TRANSFORMATIONS

Women, Gender, and Psychology

FOURTH EDITION

Mary Crawford
University of Connecticut

TRANSFORMATIONS: WOMEN, GENDER, AND PSYCHOLOGY, FOURTH EDITION

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 LCR 27 26 25 24 23 22

ISBN 978-1-260-80365-5 (bound edition)
MHID 1-260-80365-1 (bound edition)
ISBN 978-1-264-17011-1 (loose-leaf edition)
MHID 1-264-17011-4 (loose-leaf edition)

Portfolio Manager: *Sarah Remington*
Product Developer: *Francesca King*
Marketing Manager: *Kim Schroeder-Freund*
Content Project Manager: *Rick Hecker*
Buyer: *Susan K. Culbertson*
Design: *David W. Hash*
Content Licensing Specialist: *Brianna Kirschbaum*
Cover Image: *Oxygen/Getty Images*
Compositor: *MPS Limited*

All credits appearing on page or at the end of the book are considered to be an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Crawford, Mary, author. | Kaufman, Michelle R., author.
Title: Transformations : women, gender and psychology / Mary Crawford, University of Connecticut, Michelle R. Kaufman, PhD, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health.
Description: Fourth edition. | New York, NY : McGraw Hill LLC, [2023] | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020024027 | ISBN 9781260803655 (bound edition) | ISBN 9781264170111 (loose-leaf edition)
Subjects: LCSH: Women—Psychology. | Gender identity. | Feminist psychology. | Sex role. | Sex differences (Psychology) | Social change.
Classification: LCC HQ1206 .C733 2023 | DDC 155.3/33—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020024027

mheducation.com/highered

In memory of my daughter
Mary Ellen Drummer
A feminist voice stilled too soon

About the Author

MARY CRAWFORD is Professor Emerita of Psychology and former director of the Women's Studies Program at the University of Connecticut. As a faculty member at West Chester University of Pennsylvania, she earned the Trustees' Award for Lifetime Achievement for her research and teaching on women and gender. She has also held the Jane W. Irwin Chair in Women's Studies at Hamilton College, served as a distinguished Visiting Teacher/Scholar at the College of New Jersey, and directed the graduate program in Women's Studies at the University of South Carolina. Professor Crawford received her PhD in experimental psychology from the University of Delaware. She has served as a consulting editor for ***Sex Roles***, an associate editor of ***Feminism & Psychology,*** and is a Fellow of both the American Psychological Association and the American Psychological Society. Mary Crawford has spoken and written about the psychology of women and gender for audiences as diverse as the British Psychological Society, *Ms*. Magazine, and The Oprah Winfrey Show. In addition to more than 120 publications on women and gender, she has written or edited 10 books including ***Gender and Thought: Psychological Perspectives*** (1989); ***Talking Difference: On Gender and Language*** (1995); ***Gender Differences in Human Cognition*** (1997); ***Coming Into Her Own: Educational Success in Girls and Women*** (1999); and ***Innovative Methods for Feminist Psychological Research*** (1999), which received the Distinguished Publication Award from the Association for Women in Psychology. As a Fulbright Senior Scholar, she lived and worked in Kathmandu, Nepal, where she collaborated with Nepali NGOs to develop interventions to reduce sex trafficking. Her book, ***Sex Trafficking in South Asia: Telling Maya's Story*** (2011), is both a memoir about the experience of doing research with women in Nepal and a feminist analysis of sex trafficking in South Asia.

Contents

PART 5 *Gender and Well-Being*

Preface

As I began writing this new edition of *Transformations* in January 2020, my personal and professional life seemed entirely secure and predictable. I could not have imagined that soon the world would be swept by a global pandemic. As the novel coronavirus began to spread COVID-19, the world began to lock down. Businesses closed, schools and universities changed to remote learning, and health care workers risked their lives daily to care for the sick and dying. At the height of the pandemic, the world watched in horror as George Floyd died with a police officer's knee on his throat, sparking worldwide protests for social justice in honor of Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and other Black victims of police brutality.

The 2020 pandemic gave new meaning to the word "transformation," as daily life was changed in previously unimaginable ways. Weddings and funerals were postponed indefinitely, grandparents and grandchildren were unable to hug each other, and dancing, dating, singing in a choir, or hanging out with friends became risky, if not downright forbidden. The United States was hit particularly hard by the pandemic: with 4 percent of the world population, it has had 20 percent of the world's deaths. Black and Latinx Americans were far more likely to die of COVID-19 than white Americans. Challenged by the pandemic and a tumultuous presidential election that included baseless claims of "voter fraud," and a prolonged refusal by the loser to concede defeat, many Americans looked forward with hope to 2021 and the transformative effect of newly available vaccines.

Working on the 4th edition of *Transformations* throughout the pandemic year, I became determined to analyze and include the effects of the pandemic on gender-relevant attitudes and behavior. The latest research on the effects of COVID-19 on matters as wide ranging as women's workforce participation, pregnancy decision-making, access to abortion, mental health, and the burden on working mothers is included in this edition. Because the events of 2020 made abundantly clear that racism is still an enormous problem in the United States, I determined to reinforce the intersectional, multicultural, and social justice aspects of this text.

I also want to recall the original meaning of *Transformations* I had in mind when I first chose it for my title. This book explores many kinds of

transformations. First, it reflects the developmental transformations of a gendered life. The binary gender label assigned at birth influences growth from gender-innocent infant to gender-socialized child. The process of developing a gender identity and a sexual identity is transformative. Think, too, of the transformation from sexual inexperience to sexual maturity and agency, and the shift in identity that happens as a young person goes from being a student to a working adult or an older person retires from paid work. Motherhood is another profound transformation of self, roles, and behavior. And, too often, those who are victimized by gender-based violence must transform themselves from victim to survivor. Being a woman is not a static condition, but rather a dynamic, ever-shifting social construction.

A second meaning of my title reflects the transformation within psychology that made this book, and others like it, possible. In the past, women were routinely omitted from psychology textbooks, research on women was scarce or negatively biased, and women themselves encountered resistance to becoming psychologists and engaging in research and practice. Today, the psychology of women and gender is a flourishing part of the psychology field. The perspectives of feminist psychologists have changed theory, research, and practice in virtually every area of psychology. Women now earn the majority of professional degrees in psychology, and most psychology departments offer courses in women and gender. These changes, which came about through feminist activism and struggle, have been astonishingly successful.

I've been teaching the psychology of women and gender since 1975 and writing about it for students since 1992. I'm gratified that the first three editions of *Transformations* were adopted by many instructors and became student favorites. After describing the book's distinguishing features and conceptual framework, I'll focus on what's new in this edition.

A Focus on Intersectionality, Multiculturalism, and Diversity

In Chapter 1, I define the concept of intersectionality and discuss its importance for feminist psychology. This edition includes a new section, "Embracing Intersectionality in Psychological Research," which sets the stage for integrating intersectional research into topical chapters that follow. By introducing this key theoretical principle of feminist studies under a major heading, I signal its importance. In the chapters that follow, I apply intersectional analyses to such issues as micro-aggressions, minority stress, multiple oppressions, stereotype threat, sexual harassment, workplace discrimination, and the effects of being privileged on some dimensions but not others.

Throughout this book, U.S. women of color and women from other cultures are central in research and theory. This starts in Chapter 1, where Black feminist, transnational, and global feminist perspectives are introduced, and gender is compared to other systems of social classification such as race and ethnicity. The

emphasis on systemic oppression continues in Chapter 2 with an extended discussion of how systems of social classification are linked and mutually reinforcing. Chapter 3 explores the content of gender and ethnic stereotypes and their effects on cognition, behavior, and social interaction. Chapter 4, The Meanings of Difference, focuses on the social dimensions that define difference and cause some groups to be evaluated as less worthy than others. Having set the theoretical framework for integrating intersectionality and a social constructionist perspective on difference, each chapter for the remainder of the book incorporates the experiences of women of diverse sexualities, ethnicities, social classes, (dis)abilities, nationalities, and ages.

Fortunately, there is an increasing amount of research being done with lesbian, gay, bisexual, nonbinary, and transgender people; women and men of color; adult (non-student) samples; people who have disabilities; and international populations. Integrating these dimensions of diversity throughout the book, I explore how incorporating more diverse people has enlarged psychology's knowledge base in sometimes surprising ways. Moreover, I show how these dimensions of diversity structure individuals' experiences, including gender socialization, adult relationships, parenting, physical health, and psychological well-being.

Every chapter incorporates dimensions of diversity and explores the intersectionality of identities along these dimensions. Here are a few examples: intersex bodies and the binary imperative (Chapter 5); lesbian married couples (Chapter 8); ethnic diversity and sexual identities (Chapter 7); stereotypes of race/ethnicity and social class (Chapter 3); culture, ethnicity, and the expression of emotion (Chapter 4); the wage gap, workplace discrimination, and sexual harassment in relation to ethnicity and gender (Chapter 10); cross-cultural differences in aging and attitudes toward the elderly (Chapter 11); sexual scripts across ethnic groups and cultures (Chapter 7); feminist therapy for diverse women (Chapter 13); disability and sexuality (Chapter 7); the diversity of women who mother, including ethnic minorities, teen mothers, trans parents, and lesbian mothers (Chapter 9); and the intersection of ethnicity and social class with gender socialization (Chapter 6).

Cross-cultural perspectives are valuable for many reasons. First, they can help students learn that what seems natural, normal, and perhaps biologically ordained in their own culture or ethnic group is not universal. Second, they can foster critical thinking on women's status and rights as a global problem. Finally, girls and women whose voices were formerly silenced and whose presence was invisible are now seen and heard. Textbooks like this can play a part in transforming psychology from its formerly, middle-class North American focus into a psychology of all people. For all these reasons, I am passionate about making sure this book reflects women in all their cultural diversity. Equally important, intersectional perspectives place gender in its context as one of many complex, interacting influences on individuals' identities and actions. I am deeply committed to intersectional approaches, and I offer them to students in this book based on my respect for the complexity of women's lives.

Gender: A Social System Linked to Status and Power

Transformations 4e presents a broad, comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding how the lives of all people, but particularly the lives of girls and women, are shaped by gender. Rather than conceiving gender as a collection of individual traits or attributes, this book presents gender as a *social system* that is used to categorize people into a binary label that is linked to power and status.

The gender system is analyzed throughout the book at three levels: sociocultural, interpersonal, and individual. Because conceptualizing gender as a social system is important from the start, the second chapter of the book is devoted to gender, status, and power. This chapter explains the gender system, how it works at each of the three levels, and demonstrates how they are linked.

As Chapter 2 explains, at the sociocultural level, men have more institutional and public power, and therefore political, religious, and normative power is concentrated largely in the hands of men. Of course, all men are not equally privileged, nor are all women equally disadvantaged. The gender system interacts with systems based on race/ethnicity, social class, heterosexuality, and other dimensions of difference. An understanding of the gender system at this level provides a context for the other levels and reduces the tendency to think of gender as mere sex differences.

At the second level of the gender system, gender is created, performed, and perpetuated in social interaction—what social constructionists call *doing gender*. I explore this topic not just as the social display of differences, but also as the social enactment of status and power. Gender-linked behaviors such as interrupting and "mansplaining," for example, reflect and perpetuate women's subordinate status.

The gender system operates at the individual level as women internalize their subordinate social status. Well-documented psychological phenomena such as denial of personal discrimination, lack of entitlement, and gendered psychological disorders such as depression can be related to internalized subordination. By conceptualizing gender as a social system, operating at three levels, my goal is to provide students with an analytical tool for understanding how gender affects all our lives in both public and private domains.

Research Methods: Attention to Process

From the start, this book has been based on scientific knowledge about women and gender. As in previous editions, research *processes* get plenty of attention. I believe it is important to show students how scientific knowledge is acquired, to help them see the methods and processes by which researchers reach their conclusions. In Chapter 1, I explain that psychological researchers use a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods, and define several of the most commonly used, briefly discussing their strengths and limitations. This background prepares students for the more sophisticated discussions that follow in Chapters 1 and 4 about sources of sex bias in

psychological research, the meaning of statistical significance (including what it does *not* mean), the role of values in psychological research, and feminist values in research.

The methodological emphasis is reinforced by another feature of this text: *Research Focus* boxes that zero in on a specific study showing its method, results, and importance. These boxes feature diverse methods including surveys, experiments, interviews, and case studies. In addition to these spotlighted studies, there are graphs and tables throughout the text that summarize the results of other studies. I discuss new methodologies that have arisen due to advances in technology, such as natural language processing techniques, ecological momentary assessments, and analysis of online surveys and social media data. Also, when describing individual studies, I report the methods and results of both classic and recent research in enough detail that students can see *how* the researcher reached her conclusions. At times, I point out the limitations of a study, counter its conclusions, or discuss ethical lapses in the conduct of the research. In all these ways, my intention is to help students understand how claims about gender should be based on evidence and reasoning, and to learn to think critically about the production of knowledge.

In an era of widely available misinformation and "alternative facts," critical thinking skills are more important than ever. Students who develop a knowledge base of psychological research and also learn how to think critically about research are better prepared to be responsible citizens, able to recognize not only sexism but other forms of prejudice and discrimination.

A Focus on Social Justice

One of the key features of this book is its positive message about social change. Studying the psychology of women and gender can be a rewarding experience for students. However, learning about sexism, discrimination, and the difficulty of changing the gender system can also be overwhelming. I have found that, even though most social science research focuses on problems, it is crucial to offer students a focus on solutions as well. In other words, it is important that students learn not only about problems created by the gender system, but also what is happening to solve them. Therefore, this book does more than focus on injustice and inequality. Every chapter ends with a section titled *Making a Difference* that focuses on social justice. In keeping with the organizing theoretical framework of the book, social changes at the societal/cultural, interpersonal, and individual levels are presented and evaluated. Transforming psychology, and transforming the world, toward being more woman-friendly and gender-equitable is an ongoing process. A central message of this book, and one that closes each chapter, is that every student can be a part of this transformation.

New in this Edition

Transformations 4e reflects the most current research and theory, with hundreds of *new* references since the previous edition. Here, I list highlights of new and updated topics.

Chapter 1: Paving the Way

- Fourth wave of feminism
- New research method: natural language processing
- Updated section on the research process
- New section: *Embracing Intersectionality in Psychological Research*
- New box: Can Feminists be Funny? Women in Comedy

Chapter 2: Gender in Social Context

- New research on "doing gender"
  - Reflection of gender stereotypes in an analysis of selfies
  - Male "locker room" talk and its implications
- Gender in interaction
  - Intrusive interruptions
  - New research on "mansplaining"
- Health impacts of sexual harassment
- The double bind of women's attire

Chapter 3: Images of Women

- Analyzing gender prejudice through examination of online text
- New analysis of sexual double standards in everyday talk
- Face-ism in online dating profiles
- New research on the objectification of women in ads
- Negative portrayals and underrepresentation of older women in children's media
- Weight stigma for pregnant and postpartum women
- Updated research on gender stereotypes in hiring
- The influence of gender stereotypes on the 2016 presidential election

Chapter 4: The Meanings of Difference

- The vanishing gender gap in math and verbal skills
- Bias against women in STEM
- Gendered expectations in emotional intelligence in parenting
- New meta-analysis: gender in emotion expression in childhood
- Children's television programming portrayal of counter-stereotyped emotions
- Tennis star Serena Williams: perceptions of women and anger
- Women and bravery: the stereotype
- New statistics on the American public's beliefs about the suitability of women in politics

Chapter 5: Sex, Gender, and Bodies

- As in earlier editions, this chapter presents a groundbreaking social constructionist and cross-cultural perspective on the concept of binary sex
- The relationship between environmental factors and increasing number of intersex births
- Model Hanne Gaby Odiele: her experience as an intersex person
- The association between pubertal suppression and thoughts of suicide
- Genes related to same-sex behavior: the latest research
- Updated critique of "gender dysphoria" diagnosis and better acceptance of gender diverse people

Chapter 6: Gendered Identities: Childhood and Adolescence

- The flexibility of young children's ideas about gender stereotypes
- New theory about the acceptability of gender non-conformity when non-conforming traits are positive
- New results on parents' opinions of gendered toys for their children
- New evidence on the impact of gender differentiation of toys on child's social and cognitive development
- New research on adolescent screen time and benefits of less gender-stereotypic shows
- New findings on aggressive video games and aggressive behavior, sexist media, and sexist attitudes
- White undergraduate women's self-esteem and ideals are associated with the timing of their start of puberty (early versus late)
- Association of body image dissatisfaction and mental health challenges
- New section on the negative relationship between social media and self-image
- New analysis of sexting and sexual harassment
- New box: Gender Stereotyping Starts Early: The Gender Reveal Party

Chapter 7: Sexuality, Love, and Romance

- New studies on the role of culture in sex and romance norms
- New figure: Percent of college students who have ever hooked up by race and gender
- New meta-analysis: parental influence on teen sexual behavior
- Updated research on women and men's reactions to first sexual intercourse
- New studies on women's experiences of orgasm
- Risks of "coming out" for youth of color
- New studies of online dating apps such as Bumble
- New research on the relationship between perceptions of power and sexual assertiveness

- Cross-cultural study on the endorsement of gendered sexual scripts and desire for sex
- Multiple new studies on the role of objectification on sexual desire and sexual roles based on sexual identity, race, and age
- Bias in research studies about sex
- Double standards in sexting
- Updated statistics on the global impact of female genital mutilation
- New box: Monogamish and Open Relationships: The Rising Acceptance of Consensual Non-Monogamy

Chapter 8: Commitments: Women and Close Relationships

- Cross-cultural prioritization of physical attractiveness in relationships
- Impact of COVID-19 on married women with children
- New studies on de-gendered household labor expectations
- New research on co-parenting, marital satisfaction, and children's behavioral problems
- New population-based study on gender presentation of lesbian couples
- New longitudinal research on same-sex and heterosexual cohabiting couples
- New figure: longer-term decline in U.S. divorce rates
- New studies on the increase in divorce rates during COVID-19
- New box: When Women Propose Marriage to Men
- New box: Research Focus: Reasons for Divorce

Chapter 9: Mothering

- Delaying pregnancy due to COVID-19
- New literature review on the impact of unplanned births
- New research on abortion: the conservative laws and court decisions restricting access, accessing abortion during COVID-19, and the long-term mental health and emotional impacts of abortion, including a description of the Turnaway Study
- The increased burden on working mothers during COVID-19
- New research on the impact of maternal stress on pregnancy
- Messaging around different types of births, birth centers, the use of doulas, and giving birth during COVID-19
- New research on the positive effects of prenatal yoga and mindfulness
- New studies about maternal mental health and maternal and children's sleep
- New section: *Experiences of Breastfeeding*
- New research on paid parental leave
- New box: Child Care in Sweden and the United States

Chapter 10: Work and Achievement

- New daily diary study on the impact of gendered relationships on work expectations

- New statistics on gender differences in CEOs' belief in the glass ceiling
- Updated statistics on the wage gap
- New section on the impact of COVID-19 on women's work and balancing work and home responsibilities
- Sexual orientation discrimination in hiring
- New research on gendered differences in job feedback and mentoring
- Expanded discussion of the #MeToo movement
- Workplace sexual harassment and its mental health consequences
- New report on the workplace double standard, with Vice President Kamala Harris as an example
- New box: Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand Prime Minister

Chapter 11: The Second Half: Midlife and Aging

- The diversity of older women and their experiences
- New research on aging women and their feelings about their bodies
- The negative health impact of ageism
- Ageism in the movies
- Interventions against ageism
- New section on COVID-19 and older people
- New research on older women who date younger men
- The sex lives of older people, including comparisons of heterosexual and lesbian women
- Impact of relationship quality on health and well-being
- The experiences of older lesbians who have lost their partner
- Expectations for retirement for sexual minorities compared to heterosexuals

Chapter 12: Violence against Women

- Updated statistics on prevalence of female genital mutilation
- Updated statistics on prevalence of HIV and sexual violence in South Africa
- New research on sex trafficking in the United States
- New research on the impact of violent movies on young children's preference for violent toys
- New studies on the Catalyst Model: the influence of genetics on propensity for violence
- New section: Pornhub's profiting from sexual exploitation, including research on most watched types of porn, activism against Pornhub, and legislation in support of rape victims
- New section: the impact of pornography on viewers
- New statistics on the percent of college students experiencing various forms of dating violence
- New systematic review of cyberstalking
- New discussion of the re-victimization of survivors, with Dr. Christine Blasey Ford as an example

- New section on domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic
- New research on community-focused social support interventions for survivors of domestic violence
- New box: Can Porn Be Feminist?
- New box: Anne Hathaway, Activist for Gender Equality

Chapter 13: Psychological Disorders, Therapy, and Women's Well-Being

Chapter 13 has been extensively revised for *Transformations 4e* in order to bring students the most current theory and research on feminist approaches to understanding and treating psychological disorders. In keeping with the analysis presented throughout *Transformations 4e*, women's psychological well-being is contextualized within a social system of gender that functions to allocate more power to some groups of men, and to disadvantage other, subordinated groups of people, including women, people of color, people with disabilities, and low-wealth people. The cultural establishments of medicine, including psychiatry, have operated within the gender system and have not been free of its influence. Chapter 13 dissects this influence by examining how "mad" and "crazy" have been used against women as instruments of social control. The chapter has newly updated information on gender-linked psychological disorders and possible explanations for their occurrences. There is a balanced discussion of traditional therapy and a full discussion of feminist therapeutic approaches. The intersectional approach of earlier editions is further expanded.

- New section: Gender, Power, and Psychological Disorders
  - An epidemic of "nervous disorders" (a history of hysteria and neurasthenia)
  - Freud and the case of Dora
  - Medicating women: over-prescription of tranquilizers, antidepressants, and benzodiazepines
  - A contemporary power issue: the DSM (pharmaceutical industry and other biases influencing DSM formulation)
- New figure on gender differences in depression among adolescents and young adults
- Discussion of the impact of early exposure to trauma on the brain
- PMDD: A problematic diagnosis
- New Box: When Might It Be Time to See a Psychologist?

Chapter 14: Making a Difference: Toward a Better Future for Women

In this moment of heightened awareness of the need to work toward social justice, particularly for women and men of color, Chapter 14 offers students the opportunity to think about their own attitudes toward feminism, what psychology has to offer, and the prospect of positive social change.

- New research on the link between feminist identification and social justice activism

Transformations 4e is readable, lively, and easy to follow. It's a student-friendly text, with a generous sprinkling of new cartoons and photographs that brighten the pages. Finally, each chapter ends with "Exploring Further," which offers new research resources, websites, and information for activism.

The fourth edition of *Transformations: Women, Gender & Psychology*, is now available online with Connect, McGraw Hill Education's integrated assignment and assessment platform. Connect also offers SmartBook for the new edition, which is the first adaptive reading experience proven to improve grades and help students study more effectively. The instructor resources are also available through Connect, including:

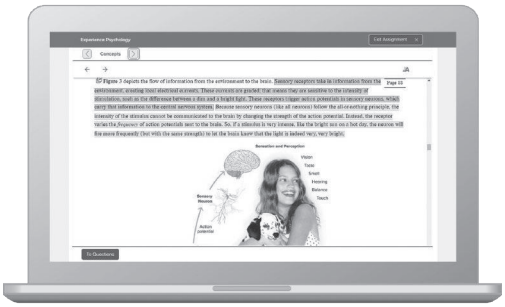
- A full Test Bank of multiple choice questions that test students on central concepts and ideas in each chapter.
- An Instructor's Manual for each chapter with full chapter outlines, sample test questions, and discussion topics.
- Lecture Slides for instructor use in class and downloadable RAP forms.

Instructors: Student Success Starts with You

Tools to enhance your unique voice

Want to build your own course? No problem. Prefer to use an OLC-aligned, prebuilt course? Easy. Want to make changes throughout the semester? Sure. And you'll save time with Connect's auto-grading too.

65%
Less Time Grading



Laptop: McGraw Hill; Woman/dog: George Doyle/Getty Images

Study made personal

Incorporate adaptive study resources like SmartBook® 2.0 into your course and help your students be better prepared in less time. Learn more about the powerful personalized learning experience available in SmartBook 2.0 at **www.mheducation.com/highered/connect/smartbook**

Affordable solutions, added value

Make technology work for you with LMS integration for single sign-on access, mobile access to the digital textbook, and reports to quickly show you how each of your students is doing. And with our Inclusive Access program you can provide all these tools at a discount to your students. Ask your McGraw Hill representative for more information.

Padlock: Jobalou/Getty Images

Solutions for your challenges

A product isn't a solution. Real solutions are affordable, reliable, and come with training and ongoing support when you need it and how you want it. Visit **www.supportateverystep.com** for videos and resources both you and your students can use throughout the semester.

Checkmark: Jobalou/Getty Images

SUPPORT AT every step

Students: Get Learning that Fits You

Effective tools for efficient studying

Connect is designed to help you be more productive with simple, flexible, intuitive tools that maximize your study time and meet your individual learning needs. Get learning that works for you with Connect.

Study anytime, anywhere

Download the free ReadAnywhere app and access your online eBook, SmartBook 2.0, or Adaptive Learning Assignments when it's convenient, even if you're offline. And since the app automatically syncs with your Connect account, all of your work is available every time you open it. Find out more at **www.mheducation.com/readanywhere**

"I really liked this app—it made it easy to study when you don't have your textbook in front of you."

- Jordan Cunningham, Eastern Washington University

Calendar: owattaphotos/Getty Images

Everything you need in one place

Your Connect course has everything you need—whether reading on your digital eBook or completing assignments for class, Connect makes it easy to get your work done.

Learning for everyone

McGraw Hill works directly with Accessibility Services Departments and faculty to meet the learning needs of all students. Please contact your Accessibility Services Office and ask them to email accessibility@mheducation.com, or visit **www.mheducation.com/about/accessibility** for more information.

Top: Jenner Images/Getty Images, Left: Hero Images/Getty Images, Right: Hero Images/Getty Images

Acknowledgments

Writing a textbook is a daunting task. *Transformations 4e* was completed in collaboration with Michelle Kaufman, PhD, and I could not have done it without her. Michelle is new to this endeavor, but not new to me. Now an Associate Professor at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, she was formerly a graduate student with me at the University of Connecticut. Michelle and I have confronted many challenges together over the years, from learning how to do research on sex trafficking and women's sexual health in South Asia, to trekking in the high Himalaya. When she signed on to work with me as a partner on this revision at the beginning of 2020, neither of us imagined that it would be a year of disrupted childcare for her preschooler, a switch to remote teaching and challenges in community-based research for her, and heightened health anxiety for both of us. Michelle's perseverance and dedication have been commendable, and her contributions have greatly updated and improved this text. I look forward to Michelle becoming a coauthor in future editions. For now, I would like to offer a heartfelt "Thank you, Michelle!" Getting this book finished in 2020 sometimes felt like climbing Annapurna, but you have exceeded every expectation.

Michelle and I thank Diane Bridgman, PhD, for her thoughtful analysis of Chapter 13, which greatly helped us accomplish a major revision of this chapter. Dr. Bridgman, a clinical psychologist in private practice, who is also a respected researcher and an active leader within APA, contributed an in-depth reading of the chapter and provided us with new ways of thinking and new resources about women's psychological well-being, gender-linked psychological disorders, and therapy.

Michelle and I are grateful to the publishing team at McGraw Hill, who have been patient, professional, and responsive every step of the way: Francesca King, Product Developer; Rick Hecker, Content Project Manager; Brianna Kirschbaum, Content Licensing Specialist; David Hash, Designer; Danielle Clement, Program Manager; Sheri Sipka, Development Editor/Project Manager; and Naveen Jhaldiyal, Compositor/Project Manager.

Michelle thanks Alicia Bazell, a stellar Master of Public Health student who assisted her with many little tasks to keep this revision moving forward despite the challenges created by the pandemic. She is also thankful to her partner, Kenneth Murray, who has fully embraced what it means to be in an egalitarian relationship by being an engaged co-parent and supporting every step of her career, even when it meant making sacrifices on his own.

As ever, I thank my partner Roger Chaffin. Because Roger is an accomplished cognitive psychologist, our dialogues about my work are helpful and constructive. He is there with day-to-day encouragement and tech support. Most important, because he is committed to an egalitarian relationship, I enjoy a balanced life of work and family, full of love, laughter, music, and adventure. Thank you, Roger.

Mary Crawford

Part 1

PART 1

Introduction

Chapter 1

CHAPTER 1
Paving the Way

- **Beginnings**
  - How Did the Psychology of Women Get Started?
  - Psychology and the Women's Movement
  - Voices from the Margins: A History
- **What Is Feminism?**
  - Feminism Has Many Meanings
  - Is There a Simple Definition?
- **Intersectionality**
- **Methods and Values in Psychological Research**
  - Psychology's Methods
  - Toward Gender-Fair Research
  - Feminist Values in Research
- **About This Book**
- **A Personal Reflection**
- **Exploring Further**

This book is called *Transformations.* I hope you find this title intriguing. I chose it because we are living in an era when opportunities for girls and women have changed dramatically, and psychology has played a part in those changes. Still, gender equality is a transformation that is not yet complete. Consider the current situation:

- Only 24 percent of the U.S. Congress and 18 percent of state governors are women.
- In the United States, women earn about 79 cents for every dollar earned by men. Worldwide, the difference is even greater—women earn only about 54 percent of what men earn.
- The United Nations estimates that 130 million women are missing from the global population—dead because, as females, they were unwanted.

Although some things have changed for the better, a worldwide wage gap, under-representation of women in positions of status and power, and significant problems of violence against girls and women persist. Gender, sexuality, and power are at the core of social controversies around the world.

Beginnings

We are living in an era in which nothing about women, sexuality, and gender seems certain. Entering this arena of change, psychology has developed research and theory about women and gender. This branch of psychology is usually called ***feminist psychology,*** the ***psychology of women,*** or the ***psychology of gender*** (Russo & Dumont, 1997). Those who use the term feminist psychology tend to emphasize theoretical connections to women's studies and social activism. Those who use the psychology of women tend to focus on women's lives and experiences as the topics of study. Those who use the psychology of gender tend to focus on the social and biological processes that create differences between women and men and variations in the broad spectrum of gender. This book includes all these perspectives and uses all three terms. There is a lot to learn about this exciting field.

How Did the Psychology of Women Get Started?

As the women's movement of the late 1960s made women and gender a central social concern, the field of psychology began to examine the bias that had characterized its knowledge about women. The more closely psychologists looked at the ways psychology had thought about women, the more problems they saw. They began to realize that women had been left out of many studies. Even worse, theories were constructed from a male-as-norm viewpoint, and women's behavior was explained as a deviation from the male standard. Often, stereotypes of women went unchallenged. Good psychological adjustment for women was defined in terms of fitting into traditional feminine norms—marrying, having babies, and *not* being too independent or ambitious. When women behaved differently from men, the differences were likely to be attributed to their female biology instead of social influences (Marecek et al., 2002).

These problems were widespread. Psychologists began to realize that most psychological knowledge about women and gender was ***androcentric,*** or male-centered. They began to rethink psychological concepts and methods and to produce new research with women as the focus of study. Moreover, they began to study topics of importance to women and to develop ways of analyzing social relations between women and men. As a result, psychology developed new ways of thinking about women, expanded its research methods, and developed new approaches to therapy and counseling.

Women within psychology were an important force for change. Starting in the late 1960s, they published many books and articles showing how psychology was misrepresenting women and how it needed to change. One of the first was Naomi Weisstein (1968), who declared that the psychology of that era had nothing to say about what women are really like, what they need, and what they want because psychology did not know very much at all about women. Another was Phyllis Chesler, whose book *Women and Madness* (1972) claimed that psychology and psychiatry were used to control women.

The new feminist psychologists began to do research on topics that were previously ignored. The new field soon developed its own professional research journals focusing on the psychology of women or gender: for example, *Sex Roles,* which began publishing in 1975; *Psychology of Women Quarterly* (1976); *Women and Therapy* (1982); and *Feminism & Psychology* (1991). More recently, journals have focused on broader gender diversity, such as *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* (2013). These journals were extremely important in providing outlets for research that might have seemed unorthodox, unimportant, or even trivial to the psychological establishment at the time. (I well remember my tenure interview, when a senior male faculty member on the committee looked up from my list of publications and said in genuine puzzlement, "But this isn't research, it's just a lot of stuff about women." Luckily, I had also done some research with white rats, which apparently sufficed to prove that I was a real scientist.) The research topics explored in those new journals opened a vast new field of knowledge. In 2011, upon the 35th anniversary of the APA journal *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, the editors looked back at the 100 most influential articles that had been published in the journal since its inception, and found that they could be grouped into four general themes: feminist research methods; women and girls in social context, including gender roles and sexism; violence against women; and women's bodies and sexualities (Rutherford & Yoder, 2011). These areas are still important today and are key components of this book.

Teaching students about the psychology of women has been an important contribution of feminist psychology from the start. Before 1968, there were virtually no college courses in the psychology of women or gender. Today, undergraduate and graduate courses in women and gender studies are part of the standard course listings in many, if not most, psychology departments, and research on women, gender, and diversity is being integrated into the entire psychology curriculum, due to the efforts of professional groups such as APA's Committee on Women in Psychology (Chrisler et al., 2013). The androcentric psychology of the past has been replaced by a more encompassing perspective that includes the female half of the population and acknowledges all kinds of human diversity (Morris, 2010).

The psychology of women and gender is rich in theoretical perspectives and research evidence. Virtually every area of psychology has been affected by its theories and research (Marecek et al., 2002). This book is an invitation to explore the knowledge and participate in the ongoing debates of feminist psychology.

Psychology and the Women's Movement

The emergence of interest in women and gender took place in a social context marked by changing roles for women and the growth of a feminist social movement in the 1960s. Questioning psychology's representation of women was part of the general questioning of women's place that was led by women's liberation activists.

The First and Second Waves

The women's movement of the 1960s was not the first. A previous women's rights movement had reached its peak more than a hundred years earlier with the Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848, which rejected the doctrine of female inferiority then taught by academics and clergy (Harris, 1984). However, this ***first wave*** of the women's movement lost momentum in the 1920s, after women had won the vote, because women believed that voting would lead to political, social, and economic equality. Psychology's interest in sex differences and gender waned.

With the rebirth of the women's movement in the 1960s, researchers again became interested in the study of women and gender. Women psychologists and men who supported their goals also began to work toward improved status for women within the field of psychology. Feminist activism made a big difference for women of this era, who had been openly discriminated against. Psychologist Carolyn Sherif remembered it this way:

> To me, the atmosphere created by the women's movement was like breathing fresh air after years of gasping for breath. . . . I did not become a significantly better social psychologist between 1969 and 1972, but I surely was treated as a better social psychologist. (Sherif, 1983, p. 280)

Activists—mostly graduate students and newcomers to psychology—formed the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP) in 1969. At about the same time, others—mostly older, more established psychologists—lobbied the American Psychological Association (APA) to form a Division of the Psychology of Women. This Division 35 was officially approved in 1973. APA's Committee on Women in Psychology (CWP) also was founded in 1973. Women in psychology had been protesting unfair treatment for over a century, but it was not until the resurgence of the feminist movement that they engaged in collective action and made their voices heard. The CWP has continued to engage in feminist activism on behalf of women in psychology for over 40 years (Chrisler et al., 2013). Divisions on ethnic minority psychology (Division 45), sexual orientation and gender diversity (Division 44), and the study of men and masculinity (Division 51) were established later, with the support of Division 35. Progress in incorporating women also occurred among Canadian psychologists (Parlee, 1985) and the British Psychological Society, where there is now a Psychology of Women Section (Wilkinson, 1997).

These organizational changes acknowledged the presence of diverse women in psychology and helped enhance their professional identity (Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987). And none too soon—women now earn 74 percent of PhDs awarded in psychology, and ethnic minorities earn 38 percent (Fowler et al., 2018; Lin et al., 2018).

The Third Wave

AWP continues to thrive, holding annual conferences that welcome students. Division 35, now named the Society for the Psychology of Women, is one of the larger and more active divisions of APA. Feminist theory and activism continue to develop as younger women tackle some of the unfinished business of the first two waves, such as ensuring reproductive freedom, ending violence against girls and women, and integrating women into leadership positions.

Third-wave feminism developed in the 1990s as young women responded not only to the gains of second-wave feminism but also to its limitations. It is less connected to the psychological establishment than earlier feminist movements were. Some third-wave groups, such as the Riot grrrls, came out of the antiestablishment punk movement. Riot grrrl bands and zines of the 1990s often proclaimed the joys of women's sexuality, self-reliance, and empowerment. One example of third-wave feminist activism is the SlutWalk movement, which originated in Canada in 2011 after a Toronto police officer advised women to "avoid dressing like sluts" in order not to be raped. SlutWalks have since taken place in many cities around the world, a strategy to show that the victims of sexual assault are not to blame, while reclaiming a word that has been used to shame women.

Third-wave groups emphasize social activism—women working collectively for social justice—just as their second-wave counterparts did before them. Though the issues and the voices have changed, third-wave feminism is clearly connected to its foremothers' visions (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000, 2005).

The fourth wave of feminism is said to be occurring right now as the #MeToo and Time's Up movements have gained momentum (Grady, 2018). In the past few years, a record number of women have run for public office, and Women's Marches have flooded major cities around the world. Many women (and supportive men) participated in online and in-person protests of Justice Brett Kavanaugh's appointment to the Supreme Court in 2018 when Psychology Professor Christine Blasey Ford accused him of sexually assaulting her in the 1980s. The hashtags #WeBelieveHer, #BelieveChristine, and #WeBelieveSurvivors became synonymous with calls for believing women who say they have experienced sexual violence.

Some suspect that fourth-wave feminism is occurring largely online through all of these campaigns, with women from various racial and ethnic, religious, and other identities using social media to bring voice to their experiences. With the rise of social media and smartphones around 2008, feminists are now using these technologies to call attention to the injustices women face on a daily basis. We will delve more into many of these issues in Chapters 10 (Work and Achievement) and 12 (Violence against Women).

Voices from the Margins: A History

Until recently, the power to define and pursue knowledge has been largely in the hands of men. Men controlled the institutions of knowledge, and even when women acquired expertise, they did not always get the respect or status they deserved. History is full of stories about learned women whose work was attributed to their fathers, their brothers, their teachers, or "anonymous."

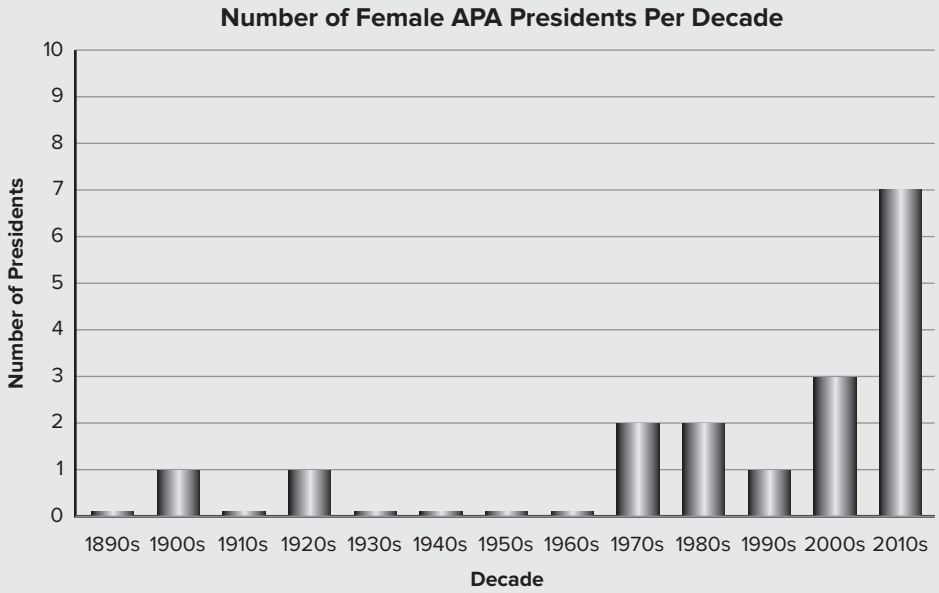
One illustration of how a woman could have outstanding expertise and yet be denied legitimacy is the story of Mary Calkins (1863–1930), who attended Harvard University during the latter part of the 19th century. Because Harvard was an all-male university, she was permitted to take courses only if she sat behind a curtain or got private tutoring. Despite completing an impressive PhD dissertation, she was denied a PhD from Harvard because she was a woman. Nevertheless, Calkins taught for many years at Wellesley College, established an experimental laboratory there, and made important contributions to psychology. She was the first woman president of both the American Psychological Association and the American Philosophical Association. In 1927, toward the end of her life, a group of distinguished male psychologists and philosophers, all Harvard degree holders, wrote to the president of Harvard requesting that Calkins be awarded the degree that she had earned. Their request was refused (Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987).

Although Mary Calkins triumphed personally, her life illustrates the way even outstanding women may be marginalized. For example, she taught for her entire career at a small women's college where she did not have doctoral students. Under these conditions, her theories and research projects did not receive the recognition and follow-up they deserved. Similar stories have been uncovered about other early feminist psychologists (Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987). If a woman scientist does not have the power to have her research and theories taken seriously and passed on to the next generation, she is being denied true equality.

By the early 1900s, women had begun to gain access to higher education in the United States and Europe. Some of the first scientifically trained women devoted their research efforts to challenging accepted wisdom about the extent and nature of sex differences. Helen Thompson Wooley conducted the first experimental laboratory study of sex differences in mental traits. In interpreting her results, she stressed the overall similarity of women's and men's performance. She also was openly critical of the antiwoman prejudices held by some male scientists, remarking daringly in a 1910 *Psychological Bulletin* article: "There is perhaps no field aspiring to be scientific where flagrant personal bias, logic martyred in the cause of supporting a prejudice, unfounded assertions, and even sentimental rot and drivel, have run riot to such an extent as here" (Wooley, 1910, p. 340).

The work of these pioneering women psychologists opened the way for research to replace unexamined assumptions about women's so-called natural limitations (Rosenberg, 1982). Determined to demonstrate women's capacity to contribute to modern science on an equal basis with men, they chose their research projects to challenge beliefs about women's limitations. In a sense, their research projects were dictated by other people's questions. Faced with the necessity of proving their very right to do research, these women labored to refute hypotheses they did not find

Box 1.1 Women and the APA



For most of the APA's 128-year history, women rarely served as president of the organization. Prior to 1970, only two women had been elected APA president. However, since the rise of the feminist movement beginning in the 1970s, the number of women elected president of APA has continued to grow. In fact, since 2010, the members of APA have elected eight female presidents. Sandra L. Shullman, who has a PhD in counseling psychology and is a managing partner at the Executive Development Group, LLC, is internationally known in leadership and executive assessment and development. She was elected 2020–2021 President of APA.

Source: http://www.apa.org/about/governance/president/past-presidents.aspx

Contributed by Annie B. Fox

credible. Moreover, they worked in a social context that denied them opportunities because of their sex and forced them to make cruel choices between work and family relationships (Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987). Their story is one,

> in many ways, of failure—of women restricted by simple prejudice to the periphery of academe, who never had access to the professional chairs of the major universities, who never commanded the funds to direct large-scale research, who never trained the graduate students who might have spread their influence, and who, by the 1920s, no longer had the galvanizing support of a woman's movement to give political effect to their ideas. (Rosenberg, 1982, p. xxi)

The efforts of women and minorities remained voices from the margins until relatively recently (see Box 1.1). The existence of AWP, Division 35, women's studies

programs, and dozens of feminist journals guarantee that research on the psychology of women and gender will not fade away again as it did in the 1920s. Because the psychology of women developed in a social context of feminism, it is important to look closely at the relationship between the two.

What Is Feminism?

The writer Rebecca West noted in 1913: "I myself have never been able to find out precisely what feminism is: I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat" (quoted in Kramarae & Treichler, 1985, p. 160). Nearly 100 years later, third-wave feminists Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards (2000, p. 17) wrote, "For our generation, feminism is like fluoride. We scarcely notice that we have it—it's simply in the water." Along the way, there have been a lot of misconceptions. Exactly what is feminism and what does it mean to call oneself a feminist?

Feminism Has Many Meanings

Contemporary feminist theory has many variants. Each can be thought of as a different lens through which to view the experiences of women, and, like different lenses, each is useful for focusing on particular phenomena.

What are the most influential feminist theoretical perspectives? In the United States, they include liberal, radical, womanist (woman of color), and cultural feminism. Belief in these different branches of feminism has been defined, reliably measured, and shown to predict people's behavior (Henley et al., 1998). As feminism expands worldwide, there is a new emphasis on global feminism as well. Let's look briefly at each perspective.

Liberal feminism is familiar to most people because it relies on deeply held American beliefs about equality—an orientation that connects it to political liberalism and social justice. From this perspective, a feminist is a person who believes that women are entitled to full legal and social equality with men and who favors changes in laws, customs, and values to achieve the goal of equality. The liberal feminist perspective has fostered research on such topics as how people react to others when they violate gender norms (Chapter 2), how children are socialized to accept gender roles (Chapters 4 and 6), and sex discrimination in employment (Chapter 10). It emphasizes the similarities between males and females, maintaining that given equal environments and opportunities, males and females will behave similarly.

Radical feminism emphasizes male control and domination of women throughout history. This perspective views the control of women by men as the first and most fundamental form of oppression: women as a group are oppressed by men as a group. According to radical feminists, oppression on the basis of being a woman is one thing all women have in common. Radical feminist theory has fostered much research on violence against women (see Chapter 12). Some radical feminists have endorsed ***separatism,*** the idea that women can escape patriarchy only by creating their own women-only communities. For example, the Michigan Womyn's Music

Festival, an annual event for 40 years, was grounded in the radical tradition. Only women could attend, and many came year after year, treasuring this safe and empowering women's space (Browne, 2011). The festival ended in 2015, partly over dissent about whether transgender women should be included (Ring, 2015).

Woman-of-color feminism, or ***womanism,*** began with criticism of the white women's movement for excluding women of color; the word womanism was coined by African American writer Alice Walker. This type of feminism focuses on issues of importance to minority communities: poverty, racism, jobs, health care, and access to education. In general, womanists do not see men of color as their oppressors but as brothers who suffer the effects of racism just as women of color do; therefore, womanism is particularly inclusive of men and rejects the notion of separatism. People who adopt this feminist perspective emphasize the effects of racial stereotyping (Chapter 3) and prejudice (Chapters 2 and 10). They also point out the strengths and positive values of minority communities, such as the multigenerational support and closeness of African American families (Chapter 9).

Cultural feminism emphasizes the differences between women and men. This perspective stresses that qualities characteristic of women have been devalued and should be honored and respected in society. It views some gender differences in values and social behaviors as either an essential part of womanhood or so deeply socialized that they are virtually universal and unlikely to change—for example, the tendency for women to be more nurturing and caring than men. Cultural feminism has been useful in understanding the importance of unpaid work contributed by women, such as caring for the young, the ill, and the elderly (Chapters 9–11).

Feminism is a worldwide social movement. ***Global feminism*** focuses on how prejudice and discrimination against women are related across cultures, and how they are connected to neocolonialism and global capitalism. Issues of special concern to global feminists include sweatshop labor, unequal access to health care and education, sex trafficking, and violence against girls and women in developing countries (Chapter 12). An important part of global feminism is the recognition that Western feminists do not have all the answers for women from other cultures. For example, in some societies, women are strongly pressured to undergo genital cutting (Chapter 7) or required to veil their faces and bodies in public. Though Western women may criticize these practices, it is important to remember that Western society also restricts women's bodily freedom and integrity through practices like sexual harassment in public places and pressure to seek the perfect body through dieting and cosmetic surgery (Chapters 2, 3, and 11). All around the world, women bear a disproportionate burden of the inequalities caused by colonialism, global capitalism, and economic exploitation. Understanding gender oppression in conjunction with these other kinds of power imbalances is the work of ***transnational feminism***, and it requires structural analysis as well as individual-level analysis (Else-Quest & Grabe, 2012; Grabe & Else-Quest, 2012).

The diversity of frameworks and values in feminist thought may seem confusing, but it is also healthy and productive. Different feminist perspectives can be used to develop and compare diverse viewpoints on women's experiences (see Box 1.2 for a look at how feminist comedians have brought a wide range of women's perspectives to the world of comedy). This book draws on a variety of feminist perspectives, using each as a lens to help clarify particular topics, and sometimes comparing several feminist perspectives on an issue. However, within psychology,

Box 1.2 Can Feminists be Funny? Women in Comedy

Women are often stereotyped as not having a sense of humor or not appreciating jokes in the ways men do. This is especially true of feminists—how many times have you heard a man say to a woman, "Can't you take a joke?!" On average, male comedians fill approximately 85 percent of stage time, and female comedians are headliners only about 8 percent of the time. Despite these biases, female comedians are rising in the comedy industry and drawing attention to the stereotypes and the fact that women can appreciate—and create—humor. With subversive critiques of deeply ingrained gender systems and often outright criticism of the injustices women face, female comedians are breaking down barriers with increased stage time, television specials, serving as writers on comedy shows, and bringing women's issues to the forefront through the use of comedy. Through humor and mockery, women are reclaiming rape jokes, calling out sexism and racism, and poking fun at male/female binaries. But female comedians not only write jokes about women and gender, they also make people laugh about the same issues that men love to discuss on stage—politics, sex, mundane everyday life, and family.

Here are a few of the best-known modern female comedians who are helping to usher more women into the comedy scene.

Tiffany Haddish

As a woman who experienced the foster care system, homelessness, and domestic violence, Tiffany Haddish is painfully honest about the struggles of being a Black woman. She also uses humor to highlight the sexism in comedy and Hollywood. In addition to being a standup comedian, she is an actor and producer.

Tig Notaro

Notaro is a lesbian who identifies as a "boyish girl." She is best known for her deadpan humor used to tell her story of surviving breast cancer. She hosts a podcast, stars in the Netflix series *First Ladies* with Jennifer Aniston, and tours regularly to perform standup.

Gregg DeGuire/FilmMagic/Getty Images

Amy Schumer

Amy Schumer has become a highly successful standup comedian, actor, and screenwriter. Her humor touches everything from body image to sexual double standards to her experiences with in-vitro fertilization, a difficult pregnancy, and motherhood. She also has a huge social media following that allows her another platform to highlight the hilarity in everyday hassles.

Ali Wong

Ali Wong had her breakout as a comedian when she filmed a Netflix standup special while pregnant, which premiered Mother's Day weekend in 2016. Much of her humor on pregnancy and motherhood has resonated with both women and men. She is also a comedy film writer.

Sources: Haddish, T. (2017). *The Last Black Unicorn*. New York: Gallery Books.

Mitchell, K. (2015, February 4). We crunched the numbers on how much stage time female comedians get. *Bitch Media*. Retrieved from https://www.bitchmedia.org/post/we-crunched-the-numbers-on-how-much-stagetime-female-comedians-get

www.aliwong.com

www.tignation.com

liberal feminism and cultural feminism have generated more debate and research than any other views.

Is There a Simple Definition?

Feminist perspectives share two important themes. First, feminism values women as important and worthwhile human beings. Second, feminism recognizes the need for social change if women are to lead secure and satisfying lives. Perhaps the simplest definition of a ***feminist*** is an individual who holds these basic beliefs: that women are valuable and that social change to benefit women is needed. The core social change that feminists advocate is an end to all forms of domination, those of men over women and those among women (Kimball, 1995). Therefore, perhaps the simplest definition of ***feminism*** is one proposed by Black feminist theorist bell hooks (1984): it is a movement to end sexism and sexist oppression. (The definition and implications of sexism are explored more fully in Chapter 2.) Broad definitions allow feminists to work for political and social change together while recognizing that ideas about how to reach their goals may differ.

Can men be feminists? Certainly! Men can hold the values I've described as feminist: they can value women as worthwhile human beings and work for social change to reduce sexism and sex discrimination. Some men who share these values call themselves feminists. Others prefer the label ***profeminist,*** believing that this term acknowledges women's leadership of the feminist movement and expresses their understanding that women and men have different experiences of gender.

Feminist perspectives, in general, can be contrasted to ***conservatism*** (Henley et al., 1998). Social conservatives seek to keep gender arrangements as they have been for much of the past, with men holding more public power and status and women being more or less defined by their sexuality and their roles as wives and mothers. Conservatives often urge a return to what they consider the "good old days" when there were (apparently) no lesbian, gay, or transgendered people, good young women all got married and produced babies, abortion and divorce were out of the question, and the world of work and achievement was a man's world.

The conservative view has usually been justified on the grounds of biology or religion. The biological justification states that gender-related behaviors are determined by innate and unchangeable biological differences far more than by social conditions. Therefore, women should not try to do things that go against their nature. For example, if women are biologically destined to be more nurturing due to the fact that they are the sex that gives birth, it is unnatural and wrong for women to limit their childbearing or take on jobs that may interfere with their nurturing roles. The religious justification (often combined with the biological justification) is that a supreme being ordains female submission and subordination. For example, some religions teach that women must be obedient to their husbands; others forbid contraception, or grant only men the right to divorce. Some forbid women to be in positions of authority or spiritual power. Well into the 21st century, the Roman Catholic Church maintains that ordaining women as priests is a sin on a par with child sexual abuse (Vatican Angers Many, 2010). Just a few years earlier, the Southern Baptist Church urged a return to female submission as

a solution to social problems such as child abuse and violence against women. In a perversion of conservative religious doctrine, the radical Islamists of ISIS use religion to justify the serial rape and sex slavery of women they hold captive (Callimachi, 2016).

Over the past 40 years, attitudes toward women have grown less conservative and more liberal in the United States (Donnelly et al., 2016). However, social conservatism is still a powerful political force, and more subtle forms of prejudice against women have emerged (see Chapter 2). The history of women in psychology teaches us that psychologists are not immune to such prejudice. The attitudes that permeate a culture also seep into scientific research. One important goal of feminist psychology is to challenge hidden biases in research and thus to foster better research on women and gender.

Intersectionality

Women are not all alike, and we shouldn't assume that all women have a lot in common simply because they are women. For example, a woman who is wealthy and privileged might have more in common with wealthy and privileged men than with a woman who has been poor all her life. An African American or Latina woman shares more with African American or Latino men when it comes to the lived experience of racism than she does with white women. Lesbians share what it's like to be in a sexual minority with gay men, bisexuals, and transgender people, not with heterosexual women. Women of color and white women may both encounter sexism, but in different ways. Age and disability can be dimensions of discrimination for both women and men. All these examples illustrate the concept of ***intersectionality***: each individual is a member of many social groups, and membership in all these groups has consequences for individual identity and social position. The most important groups in the eyes of society are gender, race, class, religion, and sexuality.

Intersectionality is a key theoretical principle in feminist studies, a contribution of Black feminist theorists who observed that women of color often experience simultaneous discrimination on the basis of gender and race (Crenshaw, 1989). Acknowledging the intersection of social identities allows researchers to understand multiple oppressions—and also the effects of being relatively privileged on some dimensions but not on others.

Intersectionality is an important theoretical principle for psychological research. Feminist psychologist Elizabeth Cole (2009) has proposed that taking intersectionality seriously prompts us to ask three questions about our research designs:

- *Who is included in a category?* The category "female" includes women of different social classes, ethnicities, sexualities, and age groups. Asking who is included in a category can encourage researchers to represent those who have been overlooked in past research and prevent misconceptions about members of minority groups.
- *What role does inequality play?* Social categories such as gender, race, class and sexuality are not mere differences; they are also dimensions of power and

status. Membership in these categories places individuals in positions of relative advantage/disadvantage to each other, and can affect their perceptions and their life experiences, even their health and their exposure to violence. Gender, power, and status, and their links to prejudice and discrimination on other dimensions of social identity, are explored in Chapter 2.

- *Where are there similarities?* Even groups that may seem fundamentally different may have common ground that can be discovered if researchers look at their behavior and experience, instead of thinking of them as mere categories.

Psychology's long history of androcentric bias and omitting diverse people from its knowledge base is changing at last. This broadens the way to understanding how individuals' intersecting identities and the life experiences that they lead to are related to larger social structures and systematic oppression (Rosenthal, 2016). Throughout this book, I take an intersectionalist perspective on women's lives, including gender stereotypes, physical and psychological gender differences, gender socialization, relationships, sexuality, parenting, work, physical health, aging, and psychological well-being.

Methods and Values in Psychological Research

Psychology's Methods

Psychologists use a variety of research methods to answer their questions. The diversity of methods allows psychologists to tailor a method that is right for the question they seek to answer.

Most psychologists use ***quantitative methods:*** those that involve measuring behavior, averaging it over a group of people, and comparing groups with statistical tests. Ideally, quantitative methods allow for the use of random samples, so that the results can be ***generalized,*** or applied to more people than just the few who were studied.

Some quantitative methods, such as ***surveys,*** are largely descriptive: they report the beliefs, attitudes, or opinions of groups of people. A good example is the public opinion poll, where attitudes toward gay marriage or affirmative action are assessed. In the interests of efficiency, all participants are asked the same questions. Therefore, it is extremely important that the survey is designed to ask the right questions, and to provide meaningful answer options.

Correlational studies can determine whether two or more variables are related to each other, but they cannot determine whether that relationship is causal. For example, correlational research has demonstrated that, as more American women began to work outside the home over the past 40 years, the divorce rate rose. But it cannot answer the question of why women's work and the divorce rate rose together. Is it because working women are not good wives? Or because women who can support themselves are less likely to stay in bad marriages? Or perhaps it's because there has been a widespread shift away from traditional attitudes during the last 40 years so that both divorce and women's working are more socially acceptable? Other kinds of research are needed to answer questions of causality on this topic—research that I'll describe in Chapters 8 and 10.

If a researcher is interested in change over time within the same individuals, she might use a ***longitudinal design,*** measuring variables at two or more points in time. An example would be to ask couples about their marital satisfaction both before and after the birth of their first child. Statistical techniques allow the researcher to see which variables at Time 1 predict behavior at Time 2. Another approach is to do ***archival research*** or ***secondary data analysis,*** where the researcher looks for relationships among variables in a preexisting set of data such as national test scores.

Many psychologists rely on ***experiments,*** in which one or more variables are systematically manipulated to determine whether there is a causal relationship among them. Experiments are often considered the gold standard of methods, because finding out whether a change in Variable A *causes* a change in Variable B is important to scientific understanding and theory building. Moreover, most experiments are done under carefully controlled laboratory conditions, which increases psychologists' confidence that they are measuring variables accurately. However, in some instances, experiments are not possible. For example, if a researcher wanted to look at the effect of state-level domestic violence laws on the likelihood of women leaving a violent relationship, we could not randomly assign women to an experimental condition.

Other psychological research methods are ***qualitative:*** they explore a topic in an open-ended way, without trying to systematically count or manipulate behaviors. ***Interviews*** (usually individual) and ***focus groups*** (usually groups of 3–12) are the qualitative methods most often used in psychology and women's studies (O' Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2012). Often, researchers summarize qualitative data by grouping participants' comments by theme; they may also quote the participants directly. Sometimes, participants' talk is analyzed using one of a variety of approaches grouped under the term ***discourse analysis***. Other examples of qualitative research are the ***case study*** (an in-depth study of a single individual) and the ***ethnography,*** in which the researcher works within a community and tries to learn its customs and beliefs. ***Content analysis*** could be used to look at textual data, such as tweets or comments in response to social media posts. Some psychologists are even teaming up with computer scientists to use ***natural language processing*** techniques to study issues related to women and gender as illustrated on social media (Kaufman et al., 2019). Qualitative methods provide an intimate look at participants' thoughts and feelings. However, because they generally use small, nonrandom samples and non-numerical measures, qualitative studies are not easily generalized to larger populations.

I've used most of these quantitative and qualitative methods myself, as I've studied women and gender over the course of my career. What I've learned by doing research is that each method has its strengths and weaknesses. As I describe research (my own and others') for you throughout this book, I will tell you what method was used, and I will remind you from time to time that the results of scientific research are always limited and subject to interpretation.

Scientific research is often represented to students as a purely objective process in which a neutral, disinterested scientist investigates and reveals the secrets of nature. However, psychology has sometimes been anything but neutral in explaining the behavior of women. Feminist psychologists have identified specific methodological flaws in traditional research on women.

Toward Gender-Fair Research

Let's look briefly at the research process. Picture a researcher—let's call her Dr. Psych. She starts by generating a question that can be answered by gathering information systematically. Her question may originate in a theory, a personal experience, or an observation, or it may be raised by previous research. The next step is developing a systematic strategy for answering the question—often called ***designing the research***. In the design stage, she selects a method, such as experiment, survey, or case study. Dr. Psych chooses research participants, she creates materials such as questionnaires or laboratory setups, and she decides on ways to measure the behaviors in question.

Next, Dr. Psych collects and analyzes the data so that patterns of results become clear. Because most psychologists rely on quantitative methods, she is likely to use statistical techniques for this task. Dr. Psych then interprets the meaning of her results and draws conclusions from them. If reviewers and journal editors judge her research to be well conducted and important, the results are published in a scientific journal where they can influence future research, theory, and practice. Some research makes its way from journals into textbooks, influencing teachers and students as well as other researchers. Some even gets reported in the mass media, opening the possibility that it may influence millions of readers' and viewers' beliefs or change policies.

Biases can enter into the research process at any stage. In describing a few common types of bias at each stage, I will focus on gender-related examples. However, the principles of gender-fair research also apply to eliminating biases related to such characteristics as race/ethnicity, social class, or sexual identity (Denmark et al., 1988).

Question Formulation

The process of creating research questions is perhaps the most neglected and understudied part of the scientific enterprise. Unexamined personal biases and androcentric theories may lead to biased research questions. Gender stereotypes related to the topic can bias the question and therefore the outcome of the study.

For example, in the past, many studies of leadership defined it in terms of dominance, aggression, and other stereotypically male attributes. It is only recently that psychologists have developed more inclusive definitions of leadership that include the ability to negotiate, to be considerate of others, and to help others resolve conflicts without confrontation—the "people skills" that make leaders more effective. Another example of bias in question formulation is found in the large amount of past research on mothers who worked outside the home. Much of it focused on the question of whether the mothers' work endangered their children's psychological welfare. There was much less research on whether fathers' work endangered their children's welfare or on whether mothers' employment might benefit mothers or children.

Designing Research

In the design phase of research, one important aspect is deciding how to measure the behaviors under study. If the measures are biased, the results will be, too. An extreme example of a biased measure comes from a survey study of women's sexuality. Participants were asked to describe their roles in sexual intercourse by

choosing one of the following responses: passive, responsive, resistant, aggressive, deviant, or other. The outcome of this research might have been very different if women had also been allowed to choose from alternatives such as active, initiating, playful, and joyous (Bart, 1971; Wallston & Grady, 1985).

Choice of research participants is subject to many possible biases. Since the 1940s psychology has come to rely more and more on college student samples, creating biases of age, social class, and developmental stage (Sears, 1986). And the college students who participate in psychological research are not even representative of all American college students, because they are likely to be drawn mostly from introductory psychology courses, and because research is done mainly at universities and elite colleges, not at community colleges and less selective ones. The psych department subject pool may be a handy way for researchers to fill their quota, but it is far from representative of humanity!

Another important bias in choosing participants is that, for most of psychology's history, males were more likely to be studied than females, and male-only studies were considered representative of people in general. In contrast, when researchers used an all-female sample, they were more likely to state it in the article's title, to discuss their reasons for studying women, and to point out that their results could not be generalized to men (Ader & Johnson, 1994). It seems that psychologists felt it was important to indicate the limitations of an all-female sample, but they saw nothing remarkable about an all-male sample—males were the norm.

Other types of sampling bias still persist. Research on ethnic minority people is scarce except when they are seen as creating social problems (Reid & Kelly, 1994). There has been abundant research on teen pregnancy among African American females, for example, but little research on their leadership, creativity, or coping skills for dealing with racism. Poor and working-class women, too, were virtually ignored (Bing & Reid, 1996; Reid, 1993). And women who happen not to be heterosexual will have trouble finding people like themselves in psychological research. Reviews of all psychological studies published from 1975 to 2009 have shown that nonheterosexual people were included in less than 1 percent of research, and lesbians and bisexual women were significantly less likely to be studied than gay and bisexual men (Lee & Crawford, 2007, 2012).

Many well-known psychologists, both female and male, have pointed out that psychology, supposedly the science of human behavior, is more accurately described as the science of the behavior of college sophomores, and straight white male college sophomores at that. Fortunately, many of the sampling biases I've described are declining. For example, the proportion of studies that include only men has been decreasing since the 1970s (Gannon et al., 1992), and the proportion of psychological research with low-income and working-class women has increased significantly in recent decades (Reid, 2010). The availability of Internet samples has broadened psychology's base beyond college students, too.

Analyzing Data: A Focus on Differences

Psychologists have come to rely on quantitative methods, and therefore they almost always use statistical tests in data analysis. Over the past 40 years, both the number of articles using statistics and the number of statistical tests per article have

increased. Statistics can be a useful tool, but they also can lead to conceptual difficulties in research on sex and gender.

Statistical models lead to a focus on differences rather than similarities. The logic of statistical analysis involves comparing two groups to see if the average difference between them is statistically significant. Unfortunately, it is not easy to make meaningful statements about similarities using statistical reasoning.

It is also unfortunate that statisticians chose the term ***significant*** to describe the outcome of a set of mathematical operations. As used by most people the word means important, but as used by statisticians it means only that the obtained difference between two groups is unlikely to be due to mere chance. A statistically significant difference does not necessarily have any practical or social significance (Favreau, 1997). The meaning and interpretation of difference will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Interpreting and Publishing Research Results

Psychology's focus on group differences affects the ways that results are interpreted and conveyed to others. One type of interpretation bias—termed ***overgeneralization***—occurs when gender differences in performing a specific task are interpreted as evidence of a more general difference, perhaps even one that is considered permanent and unchangeable. For example, because samples of highly gifted junior-high boys score higher on SAT math tests than similar samples of girls, some psychologists have argued that males in general have a biological superiority in math ability.

Another kind of interpretation bias occurs when the performance style more typical of girls or women is given a negative label. For example, girls get better grades in school in virtually every subject, but this is not usually interpreted as evidence that they are superior in intelligence. Instead, girls' academic achievement may be discounted; they are sometimes said to get good grades by being nice or compliant.

Overgeneralizing and other interpretation biases encourage us to think of men and women as two totally separate categories. But it is simply not true that "men are from Mars, women from Venus." On many traits and behaviors, men and women are far more alike than different. Even when a statistically significant difference is found, there is always considerable overlap between the two groups (see Chapter 4).

Problems of interpretation are compounded by publication biases. Because of reliance on the logic of statistical analysis, studies that report differences between women and men are more likely to be published than those that report similarities. Moreover, the editorial boards of most journals still are predominately made up of white men, who may perhaps see topics relevant to women and ethnic minorities as less important than topics relevant to people more like themselves (Denmark et al., 1988). Until feminist psychology was formed, there was very little psychological research on pregnancy and mothering, women's leadership, violence against women, or gender issues in therapy.

Bias continues after publication. The media notice some findings, but others are overlooked. Television and the popular press often actively publicize the latest discoveries about gender differences. Of course, some of these differences may not be very important, and others may not hold up in future research, but the public is less likely to hear about that because gender similarities are not news.

In summary, research is a human activity, and the biases held by those who do research can affect any stage of the process. As more diverse people become psychologists, they are bringing new values, beliefs, and research questions. They also may question and challenge the biases in others' research. Feminist psychologists have led the way by demonstrating that gender bias exists in psychological research and showing how it can be reduced.

Gender-fair research is not value-free; that is, gender-fair research practices do not eliminate value judgments from the research process. Androcentric research is based on the value judgment that men and their concerns are more important and worthy of study than women and their concerns. In contrast, gender-fair research is based on the value judgment that women and men and their concerns are of equal worth and importance (Eichler, 1988).

Embracing Intersectionality in Psychological Research

Integrating intersectionality with psychology would help strengthen psychological research and limit some of these biases. Specifically, intersectional feminist psychologists have advocated for four perspective shifts that could strengthen research practices (McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019). The first focuses on viewing research participants as multidimensional and as belonging to several social groups. For instance, Asian women experience life as a woman and also as someone coming from an Asian culture. These multiple identities mean such a woman's experience might be quite different from an African American woman's experience.

The second shift calls for recognizing that the implications of being a member of a particular social group can look different based on historical context, geography, and social policy. For instance, being a woman in the sciences may be a much different experience today than it was just 30 years ago.

The third perspective shift means viewing intersectionality as a way to highlight systems of power and inequality. What privileges does being a white homosexual male provide as compared to the experience of being a Black female lesbian?

Finally, membership in different social groups creates systematic disadvantage and advantage for people. For example, a tall white man may be seen as having an advantage in life, but a tall Black man may be viewed as threatening to some.

In sum, intersectionality is crucial to the study of psychology and human behavior, as it highlights diversity in experiences, systems of power and advantage or disadvantage, and it makes it more likely that psychology will be able to better address real-world problems (McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019).

Feminist Values in Research

Although feminist psychologists have been critical of psychology, they remain committed to it, expressing feminist values in their work (Grossman et al., 1997). What are some of these values?

Empirical Research Is a Worthwhile Activity

Although feminist psychologists recognize that science is far from perfect, they value its methods. Scientific methods are the most systematic way to answer

questions about the natural and social world. Rather than abandon those methods or endlessly debate whether there is one perfect feminist way to do research, they go about their work using a rich variety of methods, theories, and approaches (Kimmel & Crawford, 2000; Rutherford, 2010).

Research Methods Should Be Critically Examined

Feminist theorists have pointed out that methods are not neutral tools; the choice of method always shapes and constrains what can be found (Kimmel & Crawford, 2000). For example, which is the better way to study female sexuality—by measuring physiological changes during arousal and orgasm or by interviewing women about their subjective experiences of arousal and orgasm? The two methods might produce very different discoveries about female sexuality (Tiefer, 1989).

Traditionally, experimentation has been the most respected psychological method. However, experimental methods have been criticized for at least two reasons. First, in an experiment, the researcher creates an artificial environment and manipulates the experience of the participants. Because of this artificiality, behavior in the laboratory may not be representative of behavior in other situations (Sherif, 1979). Second, experiments are inherently hierarchical, with "the powerful, all-knowing researchers instructing, observing, recording, and sometimes deceiving the subjects" (Peplau & Conrad, 1989). The inequality of the experimental situation may be particularly acute when the researcher is male and the person being studied is female (McHugh et al., 1986).

On the other hand, many important advances in understanding women and gender have come about because of experimental results. For example, experimental research has helped us understand gender stereotypes and their impact (see Chapter 3). Just as any research method can be used in biased ways, any method can be used toward the goal of understanding women and gender (Rutherford, 2010). When a variety of methods are used, results based on different approaches can be compared with each other, and a richer and more complete picture of women's lives will emerge.

Both Women and Men Can Conduct Feminist Research

Most feminist researchers in psychology are women. The membership of APA's Division 35 is more than 90 percent female, and women have been leaders in developing new theories and conducting new research about women and gender ever since the first women earned their PhDs in psychology. However, it is important not to equate female with feminist and male with nonfeminist. Women who are psychologists work in every area from physiological to clinical psychology. Women psychologists may or may not personally identify as feminists, and even when they do, they may not bring a feminist perspective to their research. Also, male psychologists can identify as feminist. Men can and do conduct research on women and gender, and many conduct research on masculinity, men's lives, and male gender roles. Of course, all psychologists—male and female and nonbinary, feminist and nonfeminist—should, at a minimum, try to conduct their research in gender-fair ways and work to eliminate gender bias from their professional practices and behaviors.

Science Can Never Be Fully Objective or Value-Neutral

Science is done by human beings, all of whom bring their own perspectives to their work, based on their personal backgrounds. Because the perspectives of dominant groups in a society are normative, they are not always recognized as being infused with dominant group values. When others—women and minorities, for example—question the assumptions of the dominant group, the underlying values are made more visible.

One of the most important insights of feminism is that research and the creation of knowledge do not occur in a social vacuum. Rather, each research project or theory is situated in a particular period in history and a particular social context. The psychology of women and gender is not unique in being affected by social currents such as feminism, conservatism, and liberalism. All of psychology is affected. Moreover, psychology in turn affects social issues and social policy through providing ways to interpret human behavior. Because psychology is a cultural institution, doing psychological research is inevitably a political act (Crawford & Marecek, 1989).

Although the effects of values on the scientific process are inevitable, they need not be negative for women. Like many other feminist psychologists, I believe that psychology should admit its values and acknowledge that they are part of the research process (Crawford & Marecek, 1989). Opening our values to scrutiny can only strengthen our research. An awareness of the politics of science can help feminist psychologists use science to foster social change and improve women's lives (Peplau & Conrad, 1989).

Social, Historical, and Political Forces Shape Human Behavior

Because feminists believe that gender equality is possible, although it has not yet been achieved, they are sensitive to the ways that social contexts and forces shape people's behavior and limit human potential. Feminist psychologists try to understand not only the effects of gender, but also the effects of other systems of social classification such as race, social class, and sexuality. They try to clarify the ways that sociocultural forces, as well as biological and psychological ones, affect behavior.

Feminist psychologists respect the diversity of women and recognize that it is important to study varied groups. For example, there is a gender gap in self-esteem in the United States, but it is not just a simple male-female difference. The gap between women and men's self-esteem is largest among European Americans and in low-income groups, and when looking at it across the lifespan, the gap reaches a peak in the high school years (Hyde, 2014; Kling et al., 1999). Differences like these show how women's psychology is affected by their social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds, not just their biology.

About This Book

This book draws on the work of hundreds of psychologists, both women and men, who have contributed to the ongoing process of transforming psychology. It also draws on the work of feminist theorists and researchers in other disciplines,

including philosophy, history, anthropology, sociology, political science, public health, and cultural studies. This book, then, provides both a critique of androcentric knowledge about women and an introduction to the groundbreaking research that has emerged from feminist psychology.

As you read the chapters that follow, you will see that certain threads run through them. Three of these threads in particular are important to highlight at the start. First, *women have not yet achieved full equality with men.* There are persistent differences in power and social standing that shape women's lives. In many cultures and time periods, women have been treated as second-class citizens. Some of the inequalities are glaring—such as denying women the right to vote, own property, use public spaces, or make decisions about our own bodies. Other inequalities are more subtle—such as being subjected to everyday sexist hassles or being paid less at work. Everywhere, power differences are implicated in the shocking worldwide prevalence of violence against girls and women. Gender, power, and social status are so important that they are the focus of Chapter 2. The causes and effects of various kinds of violence against girls and women are highlighted in Chapter 12.

A second thread that runs throughout this book concerns *differences and similarities.* Women and men are not complete opposites of each other. Rather, there is a great deal of overlap in the psychology of women and men. Gender differences are important, but we should also think about gender similarities. When gender differences do occur, we should ask where they come from and how they connect to differences in power and social position.

A third thread that runs throughout this book is that *psychology can contribute to social change.* Traditionally, psychologists have focused on changing individuals. They have developed techniques to change attitudes, increase insight and self-understanding, teach new behavioral skills, and reduce or eliminate self-defeating thinking and behaviors. They have applied these techniques in a variety of educational and therapeutic settings. In this book, there are many examples of how feminist psychology has adapted and used these techniques.

However, research on women and gender indicates that there are limits to the power of individual change. Many of the problems that confront women are the result of social structures and practices that put women at a disadvantage and interfere with their living happy, productive lives. Social-structural problems cannot be solved solely through individual changes in attitudes and behavior; rather, the community norms and social institutions that permit the devaluation and victimization of women must also be changed. Therefore, throughout this book I discuss the implications of psychological research for changing institutions such as traditional marriage, language use, child rearing, the workplace, and the media. Every chapter ends with a section called *Making a Difference,* which showcases how individuals and groups are changing society toward a more feminist ideal.

A Personal Reflection

Because I believe that personal values shape how a researcher approaches her or his topic, I would like to share with you a little about myself and the experiences and values that shaped the writing of this book.

I started out as a psychologist in the field of learning theory. I was taught that to be a good scientist I must separate my personal or social concerns from my scientific problem solving. My dissertation was an analysis of species-specific reactions in rats and their effects on classical and operant conditioning. I enjoyed doing research. It was exciting to learn how to design a good study, do statistical tests, and write an article for publication. Learning theory is one of the oldest branches of psychology; methods and theories were highly developed, and I could learn how to do it all from well-established experts. My mentor and dissertation advisor was a good scientist and a kind man who treated me with respect. He understood that as a single mom with two young children I was juggling a lot of competing demands, and he encouraged me to become the best researcher I could.

However, soon after I completed my PhD research, my feelings about being a psychologist began to change. More and more, my research seemed like a series of intellectual puzzles that had no connection to the rest of my life. In the lab, I studied abstract theories of conditioning, accepting the assumption that the principles were similar for rats and humans. In the "real world," I became involved in feminist activism and began to see things I had never noticed before. I saw sex discrimination in my university and knew women who struggled to hold their families together in poverty. Trying to build a new egalitarian marriage and bring up my children in nonsexist ways made me much more aware of social pressures to conform to traditional gender roles. I began to ask myself why I was doing a kind of psychology that had so little to say about the world as I knew it. I turned to the study of women and gender in order to make my personal and intellectual life congruent and to begin using my skills as a psychologist on behalf of social change.

Today, I still value my early research for teaching me how to go about scientific inquiry systematically and responsibly, but I have changed my views about what the important questions in psychology are and which theoretical frameworks have the most potential. I chose to develop a new specialization, the study of women and gender, and I have been doing research in this area ever since. I write this book in the hope that it will contribute in some small way to the creation of a transformed psychology, by introducing the psychology of women to the next generation of students (and future psychologists).

I have taught the psychology of women to graduate and undergraduate students for 35 years. My students have differed in their racial and ethnic backgrounds, age, life experience, and sexualities. Their personal beliefs and values about feminism, women, and gender varied a great deal. In short, my students have been a diverse group of people. Many of them have gone on to lead careers as feminist psychologists studying a range of issues relevant to women and teaching the psychology of women and gender in their own classrooms. I have welcomed that diversity, and in this book I try to reflect what I have learned from it. Whatever your own background, I welcome you, my newest student, to the study of women and gender. I hope that it will make a difference for you.

I anticipate that you, like many of my students before you, will experience growth in at least some of the following areas as a result of your studies:

- *Critical thinking skills.* By studying the psychology of women, you can learn to evaluate psychological research critically and become a more astute, perceptive observer of human behavior.

- *Empathy for women.* You may come to appreciate the experiences and viewpoints of your mother, your sisters, and your women friends better. In addition, women students may experience a heightened sense of connection with women as a group.
- *The ability to see the intersectionality of women's social positions and identities.* The psychology of women is closely linked to their place in society and culture.
- *Knowledge and understanding about social inequities.* The focus is on the gender system, sexism, and sex discrimination. However, gender always interacts with other systems of domination such as racism and heterosexism.
- *A commitment to work toward social change.* Psychological research and knowledge only matters when it is used.

Many of my past students have told me that their first course in women and gender raised as many questions as it answered, and was at times challenging, even upsetting. From these students, I learned that I cannot promise my future students any easy answers. Acquiring knowledge is an ongoing process, for professional researchers as well as for college students. I invite you to join me on that journey.

Exploring Further

Special Section: Intersectionality Research and Feminist Psychology. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 2016, 40, 155–183.
This is an advanced discussion among top researchers about how to integrate intersectionality into research methods and practices. In their conversation you can observe the ongoing work of feminist psychologists to bring about a more inclusive psychology by developing intersectionality theory.

Gay, Roxanne. (2014). *Bad Feminist*. New York: HarperCollins.
This New York Times bestseller is a collection of essays discussing the intersection of politics, feminism, and popular culture. As a bisexual woman of color, Gay illustrates her points through the lens of her own experiences with race, gender identity, and sexuality.

Cobble, Dorothy S., Gordon, Linda, & Henry, Astrid. (2014). Feminism Unfinished: A Short, Surprising History of American Women's Movements. New York: Norton.
Feminism has utterly changed our world in the 100 years since women won the vote, say the smart and lively historians who wrote this book. Its influence has been so widespread that it has blended into the culture and been insufficiently analyzed. Their aim is to remedy that. The result is a history book that's hard to put down.

Feminist Voices in Psychology. http://www.feministvoices.com
A multimedia Internet archive featuring the women of psychology's past and the diverse voices of contemporary feminist psychologists. In interviews available on the site, feminist pioneers talk about their challenge to mainstream psychology and experts in feminist psychology talk about ongoing challenges and future directions for women and feminism in psychology.

References

Ader, D. N., & Johnson, S. B. (1994). Sample description, reporting, and analysis of sex in psychological research: A look at APA and APA division journals in 1990. *American Psychologist*, *49*(3), 216–218. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.49.3.216

Bart, P. B. (1971). Sexism and social science: From the gilded cage to the iron cage, or, the perils of Pauline. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *33*(4), 734. https://doi.org/10.2307/349447

Baumgardner, J., & Richards, A. (2000). *Manifesta: Young women, feminism, and the future.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Baumgardner, J., & Richards, A. (2005). *Grassroots: A field guide for feminist activism.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Bing, V. M., & Reid, P. T. (1996). Unknown women and unknowing research: Consequences of color and class in feminist psychology. In N. R. Goldberger & J. M. Tarule (Eds.), *Knowledge, difference, and power: Essays inspired by "women's ways of knowing"* (pp. 175–202). New York: Basic Books.

Browne, K. (2011). Lesbian separatist feminism at Michigan Womyn's music festival. *Feminism and Psychology*, *21*(2), 248–256. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353510370185

Callimachi, R. (2016, March 12). To maintain supply of sex slaves, ISIS pushes birth control. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/13/world/ middleeast /to-maintain-supply-of-sex-slaves-isis-pushes-birth-control.html?_r=0

Chrisler, J. C., de las Fuentes, C., Durvasula, R. S., Esnil, E. M., McHugh, M. C., Miles-Cohen, S. E., ... Wisdom, J. P. (2013). The American Psychological Association's Committee on Women in Psychology: 40 years of contributions to the transformation of psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *37*(4), 444–454. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313505442

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, *64*(3), 170–180. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564

Crawford, M., & Marecek, J. (1989). Psychology reconstructs the female 1968–1988. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *13*(2), 147–165. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1989.tb00993.x

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and class: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and anti-racist policies. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2007.54.1.23.

Denmark, F., Russo, N. F., Frieze, I. H., & Sechzer, J. A. (1988). Guidelines for avoiding sexism in psychological research: A report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Nonsexist Research. *American Psychologist*, *43*(7), 582–585. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.43.7.582

Donnelly, K., Twenge, J. M., Clark, M. A., Shaikh, S. K., Beiler-May, A., & Carter, N. T. (2016). Attitudes toward women's work and family roles in the United States, 1976–2013. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *40*(1), 41–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315590774

Eichler, M. (1988). *Nonsexist research methods.* Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Else-Quest, N. M., & Grabe, S. (2012). The political is personal: Measurement and application of nation-level indicators of gender equity in psychological research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *36*, 131–144. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312441592

Favreau, O. E. (1997). Sex and gender comparisons: Does null hypothesis testing create a false dichotomy? *Feminism and Psychology*, *7*(1), 63–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353597071010

Fowler, G., Cope, C., Michalski, D., Christidis, P., Lin, L., Confroy, J. (2018). Women outnumber men in psychology graduate programs. *Monitor on Psychology*, *49*(11), 21.