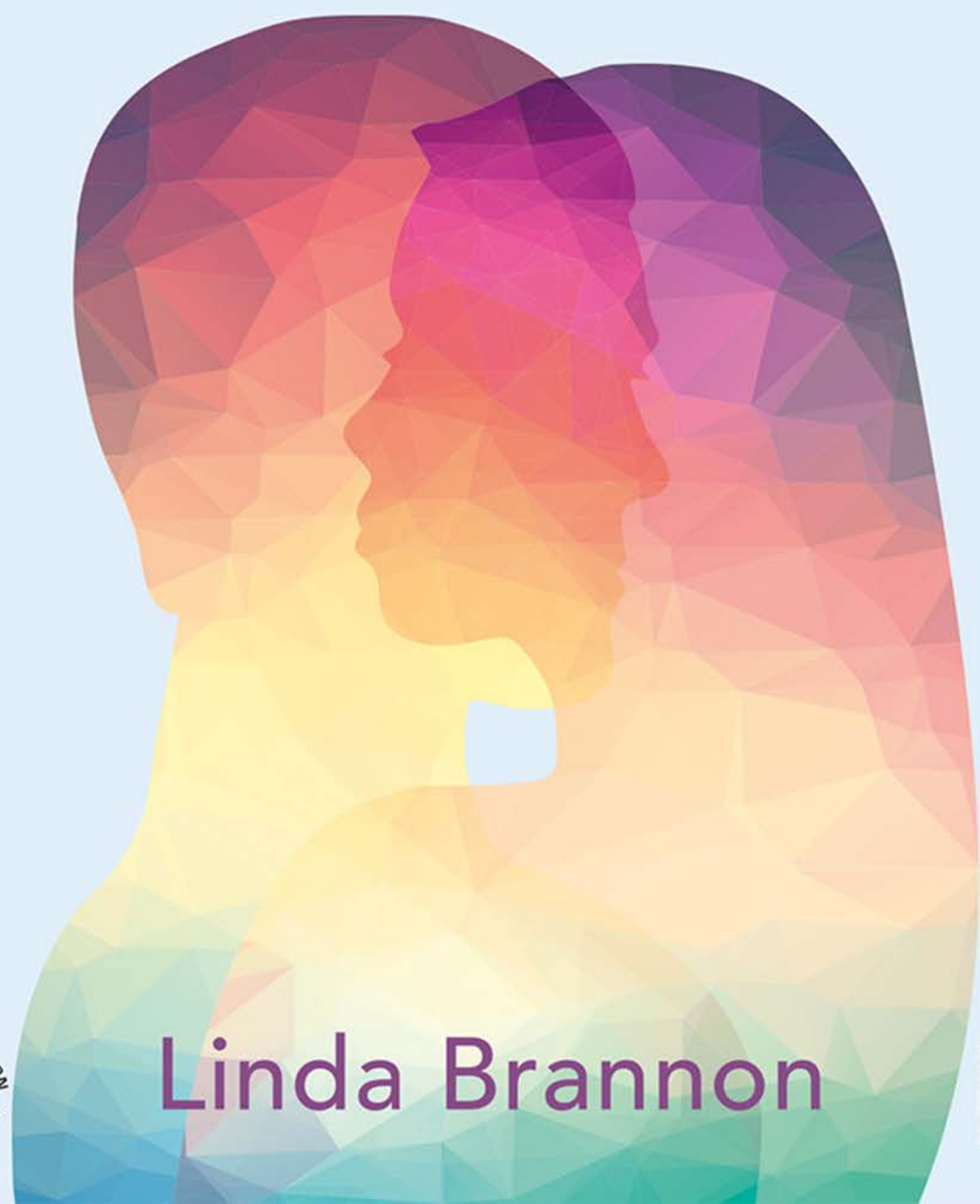


SEVENTH EDITION

Gender

Psychological Perspectives



Linda Brannon



Gender

Gender: Psychological Perspectives synthesizes the latest research on gender to help students think critically about the differences between research findings and stereotypes, provoking them to examine and revise their own preconceptions. The text examines the behavioral, biological, and social contexts in which women *and* men express gendered behaviors. The text's unique pedagogical program helps students understand the portrayal of gender in the media and the application of gender research in the real world. *Headlines* from the news open each chapter to engage the reader. *Gendered Voices* boxes present true personal accounts of people's lives. *According to the Media* boxes highlight gender-related coverage in newspapers, magazines, books, TV, and movies, while *According to the Research* boxes offer the latest scientifically based research to help students analyze the accuracy and fairness of gender images presented in the media. Additionally, *Considering Diversity* sections emphasize the cross-cultural perspective of gender.

This text is intended for undergraduate or graduate courses on the psychology of gender, psychology of sex, psychology of women or men, gender issues, sex roles, women in society, and women's or men's studies. It is also applicable to sociology and anthropology courses on diversity.

Seventh Edition Highlights

- 12 new headlines on topics ranging from gender and the Flynn effect to gender stereotyping that affects men
- Coverage of gender issues in aging adults and transgendered individuals
- Expanded coverage of diversity issues in the US and around the globe, including the latest research from China, Japan, and Europe
- More tables, figures, and photos to provide summaries of text in an easy-to-absorb format
- End-of-chapter summaries and glossary
- Suggested readings for further exploration of chapter topics
- A companion website at www.routledge.com/cw/Brannon where instructors will find lecture outlines, PowerPoint slides, student activities, test questions, and website and video suggestions; and students will find flashcards, student learner objectives, chapter outlines, and links to related websites and further reading

Linda Brannon is Professor of Psychology at McNeese State University in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

“*Gender* is a very important contribution to the study of gender in psychology. Its innovative format and unique organization provide for an enjoyable learning experience for students of psychology.”

—**Florence L. Denmark**, Pace University

“*Gender* strikes the perfect balance between biological and social factors that inform the psychology of gender. Even more importantly, this text is solidly based on scientific research findings rather than venturing into the minefield of gender politics.”

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—**Karen J. Prager**, The University of Texas at Dallas

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Psychological Perspectives

Seventh Edition

Linda Brannon

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Preface

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

The Topic of Gender

A critical review of gender research is important for several reasons. First, gender is currently a “hot topic,” and almost everyone has an opinion. These opinions are not usually based on research. Most people are not familiar with research findings; they simply know their own opinions. People’s personal experiences influence their opinions, but the media cultivate a view of gender through stories and depictions in the movies, on television entertainment and news programs, and in other media. Based on these portrayals, people create images about how they believe women and men should be and attempt to re-create these images in their own lives. This personal reproduction of gender portrayals in the media is another example of what Candace West and Don Zimmerman (1987) described as “doing gender.”

In *Gender: Psychological Perspectives*, I present findings from gender researchers, although the picture is neither simple nor complete. Research findings are complex and sometimes contradictory, but the volume of research over the past 50 years has yielded sufficient research to obtain clarity in some areas, whereas other areas are not yet so clear. I believe that it is important to understand this research rather than draw conclusions based on only personal opinions and popular media portrayals.

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

Although I agree that science has not treated women equitably, either as researchers or as participants in research, I still believe that science offers the best chance for a fuller understanding of gender (as well as of many other topics). Although some scholars disagree, I believe that science can further the goal of equity. I agree with Janet Shibley Hyde and Kristen Kling (2001, p. 369) who said, “An important task of feminist psychology is to challenge stereotypic ideas about gender and test the stereotypes against data.” My goals

are consistent with that view—to examine what gender researchers have found and how they have interpreted their findings. By doing so, I hope to accomplish one of the goals that Meredith Cherland (2008) mentioned for those who teach about gender: “unsettling their students’ collective views of the world and their sense of life’s inevitability” (p. 273). I believe that the research on gender has that potential.

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

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

The gender approach also reflects my personal preferences: I want a psychology of women and men. When I was completing the first edition of this book, I attended a conference session on creating a course on psychology of women. Several instructors who had created such courses led a discussion about obtaining institutional approval and the challenges they had encountered, including resistance from administrators (who were mostly men) concerning a course in which the enrollment would be mostly women. One of the group advised trying for approval of a course on gender if obtaining approval for a psychology of women course was not successful. The implication was that the topic of gender included men and would be more acceptable but less desirable. I disagreed. I wanted men to be included—in the research, in my book, and in my classes. This preference comes from the belief that both women and men are required in order to consider and discuss gender issues. I prefer the gender approach, and I wanted this book to reflect that attitude. As R. W. (now Raewyn) Connell (2005) has discussed, women’s efforts for change will not succeed completely without men’s support and assistance. Men must participate to create gender equity for everyone.

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

In examining the volume of research on gender-related attitudes and behaviors, I discovered that many other researchers’ findings were similar to mine—more similarities than differences. When differences appeared, many were small. I came to doubt the widespread belief that men and women are opposites. Rather, the evidence indicated that women and men are more similar than different. With the focus on differences, this view was not often voiced. Recently, this view has become more prominent. Concentrating on research findings rather than stereotypes or media portrayals, psychologists have come to conclusions of gender similarities rather than differences. Janet Shibley Hyde (2005) has proposed a gender similarities hypothesis rather than one of gender differences, and Rosalind Barnett and Caryl Rivers (2004) have summarized this view as Same Difference.

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

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

Gendered Voices

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

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

These "Gendered Voices" narratives are my attempt to restore some of the details lost in statistical summaries, allowing men and women to tell about their personal experiences. Telling these stories separate from the text was an alternative to presenting information about gender and highlighting the relevance of research findings with vivid detail. Some of the stories are funny, showing a light-hearted approach to dealing with the frustrations and annoyances of discrimination and gender bias. Some of the stories are sad, revealing experiences of sexual harassment, violence, and abuse. All of the stories are real accounts, not fictional tales constructed as good examples. When the stories are based on published sources, I name the people presenting their experience. For other stories, I have chosen not to name those involved to protect their privacy. I listened to my friends and students talk about gender issues and wrote down what they told me, trying to report what they said in their own words. I hope that these stories give a different perspective and add a sense of gendered experience to the volume of research reported here.

Headlines

Long before I thought of writing a book about gender, I noticed the popularity of the topic in the media. Not only are the sexes the topic of many private and public debates, but gender differences are also the topic of many newspaper, magazine, and television stories, ranging

from sitcoms to scientific reporting. I had read warnings about the media's tendencies to oversimplify research findings and to "punch up" the findings to make the story grab people's attention. I wanted to examine the research on gender to try to understand what the research says, with all of its complexities, and to present the media version along with an analysis of the research findings.

Of particular concern to me was the tendency of the media and of people who hear reports of gender research to seek (or assume) a biological basis for the behavioral differences between the sexes, as though evidence of biologically based differences would be more "real" than any other type of evidence. The division of the biological realm from the behavioral realm is a false dichotomy; the two are intertwined and mutually influence each other. Even genes can be altered by environment, and experiences can produce changes in behavior as permanent as any produced by physiology. Many people hold the view that biological differences are real and permanent, whereas experience and culture produce only transient and changeable effects. This view is incorrect.

The tendency to seek a biological explanation is strong and appealing to many. As Naomi Weisstein (1982) said, "Biology has always been used as a curse against women" (p. 41), which has led many scholars to minimize the focus on biology. However, this book examines biological evidence in some detail because I want to present and evaluate this research rather than ignore it. I want readers to question the extent to which the biological "curse" should apply.

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

The sensationalism occurs because such stories get attention, but the stories distort research findings and perpetuate stereotypical thinking about the sexes. I believe that Beryl Lieff Benderly (1989), a science reporter, was correct when she warned about media sensationalism of gender research by writing the headline "Don't believe everything you read" (p. 67).

According to the Media and According to the Research

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

Considering Diversity

The history of psychology is not filled with a concern for diversity or an emphasis on diversity issues, but these topics are of increasing interest and concern within psychology. Indeed, gender research is one of the major contributors to the growing diversity in psychology. In addition, cross-cultural research has flourished and continues to expand in countries around the world. This research has begun to provide a more comprehensive picture of psychological issues in contexts beyond ethnic groups within the United States.

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

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As a female psychologist in the era when they were rare, she developed an interest in gender issues. That interest led first to research, then to this textbook and a Psychology of Gender course, which she has taught for over a decade. She has also coauthored texts in the area of introductory psychology and health psychology and teaches both these courses. Her honors include the 1998 MSU Alumni Association's Distinguished Professor Award. In addition to teaching and research, she acts as Program Coordinator for McNeese's Bachelor of Science degree in psychology, mentors students in MSU's Psi Chi chapter, and maintains her status as licensed psychologist in the state of Louisiana.



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1 The Study of Gender

Headline: “The End of Men,” *Atlantic Monthly*, July/August, 2010

According to Hanna Rosin (2010), boys and men are losing out to girls and women; the male advantage is declining. For example, in 2010 women became the majority of the workforce in the United States. More boys than girls fail to graduate from high school; women receive the majority of college degrees. These days, about half of doctorates in medicine and law go to women. Many wives earn higher salaries than their husbands do. Rosin pointed out that in modern societies, strength is not the important factor that it was throughout most of history. Instead, intelligence is important, and women and men are equally intelligent. In addition, women have better communication skills and a greater willingness to undergo the schooling that has become so critical for economic success. Rosin proposed that economic and societal forces have changed women’s roles to—and sometimes beyond—the point of equality: “For years, women’s progress has been cast as a struggle for equality. But what if equality isn’t the end point?” (Rosin, 2010, p. 56).

Is it possible that women will become dominant? Anthropologist Melvin Konner (2015) argued that they will; the end of male supremacy is near. Konner’s reasoning is similar to followers of evolutionary psychology who contend that women and men have evolved in different ways that furnish modern humans with “hard-wired” gender differences. Both take an **essentialist view**, which contends that some “essence,” or underlying biological component, makes men and women different. The evolutionary psychology view (Buss & Schmitt, 2011) holds that evolutionary pressures have shaped women to prioritize their role in raising children, whereas men must gather resources to attract women. These differences in priorities have created modern men who are forceful and dominant and modern women who focus on childbearing and child care.

According to most people’s views of the relationship between biology and behavior, biological differences determine behavior. Therefore, if the differences between women and men are biological, those differences are perceived as fixed and invariant (Keller, 2005). Recent changes in society should make little difference in women’s and men’s basic natures. Konner argued that the situation of boys and men losing out to girls and women is part of the recent changes in society: The evolved tendencies that have made women more cooperative, caring, practical, and patient have made them better adapted than men in modern society. This twist on an essentialist view of gender differences is not likely to calm the debate about gender.

Conflicts and questions about the roles of women and men occur in debates about gender: Which is more important, nature (biology) or nurture (culture and society)? What types of differences exist? What is the basis for these differences? What is the extent of these differences? A switch from male dominance to equality or female dominance seems inconsistent with an evolutionary view but also with many people’s views: Women and men are born with biological differences that dictate the basis for different traits and behaviors. Indeed, they are

2 *The Study of Gender*

so different that women are the “opposite sex,” suggesting that whatever men are, women are at the other end of the spectrum. Those who hold this view find the differences obvious and important. Those who emphasize social and economic factors as the driving forces in behavior see the possibility that roles are flexible. Drawing from research in psychology, sociology, biology, and anthropology, the differences between women and men seem to be a complex puzzle with many pieces (Eagly & Wood, 2013).

The battle lines have been drawn between two camps, both of which look to volumes of research for support for their view and see supporting evidence for their different views. Some people at some times have believed that differences between males and females are few, whereas others have believed that the two are virtually different species. These two positions can be described as the **minimalist view** and the **maximalist view** (Epstein, 1988). The minimalists perceive few important differences between women and men, whereas the maximalists believe that the two have large, fundamental differences. Many maximalists also hold an essentialist view, believing that the large differences between women and men are part of their essential biological natures. Although these views have varied over time, today both the maximalist and the minimalist views have vocal supporters. Table 1.1 summarizes the most prominent version of these two positions and the intersection between these views and the essentialist view.

This lack of agreement coupled with commitment to a position suggests controversy, which is almost too polite a term for these disagreements. Few topics are as filled with emotion as discussions of the sexes and their capabilities. These arguments occur in places as diverse as playgrounds and scientific laboratories. The questions are similar, regardless of the setting: Who is smarter, faster, healthier, sexier, more capable, and more emotional? Who makes better physicians, engineers, typists, managers, politicians, artists, teachers, parents, and friends? Who is more likely to go crazy, go to jail, commit suicide, have a traffic accident, tell lies, gossip, and commit murder? The full range of human possibilities seems to be grounds for discussion, but the issues are unquestionably important. No matter what the conclusions, at least of half the human population (and most probably all of it) is affected. Therefore, not only are questions about the sexes interesting, but also the answers are important to individuals and to society. Later chapters explore the research concerning abilities and behaviors, and an examination of this research allows an evaluation of these questions.

Answers to these important questions about differences between women and men are not lacking. Almost everyone has answers—but not the same answers. It is easy to see how people might hold varying opinions about a controversial issue, but some consistency should exist among findings from researchers who have studied men and women. Scientists should be able to investigate the sexes and provide evidence concerning these important questions. Researchers have pursued these questions, obtained results, and published thousands of

Table 1.1 The Maximalist and Minimalist Views of Gender Differences

<i>Position</i>	<i>View of Differences between the Sexes</i>	<i>Differences Created through</i>	<i>How Strongly Essentialist?</i>
Maximalist	Differences are large and important	Evolutionary history and sex hormones	Very
Minimalist	Differences are small with few large enough to be important	Stereotyping and different treatment for males and females	Not Strongly

papers. There is no shortage of investigations—or publicity—about the sexes. Unfortunately, researchers are subject to the same problems as everyone else: They do not all agree on what the results mean—or even what they are.

In addition, many research findings on men and women are not consistent with popular opinion, suggesting that popular opinion may be an exaggeration or distortion, most likely based on people's personal experiences rather than on research. Both the past and the present are filled with examples that exaggerate differences between women and men.

People have a tendency to think in terms of opposites when considering only two examples, as with the sexes (Fausto-Sterling, 2000; Tavris, 1992). If three sexes existed, people might not have the tendency to draw comparisons of such extremes. They might be able to see the similarities as well as the differences in men and women; they might be able to approach the questions with more flexibility in their thinking. The sexual world may not actually be polarized into only two categories (as Chapter 4 explores this in more detail), but people do tend to see it that way. This perception of only two sexes influences people to think of the two sexes as polar opposites. To maintain these oppositional categories, people must exaggerate the differences between women and men, which results in stereotypes that do not correspond to real people (Bem, 1993b). Although these stereotypes are not realistic, they are powerful because they affect how women and men think about themselves and how they think about the “opposite” sex.

History of the Study of Sex Differences in Psychology

Speculations about the differences between men and women probably predate history, but these issues were not part of the investigations of early psychology. Indeed, questions about sex differences were not part of early psychology. Questions in early psychology were guided by its founder, Wilhelm Wundt, and revolved around the nature of human thought processes (Schultz & Schultz, 2012). Wundt wanted to establish a natural science of the mind through experimentation; he established a laboratory at the University of Leipzig in Germany in 1879 (although this date is subject to some controversy). Students flocked to Wundt's lab to study the new psychology. Using chemistry as the model, they devised a psychology based on an analytical understanding of the structure of the conscious mind. This approach to psychology became known as the **structuralist** school of psychology.

The structuralists were interested in investigating the “generalized adult mind” (Shields, 1975a), and therefore any individual differences, including differences between the minds of women and men, were of no concern to these early psychologists. This inattention to sex differences did not mean equal treatment of women and men by these early psychologists. The generalized adult mind on which psychology's early findings were based was a generalization drawn from data collected from and by men. Indeed, women were expressly prohibited from one of the early groups of experimental psychologists in the United States (Schultz & Schultz, 2012).

Some scholars from the United States went to Germany to study with Wundt and brought psychology back. Despite their training in Germany, many found the views of German psychology too limiting and impractical. As psychology grew in the United States, it developed a more practical nature. This change is usually described as an evolution to **functionalism**, a school of psychology that emphasized how the mind functions rather than its structure (Schultz & Schultz, 2012). As psychologists with a functionalist orientation started to research and theorize, they drew a wider variety of subjects into psychological research and theories, including children, women, and nonhuman animals.

The Study of Individual Differences

Among the areas of interest in functionalist psychology were the issues of adaptability and intelligence. These interests prompted the development of intelligence testing and the comparison of individual differences in mental abilities and personality traits, including sex differences. The functionalists, influenced by Darwin and the theory of evolution, tended to look for biologically determined differences, including a biological basis for sex differences. Although female psychologists pointed out the effects of social influence on women's and men's behaviors, functionalist psychologists were hesitant to acknowledge any possibility of social influence in the sex differences they found (Milar, 2000).

The studies and writings of functionalists of this era tended to demonstrate that women were less intelligent than men, benefited less from education, had strong maternal instincts, and were unlikely to produce examples of success or eminence. Women were not the only group deemed inferior; people who were not white were also considered less intelligent and less capable.

Findings of the intellectual deficiencies of women did not go uncriticized. As early as 1910, Helen Thompson Woolley contended that the research on sex differences was full of the researchers' personal bias, prejudice, and sentiment (Shields, 1975a), and Leta Stetter Hollingworth took a stand against the functionalist view of women (Shields, 1975b). These female psychologists argued against the prevailing view. Hollingworth contended that women's potential would never be known until women had the opportunity to choose the lives they would like—career, maternity, or both.

The functionalist view began to wane in the 1920s, and a new school of psychology, **behaviorism**, gained prominence. The behaviorists emphasized observable behavior rather than thought processes or instincts as the subject matter of psychology. The behaviorist view of psychology was consistent with the prevailing style of masculinity during the early 20th century—tough-minded and combative (Minton, 2000). With the change from a functionalist to a behaviorist paradigm in U.S. psychology, the interest in research on sex differences sharply decreased. “The functionalists, because of their emphasis on ‘nature,’ were predictably indifferent to the study of social sex roles and cultural concepts of masculine and feminine. The behaviorists, despite their emphasis on ‘nurture,’ were slow to recognize those same social forces” (Shields, 1975a, p. 751). Rather, behaviorists were interested in the areas of learning and memory, concentrating on studies with rats as subjects.

In addition, research on learning ignored social factors, including sex roles and sex differences. In ignoring gender, psychologists created “womanless” psychology (Crawford & Marecek, 1989), an approach that either failed to include women as participants or failed to examine gender-related factors when both men and women participated in psychological research. Until the 1970s, psychology was overwhelmingly male. As Rhoda Unger (1983–1984) commented about her education in psychology, “Even the rats were male” (p. 227).

When behaviorism dominated psychology, the only theorists who unquestionably had an interest in sex differences were those with a psychodynamic orientation—the Freudians.

Psychoanalysis

Both Freud's psychodynamic theory of personality development and his psychoanalytic approach to treatment appear in more detail in Chapter 5. However, the history of psychology's involvement in issues of sex and gender necessitates a brief description of Freud's personality theory and his approach to treatment.

Although Sigmund Freud's work did not originate within psychology, the two are popularly associated. And unquestionably, Freud's work and Freudian theory concerning personality differences between women and men have influenced both psychology and society in general. These influences have made the work of Freud very important for understanding how theorists within psychology conceptualized sex and gender.

In the United States, Freud's work began to gain popular attention in 1909, when Freud came to the United States to give a series of invited lectures at Clark University (Schultz & Schultz, 2012). Immediately after his visit, newspapers started carrying features about Freud and his theory. By 1920, interest in Freudian theory and analysis was evident both in books and in articles in popular magazines. Psychoanalysis gained popular interest, becoming almost a fad. Indeed, popular acceptance of Freud's work preceded its acceptance by academicians.

Freud emphasized the role of instinct and physiology in personality formation, hypothesizing that instincts provide the basic energy for personality and that the child's perception of anatomical differences between boys and girls is a pivotal event in personality formation. Rather than rely on genetic or hormonal explanations for sex differences in personality, Freud looked to early childhood experiences within the family to explain how physiology interacts with experience to influence personality development.

For Freud (1925/1989), the perception of anatomical differences between boys and girls was a critical event. The knowledge that boys and men have penises and girls and women do not forms the basis for personality differences between boys and girls. The results of this perception lead to conflict in the family, including sexual attraction to the other-sex parent and hostility for the same-sex parent. These incestuous desires cannot persist, and Freud hypothesized that the resolution of these conflicts comes through identification with the same-sex parent. However, Freud believed that boys experience more conflict and trauma during this early development than girls, leading boys to a more complete rejection of their mother and a more complete identification with their father. Consequently, Freud (1925/1989) hypothesized that men typically form a stronger conscience and sense of social values than women do.

Did Freud mean that girls and women were deficient in moral standards compared to men? Did he view women as incomplete (and less admirable) people? It is probably impossible to know what Freud thought and felt, and his writings are sufficiently varied to lead to contradictory interpretations. Thus the question of Freud's view of women has been hotly debated. Some authors have criticized Freud for supporting a male-oriented society and the enslavement of women, whereas others have defended Freud and his work as applied to women. In defense of Freud (Tavris & Wade, 1984), his view of women was not sufficiently negative to prevent him from accepting them as colleagues during a time when women were not welcome in many professions. In addition, he encouraged his daughter, Anna, to pursue a career in psychoanalysis. Freud's writings, however, reveal that he held many negative views about women and seemed to feel that they were inferior to men, both intellectually and morally.

Regardless of Freud's personal beliefs, the popular interpretation of his theory represented women as inferior to men—less ethical, more concerned with personal appearance, more self-contemptuous, and jealous of men's accomplishments (and also, literally, of their penises). Accepting the feminine role would always mean settling for inferior status and opportunities, and women who were not able to reconcile themselves to this status were candidates for therapy because they had not accepted their femininity.

Freud's theory also held stringent and inflexible standards for the development of masculinity. For boys to develop normally, they must experience severe anxiety during early childhood and develop hatred for their father. This trauma should lead a boy to identify with his father out of fear and to experience the advantages of the male role through becoming like him. Boys who do not make a sufficiently complete break with their mothers are not likely to become fully masculine but to remain somewhat feminine, thus experiencing the problems that society accords to nonmasculine men.

The psychoanalytic view of femininity and masculinity has been enormously influential in Western society. Although not immediately accepted in academic departments, the psychoanalytic view of personality and psychopathology was gradually integrated into the research and training of psychologists. Although the theory has prompted continuing controversy,

Table 1.2 Role of Gender in Psychological Theories throughout the History of Psychology

<i>Theory</i>	<i>Emphasis of Theory</i>	<i>Role of Gender</i>
Structuralism	Understanding the structure of the human mind	Minimal—all minds are equivalent
Functionalism	Understanding the function of the mind	Sex differences are one type of individual difference
Behaviorism	Studying behavior in a scientific way	Minimal—behavior varies with individual experience
Psychoanalysis	Studying normal and abnormal personality development and functioning	Biological sex differences and their recognition are motivating forces

interest continues in the form of both attacks and defenses. This continuing stream of books and articles speaks to the power of Freud’s theory to capture attention and imagination. Despite limited research support, Freudian theory has been and remains a force in conceptions of sex and gender.

In summary, psychological research that includes women dates back to the early 20th century and the functionalist school of psychology, but this approach emphasized sex differences and searched for the factors that distinguish men and women. When the behaviorist school dominated academic psychology, its lack of interest in sex differences created a virtually “womanless” psychology. During that same time, Freudian psychoanalysts held strong views on the sexes, but this theory proposed that women are physically and morally inferior to men. This belief in the innate inferiority of women influenced research on women. Table 1.2 summarizes psychological theories and their approaches to gender. In contrast to these male-dominated theories, some investigators emphasize the study of women.

The Development of Women’s Studies

Women’s studies came about as a result of political, social, and intellectual developments that began in the 18th century and continue in the present (Sommers, 2008). Those developments have affected psychology and have changed society and people’s daily lives.

The History of Feminist Movements

The feminist movement of the 1960s prompted the development of women’s studies (Freedman, 2002). This version of feminism is referred to as the second wave of feminism. The first wave of feminism began with the campaign for changes in women’s roles and legal status, focusing on voting rights for women, the availability of birth control, and other legal changes to improve women’s social and economic status (Sommers, 2008). That movement experienced some success—for example, women gained the right to vote in many countries—but other legal changes did not occur.

The feminist movement of the 1960s grew out of the U.S. civil rights movement and brought about some of the changes that earlier feminist movements had sought (Nachescu, 2009). One of the most prominent changes was women’s entry into the workforce in record numbers in many industrialized countries. Both professional and working-class women experienced situations of discrimination that led many to work toward legal and social changes for women. These goals fit the definition of *liberal (or equal rights) feminism* and included people who wanted to end discrimination based on sex and extend equal rights to women (Freedman, 2002).



Photo 1.1 The first women's movement pushed for voting rights for women.

Some feminists believed that calling for an end to discrimination was not sufficient; equality for women required more drastic changes in society. These *radical feminists* believed that women have been oppressed by men and that this oppression has served as a model for racial and class oppression (Nachescu, 2009). According to radical feminists, the entire social system requires major change to end the subservient role that women occupy. Both liberal and radical feminism call for political activism designed to bring about changes in laws and in society.

In the 1960s and 1970s, women entered colleges and universities in increasing numbers. These scholars pursued their interest by focusing on topics related to women, which resulted in the development of courses and curricula devoted to women's studies as an academic discipline. This emphasis was often compatible with another variety of feminism, *cultural feminism*, which also advocates social change. Inspired by Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (1982), cultural feminists advocate moving toward an acceptance and appreciation of traditionally feminine values. Cultural feminists believe that, were women in charge, many of the world's problems would disappear, because women's values of caring and relationships would eliminate them.

Radical and cultural feminists have received more publicity than other types of feminism, creating an inaccurate image of and a backlash against feminism (see *According to the Media and According to the Research*). Feminists were cast as loud, pushy, man-hating, unattractive women who always seemed unsatisfied, even with the changes that had offered them the opportunities they sought. This image led to many women's reluctance to identify with feminism, and media sources proclaimed that feminism was dying (Hall & Rodriguez, 2003). Feminist values did not disappear; indeed, women and men continued to

endorse equal right and opportunities, but fewer identified as feminists. This development began the third wave of feminism, often called postfeminism. Underlying this concept is the notion that feminism is not necessary because the goals of second wave feminism have been accomplished. Many dispute this notion, but it remains a common belief. Table 1.3 summarizes the three waves of feminism.

Table 1.3 Waves of Feminism

<i>Wave of Feminism</i>	<i>Time Frame</i>	<i>Dominant Theme</i>	<i>Goals</i>
First Wave	Mid-1800s–Early 1900s		
Suffrage Movement		Women deserve legal rights	Voting rights and access to birth control for women
Second Wave	1960s–1980s		
Liberal/Equal Rights		Women deserve equal legal rights	Equal access to education, workplace, and political careers
Radical		Male dominance has oppressed women	Overthrow male oppression
Cultural		Women’s values are different and deserve respect	Acceptance and appreciation of women and female values
Third Wave	1990s–present		
Postfeminism		Feminism is no longer necessary	Women have achieved equal treatment and opportunities

According to the Media . . . Feminists Are Bra-Burning Man-Haters

The media image of a feminist is a radical, man-hating woman who is uninterested in attracting (or unable to attract) men. This description is remarkably consistent throughout the United States, reported Courtney Martin (2007), who attributed this consistency to “media manufactured myths.”

The image of feminists as “bra burners” originated with one of the prominent events in the second wave of feminism: the protest at the 1968 Miss America pageant (Kreydatus, 2008). A group of feminist women organized a protest of the beauty pageant, arguing that its emphasis on a specific standard of beauty was degrading to women. Heavy media coverage accompanied these protests, and one reporter used the term “bra burner” to describe these feminists. The description stuck.

The media have focused on radical feminists, probably because these feminists provide better stories. As feminism grew, the medial labels became even more uncomplimentary, including the term “feminazi,” popularized by Rush Limbaugh (MediaMatters for America, 2005). The focus on radicalism and the uncomplimentary media terms helped to promote feminists as radical, bra-burning man-haters.

Television and movies have portrayed that image and other variations of feminism in ways that belittle, satirize, or dilute feminism. *The PowerPuff Girls* (1998–2005) portrayed kindergarten female superheroes, but the show’s worst villain, Femme Fatale, called herself a feminist. Recent television shows, such as *30 Rock*, *Scandal*, and *Homeland*, feature leading female characters that display a mixture of intelligence and competence but also stereotypically poor judgment problems concerning men. These female characters do not match the radical feminist stereotypes, but they dilute their strong female characters to make their strength more acceptable.

Sex or Gender?

With the growing interest in women's issues came concerns about how to phrase the questions researchers asked. Those researchers who have concentrated on the differences between men and women historically have used the term **sex differences** to describe their work. In some investigations, these differences were the main emphasis of the study, but for many more studies, such comparisons were of secondary importance (Unger, 1979). By measuring and analyzing differences between male and female participants, researchers have produced a huge body of information on these differences and similarities, but this information was not of primary importance to most of these researchers.

When differences between women and men began to be the focus of research, controversy arose over terminology. Some researchers objected to the term *sex differences*, contending that any differences trace back to biology (McHugh, Koeske, & Frieze, 1986). Critics also objected that the term has been used too extensively and with too many meanings, including chromosomal configuration, reproductive physiology, secondary sex characteristics, as well as behaviors or characteristics associated with women or men (Unger, 1979). Rhoda Unger proposed an alternative—the term **gender**. She explained that this term describes the traits and behaviors that are regarded by the culture as appropriate to women and men. *Gender* is thus a social label and not a description of biology. This label includes the characteristics that the culture ascribes to each sex and the sex-related characteristics that individuals assign to themselves. Carolyn Sherif (1982) proposed a similar definition of gender as “a scheme for social categorization of individuals” (p. 376). Both Unger and Sherif recognized the socially created differentiations that have arisen from the

According to the Research . . . Feminists Are Neither of the Above

According to research conducted with feminist women, they fail to match any of the stereotypes promoted in the media. An examination of the events of the protest during the 1968 Miss American pageant failed to show any burned bras (Kreydatus, 2008). A “freedom trash can” was part of the protest, and the protesters threw in objects they associated with “female garbage,” such as bras, girdles, false eyelashes, and steno pads, but they did not set the objects on fire. The bra burning was symbolic, not literal, but the image persisted.

The notion that feminists hate men is also a widespread belief, but little research has investigated and none has supported this stereotype. One study assessed women's feminism and then tested their attitudes toward men (Anderson, Kanner, & Elsayegh, 2009). The results indicated the opposite of the stereotype: Feminists had *lower* levels of hostility toward men than women who did not identify themselves as feminists.

Some feminist scholars (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006) have contended that the media focus on the more extreme issues and members of feminist groups, which has created the image of Limbaugh's “feminazis” but fails to capture the women or the issues of feminism. As feminist Courtney Martin (2007) said, “Feminism in its most glorious, transformative, inclusive sense, is not about man-hating” but about educated choices for men as well as for women, genuine equality, and a vision of gender roles that allow individuals to become their most authentic selves. This image lacks the controversy and varies from the media stereotype of feminists.