given more latitude in defining eligibility and length of benefits, although the federal cap is five years. TANF is funded through block grants to individual states. The federal government now gives only a capped amount of money to states to provide assistance. When the money runs out, there is no guarantee of providing additional families with assistance. Supporters of the reforms believed this would finally end

dependency on public assistance. Opponents of the reforms saw this as a major breach in the federal safety net that had supported poor women and children for the previous 60 years.

THE GOALS OF TANF

There are four main goals associated with TANF. These are assisting needy families so that children can be cared for in their own homes; reducing the dependency of needy parents by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage; preventing out-of-wedlock pregnancies; and encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families. TANF imposes a five-year lifetime limit on the receipt of cash assistance for individuals and families. In addition, TANF also requires that almost all TANF recipients engage in a work activity within two years of receiving assistance. Failure to gain employment within two years can result in a denial of assistance. Also, TANF requires that child support be collected from the fathers of children. In addition to the requirements, incentives are given to women who are married. TANF also promotes certain lifestyles deemed to be healthy and stable. The new requirements and restrictions of TANF carry with them many implications for women, because women with children are most likely to need and receive public assistance.

WORK REQUIREMENTS

The work requirements of TANF are extensive. The law stipulates that recipients (with few exceptions) must work as soon as they are job ready or no later than two years after beginning to receive assistance. Single parents are required to participate in work activities for at least 30 hours per week. Two-parent families must participate in work activities for 35 or 55 hours a week, depending upon circumstances. Failure to participate in work requirements can result in a reduction or termination of benefits to the family. However, on a more positive note, states cannot penalize single parents with a child under six for failing to meet the work requirements if they cannot find adequate childcare. It is assumed the child will be in school at the age of six, thereby solving the issue of childcare. States have to ensure that 50 percent of all families and 90 percent of two-parent families are participating in work activities. If a state does not follow specific guidelines such as this, its funding could be revoked. Activities that are considered to be work include the following: unsubsidized or subsidized employment, on-the-job training, work experience, community service, job-skills training related to work, satisfactory secondary school attendance, and the provision of childcare services to individuals who are participating in community service. Searching for a job can be included as a work activity. However, the length of time allowed for this activity is not to exceed six weeks in total and can include no more than four consecutive weeks. Vocational training is also included as work activity, which can be beneficial to women, for it will allow them to learn a specific job skill. However, vocational training cannot exceed 12 months in length. It should be noted, however, that attending a college or university is *not* considered a work activity. This is a real

detriment to recipients. It is well established that many higher-paying jobs that provide opportunities for advancement require a college degree.

The requirements pose a major problem for single mothers. They are forced both to work outside the home and to care for their children in order to receive benefits. And if a single mother wanted to receive a college degree, she would have to do so in addition to working at least 30 hours a week, which is required of single mothers. This is virtually impossible. However, without a college degree, a woman will often be relegated to working a job that offers little pay and little room for advancement. This makes it much more difficult to escape poverty and earn a living wage. In addition, although single mothers are forced to work outside of the home, good-quality, low-cost childcare is extremely difficult to obtain (Fineman 2001). In fact, the lack of adequate childcare is a reason why many women are not able to fulfill the work requirements of TANF, and as a result they lose their benefits. Single mothers are forced to work at least 30 hours per week outside the home in order to maintain their benefits, which does not allow them to care for their children at home. However, two-parent families need engage in only 35 or 55 hours of work activity a week in total, allowing one parent to stay at home with the children.

Many would consider employment outside the home a means to enable women to participate fully in society and become self-sufficient. After all, women have fought to be accepted and respected in the workplace. Requiring work is also seen as beneficial because work is believed to be a much better alternative than receiving public assistance. Steady employment is believed to be a way for women and their children to get out of poverty. In fact, many TANF recipients want to work. They too see it as a way to a better life for themselves and their children. Many women work to repudiate the stereotype that welfare recipients are lazy and dependent on the government. However, the reality is that mothers who need public assistance lack the means necessary to work full-time and care for children on their own.

PROMOTION OF MARRIAGE AND TWO-PARENT FAMILIES

Under the new law, states are also given incentives if they are able to decrease the number of children born "out of wedlock" without increasing the number of abortions. There are incentives for women receiving assistance as well, should they choose to marry. Marriage was seen as especially important for proponents of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), of 1996, because it was often thought that the increase in recipients of public assistance was directly correlated with the increase in the numbers of single mothers since the 1960s (Jimenez 1999). In 1996, congressional hearings supported the idea that marriage is the foundation of a successful society and an essential institution in a society that successfully promotes the interests of children. In addition, the following ideas were put forward: a successful marriage is one that is financially stable; and marriage is key not only to reducing poverty but to reducing the characteristics said to be associated with it, such as laziness, immorality, and bad decision making. Marriage was also promoted because the

two-parent family is the "ideal" and the "healthiest" situation for all involved. The law promotes marriage by requiring two-parent families to spend less time per week in the workforce so that children can be cared for in the home. The negative impact on women can include being forced into relationships with men and feeling pressured to get married in order to receive needed benefits. One underlying assumption is that poverty is caused by single motherhood. But this ignores many structural inequalities that contribute to poverty. There is also the assumption that two-parent families are healthier and more stable than single-parent families. Such laws do not support alternative family formations such as poor lesbian and gay households with children. The promotion of marriage is a promotion of heterosexuality and heteronormativity. In addition, the law does not take cognizance of the fact that marriage is a personal choice and many women may choose to raise children on their own. Two-parent families in which the mother and father are married are seen as healthy environments, but this may not necessarily be the case. Previously harmful relationships may cause future harm for women who are forced back into such relationships to obtain better support options.

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

In addition to providing marriage incentives, TANF also requires child support to be paid by the father of the child if possible. Before any benefits can be obtained, there must be disclosure of paternity for all children. Orders for child support are required by the states, by order of the federal government. Forcing men to pay child support is the states' method of forcing fathers to take responsibility for their children, at least, to take financial responsibility. This was seen as one of the more positive aspects of the reforms and was embraced by many on both sides of the debate. There was general agreement that fathers should take responsibility for their children, and that responsibility for childcare should not rest squarely on the mothers' shoulders. Some believe that if more men paid child support, as they are required to do by law, then there would be less reliance on government assistance. This provision fits in with the work requirements and the promotion of marriage. All are viewed as necessary and viable methods for moving from government assistance to "self-sufficiency." Some feminists supported the child support provision of TANF. They argued that poverty among women and children is caused by irresponsible fathers and not immoral mothers, and that often, mothers are blamed for making poor choices that lead them to public assistance. Feminists supported child support enforcement because they recognized that the fathers of the children should be forced to provide support to the mothers.

However, as other feminist observers have noted (Mink 1998, 1999), this provision can place a burden on many mothers. As a result of the reforms, women may be forced into a relationship with the fathers of their children. Whereas incentives to marriage are highly encouraged but still optional, the provision regarding child support by fathers is mandatory. Women are required to reveal personal details in order to receive assistance. This is indicative of the transition from a program of entitlement to one rife with restrictions and obstacles. It is also seen as an invasion of privacy. Women who are not receiving government

assistance are never required to disclose the paternity of their children, unless they are seeking child support from the father. Also for such women, the decision to seek child support is personal. This highlights one way in which the government treats women who seek assistance differently from other women. Finally, there was a perception that mothers would be able to keep child support monies for the benefit of their children, but the monies collected actually go to the state to repay public assistance, although states provide a very small "pass-through" amount that goes directly to mothers for the benefit of children.

CONCLUSION: WELFARE REFORM TODAY

It has been 11 years since TANF was created with the goal of "ending welfare as we know it." Since 1996, the number of people receiving public assistance has decreased significantly. On the surface, this may be seen a positive result, and welfare reform supporters argue that it demonstrates success. However, though there are fewer people receiving welfare, some observers point out that this does not mean there are fewer people needing services (Coven 2005). For example, due to the five-year limit, many families lose their benefits. The numbers of people receiving benefit have decreased, the analysis goes, because of the time limits and also because of the strict requirements of the program. Many women, for example, are removed from the program for failing to find work within two years. Critics also point out that there are many issues associated with poverty other than government assistance and that many of these other issues make it difficult to meet the expected work requirements. These include mental and physical impairments; substance abuse; domestic violence; low literacy or skill levels; learning disabilities; having a child with a disability; and problems with housing, childcare, transportation, and low-paying jobs (Coven 2005).

In 1996, according to the Department of Health and Human Services (2006), there were 12,156,000 public assistance recipients. In 2003, the number had dropped to 5,432,000. This statistic is often thought to be proof of the success of TANF and social welfare reform efforts. However, as most scholars of women and welfare observe, this does not translate into fewer poor and impoverished families. It does not necessarily mean that millions of families have successfully ended their need for public assistance and are employed in higher-paying jobs. On the contrary, most people who leave public assistance due to the time limits, the sanctions, or a "successful" transition to work are in low-paying hourly paid jobs that lack benefits (Morgen 2006). Women, and especially single mothers, are often unduly burdened by the requirements and restrictions specified by the law and they have the most to lose, as has been documented by sociologists and journalists who have spent considerable time documenting women's experiences with the new welfare system (Ehrenreich 2001; Hays 2003).

See also Feminization of Poverty; Work: Paid versus Unpaid.

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Katie Weber

WORK: PAID VERSUS UNPAID

Economic debates continue with regard to women's productive (paid) labor and women's reproductive (unpaid) labor, which includes their culturally ascribed gender roles in childrearing and managing households. Critics of women's "double burden" of paid and unpaid labor contend that it is exploitative, rooted in sexism rather than biology, and therefore changeable. In contrast, defenders of women's dual workload argue that women's gender roles are normal, natural, and help sustain a balanced household.

BACKGROUND

Studies from around the world reveal that women continue to face on average lower wages than men in occupations of comparable worth, as well as sex segregation within industries, barriers in hiring and promotion (the glass ceiling), discrimination due to pregnancy and maternity, and sexual harassment in the workplace. Although women have made significant progress in entering the labor force in manufacturing, service, and agricultural sectors around the world, they continue to perform the bulk of work in the household, including unpaid domestic labor and childrearing.

A key concept in understanding women's position in the economy is the concept of work. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed.) defines work as "an activity involving mental or/and physical effort done in order to achieve a

result." In agricultural and feudal societies, work was performed by all members of the household including non-blood kin, children, serfs, slaves, and other laborers, all of whom had a role in producing for consumption or for the market. Different gender, class, and racial-ethnic groups were involved in and controlled different dimensions of this economy, according to rigid hierarchical structures. Economic activities (including small farms, large plantations, communal production in rural areas, and artesan, retailing, and service activities in villages) varied according to geographical location and historical period. With the development of capitalist industrialized societies, a split occurred between work performed within the household and work performed outside it, in the labor market. On the one hand, *wage work* in the labor market is demanded for the production of commodities and services for the market and directly generates surplus value for the accumulation of capital. On the other hand, *unpaid work* in the household is demanded for the production of use values for direct consumption and is necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force. Even though home work contributes to the process of capital accumulation by socializing, maintaining, and reproducing the labor force, it has been ignored as part of the economic process and unrecognized and undervalued in classical studies of economic theory (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990).

In addition to the division of labor between the home and the workplace, feminist scholars have pointed out that patriarchal structures play an important role in the division of labor among genders. In this view, *patriarchy* predates capitalism and is a separate, fundamental and autonomous social, historical, and power structure; a set of societal relations that generates a system for the division of labor and power between genders, in which men control the economic and political public spheres as well as the sexuality, reproduction capacity, and work of women. Patriarchy informs two realms: the *public sphere,* traditionally associated with men (the economy of paid work, institutionalized religion, and political institutions), and the *private sphere,* traditionally associated with women (the economy of unpaid work that produces use values for direct consumption in the household, unpaid work that includes home chores, reproduction, child care, and sexual services). In capitalist economies, women's relegation to the private sphere and the invisibility and devaluation of their work in this sphere, together with occupational segregation by sex in the public sphere, are the result of gender inequities in the realm of work (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990).

THE NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMIC MODEL OF WOMEN'S WORK

According to Francine Blau and Marianne Ferber (2005), at a microeconomic level, neoclassical economic models explain the traditional division of labor between genders in society and within the household as a result of informed and rational decisions that result in maximizing the utility or well-being of the family. The production of commodities from which the family derives the greatest

possible amount of utility and satisfaction results from a combination of time at home with family members and goods and services purchased in the market. Time spent on paid work produces the income necessary to purchase market goods and services, which are needed, together with home work, to produce commodities for consumption by the family. A crucial question for the family is that of how time should be allocated between home and market most efficiently in order to maximize satisfaction.

Accordingly to a neoclassical understanding, the division of labor and allocation of time are accomplished by specialization, exchange, and comparative advantage. Commodity production is carried out more efficiently if one member of the family specializes in market production while others specialize in home production. They may then exchange their output or pool the fruits of their labor to achieve a utility-maximizing combination of goods and services produced in the market and in the home. In order for this system to be efficient, it is necessary for the members of the family to have different comparative advantages with regard to home and market production. According to this view, the traditional division of labor between women and men tends to make women relatively more productive at home and men relatively more productive in the market. The traditional division of labor is socially determined, but at present, according to this model, the reality is that women are better in work at home because they have been educated to specialize in it. According to this theory, there are economic gains and efficiency when a couple joins efforts and divides the benefits. If the two people do not have different comparative advantages, the conclusion no longer follows and their pooled income will presumably be no greater than the sum of their separate incomes (Blau and Ferber 2005).

At a macroeconomic level, the development of the women's labor force participation rate (WLFPR) has traditionally been explained by neoclassical economics as a consequence of economic development and the industrialization process. The classical perspective gives great emphasis to the impact of the technological change and the reorganization of the production process brought about by the rise of capitalism on the social position of women in the productive apparatus. Proponents of the classical model argue that the process of transformation of women in the labor force occurs in accordance with historical stages that resemble a "U" curve (Aguiar 1983).

In the initial stage of the industrial process, according to the "U" curve model, agriculture still constitutes the principal productive activity, coexisting with at-home manufacturing and small-scale commerce. These activities enable a high women's labor force participation rate, since housework activities can easily be coupled with agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing activities. In the second stage, the agrarian economy turns capitalist, a large segment of the population starts to migrate to urban areas, and the WLFPR tends to decline. In the third stage, the development of the productive forces reaches a point that allows the liberation of women from domestic settings, and an increase in the WLFPR is observed, principally in the service sector, which grows as a consequence of industrial expansion. At this stage, women's incorporation in the labor force goes hand in hand with economic growth.

FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF THE NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMIC MODEL

Feminist scholars have questioned the microeconomic and macroeconomic neoclassical explanations of the traditional gender division of labor as it affects women's labor force participation on various levels. For example, feminist economists such as Julie Nelson (1996) and Pamela Sparr (1994) note that neoclassical economics is a theory that is not value neutral but rather is grounded in culturally and historically specific interpretations of human behavior seen through the lenses of the particular race, ethnicity, class, and gender of the creators of the discipline. The theory universalizes the experience of a handful of fairly industrialized economies at a certain point of time and it assumes that these experiences do not fundamentally vary among different societies. Therefore, it neglects the cultural, historical, geographic, and political characteristics of different societies and the relations among nations; and it ignores the interaction between gender, class, race, and sexuality structures within communities (Sparr 1994).

Drawing upon the average expected performance of the white, middle-class, Western economic male in the capitalist market world, neoclassical economic theory is constructed around the notion of a "rational economic man." The theory assumes that all human behavior is primarily individualistic, selfish, competitive, and money oriented, and that individuals' decisions are the outcome of the free, informed, and rational choices of economic agents, specializing according to their innate comparative advantage. By assuming that "rational economic man" behavior applies to all human beings, the theory ignores or obscures important aspects of social and political life (Nelson 1996). It ignores the structural relations of domination (such as international core-periphery relations, class, race, and gender) and dependent relations (such as those of children and the elderly) that define access to resources (who controls income and property, how these are managed, how decisions are made to allocate income, and who gets what), roles (who does what), and responsibilities (who makes the decisions). It also ignores human networks in which by cultural conviction, religious or otherwise, collectivism (a system that emphasizes collective sharing and exchange, in contrast to individualism) is an accepted mode of behavior and the accumulation of material goods is not the priority. As a consequence, the theory cannot deal with situations where conflictive or cooperative behaviors are present, and equally it cannot infer the possibility of better results where cooperative behaviors are present. The definition of the neoclassical family is similar to the Eurocentric ideal notion of the nuclear patriarchal family, although, cross-cultural studies of kinship systems reveal a great variety of family forms. The formations of family life and structures, like many other social experiences, are nested within the class, race, and gender relations of a given historical period and geographical location, and these factors are overlooked and simplified in economic theory.

LINKING PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOR

Diane Elson (1995) and other feminist scholars such as Marilyn Waring (1990) argue that the economic structure and all the institutions that accompany it are

gendered. Specifically, they argue that neoclassical macroeconomics analyses, which focus on the productive economy and on national aggregates such as gross national product (GNP), are incomplete because they neglect a whole area of production, the unpaid production of human resources, which is largely women's work. There is interdependence between the economy of profit-oriented production and the non-profit-oriented "reproductive economy," a term now widely used by economists interested in how unpaid work helps to support the economy. Equally, feminist political-economists such as Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong (1990) argue that the ability of capital to mobilize labor power for "productive work" (wage work) depends on the operation of non-profit-oriented sets of social relations that mobilize labor power for "reproductive work." Specifically, the unpaid labor of women who work in their households, raising children and taking care of relatives, in addition to performing volunteer labor such as involving themselves in community organizations, all contribute significantly to the economy despite the fact that they are not officially included in national income accounts. The monetary economy cannot sustain itself without an input of unpaid labor, an input shaped by the structure of gender relations. The way in which these relations exist in a given society influences the forms of structural discrimination in the labor market and in the realm of reproductive labor (Elson 1994).

Ignoring the interdependence of the reproduction of human resources with paid areas of production (the interdependence between meeting people's needs and making a profit), macroeconomic policies tend to assume that the reproductive economy can adapt itself to whatever changes these policies introduce and that the reproductive economy can continue to function adequately no matter how it is disrupted by the productive economy. In practice, this has meant that poor women, in particular, have had to work harder and have essentially served as buffers during times of economic crisis (Benería and Feldman, 1992). As Elson (1994) argues, the process of production of human resources differs from the processes of production of goods, services, and capital. Once human resource production is undertaken, women tend not to abandon this process, even if it is not economically sound. Ignoring women's contribution to the economy means macroeconomic policies are able to assume that women's capacity to undertake unpaid work is infinitely elastic and does not diminish women's ability to undertake other forms of production.

Women perform many kinds of labor that fall within the realm of paid and unpaid work. For example, in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, many studies show that women, rather than disappearing from the economy during the transition from agrarian to capitalist modes of production, continue to engage in traditional subsistence farming and/or work in informal, domestic, home-based manufacturing, small-scale commerce, paid domestic service, or sexual service sectors, in addition to continuing their traditional unpaid work at home (Waring 1990). Most of these activities are not accounted for in official economic statistics, and they are commonly treated as noncapitalist and/or nonmonetary labor, despite the fact that women earn incomes through many of these forms of labor.

Neuma Aguiar (1983) also argues that classical economics makes assumptions about women's labor in the Latin American context, assumptions that devalue

traditional forms of production. These forms of production in Latin America are analyzed through the use of categories such as informal labor markets, underemployment, hidden employment, and marginality. Work that is done outside the hegemonic capitalist structure (wage work) is automatically devalued as "traditional," stagnant, backward, and deviant in relation to the "progressive" Western capitalist model. The narrow concept of paid work under capitalism devalues or ignores the existence of traditional modes of production under which people have lived for centuries, especially in the realm of women's unpaid labor as well as in subsistence agriculture and indigenous economies. Whereas prior to industrial capitalism, men's work and women's work were arguably valued in more equal terms, with the historical rise of capitalism women continue to work in the traditional, informal, and/or unpaid economies but their work is invisible and undervalued in monetary terms.

At the microeconomic level (which focuses on the decision-making behavior of individual economic units such as the family and the firm), feminists have also contested assumptions made by neoclassical economics. As noted above, neoclassical economists argue that the division of labor in the household is based on each individual's maximizing of his or her skills in the household economy. In contrast, feminist economists believe that households involve interactions of "cooperative conflict" rather than merely altruism or selfishness (Sen 1987). According to this view, cooperative conflicts are situations in which individuals stand to make gains from cooperating but have different and conflicting interests in the distribution of benefits. The microlevel institutions are characterized by cooperation in both the reproduction process and the production process, but there is also conflict in the distribution of the benefits. Relations within the family and the firm are not necessarily mediated by harmonious rational interests or by a joint utility function that maximizes the well-being of each member of the institution. Rather, a profoundly unequal accommodation is often reached between individuals (men and women) who occupy very different social positions and enjoy very different degrees of social and economic power. Social norms constrain people's choices about the division of labor and income in the family and the firm (Elson 1994). A good example of this involves communities that provide greater investment in boys than in girls in areas such as education, health, and other assets, a problem that the United Nations has documented in studies of countries as diverse as India, China, and the United States.

Following this line of thinking about women's and men's participation in the household economy, the amount of power men and women have is highly dependent on the relative material resources at their disposal. Wives who are not employed, or whose potential market wage rate is diminished while they bear and raise children or simply because of the general discrimination and wage differentiation faced by women in the labor market, are less likely to influence family decision making. The asymmetry of control over income between genders decreases women's bargaining position within the household. The vulnerability of women to violence, now widely documented, is also an indication of their relative powerlessness within the context of the family. The specialization

of women in the unpaid production of goods for family consumption and reproductive work often places them at a disadvantage in the labor market.

In the work of some economists, "rational economic man" analysis has also been applied to the fundamental characterization of human beings as economic agents and to questions of gender, race, and class as they shape people's opportunities (or lack thereof). One example concerns African American households in the United States. According to Andersen (2005), the experience of African American households is rooted in a system of racism, sexism, and class inequality. In the early twentieth century, racial discrimination in the labor force denied African Americans employment using the very skills they had acquired in slavery. As a result, men could only find unskilled employment, often seasonal and always underpaid. Women were more likely to find steady, although also severely underpaid, employment, most commonly as domestic servants or nannies. Discrimination denied men the possibility of becoming steady breadwinners, even if they wanted it. Black women's labor thus made them steady providers for their families, as well as reproductive workers. As the twentieth century developed, continuing discrimination and unemployment encouraged the formation of female-centered households.

CONCLUSION

Women's labor force participation rates are directly linked to definitions of work. In the U.S. capitalist economy, work is more often than not defined as activities engaged in through salaried relations of production. Official statistics associate production with the capitalist market and labor with wage work. Since part of women's work is associated with the traditional economy and/or the unpaid reproductive economy, it remains unrecognized as an important source of labor in the modern economy. As long as people view women's roles in child-rearing and domestic work as natural extensions of their culturally prescribed gender roles, and as long as their paid work is viewed as "secondary" to men's participation, the debates about gender inequalities in the realm of productive and reproductive work will continue.

See also Comparable Worth; Gender and Globalization: Trends and Debates; Welfare Reform.

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