

Assessing the feminist revolution:
The presence and absence of gender in theory and practice.

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Abstract

In 1972 a small group of sociologists sat-in at the all-male bar in the hotel hosting the ASA annual meeting, dramatically symbolizing their challenge to women's marginalization by the discipline of sociology.. Since then, sociology has changed to include more women in its leading departments and core organizations as well as among graduate students and faculty. In addition, the study of gender has not only become more legitimate and visible, but has changed qualitatively. We assess the quantitative trends and critical turning points in this story of increasing inclusion. We also point to parts of the picture that raise doubts about how fully successful this mainstreaming process has been, especially in relation to entrenched practices that place women at the margins of the discipline. We look especially at the extent to which new approaches to gender have entered the journals and the degree to which the issue of gender is equated with women alone.

Assessing the feminist revolution: the presence and absence of gender in theory and practice.

In the first decade of the 21st century sociology offers a wide range of theoretical tools for understanding the development and effects of gender relations. Empirical studies of gender expectations and power relations range from micro to macro level. At least to some degree, gender has become a concept theoretically understood to refer to “social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes and ...a primary means of symbolizing power” (Scott, 1986, p. 1067). Gender has become recognized as a major social force, perhaps best described as a core institution of all societies (Martin 2004), and the location of significant structural inequality. Gender inequality is a focus of attention in many institutional settings, and how gender shapes the way that people relate to each other and to broader social structures is widely recognized as an important question. This was not always so.

The extent of change in how gender relations are understood sociologically is perhaps best illustrated by comparing this approach to the functionalist understanding of “sex roles” that dominated American sociology in the early 1960s. This view drew on Talcott Parsons’ perception of natural differences between sexes as legitimating a general binary division of expressive and instrumental functions for men and women, demanding a division of family life into separate “roles” of domesticity and paid labor, and seeing “the adult female anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the family, as wife, mother, and manager of the household” (Parsons and Bales 1955, p. 355). In this approach, the equation of women with the family was nearly absolute, since women’s “domestic role” meant that both women’s exclusion from public life and men’s “private” violence against women went unremarked. The invisibility of women went still further, since race and class – both recognized as important – were seen as social processes primarily having to do with men. This was apparent in functionalist stratification studies based on male workers and “heads of households” no less than in “conflict sociology,” where research on power structures recognized only the presence and interests of men in social movements, unions and corporations, yet assumed these to be “ungendered.” Moreover, studies conducted from men’s point of view defined deviations from these familial and interpersonal norms as “social problems.” Women were therefore rarely of interest to sociologists, unless as deviants (“nuts and sluts”) or as wives and mothers (family sociology being understood largely as studying them, that is, as “wives’ family sociology,”). Women’s subordinated status was not even recognized, much less defined as a social problem.

The feminist mobilization that began in the 1960s changed all this, but not immediately, nor even yet completely. Feminism itself, connecting the recognition of social inequality in the relations between women and

men to a commitment to empower women and reduce men's domination, stirred on the streets after a long period of quiescence (Taylor 1989, Freeman 1975). In the 1970s, American feminist mobilization inside institutions spread from the small groups of activists "in the woodwork" of political parties, unions and state offices to encompass new forms of activism in churches, schools and workplaces (Ferree and Hess 2000). Academic feminist activism, including the new arena of women's studies, encompassed challenges both to university structures and disciplinary biases that reproduced gender inequality. Sociologists were among those who mobilized to change gender relations in and outside academia, and sociology was one of the many social institutions that they changed.

In this paper, we trace the process of these transformations in the United States. We argue that the dramatic increases of women in sociology since the early 1970s have produced a still-ongoing process of remaking sociological theory, methods, and organizational practice by drawing attention to two previously ignored phenomena: the social structures that produce gender, and the gender relations that shape all social structures. Central to this project is the overthrow of the sex roles model of the 1950s. Feminist sociologists went beyond their initial critique of its normative prescription of a specific form of family relations to reject its underlying assumption of binary social roles. As a result, a new, structural understanding of gender has emerged that draws from and contributes to the sociological analysis of inequality in general.

We argue that women's own struggle to enter and change sociology has been the engine driving this theoretical transformation from the end of the 1960s through the present. Although this has been an international process, our focus here is on the dynamics of American sociology in particular. Over this period, we demonstrate a marked increase in the originally male-defined discipline's willingness to consider both women scholars and gender issues important. Indeed, to the extent that women have brought feminism into sociology and have forced the abandonment of the sex roles model, sociology's approach to gender has become more genuinely sociological: focused on relations among individuals and groups, social practices and social structures. But we also suggest that this transformation is still incomplete. Even though American sociology has increasingly included women in its departments, journals and organizations, and has developed flourishing fields of feminist theory and empirical scholarship on gender, it has not brought the insights of these fields into the everyday practice of "doing sociology".

We begin by examining how women entered the discipline and changed the demographics and organizational practices of American sociology between 1960 and 2004. Gaining such standing was a difficult and controversial process, provoked by deliberate feminist action, as women organized to overcome long-established barriers. We then demonstrate just how striking the change in the presence of women, whether

feminist or not, has been for sociological research. Once sociology's subjects no longer could be simply assumed to be men, basic ideas and approaches came into question. Filling in the gaps made obvious that these exclusions were built into the substance of theories, not superficial shortcomings. Made aware of the significance of gender by feminism, both male and female researchers looked for sociological ways to understand the subordination of women. Drawing from and contributing to women's and gender studies, they provided a different and initially controversial perspective on once seemingly settled issues of inequality. Bringing women into the picture changed the framing of such sociological concepts as stratification, work and violence. Relating gender to such core sociological concerns as power, inequality and social change undermined the basis for understanding it as binary "sex roles" and as only relevant for studying women.

After considering of how the increased presence of women as objects of sociological study forced a revision of the inherently but invisibly male-centered approaches of the discipline, we move in the third section to look at the deeper transformation of sociological theory that feminist research initiated. This structural understanding of gender, not simply of women, now challenges ideas of inequality and interaction embedded in sociological theory as a whole. We examine how the new view of gender and older sex roles models are expressed in the way that research is done, published, and taught. Because this theoretical conflict is on-going, we look at some recent conflicts over methods and theory that exemplify the current tension between these paradigms. Finally, in the conclusion, we suggest some issues for the future prospects of resolving this conflict.

Sociology as gendered work

The process of professionalization that created sociology as a discipline was gendered, with men actively excluding women from the departments and associational roles that established the field (Magdalenic, 2004). At the beginning of the 20th century Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbot and Ethel Dummer were members of the ASA executive and in 1906, there were 15 women members of the ASA, including Jane Addams and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. But by 1926, women's exclusion from sociology departments was reflected in the association. Women scholars formed alternative networks, such as the one around Hull House in Chicago, not typically defined as sociological (Deegan 1990). Women's participation in ASA became limited to support roles like administrative officer or managing editor. Although to most men the ASA and the discipline of sociology appeared to be gender-neutral, the domination of men and marginalization of women were not so invisible to the women who felt the brunt of them (Bernard 1973, Hughes 1973a, 1973b, Riley 1988). This gendered exclusion only began to be made visible as feminism created opportunities to discuss and challenge it.¹

¹ Today, the blatant consignment of women and gender relations to social irrelevance common in the 1960s is astonishing. For example, Glenn and Weiner (1969) "decided to exclude" all women from their study of

Creating an organizational presence

When the American Sociological Association held its 1969 annual meeting in San Francisco, Alice Rossi, then a professor at Goucher College, confronted the organization's leadership (which included ASA Secretary, Peter Rossi) at the Business Meeting. On behalf of the newly formed Women's Caucus, Alice Rossi offered nine resolutions on topics such as hiring and promotion practices, child care at the Annual Meeting, the inclusion of women in research designs, and the development of course material on women. Council supported these resolutions, but the ad hoc women's caucus formed that summer decided to meet again that winter in order to sustain its momentum. Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS), a feminist organization of both women and men, was formed at that 1970 winter meeting.

As a collective advocate for women, SWS first became highly visible in 1972 at the ASA meeting in New Orleans (Roby 1992). In this era, desegregating lunch counters in the South was spilling over into comparable sit-ins across the country by newly forming feminist groups in restaurants, bars and clubs with male-only policies. A number of sociologists (among them Jessie Bernard, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, Nona Glazer, Beth Hess, Alice Rossi, and Erving Goffman) decided to sit-in at the Monteleone Hotel's all-male lunchroom. The protesters made clear that they saw exclusion from the bar and grill in the meeting hotel as a symbol of the overall marginality of women in ASA's program and activities.

SWS, as an organization autonomous from ASA, offered its own alternative program to give women and feminism a space to be heard; it also brought direct pressure to bear on ASA. From the start, SWS melded the collectivist feminist style of organizing projects for direct service (in this case, offering substantive paper sessions and career support) and the bureaucratic feminist style of lobbying and lawsuits (endorsing candidates for ASA elections, bringing member resolutions, sending observers to Council meetings and funding sociologists' sex discrimination cases). The ASA Council, partly in response to this mobilization, established an office for women and minority affairs in 1972, with Doris Wilkinson, a SWS member, as the first program officer. This office began to systematically collect data on women and non-whites in sociology.

The picture they found was bleak. In 1966 there were no women at all as elected decision-makers in ASA (in Council, Publications committee, or any section), and women were only 10% of all ASA journal editorial board members (Roby 1992). By 1971, initial pressure had jumped women's representation to 19% of elected committee members and 8% of elected section officers. This began to change even more as SWS mobilized its members to vote in ASA elections. The fact that SWS members voted at a significantly higher rate

changing social origins of sociologists, while deploring the declining numbers of (male) sociologists from rural backgrounds as a loss of "a perspective that probably has considerable value to the discipline."

than ASA members overall made it an effective lobby and brought women into ASA office in higher proportion than they were of the non-student membership (D'Antonio and Tuch 1991; Rosenfeld, Cunningham & Schmidt 1997). Although in 1973 ASA elected Mirra Komarovsky as only its second woman president (the first being Dorothy Swaine Thomas in 1952), in the following twenty elections between 1974 and 1994 just three women were elected president. In 1994, controversy arose, generating protest write-in candidates, when the official ASA nominations process produced an all-woman and largely SWS-member set of candidates for its three top offices (President, Vice-President and Secretary).

The representation of women in ASA office has since then become non-controversial. Unlike 1994, the election of feminist women sociologists as President and Vice-President in the 2004 election did not create a backlash. Since 1983 the ASA Council has generally been comprised of at least 50% women (Rosenfeld, Cunningham and Schmidt 1997). However, the proportion of women nominated and the odds of a nominated woman being elected have both declined since 1994. Women are no longer over-represented in leadership roles relative to their share of total faculty (ASA Committee on the Status of Women in Sociology Report, 2004, CSW hereafter).

Since the 1970s ASA meetings changed in substance as well as in their representation of women. ASA introduced childcare at meetings, began to import SWS-originated programming ideas (e.g. mentoring workshops on how to publish and network), and established a section on "sex roles" (renamed "sex and gender" in 1976 and the largest single section in ASA since 1988). Women's share of presentations on the ASA program also began to rise in the 1970s, and with it attention to gender inequality as a sociological issue. By the 1980s, research on gender issues was a vital force at ASA meetings. Analyses of program participation by the ASA's Committee on the Status of Women in 1995 and 2004 show no differences by gender in amount or types of participation (CSW 2004). Although certainly not all women sociologists do research on gender, nor are all those who study gender women, the more extensive incorporation of women researchers clearly directed more attention to gender as an object of study. By the mid-1990s SWS felt it was no longer necessary to offer substantive program sessions on women's status and gender research, since its members and concerns were now well incorporated in the overall ASA program. Changing ASA as an organization, however, was easier than transforming the discipline as a whole.

Changes in the composition of the discipline.

Some of the rapid rise in women's organizational standing in the discipline reflected an overall increase in women researchers. As Table 1 indicates, this growth represented less a change in women undergraduates' interest in sociology than in women's access to advanced study. In the 1960s, graduate work was still defined as

male. Arlene Kaplan Daniels recounts, “we were all boys together; there was no other choice. The notion that women might have different agendas or interests or problems was unheard of...so in the end, I was the only woman in my cohort who completed the Ph.D. program” (1994:32). Even though women were already a majority among sociology undergraduates in the 1960s, the overall share of advanced degrees going to women was much lower (30% of masters and only 15% of PhDs in 1966). As feminist protests began, this proportion began to rise significantly and once begun, the shift at the PhD level accelerated substantially, going up to 20% in 1971 and jumping to 40% only ten years later. By 1980 sociology granted a majority of its MA degrees to women, and by 1988 gave a majority of its PhD degrees to women as well.

The impact of opening doors to women for advanced study was felt across the social sciences. The share of psychology doctorates going to women rose from 22% in 1965-69 to 66% in 1995-99 and in political science from 9% to 33%, while sociology rose from 19% to 55% (CSW, 2004). Sociology was unusual, however, in the huge increases in men doing graduate work in this period (a jump from just over 200 PhDs going to men in 1966 to 500 male PhDs in 1972), a rate of increase that women did not initially match (see Table 2). The exceptionally large baby-boom cohorts of men (450-500/year) earning degrees in the 1970s are still moving slowly through the “python” of the academic system. By contrast, women earned fewer than 50 PhDs in 1966 and this number rose steadily to about 220 in 1977. After a drop in the late 1970s as the labor market contracted (Roos and Jones 1993), from the mid-1980s on, men’s numbers of PhD appear to have stabilized at around 250/year while women’s numbers began again to rise (from about 220/year throughout the 1980s to 325-350/year in the late 1990s and early 2000s). Thus, although a first wave of women broke into sociology with energy in the 1970s, their institutional presence was initially muted by the large “boom cohort” of men who were a source both of solidarity in pursuit of social change and competition for increasingly scarce jobs.

How well women made it into the academic mainstream was affected by this historical transformation. As Table 3 indicates, men of the boom generation moved up in rank before the new wave of younger women entered in the late 1980s, making men as a group both older and more likely to be full professors in 1999. That women faced obstacles in an increasingly tight academic labor market was evident in January 1984, when ASA Council approved “departmental hiring goals” that asserted that “The proportion of women holding tenured positions in academic departments of sociology in 1990 should be equivalent to the proportion receiving Ph.D.s between 1950 and 1980. The appropriate figure is 27 percent or approximately one in four.” That figure was not actually reached until 1997.

Using a similar standard for 2000 (i.e. the proportion of women among 1960-1990 PhDs) indicates that departments have now caught up (women were 28% of the graduates during this period and make up 32% of the

tenured faculty). However, other factors suggest less optimism. While the share of assistant professorships held by women closely matched the share of PhDs awarded in 1975 (~30%) and 1984 (~42%), by 1999 women were earning 60% of the PhDs but receiving only 50% of the assistant professor positions, and the gap between the percentage of tenured women and percentage gaining a PhD ten years before again seems to be widening (Table 4). The proportion of women among full professors (10%) barely increased at all before 1984, and was still only 20% in 1991, suggesting that many women faced considerable delay in getting this promotion. And while the large male boom cohorts will be retiring in this decade, sociology departments now are shrinking and the odds of being promoted to full professor falling, making it less likely that women in the following cohorts will benefit from these openings at the top (CSW 2004).

It is also important to acknowledge how institutionalized forms of discrimination (e.g. continuing stereotyping of women researchers as less qualified, shunting women into teaching-intensive jobs, resistance to accepting women in positions of authority over men) kept the older cohorts of women sociologists on the margins. As Matilda White Riley notes “In my early years, sex discrimination was taken for granted” (1988: 28) and Helen McGill Hughes, with Ph.D. in hand, was relegated to the role of editorial assistant for *AJS*, “a job that would never have been offered to a male Ph.D. or even to a male doctoral student” (1973a:772). Although the Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the Education Amendments of 1972 clearly defined discrimination against women faculty as illegal, it took lawsuits by courageous women (such as sociologists Margaret Cussler, Nancy Stoller Shaw and Natalie Allon, whose own careers were typically destroyed in the lengthy process) to hold universities accountable for changing their hiring, promotion and pay practices. Thus, as Table 3 also indicates, the rank held by the relatively few women in the academy in 1969 did not reflect their seniority. The boom generation made men as a group younger than women in 1969 (45% of the men were 40 or younger, compared to only 30% of the women), yet 40% of all men in sociology were already full professors at that point, compared to only 27% of the women.

Research status and authority

Indeed, the presence of important women sociologists such as Jessie Bernard, Helen McGill Hughes and Matilda White Riley in the discipline in the 1960s and 1970s did not mean that they enjoyed the prestige or institutional resources of the typical male academic researcher. From 1948 to 1970, for example, not one woman was hired in a tenure-track position at Berkeley (Delamont 2003: 40). For several pioneering women, partnership with men sociologists relegated them (via institutional nepotism rules) into non-tenure track positions or jobs in nearby teaching-intensive liberal arts colleges (as examples, consider Alice Rossi at Goucher College when Peter was at Johns Hopkins, Rose Coser at Wellesley when Lewis was at Brandeis). In the 1970s,

some schools began to open up the possibility of dual-career hiring (UMass hired the Rossis, SUNY Stony Brook hired the Cosers as couples). But elite schools remained less interested in even top women scholars. It was only in the 1980s that this resistance began to crack. When the Harvard sociology department denied tenure to Theda Skocpol in 1980, she received offers to teach at other leading departments and sued the university. Unlike those whose careers were destroyed by the arduous process of bringing a discrimination case, Skocpol taught for several years at Chicago before being invited back to Harvard (Skocpol 1988).

Still, leading gender scholars had limited access to departments most engaged in training the next generation. Neither UMass nor Stony Brook was a top-ten department when it made its path-breaking couple hires, and while both departments rose in status as a result, graduate students studying gender either had to go to such lower-ranked schools or do innovative work in higher-ranked departments on their own. Through the mid-1980s, leading scholars who would be recognized in the 1990s by being recruited at major schools and winning top prizes for their work were often denied tenure (e.g. Evelyn Nakano Glenn at Boston University), remained in departments with limited graduate programs (e.g. Barrie Thorne at Michigan State), or were positioned on the margins of sociology (e.g. Joyce Ladner and Patricia Yancey Martin in social work).² Stephen Kulis analyzed the top 27 ranked departments in 1984 and found women were 19% of these faculty compared to 24% of others, but also that on the top-ranked faculties almost three of five men were full professors but only one in three of their women colleagues (1988: 206, 209). Looking just at the top 20 sociology departments (ranked by the National Research Council) in 1984 and 2000, we find that the percentage of tenured faculty members that are women in these elite schools lagged behind the field as a whole, as did their proportion of women among all faculty members (see Table 5). While the data show that women have now made inroads into the leading departments, their progress is remarkably recent, coming only in the 1990s. Even today, SWS's ranking of graduate departments in terms of support for gender scholarship and proportions of women faculty shows that "the higher one moves up the ladder of institutional prestige, the fewer women one will find, the less diversity overall, and the less concern with gender and inequality scholarship" and argues that a trade-off remains between "seeking work and education in the most prestigious departments or choosing to surround themselves with women faculty and scholars interested in gender" (Hays & Risman, 2004). Overall, women are slower to acquire tenure and promotion and less well represented in the most advantaged research settings.

Feminist research and gatekeeping

² It should be noted that in the non-random sample of eminent women sociologists whose autobiographical essays are collected in three collections (Goetting and Fenstermaker 1995, Laslett and Thorne, 1997, Orlans and Wallace 1994) no less than 10 of the 42 report a denial of tenure (Delamont, 2003: 29).

The marginal position of women in the academy in the 1960s and 1970s meant that feminist research began outside the mainstream and first became visible at the intersection of scholarship and social protest. In the early 1970s, women's studies programs emerged as a space where an interdisciplinary and activist challenge to the "male-stream" could be posed. Initially engaged in what would be called an "add women and stir" approach (McIntosh 1983) to the exclusion of knowledge about women, women's studies quickly found that even such small stirring in could cause explosive reactions, both of creative discovery and hostile rejection.³ Working in dual mode to transform the conventional disciplines as well as establish a secure extra-departmental basis for research that placed women at the center of the discovery process, women's studies drew feminist sociologists into interdisciplinary research and curriculum transformation projects (e.g. Anderson 1987).

Sociologists both provided theoretical tools for activists and were guided to new research questions by the challenges to institutional structures posed by women's movement groups. Barbara Katz Rothman's work on the practices of childbirth informed and inspired feminist nurses and midwives while also feeding their experiences and insights into her critique of institutional medicine. Jessie Bernard, Pauline Bart and Nancy Chodorow figured prominently in such classic early mass-market feminist readers as Gornick and Moran's *Woman in Sexist Society* (1971), placing a focus on relationships and structures in gender inequality. Hannah Papanek, Joan Huber, Barrie Thorne, Elise Boulding, Lise Vogel, Jean Lipman-Blumen and Joan Acker were featured in the first volume of *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (1975), the new and soon to be leading journal in women's studies. Sociology's own journals initially showed interest in this research as well, but after first opening their doors, failed to institutionalize ways of evaluating feminist studies appropriately.

Already in the 1970s, some women began to gain access to gate-keeping roles, including in the leading journals. In 1971, the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* did a special issue on women and feminism (edited by Pauline Bart) that drew attention to issues previously invisible to family sociologists, including violence against women. This is a topic that does not show up in the big three sociology journals until 1984, with an AJS article "Toward a phenomenology of domestic violence" by Norman Denzin, not particularly offering a feminist perspective on the issue, but at least noticing its significance. The 1973 special issue on gender that AJS, quite

³ Jonathan Imber (1999) offers a good example of the continuing backlash generated against feminist gains, attacking both ASA and sociology departments for attention to gender and race, not citing specific feminist work as he attacks the substance of the field as a whole, and couching political vituperation as a defense against politicization.

unusually, commissioned Joan Huber to edit marked another critical step toward recognition that this new topic was indeed of sociological interest.⁴

However, this first taste of feminist research was not followed by a feast of new ideas in mainstream journals. Although it became increasingly possible to publish research focused on women, the failure of sociology journals to publish much feminist research done on its own terms, rather than compensatory research done within the still male-defined terms of the discipline, created a powerful desire among sex and gender researchers for a journal of their own.

In 1985, at the Washington DC annual meeting, the Sex and Gender section of ASA made application to Council, formally requesting permission to launch a new journal in this area. Council rejected this, both on the official grounds that sections were not allowed to publish journals (a rule ASA later changed) and on the unofficial but openly stated rationale that this would “divert good papers from ASR.” Since feminist scholars had good reason to believe that ASR reviewers were disinclined to accept their work, SWS took advantage of its autonomy from ASA to set up *Gender & Society* on its own. Under the skilled leadership of its first editor, Judith Lorber, *G&S* published path-breaking papers of gender scholarship such as West & Zimmerman’s “Doing Gender,” which had already collected a pile of rejection letters from the mainstream journals. In 2005, its nineteenth year of publication, *G&S* has become the most frequently cited social science journal in women’s studies. Rather than “diverting” feminist scholarship from ASR, *G&S* probably encouraged ASR to compete more effectively to publish it.

Rita Simon, a criminologist, was appointed the first woman editor of ASR in 1978, but under her tenure feminist issues such as violence against women still failed to find a home in this journal. By the time Paula England, noted for her feminist research on sex stratification, was appointed as editor of ASR in 1994 (having started her career, like so many other gender scholars, at a teaching-intensive school, the University of Texas at Dallas), her position was seen as a recognition of her individual contributions, an opportunity for the journal to encourage more submissions from feminist scholars, and a means to draw in a more diverse pool of reviewers. Although succeeding in expanding and diversifying the editorial board in other ways, England kept the gender composition relatively stable (at 33-37% in her term as well as under both previous editors). The proportion of women only rose to 50% under editors Charles Camic and Franklin Wilson (2000-2003). Despite these gains, women remain less likely to edit the set of ASA journals than they are to be among the elected chairs of sections

⁴ Delamont (2003: 23) says that Andrew Abbott describes this as an ‘exciting time’ in the history of AJS, “when the managing editor, Florence Levinsohn, tried to make the journal more controversial and exciting. The special issue was ‘immensely successful’ but Levinsohn was sacked in 1974” and the strategy was not repeated.

(CSW 2004). Thus, although there have been major transformations in the status of women in the profession, gender remains an institutional obstacle, particularly at the highest levels.⁵

Recognition of women as scholars also lags. Women's scholarship in general (including but not limited to gender subjects) remains less likely to be singled out for special recognition, even when it proves over time to be an important contribution. Thus, although books by women authors were cited in retrospect in the pool of "most influential" of the past 25 years (Contemporary Sociology, 1996) at or above the proportion that one might expect based on their representation in the discipline (31%), the Distinguished Scholarly Publication Award given by ASA went much less often to women (10% of awards between 1970 and 2002) (CSW 2004).
Connecting women researchers and gender scholarship

Although issues around women and gender would never have been raised if women had not brought their concern about women's subordination into the discipline, the connections made between the presence of women and gender scholarship reflect a dynamic social process, not a one-to-one identification between them. Women graduate students often organized and pressed their home departments for both courses on gender and women in faculty positions. Much of the new faculty hiring of women was intended to bring "someone" studying women into the department, all too often in a single token position. The context of feminist activism that opened doors in the 1980s blurred the lines between being a woman, studying women, and being a feminist sociologist. Feminist researchers who studied other subjects, including those women of color who worked to bring awareness of gender into research on race (see, for example, pioneering studies by Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Bonnie Dill, Doris Wilkenson, Esther Chow, Judith Rollins and Cheryl Gilkes) found it sometimes hard to be recognized, either by their male colleagues or their feminist peers. The Sex and Gender section of ASA (oriented to advancing research on women and gender issues) and SWS (directed to feminist activism and advancing the status of women in the profession) still have heavily overlapping memberships and are often not perceived as representing distinct interests.

While the degree of overlap is exaggerated and can be misleading, the link itself is no accident. On the one hand, because active political mobilization made it possible for sociologists to claim a legitimate expertise in studying women's lives and status, feminists pressured sociology to recognize and incorporate this expertise within the discipline. On the other hand, the recognition of women and gender as fields of study created a niche for women scholars as well as an attractive opportunity for personally meaningful research. However the

⁵ Individual university studies (Rutgers, Duke, MIT) indicate that the glass ceiling effect can pose a problem for women professors who are among the stars in their field or subfield, and looking at the scholarly honors conferred by ASA committees such as Distinguished Scholarly Publication or editorships suggests this may be true of the disciplines as well.

equation of women with gender tends to define all research on gender issues as relevant only to or for women sociologists, and women sociologists as good only at studying women. Although a few American men (among them, Steve Buechler, Gary LaFree, Bill Bielby, Michael Kimmel, Steve Kulis, James Baron and Jerry Jacobs) ventured into the study of gender quite early, most male sociologists saw the appropriate division of labor as one in which men studied ostensibly un-gendered “general” issues while women should study the “particular” case of women. It remains all too true that, as Jessie Bernard noted 30 years ago, “A great deal of research focuses on men with no reference to women [but]...research on women in their own right, without reference to a male standard, is not viewed as worthy of male attention.” (1973: 787).

Segregation within the discipline has been interpreted as methodological, with women being identified with qualitative and men with quantitative methods. While this stereotype is an exaggeration (and inverts the early history of the discipline, when the men of the Chicago school were known for their ethnographies and the women around Hull House group for their quantitative social budgets), there are real developments behind it. Mainstream sociology’s ever sharper turn toward quantitative research in the 1980s, as massive expansion of computing capacity made large-sample studies ever easier and more revealing, ran counter to the feminist emphases on interdisciplinary legibility, sensitivity to including the actual voices of women, and reflexivity and awareness of power dynamics in the research process, all of which tended to privilege qualitative styles of work (Grant, Ward and Rong 1987). For the most part, computer-intensive, grant-funded quantitative research was harder to do in smaller, teaching-oriented colleges, where women faculty remain over-represented. The desire to theorize from a grounded basis in experience rather than to fit women into existing categories also pushed many feminist researchers away from the hypothetico-deductive approaches typified in quantitative studies. While many gender scholars questioned the exclusions and inappropriateness of existing models for understanding women’s experience, Dorothy Smith was one of the strongest voices calling for “institutional ethnographies” that would expose the interests involved in defining women as problems to be managed, reveal the interconnections between ostensibly separate “private” and “public” matters, and allow the development of new theory that rested on women’s own perspectives on their “everyday/everynight” lives (Smith 1987).

Despite these real connections between gender and method, the stereotype equating women and qualitative research obscures other, more complex processes at work, including vigorous feminist calls for more use of quantitative methods (Jayaratne 1983). The study of occupational segregation and wage discrimination, the focus on women’s exclusion from textbooks and media, the challenge to the unequal division of labor in the home and women’s marginalization in the academy itself demanded quantitative data and increasingly sophisticated statistical analysis to rebut the continued charge that women “chose” a separate and unequal status.

Feminist sociologists such as Paula England, Jerry Jacobs, Barbara Reskin, Bill Bielby, Leslie McCall and Patricia Roos were and remain crucial contributors to this essential, interdisciplinary project.⁶ The greater prestige given today to quantitative methods (unlike the stature qualitative work held for the early 20th century Chicago School), also tends to be interpreted as consistent with men's higher status (variously understood as cause or result). In fact, articles about gender in mainstream sociology journals, whether written by women or men, are more likely than other articles to use quantitative methods (Mackie 1985, Grant, Ward and Rong, 1987; Swygart-Hobaugh 2004).

The gendering of authorship is reinforced through citation practices: highly cited authors in books and in journals tend to form "two distinct populations" centered around qualitative and quantitative research respectively (Clemens et al., 1995; Cronin, Snyder & Atkins 1997); women are less well-represented as authors in the most quantitative, highest status journals (Karides et al. 2001); women are more likely to cite women's work and gender-focused articles than men are (Ward, Gast and Grant 1992); and relative to the population of articles and researchers in an area, men undercite women's work (Davenport and Snyder 1995; Delamont 1989; Ferber 1988). Sociology's pattern of undercitation of women by men is echoed in neighboring disciplines of economics (Ferber 1986), psychology (Fine 1999) and anthropology (Lutz, 1990), despite their different methodological styles. The combined result of status effects by both gender and method on citation practices is that the actual diversity and theoretical contributions of the work of feminist scholars fails to be recognized within sociology and the contributions that women scholars make, across methods and topics, are still under-acknowledged by their male colleagues.⁷

Although men still dominate in the ASA sections that are defined as most 'abstract' (in 2004, the members of the theory, methods, economic and rational choice sections are all over 60 percent men), the greatly increased organizational presence of women in sociology responded to and reinforced wider changes in the definition of sociology's core concerns. Theory remains an area where women sociologists and gender perspectives are strongly marginalized but exclusion followed different lines in neighboring disciplines. In political science, for example, the field of theory is richly populated with women and feminist questions.

⁶ Yet the opposite misperception, that sociologists bring data rather than theory to women's studies, is belied by the interdisciplinary significance of theorists such as Dorothy Smith, Judith Lorber and Patricia Hill Collins and theory-generating qualitative researchers such as Arlie Hochschild, Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Barrie Thorne, Barbara Katz Rothman, Judith Stacey, Elizabeth Higginbotham and Joan Acker.

⁷ The cascading consequences for women's status deriving from men's failure to acknowledge women's contributions has been dubbed the "Matilda effect" in honor of suffragist author Matilda Joselyn Gage, who both described and endured this denial of credit, and as a counterpoint to the "Matthew effect" ascribed to Robert Merton but (as he himself later acknowledged) actually described by Harriet Zuckerman and him together (Rossiter, 1993).

Scholars such as Seyla Benhabib, Wendy Brown, Nancy Fraser, Carole Pateman, Hanna Pitkin, Iris Marion Young are widely cited and their analyses are part of the core of this area. Although there is nothing inherent to either gender or theory that would make these incompatible interests, the position of women in this area of sociology, as in quantitative methods, remains subject to stereotypes and precarious.

Nonetheless, the ability to study women and gender issues and to have this scholarship lead to a job, tenure, recognition and tangible rewards in sociology increased substantially from the mid-1970s to the present. It is clear that the increased presence and organizational influence of women changed sociology's gate-keeping norms. Institutionalized practices from hiring to reviewing to publishing and promoting came under pressure, and over time became more open to women. As Sandra Harding (1991) argues with regard to "strong objectivity" as a standard of science, the inclusion of researchers from a greater variety of social locations allows greater recognition of the biases and exclusions in theory. The invisible dominance of male experiences and perspectives in defining the "general" began to be challenged as women became a self-conscious group and made their presence known.

Already in 1973, Jessie Bernard optimistically suggested that "So far as the activist phase in the profession is concerned, it has been remarkably successful...Now the question is, 'will the harder phase – that of re-orienting the paradigms to take account of women – be equally successful?'" (p.788). We turn now to consider the continuing struggle for the conceptual remaking of the field.

Challenging the definition of core concerns

The exclusion of women from sociology is a double-sided process with a long history. On the one hand, what women social scientists did was not considered sociology. While the label "sociology" itself was not clearly defined in the early 20th century, the discipline was eager to embrace men who did social analyses that it saw as valuable, regardless of what these men called themselves. However, the women who developed theory and methods for studying society – such as Harriet Martineau, Beatrice Webb or Jane Addams – were denied recognition as part of the discipline (Deegan 1990, Magdalenic, 2004). Later, Jessie Bernard, Alice Cook and Matilda White Riley were excluded from tenure-track positions in mainstream departments by explicit discrimination against them as women (Hughes, 1973b). Such on-going marginality made women's work harder and less likely to be recognized as sociologically significant, although it may have placed women in good position to contribute significantly to professional schools and applied disciplines where they were more welcome.⁸ Women of color continue to find that the interdisciplinary resonance of their work is perversely used

⁸ While researching the relation between sociology and such applied areas of study as public opinion, business management and social work would be another paper, it should be noted that the American Association of Public

to signal that they are less authentically or exclusively sociologists. Their marginality is manifest as they are invidiously compared among themselves, remain isolated as single hires, and are recruited more for positions newly created for them rather than core to their departments' definition of its needs (Glenn, 1997; Misra, Kennelly and Karides 1999).

On the other hand, theorizing women's social position was also not considered part of sociology's historical tradition and was made distinctly unwelcome in contemporary departments. In the early twentieth century, when women's education and suffrage were active policy questions, male and female social theorists such as Gilman, Simmel, Weber, and Bebel energetically debated the status of women. The centrality of gender in these theorists' work was erased from memory when sociology's "canon" was constructed in mid-century (Connell 1997, Adams 1998, Gerhard 2001, Sprague 1997). The relationships between patriarchy and industrialization, democracy and modern family structures either devolved into Marxist ideological certainties or disappeared from consideration. Connections between the status of women and the structure of society, a lively topic for debate in the 1910s and 1920s, vanished from sociology's research agenda in the years after World War II. The integration of personal experience, political sensibility and sociological imagination sometimes attributed to the sixties generation (Lemert 1988) did not come easily to feminist scholars in sociology or elsewhere in the academy, where their concerns were trivialized, obscured or excluded by dominant definitions of who and what mattered.⁹

Indeed, examining the dissertation topics of women sociologists who were pioneers of the field of sex and gender makes clear how few were able to study women in the 1950s and 1960s: Helen Hacker's (1951) dissertation on "A functional approach to the gainful employment of married women" and Pauline Bart's (1967) study of "Depression in middle-aged women" are atypical in explicitly focusing on women, but otherwise characteristic of the discipline's functionalist paradigm in which women's employment and aging were social problems, and family and social psychology were the areas in which women could be seen at all. Mirra Komarovsky's (1941) dissertation "The unemployed man and his family" expresses in this title the way that

Opinion Research, which includes both applied and academic practitioners, had gender-balanced membership and women in leadership positions long before ASA, and a star sociologist of organization, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, was recruited by the Harvard Business School while failing to win any sociological prize for her work. Social work has long offered a home to women scholars of organizations, communities, and politics while these subfields remained defined as male domains within sociology itself.

⁹ In fact, as Lemert argues "Many feminists in institutionally marginal programs, often in other than first-rank universities, subjected to well-known secret doubts about the 'objectivity' of their knowledge, have been forced to develop a theory and practice of knowledge consistent with the social experience of exclusion. Hence the critical difference of feminist theory" (1988, 801).

women were folded invisibly into the concept of “family,” while men link the family to the wider world.¹⁰ Other scholars who, like Komarovsky, later offered pioneering work on gender issues once feminism revived this concern did their dissertations on families and communities without naming women as being of particular interest (e.g. Helena Lopata’s in 1956 on “The functions of an ethnic community, ‘Polonia’” and Francesca Cancian’s in 1963 on “Family interaction in Zinacantan”).

As feminist consciousness-raising began to spread, dissertations that engaged directly with women’s status as such began to re-emerge in sociology. One of the earliest was Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer’s ‘The female labor force in the United States; demographic and economic factors governing its growth and changing composition’ (1966). A turning point appears to have come around 1968-69, as concern with women begins to be evidenced in what would become a new tide of dissertations; Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1968) on women lawyers, Arlie Hochschild (1968) on “a community of grandmothers,” and Elise Boulding (1969) on the effects of industrialization on women’s participation in society were among them. What is notable is the shift in focus: these new studies address women’s work as an issue of power and inequality rather than as a disruption of the functional order of sex roles.¹¹

By 1975, there were 45 women and 5 men who listed “women and gender issues” in the ASA directory as being their focus of interest (Roby 1992). These included those who had earlier done dissertations on non-gender topics (such as Jessie Bernard and Alice Rossi), later publishing path-breaking work in this area (such as Rossi’s 1964 article in *Daedalus*, “Equality between the sexes: an immodest proposal,” and Bernard’s classic 1971 study of men’s and women’s different perceptions of marriage). These “foremothers” as well as the “breakthrough generation” – the new cohort of sociologists inspired by feminism to break the taboo on studying women in their dissertations -- together established “women and gender” as a field of legitimate sociological concern.

Still, studying women as such was deemed not very important to the overall sociological enterprise, since biology and psychology could better address the “underlying differences” among individuals that were presumed to generate “sex roles.” The dynamics of the overall social order were located elsewhere, in a supposedly “ungendered” political economy or modernization/development process. The debate (in textbooks

¹⁰ Melvin Kohn’s classic study of *Class and Conformity* (1969) well illustrates both theoretically and empirically the pervasiveness of this model, since a father’s blue or white collar job was connected to the way that children were raised without considering whether fathers participated themselves in active childrearing or whether mothers’ own education or work experience might affect her behavior with and aspirations for her children. For the most part, mothers were simply invisible links in a chain of transmission from fathers to the next generation.

¹¹ While many of these were studies of work (e.g. dissertations by Reskin 1973 and Bose 1973), radical feminist questions of power and embodiment also shaped thinking about what “work” was and how it was done. For example, Pamela Roby’s 1971 dissertation addressed the politics of prostitution.

and graduate schools) of the 1970s was often framed as being between the approval of the contemporary social order offered by functionalism (anchored in mainstream departments and in the ASA) and “critical” or “conflict” approaches to sociology (anchored in SSSP and encompassing everything from Marx to Goffman).

But the “critical sociology” of the period was initially no more inclusive of women than its functionalist alternative. Leftist thinking often relied on the socialist orthodoxy that working class women were best served by raising men’s wages to a “family wage” so that they could “stay home” and “not work” (see debate between Wright 1978 and Ferree 1976 and 1984). Gender issues were addressed by explaining class; the status of women was seen as a “residual category” that would be resolved with the alleviation of class domination. To seriously bring women into sociology meant recognizing women as workers with interests of their own, with problems that went beyond their class position, and seeing where and how they fit or didn’t fit “the male model” (e.g. see Feldberg and Glenn, 1979 on jobs and Acker, 1973 on the concept of the “head of household”). Thus one of the most fruitful early feminist challenges to the sociological status quo involved trying to bring women into the various male-dominant approaches to class, stratification, mobility and economic disadvantage.

Re-working the paradigm of work

Since neither the view of stratification as a hierarchy of rewards or of class as relations of production took women’s work into account, trying to fit women’s experiences into prevailing models began to expose fundamental flaws in their conceptualization. Along with a set of “relations of production” in which women participated there were “relations of reproduction” that were socially significant but sociologically invisible. While initially generating a “dual systems theory” that kept patriarchy and capitalism in their separate spheres, the struggle to encompass women’s lives in a coherent, macro-sociological understanding of gender began here (Hartmann 1979, Sargent 1981, Sokoloff 1990).

Rosabeth Moss Kanter’s Men and Women of the Corporation (1977) set an agenda for a new, more social structural analysis of work and workplaces. First, it defined tokenism and blocked mobility as practices that produced apparent gender differences via structural rather than socio-biological mechanisms. This opened a space for seeing gender as a social process in an organization rather than an individual trait, and was enormously influential in launching studies of gender as a meso-level organizational characteristic (e.g. sex ratio). Second, it retold the history of the corporation in a way that made the emergence of managers and secretaries an explicitly gendered process. This resonated with the macro-level interests of social historians in understanding the emergence of the category “work” as peculiarly male and “housework” and “dependence” as female (Fraser and Gordon, 1994).

Mainstream models in the 1970s did not frame stratification as including gender relations, though in an unmarked way they did so: defining the object of stratification as “the head of household,” basing social mobility studies on fathers and sons, and defining a family’s social class position as a function of men’s education and employment alone. Confronting these male-centered assumptions produced a wave of empirical research. Feminist sociologists tried to bring women into men’s models by assessing how mothers’ and fathers’ attributes contributed to social mobility (Rosenfeld 1978) and both women’s and men’s characteristics mattered to household social stratification (Goldthorpe 1983, Crompton 1996). Measures on which men’s sociology had relied, such as occupational prestige (based on rating jobs with male incumbents) and labor force participation (based on instructions to Census interviewers that undercounted women’s work) were exposed as biased (Bose 1985, Deacon 1989). The finding that women’s and men’s prestige scores were approximately equal when their wages and access to authority on the job were grossly unequal undermined the overall meaningfulness of prestige scores as characteristics of occupations (Roos 1981, England 1979).

In the 1950s and 1960s differences in women’s and men’s incomes were still invisible to sociology. It was remarkable for a social scientist even to take note of the fact of persistent wage differences (Gross, 1968), since economic theory held that discrimination against women would simply disappear as a market inefficiency. This *idée fixe* among economists (and some sociologists, as Jackson 1998 shows) has itself proved resistant to disappearing in the face of a vast literature attesting to the resiliency of the wage gap (Powell 1999). New debates emerged between those who attributed earnings differences to natural efficiencies in the specialization of women and men for different “roles” (Becker 1981) and those who saw discrimination institutionalized in labor market structures, routine hiring practices, and the different evaluations of women’s and men’s abilities (Reskin and Roos 1990, England 1992). Practical policy questions of addressing occupational segregation and job evaluation highlighted the political construction of labor markets in gendered terms (Steinberg 1987, Acker 1989, England 1992).

Stratification had to be fundamentally reconceptualized once gender was really brought into the picture. Recognition of the degree of occupational sex segregation in labor markets widened the conceptualization of mobility to include moves across gender lines (Jacobs 1989), directed more attention to hiring and other intraorganizational processes (Bielby and Bielby 1996, Rosenfeld 1992), and encouraged new research on the historical transformations of occupations and firms (Crompton 1984). Both within and between occupations, taking account of the presence of women changed sociology’s understanding of paid work, one of its most central concepts. In addition, bringing women in conceptually to the study of work meant acknowledging the invisible and unpaid labor done outside of the formal, waged economy of modern industrial societies.

Discovering housework as work.

Sociology's sharp division between work and family, public and private, men and women, erased housework from view. Like other aspects of life left out of the standard account of what "really mattered" because they were associated with women -- emotions, community life, culture, informal organizations, children -- housework did not seem in the 1950s or 1960s to have any broad sociological significance. Indeed, housework was unable to be seen as "work" at all, not only because being in the home it was privatized and personalized, but because it was defined as a 'non-productive,' non-instrumental, expressive activity.

Feminist research took a different approach to the sociology of the family, one that highlighted the connections between politics and families, work and families, schools and families. This brought the family out of its segregated and isolated ghetto into a dynamic relationship with other core institutions (see, e.g. Carol Stack, 1974, Dorothy Smith, 1987, Luker 1984). In this new model, housework played a critical role in establishing women's subordination, as it did in the feminist theories being developed within the CR groups of the women's movement itself (see Mainardi's classic 'the politics of housework' 1968). Dorothy Smith especially challenged the public/private 'sphere' model that placed family relations outside of the organizing work of society while Ann Oakley, a British sociologist, opened a new empirical field for research on the household division of labor as an arena of politics. In addition to the rich studies of paid domestic labor done by women of color (e.g. Glenn, 1986, 1992, Rollins, 1985, Romero, 1992) that exploded the idea that "the home" was not a workplace, and by social historians on the changing nature of the work that women did hidden under the label "housework" (e.g. Luxton 1980, Strasser, 1982, Cowan 1983), multiple studies addressed the division of labor between women and men and the resistances of men to doing this unpaid work (e.g. Coverman 1983, Pleck and Pleck 1980). The discovery that women's time in housework had not declined since the 1920s (Vanek 1974) overturned the functionalist view that women were only going out to work because they had nothing left to do at home.

Over the next decade, as feminist researchers studying housework documented the range of attitudes toward the division of labor, the time budgets of families and the actual shares of tasks that husbands did (compared both to wives and unmarried men), the centrality of this work as work became clearer and the separation of "spheres" by gender became untenable (see review in Ferree 1990). New questions arose about how doing more or less of this work affected the pay gap between women and men (England 1992) as well as how unpaid work hidden behind the label of housework was essential to the functioning of other institutions such as hospitals (Glazer 1993) and schools (Dorothy Smith 2000). The "expressive" aspect of labor, once seen as merely part of women's "domestic role" became recognized as "emotion work" in paid jobs as well (Hochschild

1983) and as a crucial – and teachable – part of the modern service economy, whether in the US (Leidner, 1993) or China (Otis, 2002).

Studies of the household division of labor, however, often remained embedded in conceptualizations based on “roles” in which the issue of women’s employment was taken as a matter of overcoming “old fashioned” attitudes to adopt more “modern” views consistent with the economy’s demand for women workers. As it emerged that popular beliefs could more readily change to include women in “men’s sphere” of paid employment than to challenge domestic arrangements (Mason et al. 1976), the issue of men’s interests and rational, political resistances to change became clearer (see also the issue of resistance at the workplace raised in Reskin 1988, and Cockburn 1991). The discovery that even married women who were successful in “leaving the home” to pursue careers remained responsible for the household chores was christened “the second shift” (Hochschild 1989).

The conceptualization of paid work and housework as opposite, gender-typed ‘roles’ thus collided with recognition of the reality of women’s labor in both paid and unpaid forms. Feminist scholars’ discovery of housework as work challenged sociology’s conception of the household as unpolitical, women’s labor force participation as progress and development, and ‘traditional attitudes’ as the fundamental obstacle to women’s emancipation. These findings reopened the question -- ignored in the sociological canon since the early 20th century -- about the relationship between gender and modernity as a whole. Scholars debated whether the emergence of “post-modern” theories was a useful complement to feminist re-thinking of the categories of modern life such as “work” or a way of devaluing subjectivity, citizenship and formal equality just as these benefits of modern life seemed within women’s grasp (Delamont 2003). But the practical need to understand gender relations as political struggles came to be widely accepted among feminist scholars. Contemporary mobilizations against gender equality, whether in anti-modern fundamentalisms or “family values” rhetoric, potentially make the connection between modernity and gender more salient, but gender theories remain surprisingly segregated and marginalized in the sociological agenda (see discussion in the Theory section’s newsletter led by Michele Lamont, 2004).

Who or what is the problem?

Interdisciplinary women’s studies and feminist theorizing outside the boundaries of the academy provided a crucial impetus to re-think sociology. Another Voice, a 1975 feminist anthology of efforts to re-imagine social science approaches to topics such as medicine, law, deviance and sexuality, led the way in defining a new research agenda in each of the substantive fields it covered. This volume showed that the social sciences had typically defined women as being “social problems” in and for institutions and inverted the

argument to show how institutions posed problems for women. Centered on inequality and power, this work laid the groundwork for the incorporation of men into a sociological theory of gender.

From women's perspective, a key social problem was male violence in a variety of forms: rape, battering, incest, sexual harassment. Violence against women was discovered primarily by feminists working outside of sociological paradigms (especially Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* in 1975) but was taken up as a political issue in need of research by sociologists such as Pauline Bart, who questioned the common wisdom that women's resistance to male violence was futile or dangerous (Bart 1981). Lynda Lytle Holmstrom and Ann Wolbert Burgess (1978) explored the options for shelters or other ways of socially responding to protect women. Gary LaFree, one of the earliest men working in this area, raised questions about institutional recognition and responses to rape (LaFree 1980). Controversially, Straus et al. also developed a "conflict tactics scale" that both obscured the gender dimensions of institutionalized violence in the family and directed attention to measuring the prevalence of the problem in women's lives (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980; see critique by Brush, 1990).

Eventually, the ability to focus on national, institutional, and situational variation in men's violence (see Sanday 1990, Martin and Hummer 1989) and to relate this to variation in men's attitudes (Scully 1990) began to deconstruct the supposedly "natural" connection between men and violence. This opened up new questions about both masculinities (Messerschmidt, 1993) and about the institutionalized forms in which "masculine" aggression is expressed, such as pornography (Dworkin 1981) and militarism (Enloe, 1989). The commercial exploitation of women's bodies and the institutionalized violence of the traffic in women were aspects of the economy and polity that had not been even noticed in male-defined sociology.

Political strategies adopted by feminists, such as pay equity/comparable worth (Acker 1989; England 1992), affirmative action (Reskin 1998) and anti-rape organizing on campus (Martin and Hummer 1989), drew on sociological analyses. No sharp line was drawn between data, theory and activism as feminist sociologists sought to transform not only their discipline but their society. These new kinds of studies demanded a better analysis of the social processes of gender subordination than conventional sociological studies of "sex role attitudes" could provide. As Carole Turbin (1998) shows, E.P. Thomson's Making of the English Working Class was the model on which some feminist scholars drew as they began to unpack Simone deBeauvoir's claim that that women are "made not born." Women began to be seen as a group whose meaning was constructed by changing macro-social relations, not only as individual selves with identities and attitudes generated in micro-

social socialization processes. Rather than biology and psychology alone, history and politics were now seen as vital for understanding gender.¹²

Breaking with the sex roles notion of women as a static and unitary biological category, feminist research in sociology began to see women as a social group with internal diversity as well as commonalities created by the processes of categorization and socio-political subordination. Dissertations by African American feminist sociologists such as Joyce Ladner (1968), Rose Brewer (1977), Cheryl Townsend Gilkes (1979) and Bonnie Thornton Dill (1979) made it obvious that not all the women were white, nor were all the blacks men (Hull, Scott and Smith 1982). Their work also undermined the separate spheres model by showing how African-American women distinctively connected family with politics (Brewer, on political socialization among black adolescents), education and work (Dill, on black mothers as domestic workers and childrearsers) and civic life (Gilkes, on religion and black women community workers). Seeing differences among women as not merely historical, but entwined in on-going processes of racial/ethnic subordination, Judith Rollins' dissertation (1983) focused attention on how relationships of domination between women of different races (white employers and black domestics) were distorted by merely thinking of them as "differences." These "intersectional" studies raised the question of how gender constituted relationships among women (and so also among men), not merely between women and men. Insofar as contemporary research claims to be concerned with "race, class and gender" but remains focused on difference rather than domination, it still fails to incorporate the challenge to sociological concepts of stratification posed by this early and ongoing work by women of color.

When it brought both historical transformation and intra-gender power relations to the fore, feminist research launched the more fundamental critique of the sex roles model that the next section will explore. But even the most simple feminist questioning of the "natural" invisibility and inconsequentiality of women had an effect on the journals. The extent to which the major sociological journals cover topics about "women" steadily grew (Karides et al. 2001). As Table 6 shows, the number of abstracts in ASR, AJS or Social Forces that mention "women" at all in the 1950s is virtually zero. Helen Hacker's classic article, "Women as a minority group" (Hacker 1951) stands out in this wasteland. Even in the 1960s, when some notice is paid to women, it is still largely in conventional theoretical terms. By the 1970s, there is intensified interest in attitudes toward women and changes in women's "roles" and by the 1980s, the debates over core theoretical terms -- their applicability to women in specific and their overall usefulness if they cannot incorporate women -- have become

¹² This was in tune with the spirit of the times. Post-sixties sociology was "returning to the primordial ground out of which sociology, the discipline, arose and in which it was still certifiably a social theory. A new political economy, strong ties between sociology and history, a sociological philosophy (or philosophical sociology)" was emerging (Lemert 1988: 798). This was nowhere more evident than in studying the status of women.

very visible. Overall, based on just this examination of abstracts, the rise in sociological attention to “women” as a topic is steady and considerable throughout the entire second half of the 20th century.

However, the bulk of feminist research in the 1970s and early 1980s – both in and out of sociology -- still drew for the most part upon the classic concept of “sex roles.” Sociologists Helena Lopata and Barrie Thorne played a critical role in challenging this framework with their classic 1978 article in Signs, “On the term sex roles,” in which they pointed out the functionalist basis of this term and the glaring inconsistency between the way that sociology generally conceptualized a “role” and the status and power dimensions that “sex role” was being used to describe. They noted that there were good reasons why sociologists did not usually speak of “race roles” but of “race relations” (Lopata and Thorne 1978).¹³ As Lopata and Thorne (1978) pointed out, the key issue was to identify and critique the structural and power dimensions of a supra-individual process. The eventual shift to a structural theory of gender relations produced a wide-ranging re-framing of when, where and how gender was sociologically relevant.

From sex roles to gender relations

Beginning in the 1980s, and becoming established in the 1990s, a new paradigm for research on what could now be called “gender relations” emerged (see review in Hall 2000). It was partly initiated by programmatic articles such as Stacey and Thorne’s “missing feminist revolution” (1985), West and Zimmerman’s “doing gender” (1987), Joan Scott’s “gender as a useful category for historical analysis” (1988) and Joan Acker’s “gendered organizations” (1990). It also arose organically from the accumulating body of feminist work that struggled with and against the conventional terms of sociological research to reformulate questions about women as questions about society as a whole. The differences between structural gender models and sex roles models are profound enough truly to warrant the term paradigm change.¹⁴

“Sex roles” taught that people belonged to one or the other dichotomous group and practiced a “role” with more or less fidelity to a “traditional” dualist stereotype across situations and over the life-course. In contrast, the gender model did not define women and men as intrinsically “opposite,” but saw change and contradiction in how traits, behaviors, feelings and statuses were assigned to each group, and looked for the interests at work when individuals resisted, accommodated or enforced such rules for themselves and others.

¹³ In psychology, the concept of “sex role” was also under attack, but with the critical difference that the problematic aspect of the term was “sex” rather than “role.” Since feminist psychologists emphasized the distinction between “sex” as a bio-physiological fact and “gender” as a social-cultural acquisition, the notion of “sex role” was seen as theoretically inconsistent and “gender role” was deemed more logical.

¹⁴ There is also some debate as to whether this new paradigm should be called a gender relations model, a structural understanding of gender, or gender as a social institution. Within the paradigm, the term “gender” alone is typically used to convey this understanding, but all three of the above labels are compatible with the overall theory and are used interchangeably in this essay. As we attempt to show below, the concept of “intersectionality” (in which race, gender and class are understood as mutually constitutive) is an aspect of this paradigm, but we do not consider this a label for the paradigm itself.

The new theory problematized the division of people into two and only two oppositional “sex role” categories in several revolutionary ways.

The contours of gender theory

First, “sex roles” were understood now more as “the organic ideology of modern society” (Connell 1987) than a theory capturing reality. The mythic representation of women and men as binary homogeneous groups could be used to justify a division of labor that disadvantaged women across the board but did not explain social practices that worked with diverse and historically changing idealized types of femininity and masculinity to make social role assignments. If social organization in practice generated and used multiple masculinities and femininities that changed over time, how could a single dichotomous role acquired largely in childhood help to explain what these masculinities and femininities were and how they changed? (Connell 1987, Scott 1986). One needed instead to move to the system level and analyze culture itself. Functionalism obscured empirical understanding of both social conflict and historical change by positing as ‘traditional’ a particular dualist past that, if it existed at all, was only brief and local (Stacey and Thorne 1985).

Second, “sex roles” were viewed as over-individualized and un-sociological concepts (Lopata & Thorne 1987, Connell 1987). Recognition of the diversity and inconsistency in gendered behavior across situations and over the life course was combined with the acknowledged diversity in statuses of race, class, sexuality and age to emphasize gender as a “structural” rather than individual characteristic (Kanter 1977, Lorber 1994, Epstein 1993). The macro-level arrangement of rewards and costs by politics and social policy (cf. Skocpol 1992, O’Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999) and the meso-structural properties of organizations and groups (e.g. routines of work and evaluation, Acker 1990) were understood as part of the gender system. Even in social psychology, gender began to look “micro-structural”: more like an aspect of social status and location that would contribute to shaping behavior “from the outside” via perceptions and expectations than a personal trait or individual “role” generating a certain pattern of action (Deaux 1976, Ridgeway and Correll 2000, Risman 1998). The internalized aspects of gender, now considered part of a complex and non-dichotomous “gender identity” rather than a singular “role,” would shape or be shaped by extra-individual demands, and individuals had to negotiate the conflicts between them (Kennelly, 2002).

Interaction particularly emerged as the site in which gender was “done” (West & Zimmerman 1987). Such doing was increasingly viewed in “intersectional” terms in which gender combined with race, class, sexualities and age (Espiritu 1997, Calasanti 2001; see also Hill Collins, this volume). Explanations of social facts based only on individual features of the actor, whether emergent from biological predisposition or social upbringing, were viewed as inherently inadequate (Lorber 1994, Risman 1998). The sociological focus on

“doing” gender, and its methods for studying this interaction, complemented and contributed to the social philosophy of gender as “performative” (Butler 1990). Features of the settings in which gender is done are especially likely to be brought the fore by sociologists. Studies by Ferguson (2000) on black boys doing gender in school and Salzinger (2003) on Mexican women and men performing gender in diverse maquiladoras, demonstrate the social construction of supposed “traits” of aggression and docility respectively.

Third, the gender relations model included the experiences of women as embodied actors. Because sex role theory set up nature and nurture as competing explanations for behavior, it engaged in continual debates between “biology” and “socialization” as explanations of individual-level traits, typically positioning feminist social scientists as defending the idea that there were no meaningful differences between men and women. Such theories implicitly deny the social significance of experiences of pregnancy, birth, menstruation and all other ways that women experience their female bodies as such. The gender relations model, by contrast, had little difficulty acknowledging that women and men have different bodies as well as different social locations, since the question was not where individual differences (of all sorts) come from but what society makes of them.

As embodied individuals, women and men are also – and variably – tall and short, fat and skinny, old and young, healthy and ill, and their bodies are shaped by their gendered (and race and class specific) experiences to develop calluses, high blood pressure, or well defined muscles (Connell 1995). To deny biology any role in making gender would demand abstracting away from actual people in their material circumstances, expressed in social relations of reproduction and production, and insist on women as pseudo-men. But gender theory also argued that to grant biology a causal priority would be to de-historicize how biology works -- in social relations that raise and lower life expectancies, hormone levels, age at menstruation and even bone densities (Brumberg 1997, Bourdieu 2001, Fausto-Sterling, 2004). Biology was redefined as offering a different level of explanation (like chemistry or physics) of bodies rather than a competing explanation of social structural facts about how bodies are used.

Recognizing embodiment as socially significant, but not determinative, means that transsexuals and intersexuals provide an interesting case for understanding the work being done at the boundaries between the supposedly dichotomous categories of gender. Rather than a test case for nature vs. nurture arguments, as in the sex role approach, for those working in the gender model the fact that some individuals successfully “pass” across these borders is an opportunity to see the interactions that routinely display and recognize gender (like using gender-segregated public restrooms) when they are being done most self-consciously. All types of gender ambiguity entail more awareness of the boundaries and more social risk in gender performance (Lucal 1999, West & Zimmerman 1987) and offer opportunities for protesting the generally perceived “naturalness” of the

gender dichotomy (Rupp & Taylor 2003). The structures of gender that individuals navigate and the border work they do is the source of sociological interest for a gender relations model. For example, that healthy babies with ambiguous genitalia are surgically forced into one gender category or the other leads gender theorists to ask questions about way medicine is practiced, not about whether the babies “really were” boys or girls (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). In the gender paradigm, this latter question is viewed as uninteresting because the categories themselves first have to be socially constructed in order to answer it.

Finally, and most critically, the structural gender model puts issues of power in central position in the model, at all levels from macro to micro. While the sex role approach reduced domination to diversity and made passively existing “differences” between men and women its focus, the gender approach highlights not only face-to-face interaction but also structured relations of inequality that are part of the social order of countries no less than of corporations. There is no social institution that is not affected by gender ideology, engaging in gendered practices, and experienced in gendered interaction. When the sex role model studied both women and men it made ‘difference’ its primary concern, and treated men and predominantly male institutions as the unmarked case that provided the norm against which women “differed.” But for gender relations model, both men and women are caught up in gendered social relations. The operation of gender within all-male institutions, be it football or fraternities, is no less interesting than the interactions of women and men across this gendered boundary. Gender as a source of hierarchy, exclusion, and violence is far more sociologically interesting than ‘difference’ alone could be.

In sum, the paradigm change from sex roles to gender relations that characterized feminist research in sociology in the 1980s and 1990s altered the kinds of questions that can be asked and the kinds of data that are relevant for answering them in profound ways. The resultant interest in gender as ideology and culture made social and intellectual history more important, and promoted connections between current feminist theory and the early 20th century work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Marianne Weber, Thorsten Veblen and others who considered modernization itself a gendered process. This encourages theorists to address patriarchy as a social relation of the early modern world (e.g. Pateman 1988, Adams 2003). The definition of gender as structure has moved the social psychology of gender away from studies of traits and attitudes toward interactions and perceptions in a framework of status and institutions. The relation of sociology to biology has changed from a competition for causal priority to examination of how science, law and other social institutions make biology matter, and for what purposes. The dynamic model of gender as power relations also moved feminist research toward understanding domination and resistance, accommodation and change in gender structures, as they affect both women and men.

The still-missing feminist revolution in sociology

In 1975 Arlene Kaplan Daniels wrote optimistically on the coming feminist revolution within sociology, suggesting that the discipline of sociology was ideally structured to incorporate feminist insights. . Ten years later Stacey and Thorne reflected back on Daniels and asked why sociology had been so little transformed by feminist rethinking. Their answer was that the discipline as a whole was too functionalist to take change and conflict seriously, defined gender as only having to do with women and relegated women to the family arena alone, and allowed its commitment to the sex role paradigm to block out the relevance of gender relations for power and inequality, its own core concerns. Ten years after Stacey and Thorne, Joan Alway reflected again on this lack of transformation (Alway 1995). She argued that the blame could no longer be laid on functionalism; the discipline as a whole had moved away from such theorizing. Instead she proposed that feminists “displace the problematic of modernity with the problematic of gender” (220). However, the relation of gender and modernity was fundamental to many of the classic writers (e.g. Marx and Simmel) and only disappeared again in the mid-twentieth century (Delamont 2003). Ten years after Alway, sociology’s failure to make feminist theory a core aspect of its work on modernization, globalization and social change remains puzzling (Lamont 2004).

Despite women’s gains in access to sociology as a discipline, contemporary feminist scholarship is still struggling to be recognized and incorporated within the research and teaching of the rest of the discipline. There is still a pervasive failure by scholars who do not do gender research, whether or not they would consider themselves to be politically feminist, to consider these models in their own work, even where they would be most relevant. The gatekeepers of the discipline have not marked such a failure as a deficiency.

In research articles, the widespread acceptance of the term ‘gender’ rather than ‘sex’ provides evidence of a superficial level of change. As Table 7 shows, in the three major journals, *Social Forces*, *ASR* and *AJS*, there was a shift in the mid to late 1980s from using the word sex to employing the term gender (at least in the abstracts of the articles) as well as an overall increase from 1960 to 2000 in the number of articles dealing with sex/gender taken together. The separation of “biological” sex from the social category “gender” in this terminological fashion, however, does not get at the paradigm shift that reconceptualizes gender as a social relation or structure rather than a “role.” The frontier science of gender has moved on, but the discipline as a whole has not moved with it.

The version of gender that migrates from the cutting edge of research into textbooks also lags. The examination of introductory sociology textbooks from the 1980s (Ferree and Hall 1996), suggests that the explanations of stratification offered there place gender as a micro-level issue of socialization and attitudes, race

as a meso-level problem of intergroup relations and only class as a macro-level structure relevant for organizing a whole society. The continued separation of gender from race and class in the abstracts of articles published in mainstream journals, though notably not in *Gender & Society*, indicates that the segregation of concerns by level of analysis is still widespread. As Table 8 shows, only 1.4% of the total articles in *ASR*, *AJS*, and *Social Forces* between 1991-2000 used at least two of the concepts “race”, “gender”, or “class” in their abstracts. Closer analysis reveals that of the 21 articles (out of 1,480), only a handful use these terms in a way that went beyond simple variable analysis. The segregation of these three forms of stratification into three different conceptual levels, not only in teaching but in the way many sociologists who define their research problems, makes them difficult to combine (but see McCall 2001, Cotter, Hermsen, Vanneman 1999). Although, as Table 5 indicated, the quantity of work on gender in leading sociological journals has increased, the critical turn for the discipline, one in which a structurally-oriented gender perspective would inform sociology as a whole has yet to happen.

Contested exclusions in theory and methods

As one initial indication of how gender enters the mainstream, we looked at the citations in *ASR* and *Sociological Theory* for the years 1990 and 2003. While the number of articles pertaining to gender rose, and these articles, of course, cite works by gender scholars, in 1990 the 61 articles not explicitly related to gender barely cited any gender scholarship (31 total citations of work pertaining to gender). In 2003, in the 53 articles not directly about gender, there were 134 citations of scholarship about gender. While this clearly indicates an increase in the extent to which a study of gender is seen as having some “general” relevance, it also indicates how marginal these concerns remain. Feminist theory is positioned as an outsider critique of grand theory rather than incorporated as an aspect of contemporary sociological theorizing. As Delamont summarizes her own extensive review: “histories and overviews of the grand narrative of sociology ignored women and feminism 30 years ago, and still do” (2003: 98).

These exclusions do not go uncontested. For example, a 1994 list of 21 “neglected theorists” in a call for papers for a special issue of *Sociological Theory* was entirely composed of men, leading feminist scholars to protest; *Sociological Theory* responded by publishing special articles on women theorists. The failure to notice contemporary scholarship done by feminists on classic theorists, redoubling their neglect in the canon, is also exemplified by Bermingham’s commentary and translation of Marianne Weber’s “Authority and Autonomy in Marriage” in *Sociological Theory* (June, 2003). In introducing the article, Bermingham discussed the “urgent need” to study Marianne Weber’s work as a feminist and an undiscovered sociological scholar. Feminist scholars Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley replied, arguing that Bermingham misled readers into thinking that no work has been done on Weber when there is a sizable feminist literature on Weber’s works and noting

Birmingham's failure to cite this work. One assumes that the gatekeepers for the journal were equally ignorant of contemporary feminist scholarship on Weber or they would have demanded that the author take account of it.

Ignorance of contemporary feminist scholarship is still viewed as acceptable in the realm of empirical methodology as well. A good example of this is the publication in ASR of an article that revived the old nature/nurture debate (Udry 2000). The methodological approach that Udry took to his data assumed that the properties of "femininity" could be measured as universal traits fixed within individual women's personalities either by their socialization by their mothers or by their hormones. Feminist scholars were incensed that a major journal would overlook what a structural gender model would define as fundamental flaws in measurement, such as treating historically variable social norms like wearing lipstick or jewelry to be trait-like expressions of "levels" of femininity in the individual herself (see replies by Kennelly, Merz and Lorber 2001, Risman 2001). Gender scholars were also offended by the apparent lack of any reviewers drawn from the gender area who could have pointed out inadequacy of the outdated sex role literature that Udry cited for his characterizations of "feminist research." Udry's assertion that dueling biological and sociological models were only now to be reconciled, to the advantage of biology, was not only notable for its explicitly anti-feminist polemic but for the un-sociological understanding of gender that a major sociological journal allowed to pass with impunity through the review process. The controversy as a whole underlined the way in the paradigm of gender relations research can still be treated as unimportant and unnecessary for "serious scholarship," (and negative reviews by gender scholars disregarded; Firebaugh 2001, p. 620).

Both in the realm of theory and of methods, then, the feminist reframing of gender has not had enough impact to make major journals question the misleading assertions of scholars who do not know or use the tools of contemporary sociological work in this area. Those in gate-keeper roles remain sufficiently ignorant of the paradigm change that has happened that egregious exclusion and misrepresentation can pass by without their awareness or critique. But the prominence of the Birmingham and Udry debates also suggests the active work feminist scholars are doing in challenging these exclusions and the increased willingness of journal editors to respond to them as legitimate critics. The accountability for change continues to come from protest, particularly from feminist women scholars working on gender analysis.

Conclusions: standing and framing in sociology

If *standing* is defined as the right to a legitimate voice in a discussion and *framing* as the nature of the perspective and ideas expressed (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards and Rucht 2002), it is clear that women have gained markedly in both dimensions since the 1960s. Women organized, struggled and eventually won a place in the ongoing scholarly discussion that constitutes the discipline of sociology. Beginning in the 1970s, women's

standing rose dramatically in graduate schools, in faculty positions, in organizational offices and in gatekeeper roles in the major journals, and seems still to be increasing. In struggling to gain a voice in the discipline, women also used their social locations as a source of critical insight, not only to reframe women as inherently interesting objects of study but also to challenge the dominant framing of sociology. The conceptual division between public and private that marginalized women and rendered invisible the significant relationship between families and other social institutions was undermined. The definition of work and stratification that only worked for men was expanded and redrawn so that familiar terms such as prestige, social mobility and class acquired different meanings. The division of labor in the home, the gender segregation of occupations, the persistent inequality of women's and men's wages, and the social impact of violence against women were discoveries brought into sociology by feminist research that are now taken for granted. Sociology's overall conception of modern society and the nature of what it means to be a modern individual have changed, sometimes subtly and sometimes dramatically, by noticing gender in social organization. While it is self-evident now, as it was not in the 1960s, that women are citizens and workers, not merely wives and mothers, the issue of gender conflict that is part and parcel of this transformation remains under-recognized, even as women scholars and the knowledge they have created remain under-cited and under-rewarded.

These very real gains in standing and framing have to be balanced by a sober consideration of the ways in which feminist research is still positioned as an outsider to the main business of sociology, which remains defined as the research that men do. Women sociologists' identification with feminism and with gender research has tended to conflate the two latter concepts, leaving the sociological awareness of gender to those who are presumed to have a stake in studying it. Women who do not study gender are therefore (falsely) assumed not to be feminist or interested in the status of women and those who study gender are assumed to be women. Yet to study gender means studying a set of relations in which *all* actors participate and which intersect all other social institutions at multiple levels. Resistance and denial are part of these relations, as evidenced by how minimal men's awareness of gender as an aspect of their own lives remains. Delamont's analysis of the life histories written by "silverback" American men in sociology notes that "not one single man mentioned that his formative environment was a male one, or that he experienced it as all male, or that he remembered it as all male. Not one single man mentioned that male undergraduates, or graduates, or young faculties in the 1990s would have a different experience because they have women teachers and might even experience their discipline as a co-educational or feminised one" (2003:122). We think that the expansion of gender studies among more recent cohorts of male sociology students shows that this institutional change does make a difference. Feminist teaching

about the pervasive institutional force of gender is bearing fruit, at least among those exposed to the new paradigm, but here the highest status institutions continue to lag behind.

Our examination of the journals in recent years suggests that men sociologists' failure to take account of feminist work in the relevant area remains a problem. *Gender & Society*, for example, has a strong impact in the social sciences as a whole (16th in total citations) but its impact factor is very low in sociology itself, being 43rd of 93 journals in ISI for sociology. Recent studies continue to document patterns of undercitation of women's research by men scholars (Swygart-Hobaugh 2004). This type of exclusion is being actively challenged today, as the two recent debates we cited in ASR and Sociological Theory show. The continued willingness of feminist scholars to raise the issue of exclusion, as Michèle Lamont did in constructing this as a topic for the theory section's newsletter, also bodes well for the increase in women's standing to contribute to the re-framing of gender and feminist research as core to the discipline.

We suggest that the underlying problem lies in the ignorance that many men trained in sociology before the 1980s still have about the new gender paradigm. Even for those with feminist sympathies, the conceptual revolution came after they were trained. They persist in believing that gender is not relevant in their particular area of study, reject feminist scholarship based on outdated stereotypes about sex roles research, and fail to read contemporary research done by gender scholars in their area. They not only have allowed the discipline to move on in significant ways without them, they are not sanctioned by the gatekeepers of the discipline for the resultant lacunae in their knowledge. Although there has been a significant growth in the presence of women and of scholars working on gender from a structural perspective in the gate-keeping roles of the discipline, this influence has not been effectively incorporated into studies that are not directly about gender.

We suggest that the transformatory potential of gender relations theory for a more thorough feminist revolution in sociology is limited by two profoundly political processes. First, the association of women with gender and men with the "rest" of sociology (especially its most abstract core) as an unmarked and invisibly gendered domain, produces the *gender identification* of fields of study in sociology. The new field of gender, no less than the old areas of family and social psychology, is identified as "women's" just as core areas, especially theory and methods, are identified as "men's." Gender ideology is even mobilized at times to suggest that certain methods also are gender identified, arguing falsely that quantitative methods are not "women's" or feminist, which would surely come as a surprise to many of the feminist pioneers discussed above (Oakley 2000). As gender theory suggests, we should look at this gender identification as a social and political process that depends on organizational and institutional practices in graduate school, departments, funding agencies and other actors, not merely on the internal preferences of individual sociologists, whether men or women. How

differences in styles of research are constructed, taught, published, cited and rewarded should be of interest as a sociological question about gender, since the differential status given to the areas identified with men and women are not “natural facts” about sociology but politically contestable outcomes of organizational practices. Men’s sociological education, no less than women’s, can and should change as women’s standing in the discipline makes it more feasible to challenge these institutional rules. The re-framing of both theory and methods are crucial to this reconstruction.

The gender identification of what is framed as “theory” as being an especially “male” domain continues to keep gender theory positioned as an outsider critique rather than as a core aspect of the development of sociological thinking, a position not found in political science. Pierre Bourdieu presents this marginalization process as a social one, where men’s “attention and discussion focus on a few female theorists, capable of excelling in what one of their critics called ‘the race for theory,’ rather than on magnificent studies... which are infinitely richer and more fertile, even from a theoretical point of view, but are less in conformity with the – typically masculine – idea of ‘grand theory’ (2001: 98). This focus on a few, select, highly sought-after “grand” women as representing feminist theory then leads to exclusions where, for example no “feminist theorist” can be found who has not “already committed her work elsewhere” to represent feminist theory in a collection on the sixties generation (Lemert 1988). The most elite universities are excused for their under-representation of women in tenured positions by the patterns of exclusion of scholarship by gender and method from top journals and by women’s undercitation by men. Gender scholarship remains defined as a typically lower-status niche for women.

Thus the gender identification of subfields and methods seems in this case to have led to *gender polarization* of sociology as a discipline. Women and men sociologists are assumed to be different in regard to their interest in and appreciation of gender research, and men are excused from the intellectual responsibility to know when and how it is relevant to their work, or to identify more than a few “canonized” (and tokenized) feminist authors and theorists. With differential status still attached to maleness and femaleness as principles, it is not surprising that men can still publish work that recapitulates or draws invisibly on prior feminist work in the field and by doing so convert a “women’s” issue into one that is now “general.” Thus, for example, decades of feminist research on women’s community organizations and activism are now seen as merely ‘precursors’ to the real (men’s) discovery of civil society. Similarly, men who go into the lower status “women’s” field of studying gender may profit from the “glass escalator effect” (Williams, 1995) or have their heterosexuality challenged (Kimmel, 2001), both forms of gender dynamics that need more scrutiny in sociology as well as in other disciplines, like biology, that have experienced substantial changes in gender composition in the past decades.

Given the gender identification and gender polarization that characterize sociology and that militate against an incorporation of the feminist revolution in the entire discipline, it is realistic to expect continued struggles in future years. What might the discipline look like if such struggles were to bear full, ripe fruit? Since fields of study would be free of gender identification and gender polarization, gender theory would be integrated into relevant sociological models at all levels. This is more than the “and gender” approach of today, where gender is added as a variable or placed as an afterthought or caveat to the analysis. It means recognizing how gender (like race and class) is part of the “big stuff” of social relations, and noticing all the “daily ‘hard work’ conducted at micro-and macro-level by individuals and collectivities that goes into reproducing gender as a fundamental feature of social life, indeed a more ubiquitous feature than social class” (Chafetz, 1997: 116). It implies integrating the insights of gender theory from the start of any sociological project.

Yet we are reflexive enough to know that the process we are up against is gender itself, that gender as an institution is itself the primary problem. In some ways the struggle is to “unmake” gender in sociology no less than in the rest of the social order. This project is not necessarily to make individual gender irrelevant in all regards but continually to work against the ways in which gender structures produce and reproduce power and inequality. That struggle will continue to include ensuring that women can acquire academic jobs and are as likely as men are to get tenure once they have such jobs, to be in leadership and graduate training roles within the top departments, to receive rewards and recognition for their work, and to be gatekeepers and decision-makers for the discipline as a whole. Although feminist sociologists have gained a large and influential room of their own within the discipline, transforming ‘the master’s house’ with the tools sociology provides remains their unfulfilled aspiration.

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Table 1: Percentage of degrees in Sociology conferred on women

Year	Bachelors	Masters	PhD
1966	60%	31%	15%
1971	59%	37%	20%
1976	59%	42%	30%
1981	70%	52%	40%
1986	69%	55%	44%
1991	69%	60%	50%
1996	68%	65%	52%
2001	70%(2000)	66%(2000)	58%

Table 2: Male and Female Sociology Ph.D.s (From CSW 2004)

Figure 3. Number of Female and Male Sociology Ph.D.s, 1966-2000

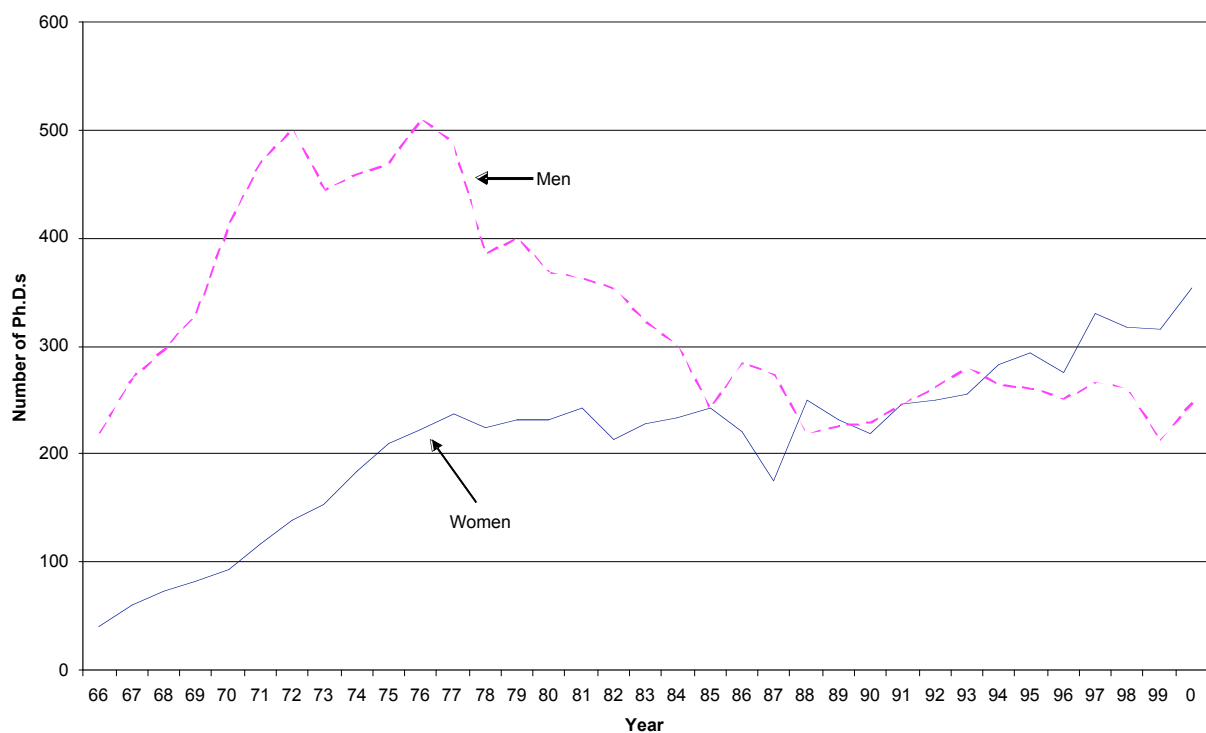


Table 3 Age and rank structure of academic sociologists by gender

year	1969		1999	
	women	men	women	men
Of academic sociologists:				
% over 40 years old	70%	55%	74%	84%
% full professors	27%	40%	28%	52%

Source: 1969 Carnegie Survey of Higher Education, cited in 2003 ASA CSW report.

Table 4: Proportion of PhDs in Sociology to Women Compared with Future Proportion of Tenured Women Faculty

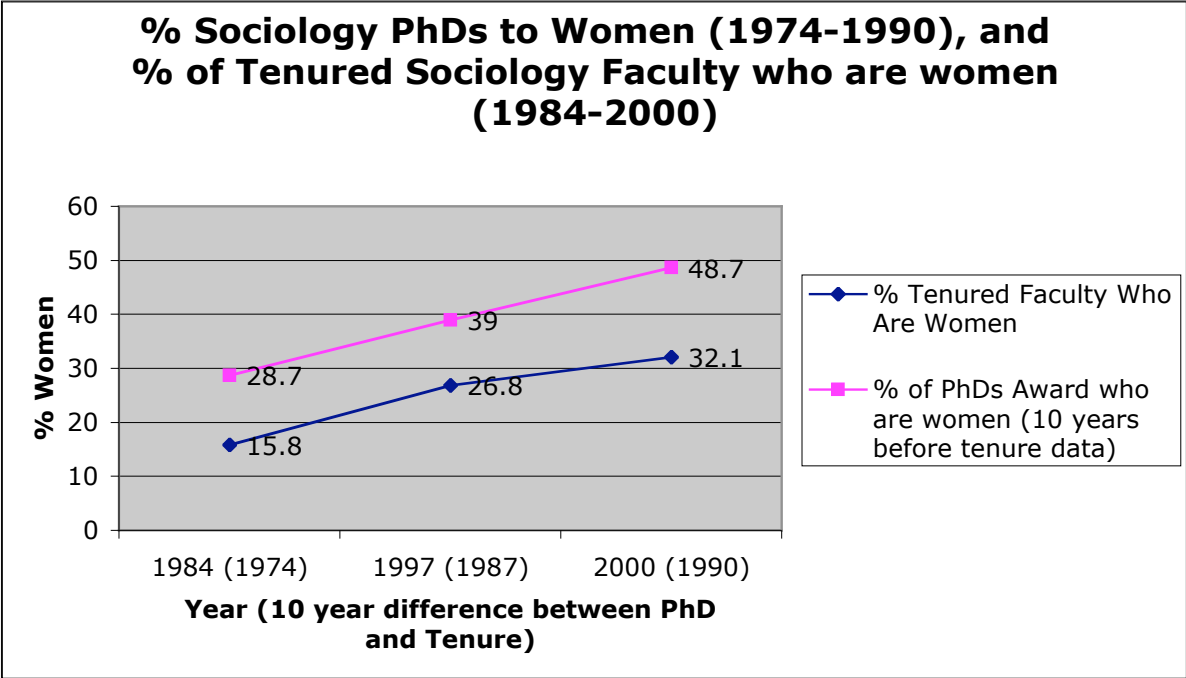


Table 5: Percentage of Tenured Faculty who are Women by Top 20 Departments and All Departments, 1984-2000

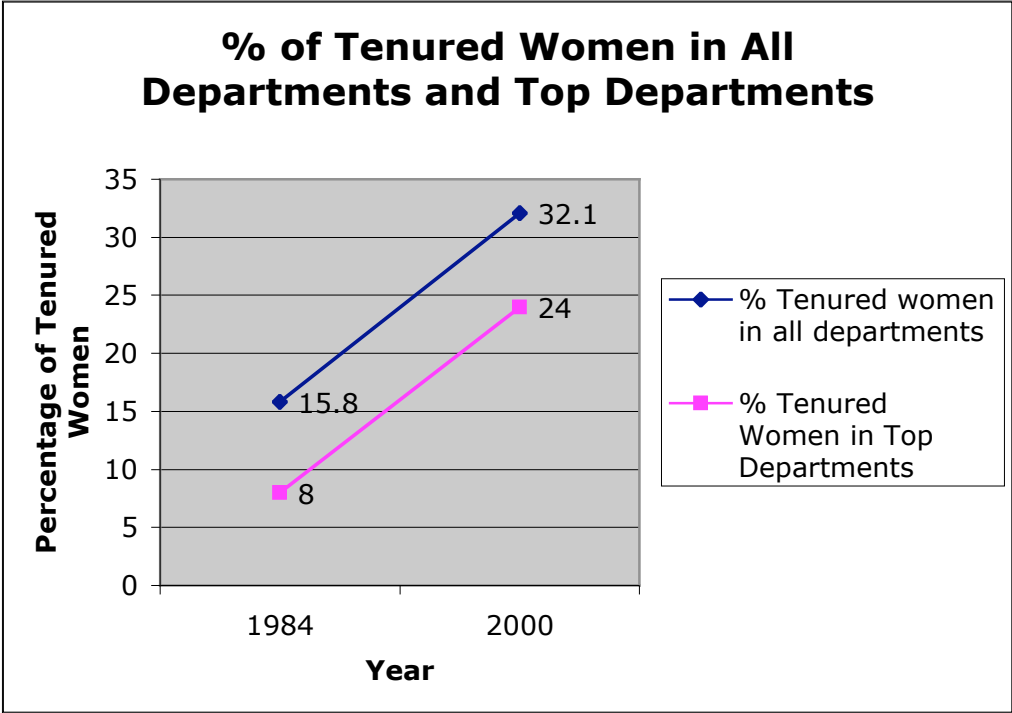


Table 6: Percent of Articles with "Women" in their Abstract

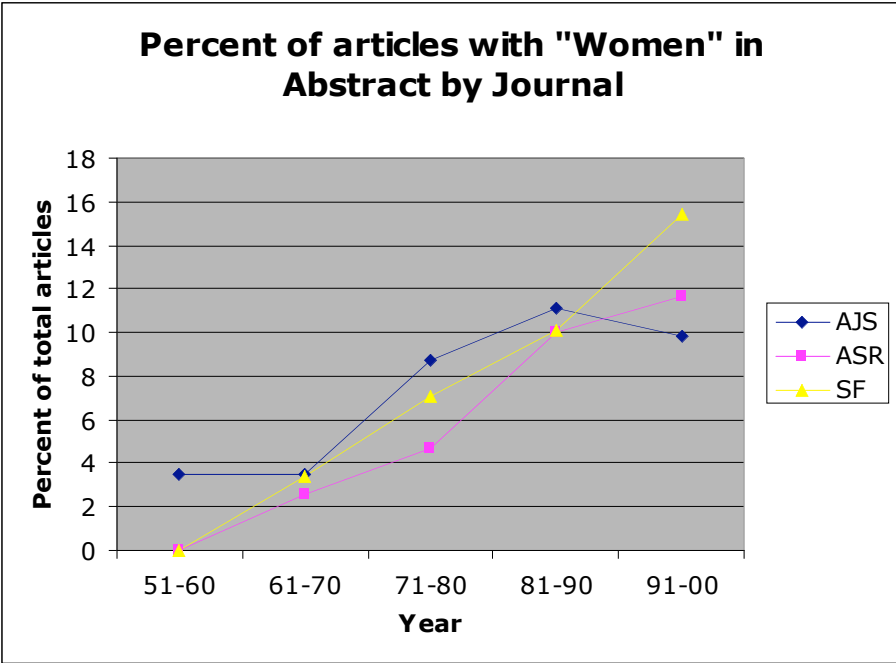


Table 7: Percent of Articles with "Sex" and "Gender" in Abstract

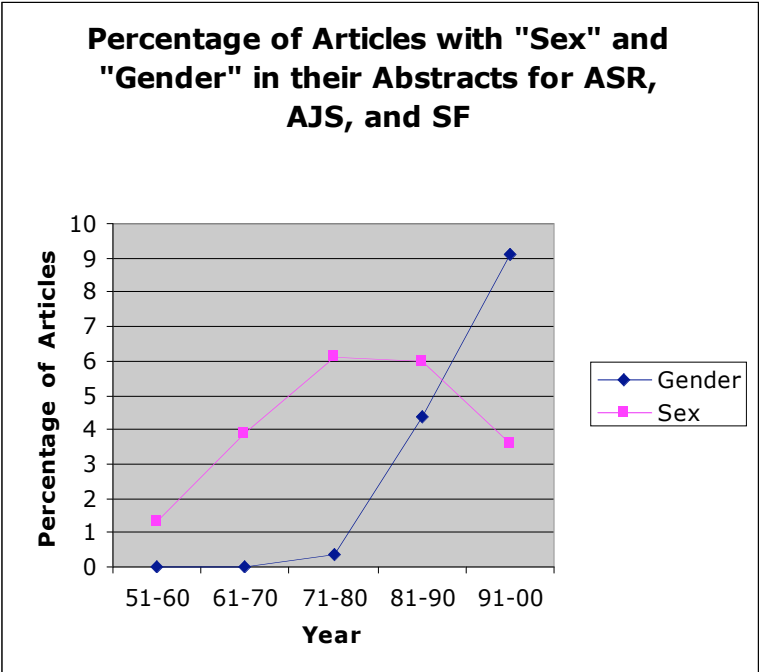


Table 8: The use and combination of Class, Race, and/or Gender in Sociology Journals

Percent of Articles with the Following words in Abstract – by Journal (1991-2000)

	ASR	AJS	Social Forces	G&S
Gender	9.50% 55/579	5.72% 21/367	11% 59/534	53.9% 171/317
Class	8.46% 49/579	7.90% 29/367	7.68% 41/534	19.6% 62/317
Race	5.70% 33/579	1.91% 7/367	8.05% 43/534	13.9% 44/317
Race and Class	1.55% 9/579	0% 0/367	0.936% 5/534	9.46% 30/317
Race and Gender	1.21% 7/579	0.27% 1/367	1.69% 9/534	10.7% 34/317
Class and Gender	1.04% 6/579	0.27% 1/367	0.562% 3/534	13.2% 42/317
Race, Class, and Gender	0.69% 4/579	0% 0/367	0.375% 2/534	8.20% 26/317