

## THEORISING GENDER\*

R. W. CONNELL

*Abstract* A social theory of gender is implied and required by current sexual politics. Its scope cannot be defined *a priori*, but can be defined practically by the reach of a network of arguments generated by feminism, gay liberation, psychoanalysis and some branches of academic sociology and psychology. Two main types of theory have emerged: one emphasising attitudes and social expectations, centring on the idea of 'sex roles'; the other presupposing the categories of 'women' and 'men' and focussing on power relations between them. Criticisms of both general approaches to gender relations are outlined. An argument is advanced for a modification of the second, centring on the practices that constitute gender categories. Some examples of this third approach are mentioned. The problem of 'natural difference' can be handled in a practice-based theory of gender by a radical reversal of usual assumptions about biological 'bases' of gender, stressing negation and practical transcendence. Some political implications of this approach to theory are raised.

*Introduction*

We are in the middle of the most important change in the social sciences, and Western social thought generally, since the impact of socialist class analysis in the mid-nineteenth century. Questions of sexuality and personality formation were made prominent by psychoanalysis from early in this century, but Freudian doctrines have always been reputed speculative outside a narrow therapeutic context. A sociology of the family and a psychology of sex differences and sex roles have stuttered along for decades as academic specialties of a rather marginal kind. Academic anthropology has given much more attention to kinship, but its interest has tended to create an impression that this is a matter of importance only in 'primitive' societies. That is the view held by contemporary theorists as prominent as Jürgen Habermas; in his reformulation of historical materialism, sex appears as a 'principle of organisation' of pre-class societies only (Habermas, 1979).

That view has to be regarded as obsolete, in the strict sense of the word. 'Second wave' feminism and gay liberation have now made inescapable what was already suggested by some theorists of the 1940s. Sexuality, child development, the family, 'sex role' conventions, and kinship are parts of a whole. That whole is a social structure, not a biological one. It is, among other things, a structure of power, inequality and oppression; a structure of great scope, complexity, and consequence in our affairs as well as those of tribal and ancient societies.

In these respects it is fully comparable with the structure of class relations that has been the main concern of social analysis since the 'army of redressers' (Thompson, 1968) marched onto the scene and made questions of class inescapable a hundred and fifty years ago. The redressers of sexual oppression are currently producing a critical and analytical literature of an intellectual liveliness and practical relevance unmatched in any other field of social science.

# Theorizing Gender An Introduction

**Julia Schneider**



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