Changing Cultural Pathways through Gender Role and Sexual Development: A Theoretical Framework

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Abstract   Greenfield's (2009) theory linking sociodemographic change to dynamic cultural values for family interdependence versus individual independence is applied to sexual and gender role socialization and development. The theory explains how cultural pathways for sexual and gender-role development transform in concert with sociodemographic changes: urbanization, formal schooling, capitalism, and communication technologies. As environments become more urban, commercial, and technological, with more opportunities for formal education, sexual development moves away from the ideals of *procreation* and *family responsibility* and toward the ideals of *personal pleasure* and *personal responsibility.* At the same time, gender-role development moves away from the ideals of *complementary* and *ascribed* gender roles and toward *chosen* and *equal* gender roles. We present psychological, anthropological, and sociological evidence for these trends in a variety of communities undergoing social and ecological change. [culture change, gender, sexuality, socialization, values, cultural psychology]

Culture gives meaning and purpose to biological changes associated with reaching reproductive maturity. Indeed, many societies inscribe puberty with qualities that signify progress toward ideals of womanhood and manhood. Among the Zinacantec Maya in Chiapas, Mexico, for example, puberty traditionally marks a time when a girl is preparing to be a good wife, mother, and daughter-in-law through domestic apprenticeship. She becomes an adult woman when her family accepts the request of marriage from a suitor and his elders and then begins to bear children and make tortillas from the corn her husband cultivates (Fishburne 1962). By comparison, in the United States, puberty signals that a girl is a teenager, attending high school, hanging out with friends, and beginning to date. Among middle-class segments of U.S. society, she will be considered a fully adult woman when she can support herself financially (see Arnett 2010 for a discussion of self-sufficiency as a cultural belief underlying pathways to adulthood in the United States and the differences among youth of various social classes).

Differing pathways to adulthood begin to give an impression of the interconnected nature of sexual development, gender-role development, cultural values, and the economic and social structures of a society (Schlegel 1989). Sexual maturation proceeds in concert with

the acquisition of skills for adult work and family gender roles that are culturally valued and adapted to sociodemographic circumstances, all of which are in flux over historical time. For example, when the Mexican government established a high school in Zinacantán in 1999 after the community shifted away from subsistence agriculture to paid labor, some adolescent girls began to prepare for adult work roles in a commercial economy by going to high school alongside male peers, negotiating relationships with boys outside of family supervision (Manago 2014). U.S. adolescents in the digital age are now progressing toward adulthood using mobile devices and social media to connect with friends and express their sexuality to large expanses of social networks beyond their families and their physical communities (Manago et al. 2008).

In this article, Greenfield's (2009) theory linking sociodemographic change to dynamic cultural values for family interdependence and individual independence is applied to sexual and gender-role socialization and development. The concept of values is a notably fruitful area of research connecting cultural and psychological phenomena (Hofstede 2001; Schwartz 1992). Values represent how societies coordinate groups of individuals (Weber 1958) and function psychologically as generalized priority orientations operating largely outside of explicit awareness (Rokeach 1973). Pertinent to the developmental focus of this article, values reflect ideal end goals for development resulting from value-laden socialization practices (Greenfield et al. 2003). According to Greenfield (2009), socialization practices that emphasize the primacy of the group—especially the family—or the primacy of the individual arise from particular sociodemographic conditions. The primacy of the group is reflected in the cultural value and developmental goal of interdependence; the primacy of the individual is reflected in the cultural value and developmental goal of independence. We will generate specific hypotheses about how these developmental goals are relevant to sexual and gender-role development.

Theoretical Review

Interdependence, Independence, and Sociodemographic Change

Independent and interdependent values emerge under particular sociodemographic circumstances (Kitayama and Uskul 2011; Markus and Conner 2013). Increasing affluence, urbanization, and formal schooling promote independent values in a variety of cultures (Freeman 1997; Georgas 1989; Reykowski 1994). Greenfield's (2009) theory utilizes the terms *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) utilized by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1957[1887]) to capture these sociodemographic factors within social ecological typologies. Gemeinschaft environments are characterized as rural, subsistence economies with informal education at home and little or no communication technology. Gesellschaft environments are characterized as urban, industrial-commodity economies with formal schooling outside the home and a prevalence of communication technologies. Many of these features have been imposed upon or brought to Gemeinschaft communities at different periods of time in the course of colonization and the globalizing economy. Gesellschaft societies are multilayered and typically have relatively more Gemeinschaft

communities—e.g., rural agrarian communities—nested within them. Moreover, threaded throughout Gesellschaft societies are residual Gemeinschaft values, beliefs, and practices leftover from former Gemeinschaft sociodemographic circumstances.

According to Greenfield (2009), these two typologies anchor sociodemographic continua corresponding to continua of development and behavior that reflect values prioritizing the group (interdependence) versus values prioritizing the individual (independence). Values too are continuous variables, rather than binary categories, with intermediate points in between the two anchors. These points, however, are not fixed. The theory posits that sociodemographic shifts in the Gesellschaft direction move cultural values and psychological socialization in the direction of increasing independence. Alternatively, sociodemographic shifts in the Gemeinschaft direction move cultural values and psychological socialization in the direction of increasing interdependence. The particular sociodemographic variable that is most operative in inducing psychological change at a particular point in time and a particular place is the variable that is currently changing most rapidly. Therefore, at different times and places, different sociodemographic variables become the principal driver of changing values and socialization patterns. The theory does not posit that a particular sociodemographic change always comes first; order varies depending on time, place, and local circumstances.

Of course, cultural values are a product of both historical continuity and change (Kağitçibaşi 2007). In the United States, agriculture quickly became industrialized (Goldschmidt 1978); thus it is likely farther toward Gesellschaft adaptation on the value continuum; countries like China and Japan, which moved more recently from long histories of peasant farming (Brook and Luong 1999), are expected to have values relatively more adapted to a Gemeinschaft environment. However, despite being at different points along this continuum, both cultures nonetheless move in the same direction as a result of sociodemographic changes going in the same direction. A dynamic interplay exists between transmission of values across generations and adaptation to new conditions, a topic revisited throughout this article.

Significance of an Interdisciplinary Theory of Change for Sexual and Gender Development

In connecting macro-level societal change to psychological changes in gender and sexuality, we strive to achieve interdisciplinary integration. In developmental psychology, coming to terms with one's sexual preferences, attitudes, and behaviors while constructing a sense of self as an adult female or male are considered essential tasks during adolescence and the transition to adulthood (Tolman et al. 2003). These tasks are often negotiated in the context of dynamic sociocultural changes which are not often explicitly recognized in psychology, yet dramatically impact the transition to adulthood (Brown et al. 2002). Moreover, because the majority of psychological research is based on samples from Western industrialized countries (Arnett 2008), the literature incorrectly assumes universal processes that are specific to people in industrialized (relatively more Gesellschaft) societies and fails to describe the psychology of people in the small-scale (relatively more Gemeinschaft) communities who comprise the

majority of the world's population (Henrich et al. 2010). Anthropology, in contrast, has traditionally focused on the majority world, with less emphasis on psychological aspects of gender and sexual development.

The present formulation provides a theory-driven link between these two bodies of empirical research. This link also provides insight into shifting patterns of human development in populations migrating from relatively more Gemeinschaft social ecologies to urbanized, technologically sophisticated, postindustrial environments. Finally, our framework can be used to illuminate patterns of sociocultural and psychological change within a country, while avoiding pitfalls associated with modernization theory. Namely, our approach rejects the notion of linear progress; it recognizes both gains and losses associated with changes in gender and sexuality, the potential for change to occur in the Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft direction, and acknowledges the role of historical values and meanings in how a community adapts to sociocultural change.

Gemeinschaft-Adapted Values for Sexual and Gender-Role Development

Ideals for Sexuality: Procreation and Family Responsibility

In a prototypical Gemeinschaft environment, goals for development center on the importance of family preservation (Greenfield 2009). Applying this ethic to sexual development, we propose that family preservation manifests as ideals that prioritize *procreation* and *family responsibility*. These principles emphasize that the purpose of sexuality is family formation and the maintenance of kinship networks. Marriage agreements occur between families, rather than between individuals, such that sexual relationships are expressed in terms of family ties, and progeny are appropriately situated within kin networks (Dion and Dion 1993; Hatfield and Rapson 1996). For example, in traditional China, intimacy was sought in the family, and more importance was placed on the compatibility between a couple's families than on the compatibility between bride and groom (Hsu 1985). In Japan, parents had ultimate say in a marriage partner, and premarital love was seen as immoral and egoistic (Blood 1967). In India, arranged marriage has long marked the importance of family control in romantic partnering (Seymour 1999). In these societies, families have been responsible for enforcing appropriate sexual restraint to preserve group harmony and the integrity of the family as the representative entity in social relations. Sexual restraint is valued in that it demonstrates conformity and control of personal emotions for the sake of the group's needs—the mark of maturity and competency on the interdependent pathway of development (Markus and Kitayama 1991; Shweder and Bourne 1984).

Ideals for Gender Roles: Complementarity and Ascription

With regard to gender-role development, we propose that family preservation manifests as ideals that emphasize *complementary* and *ascribed* gender roles (Manago 2012). These principles capture the purpose of gender-role expectations on the interdependent pathway: facilitation of efficient family functioning as a holistic unit by dividing tasks between female

and male. Indeed, explicit and mutually exclusive sexual divisions of labor are so widespread in the anthropology literature (which tends to focus on preindustrial, small-scale societies) that they are regarded as an essential feature of human social organization (Bradley and Moore 1996; Murdock and Provost 1973). Generally, girls grow up to raise children and fulfill productive tasks within close proximity to the domestic sphere; boys grow up to fulfill productive tasks for the family that often require more time and distance away from the domestic sphere. These roles are adaptive for a rural, agrarian way of life, given the constraints associated with the reproductive activities of women (Burton and White 1984; Murdock and Provost 1973). On the interdependent pathway, the emphasis in gender development is to realize the ascribed roles clearly delineated by tradition and specified at birth (Greenfield et al. 1989).

Gesellschaft-Adapted Values for Sexual and Gender-Role Development

As societies shift in the Gesellschaft direction, cultural pathways to adulthood become more focused on the development of an independent individual (Greenfield 2009). The emphasis is on individual well-being, fulfillment, and achievement. In relation to both sexuality and gender roles, the operative developmental process is personal *exploration*. Indeed, arguably the most influential framework in Western psychological identity research is Marcia's (1966) Identity Status Model, which conceptualizes identity development as a process of exploration.

Ideals for Sexuality: Personal Pleasure and Personal Responsibility

Applying this ethic to sexuality, we propose that individual preservation manifests as two guiding value principles, *personal pleasure* and *personal responsibility*. These principles locate sexuality at the site of the individual as the beneficiary of physical and emotional sexual satisfaction and as the manager of sexual risks. Personal pleasure means prioritizing individual desire in the romantic dyad over family formation and obligation. Personal responsibility emphasizes that the individual, rather than the family, makes choices about sexual behaviors and partnering. Individual—not family—reputations are at stake. On this cultural pathway, sexuality is understood as a form of personal expression and personal empowerment. Passion between two individuals is idealized. In the United States, the notion of marriage without a romantic form of love is devalued (LeVine et al. 1995), and love is considered a self-actualizing experience (Hatfield and Rapson 1996).

Ideals for Gender Roles: Equality and Choice

We propose that in a Gesellschaft environment, goals for gender-role development are based on *equality* and *choice*. These principles derive from the emphasis on individual well-being and individual traits, rather than family well-being and family roles. This emphasis promotes a focus on the equal status of individuals and encourages individuals to pursue their personal talents and proclivities. Whereas inherited hierarchies based on ascribed roles in the family, notably age and gender, are more common in Gemeinschaft cultures, hierarchies based on the merit of individuals (or the illusion of merit),

are more common in Gesellschaft postindustrial cultures (Greenfield 2009; Markus and Conner 2013). Gender roles in Gesellschaft cultures are also idealized as equal, rather than complementary, so that women and men can each be self-reliant and capable of providing for themselves, rather than dependent on a counterpart. Indeed, cross-cultural research shows that gender-role differences are less emphasized in countries with higher levels of economic development, one of the characteristics of a Gesellschaft environment (Williams and Best 1990). The *ideal* is for both genders to have the same occupational and educational opportunities.

Although the ideal of gender equality has not been achieved in contemporary Gesellschaft societies, we argue that sociodemographic factors in a Gesellschaft environment lend themselves to an ideology of *gender egalitarianism* (Manago 2012; Manago and Greenfield 2011). Assumptions of individual rights, equal treatment, and equal opportunities underlie an individualistic (Gesellschaft) cultural point of view (Hofstede 2001; Markus and Kitayama 1991). Indeed, both women and men in economically developed, individualistic (Gesellschaft) societies more frequently endorse the ideal of gender equality than those in less economically developed, collectivistic (Gemeinschaft) societies (Gibbons et al. 1997; Williams and Best 1990). We contend that, although gender egalitarianism is an ideal adapted to a prototypical Gesellschaft culture, its actualization is stymied by a host of complex factors, such as cultural continuity in Gemeinschaft values for gender hierarchy, power structures that exploit residual Gemeinschaft values for political gain or to sell products, and intergenerational transmission of interpretive frameworks for gender that perpetuate beliefs that women are inferior to men (Bem 1993).

The Evidence

The remainder of this article is organized with findings from a spectrum of social ecologies, from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, with a focus on social change occurring in both kinds of environments in the same direction. In other words, not only are many Gemeinschaft environments moving in the Gesellschaft direction, but Gesellschaft environments are still evolving away from the Gemeinschaft baseline of just a few centuries ago (Greenfield 2013). We begin with a portrait of a prototypical Gemeinschaft cultural environment, an indigenous Maya village in southern Mexico in the 1960s. We highlight the ways that the sociodemographic environment structured interdependent socialization practices, values, and goals to illustrate how the cultural value principles for sex and gender roles that we outlined are adaptive to particular environmental circumstances. This illustration, based on anthropologists' rich ethnographic work (Fishburne 1962; Vogt 1969), will demonstrate the interrelatedness of the key principles.

Documenting change along the sociodemographic spectrum, we summarize research conducted by the first author in this Maya community in 2008–10, after it had shifted toward increasingly Gesellschaft conditions in the 1980s and 1990s (Manago 2014). Data will demonstrate how sociodemographic changes from agriculture to commerce, rural to urban,

and education at home to education at school shifted values toward more independence in sexual and gender-role development. We then summarize important studies from other parts of the world moving toward Gesellschaft conditions to demonstrate both the universality of the key principles as well as cultural specificities. This body of research also demonstrates the dynamic interplay between cultural continuity across generations and psychological adaptation to new sociodemographic conditions.

We then proceed further along the Gesellschaft continuum to the United States in order to illustrate how cultural values shift toward increasing emphasis on individual independence when conditions expand further in the Gesellschaft direction. Although the United States has been predominantly urban since 1920, a major marker of a Gesellschaft environment, it has become steadily more so since that time (Greenfield 2013). Figures from the U.S. Department of Education (2012) also show a steady increase in college enrollment from 1970 to 2011. Rapid technological development also characterizes societal changes in the United States. We show that, in conjunction with these changes, the overarching value of independence, as well as the principles of choice and equality in gender roles, and the principles of personal pleasure and personal responsibility in sexuality have intensified and become more widespread. We end with a portrait of change in the United States, taking into account the social class and ethnic diversity of a Gesellschaft environment.

Portrait of a Prototypical Gemeinschaft Community: Zinacantán in the 1960s

In the Tzotzil-speaking community of Zinacantán in the 1960s, families lived a subsistence agriculture lifestyle in rural hamlets surrounding a ceremonial center (Vogt 1969). Although influenced by Spanish colonization, Maya communities persisted as distinctive cultures largely isolated from mainstream Mexico (Cancian 1994). Formal schooling was uncommon, and parents did not see schooling as relevant to their agricultural way of life. School attendance was perceived as detracting from proper socialization of ascribed gender roles—girls learning how to make tortillas and weave, boys learning how to cultivate corn.

Social life revolved around the domestic group, patrilineal and patrilocal extended families living in a house compound and sharing a single source of corn (Vogt 1969). Zinacantecs have an elaborate ritual kinship system that ties them to a network of social relationships with rights and obligations, structured in terms of a gender and age hierarchy. Younger Zinacantecs bowed to older Zinacantecs, who released the bow by touching the forehead of the younger person; older walked in front of younger; and it was customary for men to walk in front of women.

After about nine years old, adolescents' daily lives were structured for consistent adherence to sex segregation (Fishburne 1962). By the age of 10 or 11, girls were contributing substantially to women's work in the house, weaving clothing for the family, caring for children, fetching wood and water, herding sheep, and making tortillas from the corn that men grew. At 12 to 14 years old, boys were working with the older men in their families in the cornfields in the low-lands, accompanying their fathers to markets, and strolling in groups with their cousins and

brothers. After young men reached adulthood through marriage, they could begin to participate in the lower ranks of an age-graded cargo system, a series of positions of escalating prestige tied to religious festivals whereby men contribute back to the community (Vogt 1969).

Marriage involved elaborate year-long rituals and gift giving, which symbolized both the union of two families and the achievement of adulthood (Fishburne 1962). When boys reached 17 or 18 years of age, they began to look for a wife with the sponsorship and advice of their fathers and a group of respected elders. Young women generally had little say in marriage-proposal decisions. A young man caught speaking to a young woman outside of this formalized structure risked jail time, and girls after the age of 10 could not be outside in public without the accompaniment of a family member. The foundation of the marriage relationship in Zinacantán was interdependent gender roles: men need women to cook their tortillas, and women need men to raise their corn. Tortilla making and weaving were the cornerstones of femininity, raising corn and representing the family in the cargo system were the cornerstones of masculinity, and both were constructed in relation to service to the family.

In summary, boys and girls in Zinacantán in the 1960s developed along pathways paved with clearly ascribed expectations for male and female work and family roles. One's sense of being an adult male or female was inextricably intertwined with one's role as a member of a family unit. Both gender roles were honored in that each was specialized and required for family functioning. Adolescents understood their burgeoning sexuality in terms of what it meant for forming their own families as adult women and men. The idea of personal restraint of one's sexuality was irrelevant because structures were set in place, including adolescent gender segregation and constant family togetherness, such that adolescent boys and girls did not have opportunities to express their sexuality in ways that would run counter to the goals of the family. They relied on their families to help channel their reproductive capacity toward a continuation of the family line and to help them navigate the process of finding a suitable domestic partner.

Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft Shift: Zinacantán in 2010

In the late 1970s, and even more so in the 1980s, the environment of Zinacantán began to shift in a Gesellschaft direction. Men moved away from subsistence agriculture to participate in wage labor in nearby mines while new road construction connecting isolated indigenous communities to the Pan American highway facilitated sales of agricultural products and women's weavings (Cancian 1994; Greenfield 2004). Families moved away from extended family compounds in mountain hamlets into Zinacantán center, transforming it into a commercial hub (Vogt 1990). The population grew from 8,000 to 20,000; electricity arrived, along with television and telephones; and elementary school became more common. The cargo system persisted but declined in importance (Cancian 1994). As young men had access to wage labor and money, traditional bride service that had indebted them to work for their new brides' families began to decline (Flood 1994).

The 2000s ushered in another major sociodemographic shift in Zinacantán, the arrival of secondary schooling (Manago 2014). The Mexican government built a new high school in

Zinacantán center as part of national program to address disparities in educational attainment among indigenous populations, especially in the more rural south. In 2009, high school attendance was still not universal, and many parents did not want to send their children to high school because they perceived it as a waste of time, especially for girls, and a threat to customs for gender segregation during adolescence. However, some families sent their children to secondary school, perhaps because they perceived education as a route to economic advancement as agricultural ways of life were disappearing, or because they received money from a government program called *Oportunidades* for each child in school. In contrast to the gender-segregated work roles and family-mediated marriage described by anthropologists in Zinacantán in the 1960s, boys and girls in the high school in 2009 were engaging in equivalent kinds of training for work roles in a capitalistic economy, choosing their own romantic partners, and also socializing in a new kind of adolescent peer group separated from the family sphere.

An intergenerational study of values in Zinacantán found increasing prioritization of individual independence in connection with high school and economic change (Manago 2014). A sample of grandmothers (who grew up during the age of agriculture), mothers (who grew up during a period of engagement in a cash economy), and high schooled and non–high schooled adolescents responded to a series of ethnographically derived social dilemmas that contrasted Gemeinschaft-adapted values of family interdependence with Gesellschaft-adapted values of individual independence. Out of the four groups, grandmothers responded to the dilemmas with the most absolute endorsement of perspectives that represented family interdependence, ascribed and complementary gender roles, and family responsibility in matters of partnering. Mothers and female adolescents with no secondary education were more likely than grandmothers to prioritize individual independence, chosen and equivalent gender roles, and personal responsibility in matters of partnering, over absolute endorsement of family interdependence.

Illustrating a continuum of change, female adolescents in high school were even more likely than mothers and non–high schooled adolescents to endorse these independent perspectives. For example, high school girls approved of women engaging in paid work outside the home and advocated for cross-sex interactions more often than mothers, non–high schooled adolescents, and grandmothers. High school girls maintained values for family obligation and harmony but adapted them to the circumstances of high school and economic development. That is, they tended to endorse Gemeinschaft values for helping the family, but they also advocated for women to do so by becoming educated and earning money in a market economy. They valued women's economic contributions to family welfare through equivalent gender roles, which required additional freedom to independently negotiate relationships with men in school, work, and personal relationships.

One grandmother in the study summarized the changes well (Manago 2014):

> Our parents didn't let us talk to boys... If you go on your own... there would be no
> way to intervene if your husband ends up making a mistake. This is what the parents say,

> "If I give you to him with my permission, then we can come to an agreement to bring the boy's bad behavior to his parents' attention to tell him not to mistreat you" . . . together we can get the boy's attention if he is not behaving well, because he will become our son . . . We as women didn't grow up free, we were always going with our mothers, it is not like this now, women as much as men go free . . . . (Zinacantec grandmother 2009)

In summary, Zinacantec Maya are undergoing change from subsistence agriculture to life in a capitalistic economy, and both girls and boys are attending high school to prepare for new kinds of adult gender roles. These sociodemographic changes create new cultural practices on the pathway to adulthood, socializing increasing independence. This value shift manifests psychological changes in sexual and gender-role development in the direction of our proposed principles.

Still, psychological change does not happen abruptly. Familistic values passed down across many generations continue to persist and are combined with new values, often resulting in intermediate points in the spectrums of procreation-pleasure, family responsibility–personal responsibility, complementary–equivalent gender roles, and ascribed gender roles–chosen gender roles. A first-generation indigenous Maya college student living in the colonial city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, exemplifies an intermediate point on the continuum between ascribed–chosen gender roles and family–personal responsibility (Manago 2012):

> I wanted to leave [the village] in order to move forward, I wanted to continue studying. I did it more because I was thinking of my parents, not so much for me. ("Juana" 2007)

Juana's endorsement of family obligation ("I was thinking of my parents") is now nested within values for personal choice and achievement in adult gender-role fulfillment ("I wanted to leave in order to move forward"). By linking her desire for individual achievement back to the family, Juana resolves some of the tension between family obligation and personal ambition. Intermediate points of value change are also evident in other parts of the world where there is movement from Gemeinschaft to more Gesellschaft ways of living; evidence on this point is presented in the next section.

Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft Change around the World

Gender-Role Development

According to analyses using the World Values Survey, administered in four waves from 1981 to 2001 in 70 different countries on all six inhabited continents, gender equality rises alongside societal transformations from subsistence agriculture to industrialization and postindustrialization (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Gender equality items on the survey asked the extent to which respondents agree with gender-equivalent economic and political roles, women's search for fulfillment outside of motherhood, and child bearing outside of a stable family relationship between the mother and father. These items indexed endorsement of chosen and equivalent gender roles reflecting values for individual independence. Gender

equality and independence increased from 1981 to 2001 in conjunction with economic development and higher levels of schooling occurring in the societies tested and among those with access to the surveys.

A rare longitudinal ethnographic study in India supports quantitative results from the World Values Survey by providing in-depth accounts of the ways in which cultural practices surrounding gender roles and family relations transform among those with access to wealth and formal schooling in urban locales. Studying social change in the rapidly urbanizing town of Bhubaneswar, India from the 1960s to the 1980s, Susan Seymour (1999) describes how in the 1960s, work and family spheres were gender segregated and assigned at birth; men worked in the public sphere and women in the private sphere, where they were responsible for childcare and food preparation, socializing outside the family only with female neighbors through conjoined private courtyards. A girl's gender-role development proceeded through apprenticeship in household tasks. At puberty, her family would arrange her marriage, and she would then move to the home of her husband's extended family where she would fulfill household duties in the context of hierarchical female relationships based on age. Harmonious relationships with women in the family took precedence over her relationship with her husband, which centered on procreation rather than emotional intimacy.

Seymour (1999) documents how many middle- and upper-class/caste families living in the urban center of Bhubaneswar (the New Capital) experienced a breakdown in complementarity and ascription in gender-role development with Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft changes from the 1960s to 1980s. One of the most dramatic changes that happened during this time was a rise in girls' school attendance, which gave girls in the New Capital access to institutions in the public domain, including socializing outside the home and training for paid employment increasingly available in the urban center. Although this pathway for development toward adulthood was available in the more rural center of Bhubaneswar (the Old Temple Town), families responded much more conservatively there. That is, there was greater tension between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft values associated with girls' school attendance in high-status rural families. However, girls in low-status rural families rarely attended school and did not, therefore, experience these new opportunities and tensions.

Seymour's work also describes both cultural continuity and change. On the one hand, the importance of marriage and motherhood for upper-class women in the New Capital was still emphasized, customs for arranged marriage and dowry persisted, girls were accompanied to school by brothers, and classroom seating was gender segregated. On the other hand, girls and boys were engaging in the same kind of activities at school, working toward achieved and equivalent, rather than ascribed and complementary, adult work and family roles. With increasing costs of living among a new, urban middle class, families were beginning to see the value of a daughter-in-law/wife who could earn money outside the home. Seymour suggests that female schooling disrupted the traditional age and gender hierarchies that encouraged obedience and formed a cornerstone of family interdependence and stability. Women with more schooling were less exposed to the matriarchal hierarchy in household tasks and were more intellectually equal with their husbands.

Seymour's descriptions of the impact of schooling in Bhubaneswar echo findings from a large body of work pointing to schooling as a critical factor channeling gender-role socialization away from ascription and complementarity, toward equivalency and choice. With the development of capitalism, schooling becomes the primary method for family advancement, and as Greenfield's theory would predict, higher levels of parental schooling and income are associated with sending both girls and boys to school (Connelly and Zheng 2003; Glick and Sahn 1998). Schooling, in turn, provides women with alternative options for achieving adult social status and resources outside of their childbearing and family roles (Bradley 1995; Moghadam 2003). Schooling not only loosens ties between men and women for economic survival, but it also provides new avenues for developing a sense of self beyond capacities for sexual reproduction, which may lend itself to the pursuit of personal fulfillment and achievement.

Sexual Development

Advanced schooling also influences sexual development. The postponement of marriage and family formation with higher levels of formal schooling has been associated with increased exploration during the transition to adulthood among urban and wealthy families in parts of the developing world such as in Latin America (Facio et al. 2007; Galambos and Martinez 2007). Seymour (1999) points out that, because women who attended school in the New Capital in Bhubaneswar were more likely to be on the same intellectual level as men, they were more likely to be involved in companionate marriages based on personal compatibility— thus a shift away from sexuality based primarily on procreation. Mernissi (1987) in the Middle East and Rosenberger (2001) in Japan have observed that college-educated women postpone marriage, thereby creating a new category of unmarried womanhood, which translates to diminished family control over women's sexuality and further erosion of traditional interdependent familistic values.

Two Gesellschaft factors, urban conditions and university settings, are particularly suited for sexual exploration and independent negotiations of sexual relationships outside the authority of the family. Research in Nepal, for example, suggests that college students in urban settings have more opportunities to date and have more premarital sex than their counterparts in rural areas because barriers associated with family and community surveillance are removed, plus the social milieu provides settings such as cafes for dating (Regmi et al. 2011). Similar trends are found among indigenous Maya college students in Chiapas, Mexico (Manago 2012). More opportunities to explore and date correspond to increasing emphasis on pleasure, emotional connections outside of family formation, and the assumption of personal responsibility in matters of sexuality.

In addition to schooling and urbanization, economic development may also heighten the value of personal pleasure and personal responsibility in sexual development. This was the crux of Jane Collier's (1997) argument in her study of changing marriage customs in Spain. Collier compared partnering practices in a Spanish village in the 1960s when it was a rural farming community to the 1980s when the village became integrated into an

industrial-commodity economy. In the 1960s, families negotiated courtship and limited young women and men from socializing alone and developing feelings for one another. Criteria for the status and suitability of potential partners were associated with family reputation and inherited wealth. In the 1980s, independent informal dating practices replaced the formalized courtship. The status of potential partners had become based on the professional achievement of individuals and the romantic love and desire that existed between two partners. Collier explains that when new avenues arose for young people to *create*, rather than *inherit*, an economic lifestyle, they developed their personal interests and motivations. Thus, whereas in the 1960s sexual behaviors demonstrated suppression of internal desires for the good of the family, in the 1980s, normative sexual behaviors involved dating to show one's internal and personal romantic desires.

There may be a variety of mechanisms by which capitalism makes notions of personal desire more salient and the expression of it more culturally normative. Holly Wardlow (2006) describes how in the rural subsistence-farming Huli community in New Guinea, young men incur debts from their kinship network to transfer pigs to the family of a young woman in order to take her for a wife and lay claim to her progeny. He will repay those debts with pigs he will receive from his eventual daughters' bride-price payments. In demonstrating his capacity to repay debts, he ensures that his kin network will further assist in his sons' bride-price payments. The accumulation of bride-price debts bound families together in an interdependent kinship system and framed young people's experiences of their sexuality in terms of a reproductive family resource. Wardlow (2006) documents how economic development in the nearby town of Tari and increasing male migration for wage labor are eroding these Huli bride-price customs. Salaries disrupt the interdependence of kin in systems of bride-price debt, which is giving way to increased self-focused sexuality—that is, sex outside of kinship agreements for purposes of pleasure rather than reproduction.

Finally, immigration, transnationalism, and globalization are also important mechanisms by which sexual development shifts. Here we highlight Jennifer Hirsch's (2003) work in *A Courtship after Marriage*, which documents generational changes in the purpose of marriage and conceptions of male-female relations in rural Mexico and among transnational families living in the United States. Hirsch suggests that increasing companionate marriage among young Mexican couples, which includes personal choice and romantic intimacy, is tied to globalization and economic development in Mexico and to the influence of family members immigrating to Atlanta, Georgia. In contrast to marriage among older generations that was based on respect for parental control of sexuality and the ability to sacrifice and endure for the family, younger generations prioritize the compatibility, affection, and trust that can exist between two individuals. Hirsch suggests that sociodemographic change in Mexico, including schooling, media, and growth in the industrial sector have transformed the ways in which men and women fulfill adult gender roles, and in the process, ideals surrounding marriage, family, and romantic love. Hirsch also shows that urban Atlanta affords Mexican immigrant women increased independent mobility and personal privacy because of the absence of small-town community surveillance, a situation that lends itself to decreased adherence to traditional gender roles and sexuality. Hirsch shows sociodemographic change

in Mexico and adaptation to urban Atlanta influence women and men on both sides of the border to move in the same direction (toward Gesellschaft-adapted values) in their views of marriage and sexuality.

Shifting Cultural Pathways for Gender and Sexuality in a Gesellschaft Society: Moving Further Away from the Gemeinschaft Baseline

In this section, we present evidence of psychological change in the United States, which has a longer history of Gesellschaft conditions, but is nevertheless undergoing shifts toward more widespread urbanization, advanced formal education, and communication technologies (e.g., Greenfield 2013). Because Gesellschafts are traditionally the subject matter of sociologists and psychologists, while Gemeinschafts are traditionally the subject matter of anthropologists, this section utilizes relatively more large-scale survey material compared to previous sections. However, we end with two case studies, one a study of longitudinal change, the other illustrating the tensions that occur between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft-adapted gender roles in a diverse Gesellschaft society.

Gender-Role Development

Personal choice and gender-role equivalency are implicit goals for development in the process of adult gender-role acquisition in psychology, the field itself emerging out of a Gesellschaft environment. Psychological research on the transition into gender-typed occupational roles in Western contexts (e.g., Eccles 1987; Leaper and Van 2008) largely focuses on why young people make *personal choices* to pursue gender stereotypical versus nonstereotypical work roles, as opposed to focusing on why families make these decisions. Studies are often based on theoretical models where individual self-efficacy and personal interest are key predictors of occupational outcomes (see Bussey and Bandura 1999; Eccles and Wigfield 2002). Moreover, this research takes for granted the value of equivalent gender roles, for example in studies on the underrepresentation of women in science (e.g., Halpern et al. 2007).

Historical traces of previous Gemeinschaft conditions are also visible. Cultural gender-role beliefs, ideals, and norms that limit options adolescents perceive as available to them in their decision-making process persist in the United States and vary among social classes and ethnicities (Bussey and Bandura 1999; Eccles and Wigfield 2002). However, at the macro level of U.S. society, gender differences in both domestic and paid work have diminished over the course of the last half of the 20th century. For example, from 1950 to 2000, the participation rate of women in the labor force grew from 34% to 60% (Toossi 2002). Census data show a decrease in occupational segregation from the 1980s through the first decade of 2000 (Dewan and Gebeloff 2012; Wootton 1997). At the same time, national samples show men are also incorporating domestic duties into their roles (Sayer 2005; Shelton and Daphne 1996).

Macro-level shifts in gender role options are reflected in young people's attitudes and self-attributes, particularly middle- and upper-class individuals, who are more likely to pursue

higher levels of formal schooling. For example, male and female college students in 1995 were substantially less likely to endorse traditional gender-role attitudes than their counterparts in 1970 (Twenge 1997). Twenge (1997) also shows that gender egalitarian attitudes increased during this time period, more so among young women than men, who may have more to gain in the shift. With fewer constraints on gender-role options, identity exploration emerges as a process of development that is prioritized over obligation to the family (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011). Importantly, the extent to which young people can explore various options in their transition to adult work and family roles is limited by lack of resources, social capital, and wealth (Gesellschaft factors) among working-class youth (Arnett 2010).

Sexual Development

Analogous to research on gender-role development, psychological research on sexual development in the United States takes for granted that adolescents and emerging adults are personally responsible for their sexual behaviors. Educators inside and outside the home typically perceive themselves as providing information to help youth build skills for negotiating sexual encounters independently. The idea is that adolescents must learn to make their own decisions based on a complex variety of information from a myriad of sources, including peers and media. However, there remain persistent tensions surrounding adolescents and sex, especially given abstinence-only programs in the United States (Fine and McClelland 2006), which draw from Gemeinschaft values in asserting that families should control adolescent sexuality. Yet there is evidence that an emphasis on personal responsibility in sexuality is expanding. In a recent review, Tolman and McClelland write that over the course of the past decade, research on sexual development has begun to "place sexual decision making in the hands of young people rather than identifying and evaluating negative influences on them" (2011:246). Moreover, they note a shift away from understanding adolescent sexual development solely from a perspective of risk, with increasing recognition of "positive" aspects of adolescent sexuality, that is, sexual desire as a normative component of adolescent sexual development (see also Diamond 2006).

An emphasis on desire and personal fulfillment as cornerstones of healthy sexual development is associated with sex-positive feminism, a movement championing sexual freedom that arose in the 1980s alongside increasing wealth, urbanization, and communication technologies. Recent feminist scholarship in psychology has focused on the suppression of female sexual desire during adolescence and how it may negatively impact women's well-being (Fine and McClelland 2006; Lamb 2010). In this view, male–female relations involve complex and uneven power dynamics where men and women are individual actors negotiating for their personal needs (e.g., Tolman et al. 2003). Thus, ideal goals for development implicit in research in the 1990s and 2000s stress sexual self-efficacy and assertiveness in adolescents' communications with sexual partners (Curtin et al. 2011; Impett et al. 2010). Assertiveness is necessary for healthy sexual development and well-being when youth negotiate sexual encounters outside family protection and restrictions.

Another illustration of how personal fulfillment and choice have become more prominent as goals for sexual development is the increasing attention paid to sexual minority youth since

the 1970s (Savin-Williams 2006). Americans have become more accepting of bisexual, gay, and lesbian sexualities from the 1970s to the 1990s, particularly those with higher levels of education and who did not grow up on a farm (Loftus 2001). Research shows that questioning sexual identities and exploring alternative attractions are critical developmental processes for sexual minority youth (Dubé and Savin-Williams 1999; Eliason 1996). This field of research has also revealed that women's sexual orientation is more fluid than previously thought; there are discontinuities and fluctuations across the lifespan in women's sexual attractions to men and other women (Diamond 1998, 2003). Thus, as the expansion of Gesellschaft environmental features continues in the United States, sexual diversity, and its concomitant ideals of personal choice and fulfillment, are on the rise, increasingly visible and emphasized. Indeed, personal exploration of one's preferences and desires is now considered necessary for healthy sexual-identity development, regardless of one's sexual orientation (Archer and Grey 2009).

We argue that, as the United States moves farther along the Gesellschaft spectrum in the last half of the 20th century and into the 21st century, personal responsibility and pleasure as developmental goals have increased, especially among those exposed to Gesellschaft conditions, that is, middle- and upper-class families in more urban environments with access to education and economic resources. A cross-temporal meta-analysis of college students' sexual behaviors and attitudes from 1943 to 1999 found that, over time, men and women became more sexually active, began having sex at earlier ages (during adolescence), and were more likely to endorse premarital sex (Wells and Twenge 2005). Sexual guilt also decreased over this time period, and the most dramatic changes occurred among women. From our theoretical perspective, technology in the form of the birth control pill, plus the proliferation of communication media, increasing wealth, self-sufficiency, and extended levels of formal schooling would be considered causal Gesellschaft factors in these trends.

Again, universities provide a structural environment for sexual exploration during the transition to adulthood. In her ethnography of intimate relationships on college campuses, Bogle (2008) describes a shift away from a "dating script" to a "hooking-up script," basically a shift from relational sex to recreational sex, over the course of the last century. Dyadic dating has become less normative, and a social scene has emerged that centers on partying with friends, where sexual encounters outside of committed relationships can take place. Bogle argues that the university environment facilitates sexual exploration among large networks of peers, and indeed, a recent review of the literature demonstrates that uncommitted casual sex encounters are increasingly normative among young people across college campuses in North America (Garcia et al. 2012).

The Internet presents another key environment in which sexual exploration can flourish. Even outside of pornographic websites, the Internet is a source of eroticized content accessible to younger adolescents (Ybarra and Mitchell 2005). Importantly, peers and the media intertwine as a source of sexual content online. Virtual tools such as chat (Subrahmanyam et al. 2006), blogs (Mazur and Kozarian 2010), and social networking sites (Manago et al. 2008) have become places for adolescents to explore and socially construct their sexuality

with peers, outside the supervision of parents, on the same screens with which they are consuming often highly sexualized popular media. Young women garner attention among their peers on social networking sites by presenting themselves in highly sexualized ways and incorporating sexually suggestive pop culture icons into their self-presentations (Manago et al. 2008; Ringrose 2010; Salimkhan et al., 2010). Recent studies suggest that young men are also portraying themselves in sexualized ways on these sites (Manago 2013; Siibak 2010), suggesting that communication technology is a motor pushing for gender-role equality in sexual scripts. Further support for this idea comes from a study showing teen chat contains one sexual comment per minute, with both girls and boys pursuing sexual conversations (Subrahmanyam et al. 2006). Other studies show how the Internet provides a space where a multitude of diverse sexualities are being expressed that challenge limited heteronormative codes for female and male sexual expressions (Attwood 2011; Van Doorn 2010). Finally, online dating, in which choice is greatly magnified, has become quite normative (Madden and Lenhart 2006); if individuals perceive that they can find a partner that matches their desired criteria conveniently and efficiently via the Internet, they may be less likely to work through relationship difficulties, and, in this way, technology could promote more transient forms of self-gratifying sexual relationships throughout the lifespan.

Portraits of Changing Gender Roles in the United States

Theories of cultural change have long been critiqued in anthropology as overly simplistic depictions of dichotomous and inevitable linear progress, from primitive to modern (Kuper 2005). Yet, we have presented a multitude of evidence from around the world illustrating how individuals exposed to Gesellschaft sociodemographic factors adopt more independent behaviors and values in developmental pathways for gender and sexuality. Our point is not that change is inevitable or smooth, but rather, that Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft adapted values are in tension with one another, with sociodemographic change providing an overall directional thrust. To illustrate how individuals negotiate the tensions involved with adapting to increasingly Gesellschaft conditions, we present the following two portraits of shifting gender roles, focusing on intrasocietal variation in social class and ethnicity within a postindustrial Gesellschaft environment.

The High School Class of 1958: From Graduation to the 1990s

Anthropologist Sherry Ortner (2003) traces the trajectory of the diverse (but mostly Jewish) Class of 1958 at Weequahic High School in Newark, New Jersey over a period of more than 30 years. The class as a whole showed tremendous upward social mobility, moving from a population in the 1950s that was largely working and middle class to one in which close to 60% were part of America's wealthy "white overclass." Indeed, more than half her sample of 200 rose above their social class origins, and very few of them could be considered working class. On theoretical grounds then, we would expect case studies of changing gender roles from complementary to egalitarian as the class moved into increasingly Gesellschaft niches in society.

In fact, Ortner describes the class's baseline gender roles during high school in terms of complementarity. Boys were geared toward college, work, and careers, whereas "the 'girl track' was almost entirely about marriage and motherhood" (Ortner 2003:157). For example, Mary Lou Papa, an Italian American girl, told Ortner "After high school, I announced to my father that I wanted to go to college, and he didn't agree with that at all. He said, what do you mean college, you get married and have a family" (Ortner 2003:158). Ortner documents many other cases of discontent and frustration among women tracked in this way, a tension emerging with increasing Gesellschaft conditions alongside continuity in cultural values from previous generations.

However, separate gender tracks began to dissolve in the 1960s and 70s, starting with the publication in 1963 of Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*. The growing independence of the women in the Class of 1958 is seen in divorces, many of which were about liberation and autonomy. Davita Reingold said of her postdivorce therapy, "What I got there was the permission, and the empowerment to be what I had to be" (Ortner 2003:249). Another female divorcee said: "We had on the surface a good marriage, because I kept my mouth shut...I started going to a therapist...And I started owning responsibility for needing to be needed more than I needed to be autonomous. And that was the real change" (Ortner 2003:248).

Ortner notes that, "many of the divorce stories...were preludes to successful nontraditional careers" (2003:253–254). Compared with their mothers' generation where 52% of the mothers were homemakers, only 12% of women in the Class of 1958 were homemakers when Ortner interviewed them more than 30 years after graduation. The rest were working outside the home. "The level of women working full time, regardless of occupation, implicitly undermines the girl track in the same way that the rise in the divorce rate does" (Ortner 2003:252). Indeed, a connection between the two forms of liberation surfaced. Homemakers (by definition) had virtually no divorce; women in traditional female careers had a rate of 36%, while women in nontraditional female careers (e.g., law, business owners) had a divorce rate of 50%.

In sum, as social class rose over the years in the United States, women became more autonomous in their careers and their relationship to marriage. Even within the sample, there was the predicted relationship to social class: those women who moved the furthest away from traditional female gender roles by taking on traditional male occupations were generally from a family of higher social class. The Weequahic High School Class of 1958 illustrates that, in multilayered Gesellschaft societies, individuals with more access to wealth move the farthest in the Gesellschaft direction of gender-role values.

Caught between two sets of gender values: Middle-class Latina women

In *Barrios to Burbs: The Making of the Mexican American Middle Class*, sociologist Jody Agius Vallejo documents how middle-class Latina businesswomen, mostly immigrants or

daughters of immigrants, resist family-oriented cultural values that hinder them from advancing in their professions because they are interpreted negatively by the Gesellschaft cultural mainstream. Vallejo notes that "Non-Latinos rely on gendered cultural stereotypes to define what it means to be a middle-class Latina, assuming that Latinas live within a patriarchal ethnic community where early childbearing, motherhood, and a cultural desire for large families are valued over education or professional success" (Vallejo 2012:162–163). Familistic stereotypes of Latinos are perceived by the Gesellschaft mainstream and the Latina business women themselves as incompatible with values for personal choice and gender equality in a Gesellschaft sociodemographic environment.

Vallejo provides an ethnographic look at this tension between family-oriented gender roles and individual achievement in a Latina professional association, the Association of Latinas in Business in Santa Ana, California. She documents how the members of this organization find that they must shatter these stereotypes in order to be taken seriously in the business community. She observed that board members of the organization who have college educations or are employed in corporate settings (who stand more firmly in the Gesellschaft world) actively distance themselves from board members with lesser educations or those who were teenage mothers. When Adriana, a member of the group, is interviewed for a story on successful Latina entrepreneurs, she relates how her family was more concerned about marrying her off than her career; "the writer, a white woman, maintained that these outdated gender roles and expectations hinder Latina mobility" (Vallejo 2012:166). Several board members were incensed with Adriana because she had legitimized the stereotype that Latino parents privilege domesticity over professional success for their daughters. Note how a taken-for-granted cultural value is given a negative interpretation through a different cultural lens. This portrait shows how, in one particular ethnic community, Gemeinschaft-adapted values of motherhood and family as goals for gender-role development are consciously abandoned in order to move into a more Gesellschaft niche in society. One also sees the societal pressures to adopt Gesellschaft-adapted gender values. Further, the ethnography reveals tensions that are created between members of the same ethnic group with differing access to Gesellschaft conditions as they negotiate value change among themselves.

Conclusions

Using Greenfield's theory of social change and human development as a framework, we have shown how Gesellschaft factors of urbanization, the development of industrial-commodity economies, schooling, and communication technologies all shift development toward sexual exploration, personal pleasure, personal responsibility, and equivalent and chosen gender roles. A unique contribution of this article is that it shows gender and sexual development in the United States (and by implication other postindustrial societies) are still undergoing change toward increasing Gesellschaft-adapted values and behaviors. The expansion of Gesellschaft factors in postindustrial societies shifts gender and sexual development in the same direction as the introduction of Gesellschaft factors in the majority world.

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