

# Gender Inequality: Explanations

## Mind the Gap

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# Outline

## Gender stratification II: A review of explanations

1. Types of explanations: Depending on the analytical focus
  - Demand-side theories
  - Social Closure
  - Supply-side theories
2. Types of explanations: Depending on the theoretical emphasis
  - Economic RAT theories
  - Socio-cultural explanations
  - Institutional models
3. Types of explanations: Depending on the process
  - Allocation process
  - Valuation process
4. Economic models in greater detail
5. Socio-cultural models in greater detail
6. New supply-side approaches
  - Cultural beliefs about gender task competence
  - Social learning models
  - Gender differences in personality traits: nature or nurture?
- Discussion



There are a whole lot of explanations of gender inequality (in employment, pay and the division of domestic labour)



Today we will review and summarize the most important approaches (but keep in mind that the literature on this subject is vast!)

# Types of explanations

## Depending on the analytical focus...

- Demand side theories → focus on discriminatory practices by firms/employers, managers & directors in hiring, promoting and paying female workers

...3 types of discrimination

### 1. Discrimination by taste (Becker 1993[1964])

Firms discriminate women due to their own sex-aversion, sex-afinity & sex-stereotyping → Discrimination by taste is based on prejudice and it is irrational

### 2. Statistical discrimination (Phelps 1972)

RAT employers might still discriminate women on the basis that women are *on average* less productive for certain tasks and/or more likely to interrupt their careers due to family reasons → because they lack information about each individual candidate, they discriminate based on inferences from the population

### 3. Customer-driven discrimination

RAT firms might discriminate to comply with customers/clients own sex-biased preferences (e.g. British Oil companies working in the Persian Gulf did not hire women not to upset their main clients)

# Types of explanations

## Depending on the analytical focus...

- **Social-closure theories** → When actors monopolize valuable positions or resources in the organization for themselves and similar others they engage in social-closure (sometimes also known as opportunity hoarding)
  - Male employees and/or trade unions might attempt to monopolize privileged positions in workplaces hindering women's access to high wages, promotions, and skill-enhancing jobs (e.g. Tomaskovic-Devey 1993)
  - Why?
    1. Sexism: Gender stereotyping, sex-affinity, sex-aversion
    2. Rational interests:
      - Organizations are competitive environments → social closure reduces competition
      - Some organizational practices that are advantageous for men (e.g. family wage bonuses for men, bonus for long and unsociable hours, bonus for extra hours) could be at stake in less segregated organizations
  - The potential for social closure is lower when formal educational requirements or formal hiring procedures are followed

# Types of explanations

## Depending on the analytical focus...

- Supply-side theories → Focus on the role of women's actions
  - ...guided by their own choices, preferences, beliefs and values
    - Where do gender differences in preferences , values and beliefs come from? → gender socialization models (see below)
  - ...constrained by the division of household labour
  - ... possibly affected by gender differences in non-cognitive skills and traits (risk-aversion, ambition, nurturing skills...)
  - ...influenced by policies and institutions

# Types of explanation

## Depending on the analytical focus...

- **Institutional models** → Focus on welfare state institutions and policies (e.g. Esping-Andersen 2009; Orloff 1993 ASR)
  - Emphasize the importance of welfare state configurations. family policies, childcare provision, support for the elderly, LM policies, and the size of the public sector in affecting gender stratification
  - Stress the importance of feedback effects:
    - e.g. The Scandinavian welfare state model (universal coverage, high quality public welfare provision, high taxation) requires massive LM participation to make it sustainable → hence it promotes female LFP → **defamiliarization** policies (public childcare provision, public care for the elderly and handicapped people) facilitate full-time female employment → each new job in defamiliarization sectors (which tend to be highly feminized) promotes in turn women's employment in other sectors → virtuous circle due to the multiplier effect of female employment in defamiliarization sectors (Esping-Andersen 2009)

# Types of explanations

## Depending on the theoretical emphasis...

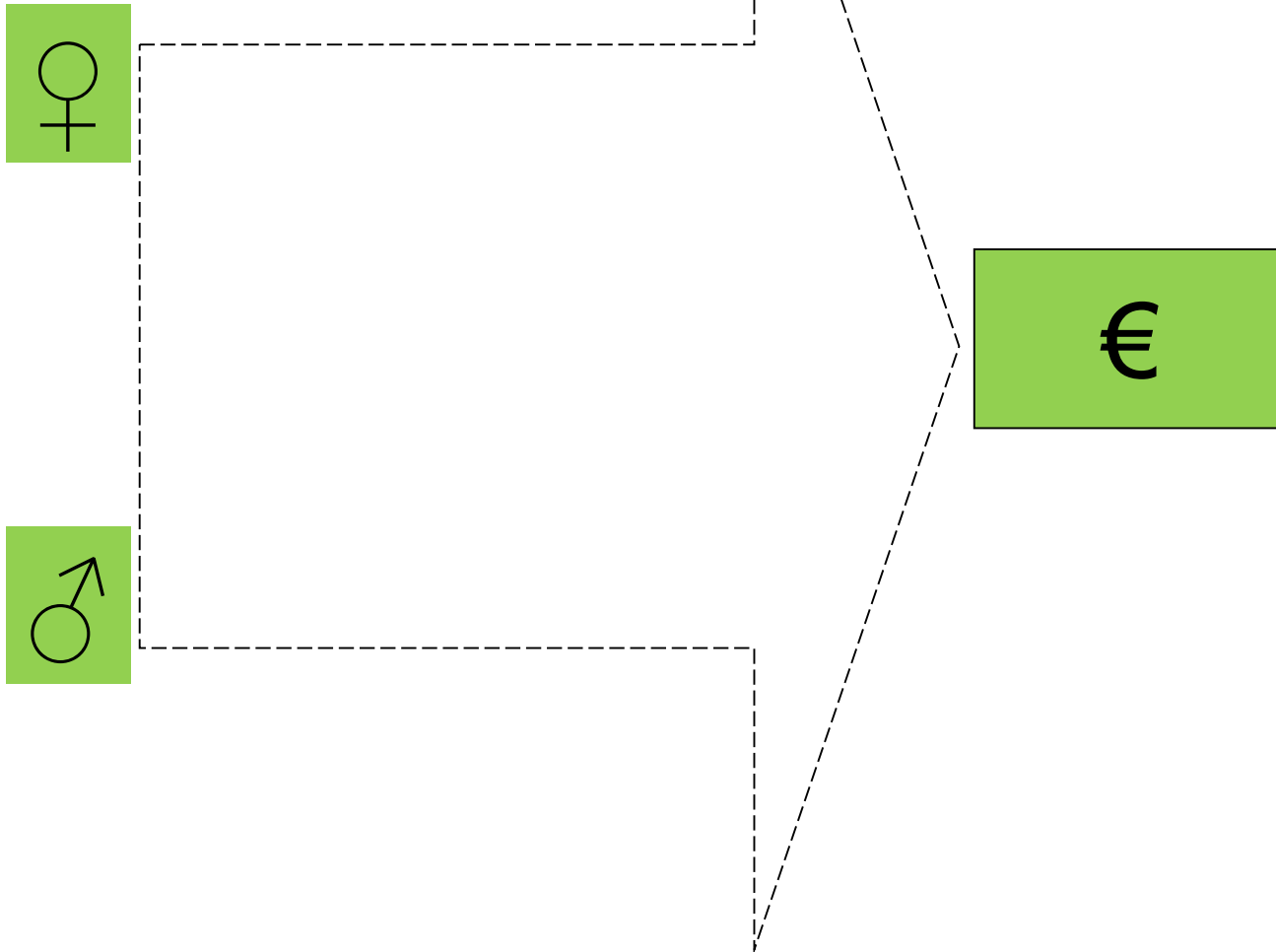
- Economic or rational action (RAT) approaches
  - Assume people's actions are rational and their behaviours are guided by the principle of maximization
  - Often take actors' differences in preferences as given (or assume that preferences are the result of differences in productivity and hence ultimately rational)
  - All economic theories and many sociological theories are RAT
- Socio-cultural approaches
  - Do not assume rational behaviour
  - Actors are motivated by their gendered beliefs, values and preferences
  - Emphasize the role of “patriarchal culture” in generating sex-typical preferences and behaviours
  - Gendered beliefs/identities play an essential role in motivating people's actions
  - Gender is a cultural script that people enact in everyday interactions: People *do gender*
  - Gender is learned and transmitted through socialization processes

# Types of explanations

## Depending on the process...

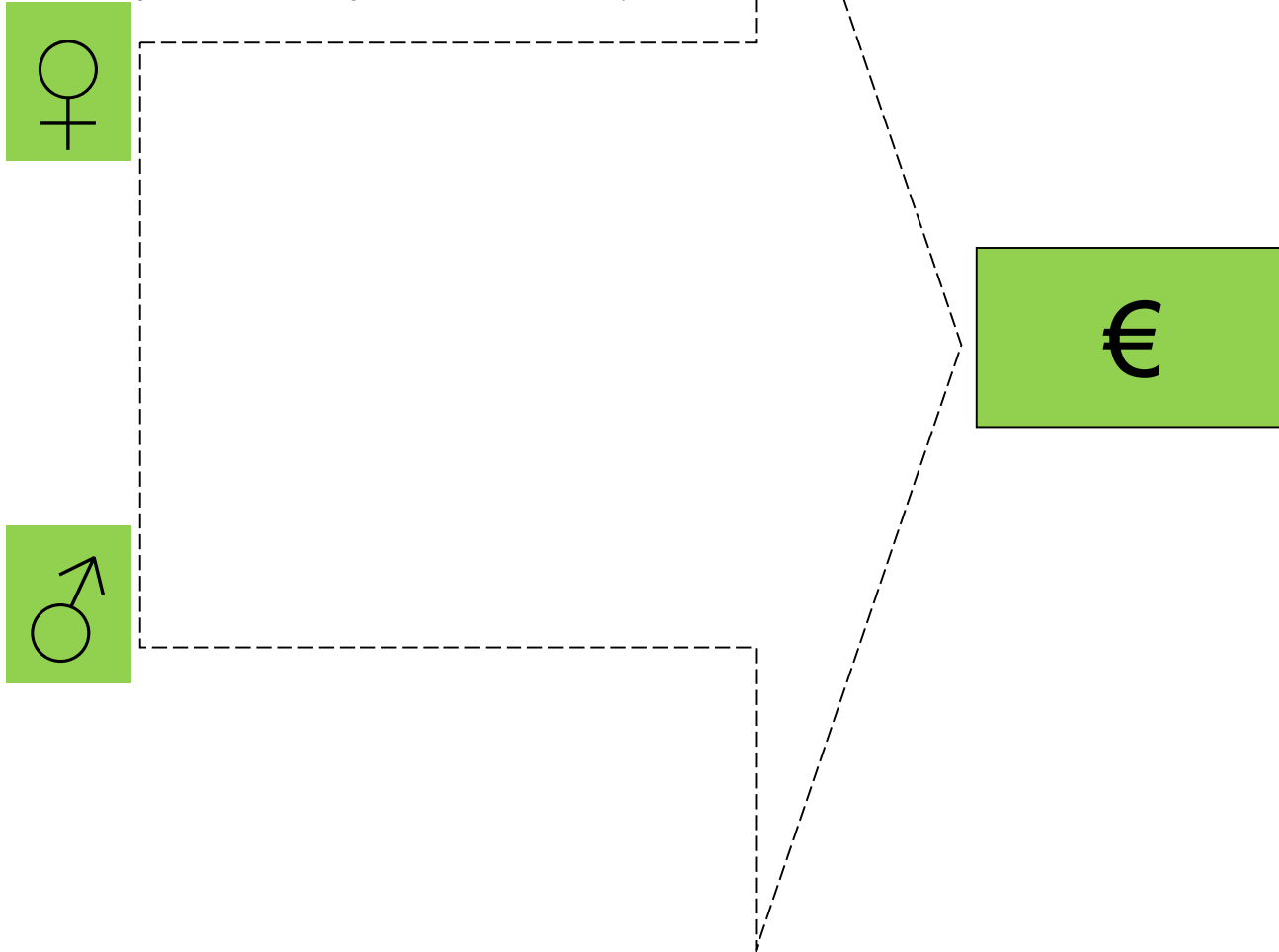
- Explanations of *allocative* processes
  - The processes linking men and women to different jobs and career paths
  - RQ Why do men and women concentrate in different jobs?
  - Occupational sex segregation is the focus of research
- Explanations of *valuative* processes
  - The processes linking different jobs to earnings
  - RQ Why do female-dominated jobs pay lower average earnings?
  - Cultural devaluation (cultural processes) >< RAT (market forces)

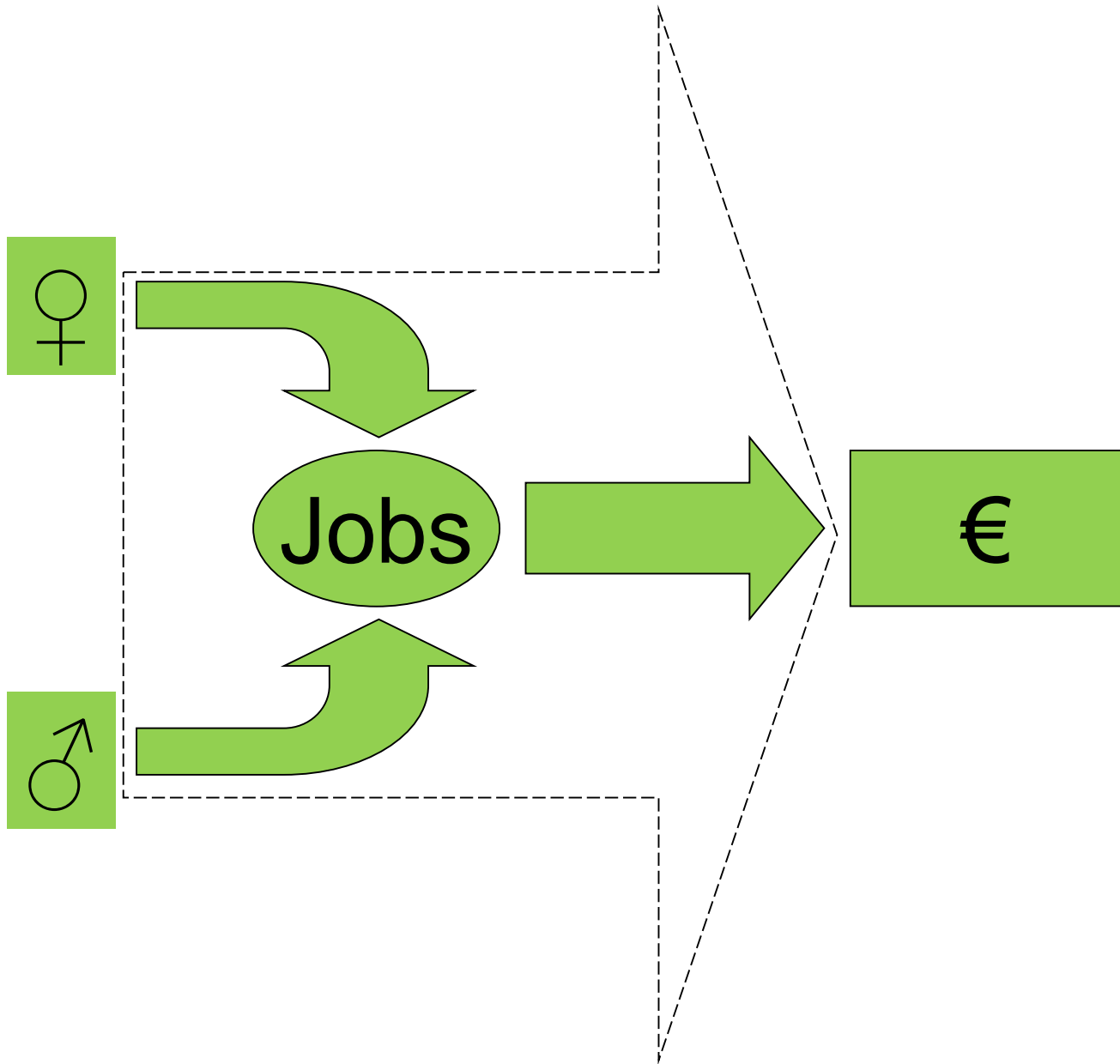
Women earn on average between  
15 to 30% less than men [\(see lesson 11\)](#)

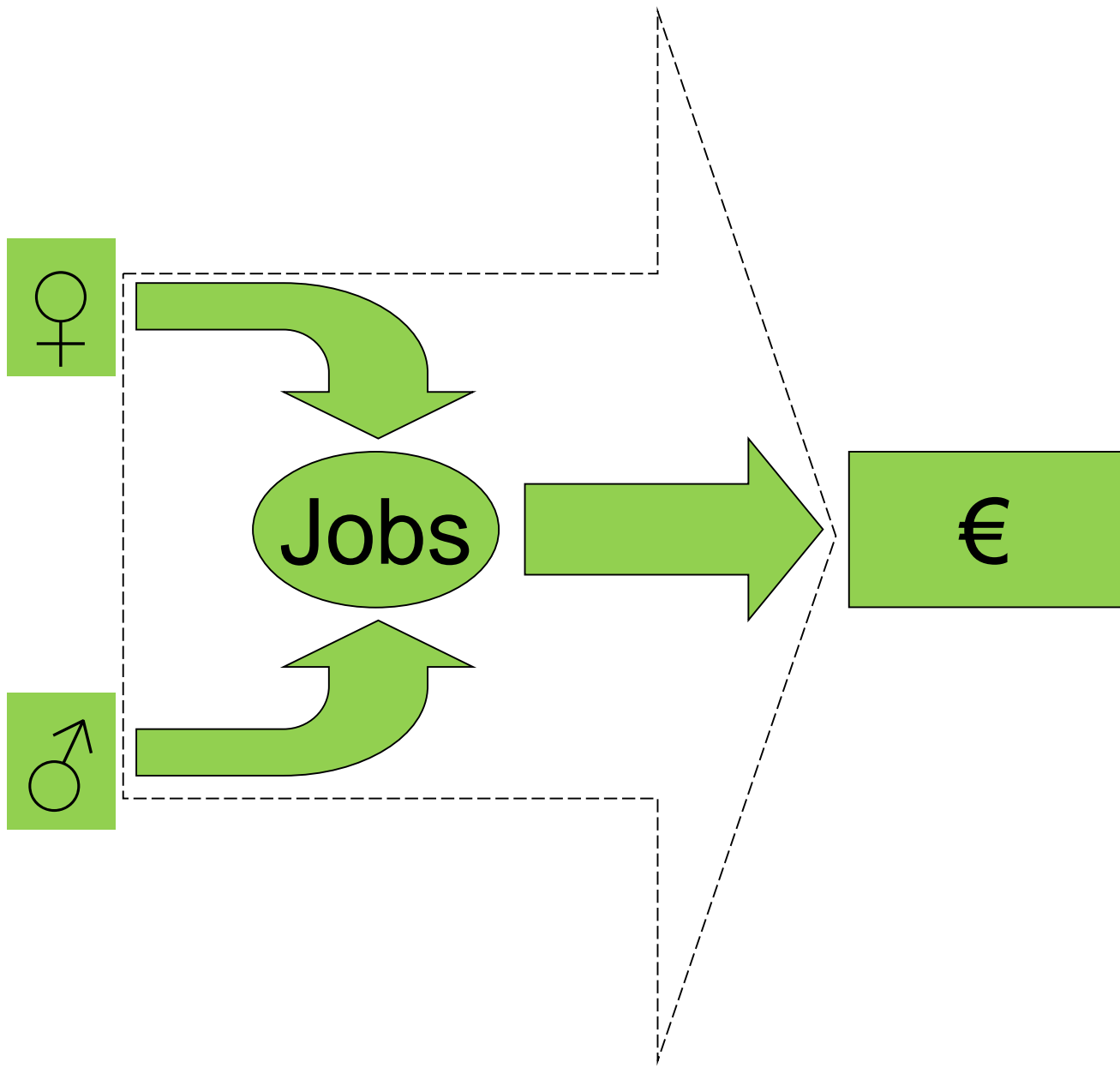


Most of this difference (>90%) is due  
to job sex-segregation

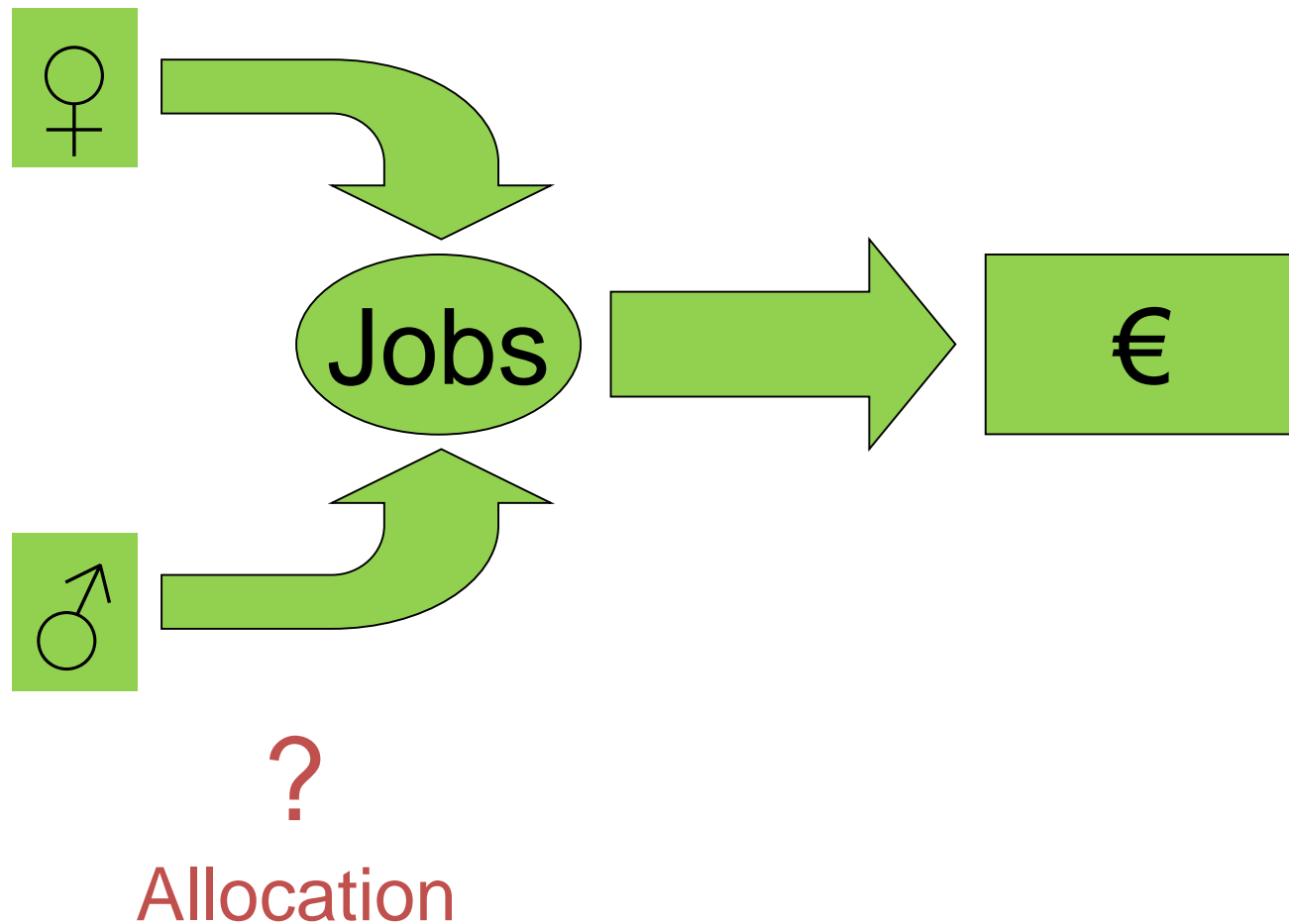
(Peterson & Morgan  
1995; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Polavieja 2008; 2009;2012)





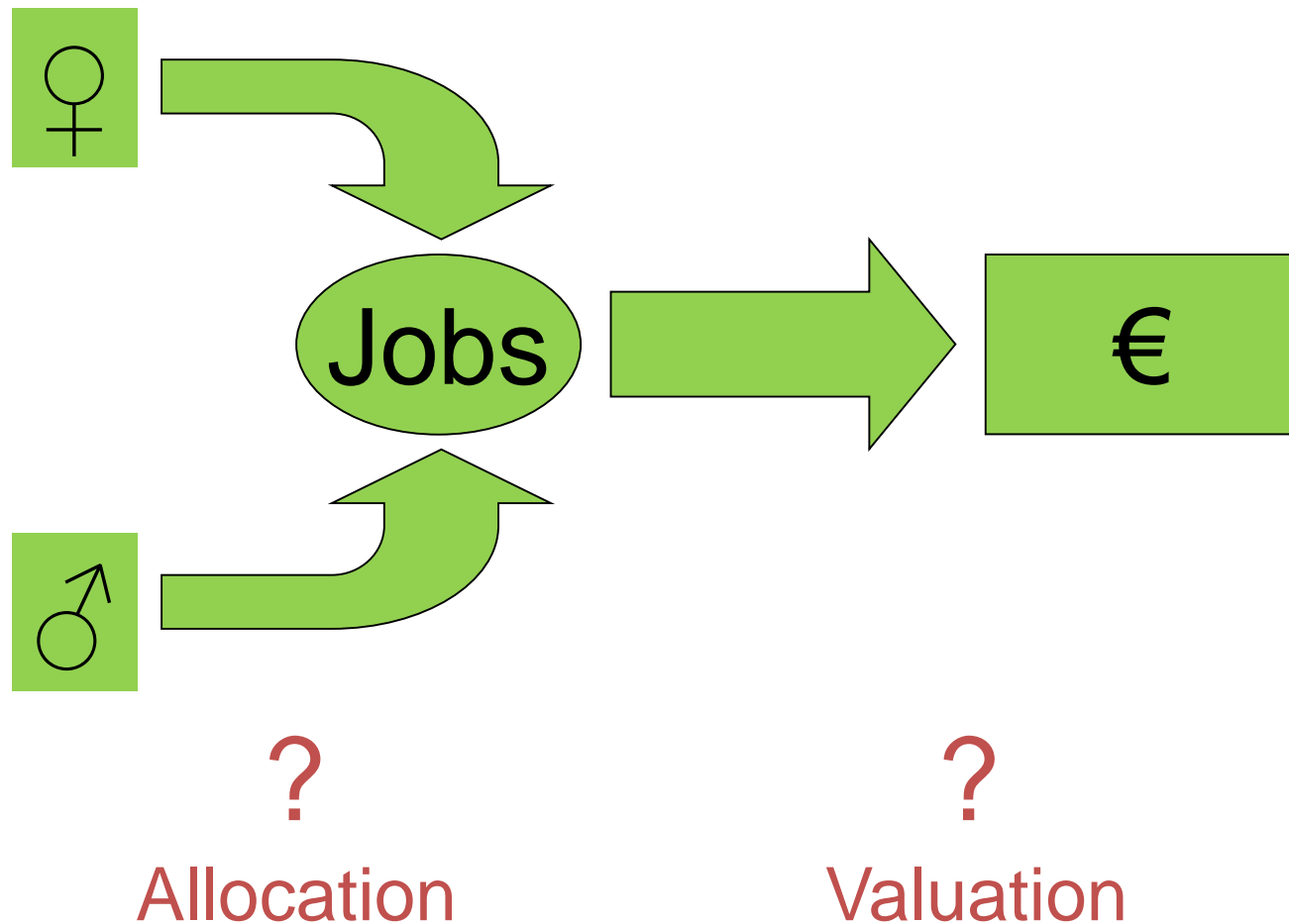


# 1. Why are women sorted into particular jobs & contracts? (Allocation)



(Allocation encompasses entry job, contract type and promotion patterns)

2. Why do jobs mostly occupied by women tend to offer lower rewards? (Valuation)



# Economic models

In greater detail

# Economic Models

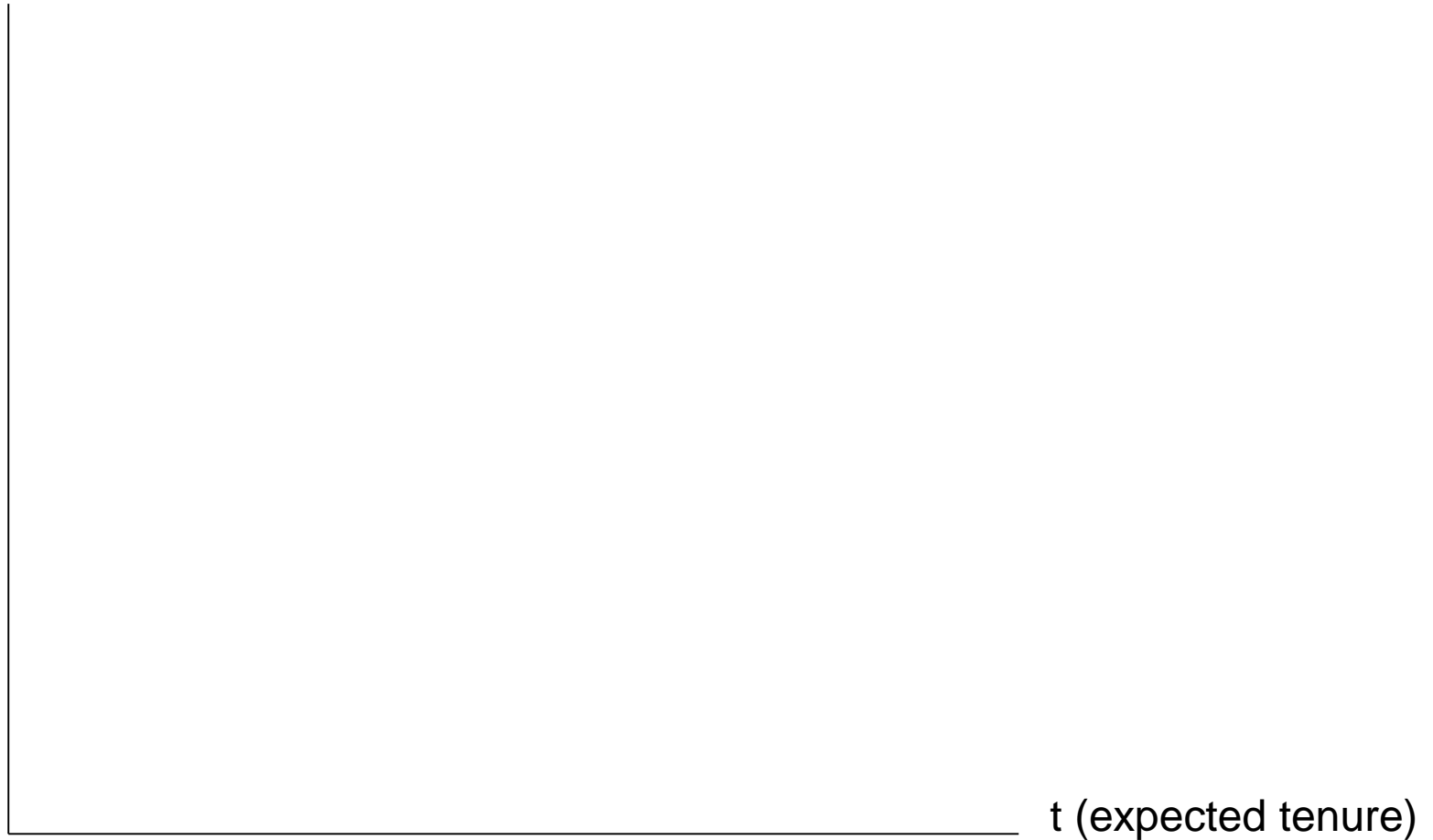
- **Given the existing division of household labor**, many women anticipate shorter and more disrupted work lives
- This discourages human capital investments that require sustained high-level commitment to the labor force to make them profitable
- On-the-job training (formal or informal) increases workers' skills and productivity...
- Firms that invest in training will rationally want to keep the trained workforce in the firm...
- Some economists (e.g. Becker) see tenure-earning profiles as reflecting productivity gains; others (e.g. Lazear) argue that deferred compensation is a strategic incentivizing device to induce sustained workers' effort (see the service contract in Lesson 3), but all agree that...
  1. Earnings (per unit of effort) will be lower during the training period
  2. Earnings for trained workers will increase over tenure



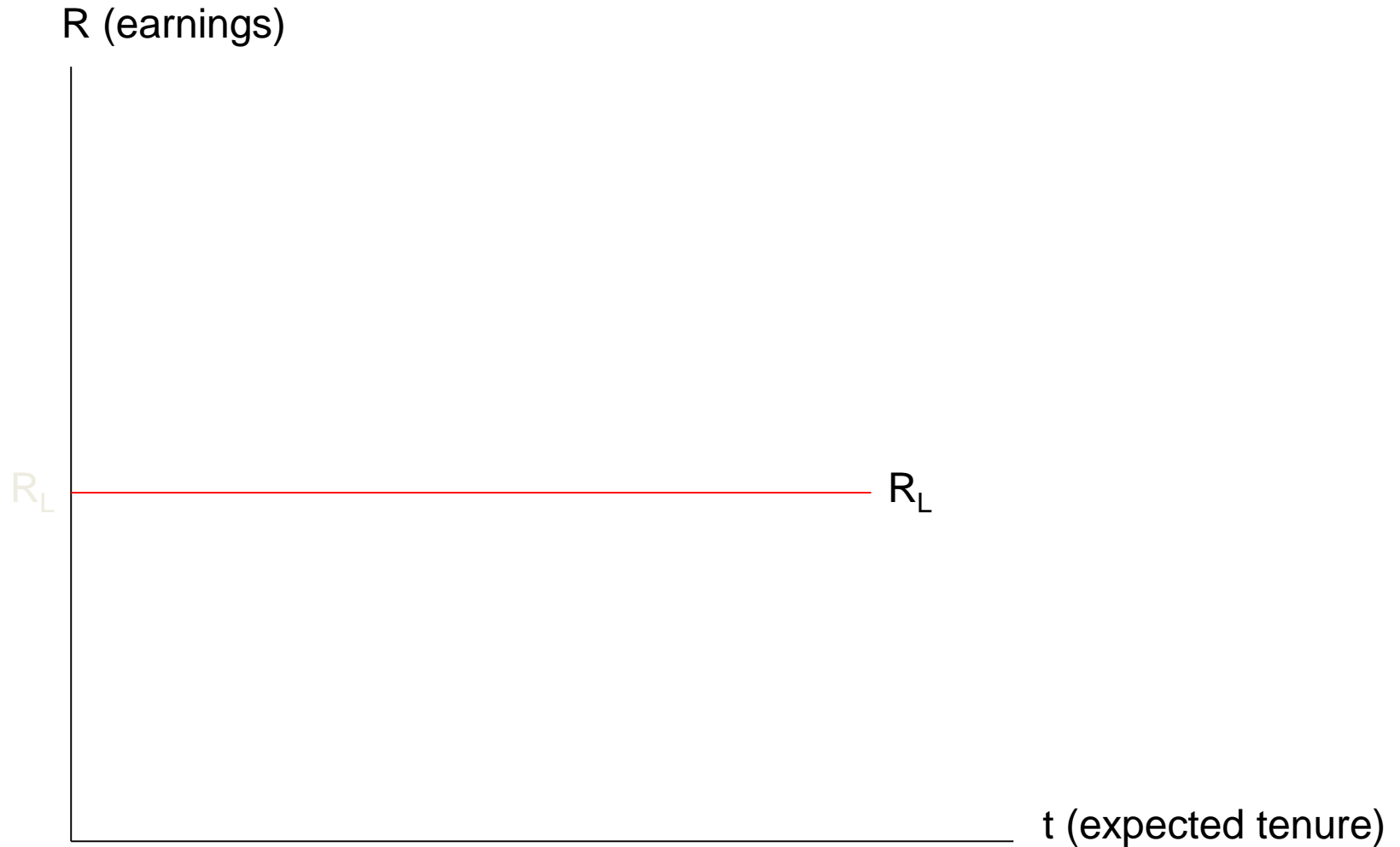
IMPLICATION: Skill-specialization investments are only rational for employees if they expect to stay in the firm long enough so as to recoup such investments

# Compensation profiles over tenure for high-specialization (H) and no-specialization (L) jobs

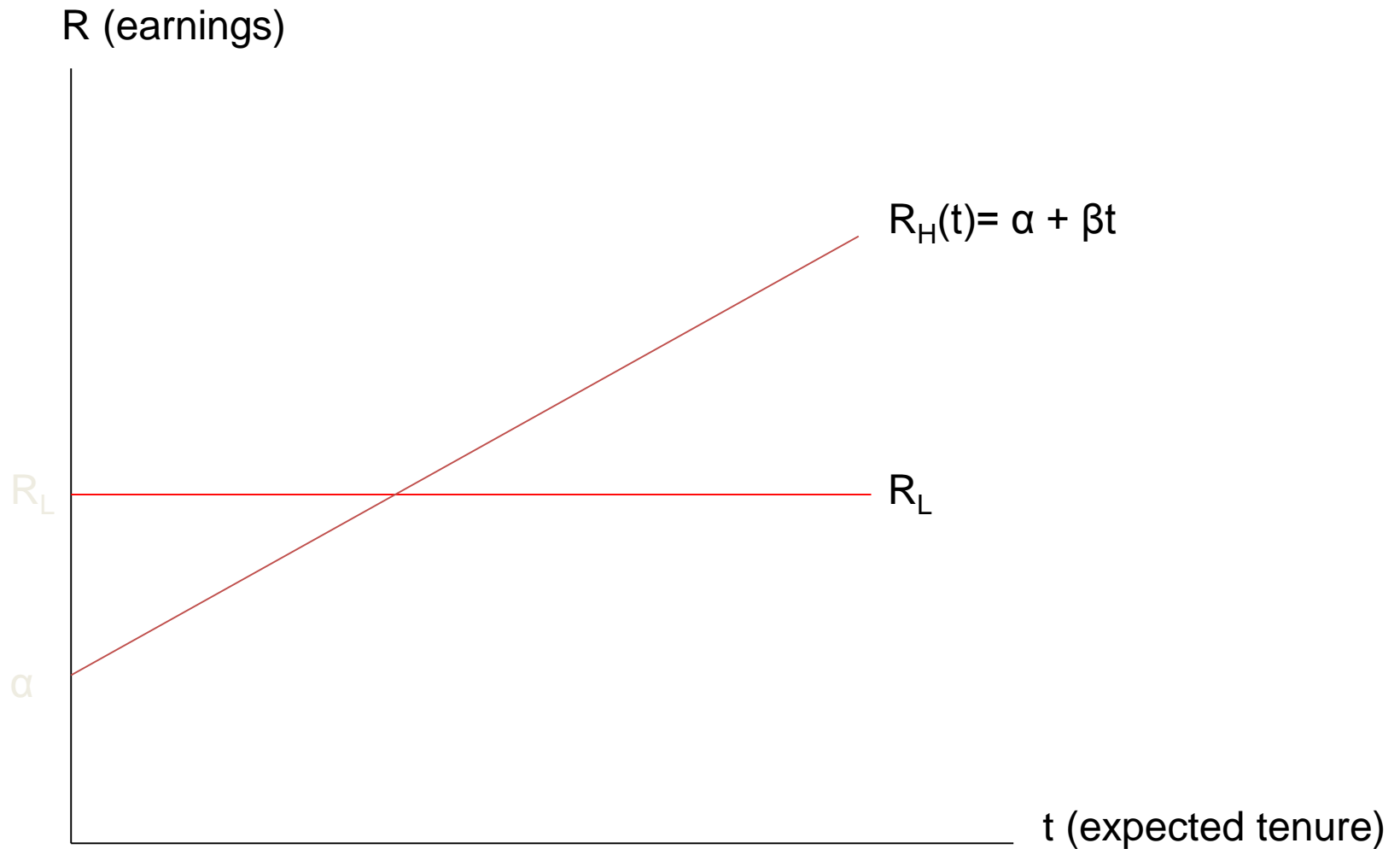
R (earnings)



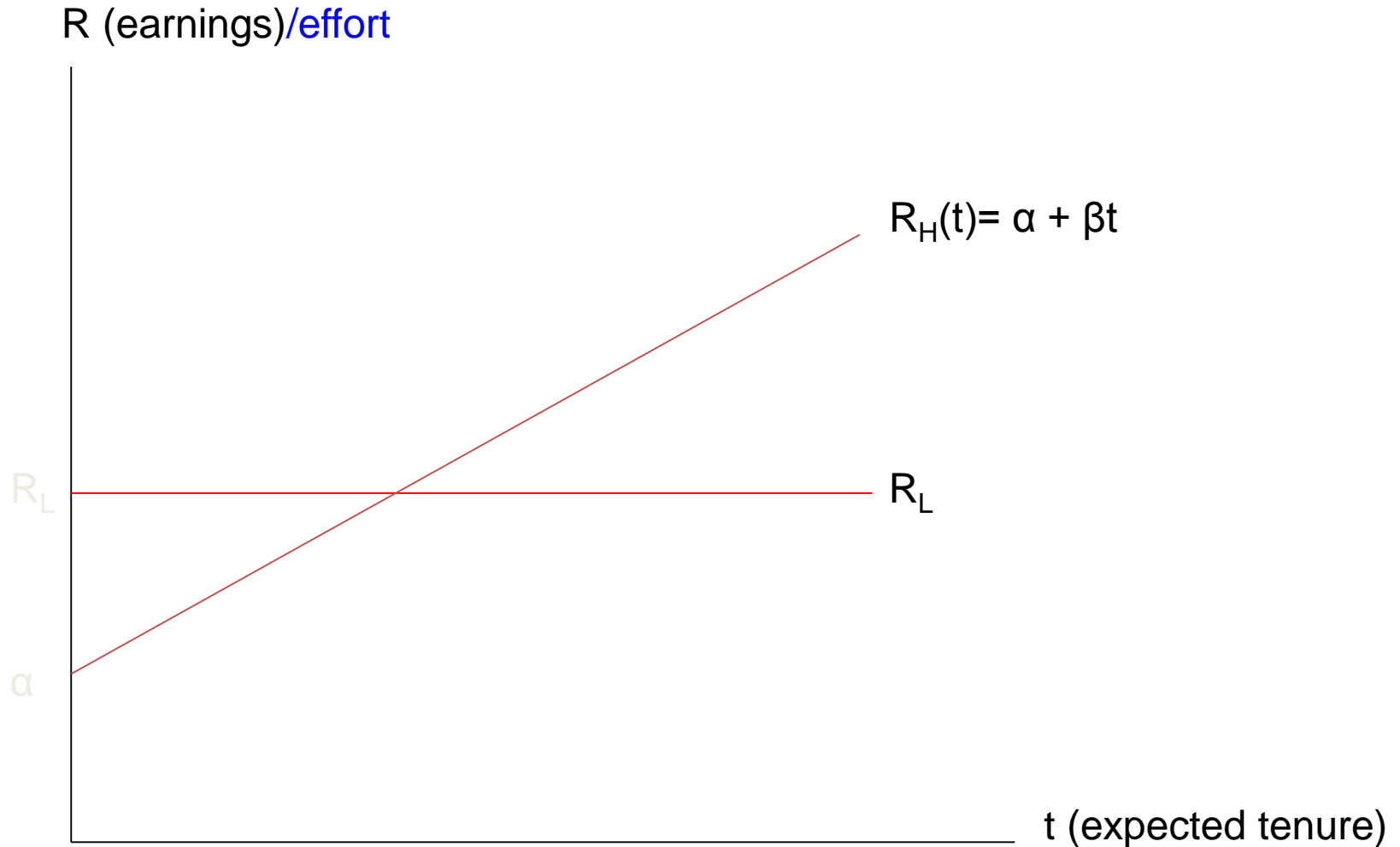
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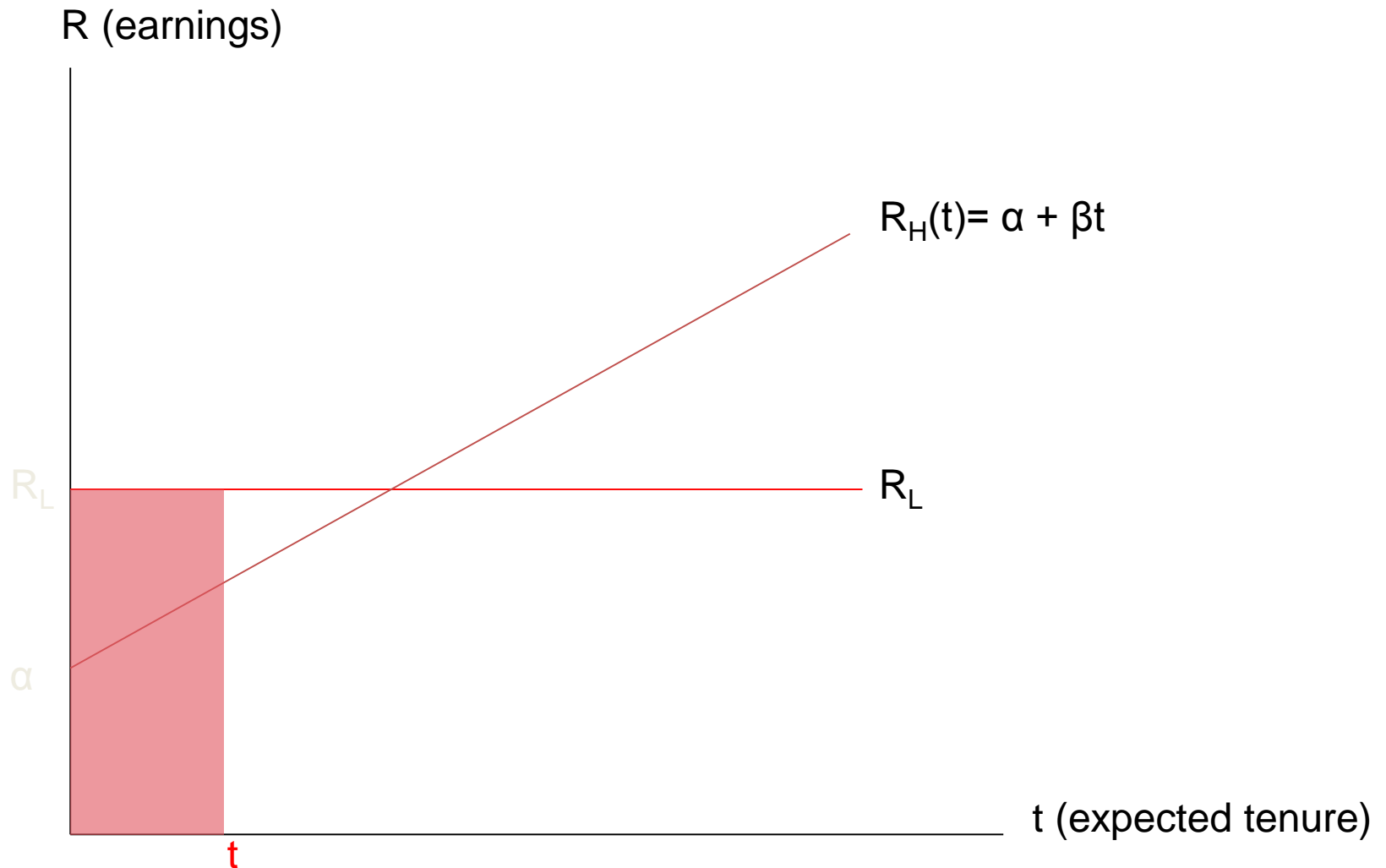
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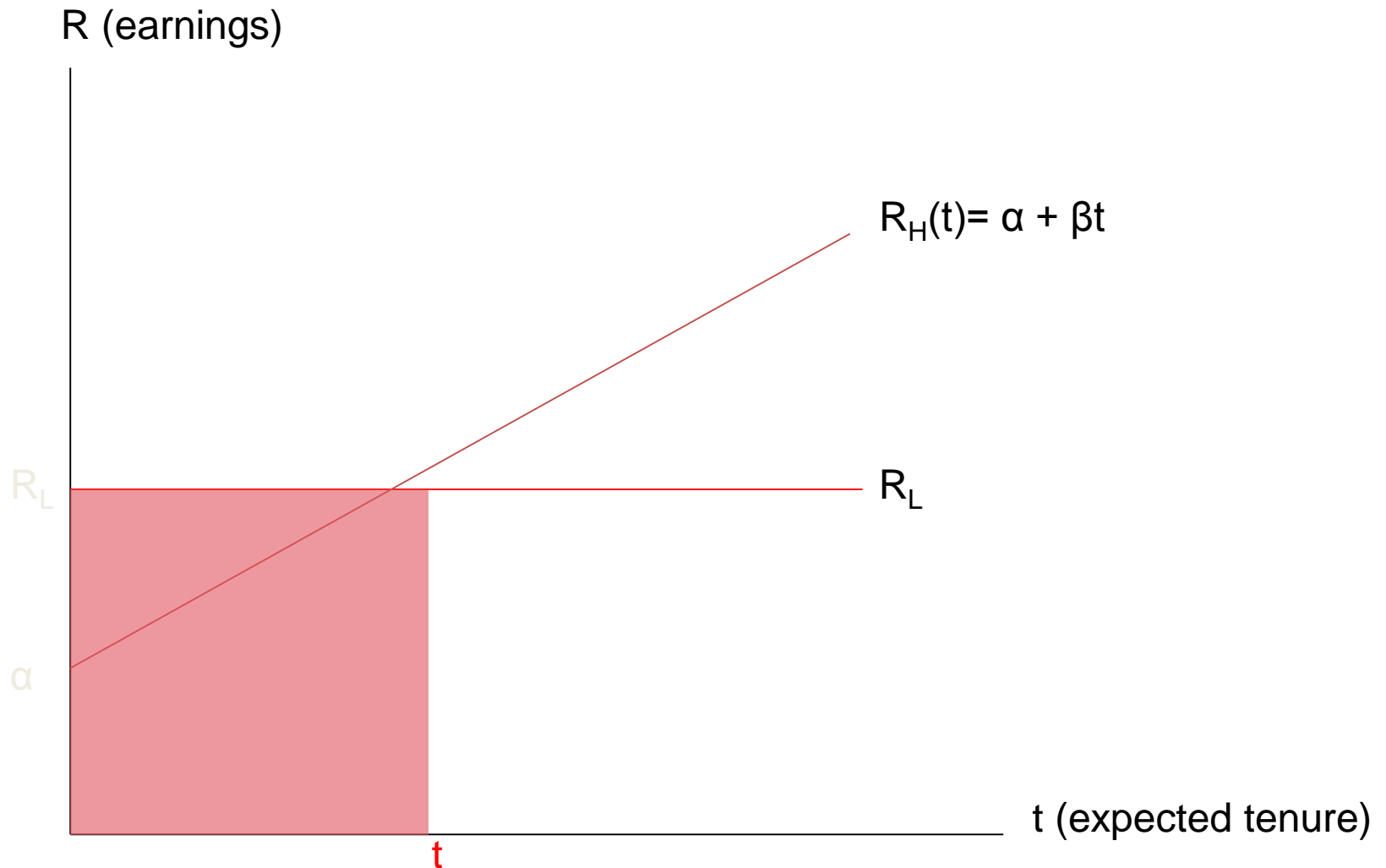
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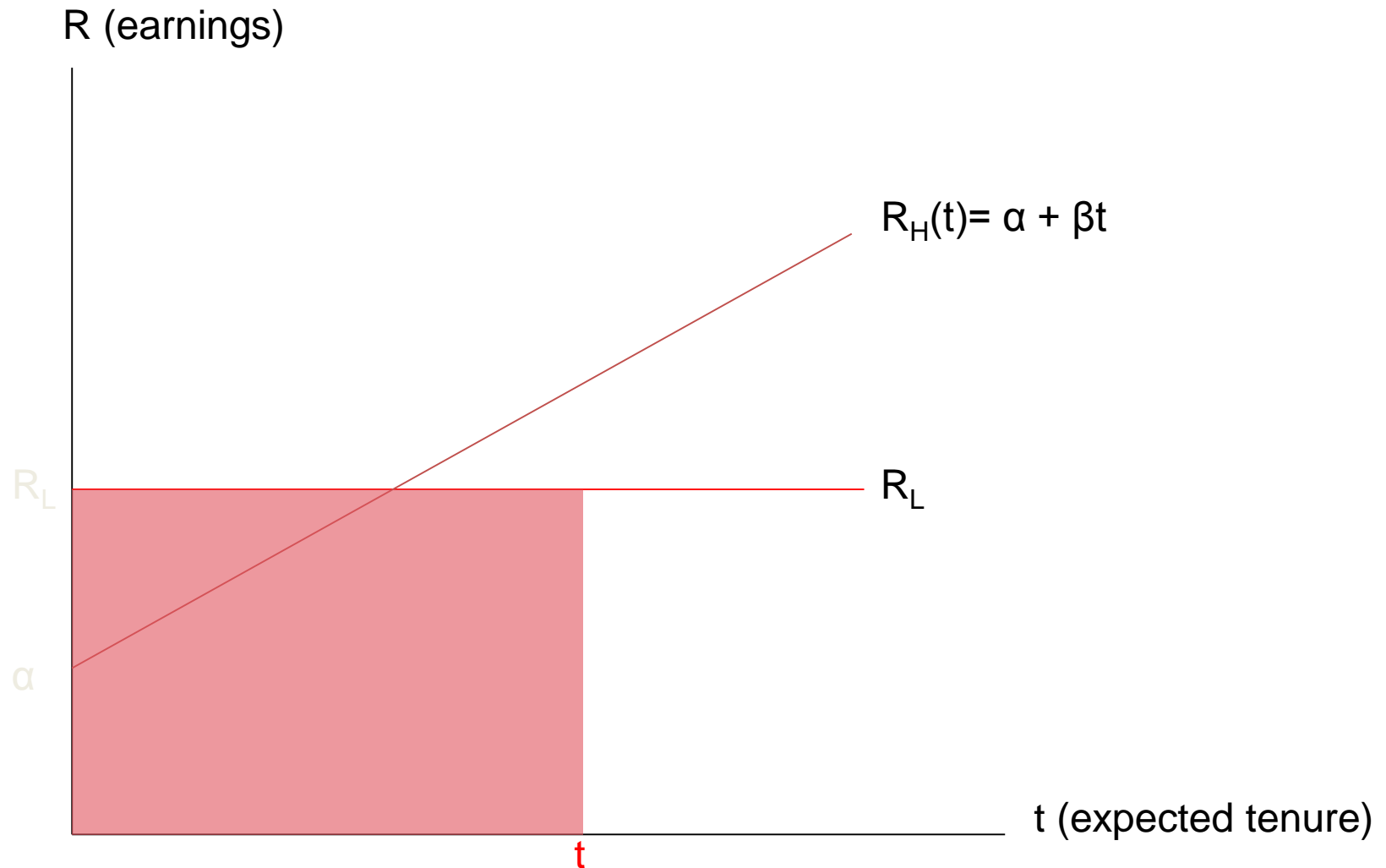
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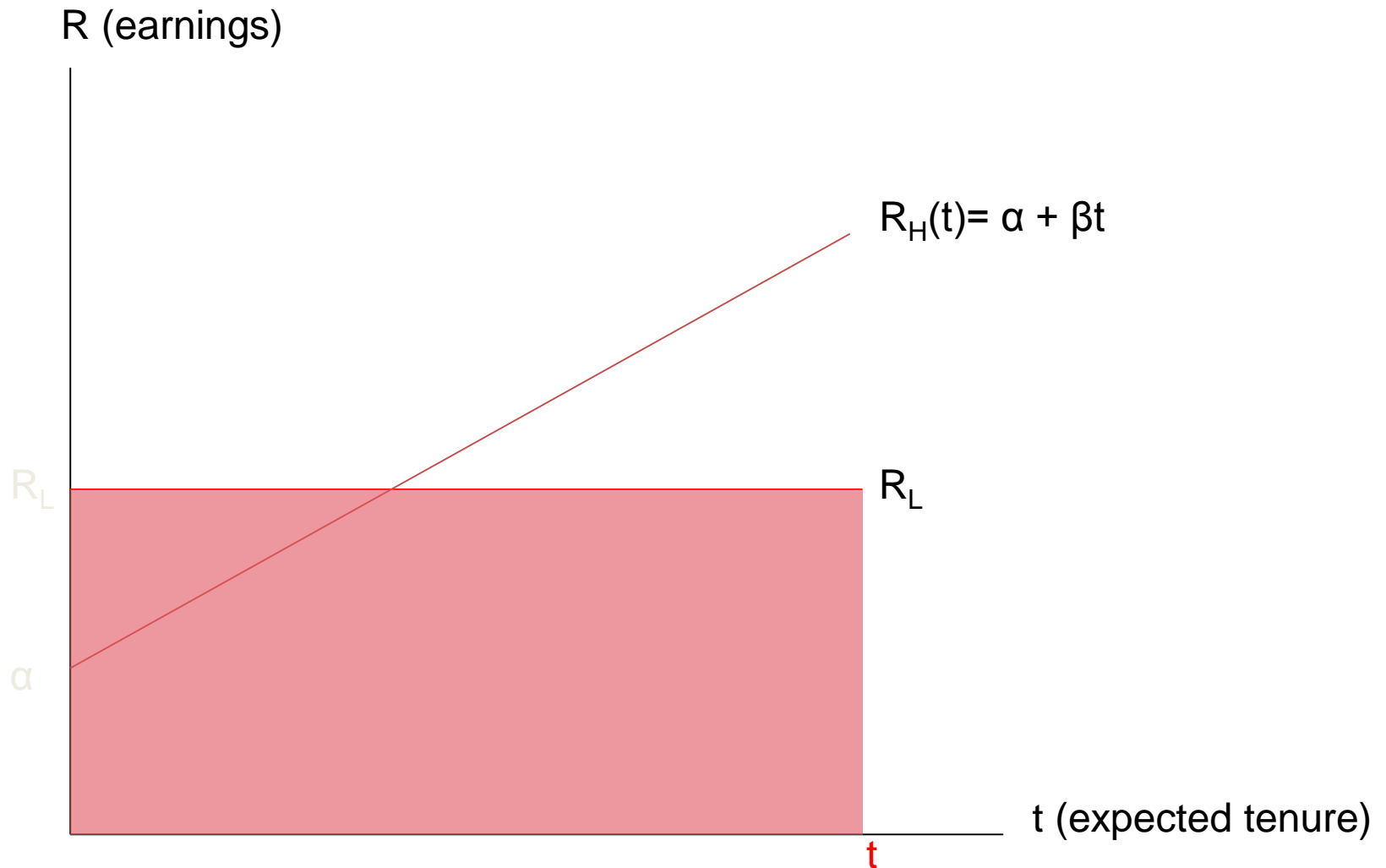
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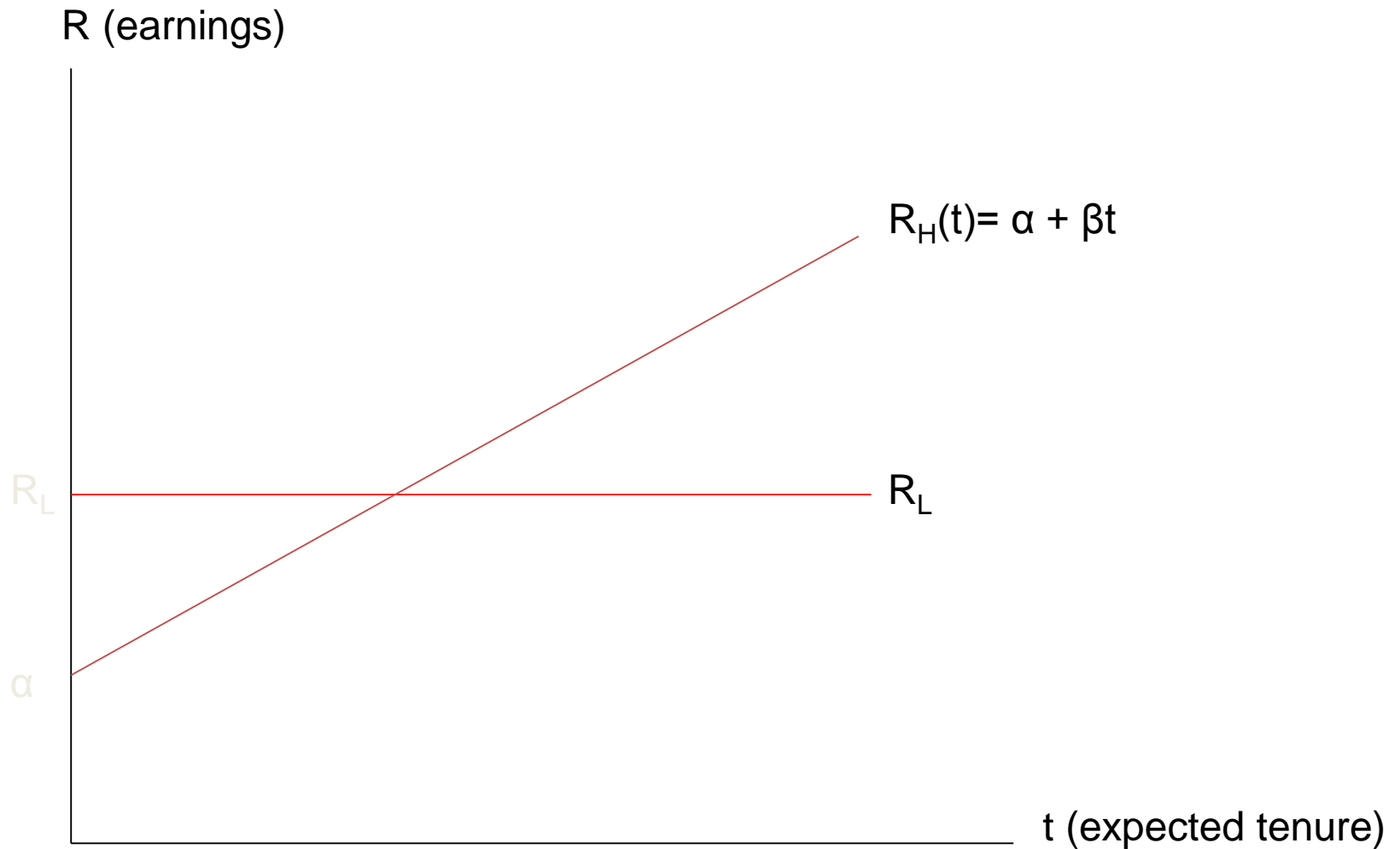
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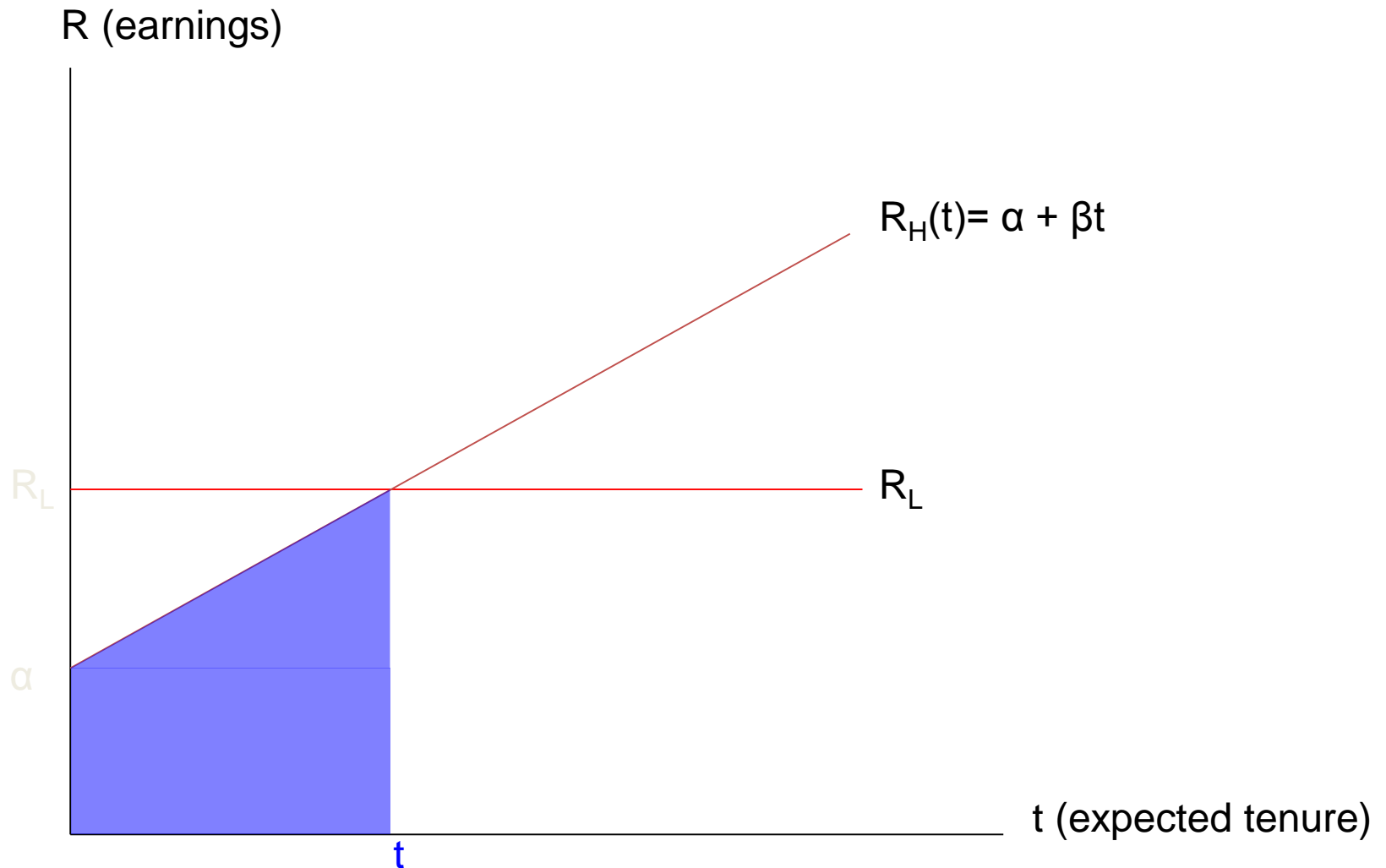
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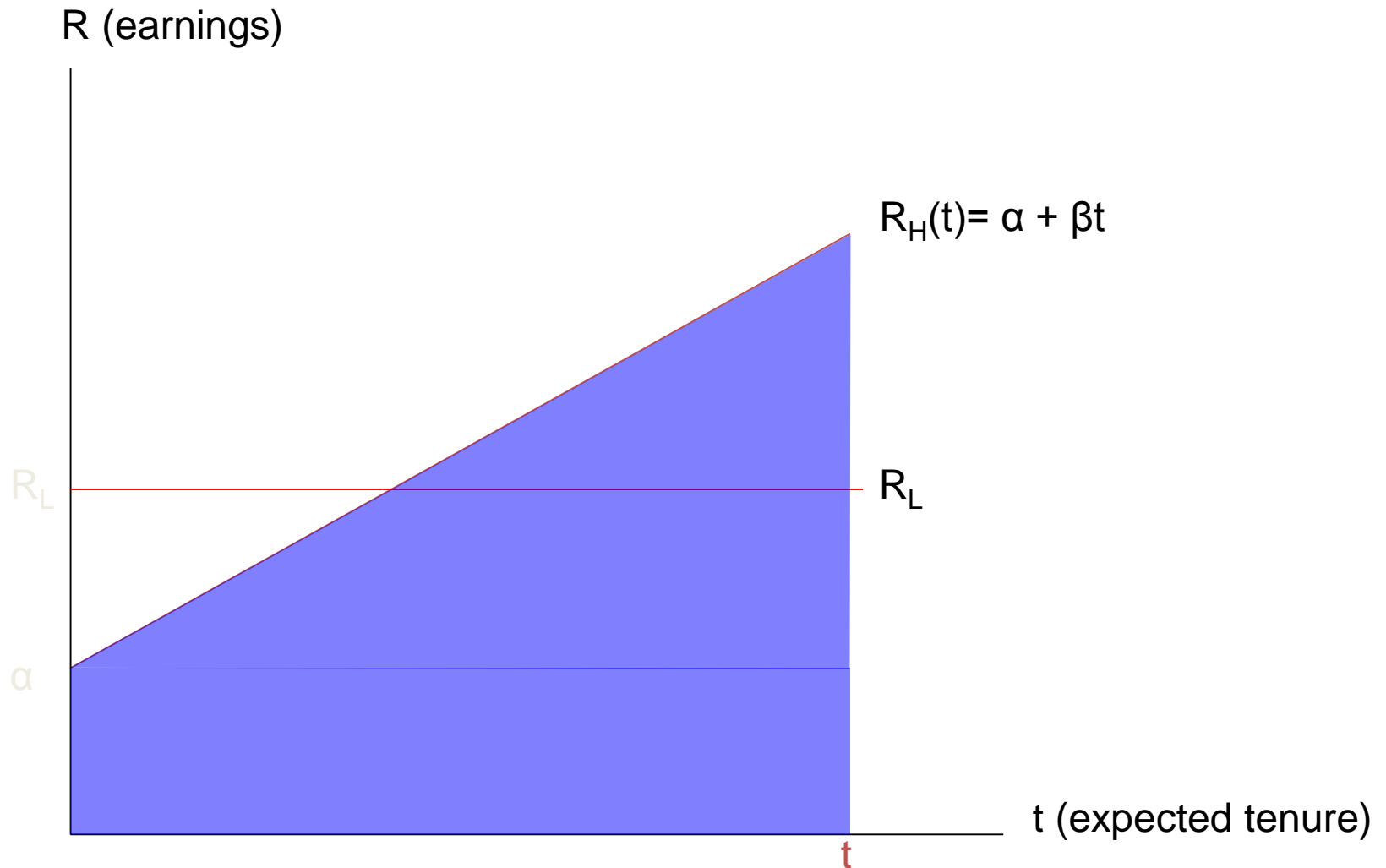
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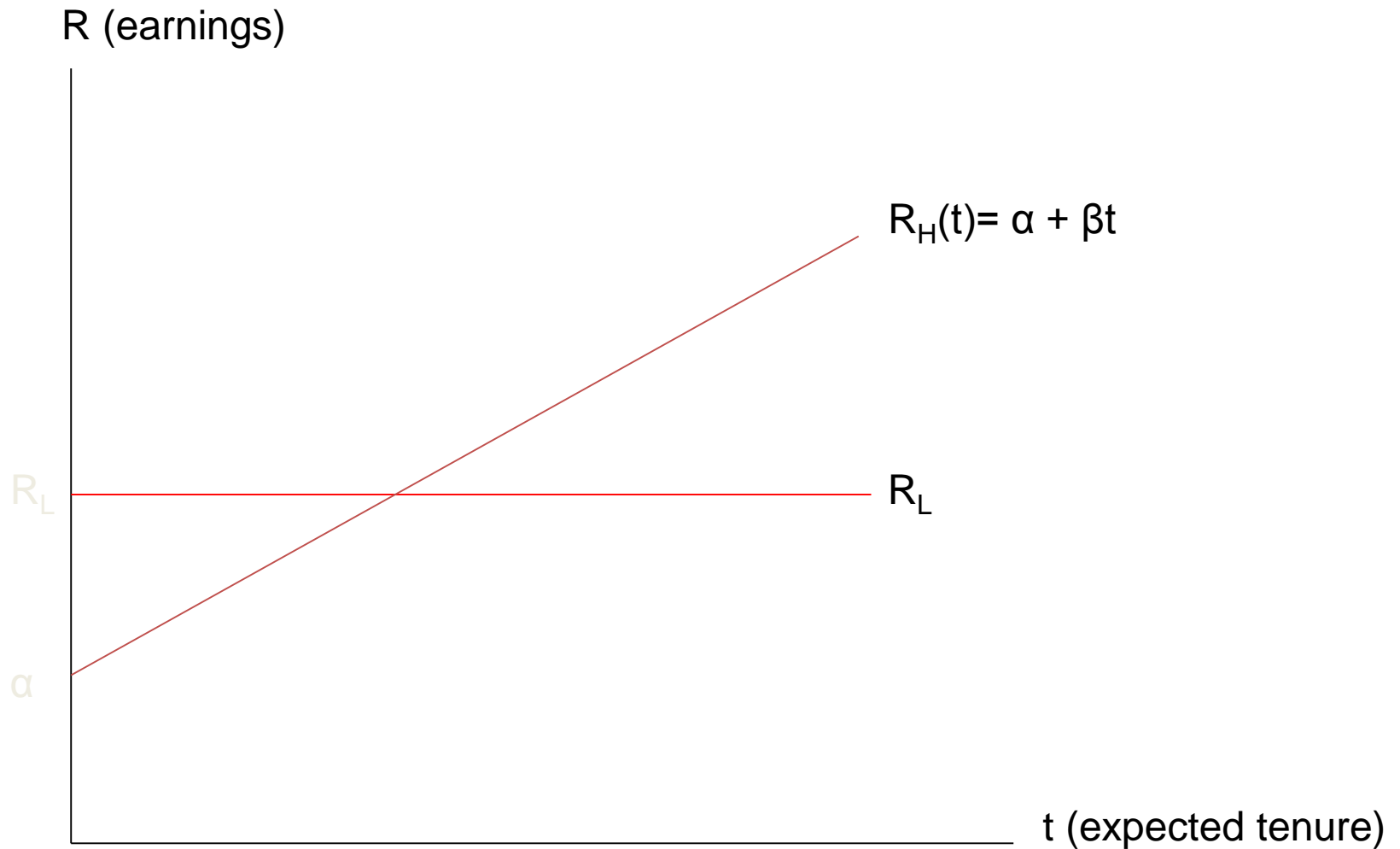
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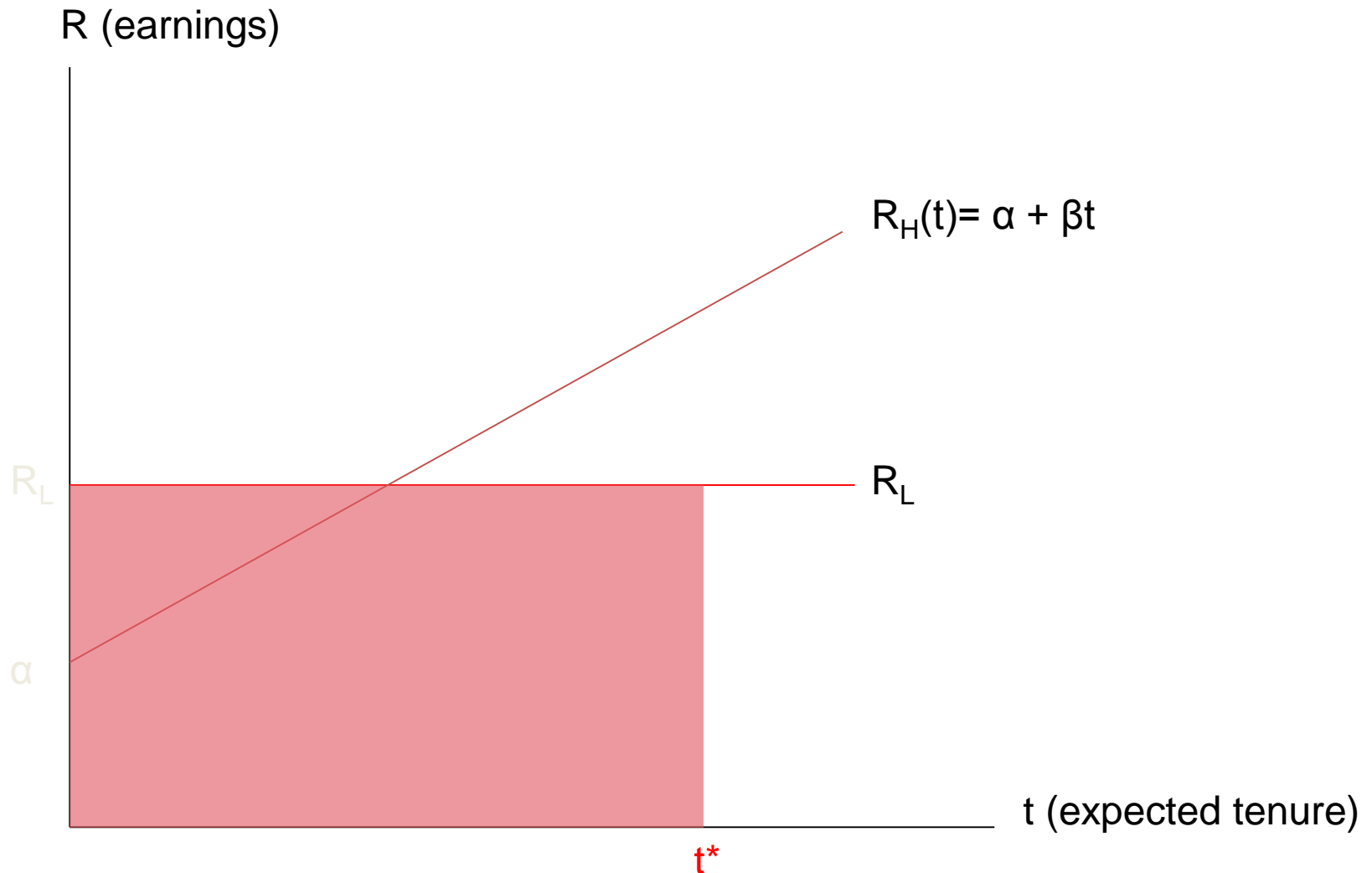
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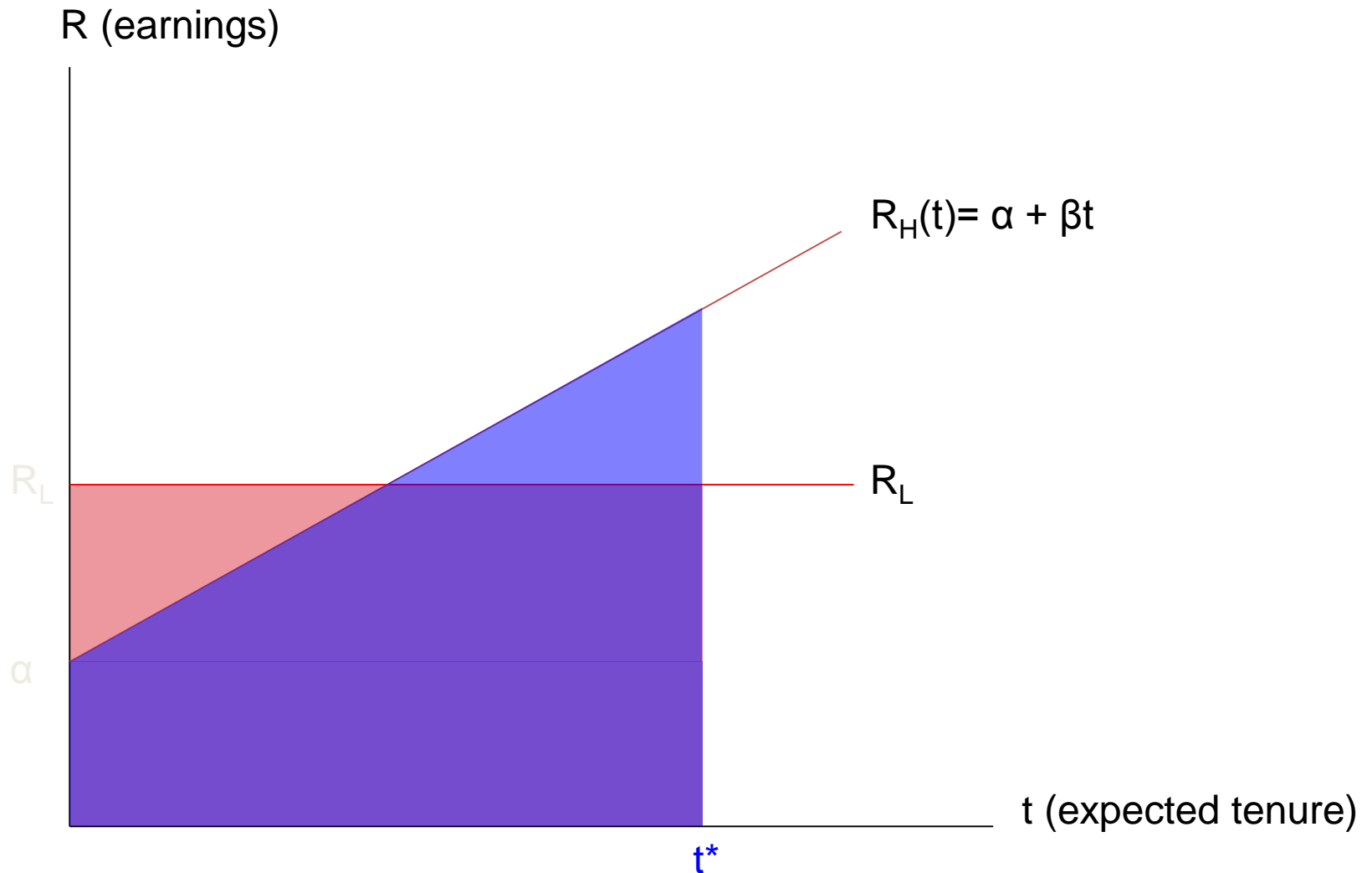
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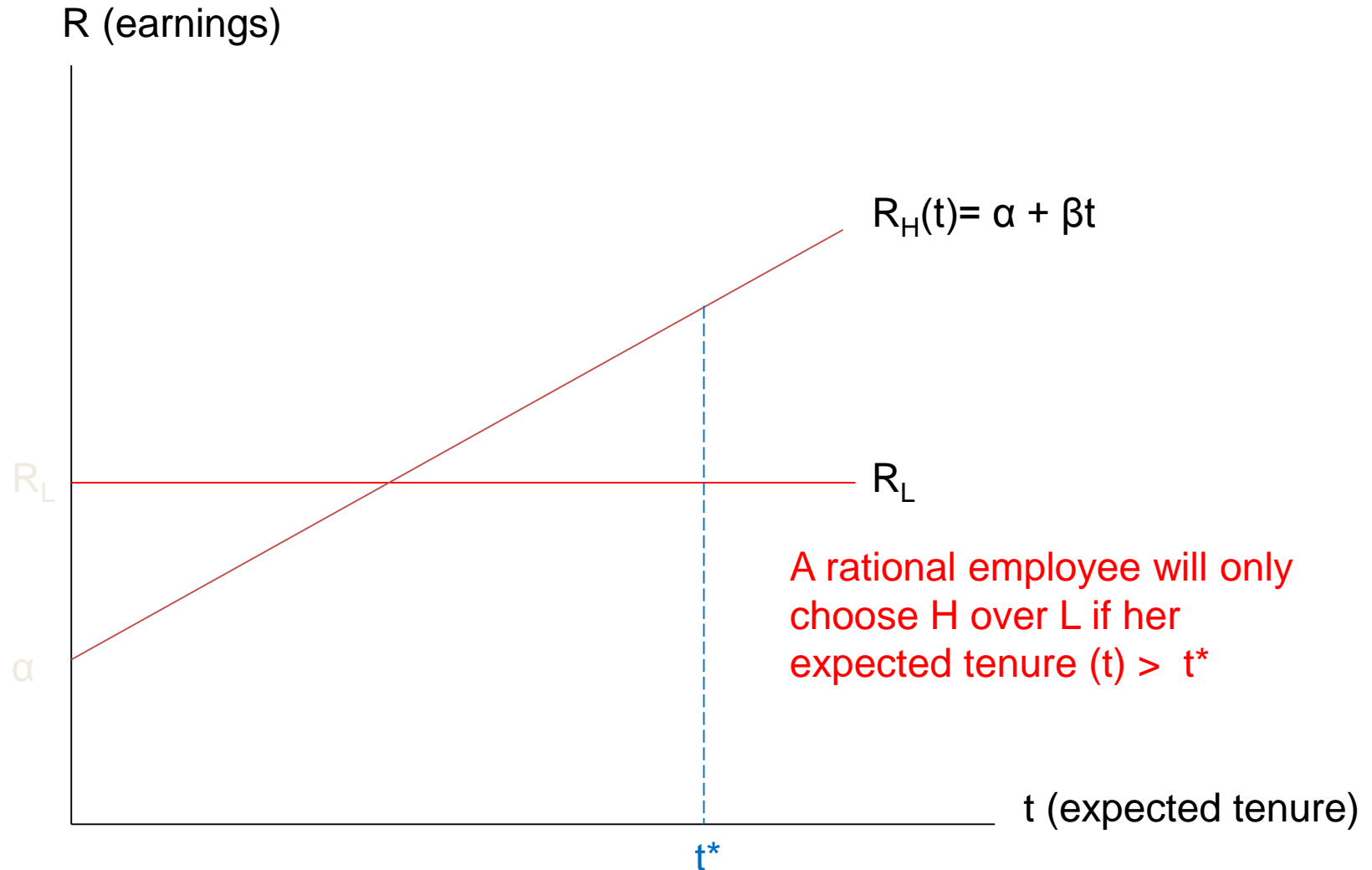
# Compensation profiles over tenure for high-specialization (H) and no-specialization (L) jobs



# Compensation profiles over tenure for high-specialization (H) and no-specialization (L) jobs



# Compensation profiles over tenure for high-specialization (H) and no-specialization (L) jobs





This theoretical model depicts job-training  
as a one-shot decision



But there are jobs that require continuous training due to continuous technological change (e.g. jobs in IT)



If women anticipate LM disruptions they  
will shun such jobs



Supply-side decisions are thus crucially affected the motherhood penalty and by the distribution of chores inside families!!

# Economic Models: The Family

- For Neoclassical economics (e.g. Becker or Mincer), the division of household labour is the result of rational specialization
- The family is seen as a single-minded utility maximizing unit → **Goal: maximize the welfare of the family by choosing what is the best allocation of home time and paid-work time**
- Gender specialization in unpaid and paid work will be efficient if....
  1. Women are relatively more productive at home **OR**
  2. Women are less productive in the LM due to gender-differences in preferences or traits **OR**
  3. Women are discriminated against in the LM and hence their earnings will be lower (i.e. lower LM productivity) **OR**
  4. Men and women are initially identical but because of a traditional division of labor women become more skillful at the household



**IMPLICATION: Comparative advantage makes sex-specialization rational**



Note that the causes of comparative advantage could be manifold (including discrimination against women and gendered preferences!)



Bargaining economic models of the family  
question the unitary assumption of  
neoclassical economics (e.g. Lundberg and Pollak  
1996)...



They assume each partner has his/her own utility function and that partners bargain over the allocation of homework...



...But bargaining models also highlight the connection between unpaid and paid work  
(i.e.between home and LM inequalities)

# Economic Models

- Note that economic models offer an explanation of both *allocative* and *valuative* processes
- Many women end-up in jobs requiring lower skill-specialization for they anticipate job-disruptions and this jobs pay less because they are less skilled (whichever the level of formal schooling required)
- Moreover, if many women choose the same jobs, overcrowding will lead to even lower earnings
- Economic models do not reject the possibility of discrimination and the unequal division of housework plays a key role in explaining differences in unpaid work
- But economic models tell us very little about the formation of gendered preferences, gender values and gender norms leading to a traditional division of household labor
  - In fact, for Becker women's competitive advantage in the domestic sphere stems primarily from childbearing (see: Becker, 1981:21-25; 1985:41)

# Socio-cultural models

In greater detail

# Socio-cultural approaches

- Gendered values and stereotypes regarding women's and men's roles in society are carried over into the labour market (see e.g.: Crompton and Harris, 1997; 1998; England *et al.*, 1994)
- Such values preferences and beliefs affect both the *allocation* and the *valuation* processes

## Allocation

- Traditional values, preferences and beliefs lead women to assign a greater value to home-caring than to paid-work → Many women self-select into less demanding and less rewarding jobs (see eg.: Vogler, 1994)
- Employers are prone to sex-typing and sex aversion/sex affinity in their hiring and promotion practices → **discrimination**
- Male co-workers and trade union officials also prone to sex-typing, sex-affinity and sex-aversion → **social closure**
- Traditional gender values, preferences and beliefs are acquired through processes of **gender-role socialization**

# Sociocultural approaches

## Valuation

- According to the so-called **cultural devaluation theory**, patriarchal attitudes and values can also affect the *valuative* process itself
- Society at large undervalues the work performed by women so that jobs mostly occupied by women are rewarded less, regardless of their intrinsic economic value
  - E.g. secretaries' wages used to be comparatively higher when the job was male-dominated but wages went down as it became feminized
- (But this process could also be explained by deskilling and overcrowding!!)
- Experimental evidence and evidence from prestige surveys do indeed suggest that people tend to assign a lower value to work carried out mostly by women
- Supporters of the cultural devaluation theory claim that such cultural bias permeates the wage-setting process, making both employers and male-dominated trade unions prone to the pecuniary undervaluation of female-dominated jobs (see eg.: England *et al.*, 1994; Kilbourne *et al.*, 1994)

# Gender-role socialization

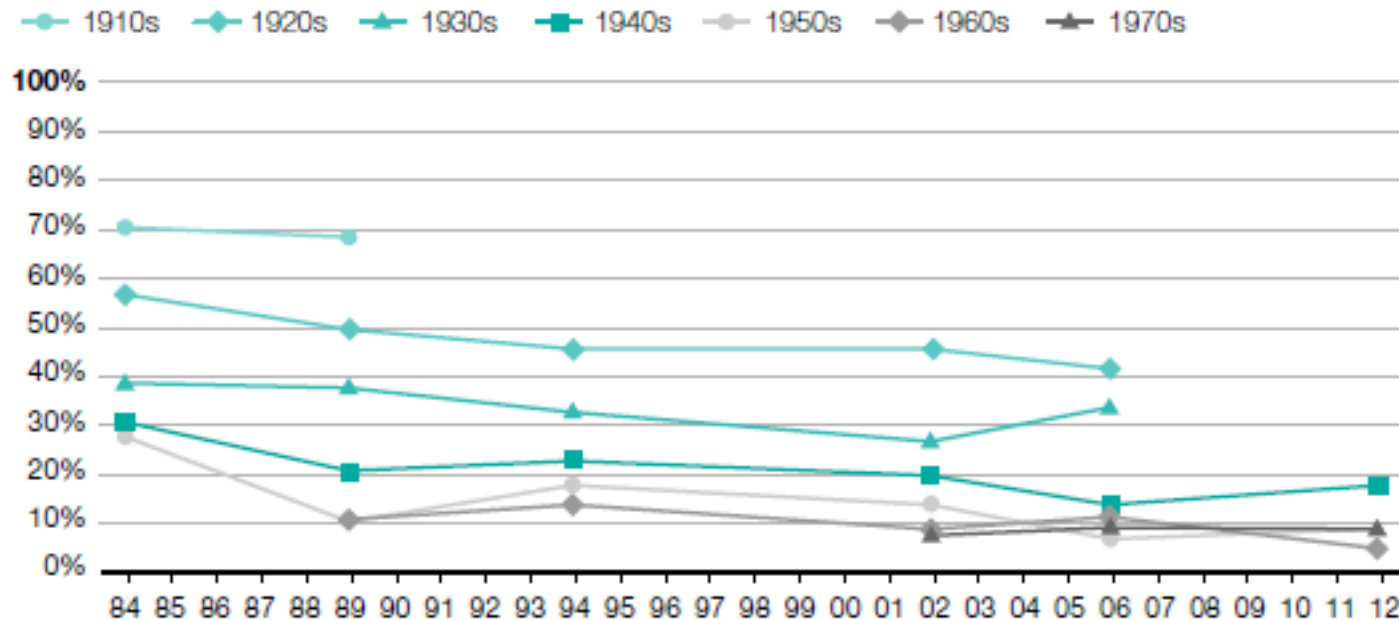
- Early childhood experiences (**primary socialization**) have a prime impact on the formation of people's values, preferences and identities, leaving a long-lasting imprint on people's lives (Parsons, Weber)

## 2 models

- **Behavioural sex-role learning** → Parents' behaviour at the domestic and economic spheres enacts gender roles (i.e. **parents do gender**). Children learn from this behavior what is socially prescribed for their sex (see Bandura 1977)
  - Some authors argue that parental sex-typical behaviours can have socializing effects even if parents do not actively seek to instill them (see e.g. Eagly et al 2000; Polavieja and Platt 2014)
- **Cultural transmission** models (Bisin and Vedier 2001)
  - **Vertical transmission** → Parents actively seek to instill their own values, preferences and norms to their children because they consider these values and norms beneficial or true
  - **Oblique transmission** → Children also learn from the effect of their peers (e.g. fellow students, relatives, friends) and the large social environment (e.g. TV)

# Generation replacement and change in gender norms (UK 1984-2012)

Figure 5.5 Agreement with a traditional division of gender roles (man's job to earn money; woman's job to look after home and family), by generation, 1984-2012



The data on which Figure 5.5 is based can be found in the appendix to this chapter

Data are only presented for those generation cohorts with an unweighted base of at least 100 in a given year



...Note generational replacement is the main driver of change in gender attitudes (although older cohorts also became less traditional over time)



...this suggests at least some oblique  
transmission



...But no generational replacement in the younger cohorts (i.e. those born in the 1960s and in the 1970s)



...The existing evidence also suggest vertical transmission & behavioral sex-role learning (i.e. children learn from both parental attitudes and parental behaviours)

**Table 4.** *Young children's attitudes toward the sexual division of household labour are affected by parents' attitudes and behaviours*

	Full model: Boys		Full model: Girls	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
<b><i>Parental traditionalism</i></b>				
(ref→both non-traditional)				
Both traditional	0.329***	(0.0878)	0.273**	(0.0905)
Mother trad, father not	-0.0310	(0.0934)	0.259**	(0.0853)
Father trad, mother not	0.209**	(0.0793)	0.267***	(0.0763)
<b><i>Parental household behavior</i></b>				
Prop time mother is housewife	0.231*	(0.100)	0.299**	(0.110)
Housework inequality	0.00595*	(0.00271)	0.000570	(0.00294)
<b><i>Parental qualifications</i></b>				
(ref→none)				
University or above	-0.431***	(0.123)	-0.562***	(0.131)
A'levels (age 18)	-0.274*	(0.111)	-0.375**	(0.123)
GCSEs (age 16)	-0.266*	(0.109)	-0.344**	(0.124)
<b><i>Children's characteristics</i></b>				
Intention to leave school at 16	0.0588	(0.0821)	0.333**	(0.120)
High self-esteem	-0.0567	(0.0710)	-0.189**	(0.0642)
School motivation	-0.0400	(0.0342)	-0.0443	(0.0342)
Constant	0.501	(0.431)	0.660	(0.414)
Observations	1471		1387	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.083		0.122	

Standard errors in parentheses. Additional controls for wave and for number and ages of siblings not shown.

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Source: British Household Panel Survey waves 4-18

Source: Polavieja and Platt (2015)

# Sociocultural approaches

## Gender-role socialisation can explain why...

1. children aspire to sex-typed occupations, long before domestic/market specialisation takes place ([Polavieja and Platt 2014](#))

Table 2: Top 20 preferred occupations for boys and girls (those chosen by more than 30), by descending order of popularity, and actual jobs of mothers and fathers by prevalence

<b>Girls</b>	<b>Boys</b>
Actors, stage managers etc.	Athletes, sports officials etc.
Hairdressers	Motor mechanics
Primary and nursery education teachers	Armed forces
Solicitors	Police officers
Vets	Artists, graphic designers etc.
Artists, graphic designers etc.	Computer analysts, programmers
Nursery nurses	Architects
Beauticians	Plumbers, heating engineers
Nurses	Aircraft flight deck officers
Authors, writers, journalists	Actors, stage managers etc.
Police officers	Carpenters and joiners
Travel and flight attendants	Chefs, cooks
Medical Practitioners	Secondary education teachers
Secondary education teachers	Authors, writers, journalists
University teachers	Medical practitioners
Other childcare occupations	Solicitors
Clothing designers	Electricians
Biological scientists	Builders, building contractors
Other health professionals	Musicians
Psychologists	Chartered and certified accountants

Source: British Household Panel Survey waves 4-18.

Source: Polavieja and Platt (2014)

# Sociocultural approaches

## Gender-role socialisation can explain why...

1. children aspire to sex-typed occupations, long before domestic/market specialisation takes place (Polavieja and Platt 2014)
2. children's preferences predict adult preferences and behaviours (Polavieja and Platt 2014)

**Table 4: Children's gendered aspirations and adult outcomes among currently employed young adults, logistic and linear regression estimates**

	Probability of sex-typed adult occupation		Adult wage	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Adult age	-0.0593 (0.0442)	-0.146*** (0.0360)	0.0495*** (0.00715)	0.0319*** (0.00499)
Gender-typical aspirations	0.841*** (0.213)	1.288*** (0.207)	-0.116** (0.0383)	-0.0376 (0.0283)
Matched child-adult occupation	1.739*** (0.424)	0.469 (0.298)	0.0387 (0.0853)	0.145** (0.0447)
Constant	-1.035 <sup>+</sup> (0.583)	-0.184 (0.522)	1.585*** (0.105)	1.700*** (0.0763)
Observations	567	621	567	620
Adjusted $R^2$	0.09	0.12	0.24	0.12

Additional controls for wave not shown. Weighted estimates. Standard errors adjusted for clustering in households.

Standard errors in parentheses

<sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

# Sociocultural approaches

## Gender-role socialisation can explain why...

1. children aspire to sex-typed occupations, long before domestic/market specialisation takes place (Polavieja and Platt 2014)
2. children's preferences predict adult preferences and behaviours (Polavieja and Platt 2014)
3. In most countries women are disproportionately satisfied with their jobs, despite the fact that job segregation concentrates them in the least rewarded positions (Clark 1997; Hakim 1991)

## Criticisms

- Classical socialization approaches over-emphasize the importance of early childhood and the role of parents (e.g. Corsaro and Fingerson 2003; Elder 1994)
- Classical socialization approaches leave little room for individual agency (i.e. choice)
- New approaches in social psychology and life-course research contend that socialization is a lifelong process and stress the continuing socializing role of small-group interactions, contextual influences and peer effects (see e.g. Correll and Ridgeway 2003; Corsaro and Fingerson 2003; Elder 1994)

New approaches

# New supply-side approaches

## Cultural beliefs about gender task competence

- Students, parents, and teachers perceive mathematic (but not verbal) skills are associated with *masculinity*
- Correll (2001 AJS) used a national probability sample of high school and college students (US)
  - Controlling for grades and test scores in mathematics, she found that male high school students rated their own mathematical (but not verbal) ability higher than female students
  - The higher students assessed their own math ability, the greater their odds of enrolling in a high school calculus course and choosing a college major in STEM (regardless of their actual grades and test scores!)
  - When math self-assessment levels were controlled, the previous higher enrollment of male students in a calculus course disappeared and the gender gap in college major choice was significantly reduced

# New supply-side approaches

## Cultural beliefs about gender task competence

- Correll (2004 ASR) subsequently ran a lab experiment
  - **Condition 1:** male and female undergraduate participants completed an experimental task after being exposed to a belief that men are better at this task
  - **Result 1:** male participants assessed their task ability higher than female participants did even though all were given the same scores
  - **Result 2:** Males also had higher aspirations for career-relevant activities described as requiring competence at the task
  - **Condition 2:** participants were exposed to a belief that men and women have equal task ability
  - **Result 1:** No gender differences were found in assessments
  - **Result 2:** No gender differences were found in aspirations

**Conclusion:** Cultural beliefs about gender-specific competence influence people's self-assessments and consequently their behaviours!

# The lab task

## (Correll 2004:102)

- Participants completed two, 20-item rounds of a computer-administered contrast sensitivity test (CST)
- In the CST subjects have 5 seconds to judge which color (black or white) predominates in each of a series of rectangles
- The task has no discernable right or wrong answers, yet subject suspicion in regard to the task is low
  - Since the amounts of white and black area are either exactly equal or very close to equal in each rectangle, **it is impossible for subjects to actually derive correct solutions to the problems**
- The contrast sensitivity task is a reliable instrument commonly used in experimental social psychology (Troyer 2001)
- All subjects were told that they correctly answered 13 of the 20 items during round one and 12 of 20 in round two
- Giving all subjects identical test "scores" ensures that they assess their ability from objectively identical performance information

# New supply-side approaches

## Social learning models (Polavieja 2012 AJS)

- Job-survival expectations are at the very center of the job-allocation decision
  - Under uncertainty, people form their expectations about survival partly by observing their social context (e.g. what people like them do around them or did before them)
  - Because women face greater constraints and uncertainties than men, their job choices depend more on this social context
  - Using a representative sample for over 45,600 individuals residing 234 European regions from 24 different European countries, Polavieja (2012) found that women were more likely to choose specialized jobs in regions where...
    1. the P of women in the preceding generation investing in job-specialization was higher
    2. there was a more equal division of housework
    3. peers had fewer children
- None of these contextual variables had any sig. effects on men's decisions

# New supply-side approaches

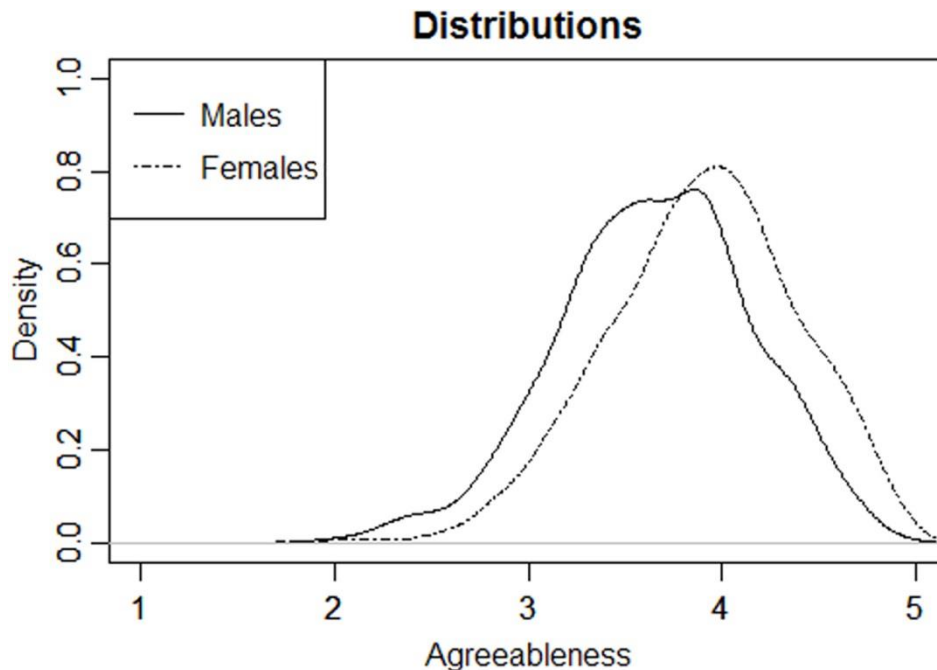
## Gender differences in personality traits found across cultures

- Women show lower average levels of **assertion**
- Women show higher average levels of **risk-aversion**
- Women show lower average levels of **ambition/status-achievement**
- Women show lower average levels of **competitiveness**
- Women show lower average levels of **aggression**
- Women show slightly lower average levels of **self-esteem**
- Women show higher average levels of **extraversion**
- Women show higher average levels of **anxiety/neuroticism**
- Women show higher average levels of **agreeableness** (openness to feelings, empathy, altruism, cooperation and emotional interpretation)
- Women show lower average scores in some tasks related to **spatial ability**
- Men show higher average levels of **Machiavellism** (i.e. the tendency to be unemotional, detached from conventional morality, deceiving and manipulative)
- No sex differences in average IQ but higher dispersion of male scores resulting in more males than females in the top and bottom of the IQ distribution

See e.g.: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sex\\_differences\\_in\\_psychology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sex_differences_in_psychology)

# The meaning of *average* differences

## Are women more agreeable than men?



Source:

<http://journal.frontiersin.org/article/10.3389/fpsyg.2011.00178/full>

The answer is not yes-no

The answer is that different personality traits have different frequency distributions in men and women

This means that there are *simultaneously* ...

1. **Substantial differences in the averages**, and
2. **Substantial overlap**

Most people are not very good at appreciating probability distributions, but you aren't most people!

# New supply-side approaches

## Gender differences in personality traits found across cultures

- Debates about whether these differences reflect socialization (i.e. cultural processes) or have a bio-evolutionary basis (*nature* or *nurture*?)
  - E.g. are women more emotional than men or are they simply more likely to show their emotions due to cultural norms?

...But some evidence both in the natural and the social sciences seems consistent with socio-biological explanations

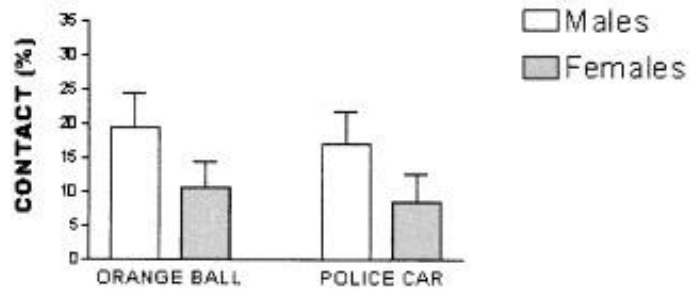
- Sex-typing\* is largely constant across time and space → no change despite massive incorporation of women in the LM and politics (Lueptow et al. 2001)

[\*Sex-typing=public- and self-perceptions of the personality traits typical of each sex]

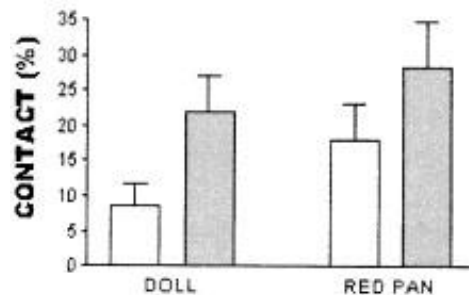
- Evidence on hormones' impact on behaviour...
  - Increased androgen production shows increased male-typical behavior (Hines 2006; Hines and Kaufman 1994; Iijima et al. 2000)
  - Fetal testosterone predicts sexually differentiated childhood behavior in girls and in boys (Auyeung et al 2009 <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/19175758>)
  - Prenatal hormones influence women's adult gendered behavior (Udry 2000)
  - Testosterone levels affect gender differences in financial risk aversion and career choices (Sapienza et al 2009)

An interesting experiment

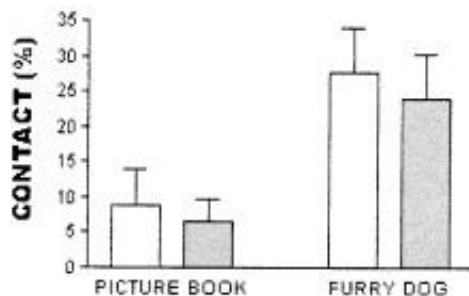
### "MASCULINE" TOYS



### "FEMININE" TOYS



### "NEUTRAL" TOYS



## The experiment

Male and female infant subjects were presented with both gender-typical and gender-neutral toys

## Results

- Male (female) subjects had significantly more contact with male-typical (female-typical) toys...
- No gender differences in contact with neutral toys



Why is this experiment relevant to socio-biological (evolutionary) explanations?



Because the subjects were monkeys!

*Sex differences in response to children's toys in  
nonhuman primates (Cercopithecus aethiops  
sabaeus)*

*Gerianne M Alexander, Melissa Hines*

*Evolution and Human Behavior*

Volume 23, Issue 6, Pages 467-479 (November 2002)

DOI: 10.1016/S1090-5138(02)00107-1



Sociobiological explanation have stirred up a fierce debate in sociology (see e.g. reactions to Udry 2000 ASR <http://www.academicroom.com/article/feminist-critics-uncover-determinism-positivism-and-antiquated-theory>) . . .



Sociobiological explanations of all kinds are likely to increase in the near future as social scientists are starting to include biomarkers in social surveys (see e.g. last issue of SF Vol 93, March 2015)

# Discussion

Read the following excerpt and discuss: is this “evidence” consistent with economic models?  
And with socio-cultural models?

# *The experience of unemployment*

-E2: I have been unemployed for more than a year now. My wife was working until a month ago. Well, this was lots of trouble. She would go “this is no good! You spend the whole day at home doin’ nothing!” Now we are both unemployed. But it’s funny, though it ain’t really, because now that she’s been laid off, now she’s goin’ through the same shit as I did and things are calming down between us. But before there was a lot of conflict cause, fuck, she’d work, she’d bring money home, I didn’t do nothin’ and on top of that I’d spend ‘cause that’s what you do, you are, you are a expense, so that generates conflict: “this is mine, and this is yours, this and that...” so now we are, we’re almost better! Now I am doing’ a course at the INEM [Spanish unemployment agency] I come back home at half past two and I feel I’ve done my share, you know?... And she’s done the house, she’s cooked , she’s mailed a couple of CVs and what not... So she’s done something too. So we both sit on the table and, shit, we eat as Lord and Lady! ‘cause she’s a great cook, you know... And then we go “fuck, that was a great meal!” But it’s true, now my wife she understands me so much better, right? But when we fight words are harsh ‘cause there’s lots of tension between us but it is no longer “I do more than you” or “this steak you’re eating I’ve paid for”... So now things are, I can tell you, well..., I can tell you we’re fucking good! Things are goin’ pretty good, much better than a couple of months ago!

# That's all for today

Thanks for your attention and participation!

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