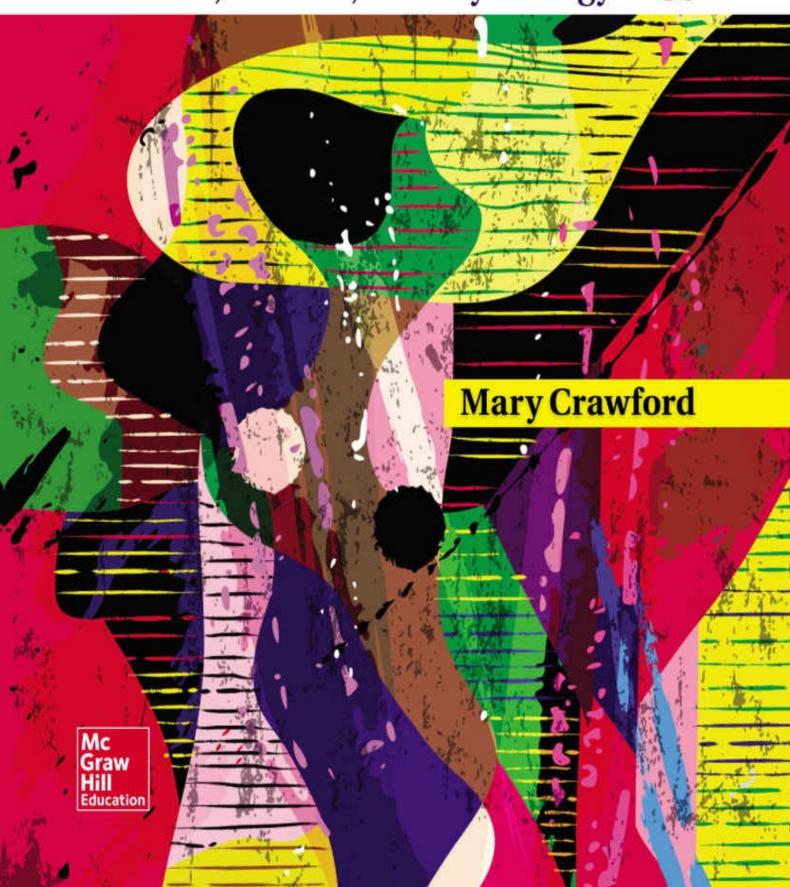
Transformations

Women, Gender, AND Psychology 3e



TRANSFORMATIONS

Women, Gender, and Psychology

THIRD EDITION

Mary Crawford

University of Connecticut





TRANSFORMATIONS: WOMEN, GENDER, AND PSYCHOLOGY, THIRD EDITION

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 LCR 21 20 19 18 17

ISBN 978-0-078-02698-0 MHID 0-078-02698-9

Portfolio Manager: Jamie Laferrera Product Developer: Francesca King Marketing Manager: Augustine Laferrera Content Project Manager: Maria McGreal

Buyer: Sue Culbertson
Design: Lumina Datamatics

Content Licensing Specialist: Melisa Seegmiller Cover Image: ©Kirsten Hinte / 123RF Compositor: Lumina Datamatics

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been requested from the Library of Congress.

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a website does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill Education, and McGraw-Hill Education does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

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

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About the Author

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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 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.

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Preface ≈

As I wrote this edition of *Transformations* during the latter half of 2016 and the first half of 2017, the larger social and political context was very much on my mind. While I summarized the latest research on such topics as women's leadership, backlash against competent women, sexual harassment, transgender identity, reproductive justice, and feminist activism, a presidential election campaign was being held. For the first time in American history, it pitted a male and a female candidate from the two major political parties against each other, and it was remarkably bitter and divisive.

During this time period, sexual assault and harassment were constantly in the news: Donald Trump was caught on tape bragging about grabbing women by the genitals, and retaliated with accusations about former president Bill Clinton; Fox News head Roger Ailes was forced to resign after a longtime culture of harassment at the network was revealed; and a pending sexual assault lawsuit against Bill Cosby repeatedly made headlines. A "bathroom bill" discriminating against trans people was on, off, and on again. State legislatures and the Trump administration moved to restrict women's reproductive rights in the U.S. and around the world. And this was just the United States. Globally, girls and women were being kidnapped and held as sex slaves by terrorist groups. Nearly two out of five female murder victims were killed by partners or former partners. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate people were female; and sex trafficking continued unabated.

As I joined the millions of people who marched in global protest on January 21, 2017, I thought: Whatever one's stance on political or social issues, gender is still a very important category. Gender *matters*—to each of us as an individual, as social beings, and as citizens.

Writing this book during a period of national ferment about gender issues was a powerful experience in the importance of feminist theory, research, scholarship, and activism for the 21st century. It is more important than ever to bring accurate information to students and to help them learn how to think critically and compassionately about women's lives. Empirical social science, interpretive analysis grounded in the lived experience of women, and critical thinking skills are tools for fighting sexism and misinformation. The research presented in this third edition of *Transformations* reflects my sincere effort to offer you the best of feminist psychological scholarship for your classroom.

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I wrote this book originally to share my excitement about the psychology of women and gender. I chose *Transformations* for the title because this book explores many kinds of transformations. As I complete the third edition, the concept of transformation remains central to my thinking about this branch of psychology.

First, this book reflects the developmental transformations of a woman's life. Each person who is labeled female at birth progresses in turn from gender-innocent infant to gender-socialized child; from girl to woman; and from young woman to old woman. The process of developing a gender identity and a sexual identity are 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, girls and women victimized by gender-based violence are forced to 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 psychology. The perspectives of feminist psychology have changed research, practice,

and theory in 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 two 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 Multiculturalism, Diversity, and Intersectionality

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. I define the concept of intersectionality in Chapter 1 and discuss its importance for feminist psychology, setting 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, sex discrimination at work, and the effects of being privileged on some dimensions but not others.

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The emphasis on systemic oppression continues in Chapter 2 with extended discussion of how systems of social classification are linked and mutually reinforcing. 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, and transgender people; with women and men of color; with people who have disabilities; and with international populations. Integrating these dimensions of diversity throughout the book, I explore how they structure girls' and women's 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: studies of 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 sex discrimination, and sexual harassment in relation to ethnicity and gender (Chapter 10); cross-cultural differences in aging and in 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 effects of ethnicity and social class on 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 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 White, 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 diversity.

Gender: A Social System Linked to Status and Power

Transformations 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 and 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

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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 and 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 smiling, 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. Also, when describing individual studies verbally, I report the methods and results of both classic and recent research in enough detail that students can see *how* the

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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.

A Positive Focus on Social Change

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 change. 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-equal 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 3e reflects the most current research and theory, with more than 600 *new* references since the previous edition. Here, I list highlights of new and updated topics.

Chapter 1: Paving the Way

- A new section on intersectionality
- An introduction to transnational feminism
- How the use of Internet samples is reducing sampling bias in research

Chapter 2: Gender, Status, and Power

- New research on "doing gender" in online communication
- Micro-aggressions: An intersectional perspective
- Backlash against agentic and ambitious women
- "Mansplaining," "manologues," and conversational dominance
- How to change sexist attitudes
- NEW BOX: Malala Yousafzai

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Chapter 3: Images of Women

- Updated research on sexist/nonsexist language
- Latest research on media images
 - "post-feminist" ads
 - Latinas, African-American women
 - female athletes in the media
- An intersectional analysis of gender and ethnic stereotypes
- NEW BOX: The Bechdel Test (Does your Favorite Movie Pass This Handy Sexism Quiz?)

Chapter 4: The Meanings of Difference

- Increased emphasis on meta-analysis, both usefulness and critique of
 - concept of effect size, meaning of a small, medium, and large effect size
 - moderator variables
- The shrinking gender gap in math performance
- Intersectional approach to stereotype threat and stereotype boost
- Techniques for reducing or eliminating stereotype threat in vulnerable groups and equalizing opportunities for girls in math and science

Chapter 5: Sex, Gender, and Bodies

- Extensively updated—still the only textbook in the field to present a social constructionist perspective on the concept of binary sex
- The most recent research on chromosomal and hormonal variations such as XYY syndrome, Turner syndrome, CAH

- New psychiatric classification, terminology and research on intersex, transgender, fluid, genderqueer, agender, and nonbinary identities
 - DSM category of gender dysphoria: definition; diagnosis in children, adolescents and adults; critique
 - New evidence for genetic links in transgender reported and evaluated
 - Psychological outcomes of gender affirmation (formerly termed sex change) surgery
 - Psychological adjustment in transgender individuals
- Genetic influences on sexual orientation
- Prenatal hormone exposure (CAH) and women's sexual orientation
- Transphobia, genderism, hate crimes against trans people
- Updated information on third-sex categories in other cultures
- NEW BOXES:
 - Genderqueer pronouns: A New User's Guide
 - Research Focus: Life Experiences of Intersex People
 - Caster Semenya, Dutee Chand, and Gender Verification of Female Athletes

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Chapter 6: Gendered Identities: Childhood and Adolescence

- Strategies for teaching children to think critically about the stereotypical messages in their storybooks and on TV
- How and why some girls sustain a deviation from prescribed femininity by being "tomboys" throughout middle childhood
- Early sexualization of girls
- Meta-analyses and cross-cultural comparisons of gender and physical and relational aggression
- Sexual objectification in adolescent girls
- Sexual harassment in middle school and high school
- How to help adolescent girls stay "in the body" and reduce self-objectification
- NEW BOXES:
 - Little Kids Scope Out the Hidden Messages in Their Storybooks—And Come Up with Some Bright Ideas for Gender Equality
 - The Gendered Toy Marketing Debate

Chapter 7: Sex, Love, and Romance

- Chapter has been extensively updated to focus on contemporary issues
- Ideals of heteronormative romance vs. hookup practices (booty call, friends with benefits ...)
- Gender differences and similarities in hookup experiences
- Early sexual initiation
- New research on the coming-out process for lesbian and bisexual women
- · Sexual fluidity in women
- Intersections of ethnic and sexual identity
- New section on Internet dating
- Current research on sexual double standards
- Critique of abstinence-based sex education
- NEW BOXES:
 - Research Focus: Women's Masturbation: Experiences of Sexual Empowerment in a Primarily Sex-Positive Sample
 - Purity Balls and Virginity Pledges

Chapter 8: Commitments: Women and Close Relationships

- Changing patterns of heterosexual marriage
- The trend toward serial cohabitation and long-term singlehood among women
- · Lesbian couples and lesbian marriages
- The psychological and economic consequences of divorce
- NEW BOXES:
 - Timeline/History of Marriage Equality for Gay/Lesbian Couples
 - Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon: A Marriage to Remember

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Chapter 9: Mothering

- An inclusive, intersectional perspective that includes teen mothers, single mothers, LBTQ, African-American mothers, and the place of fathers in childbirth and parenting
- Persistence of pronatalism and the motherhood mystique
- · Child free by choice
- Infertility
- Updated information on abortion and attempts to restrict access
- Ethical issues in surrogate parenthood
- Attitudes toward pregnant women
- Risk factors for postpartum depression
- · Family-friendly social policy and workplaces
- NEW BOX:
 - MomsRising.org: Grassroots Advocacy for Women, Mothers, and Families

Chapter 10: Work and Achievement

- Updated research on women's unpaid work
 - Housework as real work, relational work, and the two-person career
- Occupational segregation, the glass ceiling
- Gender bias in hiring and promotion
- Tokenism: An intersectional analysis
- The importance of mentoring
- Expectancies, values, and career paths (Eccles' expectancy-values theory)
- Achieving work-life balance
- NEW BOX: Women in Startup Companies and Venture Capital

Chapter 11: The Second Half: Midlife and Aging

- Ageism in individualistic and collectivistic cultures
- Images of older women in the media
- Social impact of age stereotypes
- Current research on menopause and hormone replacement therapy
- Exercise and fitness in middle and later life
- Older women's sexuality: from the "cougar" to old age
- Lesbians in later life: visibility, sexuality, adjustment, couples, retirement
- Role changes of later life: becoming a grandmother, losing a life partner, retirement

Chapter 12: Violence against Women

 New Section, Violence and Social Media, covers revenge porn, disseminating text messages without consent, other forms of non-consensual pornography, and new legal protections against these offenses

- Updated research on rape, sexual assault, and prevention programs aimed at men
- NEW BOX: It's On Us: Intervening to reduce sexual assault on campuses

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

- Continuing the focus of earlier editions, Feminist and social constructionist approach to psychological disorders puts psychological well-being in social and historical context
- Premenstrual Dysphoric Disorder (PMDD) in the DSM
- Objectification, ethnic group identification, and eating disorders
- PMDD as a culture-bound syndrome
- Pharmaceutical industry influence on DSM revisions
- NEW BOXES:
 - Judith Worrell: Pioneer in Feminist Therapy
 - Prozac, Sarafem, and the Rebranding of Psycho-Pharmaceutical Drugs

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

- Updated research on
- Ethnically diverse students' attitudes toward feminism
- Feminists' and nonfeminists' attitudes toward men
- Feminist attitudes and psychological well-being in women

Transformations 3e is readable, lively, and easy to follow. It's a student-friendly text, with a generous sprinkling of 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 third 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. All of the title's website and ancillary content is also available through Connect, including:

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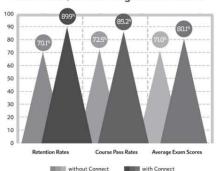


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Acknowledgments

Writing a textbook is a daunting task. I could not have done it without the support of family, friends, and colleagues.

Annie B. Fox, PhD, wrote chapter 12, on gender-based violence, and updated Chapter 13, Psychological Disorders, Therapy, and Women's Well-Being. Annie also conceived and wrote most of the lively text boxes that appear throughout the book. Thank you, Annie, for taking an increasing role in *Transformations 3e*, applying your classroom experience and psychological expertise to make it better than ever.

Chapter 13 was previously contributed by Britain Scott, who could not participate in this edition due to other commitments. Britain's expertise remains visible in the innovative social constructionist approach, historical sweep, and approachable style of Chapter 13. I thank Britain again for her many contributions to the first two editions.

Christy Starr, graduate student at University of California Santa Cruz, was a capable and hardworking research assistant for this edition and also contributed the section on sexualization of girls in Chapter 6. Thank you, Christy, for your dedication to the project, feminist ideals, and strong work ethic. Thanks to Dawn M. Brown, graduate student at University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, who offered guidance on gender identity terminology and pronoun use. Working with these strong and capable younger women gives me renewed hope that the feminist transformation of society will continue.

Thanks to Julia and David Apgar, Ben Chaffin, and Annie Duong for providing the photos of their dressed-up kids in Chapter 6, and to Alex Olson, a student at Normandale Community College in Minnesota, who helped me select the many new photographs that illustrate this edition.

I am grateful to the publishing pros at McGraw-Hill: Product Developer Francesca King, Portfolio Manager Jamie Laferrera, Content Licencing Specialist Melisa Seegmiller, and at **ansr**source, Developmental Editor Anne Sheroff, and Photo Researcher Jennifer Blankenship.

I would also like to thank the pre-publication reviewers for this edition who generously provided me with feedback: John M. Adams, University of Alabama; Grace Deason, University of Wisconsin—La Crosse; Alishia Huntoon, Oregon Institute of Technology; Jamie Franco-Zamudio, Spring Hill College; Jennifer Katz, SUNY Geneseo; Shannon Quintana, Miami Dade College; Christine Smith, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay; Megan L. Strain, University of Nebraska at Kearney; and Katherine Urquhart, University of Central Florida.

I thank, too, the friends and family who put up with the absent-mindedness and crankiness of a writer in the throes of a big project, especially 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

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Part 1

PART 1



Introduction

Chapter 1 Paving the Way

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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?

· Methods and Values in Psychological Research

Psychology's Methods Toward Gender-Fair Research Feminist Values in Research

- Intersectionality
- · About This Book
- · A Personal Reflection
- Exploring Further

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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 19 percent of the U.S. Congress and 12 percent of state governors are women.
- In the United States, women earn about 78 cents for every dollar earned by men. Worldwide, the difference is even greater—women earn only about 52 percent of what men earn.
- The United Nations estimates that 115 million women are missing from the global population—dead because, as females, they were unwanted.
- Women have been heads of state in 70 countries around the world, yet in others they lack basic human rights such as going to school.

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 psychology of women tend to focus on women's lives and experiences as the topics of study. Those who use psychology of

gender tend to focus on the social and biological processes that create differences between women and men. 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.

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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). 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

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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), gay/lesbian issues (Division 44), and the study of men and masculinity (Division 51) were established later, with the support of Division 35.

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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, 1997a).

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 24 percent (American Psychological Association, 2014).

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