Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.
—NELSON MANDELA

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Gendered Education: Communication in Schools

Knowledge Challenge:

- What challenges do girls and boys face in schools?
- How has Title IX affected men's and women's college athletics?
- How influential are gender and economic standing on students' academic success?
- How does invisible hand discrimination affect female faculty?

America's schools are failing boys. Fewer men than women graduate from high school, college, or graduate school. That is largely because schools are hostile environments for boys and men.

America's schools are failing girls. Although girls and women exceed boys and men in grades and graduation rates, they get less prestigious jobs and make less money than men because schools don't prepare them to succeed.

Which of the above claims seems more accurate to you? If you believe schools are biased against boys, there's evidence to support your belief. Particularly in the early grades, the demands of school—sit in your seat, be quiet and still, focus on lessons—frustrate many young boys whose developmental stage makes it difficult for them to be calm and to concentrate.

Or perhaps you think that schools discriminate against girls. If so, there's evidence to support that belief too. Persisting biases discourage women from studying science, math, and technology, and there is less support for female athletes than male athletes. It's also the case that education confers greater economic benefit on males than females.

The two claims, like many that media spotlight, contain some truth and much exaggeration. They also advance a falsely dichotomous sense of the issues by pitting males against females and suggesting one sex is better or worse off in an

absolute sense. In actuality, both males and females face challenges in schools starting with kindergarten and going through professional degree programs.

In this chapter, we want to gain an accurate picture of how schools support—or fail to support—students of all sexes and genders. We will consider expectations and pressures that are based in academic structures and practices, athletics, and peer cultures. Second, we will more briefly discuss gendered expectations and pressures that faculty face. As we will see, although schools in the United States no longer discriminate blatantly based on sex, gendered biases and issues continue to infuse educational institutions.

As you read this chapter, keep in mind that a great deal is at stake. Schools do more than instruct us in various subjects. They are also powerful agents of gender socialization. They teach us what each sex is expected to be and to do and which careers are appropriate for women and men. As social views of gender have changed, so have educational opportunities for women and men. As social views continue to change in the years ahead, so will educational practices.

Gendered Expectations and Pressures Facing Students

To understand the range of gendered dynamics facing students today, we'll examine academics, athletics, and peer cultures.

Academics

Both males and females encounter gendered expectations and pressures in schools from kindergarten through graduate and professional school. We'll consider gendered expectations affecting boys and men, girls and women, both cisgender and transgender students. We will also note the ways in which economic standing affects academic success.

Males Compared to same-aged girls, young boys tend to be more restless, have more physical energy, and have less impulse control. In addition, boys' verbal skills mature later than those of girls, so young boys may be understandably frustrated by the strong emphasis on reading and writing that is central to the first years of school.

These developmental differences make it difficult for many young boys to adjust to school contexts where they are supposed to sit quietly, follow instructions, and not deviate from lesson plans (Garloch, 2009; Whitmire, 2011). In other words, many elementary classrooms may not be boy friendly, which can render the early years of school a time of frustration and often of failure for boys (Sommers, 2013;

Tyre, 2009). Elementary teachers may reward girl students for their good classroom manners by giving them higher grades than their test scores alone would justify (Cornwell, Mustard, & Van Parys, 2013).

The mismatch between young boys' developmental stage and the demands of school contributes to difference in the sexes' academic success at all levels. Boys are less likely than girls to attend college (Sommers, 2013). Currently, women comprise 57% of undergraduate enrollment and earn 60% of master's and 52% of doctoral degrees in the United States (Mangan, 2012).

Personal choices also affect academic performance and success. From elementary school through college, male students spend less time preparing for classes and more time on leisure activities such as sports, video games, and watching television than female students (Baenninger, 2011; Sander, 2012). Choices of how to spend time—studying or relaxing—influence academic accomplishment.

Females Now let's consider biases and pressures that girls and women face in schools. Despite much effort to eliminate discrimination against women, not all barriers have disappeared. Women still face prejudice in particular fields such as technology and natural sciences. In addition, what enables girls' and women's success in school may not prepare them for success in professional life.

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Single-Sex Educational Programs*

Would single-sex schools or programs solve some of the problems we've discussed? If there were no girls in reading classes, teachers might be able to give young boys the help they need to develop reading skills. Might courses in science and computer technology be developed to tap into girls' and women's interests so that they are more likely to enter STEM fields? Would faculty be more likely to mentor female students at schools that don't admit male students?

From elementary school through college, heterosexual males and females are more likely to make academics a priority in single-sex schools. If students aren't focused on impressing members of the other sex, won't they study more without worrying about seeming like nerds? The facts on graduates of women's schools are persuasive: Although women's colleges produce only about 5% of all female college graduates, a disproportionate number of women in the U.S. Congress and running top businesses graduated from women's colleges (Salome, 2007; Scelfo, 2006; Spielhagen, 2013). When the citadel was all male, its graduation rate was 70%—much higher than the 48% national average (AAUW, 2001).

But critics of single-sex education argue that sex-segregated education isn't the answer to gender inequities in schools. They think a better solution is to make sure that schools support all students equally so that males and females have the same educational opportunities and support. Also, single-sex schools tend to be private and too expensive for most families. Thus, although single-sex schools may benefit children from well-to-do families, they are unlikely to help the majority of students (Rivers & Barnett, 2011; Spielhagen, 2013).

TAKE A STAND: What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of single-sex schools? Would you want to attend one?

The long-standing belief that females have less innate ability in math and science erects barriers to women's study of science and math, not to mention barriers to careers in those fields. But the belief that girls are innately less gifted at science and math is not well supported. In fact, in most nations, girls outperform boys on a science test given to students in developed countries. Girls outscore boys in a majority of countries including China, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, Uruguay, Argentina, and Indonesia, whereas boys outperform girls in a minority of countries including Canada, Chile, Peru, and the United States (Fairfield, 2013). The fact that girls in most countries score better than boys on science tests raises doubt about significant innate sex differences in scientific aptitude or ability.

Yet, in the United States, females progressively drop out of math and science curricula as they advance in school. One reason is persisting bias in the United States against female students in math and science (Riegle-Crumb & Humphries, 2012; Why STEM Fields Still Don't Draw More Women, 2012). This bias is manifest in various ways such as an advisor counseling a female not to take an advanced math course because it is very rigorous, a physics teacher who never calls on female students, and assigning female students to marketing and male students to engineering on Robotics teams (Why STEM Fields Still Don't Draw More Women, 2012).

Evidence of faculty bias against female students in science comes from a recent study published by National Academy of Sciences (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). In this research, science professors were asked to review applications from students seeking a lab assistant job. The applications were identical except that they were randomly attributed to either a male or a female student. Science professors who believed the applicant was male were more likely to hire the student, propose a higher salary, and offer mentoring than professors who believed the identical application was submitted by a female. In a similar study, researchers at the University of Pennsylvania emailed professors with identical requests for mentoring meetings, but the email authors were assigned different names, such as Brad Anderson, Lamar Washington, Juanita Martinez, Sonali Desai, and Mei Chen. There were large disparities in response rates. Women and minorities were significantly less likely to receive a response or a positive response, and the likelihood differed according to school type—the largest disparities were noted at private schools and in fields that led to lucrative positions such as business schools and the natural sciences (Vedantam, 2014).

SCARLETT

I always liked science. Right from the first grade, it was my favorite subject. The older I got, though, the more I felt odd in my science classes. Especially in college after the required courses, I felt odd. Sometimes, I was the only woman in a class. I was majoring in early education and just took science electives for fun. That changed when I had a woman professor in a course about unsolved problems in biology. She was really good, and so was the course, but to me the main thing was seeing a woman teaching science. That's when I decided to change my major and become a science teacher.

Another reason young women may drop out of math and science courses is stereotypes of both the fields and the sexes. There is a precipitous drop in the number of females seeking training in computer science as girls move from middle school to high school (Gose, 2012). It's not coincidental that this is precisely the time at which efforts to meet gender ideals peak. In other words, as they pass through puberty and become more aware of themselves as gendered and sexed beings, many young women shy away from being geeky or seeming overly smart. In addition, women place a higher priority than men on helping others and making the world better, which are not goals many associate with careers in technology and math (Sander, 2012). And yet the health and growth of society depend deeply on a work force skilled in sciences, math, and technology. Recognizing this problem, a number of schools have begun to revise curricula to emphasize the social goods that science serves and to be more inviting to women students (Gose, 2012; "Why STEM," 2012).

Females in math and sciences may face another gender-related barrier. Because cultural stereotypes of femininity do not include being skilled at science and math, social disapproval may greet women who excel in those fields. Further, the drive and assertiveness required to succeed in historically male fields is inconsistent with social prescriptions for femininity. Consequently, women in the sciences often face a double bind: If they are not extremely successful, they are judged incompetent, but if they are successful, they are often perceived as cold and manipulative and unfeminine (Williams & Dempsey, 2014).

In addition to faculty biases against females in math and science, girls and women face other challenges in academic environments. The very behaviors that facilitate girls' success in school, particularly the early grades, may work against them later in life. The praise girls earn for completing work, following directions, being neat, and minding the teacher don't teach girls to think and act independently, take risks, and consider when it might be useful to bend or break rules, all of which can be facilitate career success.

ALLIE

My grandmother is really smart, but she wasn't able to go to college. Her father sent her four brothers to college, but he said girls didn't need an education. When she was 34, her husband died and she had three kids to support on her own. It surely would have been easier on her if she'd had a degree so she was qualified for a good job instead of the one she had to take.

Another form of academic gender bias is curricula that misrepresent or erase women and their impact on cultural life. Consider how history is taught. Accounts of wars focus on battles and military leaders. Seldom noted are the contributions of women either on the battlefields or at home. Who kept families intact and food on the table while men fought? Who manufactured supplies for troops on the front? Chronicles of important events such as the civil rights movement focus on male leaders' speeches and press conferences and obscure the ways in which women contributed to the movements. We are taught about the leadership of Stokely

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Name That (Wo)man*

In the following columns, name 10 famous women and 10 famous men in U.S. history who made significant contributions to economic, political, scientific, or social progress.

Write the names of 10 famous men:

_____
_____
_____
_____
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_____
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_____
_____

Write the names of 10 famous women:

_____
_____
_____
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_____
_____

TAKE A STAND: Compare your experiences generating names for each column. What does this comparison tell you about gender bias in curricula?

Carmichael, Malcolm X, and the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., but few of us learn about Ella Baker's pivotal work in organizing neighborhoods in support of civil rights (Parker, 2006; Ransby, 2003), Pauli Murray's courageous defiance of discrimination against blacks, or the activism that took place in African-American beauty shops during the Jim Crow era (Gill, 2010).

If women are included in curricula, they tend to fall into two categories. First, there are women who fit traditional stereotypes of women. For example, most of us learned that Betsy Ross sewed the first American flag and Florence Nightingale nursed soldiers. A second group of women included in curricula distinguished themselves on men's terms and in masculine contexts. Mother Jones, for example, was a powerful organizer for unions, Amelia Earhart was a skilled aviator, and Annie Oakley could outshoot most men. Women in this category tend to be represented as exceptional cases—as atypical of women in general. This implies that most women can't do what a few notable ones did. Yet, throughout history, women have made extraordinary contributions to political, social, educational, and domestic life. Women such as Mary White Ovington, Jessie Daniel Ames, and Myrtilla Miner who changed the world on their own terms, remain invisible in most history curricula (Arneson, 2014; Spitzack & Carter, 1987).

Historical epochs tend to be taught in terms of their effects on men while neglecting their impact on women and minorities. For instance, textbooks represent the Renaissance as a period of rebirth and progress in human life because it expanded men's options. The Renaissance is *not* taught in terms of its impact in reducing the status and opportunities of most women. The Enlightenment is taught as a time when reason ascended as the surest route to truth and human progress. The Enlightenment is *not* taught as a time when women were considered inferior because they were assumed to have limited capacity to reason. The Industrial

Revolution is taught as a time when mechanization of production systems enabled mass production, which propelled factories as the primary workplace for men. The Industrial Revolution is *not* represented in terms of how it changed women's lives, work, and relationships with their husbands and children.

Even science, which we might assume is a highly objective field, has gender stereotypes that can distort how science is taught (Rosser, 2012). For instance, until recently science textbooks routinely misrepresented the process of human reproduction by describing *vigorous* sperm as *invading* the passively waiting egg. When research proved that the egg is actually quite active in controlling which sperm enter it, many science books revised their description of the process (Hammonds, 1998). As this example shows, gender stereotypes can be corrected when evidence disproves them. For this reason, curricula, including those in science, are less gender biased than in the past.

Sexism in education intersects with other forms of discrimination: racism, classism, and heterosexism. Not just any males are presented as the standard: White, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle- and upper-class men continue to be depicted as the norm in textbooks. How often have you studied contributions of lesbians and gays or people with disabilities? How frequently did you learn about the lives and contributions of economically disadvantaged people? Have you learned about black women and men in journalism, Asian women and men in music, Hispanic scientists, or African writers? Along with women, minorities continue to be underrepresented in educational materials, where the reference point has been and remains white, cisgendered, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle- and upper-class males.

Gender-stereotyped curricular material diminishes education for all students. When students learn primarily about straight, white, economically advantaged men and their experiences, perspectives, and accomplishments, they are deprived of understanding the perspectives and contributions of most of the population. On a more personal level, biases in instructional content encourage straight, white, able-bodied, middle-class men to see themselves as able to fulfill high ambitions

and affect the course of events, and discourage women and minorities from those self-perceptions (Smith, 2004b; "Why STEM," 2012).

LGBTQ Students Students who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or genderqueer also face challenges and discrimination in school settings. Despite some schools' efforts to eliminate barriers to LGBTQ students (Misner, 2014) many schools still have practices and policies that range from unintentionally offensive to blatantly exclusionary or hostile.

Many of the challenges faced by LGBTQ students stem from the gender binary norm that infuses schools, as well as society overall. The gender binary assumes that people fit neatly and completely into either the male or female category, but that isn't the case for everyone. Is a transwoman eligible to attend and/or graduate from a single-sex women's college? Bathrooms are often labeled with signs for boys and girls. How do gender-segregated bathrooms compromise the rights and/or safety of trans and genderqueer students? Most sports are divided by sex. On which teams should trans athletes compete? Which locker rooms should they use?

The assumption of cisgendered heterosexuality also pervades schools as it does other institutions. Books to teach reading in the first grade often involve a family of characters: Mama Bear, Papa Bear, and Baby Bear. Snow White falls for the cismale Prince Charming. In elementary school, children often make cards for Mother's Day and Father's Day, despite the fact that the traditional nuclear family is no longer the majority family form in the United States (Baxter, in press). How do such heterosexual, nuclear family models make children with two mothers or two fathers feel? Novels assigned in literature classes in more advanced grades usually feature heterosexual romances and traditional nuclear families, again proclaiming heterosexuality as normal and right.

The presumption of heterosexuality continues throughout education. The process of assigning roommates in single-sex dormitories assumes students are cisgendered and heterosexual. For example, if a transman applies to a university and is required to do so with his legal name and sex, whether those match his gender identity or not, what are his options in applying for housing and/or a roommate? Given the persistence of homophobia on campuses, to what extent should gay and lesbian students feel safe in disclosing their sexual orientation to assigned roommates? Should gay or lesbian students be expected to disclose their sexual orientation to strangers when straight men and women aren't expected to announce their sexual orientation? Does the student health insurance plan cover the physical and psychological needs of LGBTQ students (DeSantis, 2013)? As these questions demonstrate, the personal experience and identity of students who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender are at odds with some campus cultures.

V

Maybe I have just been chased out of too many bathrooms, but gender-segregated bathrooms are the worst! Why do you have to assign it a gender? Especially when so many bathrooms are just one stall. I always have a small amount of anxiety walking into a women's bathroom. It's that moment when you are walking to the

stall, or just standing in line, that I find myself trying to make my chest stand out or avoiding eye contact to make it seem like I belong, even though I don't feel like I do. I think most people are concerned with what they do in the stalls, but for me it's what happens before and after that is stressful.

The unspoken norms of the gender binary and heterosexuality aren't a problem for most students. In fact, most students don't even notice that those norms shape numerous school policies and practices. However, if you aren't a straight, cisgendered male or female, the disconnect between your identity and the normative practices of educational settings can be a source of discomfort, alienation, and even danger.

Gender Isn't the Whole Story Before ending this section of the chapter, we should note that academic challenges are not exclusively tied to gender or sexual orientation. Arguments over whether education is more challenging for women or men miss a larger point. By far, the biggest divide in educational achievement in the United States is between the rich and poor (Noah, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012). The gap between female and male success in schools, while worthy of attention, is dwarfed by the gap between rich and poor students (Duncan & Murane, 2011; Tavernise, 2012). On standardized tests, the gap between low-income and affluent students' scores has grown by 40% since the 1980s (Travernise, 2012).

The growing chasm between educational achievement by rich and poor students is due, in large measure, to the greater investments of time and other resources that economically well-off parents make in their children. Affluent parents have the luxury of spending more time with very young children. They read and talk to them more than working- and poverty-class parents. It's no surprise that children who are immersed in language from birth develop better language and conceptual skills. Affluent parents also provide their children with enrichments—summer camp, tutors, travel, and SAT preparation classes—that less wealthy parents cannot afford (Brooks, 2012; Noah, 2012). All of those investments in children pay off in schooling where affluent children are more comfortable, better prepared, and, ultimately, more successful.

Athletics

Today's female students enjoy unprecedented opportunities to participate in athletics. In large part, that is due to **Title IX**. There are three basic parts of Title IX as it applies to athletics (Title IX Q & A, 2008):

1. Women must be provided an equitable opportunity to participate in sports (not necessarily the identical sports but an equal opportunity to play).
2. Colleges must provide female athletes with athletic scholarship dollars proportional to their participation. For instance, if there are 100 male athletes and 50 female athletes at a school that has a $150,000 athletic scholarship budget, female athletes must receive $50,000 in scholarships.

3. Equal treatment includes more than playing time and scholarship. Schools are also required to provide female and male athletes with equivalent equipment and supplies, practice times, travel and daily allowance, tutoring, coaching, locker rooms and facilities, publicity and promotions, recruitment programs, and support services.

Despite Title IX, the playing field still is not exactly even. Girls who play fierce baseball in elementary school too often are told they can't be on the middle-school or high-school baseball team and are routed instead to softball (Ring, 2013). At the college level, male athletes and coaches of men's teams continue to have more support, financial and otherwise, than female athletes and coaches of women's teams. More full scholarships go to male athletes (Hattery, 2012). In addition, male athletes are more likely than female athletes to get academic tutoring and prime schedules and venues for practice. Also, before passage of Title IX, more than 90% of coaches of women's sports were women. Following Title IX's passage, fewer women's sports are coached by women, and all Division I colleges pay male coaches more than women coaches.

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Straddling Two Cultures*

First-generation college students make up at least 20% (Housel, 2012) of undergraduates in the United States. In addition to negotiating all of the challenges that face other students, first-generation undergraduates often have the extra challenge of learning how to navigate the social context of college life. These students find themselves trying to straddle two cultures—the working-class culture in which they grew up and the middle- to upper-class culture of academic institutions. Consider these examples of the disconnects experienced by first-generation college students (Housel, 2012; Stephens, Hamedani, & Destin, 2014):

- Listening to peers talk about upcoming summer vacations or study abroad opportunities, which their families could not afford
- Going to symphonies and museums, neither of which they had ever attended
- Going to restaurants that served international foods, which they had never encountered at home
- Having to rely on advisors more than peers because parents cannot provide advice on other aspects of college life such as which classes to take

When first-generation college students go home, they often experience a different and equally unsettling set of disconnects:

- Being accused of acting "stuck up" or "too good" for family members
- Ridiculed for revealing what they have learned at college or for vocabulary that is unfamiliar to family members
- Feeling resentment from family and former friends

TAKE A STAND: If you are a first-generation college student, which of the above experiences is/are familiar to you? Would you add anything to this list? If you are not a first-generation college student, which of the above experiences can you identify on your campus?

HEATHER

This school claims to go by Title IX, but the support for women athletes doesn't even come close to what men get. The school is fair about the number of women it recruits and funds with scholarships, but that's where the equity stops. The men have tutors who basically babysit them through their classes. We are expected to earn our own grades. They have the best practice times on the field; we get the leftover times. They get more travel allowance than we do, and they get a lot more publicity.

Not all colleges and universities receiving federal support actually meet the spirit of Title IX. In fact, the *New York Times* (Thomas, 2011) reported a number of deceptive practices that colleges and universities use to appear to comply with Title IX while actually undermining gender equity in athletics. Some schools require women who are cross-country runners to join the indoor and outdoor track teams, which allow the schools to count each runner three times in tallying up the number of women athletes it has. Another deceptive practice that occurs at some Division I schools is counting male players who practice with women as female athletes. Other schools pad the rosters of female athletes by including women who have returned their scholarships or who don't play or by adding players to teams when the numbers are counted and then cutting the players after the count is done.

Inequities in supporting athletics have consequences beyond the school years. Girls and women who participate in sports are more likely to pursue additional education and have higher earning power in their 20s and 30s (the latest ages for which data are available). They are also more likely to be healthy on many measures, including weight (Parker-Pope, 2010a).

Gender Pressures from Peers

The power of peer pressure is no myth. To be accepted by peers, many students work hard to conform to prevailing expectations for their gender. Schools are a training ground for adulthood, and peers are primary agents of gender socialization.

SCOTT

On this campus, Greeks are cool. It took me just a few weeks on campus to figure out that if I wanted to be popular in college, I had to join a fraternity. So I rushed and pledged my first year. I like being part of the group and being considered cool, but I'm still uncomfortable with some of what goes on in the house. Some of the brothers talk about girls like they're all sluts, and if you don't go along with that talk, you're a jerk. Same with drinking—you have to drink a lot to be in with the group.

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Title IX: Fiction and Fact*

Although Title IX has been around for more than 30 years, it is still widely misunderstood. Check your understanding of Title IX (Messner, 2002; Neinas, 2002; Suggs, 2005a; Title IX Q & A, 2008).

Fiction: Title IX focuses on athletics.
Fact: Although Title IX has become almost synonymous with athletics, that is a very small part of what the legislation addresses.
Fiction: Title IX is binding on all schools in the United States.
Fact: Title IX is binding only on schools that accept federal funds.
Fiction: Title IX bans sex discrimination only in athletics.
Fact: Title IX bans sex discrimination of all sorts in federally supported schools. This applies to academics as well as athletics.
Fiction: Title IX has reduced opportunities for male college athletes.
Fact: Since the passage of Title IX, college men's sports opportunities have actually increased. Some schools have cut specific men's teams, but overall male athletes have more opportunities.
Fiction: Title IX requires identical athletic programs for males and females.
Fact: Title IX does not require that men's and women's teams receive identical support. Instead, it requires that they receive comparable levels of service, supplies, and facilities. Variations between men's and women's programs are allowed.
Fiction: Because of Title IX, colleges that receive federal funds provide fully equal support to women's and men's sports.
Fact: Compared to male athletes, female athletes receive fewer scholarship dollars, and their teams get fewer dollars for recruiting and operating teams.
Fiction: Most Americans are opposed to Title IX.
Fact: In a recent poll, 82% of Americans said they support Title IX. The poll included all political parties and people with and without children.

TAKE A STAND: Are you satisfied with Title IX as it is currently implemented? If so, why? If not, how do you think it should be modified?

Pressures to Conform to Masculinity As young boys grow into adolescence, male peer groups reinforce masculine identification. Males often engage in drinking and sexual activity to demonstrate their masculinity, and they encourage the same in peers (Cross, 2008; Kimmel, 2008). To be accepted by their peers, some men say and do things as part of the group that they would never consider doing as individuals.

Male students often enjoy athletic activities since the field and the court are primary social venues where male students find companionship and camaraderie. Yet even if male students don't want to play sports or don't have time, they may perceive peer pressure to play sports either on school or club teams or intramural teams.

Students of color, especially black males, often encounter obstacles that other students seldom face. Fewer black men graduate from high school, attend college, graduate from college, and receive advanced degrees than white men, white women, or black women (Patton, 2012). Financial circumstances make it difficult

or impossible for some black men to attend college (Patton, 2012). Additionally, according to a recent report by the U.S. Department of Education, black males often face harsher forms of discipline than do white males. For example, black males are more likely to be suspended from high school for minor issues such as tardiness. In addition, black males, along with black females, are more likely than white students to attend high schools that provide less rigorous coursework, offer fewer classes necessary for college admission, and have less experienced teachers than white students (Toldson, 2014). According to Dennis Morgan (Sander, 2012), these issues are compounded by stereotypes that equate black men's academic success with being gay, nerdy, or "acting white."

Pressures to Conform to Femininity Female peer groups tend to encourage and reward compliance with feminine stereotypes. Girls often make fun of or exclude girls who don't wear popular brands of clothing or who weigh more than what is considered ideal (Adler, 2007; Barash, 2006; Spar, 2013).

SPENCER

Tuition is nothing compared to what you have to spend to dress well! At this school, it's almost like there is a competition among girls to dress in the latest styles. If you're not wearing the cool boot or not layering the way models do in Marie Claire, you're just out of it. It takes a lot of money to buy all of the clothes and pay for haircuts and manicures. It also takes huge amounts of time that I could spend other ways.

In addition, girls and women are particularly targeted for sexual harassment and assault. From the earliest years of school through college and graduate school, girls and women report that they experience jeering, lewd suggestions, and unwanted physical contact from other students. In a national study of girls in 7th to 12th grades, 56% report being harassed (Anderson, 2011). And boys are not exempt: 40% of boys in the same national study reported being harassed at school (Anderson, 2011). While both sexes report being subject to sexual comments, gestures, and jokes, harassment that includes touching or forced sexual activity is more commonly experienced by girls than boys. Yet, the recent Penn State scandal reminds us that boys can be victims of atrocious sexual harassment and assault (Wolverton, 2011).

Sexual discrimination and harassment are not confined to peer interactions. Faculty and coaches may harass and discriminate against women. Ranging from comments on appearance instead of on academic work to offers of higher grades for sexual favors, these actions make women students' sex more salient than their abilities and aspirations. In treating women as sexual objects, such actions tell women students that they are not taken seriously as members of an intellectual community.

BAILEY

It's so unfair how professors treat women. I'm a serious student, and I plan a business career, but my professors have never asked me about my career plans. Even

when I bring the subject up, all I get is really superficial stuff—like they really don't want to talk to me. One of my boyfriend's teachers invited him to have coffee and talk about graduate school. My boyfriend didn't even have to ask! They spent over an hour just talking about what he would do after undergraduate school. And my grades are better than his!

An increasing problem for all students is **bullying**, which is behavior intended to hurt, embarrass, shame, or intimidate another person. Bullying behaviors include words, physical actions, and nonverbal behaviors that can cause emotional, sexual, or physical harm. Bullying is often directed at people who do not conform to gender prescriptions.

For women, peer pressures often increase during the college years. Studies of women students at colleges and universities report that they feel two sets of pressures: to be successful as women—attractive, fun to be with, and so forth—and to

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Schoolyard Bullying*

When the term *schoolyard bullying* was coined, it referred almost exclusively to a belligerent male student who beat up other male students on school grounds. Today, bullying in schools comes in many forms including but not restricted to beating someone up. Anonymous apps such as Yik Yak, Streetchat, and Secret allow students to post comments and photos without revealing their identities (Williams, 2014). Below is a partial listing of common types of bullying; many of the types can be perpetrated face-to-face or via social media. You'll note that the types are not mutually exclusive. For instance verbal, physical or sexual bullying may also be emotional bullying and most types of bullying may be perpetrated via social media at least as easily as through face-to-face interaction.

Physical Bullying

- Hitting
- Shoving
- Pushing
- Kicking
- Pinching
- Beating

Sexual Bullying

- Uninvited touching
- Forced stripping
- Rape, including group rape
- Any coerced or nonconsensual sexual activity

Emotional

- Spreading hurtful rumors
- Excluding individuals from groups
- Ignoring (the silent treatment)
- Teasing
- Degrading
- Ridiculing

Verbal

- Cursing at
- Name calling
- Making fun of appearance
- Insulting a person's race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation
- Slander (lies)
- Belittling

Nonverbal

- Circulating embarrassing photos that may be photoshopped
- Public displays of photos that disparage particular groups (ethnic, sexual orientation, etc.)

TAKE A STAND: What forms of peer bullying have you observed or experienced?

EXPLORING GENDERED LIVES *Hooked Up*

Young people, particularly young women, are having more casual sexual contacts than ever before and at earlier and earlier ages, often as early as middle-school. On many college campuses dating has been largely replaced by "hooking up," short-term or even one-time sexual encounters between people who are not interested in romance or commitment (Freitas, 2013; Stepp, 2007). Those who have studied this trend identify several contributing factors:

- Fewer men than women attend college, which leads some women to be more competitive in heterosexual interaction (Whitmire, 2008).
- Some women feel they must postpone love in order to prepare for and launch careers. Hooking up allows contact without commitment (Freitas, 2013; Stepp, 2007).
- Media increasingly teach women—and even very young girls—to view themselves as sexual objects for men. They see these sexual encounters not as sources of experience for themselves, but as sources of sexual pleasure for men. The result is that many young women say sex is something they do to fit in more than for their own pleasure (Freitas, 2013; Levin & Kilbourne, 2008; Levy, 2005).

TAKE A STAND: To what extent do you think the factors identified by researchers account for hooking up?

be smart and academically successful. Women feel compelled to achieve **effortless perfection**: to be beautiful, fit, popular, smart, and accomplished without any visible effort (Dube, 2004; Hinshaw, 2009). Many undergraduate women say they feel enormous pressure to be perfect—to earn high grades, have leadership roles in campus groups, and excel in sports while also being nice, kind, caring, and pleasing to others (Girls Incorporated, 2006). These pressures encourage young women to "equate identity with image, self-expression with appearance, femininity with performance, pleasure with pleasing, and sexuality with sexualization" (Orenstein, 2011b, p. 8). In a blog post about effortless perfection, undergraduate Amy Yao (2013) writes that "the race to become 'effortlessly perfect' is still a very significant, albeit unspoken, part of our reality."

JACQUIE

College is supposed to be a place for thinking and education, but the bottom line here is that you have to be really attractive if you want to be liked. Brains may get you good grades, but they won't get you friends or dates. Most of the girls I know spend as much time shopping for clothes and fixing their hair and nails as they do studying.

Peer groups on campus may also propel college women into a **culture of romance** (Holland & Eisenhart, 1992). First, many women in college become discouraged by barriers to their academic achievement, such as lack of intellectual mentoring from professors and required readings and class discussions

that emphasize important men and men's achievements and give little or no attention to important women and their achievements. The second factor propelling college women into a culture of romance is intense peer pressure that emphasizes attracting men as more important than anything else women can do.

MARIA

My sorority is a great example of the culture of romance. When a girl gets engaged, we throw her in a cold shower and then give her the "warm shower," which is lots of gifts and good wishes. Our newsletter lists alums' marriages and births of children. What it doesn't list and what we don't celebrate is academic achievement or alums' career moves. Aren't those important too?

Gay, lesbian, and transgender students are not exempt from peer pressure. In fact, they are often subjected to more and more strenuous pressures to conform to conventionally gendered identities than are straight students. They are also more likely to be bullied for living outside of the standard identity categories. Bullying of LGBTQ students can be particularly vicious. In 2010, 18-year-old Tyler Clementi committed suicide after discovering that his roommate Dharun Ravi had sent out Twitter and text messages inviting others to watch a sexual encounter between Clementi and another man. Ravi was tried on 15 charges including hate crime; he was found guilty of a bias crime and using a webcam to spy on Clementi. His sentence was 30 days in jail, three years on probation, and 300 hours of community service (Zernike, 2012).

Clementi is not an isolated case. Estimates are that 53% of LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) youth experience abuse and bullying, including cyberbullying (Burney, 2012). Despite the frequency of LGBTQ bullying, not even 1 in 10 colleges and universities in the United States has LGBTQ-inclusive policies (Burney, 2012).

Gendered Expectations and Pressures Facing Faculty

In addition to being educational institutions, schools are also workplaces, so we want to examine gendered attitudes and practices that affect the faculty who work there. As you will discover, gender dynamics faced by faculty often affect students as well.

Women faculty members often experience some of the same pressures faced by women students. They may be stereotyped into traditionally feminine roles—for instance, appointed to the social committee. In addition, many women faculty have to deal with sexual harassment and sometimes sexual assault. In a recent survey (Aschwanden, 2014), a majority of women faculty in the sciences reported

having been sexually harassed. Most frequently men in supervisory positions perpetrated the harassment.

The more advanced the educational level, the greater the ratio of male to female faculty members. In elementary schools, the vast majority of teachers are female, but most superintendents and assistant superintendents are male. In high schools, female teachers still outnumber male teachers, but the imbalance is less pronounced. On faculties at colleges and universities, men significantly outnumber women, especially at the higher faculty ranks (Differences between Male and Female Full-Time Professors, 2014; Curtis, 2011; Misra, Hickes, Holmes, & Agiomavritis, 2011). In addition, male faculty still earn more than female faculty, regardless of professional achievement (Curtis, 2010). At doctoral universities, men outnumber women three to one, and women average 90 cents per dollar earned by male faculty (Differences between Male and Female Full-Time Professors, 2014). At two-year colleges where the salaries are lower overall, female faculty outnumber men. Only 26.4% of chief administrators of colleges are female, and only 12.6% are members of minority groups (How College Leaders' Traits Have Changed over 5 Years, 2012).

Limited numbers of female and minority faculty mean that women and minority students have fewer role models among faculty. Recall cognitive development theory, which we discussed in Chapter 2. This theory notes that we look for models—preferably ones like us in sex, race, and so forth—to emulate as we develop identities. If more men than women are principals and full professors, students may infer that it's normal for men (but not for women) to rise to high levels in education.

MORGAN

With so many male professors, I think it is difficult for some students to feel comfortable getting to know their professors and asking for help. Women are more likely to connect with a female teacher; minorities are more likely to connect with a teacher of their race, and so on. Colleges always make a big deal about having a diverse campus, but what about the professors? Where are the female professors? Where are the LGBTQ professors? Where are the professors from other cultures and races? If colleges want to have a diverse student body, they should also have a diverse faculty that correlates with the students.

Women faculty experience gender biases in hiring and promotion. Researchers have identified three major sources of gender bias in the evaluation of faculty. First, women's performance tends to be more closely scrutinized and judged by stricter standards than men's. Second, men have to give more convincing demonstrations of incompetence to be judged by others as incompetent. Third, male candidates tend to be judged on whether they show promise, whereas female candidates tend to be judged on accomplishments, a form of bias that is particularly likely to affect hiring and promotion decisions (Wilson, 2004). All in all, different standards are used to evaluate men and women, and the

way in which those standards are applied results in men being judged as more competent.

The subtlety of gender bias in evaluation of faculty explains why it is called *invisible hand discrimination* (Haag, 2005). **Invisible hand discrimination** is unwitting discrimination in applying policies that are not inherently biased (Haag, 2005). It does not happen because a person consciously intends to discriminate or because a policy or practice is inherently discriminatory. The largely unconscious nature of invisible hand discrimination makes it particularly difficult to eliminate.

Consider a few examples of how invisible hand discrimination works. Collegiality is a criterion many universities use when deciding whether to promote faculty members. There is nothing inherently biased about the criterion, as it is reasonable to expect all faculty—men and women—to be civil, courteous, and reasonably easy to work with. So, how might a tenure committee evaluate the collegiality of Professor Smith, who is known to be very assertive? Assertiveness in male faculty is likely to be taken as a sign of confidence and intelligence, whereas assertiveness in female faculty is often regarded as confrontational and non-collegial (Haag, 2005). That's invisible hand discrimination.

Another example is gender-typed assignment of service work. All faculty are expected to perform some service work to maintain the intellectual and social culture of their academic units and schools. A department chair might assign tasks involving social events to female faculty without realizing that he or she is acting on the unconscious assumption that women know how to organize receptions, parties, and so forth. More substantive service assignments are given to male faculty also without conscious intention to be biased (McMurtrie, 2013). That's invisible hand discrimination. Gender biases in evaluation have material consequences, including discrepancies between the salaries paid to women and men faculty.

During the early years of an academic appointment, faculty members have probationary status—they are not permanent faculty until and unless they earn tenure. Thus, the early years require particularly long hours and heavy investments. For women, those years usually coincide with the ideal years for bearing children, a pressure that affects women faculty in ways it does not affect male faculty. The tenure schedule is at odds with the biological clock, which creates tensions for faculty who are also parents (Hayden & O'Brien Hallstein, 2010; O'Brien Hallstein & O'Reilly, 2012). The fact that this incompatibility affects female faculty more than male faculty may be another form of invisible hand discrimination.

The limited number of women faculty generates another problem: excessive responsibilities for service and mentoring. Faculty committees are ubiquitous at universities, and committees are expected to be diverse—that is, to include women, men, and people of different races. Because there are fewer women and minority faculty, they are routinely asked to serve on more committees than their white male peers. The same goes for advising students, particularly women and minority students. If there is only one minority woman on the faculty of a department, she's likely to be besieged by requests from the majority of graduate and undergraduate students who are women of color.

SUMMARY

Today both sexes face gender-based issues, expectations, and biases in educational institutions. Males, especially boys in the early years of schooling, are disadvantaged by a system that doesn't accommodate their developmental status. As males progress through school, they are more likely than women students to attract faculty mentors, particularly in graduate and professional school. For female students, the reverse sequence is more common. They tend to be quite successful through high school and perhaps college, but they often hit barriers when they enter graduate and professional school, particularly in math and sciences.

Peer culture on college campuses further encourages male and female students to conform to particular gender ideals, which can limit personal and professional development. Male peer cultures tend to link masculinity with drinking, aggression, and sexual activity. Female peer cultures too often encourage campus women to participate in a culture of romance and to attempt to meet the impossible ideal of effortless perfection. In addition, both males and females may be bullied by peers, and students who are not cisgendered are especially at risk for bullying.

Faculty also experience gender biases and pressures. Discrimination in hiring, promotion, and pay continues to be a problem at colleges and universities across the nation, as does the disparate expectations for service that women and men faculty members face. Further, invisible hand discrimination affects women faculty, typically in ways that are both subtle and insidious.

Our examination warrants a mixed report card for schools in the United States. Discrimination and disadvantage based on sex and gender have been greatly reduced for students, but gendered dynamics persist at all grade levels. The same is true for faculty.

KEY TERMS

The following terms are defined in this chapter on the pages indicated, as well as in alphabetical order in the book's glossary, which begins on page 281. The text's companion website also provides interactive flash cards to help you learn these terms and the concepts they represent. You can access the site at www.cengagebrain.com.

bullying 178
culture of romance 179
effortless perfection 179
Invisible hand discrimination 182
Title IX 173

GENDER ONLINE

1. Learn more about Title IX by visiting: **http://www.titleix.info**
2. Information about the United Nations' education initiative for girls can be found at: **http://www.ungei.org/**

3. Online search terms: "effortless perfection," "peer pressure," "single-sex education."
4. Learn about the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity, an organization dedicated to the mentoring and success of underrepresented faculty, at: **http://www.facultydiversity.org/**

REFLECTION, DISCUSSION, AND ACTION

1. Talk with male and female athletes on your campus to find out the extent to which they perceive that your school complies with Title IX.
2. If you could make three changes in elementary schools, with the goal of making them work better for boys and girls, what changes would you make?
3. Follow up on the Exploring Gendered Lives box on page 170 by asking students on your campus to name 10 men and 10 women who have had substantial impact on U.S. culture. You might want to use a stop watch to see how long it takes students to generate 10 names of each sex.
4. What is your opinion on the desirability of single-sex schools? What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages both for students in the schools and for society?

RECOMMENDED RESOURCES

1. Peg Tyre (2008). *The Trouble with Boys: A Surprising Report Card on Our Sons, Their Problems at School, and What Parents and Educators Must Do.* New York: Crown. This book, which was a reference for the chapter, gives a thoughtful summary of barriers boys and men face in educational institutions. The book is written for general audiences.
2. Jennifer Ring (2013). *Stolen Bases: Why American Girls Don't Play Baseball.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. This well-written book provides an interesting history of women's involvement in baseball and also shows how young women today are discouraged from playing hardball once they enter middle school.