

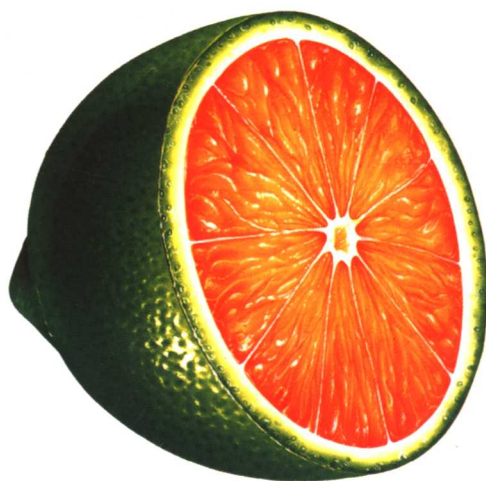


培文书系·心理学系列



原版影印美国AAA级
心理学教材
性别：心理学视角

第4版



[美] 琳达·布兰农 著



北京大学出版社
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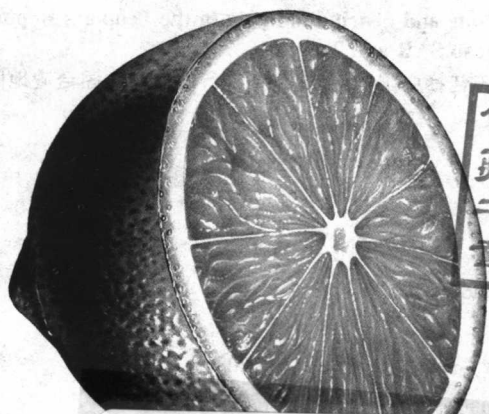


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出版说明

培文书系心理学英文影印系列旨在面向心理学领域的师生和广大心理科学的从业者和爱好者,推介国外心理学领域的英文原版专著和教材,使我国读者能够接触到原汁原味的第一手资料。

需要重申的是,作者本人的有些观点和结论尚需商榷,有些甚至是不可取的,为此提请读者加以甄别。书中的观点均不代表出版社观点。

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2005年3月

前言

本书讨论的主题是性别——与生理性别有关但不完全取决于生理性别的行为与态度。心理学、社会学、生物学、生物化学、神经学和人类学都对性、性别以及与性别有关的行为进行了大量的研究,而且这一类的研究又有日益增加的趋势。这些研究与学术成果为本书的形成奠定了基础。本书期望从心理学的角度,对以往的相关研究进行回顾和评价,为大家呈现有关性别问题的全貌。

□ 关于性别的话题

对性别研究进行回顾和评价之所以重要,其原因有几点。第一,性别是当前的一个“热门话题”,几乎每个人在这个问题上都有自己的观点。然而,这些观点通常不是以研究为基础的。大多数人并不了解科学研究的成果;他们只了解自己的观点。而人们的观点往往受到自己的经历以及电影、电视和其它媒体的强烈影响,不论这些媒体是新闻报道还是小说。以这些媒体中的形象为基础,人们产生了自己心目中的男性和女性形象,并且试图在自己的生活中再造这些形象。这些对媒体形象的个人再造过程就是 Candace West 和 Don Zimmerman (1987)所说的“做性别”的例子之一。

在《性别:心理学视角》一书里,我向读者介绍了性别研究的发现。性别问题并不简单,科学研究对它的认识也还不全面。研究发现是复杂的,而且有时相互矛盾,不过我相信,与仅仅根据个人观点和大众媒体的宣传从而得出关于性别的结论相比,了解有关科学研究发现更为重要。

第二,尽管在科学研究的过程中会出现偏差和彼此矛盾的结果,科学研究仍然是了解性别的非常有价值的途径。虽然科学研究被认为应该是客观且不受个人偏差影响,但实际的研究过程却常常偏离这个理想的状态。性别研究尤其易受个人偏差的影响。尽管如此,我仍然相信科学研究是评估某个研究主题的最有效方法。有的人不同意这个观点,其中包括一些对性别问题感兴趣的人。不少学者,尤其是女权主义学者,否定科学研究是了解性别问题的最佳途径。

尽管我同意科学还没有同等地对待女性(不论是女研究者还是研究中的女性被测试者),但我仍然相信科学为更充分地了解性别以及其它问题提供了最好的机会。有的学者不同意

这个观点,不过我相信科学可以促进平等。我赞同 Janet Hyde 和 Kristen Kling(2001,第 369 页)的观点:“女权主义心理学的一项重要任务是挑战性别刻板印象,并用研究数据去检验它们。”我的目标与这个观点一致——审视性别研究者的发现,考察他们如何解释其研究成果。

另一种性别研究方法——女性心理学也关注性别问题。但女性心理学研究专门关注女性以及女性特有的一些问题,而性别研究的方法则主要是将性别作为一种行为的影响因素,以及行为发生的社会情境中所包含的一个因素。性别研究与理论虽然在很大程度上倚重女性心理学的研究,但强调的却是两性的差异。

女性心理学研究方法强调女性及女性的经历,通常不包括对男性的考察,然而性别研究却不是如此。只有同时研究男性和女性,才能真正理解性别问题。对性别问题感兴趣的研究者可以将注意力集中在男性或女性上,但他们必须同时考虑两性,否则他们的研究不能对人们了解性别问题有所增益。第四版《性别:心理学视角》考察了心理学及其相关领域对性别的研究和理论,以评估影响两性的行为、生物和社会情景因素。

采取性别研究的方法也反映了我个人的偏好:我希望有能同时反映两性的心理学。在完成本书第一版期间,我参加了某次大会中关于开设女性心理学课程的议程。几位已经开设此类课程的教师是议程的组织者,他们组织大家就此类课程如何获得相关机构的允许以及他们在开课过程中遇到的问题进行了讨论。他们遇到的问题之一是教学行政人员(大多数是男性)对这门课程的抵制,因为他们认为选修这门课的大部分会是女生。讨论的时候,一个小组提出,如果得不到对开设女性心理学课程的允许的话,可以尝试去争取开设关于性别的课程。言下之意是:包含男性的性别课程将更容易被接受,尽管课程的原意并非是想去关注男性。我当时对这个观点表示反对。不论在我的研究、著作还是在我的课程中,我都希望有男性的身影。这种倾向来自于我的信念,即为了思考和讨论性别问题,男性和女性都是需要包括在其中的。我倾向于采用性别研究的方法,我希望本书也能反映这种态度。

我对性别的兴趣来源于两方面——我的研究和我作为女心理学家的经历。关于健康问题风险知觉的研究促使我更深入详细地考察性别问题。我对研究人们如何知觉因自身行为引起的健康风险非常感兴趣,比如吸烟者与不吸烟者对健康风险的知觉。在这项研究中,我发现即使当女性和男性承担的实际健康风险相差很大的时候,女性和男性还是会以类似的方式看待他们的行为和风险。我的这项研究显示了两性之间相似而非相异的一面。

在查阅有关性别态度与行为的研究过程中,我发现许多研究者的发现与我相似。心理学家对性别的研究显示了两性之间更多的相似,即使发现了两性的差异,这些发现中的许多差异也是很小的。我开始怀疑流行的观念,即男女两性是大不相同的,开始认为这种观念至少夸大了两性的差异——女性和男性之间的相似大于相异。与性别有关的差异是存在的,但关注差异的倾向已经抹煞了两性之间的相似之处。

作为一名女心理学家,我不得不在职业生涯刚刚开始的时候就关注性别问题。在我接受专业训练和追求心理学事业的过程中,性别主义和歧视一直存在。在我求学的早年时期,女性是这个领域中的少数派,但后来数量有所增长,现在每年有超过一半的博士学位是授予女性的。这种数量的增长以及几个反歧视法案的出台,改善了心理学界女性的处境,让她们可

以享受更平等的待遇。女性在其它专业和整个社会中的处境也有类似的改善。

在二十世纪六十年代的女权运动中,心理学界的女性提出了女性心理学的研究方法。心理学领域的大多数女性没有参与女性心理学的研究,她们中有的也不是女权主义者,然而心理学界女性比例的上升已经改变了心理学,我认为这种情况使性别心理学的出现不仅成为可能,而且成为必然。

□ 性别的声音

尽管我认为科学研究是理解行为(包括与性别有关的行为)的好方法,我也认可其它方法(包括个人叙述)的价值。Louise Kidder(1994)认为,个人叙述的缺点之一是经由报告个人经历而得到的数据之逼真性。在传统的量化研究中,研究数据由数字组成,每个被试的经历由于被转化成为了数字和统计分析结果而被丢失。然而,个人的叙述和面访内容却不会那么容易被抹去。相反,每个人的叙述都会得到清晰的描述,不会因为要取平均数而被磨掉故事的棱角。我认为每个叙述都可以是一个平均数。

《性别:心理学视角》对有关研究发现进行了回顾和评估。人们通常觉得难以将这些研究发现与自己的生活联系起来。我决定在本书中包含一些个人在生活中经历的、与性别问题有关的故事的叙述,而且我还希望将这些叙述与科学研究联系起来。个人叙述带给我们的启发,远远超过了叙述的逼真性带来的问题。我认为统计量化的研究过滤掉了人们个人的经历,我知道在这个过程中许多有趣的细节也因此而丢失。

我试图通过“性别的声音”恢复在统计分析中丢失的细节,让男性和女性有机会讲一讲他们的个人经历。讲述这些故事,将它们与情境分离,是呈现有关性别的信息,并凸显研究发现与生动叙述的细节之间相关性的另一种途径。有些故事滑稽可笑,显示了人们如何用轻松的方法去处理性别歧视与偏见造成的挫折感和恼怒。有些故事很悲伤,它与性骚扰、性暴力和性虐待的经历有关。所有的故事都是真人真事,而不是为了给大家举例而编造出来的。如果故事来源于其它出版物,我会提及讲述这些经历的人的姓名。而在其它故事中,为了保护当事人的隐私,我隐去了他们的姓名。我听我的朋友和学生谈论性别问题,记录下他们所说的话,在成书的时候也尽量用他们的原话来表达。我希望这些故事给读者另一种视角,通过讲述个人经历,增加本书提及的性别研究的真实感。

□ 头版头条

很久以前,在我还没有萌生写一本关于性别的书的念头的时候,我就注意到媒体盛行性别话题。不仅性的问题是许多私下里和公众争论的主题,从情景喜剧到科学报道,两性差异也是许多报纸、杂志和电视节目的主题。我也读到有关的文章,提醒大家留意媒体过于简化科学探索、夸大研究发现以吸引大家注意的倾向。我因此希望考察有关性别的研究,以努力理解复杂的研究究竟告诉我们什么,并通过媒体将我对研究的分析告诉大家。

尽管在证明两性差异的所有证据中,以生物为基础的证据是最“真实”的,我还是尤其关注媒体以及性别研究报道受众的一种倾向,即想为两性之间的行为差异寻找生物基础。将生物因素从行为中划分出来是一种错误的两分法。即使是基因也受环境的影响,个人的经历可以使行为发生永久的改变,这与生理对人的影响是一样的。然而,流行的一个神话却认为,只有生物因素导致的差异是真实而永恒的,后天经历和文化发挥的效应只是短暂的,并不持久。

与其它一些关于性别的书不同的是,本书用了几章的篇幅来考察这些生物证据。正如 Naomi Weisstein(1982)所说的:“生物学常常被用作对女性的诅咒”(第4页)。我之所以希望向读者介绍这类研究并对它们进行评估,是因为关于两性差异的流行观点以及媒体报道是以此作为基础的,而且人们不加质疑地接受了这些研究结果。我希望读者对生物学“诅咒”的适用范围提出疑问。

为了进一步让读者清楚地了解流行的性别观点,我决定摘录报纸和流行杂志的头版头条,以告诉大家媒体究竟是如何刻画两性的。其中一些头版头条是负责任的报道,它们以通俗易懂的文字介绍了相关研究,而其它一些则是哗众取宠或过于简化的报道。

媒体倾向于用具有轰动效应的方式来报道研究发现,因为这样的故事引人注目。这些报道歪曲研究发现,通篇充斥着关于性别的模式化思想。Beryl Lieff Benderly(1989),一位科学报道者,曾以“不要轻信你读到的每件事情”为题撰写头版头条,提醒大家注意媒体对性别研究的哗众取宠的报道方式,对此,我深表赞同。

□ “媒体报道”和“研究发现”

除了摘录与性别话题有关的头版头条,我还在本书里安排了两个以方框形式显示的栏目,即“媒体报道”和“研究发现”,其内容主要来自主流媒体有关性别的描述。“媒体报道”考察了各种媒体——杂志、电视、电影、视频游戏、卡通和小说是如何刻画性别形象的。相对应的“研究发现”提供了与媒体主题相关的研究,这些研究呈现了更系统、公正的观点。对这两个栏目的内容进行比较,读者可以有机会看到媒体中存在的性别偏差和模式化印象。我希望这些栏目能够引导学生质疑和批判地思考,他们在媒体上接触的成千上万的性别形象其准确性和公平程度究竟如何。

□ 考虑多元化的问题

心理学史上对多元化的关注或对多元化问题的强调并不充分,但是心理学界目前对这些问题的兴趣越来越大,关注越来越多。实际上,性别研究是心理学多元化研究增长迅速的代表领域之一。此外,跨文化研究开始以美国的不同种族以及不同国家的比较为背景,为心理学问题提供更全面的图景。

为了突出这一迅速发展的研究方向,并将它与性别问题联系起来,《性别:心理学视角》的这一版本在大多数章节里包含了名为“考虑多元化的问题”一节,其中讨论的是相关的多元化研究。尽管本书里其它地方也提及了多元化研究的问题,单独列出一节对其继续考察可以确保不遗漏重要的问题。部分章节介绍的研究,其发展已足以对研究主题进行跨文化综述,而其它主题的跨文化研究还很少,因此在这些章节中,“考虑多元化的问题”一节叙述的是与这一章有关的特定主题。

□ 致谢

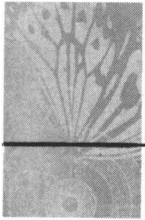
任何一本著作在完成之际,作者都要对很多人表示感谢,我也不例外。如果没有大家的协助、支持和鼓励,我是不可能写完这本书,也不可能完成第四版的。我感谢所有的人,其中有几位尤其需要单独提出来表示我的谢意。我所在的 McNeese 州立大学心理系的同事给了我很多支持和帮助。与我合著《健康心理学:行为和健康入门》的 Jess Feist,对本书的写作提供了很多建议,使本书行文增色不少。Patrick Moreno 协助我得到了有关的资料,他和 Christi Hite 还代我搜索了网上的资料。他们的工作对本书的完成起到了非常重要的作用。

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PREFACE

This book examines the topic of gender—the behaviors and attitudes that relate to (but are not entirely congruent with) biological sex. A large and growing body of research on sex, gender, and gender-related behaviors has come from psychology, sociology, biology, biochemistry, neurology, and anthropology. This research and scholarship form the basis for this book, providing the material for a critical review and an attempt to generate an overall picture of gender from a psychological perspective.

THE TOPIC OF GENDER

A critical review of gender research is important for several reasons. First, gender is currently a “hot topic,” and almost everyone has an opinion. These opinions are not usually based on research. Most people are not familiar with research findings; they simply know their own opinions. People’s opinions are strongly influenced by their own experience and also by what they have seen in the movies, on television, and in other media. Whether these programs are news reports or fiction, both types of presentations make an impact. Based on these portrayals, people create images about how they believe women and men should be and attempt to re-create these images in their own lives. This personal reproduction of gender portrayals in the media is another example of what Candace West and Don Zimmerman (1987) described as “doing gender.”

In *Gender: Psychological Perspectives*, I present what gender researchers have found, although the picture is neither simple nor complete. Research findings are complex and sometimes contradictory, but I believe that it is important to understand this research rather than draw conclusions based on only personal opinions and popular media portrayals.

Second, research is a valuable way to understand gender, despite the bias and controversy that have surrounded the research process. Although scientific research is supposed to be objective and free of personal bias, this idealistic notion often varies from the actual research process. Gender research in particular has been plagued with personal bias. Despite the bias that can enter into the research process, I believe that research is the most productive way to approach the evaluation of a topic. Others disagree with this view, including some who are interested in gender-related topics. A number of scholars, especially feminist scholars, have rejected scientific research as the best way to learn about gender.

Although I agree that science has not treated women equitably, either as researchers or as participants in research, I still believe that science offers the best chance for a fuller understanding of gender (as well as of many other topics). Some scholars disagree with this view, but I believe that science can further the goal of equity. I agree with Janet Hyde and Kristen Kling (2001, p. 369), who said, "An important task of feminist psychology is to challenge stereotypic ideas about gender and test the stereotypes against data." My goals are consistent with that view—to examine what gender researchers have found and how they have interpreted their findings.

The book's emphasis on gender is similar to another approach to studying gender—through examining the psychology of women. The psychology-of-women approach concentrates on women and issues unique to women, whereas the gender approach focuses on the issue of gender as a factor in behavior and in the social context in which behavior occurs. Gender research and theory draw heavily from research on the psychology of women, but the emphasis differs.

By emphasizing women and their experience, the psychology-of-women approach often excludes men, but gender research cannot. Studying both women and men is essential to an understanding of gender. Researchers who are interested in gender issues may concentrate on women or men, but they must consider both, or their research reveals nothing about gender. Therefore, this fourth edition of *Gender: Psychological Perspectives* examines the research and theory from psychology and related fields in order to evaluate the behavior, biology, and social context in which both women *and* men function.

The gender approach also reflects my personal preferences: I want a psychology of women and men. When I was completing the first edition of this book, I attended a conference session on creating a course in psychology of women. Several instructors who had created such courses led a discussion about obtaining institutional approval and the problems they had encountered, including resistance from administrators (who were mostly men) concerning a course in which the enrollment would be mostly women. One of the group advised trying for approval of a course on gender if obtaining approval for a psychology of women course was not successful. The implication was that the topic of gender included men and would be more acceptable but less desirable. I disagreed. I wanted men to be included—in the research, in my book, and in my classes. This preference comes from the belief that women and men are required in order to consider and discuss gender issues. I prefer the gender approach, and I wanted this book to reflect that attitude.

My interest in gender comes from two sources—my research and my experience as a female psychologist. The research that prompted me to examine gender issues more carefully was on risk perception related to health problems. I was interested in investigating people's perceptions of the health risks they created as a result of their behavior, such as the perceptions of health risks in smokers versus nonsmokers. In this research, I found that women and men saw their behaviors and risks in similar ways, even when the actual level of health risks differed quite a bit for men and women. My research showed gender similarities rather than gender differences.

In examining the volume of research on gender-related attitudes and behaviors, I discovered that many other researchers' findings were similar to mine. Among psychologists,

exploration of gender seemed to show more similarities than differences, and when differences appeared, many were small. I came to doubt the widespread belief that men and women are opposites, and to consider that this view is, at the very least, overstated—women and men are more similar than different. Gender-related differences exist, but the tendency to concentrate on these differences has obscured the similarities.

As a female psychologist, I was forced to attend to gender issues from the outset of my career. Sexism and discrimination were part of the context in which I received my professional training and in which I have pursued my career as a psychologist. Women were a small minority in the field during my early years in psychology, but the numbers have since increased so that now women receive over half the doctoral degrees granted each year in psychology. This increase and several antidiscrimination laws have produced some improvements in equitable treatment for women in psychology (as well as in other professions and in society in general).

The psychology-of-women approach came from the women in psychology during the feminist movement of the 1960s. Most of the women in psychology have not been directly involved in the psychology of women and some are not feminists, but the presence of a growing proportion of women has changed psychology, making a psychology of gender not only possible but also, I think, inevitable.

GENDERED VOICES

Although I believe that research is a good way to understand behavior, including gender-related behavior, I accept the value of other approaches, including personal accounts. Louise Kidder (1994) contended that one of the drawbacks of personal accounts is the vividness of the data generated by reports of personal experience. In traditional quantitative research, the data consist of numbers, and each participant's experience is lost in the transformation to numerical data and the statistical compilations of these data. Personal accounts and interviews do not lead to a comfortable blurring of the results. Rather, each person's account is sharply depicted, with no averaging to blunt the edges of the story. I thought that such accounts could be an advantage.

The text of *Gender: Psychological Perspectives* consists of an evaluation of research findings—exactly the sort of information that people may find difficult to relate to their lives. I decided that I also wanted to include some personal, narrative accounts of gender-relevant aspects of people's lives, and I wanted these accounts to connect to the research studies. The perils of vividness seemed small compared to the advantages. I believe that people's personal experiences are distilled in statistical research, but I also know that a lot of the interesting details are lost in the process.

These "Gendered Voices" narratives are my attempt to restore some of the details lost in statistical summaries, allowing men and women to tell about their personal experiences. Telling these stories, separated from the text, was an alternative approach to presenting information about gender and highlighting the relevance of research findings with vivid detail. Some of the stories are funny, showing a lighthearted approach to dealing with the frustrations and annoyances of discrimination and gender bias. Some of the stories are sad,

revealing experiences of sexual harassment, violence, and abuse. All of the stories are real accounts, not fictional tales constructed as good examples. When the stories are based on published sources, I name the people who are presenting their experience. For other stories, I have chosen not to name those involved, to protect their privacy. I listened to my friends and students talk about gender issues and wrote down what they told me, trying to report what they said in their own words. I hope that these stories give a different perspective and add a sense of the reality of gender in personal experience to the volume of research reported here.

HEADLINES

Long before I thought of writing a book about gender, I noticed the popularity of the topic in the media. Not only are the sexes the topic of many private and public debates, but gender differences are also the topic of many newspaper, magazine, and television stories, ranging from sitcoms to scientific reporting. I had read warnings about the media's tendencies to oversimplify research findings and to "punch up" the findings to make the stories grab people's attention. I wanted to examine the research on gender to try to understand what the research says, with all of its complexities, and to present the media version along with an analysis of the research findings.

Of particular concern to me was the tendency of the media and of people who hear reports of gender research to want to find a biological basis for the behavioral differences between the sexes, as though evidence of biologically based differences would be more "real" than any other type of evidence. The division of the biological realm from the behavioral realm is a false dichotomy. Even genes can be altered by environment, and experiences can produce changes in behavior as permanent as any produced by physiology. The view that biological differences are real and permanent, whereas experience and culture produce only transient and changeable effects, is a popular myth.

Unlike some other books about gender, this book spends several chapters examining this biological evidence. As Naomi Weisstein (1982) said, "biology has always been used as a curse against women" (p. 41). I want to present and evaluate this research because it is the basis of popular assumptions and media reports about differences between the sexes and also because people accept these findings without question. I want readers to question the extent to which the biological "curse" should apply.

To further highlight the popular conceptualizations of gender, I decided to use headlines from newspapers and popular magazines as a way to show how the media represent gender. Some of the headline stories are examples of responsible journalism that seeks to present research in a way that is easy to understand, whereas other headline stories are more sensational or simplified.

The media tend to portray findings in sensational ways because such stories get attention. Such sensationalism distorts research findings and perpetuates stereotypical thinking about the sexes. I believe that Beryl Lieff Benderly (1989), a science reporter, was correct when she warned about media sensationalism of gender research by writing the headline, "Don't believe everything you read . . ." (p. 67).

ACCORDING TO THE MEDIA AND ACCORDING TO THE RESEARCH

In addition to gender in the headlines, I have included two boxed features called “According to the Media” and “According to the Research” that concentrate on gender portrayals in the mainstream media. “According to the Media” boxes examine how gender is portrayed in the various media—magazines, television, movies, video games, cartoons, and fiction. The corresponding “According to the Research” boxes provide research findings related to the media topics that present a more systematic and unbiased view. The contrast of these two presentations provides an opportunity to examine gender bias and stereotyping in the media. I hope these features lead students to question and think critically about the accuracy and fairness of the thousands of gendered images that they experience through the media.

CONSIDERING DIVERSITY

The history of psychology is not filled with a concern for diversity or an emphasis on diversity issues, but these topics represent an area of increasing interest and concern within psychology. Indeed, gender research is one of the major fields that represents the growing diversity in psychology. In addition, cross-cultural research has begun to provide a more comprehensive picture of psychological issues in the context of different ethnic groups within the United States as well as comparisons to other countries.

To highlight this developing research and tie it to gender issues, this edition of *Gender: Psychological Perspectives* includes a section in most chapters called “Considering Diversity” that discusses the diversity research. Although diversity issues enter the text at other points in the book, the creation of a section to examine diversity ensures the inclusion of these important issues. In some chapters, the research is sufficiently developed to present a cross-cultural review of the topic, but for other topics, cross-cultural research remains sparse, so those diversity sections present a specialized topic that relates to the chapter.

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目 录

前言 XIII

1 性别研究 1

☞ 媒体头版头条：“新的性别战争”

《今日心理学》(Psychology Today), 2000 年 11/12 月号 1

关于性别差异的心理学研究史 3

个体差异研究 4

心理分析 5

女性研究的发展 7

男权运动的出现 10

性别研究遇到的问题 13

性抑或性别? 14

心理学家应该研究性别吗? 16

考虑多元化的问题 17

■ 小结 18

■ 术语表 19

■ 推荐读物 19

2 研究性与性别 20

☞ 媒体头版头条：“科学战争”

《新闻周刊》(Newsweek), 1997 年 4 月 21 日 20

科学是如何发展起来的 21

科学研究的方法 22

量化研究方法 22

质化研究方法 30

研究者的选择 33

研究中的性别偏差 34

研究中偏差的来源 35

处理偏差的方法 39

考虑多元化的问题 43

■小结 44

■术语表 45

■推荐读物 46

3 荷尔蒙与染色体 47

☞ 媒体头版头条：“新药 Sarafem (氟西汀) 是经前综合症的灵丹妙药，还是伪装的 Prozac?”

《哈珀购物杂志》(Harper's Bazaar), 2001 年 9 月号 47

☞ 媒体头版头条：“雄性激素法则：男性好斗的原因并不只是荷尔蒙”

《探索》(Discover), 1997 年 3 月号 47

内分泌系统与类固醇激素 48

两性存在差异的阶段 50

两性的分化 50

两性生理的发展 51

青春期的变化 57

问题出现了 62

荷尔蒙与行为的不稳定性 66

经前综合症 66

睾丸素与攻击性 70

考虑多元化的问题 74

■小结 76

■术语表 77

■推荐读物 78

4 智力与认知能力 79

☞ 媒体头版头条：“迷失太空”

《时尚》(Vogue), 2001 年 6 月号 79