is wrong about this. He uses the pygmies as an example of a simple society in which there is little sex role differentiation. But sex differentiation is very great indeed in other "simple" societies, and I believe it could be documented (i) that women are more completely subjugated in authoritarian societies than in democratic ones and (ii) that female liberation has been increasing at just the same time that technological development has been most rapid. In other words, the complexity of a society does not preclude the advance of equality between the sexes; it probably fosters it.

Goldberg believes that when there is a biological basis for a sex difference societies must emphasize and intensify this difference through child training: since girls are less aggressive, they should be trained not to attempt to compete with men; since they are more nurturant, all care of the young, the sick, and the aged should be left to them. Clearly there is an alternative position: that societies could train children in such a way as to minimize biological differences, by teaching boys to moderate their aggression and by fostering the nurturant side of their characters. Perhaps there is a limit to how far a society can succeed in such efforts. But it is not obvious that the social intensification of initial sex differences is either necessary or desirable.

Goldberg has raised some very intriguing questions about the relationship between social institutions and the biological nature of men and women. But his answers are simplistic. He has failed to appreciate the extent to which human beings are capable of being different from other animals; he has also failed to understand the scope of current social change. It is true, as he notes, that in the past men have chosen wives who were considerably younger than themselves and who were, by reason of their lesser experience with life, easy to dominate; at the same time, women sought mates older and stronger than themselves, perhaps because they felt the need of protection. But in recent years there has been a radical drop in the age difference between newly married pairs, indicating that many people are now attracted to one another on a different basis. In the history of biology of the human species, there is certainly a basis for Goldberg's assertion that "man's job is to protect a woman and woman's is to protect her infant." But what of a situation in which the limitation of population growth has become a biological necessity, and life-spans have been vastly extended? The last few decades are the first time in the history of humankind that women have spent only a small portion of their lives in childbearing and child rearing; furthermore, more and more couples are childless by choice. In such a situation, men and women have other jobs to do, beyond the ones Goldberg believes "nature" has assigned to them. A social system must come to grips with these facts too. I would like to urge that social systems and social practices are not totally constrained by man's biological nature, although of course they cannot ignore that nature and should not even if they could. Human beings do have some choices. There is some variety in the social institutions that will work. It behooves us to consider what the choices are, rather than to assume that one pattern of relationships between the sexes is biologically inevitable.

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Sex Roles and Economics

Changing Women in a Changing Society. JOAN HUBER, Ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1973. vi, 296 pp. Cloth, $7.95; paper, $2.95. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 4, Jan. 1973.

Womanhood used not to be dealt with much in the writings and publications of sociologists. A symptomatic example is that at the University of Chicago, in what was at the time a most social-problems-oriented department of sociology, between 1896, when W. I. Thomas presented his Ph.D. dissertation "On a Difference of the Metabolism of the Sexes," and 1949, when Josephine Williams Metzger presented hers on "The Professional Status of Women Physicians," not a single Ph.D. dissertation was produced on gender roles or sex differences. Now, in 1973, the journal of that department, the *American Journal of Sociology*, is to be congratulated for bringing out a special issue on the subject Women, and the University of Chicago Press is to be commended for publishing it in book form.

Within less than a decade "women have become newsworthy," as Carol Ehrlich notes in her survey "The woman book industry," and as Arlie Russell Hochschild demonstrates in her brilliant and often witty "Review of sex role research." The reasons for the growth of the movement are several. To be sure, it followed upon the civil rights movement, which raised social consciousness in American society generally, so that the contradiction between the equalitarian ethos and the reality of discrimination against women became more glaring. But more important, there were some basic changes in the economic structure of the country that brought into evidence the contrast between the cultural expectation that women would devote themselves to the family and the fact that they increasingly became part of the labor force.

This cultural expectation used to be met, as Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer explains in "Demographic influence on female employment and the status of women," by limiting women's admittance to the labor force to those who were single. The pattern has drastically changed since 1940. "Rapid increases in the work rate were shared by wives with preschool children as well as childless wives and those with older children. . . . The proportion of working married women 20–24 (husband present) with preschool children increased from 13 percent in 1951 to 33 percent in 1970" (p. 185).

Nor did this increased participation of women reflect simply the lure of higher family income in a society that emphasized the acquisition of consumption goods at the same time as it provided through its industries most goods and services that had traditionally been produced in the home. Oppenheimer shows with great clarity the structural changes that have taken place in the American economy: The well-known trend in latter-day industrialization, by which the office grows faster than the factory, resulted in an increased demand for female labor in clerical and service jobs at a time when there was a simultaneous decrease in the supply of single women. "By 1960 the supply of young single women was only one-third of even the lowest estimate of demand at that date" (p. 194). The pool of single women in the broad age category 18–64 declined between 1940 and 1960 for several reasons: The low fertility of the 1930's decreased the pool of young women, and the higher fertility of the postwar period increased the proportion of women with preschool children. To this must be added the decline in the age of marriage and also the prolonga-

tion of girls' education. Consequently, employers could no longer discriminate as much against older women and women with children as they had in the past.

Yet discrimination continues, as Larry E. Sutter and Herman P. Miller ably demonstrate in "Income differences between men and career women." Women's income is only 62 percent of men's after adjustments have been made for level of education, occupational status, and part-time employment. In spite of the changes that have taken place in the last two or three decades, occupational achievement by women is still looked upon with much ambivalence. In her research on male attitudes regarding the role of women, Mirra Komarovsky found that "the deeply internalized norm of male occupational superiority is pitted against the principle of equal opportunity irrespective of sex" (p. 119). However, as Komarovsky also notes, this is not a source of great strain because "the respondents assumed that the women's 'career and marriage' issue was solved by the sequential pattern of withdrawal and return to work." The following is a typical response: "I would not want to marry a woman whose only goal is to become a housewife. . . . However, when we both agree to have children, my wife . . . will have to forfeit her freedom for the children" (p. 120). This view is shared by many women. A comparison of responses by women undergraduates in 1971 with those of women undergraduates in the same college in 1943 shows that although far fewer planned not to work at all (only 18 percent in 1971, compared with 50 percent in 1943), the proportion who wanted to continue working with a minimum of interruption for childbearing remained at the same low 20 percent (p. 121). If the sequential pattern of child rearing and work "dooms women to second-class citizenship in the occupational world, the outcome [is] consistent with the conviction that the husband should be the superior achiever" (p. 120). This desire for male superiority at home is consistent with the desire for male superiority at work, which another of Komarovsky's respondents notes: "A woman should not be in a position of firing an employee . . . it is unfair to the man who is to be fired [even if he is] a very poor employee . . ." (p. 119).

Here and there occupational achievement by women seems not to have this threatening aspect. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, writing on "Successful black professional women," reports that black career women have done better than white relative to their male colleagues (p. 155). This observation applies, of course, to the very few black women who have made it in the professional world. In general, as is well known, black women are typically at the very bottom of the occupational pyramid (p. 151). And while among blacks, as among whites, more men than women are editors, doctors, lawyers, scientists, and college teachers, black women are found in professions and occupations known to be difficult for white women to penetrate. Epstein observes that most probably the "double negative" acts to neutralize the otherwise prevalent resistance against either women or blacks: black women are not perceived to be as threatening as black men, nor are they perceived to be as threatening as white women. A similar contrast between the general subordination of women and the success of a happy few exists in France, as Catherine Bodard Silver shows in her historical analysis of "Women and the professions in France." While women there are "minimally represented at the highest professional levels, . . . French women have wider access to professional careers than do their counterparts in many other Western societies" (p. 74). I would venture one observation that would apply to American black women and Frenchwomen alike (and probably also to women in other societies where the traditional role of the woman has not been challenged): where the position of women is securely subordinate, a few exceptional achievers do not threaten the system, and their achievement gains salience over their womanhood.

Similarly, in societies where gender roles are strictly segregated and differentiated, women are not appendages of their husbands in what Hanna Papanek calls the "two-person career," an arrangement by which "formal and informal demands [are] placed on both members of a married couple of whom only the man is employed" (p. 90). Many types of organizations expect their employees' wives to be available to assist with all sorts of chores. They are not paid for their work, nor do they have to submit their curricula vitae in order to qualify; but they are scrutinized as to their "congeniality" and are expected to spend their time furthering their husbands' careers, and incidentally benefiting the employer as well. Such an arrangement is possible only in a culture in which the woman is equal enough to be a "companion" but not equal enough to have her own career, so that what Papanek calls her "opportunity costs" are low.

One variant of the wife's marginality to her husband's career is illustrated in Helen MacGill Hughes's autobiographical account, "The faculty wife employed on campus." At a time when she had been the holder of a Ph.D. degree for several years, Hughes was invited to replace a graduate student as an editorial assistant at the *American Journal of Sociology*. Although in the course of ten years she made it to "managing editor," she was not given a "real" salary even then (p. 9). She notes that the position "would certainly never have been offered to a male Ph.D."

A woman's professional status is never considered quite legitimate because of the cultural mandate that she take care of the family and her husband provide both status and income. This notion defines women, and especially married women with children, as not being committed to the job. Hence they are more likely to obtain jobs, or voluntarily train for jobs, in which they can easily be replaced in case the family claims their time. Replaceability on the job is inversely related to class and status, and I have argued elsewhere with G. Rokoff, in *Social Problems* **18**, 536 [1971]) that this association is reflected in women's occupational attainments. There is support for that notion in data presented by Elizabeth M. Havens in "Women, work, and wedlock: a note on female marital patterns in the United States." Contrary to the overall statistics showing that socioeconomic position tends to be lower among unmarried (single and divorced) workers, if women workers are considered separately it appears that for them the opposite is true: women in higher positions are more likely to be single than women of lower occupational status (p. 213).

Although the jobs to which women are admitted are less desirable and less well paid than men's, it is usually difficult to demonstrate whether employers discriminate against women or whether women keep themselves out of the better jobs because they share the notion of their cultural mandate. There is one situation in which it is fairly clear that the choice has been made

by women themselves, and that is in respect to part-time study in graduate school. There often is discrimination in the admission of women to graduate studies, but it is hardly likely that women who are admitted are pressured by faculty members to enroll part-time. Saul D. Feldman shows in his paper "Graduate study and marital status," with data obtained from 158 U.S. colleges and universities in 1969, that regardless of marital status women are less likely than men to be enrolled full-time. In 1969, of single males in graduate study 76 percent were enrolled full-time, of single females 62 percent; of divorced male students 64 percent, of divorced female students 52 percent; of married male students 51 percent, of married female students only 29 percent (p. 223).

But if Oppenheimer is correct in her projection for the next 25 years, according to which the demand for women workers is likely to increase while the supply of single women is not, we should expect a change in the way in which women respond to this demand. The economic trend, perhaps together with rising awareness among women and men alike of women's economic potential, may pose a challenge to the low "opportunity cost" attributed to women at present.

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