WOMEN'S LIVES

A Psychological Exploration

Claire A. Etaugh · Judith S. Bridges

COMPANION @ WEBSITE

ROUTLEDGE

Women's Lives

This cutting-edge and comprehensive fourth edition of *Women's Lives: A Psychological Perspective* integrates the most current research and social issues to explore the psychological diversity of girls and women varying in age, ethnicity, social class, nationality, sexual orientation, and ableness. Written in an engaging and accessible manner, its use of vignettes, quotes, and numerous pedagogical tools effectively fosters students' engagement, active learning, critical thinking, and social activism.

New information covered includes:

- neoliberal feminism, standpoint theory, mujerista psychology (Chapter 1)
- LGBT individuals and individuals with disabilities in media (Chapter 2)
- testosterone testing of female athletes, precarious manhood (Chapter 3)
- raising a gender nonconforming child, impact of social media on body image (Chapter 4)
- gender differences in narcissism and Big Five personality traits, women video-game designers (Chapter 5)
- asexuality, transgender individuals, sexual agency, "Viagra for women" controversy (Chapter 6)
- adoption of frozen embryos controversy (Chapter 7)
- intensive mothering, integrated motherhood, "living apart together," same-sex marriage (Chapter 8)
- single-sex schooling controversy (Chapter 9)
- combat roles opened to U.S. women, managerial derailment (Chapter 10)
- work-hours dilemmas of low-wage workers (Chapter 11)
- feminist health care model, health care for transgender individuals, Affordable Care Act (Chapter 12)
- feminist critique of CDC guidelines on women and drinking (Chapter 13)
- cyberharassment, gendertrolling, campus sexual assault (Chapter 14)
- transnational feminism, men and feminism (Chapter 15)

Women's Lives stands apart from other texts on the psychology of women because it embeds within each topical chapter a lifespan approach and robust coverage of the impact of social, cultural, and economic factors in shaping women's lives around the world. It provides extensive information on women with disabilities, middle-aged and older women, and women in transnational contexts.

Its up-to-date coverage reflects current scientific and social developments, including over 2,200 new references. This edition also adds several new boxed features for student engagement. *In the News* boxes present current, often controversial, news items to get students thinking critically about real-life applications of course topics. *Get Involved* boxes encourage students to actively participate in the research process. *What You Can Do* boxes give students applied activities to promote a more egalitarian society. *Learn About the Research* boxes expose students to a variety of research methods and highlight the importance of diversity in research samples by including studies of underrepresented groups.

Claire A. Etaugh, Caterpillar Professor of Psychology at Bradley University, has taught Psychology of Women for 35 years. Her research on gender has been published in several journals including *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *Sex Roles*, *Developmental Psychology*, and *Journal of Marriage and Family*.

Judith S. Bridges, Professor Emerita of Psychology at the University of Connecticut, taught Psychology of Women courses for many years. Her research on women and gender has been published in *Psychology of Women Quarterly* and *Sex Roles*.

Fourth Edition

Women's Lives

A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

Claire A. Etaugh
Judith S. Bridges

To my grandchildren, Anthony and Isabel, who enrich my life and embody my hopes for the future.

—C.E.

To my grandsons Nick, Benjamin, and Devin, who reflect the promise of a more gender-neutral tomorrow.

—J.S.B.

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PREFACE

Over the last few decades, the burgeoning interest in psychology of women has been reflected in a rapidly expanding body of research and a growing number of college-level courses in the psychology of women or gender. The fourth edition of *Women's Lives: A Psychological Exploration* draws on this rich literature to present a broad range of experiences and issues of relevance to girls and women. Because it does not presuppose any background in psychology, this book can be used as the sole or primary text in introductory-level psychology of women courses and, with other books, in psychology of gender or interdisciplinary women's studies courses. Additionally, its presentation of both current and classical research and theory makes it a suitable choice, along with supplementary materials, for more advanced courses focused on the psychology of women or gender.

Every chapter in this textbook reflects substantial changes in this field during the past few years. We have made several changes based on the extremely helpful comments from reviewers and the many students and faculty who have used the two life span editions and the three topical editions of this book. This new topical revision includes the following highlights:

- Over 2,200 new references emphasize the latest research and theories, with more than half from 2015 to the present.
- *In the News*, a boxed feature in each chapter, presents current, and often controversial, news items to engage students in critically thinking about gender-related current events and to illustrate the real-life applications of course materials.
- *What You Can Do*, a boxed feature in each chapter, provides students with hands-on activities to both empower themselves and help promote a more egalitarian society.
- *Get Involved* is a set of activities in each chapter that promotes active student participation in research.
- Material highlighting the cultural, social, and economic forces that shape women's lives around the world (previously part of a boxed feature called *Explore Other Cultures*) is now integrated into the text, facilitating comparisons with women of other backgrounds, and making transnational issues a more integral and seamless part of the narrative.
- The unique life span approach of two previous chronological editions is embedded within topical chapters on sexuality, reproduction and childbearing, education and achievement, employment, physical health, mental health, and violence against girls and women.
- Coverage of the lives of women in the middle and later years and of women with disabilities is far more extensive than in any other textbook in the field.
- An updated list of Websites and an entirely new list of current books at the end of each chapter provides students with resources for additional study and research.
- Expanded use of vignettes and quotes from women add richness to the data and help students personally connect with the material.
- New and expanded coverage of many topics reflects scientific and social developments of the second decade of the new millennium.

These changes are broken down by chapter with key terms highlighted and include:

Chapter 1:
- Updated material on feminist research methods, including **standpoint theory**
- New discussion of **neoliberal feminism**
- New information on **mujerista psychology**
- Updated discussion of **social constructionism**
- New discussion of the relationship between power and **privilege**

Chapter 2:
- New section on portrayal of LGBT individuals in the media
- New section on portrayal of individuals with disabilities in the media

- Updated material on the depiction of older women in the media
- New discussion of **androcentrism** in language

Chapter 3:
- Updated coverage of multiple genders
- New material on the controversial testosterone testing of female athletes
- New discussion of **precarious manhood**

Chapter 4:
- New section on raising a gender nonconforming child
- New section on the trend toward gender-neutral clothing and toys
- Expanded material on body image in girls and women, including a new section on the influence of social media

Chapter 5:
- New section on gender-related differences in **narcissism**
- New section on gender-related differences in the **Big Five personality traits**
- Expanded section on factors affecting girls' and women's participation in STEM fields
- New section on women video game players and women in video game design

Chapter 6:
- New section on **asexual individuals**
- Expanded coverage of transgender individuals and gender identity
- New material on the concept of **sexual agency**
- New section on the controversy surrounding "Viagra for women"

Chapter 7:
- New section on the controversy regarding adoption of frozen embryos
- Updated trends in birthrates of teens and women over 35
- New information on assisted reproductive technologies and hormone replacement therapy

Chapter 8:
- New material on the effects of **intensive mothering**
- New material on the concept of **integrated motherhood**
- Expanded section on alternative couple arrangements such as **living apart together**
- Updated information on same-sex marriages in the U.S. and abroad

Chapter 9:
- New section on Malala Yousafzai, advocate for the education of girls in developing nations
- New material on the controversy surrounding the impact of single-sex schooling
- Updated information on the academic climate for women of color

Chapter 10:
- New material on opening of all U.S. combat roles to women
- Updated information on challenges for women in leadership roles, including **managerial derailment**
- New material on workplace issues for sexual minority women

Chapter 11:
- New section on shifting attitudes toward women's and men's work–family balance
- New material on the work-hours dilemmas of low-wage women workers

Chapter 12:
- New material on the **feminist health care model**
- New section on women and the Affordable Care Act
- New information on health care issues for transgender individuals

Chapter 13:
- New section on the feminist critique of new CDC guidelines on women and drinking
- Updated section on mental health issues of sexual minority women

Chapter 14:
- New section on cyberharassment and gendertrolling
- New material on **racialized sexual harassment**
- Expanded coverage of global violence against girls
- Expanded coverage of sexual assault on college campuses

Chapter 15:
- New and expanded coverage of transnational feminism
- Expanded coverage of men and feminism

SPECIAL FEATURES RELATED TO CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

LIFE SPAN APPROACH EMBEDDED WITHIN TOPICAL CHAPTERS.   Virtually all textbooks on the psychology of women or psychology of gender use a topical approach and also include two or three chronological chapters. Typically, there is a chapter or two on childhood and adolescence and one on women in the middle and later years. Almost all coverage of midlife and older women is contained in that one chapter. The result is that many of the issues and experiences relating to women in midlife and beyond are barely touched on or simply are not covered at all. These older women remain relatively invisible.

Our approach is different. We have taken the unique life span approach of our two earlier chronologically focused texts and have embedded this approach within almost all chapters, including topical chapters on sexuality, reproduction and childbearing, education and achievement, employment, physical health, mental health, and violence against girls and women. Midlife and older women are discussed in all chapters except the one on infancy, childhood, and adolescence.

INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH THAT INTEGRATES WOMEN'S DIVERSE IDENTITIES.   The text provides extensive coverage of women of color, women in other cultures around the world, and sexual minority women. Although there is less information available, we have also included material on low-income women and women with disabilities whenever possible. We use an intersectional perspective that integrates women's diverse identities within each chapter rather than examining subgroups of women in separate chapters. We emphasize that women's identities are shaped not simply by adding the effects of their class, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, physical ability, religion, and nationality, but by a complex combination of all these characteristics in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF BALANCING FAMILY AND WORK.   It is clear that the balancing of family and work has become a major issue facing families around the globe. We have devoted an entire chapter to this timely topic in order to thoroughly explore the theories, challenges, benefits, and solutions associated with this worldwide reality of the twenty-first century.

PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE.   Each chapter begins with an outline of the material, thus providing an organizational framework for reading the material.

OPENING VIGNETTES.   To grab students' attention and connect the material to real life, each chapter begins with one or two actual or hypothetical experiences illustrating one or more issues discussed in the chapter.

IN THE NEWS.   This new boxed feature presents current, and often controversial, news items designed to engage students in thinking critically about gender-related current events, and to illustrate the real-life applications of course materials.

WHAT YOU CAN DO.   This boxed feature provides students with experiential activities that help them to both empower themselves and promote a more egalitarian society.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?   The text includes critical-thinking questions in every chapter. The end-of-the-chapter questions foster skills in synthesis and evaluation by asking the student to apply course material or personal experiences to provocative issues from the chapter.

GET INVOLVED.   As a means of providing firsthand involvement in the material, each chapter contains a number of student activities. Some require collecting data on a small number of respondents and others focus solely on the student. Furthermore, each exercise is accompanied by critical-thinking questions that focus on explanations and implications of the activity's findings.

The active learning involved in these activities serves several purposes. First, it reinforces the material learned in the text. Second, those exercises that involve surveys of other people or analyses of societal artifacts introduce students to the research process, which, in turn, can stimulate interest in research, increase familiarity with a variety of assessment techniques, and provoke critical evaluation of research techniques. Third, the Get Involved activities demonstrate the relevance of the course material to students' experiences or to the experiences of important people in their lives.

LEARN ABOUT THE RESEARCH.   To stimulate students' interest in and appreciation of research as a source of knowledge about girls and women, each chapter has one or two boxed sections that focus on research. These Learn About the Research sections either highlight an interesting recent study or present an overview of recent findings in an intriguing research area. We expose students to a variety of research techniques (content analysis, interviews, questionnaires) without requiring that they have any background in psychological research methods. Furthermore, to highlight the importance of diversity in research samples, our selections include studies of underrepresented populations.

Following the research presentation are What Does It Mean? questions. These provoke more critical thinking by asking the student to consider a variety of issues related to the research, such as explanations and implications of the findings.

EXPLORE OTHER CULTURES.   In order to provide students with a deeper appreciation of women in a global context, each chapter features material that highlights the role of cultural, social, and economic factors in shaping women's lives around the world. In previous editions, this information was presented in separate boxes (Explore Other Cultures), but it is now integrated into the text in order to facilitate comparisons with women of other backgrounds and to make transnational issues a more integral and seamless part of the text.

KEY TERMS.   Terms in bold and definitions in italics within the text help students preview, understand, and review important concepts. These terms appear again at the end of each chapter, along with the page number on which the term appears.

SUMMARY.   The point-by-point end-of-the-chapter summary helps students synthesize the material.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW MORE.   Recommended readings at the end of each chapter facilitate more extensive examination of the material. This edition includes completely updated lists of nearly 200 new and current recommended books to stimulate students to expand their knowledge.

WEBSITES.   An updated list of Websites at the end of each chapter provides students with additional resources.

WRITING STYLE

In order to engage the student and construct a nonhierarchical relationship between ourselves and the student, we use a nonpedantic first-person writing style. To reinforce this relationship in some

of the opening vignettes and within the text, we have also presented our own experiences or those of our friends, families, and students.

SUPPLEMENTS

Routledge/Taylor & Francis is pleased to offer the following supplements to qualified adopters.

PowerPoint Presentation (0205866190). The PowerPoint presentation contains outlines of key topics for each text chapter, presented in a clear and visually attractive format.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We owe a great deal to the many reviewers whose expert suggestions and insights were invaluable in the development of this book. Our sincere thanks to all of you who reviewed the text for the fourth edition.

It has been a pleasure to work with the publishing professionals at Routledge/Taylor & Francis. In particular, we acknowledge the invaluable support and assistance of Georgette Enriguez, our editor for this book. We also are deeply indebted to Brooke Engerman who cheerfully carried out the time-consuming tasks of recording over 2,200 new references and tracking down current Websites. We are grateful as well for the assistance of Robert Ray of the Chicago Public Library.

Thanks also to the students in our Psychology of Women courses who provided excellent editorial suggestions on earlier versions of the manuscript and for whom, ultimately, this book is written.

Finally, the book could not have been completed without the loving support of our families. Judith thanks her children, Rachel and Jason, and daughter-in-law, Nora, for providing support and inspiration throughout this project. Also, her deepest appreciation goes to her husband Barry, her life partner and best friend, for his unwavering patience, understanding, and encouragement. Claire's heartfelt thanks go to the women and men who have enriched her life and have been an endless source of encouragement and support: her late parents, Martha and Lou; siblings, Paula, Bonnie, and Howard; children, Andi and Adam; grandchildren, Anthony and Isabel; and "extended family" of friends, Peggy, Pat, Kathi, Barbara, Kevin, Pam, Suzanne, and John.

Introduction to the Psychology of Women

History and Research

In 1965 when I (Judith) was applying to graduate schools, the chair of one psychology department informed me that my college grades met the criterion for male, but not female, admission into the program. That department (and others) had two sets of standards, and obviously, fewer women than men were admitted. When I look back at that time it is amazing to me to realize that I quietly accepted this pronouncement. I was disappointed but not outraged. I rejoiced at my acceptance by a comparable department but never thought to protest discriminatory admission policies (which were not unique to that department). A generation ago I did not identify this issue or any other gender inequality in institutional, legal, or interpersonal practices as a problem. However, over the last several decades my awareness and concern about these issues dramatically changed. Claire and I are deeply committed to gender equality in all areas of life and hope that this text will help illuminate both the progress women have made and the challenges that remain in the attainment of this important goal.

I n this chapter we set the groundwork for the study of the psychology of women. We present major definitions, explore relevant history, examine research issues, and discuss the themes of the book. We begin with a look at the difference between sex and gender.

DEFINITIONS: SEX AND GENDER

Psychologists do not agree completely on the definitions of the words *sex* and *gender*. *Sex* is used to refer either to whether a person is female or male or to sexual behavior. This ambiguity of definition sometimes can cause confusion. For example, Claire offered a course several years ago entitled "The Psychology of Sex Differences." The course dealt with behavioral similarities and differences of females and males. After the first day of class, some students approached her with a puzzled look on their faces. The course title had led them to believe that the subject matter of the course was human sexuality.

The words *sex* and *gender* have often been used interchangeably to describe the differences in the behaviors of women and men. One example is the term *sex roles*, which is sometimes used to refer to culturally prescribed sets of behaviors for men and women. *Sex Roles* is even the name of a highly respected journal. Yet many psychologists believe that the term **gender roles** is more appropriate to describe the concept of *cultural beliefs applied to individuals on the basis of their socially assigned sex* (Magnusson & Mareck, 2012).

To avoid confusion, we will use the term **gender** to refer to *the meanings that societies and individuals give to female and male categories* (Wood & Eagly, 2015; Wood & Fixmer-Oraiz, 2017). We use the term **sex** to refer to *the classification of individuals as female or male based on their genetic makeup, anatomy, and reproductive functions*. Even this definition may be too simple: Recent research on intersex individuals indicates that there are more than two sexes (Feder, 2014; McCarthy & Gartner, 2014). See Chapter 3 for further discussion of that issue.

WOMEN AND MEN: SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT?

Scholars who study sex and gender issues usually take one of two approaches. Either they emphasize the similarities between women and men or they focus on the differences between them.

Similarities Approach

Those who adhere to the similarities viewpoint seek to show that *men and women are basically alike in their intellectual and social behaviors. Any differences that do occur are small and inconsistent, and produced by socialization, not biology* (Ball et al., 2013a; Blakemore et al., 2009). This approach, also called the **beta bias**, has its origins in the work of early twentieth-century women psychologists (Ball et al., 2013a). As we shall see later in the chapter, a number of these psychologists carried out research that challenged the prevailing belief that women are different from (and inferior to) men. Most feminist theory and research dealing with gender differences has retained this similarities approach (Zell et al., 2015).

Differences Approach

The differences viewpoint, also known as the **alpha bias**, *emphasizes the differences between women and men*. Historically, these differences have been thought to arise from *essential qualities within the individual that are rooted in biology* (Shapiro, 2015; Wood & Fixmer-Oraiz, 2017). This concept is known as **essentialism**.

The differences perspective has origins in both ancient Western and Eastern philosophies, which associate men with reason and civilization and women with emotion and nature (Goldenberg et al., 2013). As we have seen, early psychologists often equated women's differences from men with inferiority and "otherness." Men set the standard whereas women were seen as deviations from that standard (Etaugh, 2017). For example, Sigmund Freud stated that because women do not have a penis, they suffer from penis envy. Using the same logic, one could argue just as persuasively that

men experience uterus envy because they cannot bear children. (Karen Horney [1926/1974], a psychoanalyst who challenged many of Freud's views, made this very proposal.)

Contemporary feminists regard female–male differences as arising from a culture's expectations of how individuals should behave. In other words, behavioral differences between the genders are not inborn but are socially constructed (Thompson & Armato, 2012). As we shall see at the end of this chapter, the social construction of gender is one of the three major themes of this book.

Some feminists have added still another twist to the differences approach. They embrace cultural feminism, a view that celebrates those positive qualities historically associated with women, such as a sense of human connection and concern for other people (Jordan, 2017; Kinser, 2010; Schuiling & Low, 2017). The theories of Nancy Chodorow (1994) and Carol Gilligan (1982, 2011) illustrate the cultural feminist approach. According to Chodorow, early childhood experiences forever set females and males down different paths in their development of identity, personality, and emotional needs. Girls develop an early attachment to their mother, whom they perceive as similar to themselves. This leads girls to develop relational skills and a desire for close emotional connections. Boys, on the other hand, reject their emotional attachment to their mother, who is perceived as dissimilar. Boys instead identify with male figures who are often more distant. In the process, they become more invested in separation and independence and develop a more abstract and impersonal style (Batalha & Reynolds, 2013). Gilligan (1982, 2011) also sees women's identity as based on connections and relationships to others. She believes that women reason and make moral judgments in a "different voice," a voice concerned with caring and responsibility. Men, on the other hand, are more concerned with abstract rights and justice. These different patterns of reasoning are equally valid and sophisticated, according to Gilligan. We shall discuss moral reasoning in females and males in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Regardless of one's approach to gender comparisons, the study of gender and the psychology of women is rooted in a feminist perspective. Therefore, let's now examine the meaning of feminism.

FEMINISM

A feminist is

someone who believes in equality in the workforce

a person who fights for women's rights

someone who protests about controversial issues, such as abortion or sexual harassment

a big, bra-burning, man-hating woman

   (College students' view of feminism, from Houvouras & Carter, 2008, pp. 246–249)

Do any of these definitions reflect your own view of feminism? Although the term *feminism* is frequently used by the media, in opinion polls, and in casual conversation, people obviously differ in their conceptions of its meaning. There is even diversity among feminists. Although united in their belief that women are disadvantaged relative to men, feminists differ in their beliefs about the sources of this inequality and the ways to enhance women's status (Spade & Valentine, 2016; Wood & Fixmer-Oraiz, 2017). Let's examine five different types of feminism embraced by feminist scholars.

Liberal feminism is *the belief that women and men should have the same political, legal, economic, and educational rights and opportunities* (Kenschaft & Clark, 2016; Ryle, 2016). Liberal feminists advocate reform; their goals are to change attitudes and laws that are unfair to women and to equalize educational, employment, and political opportunities. For example, they seek the creation of an educational environment that encourages women's growth in all academic fields, removal of barriers to full participation and advancement in the workplace, and more political leadership positions for women. Liberal feminists stress the similarities between females and males and contend that gender differences are a function of unequal opportunities. For a different twist on liberal feminism, see In the News 1.1.

In contrast to liberal feminism, **cultural feminism** reflects *the belief that women and men are different and that women's special qualities, such as nurturance, concern about others, and cooperativeness, should be valued* (Higgins, 2016; Morton, 2013). Cultural feminists are concerned about destructive outcomes related to masculine traits, such as aggressiveness and lack of emotional expressiveness, and want to empower women by elevating the value attached to their interpersonal orientation.

Another type of feminism, **socialist feminism**, reflects *the attitude that gender inequality is rooted in economic inequality* (Kenschaft & Clark, 2016). Socialist feminists believe that various inequalities based on gender, ethnicity, and social class interact with one another and cannot be eliminated until the capitalistic structure of North American society is changed.

Radical feminism, on the other hand, is *the belief that gender inequality is based on male oppression of women* (Jensen, 2015; Kenschaft & Clark, 2016; Ryle, 2016). Radical feminists contend that **patriarchy**, *male control over and dominance of women*, has existed throughout history and must be eliminated to achieve gender equality. In other words, different from socialist feminists, radical feminists see men, rather than capitalism, as the source of women's oppression. Consequently, they are concerned not only about inequality in societal institutions, such as the workplace, but also about power differential in the family and other types of intimate relationships.

Many women of color have argued that the feminist movement is concerned primarily about issues that confront White women (Wright, 2014). Consequently, they often embrace **women of color feminism** (also known as womanism), which is *the belief that both* **racism**, *bias against people because of their ethnicity, and* **classism**, *bias based on social class, must be recognized as being as important as* **sexism**, *gender-based bias* (Gerbrandt & Kurtz, 2015; Harvey et al., 2013). A closely related concept, **mujerista psychology**, *advocates for the rights of Latina women* (Bryant-Davis & Comas-Diaz, 2016).

Clearly, there is no reason why a feminist perspective has to be limited to one viewpoint. Many individuals combine two or more into their personal definition of feminism. Now, perform the exercise in Get Involved 1.1 to more closely examine each of these types of feminism.

IN THE NEWS 1.1
Neoliberal Feminism

Neoliberal feminism emphasizes a woman's individual responsibility for achieving equity with men, while downplaying the role of cultural, social, and economic forces in producing inequalities between women and men. The emergence of neoliberal feminism in the United States is exemplified by the highly publicized book Lean In by Sheryl Sandberg (2013). Her book focuses on each woman's responsibility for overcoming obstacles, such as lack of confidence, that prevent her from getting ahead in the workplace (Valentine, 2015). Although Sandberg briefly mentions a few institutional barriers to women's success (e.g., the gender pay gap), her main argument is the neoliberal feminist view that individual women can rise to the top through their own efforts and by accepting full responsibility for their well-being (Annis, 2016). Some critics (see Rottenberg, 2013) are concerned that neoliberal feminism is displacing liberal feminism, which focuses on social justice, collective identity, basic rights, and shared efforts to change the social system.

HISTORY OF WOMEN IN PSYCHOLOGY

The first women in psychology faced a number of obstacles, especially in establishing their credentials, because many universities in the late 1800s and early 1900s did not welcome women who sought advanced degrees (Etaugh, 2017). Judith's experience described at the beginning of this chapter indicates that overt sexist policies toward women in psychology continued well into the twentieth century. Nevertheless, several women overcame the odds to become pioneers in the field.

GET INVOLVED 1.1
How Do People View Feminism?

Answer the following questions and then ask several female and male acquaintances to do the same. Save your own answers but do not refer back to them after completing this chapter.

First, indicate which of the following categories best characterizes your identity as a feminist:

1. consider myself a feminist and am currently involved in the women's movement
2. consider myself a feminist but am not involved in the women's movement
3. do not consider myself a feminist but agree with at least some of the objectives of feminism
4. do not consider myself a feminist and disagree with the objectives of feminism.

Second, on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with each of the following statements.

1. Women should be considered as seriously as men as candidates for the presidency of the United States.

2. Although women can be good leaders, men make better leaders.
3. A woman should have the same job opportunities as a man.
4. Men should respect women more than they currently do.
5. Many women in the workforce are taking jobs away from men who need the jobs more than women.
6. Doctors need to take women's health concerns more seriously.
7. Women have been treated unfairly on the basis of their gender throughout most of human history.
8. Women are already given equal opportunities with men in all important sectors of their lives.
9. Women in the United States are treated as second-class citizens.
10. Women can best overcome discrimination by doing the best they can at their jobs, not by wasting time with political activity.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Before computing your scores for the 10 items, reverse the points for statements 2, 5, 8, and 10. That is, for a rating of 1 (strongly disagree), give 6 points, for a rating of 2, give 5 points, and so on. Then sum the points for all 10 items. Higher scores reflect greater agreement with feminist beliefs.

1. Are there differences in the feminist labels and/or feminist attitude scores between your female and male respondents?
2. For each respondent, including yourself, compare the feminist attitude score to the selected feminist category. Did you find that individuals who gave themselves a feminist label (i.e., placed themselves in category 1 or 2) generally agreed with the feminist statements and

obtained a score of 40 or higher? Similarly, did the individuals who did not label themselves as feminists (e.g., category 3 or 4) tend to disagree with the feminist statements and receive a score below 40? If there was no correspondence between the feminist identity label and the feminist beliefs, give possible reasons.
3. Do you think that individuals who vary in ethnicity and social class might hold different attitudes about feminism? If yes, explain.

Source: Putting the feminism into feminism scales: Introduction of a liberal feminist attitude and ideology, *Sex Roles*, 34, pp. 359–390, © 1996.

Margaret Floy Washburn was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in psychology in America in 1894. It took another 40 years before doctorates in psychology were awarded to Black women: Inez Beverly Prosser and Ruth Winifred Howard (Ball et al., 2013b).

Women and the American Psychological Association

One year after the founding of the American Psychological Association (APA), in 1893, 2 of the 14 new members admitted were women: Mary Whiton Calkins and Christine Ladd-Franklin.

Suparna Rajaram (pictured) is the 2017–2018 president of the Association for Psychological Science (formerly the American Psychological Society). Since its founding in 1988, 13 other women have served as president.

Calkins went on to become the first woman president of the APA in 1905. Margaret Floy Washburn was elected the second woman president in 1921. It would be 51 years before the APA had another female leader (Chrisler, 2013).

Since the early 1970s, the number of women in APA leadership roles has increased notably and 15 women have become president (Azar, 2011). In 2013, women represented 58 percent of the APA members, and 61 percent of the board of directors, although only 31 percent of APA fellows, the most prestigious membership category, and only 27 percent of journal editors. A similar pattern is found in the other major U.S. psychological organization, the Association for Psychological Science (APS) (Etaugh & Geraghty, 2014).

Women's Contributions

Women have been relatively invisible in psychology; their contributions to the field have often been overlooked or ignored (Etaugh, 2017). Coverage of gender-related topics has also been limited.

Even when the works of women psychologists are cited, they may still be overlooked. There are two related reasons for this apparent invisibility of many women psychologists. First, the long-standing practice in psychology books and journal articles is to refer to authors by their last name and first initials only. Second, in the absence of gender-identifying information, people tend to assume that the important contributions included in psychology books and articles have been carried out by men (Etaugh, 2017). When Claire learned about the Ladd-Franklin theory of color vision in introductory psychology, she assumed that two men named Ladd and Franklin had developed the theory. Only later did she discover that it was the work of Christine Ladd-Franklin. Similarly, most people assume that it was *Harry* Harlow who established the importance of touch in the development of attachment. How many individuals know that his wife, psychologist Margaret Kuenne Harlow, was his research partner and a codeveloper of their groundbreaking theory? In order to make the contributions of women psychologists more visible in this book, we frequently use first names when identifying important researchers and theorists.

HISTORY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

> *Ignorance about women pervades academic disciplines in higher education, where the requirements for the degree seldom include thoughtful inquiry into the status of women as part of the human condition.*
>
> (Carolyn Sherif, cited in Denmark et al., 2000, p. 1)

How has the psychology of women developed as a field since Carolyn Sherif wrote this sentence about 35 years ago? Let us turn to a brief history of the feminist approach to the study of gender.

The Early Years

In the early years of psychology, gender studies as such did not exist (Etaugh, 2017). Not only were there few women psychologists, but also women's experiences were not deemed important enough

to study. Concepts in psychology were based on the male experience. For example, as we shall see in Chapter 3, Sigmund Freud formulated his views of the Oedipus complex and penis envy from a male perspective but applied them to both genders. The same is true of Erik Erikson's notion of the development of identity during adolescence, as we shall see in Chapter 4.

In addition, early psychologists viewed women as different from and inferior to men (Etaugh, 2017). For example, to explain their premise that women are less intelligent than men and thus unfit for higher education, male psychologists claimed that women's brains were smaller than men's (Fine, 2017). This theory seemed to be discredited by the discovery that *relative* brain size—the weight of the brain relative to the weight of the body—is actually greater in women than in men. But stereotypes are not that easily erased. Scientists began comparing various segments of the brain in the two genders in an attempt to find the cause of women's purported inferior intelligence. No differences were found (Joel et al., 2015). Yet the search continued. In 1982, the prestigious journal *Science* published a study claiming that the corpus callosum (the connection between the two hemispheres of the brain) is larger in women than in men. The researchers stated that this difference might account for women's supposedly inferior spatial skills. (See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of this topic.) The study had many flaws, including the fact that only nine males' brains and five females' brains had been examined. Ruth Bleier, a neuroanatomist, and her colleagues did a study that corrected the flaws and used a much larger sample. They found no gender differences. Yet *Science* refused to publish their findings on the grounds that they were too "political" (Etaugh, 2017).

The first generation of women psychologists carried out research that challenged assumptions of female inferiority (Etaugh, 2017). Helen Thompson Woolley found little difference in the intellectual abilities of women and men. Leta Stetter Hollingworth tackled the prevailing notion that women's menstrual cycles were debilitating, rendering women unfit to hold positions of responsibility. She demonstrated that intellectual and sensory-motor skills did not systematically vary across the menstrual cycle. In addition, Karen Horney and Clara Thompson made important critiques of psychoanalytic theory during this period that stressed the social, cultural, and environmental factors in women's psychological development (Etaugh, 2017). Many of these ideas languished, however, because few women were able to obtain academic positions where they could study and teach about these topics.

The 1960s and 1970s

Several events of the 1960s signaled the beginning of the second wave of the feminist movement in the United States, including the publication of Betty Friedan's (1963) book *The Feminine Mystique,* the passage of the Equal Pay Act (see Chapters 10 and 15), and the formation of the National Organization for Women (NOW). In each case, the spotlight turned on glaring economic, social, and political inequities between women and men. The women's movement no doubt helped to serve as a catalyst for the emergence of psychology of women as a separate, legitimate field of study (Eagly et al., 2012).

During these years, the psychology of women emerged as a separate field of study. In 1969, the Association for Women in Psychology was founded, followed in 1973 by the APA Division (now Society) of the Psychology of Women. Several textbooks on the psychology of women were written, journals such as *Psychology of Women Quarterly* and *Sex Roles* were established, and college courses on the topic began to appear. Feminist theorists and researchers demonstrated the sexist bias of much psychology theory, research, and practice. They set about expanding knowledge about women and correcting erroneous misinformation from the past (Eagly & Riger 2014; Etaugh, 2017). Today, women make up more than two-thirds of the psychologists in the workforce. This percentage is very likely to increase because almost three out of four doctoral degrees in psychology are now awarded to women (Christidis et al., 2016; National Science Foundation, 2015a).

The Recent Years: Developments in Research and Theory

As we shall see in the next few pages, the application of feminist perspectives and principles has transformed the way women and gender have been studied in recent years. The transformation of

the field has been documented thoroughly by Alice Eagly and her colleagues (2012). For one thing, the amount of published research has increased exponentially, with thousands of publications each year. These articles are not confined to journals that specialize in gender, but appear in psychology's core research journals. Study of the diversity of women's experiences has increased, more so in terms of race and ethnicity than in other areas. Research about women and gender has been influenced by the social and political climate of the times. As one example, the increase in work–family research is no doubt influenced by women's increased participation in the labor force during the past several decades.

Also in recent years, feminist scholars have developed an array of theoretical models. One such model is **standpoint theory**, which holds that *women and other groups see the world from their own subjective perspective, and that knowledge is not objective*. This view has given rise to the feminist experiential research model, which utilizes a variety of qualitative methods, such as field research and the interview. (We will discuss the latter method shortly.) (Etaugh, 2017) Another recent theoretical perspective is **social constructionism**. A key tenet of this view is that "facts" are created by communities and cultures. Thus, *social and cultural contexts influence what we know about the world*. The social construction of gender, as you will see shortly, is one of the themes of this textbook.

STUDYING THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

With a basic understanding of the history of the psychology of women, we now turn to an examination of issues involved in performing psychological research. As you probably learned in introductory psychology, our understanding of human behavior stems from research conducted by psychologists and other scientists who use the scientific method to answer research questions. Although you might have learned that this method is value free, that it is not shaped by researchers' personal values, feminist scholars (Hesse-Biber, 2016) argue that values can influence every step of the research process. Let's turn now to a brief discussion of these steps to see how researchers' own ideas about human behavior can influence our understanding of the psychology of women.

Bias in Psychological Research

SELECTING THE RESEARCH TOPIC.   The first step in any scientific investigation is selecting the topic to examine. Just as your personal preferences lead you to choose one term paper topic over another, scientists' personal interests influence the topics they decide to investigate. Throughout the history of psychology, most psychologists have been males; thus, for many years, topics related to girls and women were rarely investigated. Since 1970, however, the increasing number of female psychologists and the growth of the psychology of women as a discipline have resulted in an explosion of research devoted to the psychology of woman and/or gender (Eagly et al., 2012). For example, an estimated 50–70 new scientific publications on sex differences appear each week (Ellis et al., 2008).

Another influence on topic selection is the researcher's assumptions about gender characteristics. For example, a psychologist who believes leadership is primarily a male trait is not likely to investigate the leadership styles of women. To give another example, aggressive behavior is typically associated with males. Consequently, relatively little is known about the relationship between aggressive behavior in girls and their adjustment in adulthood (Brennan & Shaw, 2013). Bias in topic selection is even more evident when one focuses on women of color. Not only are there relatively few psychologists of color but researchers, influenced by the biased assumption that people of color are deviant, deficient, and helpless, have examined ethnic minority women in relation to only a narrow range of topics, such as poverty and teen pregnancy (Cundiff, 2012; Erkut & García Coll, 2013). The tendency to treat women of color as helpless deviates reinforces a negative image of ethnic minority females and denies their full personhood as women with a wide breadth of concerns and experiences.

FORMULATING THE HYPOTHESIS.   Once the topic is selected, the researcher generally formulates a hypothesis (a prediction) based on a particular theoretical perspective. Consequently, the researcher's orientation toward one theory or another has a major influence on the direction of the research. To better understand this effect, consider the link between two theories of rape and related research hypotheses. One theory proposes that rape has evolved through natural selection, which leads to the hypothesis that rape is present in nonhuman animals (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000). A very different theory contends that rape stems from a power imbalance between women and men (McPhail, 2010). One hypothesis stemming from this theory is that cultures with more gender inequality of power should have higher rates of rape than regions with less power imbalance (Turchik et al., 2016). As we see in the next section, these different hypotheses lead to very different kinds of research on rape.

Theoretical perspectives about ethnicity can similarly influence the hypotheses and direction of research. For example, many studies on women of color have been interpreted from a framework that views their behavior as deviant and problematic (Cundiff, 2012). Rather than examining strengths of women of color, this deviance perspective leads to research that focuses on ethnic minority women as powerless victims.

DESIGNING THE STUDY.   Because the methods used to gather data stem from the underlying predictions, hypotheses based on disparate theories lead to different procedures. This, in turn, affects the type of knowledge researchers gain about the topic under investigation. Returning to our rape example, the hypothesis that rape is not unique to humans has led to investigations of forced copulation in nonhuman species (McKibbin et al., 2008), which would not be appropriate to the investigation of a power hypothesis. The prediction that rape is linked to the degree of gender inequality in society has led to studies of the relationship between a geographic area's rape rate and its occupational and educational gender inequality (Turchik et al., 2016). Each of these procedures provides very different kinds of information about rape that can lay the foundation for different attitudes about this form of violence (see Chapter 14). Examining specific aspects of research design will show us the ways bias can also affect the choice of procedures.

SELECTING RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS.   One of the consistent problems in psychological research has been the use of samples that do not adequately represent the general population. A **sample** refers to *the individuals who are investigated in order to reach conclusions about the entire group of interest to the researcher* (i.e., the **population**). For example, a researcher might be interested in understanding the emotional experiences of first-time mothers in the first months following childbirth. It would be impossible, however, to assess the experiences of all new mothers (*population*). Instead, the investigator might seek 100 volunteers from among mothers who gave birth in any one of three hospitals in a specific geographical area (*sample*).

Unfortunately, research participants are not always representative of the larger population. Throughout most of the history of psychology, psychologists have focused primarily on young, White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied males (Eagly & Riger, 2014; Etaugh, 2017). This procedure can lead to unfortunate and incorrect generalizations about excluded groups. It would be inappropriate, for example, to draw conclusions about women's leadership styles by examining male managers. Furthermore, focusing on selected groups can lead to the disregard of excluded groups.

A related issue is whether and how researchers specify the gender composition of their samples. One problem is that, until recently, a sizeable minority of authors in major psychology journals failed to mention the gender of their participants (Eagly & Riger, 2014). Therefore, the reader does not know whether the findings are applicable to both genders. Interestingly, the failure to report gender in the title of the article or to provide a rationale for sampling only one gender was more common in studies with male-only participants than in studies with female-only participants. Furthermore, discussions based on male participants were more likely to be written in general terms,

whereas those based on only female participants were likely to be restricted to conclusions about females. These practices suggest that males are considered the norm, and results obtained from them generally applicable, whereas females are somehow "different." This principle, known as **male as normative**, means *that males are considered the standard against which all behavior is measured*. Even though more than 90 percent of papers in mainstream journals now report the gender of their research participants, fewer than 10 percent include gender in the hypotheses, analyses, or discussion of results (Cole, 2013).

Research samples have been limited in other ways as well. One problem is the relative invisibility of people of color, as members of minority groups continue to be underrepresented (Hall et al., 2016). A positive development is that many journals now require a description of the ethnicity of the sample even if it is restricted to White participants. Note, however, that specifying the ethnic composition of the sample does not mean that the researcher actually examined the relationship between the participant's ethnicity and the behavior under investigation. On a positive note, the growing recognition of the need to integrate findings related to ethnic, class, and cultural differences into mainstream theory, practice, and research has led in the past 25 years to an explosion of research on ethnicity and by ethnic minority women psychologists, including Thelma Bryant Davis, Jean Lau Chin, Fanny Cheung, Lillian Comas-Diaz, Oliva Espín, Cynthia de las Fuentes, Beverly Greene, Aída Hurtado, Gwendolyn Puryear Keita, Teresa LaFromboise, Carolyn Payton, Pamela Trotman Reid, Janis Sanchez-Hucles, and Melba Vasquez (Hurtado, 2010; "Revisiting Our Roots," 2010). Psychological research on immigrant women, however, still is unsystematic, and tends either to idealize or pathologize them (Yakushko & Consoli, 2014).

Samples have been restricted, additionally, in their socioeconomic status: Most participants have been middle class, and poor women, until recently, have been nearly invisible (Diemer et al., 2013; Liu, 2013; Lopez & Legan, 2016; Lott, 2012). As a result, problems that have a much greater impact on poor women than on middle-class women are rarely studied. For example, very little is known about the sexual harassment of low-income women by their landlords, even though this is unfortunately a common occurrence (Bullock et al., 2010; Perry-Jenkins & Claxton, 2009). In addition, most studies of employed women have focused on those in professional jobs. Moreover, when researchers do study poor and working-class individuals, they tend to focus on people of color, perpetuating a biased assumption about ethnicity and social class as well as limiting our understanding of both poor White women and middle-class women of color (Henderson & Tickamyer, 2009).

Pick up any psychology journal and you will see that many of the middle-class individuals who serve as research participants are college students. Because this group is restricted in age, education, and life experiences compared to the general population, numerous findings based on these samples cannot be generalized to other types of people (Tryon, 2017).

Other groups, such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals and people with disabilities, are underrepresented in psychological research, and less research has focused on older women than on younger women or girls (Olkin, 2013; Quinlan et al., 2008; Stringer, 2016). What can explain researchers' narrow focus on White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, young individuals? One possibility is that psychologists are more interested in understanding the experiences of people like themselves, and the majority of investigators fit the characteristics of the typical participants. Another possibility is that psychologists might use these individuals in their research because it is easier to recruit them. These are the people most likely to be located within the situational contexts—such as academic or professional environments—inhabited by researchers (Quinlan et al., 2008). Also, due to cross-group mistrust and/or misunderstanding, it is sometimes more difficult for nonminority investigators to recruit minority individuals (Brewer et al., 2014; Cheng & Sue, 2016). Whatever the causes, the exclusion of certain groups of people from psychological examination not only devalues their experiences but can also lead to inaccurate conclusions about them based on faulty generalizations. To get firsthand knowledge about the extent of biased samples in recent psychological research, complete the exercise in Get Involved 1.2.

GET INVOLVED 1.2
Are Samples in Psychological Research Biased?

In this exercise you are to compare descriptions of samples published in journals oriented toward women or gender to mainstream psychological journals. At your campus library, select one recent issue of *Psychology of Women Quarterly* or *Sex Roles*. Also select a recent issue of one of the following: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Developmental Psychology*, or *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. For each article in these issues, read the brief section that describes the participants. This is found in the Method section of the article and is usually labeled Participants, Sample, or Subjects. As you read these sections, note the following information:

1. Is the gender of the participants specified? If yes, does the sample include females only, males only, or both?
2. Is the ethnicity of the participants specified? If yes, does the sample include predominantly or exclusively Whites, predominantly or exclusively individuals of another single ethnic group, or a balanced mixture of individuals from two or more ethnic groups?
3. Is the social class of the participants specified? If yes, is the sample predominantly or exclusively middle class, predominantly or exclusively working class or poor, or a mixture of social classes?
4. Are any other characteristics of the participants (e.g., sexual orientation, presence of a disability) given? If yes, specify.

After recording the information for each article from one journal, add up the number of articles that specified the gender of the sample, the number that specified ethnicity, and so on. Similarly, sum the articles that included both genders, those that included more than one ethnic group, and so forth. Follow the same procedure for the other journal.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

1. Which participant characteristic was described most frequently? Explain why.
2. Which participant characteristic was represented in the most balanced way? Explain why.
3. Which participant characteristic was specified least often? Explain why.
4. Did the two journals differ in their descriptions of their samples? If yes, explain.
5. What are the implications of your findings?

_____

Source: Morgan (1996).

SELECTING THE MEASURES.   Another step in the design of a study is the selection of procedures to measure the behaviors or characteristics under investigation. These procedures can determine the results that researchers find. For example, in their review of aggression in girls and boys, Jamie Ostrov and Stephanie Godleski (2010) note that different findings are obtained depending on how aggressive behavior is measured. Boys are more likely than girls to show physical aggression (e.g., pushing, hitting) whereas girls are more apt to show relational aggression (e.g., spreading malicious gossip). As you can see, relying on only one of these measures would have led to misleading conclusions.

ANALYZING AND INTERPRETING THE FINDINGS.   Once the data have been collected, the researcher performs statistical analyses to discover whether the findings support the hypotheses. Although there are numerous types of statistical tests, they all provide information about the **statistical significance** of the results, which means that *the findings are not due to chance alone*. For example, in a study of college students' belief in rape myths (Girard & Senn, 2008), respondents rated the degree to which they agreed with 20 false statements often used to justify rape, such as "many women secretly desire to be raped." The rating scale for each item ranged from 1 (not agree) to 7 (strongly agree). Females had an average rating of 32.6 and males had a rating of 42.0. These numbers have no meaning in themselves. However, a statistical analysis applied to these data indicated that the difference of 9.4 between the male and female averages was not due to chance alone; males, more than females, believed in rape myths.

Once statistical tests have been applied to the data, the researcher must interpret the findings. Statistical analyses inform us only about the likelihood that the data could have been produced by chance alone. Now, the researchers must discuss explanations and implications of the findings. One type of bias occurring at this stage is interpreting the findings in a way that suggests a female weakness or inferiority. For example, studies have shown that females use more tentative speech than males do (see Chapter 5). They are more likely than men to say, "I *sort of* think she would be a good governor" or "She *seems* to be a strong candidate." Some researchers have suggested this is an indication of females' lack of confidence—an interpretation pointing to a female deficit (Petersen & Hyde, 2014). Another equally plausible and more positive interpretation is that females use more tentative speech as a means of encouraging other people to express their opinions (DeFrancisco et al., 2014). Susan Fiske, past president of the Association for Psychological Science, offers another example of how a trait can be labeled to suggest female inferiority. She cites the "field independence–field dependence" continuum. Men have been described as "field independent" (not being influenced by a surrounding context), considered a favorable attribute, whereas "field *de*pendence" was a deficit that women had (Fiske, 2010). What about being labeled field *sensitive*, clearly a more positive term, she asks?

A second problem related to the interpretation of findings is generalizing results based on one group to other groups. As discussed earlier in this chapter, psychologists frequently have examined narrowly defined samples, such as White, male, middle-class college students, and sometimes they have generalized their findings to other people, including females, people of color, and working-class individuals. Moreover, the experiences of White, middle-class women have been assumed to apply to all women, regardless of ethnicity and social class (Eagly & Riger, 2014).

A third bias in the interpretation of data has been the assumption that the presence of gender differences implies biological causes (Fine, 2013). For example, some researchers have assumed that the preponderance of men in the sciences is due to their higher levels of fetal testosterone, despite a lack of consistent supporting data (Fine, 2010; Valla & Ceci, 2011).

COMMUNICATING THE FINDINGS.

Publishing.   The primary way that psychologists communicate their research findings to others is by publishing their studies, usually in psychological journals. Unfortunately, editors and reviewers who make decisions about which studies are worthy of publication tend to favor those that report statistical significance over those that do not, the so-called "file-drawer effect" (Spellman, 2012). This publication bias can affect the body of our knowledge about gender. Studies that show a statistically significant gender difference are more likely to be published than those that do not and can lead to exaggerated conclusions about the differences between females and males (Christianson et al., 2012; Fine, 2017).

Another type of publication bias exists as well. Victoria Brescoll and Marianne LaFrance (2004) found that politically conservative newspapers were more likely than liberal newspapers to use biological explanations for gender differences. Moreover, readers tended to believe whatever bias was represented in these news stories. Let the reader beware!

Gender-Biased Language.   The language that researchers use in their research papers is another possible source of gender bias in the communication of findings. Gender-biased language, such as the use of the male pronoun to refer to both genders, can lead to serious misinterpretation. As is discussed in Chapter 2, male pronouns tend to be interpreted as males only, not as males and females (Eagly & Riger, 2014). Fortunately, although this practice was prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s, the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (American Psychological Association, 2010) now specifies that gender-biased language must be avoided. Research is now more likely to be reported using nonsexist language (Sechzer & Rabinowitz, 2008).

Another, more subtle type of biased language is the use of nonparallel terms when writing about comparable female and male behaviors, thus implying an essential difference between the genders. For example, much of the research on gender and employment refers to women who work outside the home as "employed mothers" but refers to men who work outside the home as simply

"employed" (Gilbert, 1994). This distinction carries the implicit assumption that the primary role for women is motherhood whereas the primary role for men is the provider.

Conclusion.   Although it is unlikely that most researchers attempt to influence the research process in order to support their preconceived ideas about a topic, the biases they bring to the research endeavor can affect their choice of topic, hypotheses, research design, interpretation of findings, and communication about the study. Given that researchers have very human personal interests, values, and theoretical perspectives, they do not fit the image of the objective scientist (Eagly, 2013a).

Despite these inherent biases, we do not want to give the impression that psychological research is unduly value laden or that it provides no useful information about the psychology of women. Most researchers make a concerted attempt to be as unbiased as possible, and research from psychology and other social scientific disciplines has provided a rich body of knowledge about females' experiences. However, one must read these studies critically, with an understanding of their possible limitations—especially their failure to focus on the diversity of girls and women. For a look at doing gender research around the world, see the section on Cross-Cultural Research on Gender.

Feminist Research Methods

Traditional psychological research emphasizes objectivity, control, and quantitative measures as a means of understanding human behavior, and some feminist psychologists advocate adherence to this general methodology. Others, however, contend that more accurate representations of women's lives are achieved with qualitative procedures, such as women's accounts of their experiences (Brisolara et al., 2014; Crawford, 2013; Gergen et al., 2015; Hesse-Biber, 2016; Yost & Chmielewski, 2013). For example, a qualitative investigation of women's friendships might ask participants to describe, in their own words, the most important friendships they have had. In contrast, an objective measure might ask them to complete a questionnaire written by the researcher in which participants indicate how often they have experienced a variety of feelings and interactions in their most important friendships. Whereas the qualitative approach attempts to capture each participant's unique perspective, the quantitative approach compares participants' responses to a standard situation. Feminist research also aims not only to inform, but also to transform society (Kaestle, 2016). For a more detailed examination of principles of feminist research, look at Learn About the Research 1.1.

Cross-Cultural Research on Gender

Cross-cultural research has made important contributions to our understanding of gender development (Best & Thomas, 2004). Nevertheless, there are methodological pitfalls that need to be avoided in order to draw meaningful conclusions from such research. For one thing, most cross-cultural projects, especially those using surveys, require translation from the researchers' languages to one or more other languages. In such cases, a major challenge is to make sure that the translated version is as close to the original as possible. However, languages differ in sentence structure and grammatical rules, and seemingly identical words may have slightly different meanings. For example, in Russian and Arabic, the word "cousin" always specifies the cousin's sex, unlike in English (Shiraev & Levy, 2013). In addition, similar findings may have different meanings depending upon the culture being studied. For example, Judith Gibbons (2000) and her colleagues studied adolescents' drawings of the ideal woman. In a variety of cultures, many adolescents drew the ideal woman as working in an office. However, when the drawings were then presented to peers in the same culture for interpretation, adolescents gave responses that were both similar across cultures, but also culturally specific. For instance, in all countries studied, women working in offices were described as hardworking. However, Guatemalan adolescents also viewed them as working for the betterment of their families, Filipino teenagers described them as adventurous and sexy, and U.S. teens saw them as bored with the routine of office work.

Another formidable methodological challenge in cross-cultural research is the issue of sampling. In studying gender issues, samples are often drawn from a certain setting, such as colleges and

LEARN ABOUT THE RESEARCH 1.1
Principles of Feminist Research

Although feminists have a variety of opinions about the most effective methods for studying girls and women, they agree that such research should increase our understanding of females and help change the world for them (Hesse-Biber, 2016; Sprague, 2016). Thus, feminists, like all researchers, bring a set of values to the research process, values that can direct the nature and interpretation of the research. Claire and her colleague Judith Worell (Worell & Etaugh, 1994; 2012) have articulated a set of principles that are based on the values of feminist research. These are summarized as follows:

1. Challenging the traditional scientific method.
   a. Correcting bias in the research process.
   b. Expanding samples beyond White, middle-class participants.
   c. Acknowledging the legitimacy of both quantitative and qualitative methods.
2. Focusing on the experiences of women.
   a. Examining diverse categories of women.
   b. Investigating topics relevant to women's lives.

   c. Attending to women's strengths as well as their concerns.
3. Considering gender imbalances in power.
   a. Recognizing that women's subordinate status is a sign of power imbalance, not deficiency.
   b. Attempting to empower women.
4. Recognizing gender as an important category for investigation.
   a. Understanding that a person's gender can influence expectations about and responses to that person.
5. Recognizing the importance of language.
   a. Changing language to be inclusive of women.
   b. Understanding that language can both influence thought and be influenced by thought.
6. Promoting social change.
   a. Creating a science that benefits women.
   b. Guiding action that will lead to justice for women.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

1. Assume you are a feminist researcher interested in examining how women handle employment and family obligations. Using the feminist principles outlined earlier, describe the characteristics of the sample you might wish to study and the research methods you would use in collecting your data.
2. A hypothetical study of the educational expectations of White, Mexican American, and Vietnamese American eighth-grade

girls found that the White girls expect to complete more years of schooling than the other groups. The researcher concluded that Latina and Asian American girls have lower educational expectations than White girls. Critique this conclusion, using feminist research principles.

Sources: Based on Worell and Etaugh (1994); Etaugh and Worell (2012).

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universities, as a way to ensure equivalent samples. But college or university students do not reflect the population similarly in different countries because the proportion of the population attending university differs widely internationally.

Drawing Conclusions From Multiple Studies

Researchers use one of two procedures to draw conclusions about gender differences on the basis of large numbers of published studies. This section examines these two techniques.

NARRATIVE APPROACH.   The traditional way of examining psychological gender differences has been to sift through dozens or even hundreds of studies on a particular topic and to form an impression of the general trends in their results. The first major attempt to synthesize the research on gender differences in this narrative fashion was carried out by Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin in 1974. In this massive undertaking, they tallied the results of over 1,600 published and unpublished

studies appearing in the 10 years prior to 1974. Gender differences were declared to exist when a large number of studies on a given topic found differences in the same direction. Although the contribution of this pioneering work is enormous, a major drawback is its use of a simple "voting" or "box-score" method, which gave each study the same weight regardless of sample size or magnitude of the reported difference (Schmidt & Hunter, 2014). In addition, the possibility of subtle biases is always present in any narrative review.

META-ANALYSIS.   A more sophisticated and objective technique of summarizing data has been developed in recent years. **Meta-analysis** is *a statistical method of integrating the results of several studies on the same topic*. It provides a measure of the magnitude, or size, of a given gender difference rather than simply counting the number of studies finding a difference (Zell et al., 2015).

Gender researchers using meta-analysis first locate all studies on the topic of interest. Then they do a statistical analysis of each study that measures the size of the difference between the average of the men's scores and the average of the women's scores. This difference is divided by the standard deviation of the two sets of scores. The standard deviation measures the variability or range of the scores. For example, scores ranging from 1 to 100 have high variability, whereas scores ranging from 50 to 53 show low variability. Dividing the difference between men's and women's scores by the standard deviation produces a *d* statistic. Finally, the researchers calculate the average of the *d* statistics from all the studies they located. The resulting *d* is called the **effect size**. *It indicates not only whether females or males score higher but also how large the difference is.* This is one of the major advantages of meta-analysis over the traditional narrative method of summarizing research (Hyde, 2014).

The value of *d* is large when the difference between means is large and the variability within each group is small. It is small when the difference between means is small and the variability within each group is large (Hyde, 2014). Generally a *d* of 0.20 is considered small, 0.50 is moderate, and 0.80 is large. However, these guidelines still do not settle the debate of whether a particular difference is *meaningful* or important. In cancer research, for example, even a very small effect size can have powerful consequences. Suppose a treatment was discovered that completely cured a small number of women with a highly lethal form of cancer. Although the effect size might be quite small, this discovery would be hailed as a major medical breakthrough. As we discuss later in the book, the effect sizes for some psychological gender differences are greater than those found in most psychological research whereas others are close to zero.

Now that we have explored the historical and methodological framework for understanding the psychology of women, we focus on the major themes that characterize this book.

THEMES IN THE TEXT

Science is not value free. As we have seen, the evolving belief about the importance of women has had a powerful impact on topics and methods of psychological research. Similarly, this text is not value neutral. It is firmly rooted in a feminist belief system, which contends (1) that the diversity of women's identities and experiences should be recognized and celebrated; (2) that men hold more power than women; and (3) that gender is shaped by social, cultural, and societal influences. These beliefs are shared by many feminist psychologists and are reflected throughout this book.

Theme 1: Intersectionality: The Diversity of Women's Identities and Experiences

As we saw in the discussion of research biases, minimal attention given to females throughout most of the history of psychology not only devalues women's experiences but also often leads to incorrectly generalizing men's experiences to include women. Similarly, a psychology of women restricted to White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, young females in North America minimizes the importance of women of color; poor and working-class women; lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women; women with disabilities; older women; and women in other cultures, and it can lead to

the false conclusion that the experiences of the majority are applicable to all (Hobson, 2016; L. Rosenthal, 2016).

Consequently, this text examines the heterogeneity of females' experiences. We do so within a lens of **intersectionality**, which means that *people exist in a framework of multiple identities that interact with each other to determine an individual's experiences and that cannot be understood separately from each other because they are integral parts of a whole* (McCann & Kim, 2017). These identities include one's gender, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, ableness, marital status, and nationality (Few-Demo, 2014; Hill Collins & Bilge 2016; May, 2015; Wallace, 2014). Intersectionality implies that to understand a woman's identity, you do not simply *add* one feature to another, as in woman + Black + heterosexual + middle-aged, but rather consider how these categories uniquely overlap (Marecek 2016, Sarno et al., 2015). As an example, compare two women born in New York City some years ago. One is Claire Etaugh, who is a White, college-educated, heterosexual, able-bodied psychology professor. The other is Audre Lorde, who was a Black, college-educated, lesbian, less able-bodied, renowned feminist writer and poet. To label both of us as educated, female New Yorkers is true, but ignores our very different life experiences shaped by the several intersecting identities that we did not share. In this text, the authors discuss both similarities and differences in the attitudes, emotions, relationships, goals, and behaviors of girls and women who have a diversity of backgrounds. For example, we explore interpersonal relationships of heterosexual and sexual minority women (Chapter 8); physical and mental health concerns of White women and women of color (Chapters 12 and 13); problems on campus and in the workplace faced by women with disabilities (Chapters 9 and 10); and health, employment, and interpersonal issues of older women (Chapters 8, 10, and 12). However, because most of the research to date on the psychology of women has been based on restricted samples, it is important to note that our presentation includes a disproportionate amount of information about young, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, White women and girls living in the United States.

When referring to cultural variations among people, we use the term *ethnicity* rather than *race*. **Race** is *a biological concept that refers to physical characteristics of people*. However, experts disagree about what constitutes a single race, and there is considerable genetic variation among people designated as a single race. **Ethnicity**, on the other hand, refers to *variations in cultural background, nationality, history, religion, and/or language* (Hall et al., 2016), a term more closely associated with the variations in attitudes, behaviors, and roles that we discuss in this book.

Unfortunately, there are no universally acceptable labels that identify a person's ethnicity. Some terms are based on geographical origin as in *African American* and *Euro-American* whereas others are based on color, such as *Black* and *White*. Furthermore, each major ethnic category encompasses a diversity of ethnic subtypes. For example, Americans with Asian ancestry, regardless of their specific origin (e.g., China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam), are generally grouped into a single category of Asian Americans. Similarly, Whites from countries as diverse as Ireland, Germany, and Russia are combined into one ethnic group. Along the same lines, the label *Latina/o* refers to individuals from Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, and others of Hispanic origin (Robinson-Wood, 2017). With the hope that our usage does not inadvertently offend anyone, ethnic group labels used in this book are Asian American, Black, Latina/o, Native American, and White, recognizing that each of these broad ethnic categories actually encompasses a diversity of cultures.

Theme 2: Gender Differences in Power

> *In no known societies do women dominate men. . . . Men, on average, enjoy more power than women, on average, and this appears to have been true throughout human history.*
>
> (Pratto & Walker, 2004, p. 242)

Two interlocking ideas characterize our power theme. One is that the experiences of women in virtually all cultures are shaped by both **organizational power**, *the ability to use valuable resources to dominate and control others*, and **interpersonal power**, *the ability to influence one's partner within*

> ## WHAT <u>YOU</u> CAN DO 1.1
> ### Help Empower Girls and Women
>
> One theme of this book is that men hold more power than women. Many national organizations that work to empower girls and women have local chapters, such as the NOW, the Girl Scouts, the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association), and the American Association of University Women. Volunteer for one of these organizations in your community.

a specific relationship. The greater organizational power of males compared to that of females is evident in our discussion of numerous topics, including gender differences in salary (Chapter 10), the underrepresentation of women in high-status occupations (Chapter 10), and sexual harassment (Chapter 14). Additionally, gender differences in interpersonal power are clearly reflected in our discussions of interpersonal violence (Chapter 14), rape (Chapter 14), and the allocation of household responsibilities (Chapter 11).

Both of these power differentials reflect an undesirable imbalance in a form of power, called **power-over**, *a person's or group's control of another person or group*. This type of power is distinguished from **power-to**, *the empowerment of self and others to accomplish tasks* (Baker, 2015). Whereas the former is a negative type of power that restricts opportunities and choices of members of the less powerful group, the latter allows for personal growth for all. Thus, feminist psychologists want to eliminate the former and increase the latter (Denmark et al., 2015; Sen, 2017).

A second component of our theme of power differences is that many women experience more than one type of power imbalance. In addition to a gender difference in power, women can experience power inequities as a function of their ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, age, and physical ability (Hawkesworth, 2016; Launius & Hassel, 2015). Furthermore, the effects of these imbalances are cumulative. For example, women of color experience greater discrimination in the workplace than do White women (Chapter 10). As bell hooks (1990) stated, "By calling attention to interlocking systems of domination—sex, race, and class—Black women and many other groups of women acknowledge the diversity and complexity of female experience, of our relationship to power and domination" (p. 187).

One consequence of gender differences in power is that women and women's issues receive less emphasis and visibility than men and men's issues. In this chapter, for example, we saw that women's contributions to psychology have often been overlooked. We examine other instances of this problem in our discussion of specific topics, such as the underrepresentation of females in the media (Chapter 2) and the exclusion of women from major studies of medical and health issues (Chapter 12). See What <u>You</u> Can Do 1.1 for ways you can help empower girls and women.

A term closely related to power is **privilege**, which is defined as *benefits, advantages, and power that accrue to members of a dominant group by virtue of their status in society*. Groups may be privileged without realizing, recognizing, or even wanting it. Dominant (i.e., privileged) groups are considered the norm, while marginalized groups are considered the "other" (Halley & Eshleman, 2016; Launius & Hassel, 2015). The *male dominance that characterizes virtually all societies* is referred to as **hegemonic masculinity** (Silvestri & Crowther-Dowey, 2016). In addition to males, what are some other groups that are privileged in Western societies?

Theme 3: Social Construction of Gender

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, social scientists differentiate between sex, the biological aspects of femaleness and maleness, and gender, the nonbiological components. Our third theme is the **social construction of gender**, which points out that *the traits, behaviors, and roles that people associate with females and males are not inherent in one's sex; they are shaped by numerous interpersonal, cultural, and societal forces*. Even if some aspects of being a female or a male are biologically based, we live in a society that emphasizes gender, and our development as women and men—as well as our

conceptions of what it means to be a female or a male—is significantly influenced by cultural and societal values (Eagly & Wood, 2013; Kenschaft & Clark, 2016; Ryle, 2015). We do not exist in a sterile laboratory; instead, we are continually affected by an interlocking set of expectations, pressures, and rewards that guide our development as women and men.

Furthermore, our experience and conceptions of femaleness and maleness cannot be viewed as separate from our ethnicity and social class (Rice, 2014) or from our sexual orientation and physical ability/disability (Launius & Hassel, 2015). Each of these identities is also socially constructed. Lesbians, for example, are affected not only by societal expectations about what women are like, but also by people's beliefs about and attitudes toward sexual minorities. To put it another way, studying women without looking at the intersections of their socially constructed multiple identities results in a limited and incomplete understanding of women's lives (Robinson-Wood, 2017).

The social construction of gender is discussed in relation to several topics in the text. For example, we examine theories that explain how children develop their ideas about gender (Chapter 3); explore the processes of instilling a child with expectations about what it means to be a girl or boy (Chapter 4); and look at social influences on gender in our discussion of gender differences in aggression (Chapter 5), friendship (Chapter 8), and the division of household labor (Chapter 11).

Summary

DEFINITIONS: SEX AND GENDER

- *Sex* refers to the classification of females and males based on biological factors. *Gender* refers to social expectations of roles and behaviors for females and males.

WOMEN AND MEN: SIMILAR OR DIFFERENT?

- The similarities approach (beta bias) argues that women and men are basically alike in their behaviors and that any differences are a product of socialization.
- The differences approach (alpha bias) emphasizes that women and men are different and that these differences are biologically based.

FEMINISM

- Liberal, cultural, socialist, radical, and women of color feminism all posit that women are disadvantaged relative to men. They differ in their assumptions about the sources of this inequality.

HISTORY OF WOMEN IN PSYCHOLOGY

- For many years, women attained few leadership positions and awards in the APA, but gains have been made in recent years.
- Women's contributions to psychology have often been overlooked or ignored, but that situation is improving.

HISTORY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

- In the early years of psychology, women were viewed as inferior to men and their experiences were rarely studied.
- Early women psychologists carried out research that challenged the assumptions of female inferiority.
- In the 1970s, the psychology of women emerged as a separate field of study.
- In recent years, research on diverse groups of women has increased and new theoretical models have been developed.

STUDYING THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

- Psychological research is not value free. Throughout most of its history, psychology did not pay much attention to the experiences of girls and women in either the topics investigated or the participants studied.
- Since 1970, there has been an increase in research focus on females; however, most of this research has been carried out on White, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied women.
- Generalizing results based on one type of participant to other types of people can lead to inaccurate conclusions.
- The researcher's theoretical perspective influences the hypothesis examined in the research,

which in turn affects the type of information learned from the research.
- The measures used to study the research topic can influence the findings of the research.
- Due to publication bias, published studies are more likely to present gender differences than gender similarities.
- Very few studies use blatantly biased gender language, but a more subtle bias can be detected in the use of nonparallel terms for comparable female and male behaviors.
- Some feminists advocate the use of traditional objective, quantitative research methods, while others favor qualitative procedures.
- There are several principles that characterize most feminist research.
- The narrative approach and meta-analysis are two methods of integrating results of several studies on the same topic.

- Meta-analysis is a statistical method that provides a measure of the magnitude of a given difference, known as the effect size.

THEMES IN THE TEXT

- Three themes are prominent in this text.
- First, psychology must examine the intersecting identities and experiences of diverse groups of women.
- Second, the greater organizational and interpersonal power of men compared to women negatively shapes and limits women's experiences. Women of color, poor and working-class women, sexual minority women, and women with disabilities experience additional power inequities, with cumulative effects.
- Third, gender is socially constructed; it is shaped by social, cultural, and societal values.

Key Terms

gender roles *2*
gender *2*
sex *2*
beta bias *2*
alpha bias *2*
essentialism *2*
liberal feminism *3*
cultural feminism *4*
socialist feminism *4*
radical feminism *4*
patriarchy *4*
women of color feminism *4*

racism *4*
classism *4*
sexism *4*
mujerista psychology *4*
standpoint theory *8*
social constructionism *8*
sample *9*
population *9*
male as normative *10*
statistical significance *11*
meta-analysis *15*
effect size *15*

intersectionality *16*
race *16*
ethnicity *16*
organizational power *16*
interpersonal power *16*
power-over *17*
power-to *17*
privilege *17*
hegemonic masculinity *17*
social construction of gender *17*

What Do You Think?

1. Do you prefer the similarities approach or the differences approach to the study of gender issues? Why?
2. Which definition of *feminism* or combination of definitions best reflects your own view of feminism? Why?
3. Do you think it would be desirable for women and/or men if more people identified themselves as feminists? Explain your answer.
4. We noted a few experiences of women that are influenced by a gender imbalance in power, and we will cover other examples throughout the text. However, can you now identify any behaviors or concerns of women that you think are influenced by a power imbalance?

If You Want to Learn More

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Websites

Feminism

feminist.com
http://www.feminist.com/
https://femwoc.com

Cultural Representation of Gender

In September 1970, on the day I (Judith) began my academic career, there was a meeting of the faculty at my campus. As was the custom, the campus director introduced me and another new professor to the rest of the faculty and staff. His introduction of my male colleague was both unsurprising and appropriate; he identified him as "Dr. Lantry Brooks" and then provided his academic credentials. Although my educational background was also given, the director introduced me, quite awkwardly, as "Dr., Mrs. Judith Bridges."

What images of women's and men's roles does this dual title suggest? Is there a power difference implied by the different forms of address used for my male colleague and me?

Leap ahead to 2016. At that time, a colleague of Claire's went through a lengthy decision-making process about the surname she would use after her forthcoming marriage. She knew her fiancé was not going to change his name, and she considered taking his name, retaining her birth name, or hyphenating their names. She decided to hyphenate.

Does this colleague's decision have any effect on people's impressions of her? When students read her name in the course schedule, when she applies for grants, or when she is introduced to new acquaintances, does her hyphenated name suggest a different image than her alternative choices would have? Why do people associate different characteristics with different surname choices; that is, what social experiences help shape these images?

I n this chapter, we explore these issues and similar ones as we examine stereotypes of females and males, the nature of sexism, and the representations of gender in the media and in language.

STEREOTYPES OF FEMALES AND MALES

Before we begin, think about your conception of the *typical* adult woman and the *typical* adult man. Then indicate your ideas in Get Involved 2.1.

The Content of Gender Stereotypes

The characteristics shown in Get Involved 2.1 reflect **gender stereotypes**, that is, *widely shared beliefs about the attributes of females and males.* These views are present in virtually all cultures that have been studied (Ruspini, 2011; Guimond et al., 2013). As this sample of traits indicates, *personality characteristics associated with women, such as sympathy, kindness, and warmth, reflect a concern about other people.* Social scientists call this cluster of attributes **communion**. *The group of instrumental traits associated with men, including achievement orientation and ambitiousness,* on the other hand*, reflects a concern about accomplishing tasks* and is called **agency** (Fuegen & Biernat, 2013; Wood & Eagly, 2015).

Consistent with the tendency to associate communal traits with females and agentic traits with males is people's tendency to expect different roles for women and men (Barretto & Ellemers, 2013; Beane et al., 2014). For example, although most women are employed, many individuals continue to expect that women will be the primary caregivers of both children and older parents and that men will be the primary providers (Donnelly et al., 2016). In addition, people perceive female family members (i.e., mothers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts) to be more communal toward them than male family members (Monin et al., 2008).

Interestingly, some of these stereotypes have remained relatively unchanged since the 1970s, especially those involving experiencing and expressing emotion and caring as more typical of women and those involving assertiveness, independence, and activity as more typical of men (Haines et al., 2016; Wood & Eagly, 2015). However, as women have gained status in Western culture in the last few decades, they have increasingly been viewed as having stereotypically masculine traits (Twenge, 2009). The typical woman is no longer considered to be less logical, direct, ambitious, or objective than the typical man or to have greater difficulty in making decisions or separating ideas from feelings. These traits constitute agentic characteristics having to do with competence and the capacity to be effective (Wood & Eagly, 2015).

You might have noted that the attributes comprising the male stereotype are more highly regarded in North American society and are more consistent with a powerful image and a higher status than those comprising the female cluster (Guimond et al., 2013). In Western culture, with its strong emphasis on the value of hard work and achievement, people tend to associate agentic qualities, such as ambition and independence, with power and prestige and to evaluate these traits more positively than communal attributes, such as gentleness and emotionality. In fact, highly competent and agentic women often are disliked, especially by men (Eagly, 2013). Thus, gender stereotypes are the first indication of the power imbalance discussed in Chapter 1.

Gender stereotypes are relevant to another theme, introduced in Chapter 1, the social construction of gender. Regardless of their accuracy, gender-related beliefs serve as lenses that guide one's expectations and interpretations of other people (Guimond, 2013). They can elicit stereotypic

GET INVOLVED 2.1
How Do You View Typical Females and Males?

Indicate which of the following characteristics reflect your conception of a *typical* adult woman and a *typical* adult man. Write *W* next to each characteristic you associate with women and *M* next to each characteristic you associate with men. If you think a particular trait is representative of both women and men, write both *W* and *M* next to that trait.

_____ achievement oriented

_____ active

_____ adventurous

_____ affectionate

_____ aggressive

_____ ambitious

_____ boastful

_____ charming

_____ daring

_____ dominant

_____ emotional

_____ gentle

_____ independent

_____ kind

_____ people oriented

_____ pleasant

_____ rational

_____ softhearted

_____ sympathetic

_____ warm

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Did your conceptions of a typical woman and a typical man match those reported by samples of university students from the United States and 28 other countries? These students described the typical woman with traits including affectionate, charming, emotional, gentle, kind, people oriented, softhearted, sympathetic, and warm; they described the typical man with characteristics such as achievement oriented, active, adventurous, ambitious, boastful, daring, independent, and rational.

1. If your impressions of the typical woman and the typical man did not agree with the descriptions reported by these samples of college students, give possible reasons.

2. What was the ethnic identity of the typical woman and man that you considered when performing this activity? If you thought about a White woman and man, do you think your conceptions would have varied had you been asked to specifically consider Blacks, Latinas/os, Asian Americans, or Native Americans? If yes, what are those differences and what can explain them?

3. Similarly, did you think of a middle-class woman and man? Would your impressions have varied had you thought about working-class or poor females and males? Explain any possible differences in gender stereotypes based on social class.

Sources: Based on De Lisi and Soundranayagam (1990) and Williams and Best (1990).

behaviors from others. For example, a high school teacher who believes that females are more nurturing than males might ask female students to volunteer in a day-care center run by the school. This activity would provide females but not males with the opportunity to develop their caregiving traits. Thus, the teacher's stereotype about the communal characteristics of girls and women might actually contribute to the construction of feminine traits in her female students.

The importance of gender stereotypes in the social construction of gender is also evident in the choices individuals make about their own behavior. For example, a gender stereotype that develops early is that males, more than females, have high-level intellectual ability (e.g., brilliance, genius). Girls as young as age 6 are less likely than boys to believe that members of their own gender are "really really smart," and they begin to avoid activities said to be for "really really smart" children (Bian et al., 2017). This gender stereotype may thus be steering girls into less ambitious career goals.

The traits we have examined thus far are those that North Americans see as *representative* of most women and men. However, these stereotypes differ from people's views of the *ideal* woman and man. Interestingly, both college students and faculty view the ideal woman and the ideal man as high in both agentic and communal traits.

The Perceiver's Ethnicity and Gender Stereotypes

When you performed Get Involved 2.1, did your selection of traits for females and males match those found in previous research? Possibly you indicated that some of these characteristics were reflective of both females and males or that some were more representative of the gender not usually associated with the stereotype. Although there is considerable consistency among people in their gender stereotypes, all individuals do not think alike.

In fact, there is evidence that people from different ethnic backgrounds vary in the degree to which they believe the ideal characteristics for females are different from the ideal traits for males, with Blacks less stereotypic in their views than Latinas/os or Whites (Carter et al., 2009; Hayes & Swim, 2013).

The Target's Characteristics and Gender Stereotypes

We have seen that people with diverse ethnic backgrounds differ somewhat in their perception of stereotypes of women and men. Now let's examine how these stereotypes vary as a function of the characteristics of the person who is the object, or target, of the stereotype. These characteristics include a woman's age, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and ableness.

AGE.   One of the challenges facing older people in North America and many other parts of the world is the presence of stereotypes (mostly negative) that many people hold about older people (Levy et al., 2014; McHugh & Interligi, 2014; Vacha-Haase et al., 2014). Both children and adults express stereotyped views about older people, some positive (warm, kind, friendly, wise) and others negative (incompetent, inactive, unattractive, feeble, sick, cranky, forgetful, obstinate) (Chrisler et al., 2016; Lepianka, 2015; North & Fiske, 2015). Such negative stereotypes are part of a concept known as **ageism,** *a bias against older people*. Ageism resembles sexism and racism in that all are forms of prejudice that limit people who are the object of that prejudice. Unlike sexism and racism, however, everyone will confront ageism if they live long enough (Holstein, 2015; Nelson, 2016).

Ageism seems to be more strongly directed toward women than men. For centuries, unflattering terms have been used to describe middle-aged and older women: shrew, crazy old lady, crone, hag, wicked old witch, old maid, dreaded mother-in-law (Have you ever heard any jokes about fathers-in-law?) (American Psychological Association, 2007; Bugental & Hehman, 2007). Another example of negative attitudes toward older women is the double standard of aging that we will examine later in the chapter.

Psychologists seem to share society's negative views of older women (Baldwin & Garner, 2016). They are more likely to rate older women as less assertive, less willing to take risks, and less competent than younger women (American Psychological Association, 2007). Moreover, feminists are not free of ageism and have paid very little attention to older women (McHugh & Interligi, 2014). For example, even though textbooks on the psychology of women and psychology of gender note the invisibility of older women in the media, these texts themselves give only minimal coverage to midlife and older women (Etaugh et al., 2010). In addition, coverage of eating disorders and sexually transmitted infections in these textbooks focuses almost exclusively on younger women, even though these conditions affect women of all ages. Elder abuse also is ignored by most of the books.

Although aging women have traditionally been viewed less positively than aging men, there is some indication that attitudes toward older women may be improving. One positive sign is what psychologist Margaret Matlin (2001) calls the "Wise and Wonderful Movement." In the

twenty-first century, more scholarly research is being devoted to how older women are contributing to the current climate of social change and how these positive developments can improve the lives of older women (Muhlbauer et al., 2015). In addition, there has been an explosion of books on women who discover themselves in middle or old age. The books present a positive picture of the challenges and opportunities for women in their later years. Three of these books, by Laura Hurd Clarke (2011), Martha Holstein (2015), and Lynne Segal (2013), are listed as recommended readings at the end of this chapter.

ETHNICITY. Research has found that women are viewed differently according to their ethnicity. Latinas, for example, are described in relatively positive or neutral terms: pleasant, caring, family-oriented, and passive (Mindiola et al., 2002; Niemann et al., 1994). East Asian American women are often perceived as soft-spoken and subservient, but also as hard-working and highly educated, a "model minority" (Le & Dinh, 2015). South Asian American women are viewed as passive victims of oppressive families and cultures (Rice, 2014; Singh et al., 2017).

Black women tend to be viewed in terms of the cultural matriarchal stereotype: tough, direct, aggressive, dominant, and strong (Ashley, 2014; Helms, 2017). This somewhat negative stereotype indicates that individuals may overlook the harsh realities of racial and gender oppression in the lives of many Black women and may perceive Black women through a racist lens, a problem experienced by other ethnic minority women as well (Chisholm & Greene, 2008).

SOCIAL CLASS. Studies have found that individuals of lower socioeconomic status are often characterized as unattractive, loud, dependent, lazy, stupid, uneducated, and promiscuous (Goodman et al., 2013; Loo et al., 2017; Lott, 2012). One study found that women from a poor, White community in Appalachia were perceived as dirty, uncouth, "white trash," and unfit mothers. Similarly, women who receive public aid are subjected to demeaning, hostile attitudes and treatment by workers in the welfare system (Lott, 2010).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals experience widespread social stigmatization that either renders them invisible or causes them to be viewed as sick, immoral, or evil (Orel & Fruehauf, 2015; Robinson-Wood 2017). Moreover, many sexual minority individuals claim that the labels "masculine" and "feminine" represent efforts of the heterosexual community to pigeonhole LGBTs in traditional ways (Rathus et al., 2013).

ABLENESS. People attribute more negative characteristics to women with disabilities than to able-bodied women. This bias against people because of their disability is known as **ableism** (Robinson-Wood, 2017). Women with disabilities, unlike able-bodied women, are frequently stereotyped as unattractive, asexual, unfit to reproduce, helpless, weak, and overly dependent (Fawcett, 2016; Nosek, 2010; Robinson-Wood, 2017).

In summary, we can see that gender stereotypes are not applied uniformly to all women. A woman's age, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and ableness influence how she is perceived.

Stereotypes of Girls and Boys

We have seen that people have different expectations of the traits and behaviors of adult females and males. Now let's examine adults' gender-stereotypic expectations of children.

As early as the first few days of life, newborn girls and boys are perceived differently. Parents rate newborn daughters as finer featured, less strong, and more delicate than newborn sons, despite medical evidence of no physical differences between them (Karraker et al., 1995). Thus, it is apparent that adults hold gender stereotypes of the physical characteristics of children immediately after the child's birth.

Adults' gender stereotypes of children are not restricted to early infancy. When Canadian college students were asked to rate typical characteristics of 4- to 7-year-old girls and boys, they rated 24 out of 25 traits as being more typical for one gender than the other. Additionally, the traits

seen as typical for girls versus boys reflected the communion–agency stereotypes evident in gender stereotypes of adults. For example, these students rated girls, compared to boys, as more gentle, sympathetic, and helpful around the house, and they rated boys as more self-reliant, dominant, and competitive than girls.

Bases for Gender Stereotypes

Our exploration of the origins of gender stereotypes focuses on two related issues: (1) the reasons why people stereotype on the basis of gender and (2) the reasons why these stereotypes center on communal traits for females and agentic attributes for males. In other words, we will consider explanations for both the *process* and the *content* of gender stereotyping.

SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION.   Because individuals are bombarded daily with diverse types of people, behaviors, situations, and so on, they simplify their social perceptions by *sorting individuals into categories*, a process called **social categorization** (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). They focus on the characteristics people share with other members of that category. As an example, in a hospital individuals might categorize the health professionals they encounter as doctors and nurses. Then, the differential set of characteristics they associate with physicians versus nurses serves as a behavior guide when they interact with them, enabling them to ask questions appropriate to their skills and knowledge.

Although individuals use a variety of cues for the sorting process, social categorization is frequently based on easily identified characteristics, such as ethnicity, age, and sex (Shutts, 2015; Zell et al., 2015). Sex is one of the most pervasive methods of categorizing people. The process of gender stereotyping begins with the categorization of individuals as females or males with the implicit assumption that the members of each sex share certain attributes. Then, when one meets a new individual, he/she attributes these gender characteristics to this person.

Although the social categorization and stereotyping processes help simplify a person's understanding of and interactions with other people, they can lead a person astray, because neither all females nor all males are alike. Individuals are most likely to rely on stereotypes when they have little differentiating information about the person. Once more details about a person are available, they use that information in addition to the person's gender to form their impressions and guide their interactions (Kite et al., 2008). For example, when evaluating an individual's level of ambition, people might make use of the person's gender if no other information were available. However, this information would be much less important if they knew the individual was the CEO of a major corporation.

SOCIAL ROLE THEORY.   Given that people divide others into gender categories and attribute similar characteristics to all members of a category, we turn now to the question of why people associate communion with females and agency with males. One possibility is that these stereotypes stem from people's observations of the behaviors individuals typically perform in their social roles. According to **social role theory** (Eagly, 2013a), *stereotypes of women and men stem from the association of women with the domestic role and men with the employee role*. Thus, because individuals have observed women primarily in the domestic role, they assume women have the nurturing traits characteristic of that role. Similarly, because more men than women have traditionally been seen in the employment role, people perceive men as having the agentic traits displayed in the workplace.

Support for this theory of gender stereotypes comes from studies that show the influence of a person's social role on the application of gender-related traits to her/him. For example, social roles can override gender when assigning communal or agentic characteristics to others. Specifically, when participants are asked to describe a woman and a man who are homemakers, they view them as equally communal. Similarly, when asked to describe a full-time female and male employee, they perceive both as agentic. In addition, women and men who are employed are viewed as more agentic

than those who are not (Coleman & Franiuk, 2011), mothers are seen as more communal than non-mothers (Bridges et al., 2000; Etaugh & Poertner, 1992), and married women are perceived as more communal than unmarried women (Etaugh & Nekolny, 1990; Etaugh & Poertner, 1991). Clearly, when people are aware of an individual's social role, their stereotypes of the person are influenced by that role information.

The influence of social roles on gender stereotypes is evident even when people are asked to describe women and men in both the past and the future. When both college students and students after college were asked to rate the average woman and the average man in 1950, 1975, 2025, and 2050, they viewed females as becoming dramatically more masculine over time and males as becoming somewhat more feminine (Diekman & Eagly, 1997). What accounts for these perceptions? In support of social role theory, the researchers found that the decreasing degree of gender stereotyping was related to the belief that the occupational and domestic roles of women and men during this time period have become and will continue to become increasingly similar.

Keep in mind, however, the evidence presented earlier in this chapter—that stereotypes have remained relatively constant, at least since the 1970s. What can explain the discrepancy between the increased participation of women in the labor force and the consistency of gender stereotypes over time? Although more women are employed now than in the past, they are more likely than men to be employed in caregiving occupations, such as nursing and early childhood education. Also, regardless of their employment role, women still have the primary caregiving responsibility in their families. Although social roles are gradually changing, women remain the primary nurturers and men the primary providers around the world (Eagly, 2013). Consequently, it is not surprising that people's stereotypes of females and males have been resistant to change.

Recently, Alice Eagly and Wendy Wood (2013) proposed a biosocial constructionist model, which blends social role theory with biological processes. This biosocial model posits that biological specialization of the sexes (i.e., women's reproductive capabilities, men's speed and strength) made it more efficient for women and men in preindustrial societies to perform different activities. This gendered division of labor has given rise to gender role beliefs (i.e., social roles). These beliefs are maintained by socialization practices through which children learn what is considered acceptable behavior for each gender.

Stereotypes Based on Identity Labels

Recall the experience Judith described at the beginning of the chapter when she was introduced as "Dr., Mrs. Bridges." The fact that the campus director introduced her this way but did not present her male colleague as "Dr. Lantry Brooks who happens to be married" implies he believed that a woman's identity, more than a man's, is shaped by her marital role. Although his use of a dual title was unusual, his belief about a woman's identity is consistent with the long-standing cultural norm that a woman is defined in terms of her relationship to a man. Given that a woman's title of address can signify her marital role and that her marital status has been viewed as an important aspect of her identity, people might expect different stereotypes of women who use different titles for themselves. Consider the woman who chooses not to use the conventional "Miss" or "Mrs." labels that announce her marital status but instead identifies herself with the neutral "Ms." Kelly Malcolmson and Lisa Sinclair (2007) replicated older studies that had found that women who prefer the title Ms. are perceived as more agentic but less communal than traditionally titled women. Thus, the Ms. title remains a powerful cue eliciting a stereotype consistent with male gender-related traits and inconsistent with female gender-related traits. Other research by Carol Lawton and her colleagues (Lawton et al., 2003) found that *Ms.* was often defined as a title for unmarried women, especially by younger adults. Older unmarried women were more likely to prefer *Ms.* as their own title than were younger unmarried women, whereas married women overwhelmingly preferred the use of *Mrs.*

Given that people's impressions of a woman are influenced by her preferred title, a related question is whether these stereotypes vary according to another identity label, a woman's choice of surname after marriage. Similar to the preference for *Ms.* as a title of address, a woman's choice of a

surname other than her husband's, such as her birth name or a hyphenated name, is a nontraditional practice that separates the woman's personal identity from her identity as a wife. Nowadays, about 20 percent of college-educated brides keep their birth surname, and another 10 percent hyphenate their name or use their birth surname as a middle name. Women are more likely to keep their name if they are older, not religious, have children from a previous marriage, or have an advanced degree and established career (Miller & Willis, 2015). Thus, it is not surprising that studies by Claire, Judith, and others (Etaugh et al., 1999; Etaugh & Conrad, 2004; Etaugh & Roe, 2002; Robnett et al., 2016) showed that college women and men view married women who use a nontraditional surname as more agentic and less communal than women who follow the patriarchal practice of taking their husbands' names after marriage.

Why do a woman's preferred title and surname influence the characteristics attributed to her? One possibility is that individuals have observed more women with nontraditional forms of address (i.e., title and/or surname) in the workplace than in the domestic role and, thus, attribute more agentic traits to her. Indeed we've just seen that married women who use nonconventional surnames are often highly educated and have prestigious occupations (Miller & Willis, 2015). Thus, consistent with social role theory (Eagly, 2013a), stereotypes of women who prefer nontraditional forms of address might be due to the belief that they are in nontraditional roles.

SEXISM: EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

The definition of *sexism* as bias against people because of their gender can be directed at either females or males. However, because women have a power disadvantage relative to men, they are more likely to be targets of sexism (Becker et al., 2014). Therefore, our discussion focuses on the more specific definition of **sexism** as *stereotypes and/or discriminatory behaviors that serve to restrict women's roles and maintain male dominance*. For example, prescriptive stereotypes such as "women should be the primary caregivers" and "women are not competent to be police officers or university presidents" serve to shape women's role choices. *Violating these prescriptive gender stereotypes can result in social and economic reprisals*—a phenomenon referred to as the **backlash effect** (Williams & Tiedens, 2016). For example, a highly qualified female job applicant may be viewed as socially deficient, leading to hiring discrimination and ultimately the maintenance of male dominance in the culture at large.

Consider the real-life case of Ann Hopkins, a highly accomplished manager at Price Waterhouse, a prestigious accounting firm. In 1982, Hopkins was one of 88 candidates for partner and the only female candidate. At that time, she had more billable hours than any other contenders, had brought in $25 million worth of business, and was highly regarded by her clients. However, Ann Hopkins was turned down for the partnership. She was criticized for her "macho" style and was advised to "walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear makeup and jewelry" (Elsesser, 2015).

Hopkins filed a lawsuit, asserting that her promotion had been denied on the basis of her gender. Although she won this suit, her employer appealed the decision all the way up to the Supreme Court. The Court decided in Ann Hopkins's favor, concluding that gender-based stereotyping had played a role in the firm's refusal to promote her to partner. After this decision, Ann Hopkins did become a partner and was awarded financial compensation for her lost earnings.

Experiences With Sexism

Sadly, almost all girls and women experience sexism at one time or another (Bates, 2016; Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). For example, a study of 600 teenage girls of varied socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds (Leaper & Brown, 2008) found that half of the girls reported hearing discouraging, sexist comments about their abilities in science, math, or computer usage. Three-fourths had received disparaging comments about their athletic abilities and sports involvement. Male peers were the most common perpetrators of academic and athletic sexist remarks. Such disapproval may lead some girls to downplay their interests and competencies in sports or academic areas, which can ultimately diminish