

自我客体化对女性心理健康的影响及其机制*

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摘要 性客体化理论从社会文化的角度, 解释了女性的性别角色社会化和性客体化经历是怎样影响并转化为心理健康问题的。自我客体化的女性, 从第三者的角度把自己的身体看作物体, 持续监视自己的身体, 并与社会理想体型对比产生差距, 便形成了身体羞耻、焦虑、“心流”体验的减少及身体内部感知的迟钝, 最终导致进食障碍、抑郁、性功能障碍和物质滥用等心理健康问题。近年来已有大量研究验证了女性自我客体化与这些心理健康问题之间的关系及形成机制, 并取得了丰硕成果。未来研究应关注实验群体的多样化, 相关设计和实验研究相结合来探究两者之间的因果关系, 同时运用脑科学技术探究其认知神经机制。另外还要从预防和干预的角度对女性自我客体化展开研究。

关键词 性客体化; 自我客体化; 女性心理健康

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1 引言

性客体化(sexual objectification)是指女性的身体、身体部位或性功能脱离了本人, 沦为纯粹的工具或被视为能够代表女性个体本身(Bartky, 1990; 孙青青, 郑丽军, 郑涌, 2013)。Fredrickson 和 Roberts (1997) 提出了性客体化理论, 解释了西方社会文化环境下, 女性的身体通过各种途径, 如媒体、社会交往等, 被注视、评估和性客体化。被性客体化的女性由于长期被他人当做物体对待, 导致了女性的自我客体化(self-objectification) (例如, 内化了第三者的角度性客体化自己的身体), 开始重视身体的外貌特征, 而不再是身体的能力属性(Stice, Rohde, Durant, Shaw, & Wade, 2013), 并表现出习惯性的、持久的监视自己的身体(Hunsley & Meyer, 2003)。自我客体化概念的焦点是外貌, 等同于 McKinley 和 Hyde (1996) 提出的客体化身体意识(objectified body consciousness) 的组成部分——身体监视(body surveillance)。自我客体化的女性习惯性地监视自己的身体, 并与

社会理想体型进行比较。由于人的体型主要是遗传决定的, 很难通过锻炼、节食, 甚至手术等方式彻底改变, 社会理想体型也就很难人为达到。实际体型和理想体型之间难以逾越的差距会使女性产生一系列的消极心理结果(psychological consequences), 如身体羞耻(body shame)、焦虑(anxiety) 体验的增加, “心流”体验(“flow” states) 的缺乏及对身体内部感知的迟钝(insensitivity to bodily cues), 这些消极心理结果是导致女性产生进食障碍、抑郁、性功能障碍等心理疾病的风险因素。

当女性用社会文化的理想身体标准来评价自己的身体并产生心理落差时, 就产生了羞耻(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Lewis, 1995), 即身体羞耻。身体羞耻会使女性产生躲避心理, 避免他人的注视, 或者想消失, 并伴随着无价值感和无力感。当女性不能确定自己的身体什么时候将以什么方式被注视或评价时, 女性就会对这种可能暴露的情景产生焦虑, 尤其是早期体验过消极外貌评论的女性。这种外貌焦虑表现为经常检查和调整自己的外貌。一些社会文化把女性身体客体化, 使女性持续体验着身体外貌相关的焦虑, 保持对自己外貌及由外貌引起的不安全的警觉。个体全身心地投入到具有挑战性的脑力和身体活动中, 这种状态被 Csikszentmihalyi 称为“心流体验”

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(Csikszentmihalyi, 1992)。自我客体化会使女性“心流体验”下降,进而影响女性的任务表现。Fredrickson 等(1998)发现,在控制了数学能力基线后,与穿运动衣的女性相比,穿游泳衣的女性在数学测试上表现较差(Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998)。在客体化环境中,他人对女性身体或外貌的评价,会影响女性维持注意力高度集中的状态,降低其任务表现。客体化理论还提出了女性对自己内部身体状态感知下降的问题,自我客体化的女性主要从观察者(“第三者”)的角度看待自己的身体,与男性相比,在没有相关线索的时候,女性在辨别内部身体感觉时不准确(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。

自我客体化可以作为一种人格特质来研究,也可以作为一种状态进行实验操作。特质自我客体化常用两种量表评估志愿者的自我客体化和身体监视水平:自我客体化问卷(the Self-Objectification Questionnaire, SOQ)(Noll & Fredrickson, 1998),测量志愿者对可观察的、基于外貌的词汇(例如体重,性吸引力)和不可观察的、基于能力的词汇(例如,力量,健康)的关心程度;客体化的身体意识量表(Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, OBC)(McKinley & Hyde, 1996),由身体监视、身体羞耻和控制信念三个分量表组成,测验分数越高表明自我客体化水平和身体羞耻水平越高。状态性自我客体化可以通过实验操纵,操纵的原理是让志愿者暴露在容易产生客体化的场所或给志愿者提供客体化信息,改变志愿者的客体化水平(Fredrickson et al., 1998; Myers & Crowther, 2008; Quinn, Kallen, & Cathey, 2006; Roberts & Gettman, 2004),如观看与外貌有关的音乐视频(Prichard & Tiggemann, 2012),想象一个穿着泳衣或运动衫在公共场合或试衣间的情景(Tiggemann & Andrew, 2012)。还有一种操作方法,主要是从治疗和预防的角度,针对自我客体化水平较高的女性,通过一些咨询或者认知行为疗法,降低她们的自我客体化水平,从而提高心理健康水平(Becker, Hill, Greif, Han, & Stewart, 2013)。例如,有研究发现与模特体重相符的信息标签可以抵消媒体宣扬的瘦理想身材对女性的消极影响(Veldhuis, Konijn, & Seidell, 2012);运动可以改善理想身体意象对女性身体吸引力的消极影响(Prichard & Tiggemann, 2012)。

2 自我客体化对女性健康的影响

大量研究表明,自我客体化会对女性的健康产生不利影响,主要包括进食障碍、抑郁、性功能障碍以及物质滥用等。

2.1 进食障碍

进食障碍(eating disorder)是以进食行为异常为显著特征的一组综合征。客体化理论认为,女性的自我客体化导致对身体的羞耻和外貌焦虑,进而引起进食障碍(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。目前关于客体化理论的实证研究多集中于对女性的进食障碍上。许多研究证实,自我客体化越高的女性,发生进食障碍的可能性越大(Daubenmier, 2005; Moradi, Dirks, & Matteson, 2005; Myers & Crowther, 2008; Peat & Muehlenkamp, 2011; Tiggemann & Slater, 2001; Tiggemann & Williams, 2012; Tylka & Sabik, 2010)。同时研究也发现,女性自我客体化与进食障碍的关系受到身体羞耻或外貌焦虑或两者的中介调节作用(Calogero, 2009; Calogero & Thompson, 2009b; Lindner, Tantleff-Dunn, & Jentsch, 2012; Mitchell & Mazzeo, 2009; Tiggemann & Williams, 2012)。自我客体化与进食障碍之间的关系也从最初的女大学生扩展到其他年龄阶段的人群,如成年或老年女性(Augustus-Horvath & Tylka, 2009; McKinley, 2006)、青少年女性(Slater & Tiggemann, 2010, 2012)等。另外,这种关系也存在于进食障碍患者身上(Calogero, Davis, & Thompson, 2005)。Augustus-Horvath和Tylka(2009)对比了年轻女性(18~24岁)和年老女性(25~68岁)的客体化模型(例如,性客体化、自我客体化、身体羞耻、较差的身体内部意识)对进食障碍的预测作用有何不同,发现客体化理论可以用来解释25岁及以上女性的进食障碍问题,不过内部机制稍微不同,相比于年轻女性,年长女性身体羞耻和进食障碍之间的关系较强,而内部身体意识和进食障碍之间的关系较弱。未来的研究应该通过实验来更深入地探讨自我客体化和进食障碍之间的关系及内在机制。

2.2 抑郁

抑郁(depression)是心境障碍的主要类型,主要表现为情绪低落、思维缓慢以及语言动作减少和迟缓。早期研究发现,在女性大学生身上自我客体化与神经质(neuroticism)、负性情感以及抑郁

症状显著正相关(Miner-Rubino, Twenge, & Fredrickson, 2002),自我客体化程度越高的个体,抑郁症状程度也越严重。随后的研究在其他样本中也证实自我客体化与抑郁症状显著正相关(Hurt et al., 2007; Muehlenkamp & Saris-Baglama, 2002; Muehlenkamp, Swanson, & Brausch, 2005; Peat & Muehlenkamp, 2011; Tiggemann & Kuring, 2004)。根据客体化理论(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997),由于女性更加注意身体外貌,她们只有较少的认知资源来处理内部感觉状态,这种内感受情感成分的缺失,造成无法识别和表达情绪,增加女性抑郁的风险。也有研究证实,内感觉意识越差的个体,抑郁症状也越严重(Honkalampi, Hintikka, Tanskanen, Lehtonen, & Viinamäki, 2000)。客体化理论也提出,当人们把女性客体化时,实际上是对女性进行了评估。当被反复客体化后,女性就会体验到一种社会性焦虑(social anxiety),在客体化环境中,长时间的社会性焦虑可能会导致抑郁情绪(Peat & Muehlenkamp, 2011)。关于社会焦虑的研究也证实,社会性焦虑与抑郁显著正相关(Ohayon & Schatzberg, 2010)。

2.3 性功能障碍

由于伦理原因,目前很少有研究直接考察女性自我客体化与性功能障碍的关系。性功能障碍(sexual dysfunction 或 sexual malfunction),指个体或性伴侣在进行性爱行为过程中,无法由生理活动获得心理满足。最近研究发现,女大学生的自我客体化与性功能障碍关系显著且身体羞耻(body shame)在中间起着中介作用(Calogero & Thompson, 2009a; Tiggemann & Williams, 2012)。而另一项研究则发现,自我客体化与性功能没有直接关系,但是自我客体化与性活动过程中的自我意识(self-consciousness)有关,其中外貌焦虑起着中介作用,而自我意识与较差的性功能有关(Steer & Tiggemann, 2008)。在性活动过程中,女性对自己身体的自我意识和负面看法会增加女性焦虑,降低其性功能(Cash, Maikkula, & Yamamiya, 2004)。如果女性在性活动中,有过多关于身体的看法,就会干扰其在性愉悦上的注意,从而无法达到最大的性满足。女性在性活动中体验到的自我意识通常被认为是一种机制,通过这种机制,她们的身体羞耻和外貌焦虑影响整个性功能(Steer & Tiggemann, 2008)。这与性功能的认知-行为模式(cog-

nitive-behavior model)的解释一致(Purdon & Holdaway, 2006)。目前为止,客体化理论结构中并没有涉及到性功能,客体化理论预测内部感觉缺失使女性类似“旁观者”,可能会导致较低的性满足和性高潮困难(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。日常生活中,女性被性骚扰(sexual harassment)的经历,会导致其自我客体化,并引起对他人的客体化(Davidson, Gervais, & Sherd, 2013)。在治疗女性性功能障碍上,改变女性对身体的自我意识可能会是一个有效的途径。

2.4 物质滥用

物质滥用(substance abuse)是指个体过度摄入酒精、尼古丁(nicotine)以及药物或毒品物质。研究发现,女性内部的性客体化体验与酒精、尼古丁以及药物或毒品物质滥用呈显著正相关(Carr & Szymanski, 2011),性客体化越高的女性,物质滥用程度越严重。客体化理论认为,文化对女性的美丽或行为有一定的要求标准,自我客体化的女性将会采取措施保持她们在这个标准之内(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。经常暴露在性客体化的文化中(强调女性的性特征,并把这些特征当作物体来代替女性的文化信息),女性最终接受了这种文化,并内化为自己的思想,从第三者的角度审视自己的身体,即女性的自我客体化。在生活中体验到性客体化的女性可能会使用酒精、烟草等应付过多的压力,麻木愤怒或悲伤的感觉,此外,她们也可能因“女人味和性感”的观念而物质滥用,以达到性感、苗条,或获得男性注意的目的(Carr & Szymanski, 2011)。也有研究认为,物质滥用也可能是伴随着抑郁和进食障碍出现的(Szymanski, Moffitt, & Carr, 2011),但是这一观点还存在争议。

3 自我客体化影响女性心理健康的机制

客体化理论(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)提出了一个理论框架来解释女性的性客体体验是怎么导致心理健康问题的。受西方媒体和性客体化的社会文化环境影响,女性体验着性客体化,并慢慢内化了性客体化经验,形成自我客体化。自我客体化的女性习惯性地监视身体外貌,并与社会理想身体进行比较,由此产生一系列消极心理结果,增加羞耻、焦虑体验,“心流体验”缺乏,对身体内部感知迟钝。随着消极体验的累积,形成了心理健康问题的风险因素。在这一过程中,有

分研究采用的是相关研究,实验研究较少,不能很好的解释自我客体化与女性健康问题之间的因果关系。现在已有研究开始在实验室使用实验法来研究这一问题。例如,有研究者让志愿者在全身镜前穿泳装,不仅提高其自我客体化水平而且效果还持续到实验结束之后的一段时间(Quinn, Kallen, & Cathey, 2006)。Quinn等人用 Stroop 任务考察了自我客体化对女性认知的影响,发现志愿者在自我客体化状态下表现的成绩较差(Quinn, Kallen, Twenge, & Fredrickson, 2006)。Tiggemann 和 Andrew (2012)让志愿者想象穿泳衣或运动衫在公共场合或者私密空间的场景,发现穿泳衣时的自我客体化水平较高,而且在公共场合客体化水平更高;相对于穿运动衫,穿泳衣也引起了较高的身体羞耻和消极情绪。也有研究发现暴露在男性的客体化注视下(MacDonald Clarke, Murnen, & Smolak, 2010)或者实验主持者是男性(Sarwer et al., 2005)这些操纵也能提高女性的客体化水平,降低女性的认知表现。Sanchez 和 Broccoli (2008)发现,相对于处在恋爱关系中的女性,暴露于浪漫关系词汇中的单身女性的自我客体化水平较高(Sanchez & Broccoli, 2008)。此外,目前的实验研究也多使用行为指标或自我口头报告,很少使用事件相关电位(ERP)、功能核磁共振(fMRI)等技术来探讨自我客体化的神经机制。例如, Owens, Allen 和 Spangler (2010)发现当实验者根据呈现的不同体型(瘦和超重)的图片从第三者的角度评价自己的身体时,相对于瘦图片,女性观看超重图片时与自我评价相关的脑区活动增强,如内侧前额叶(medial prefrontal cortex, mPFC),而男性看任何图片,内侧前额叶都没有明显的增强(Owens, Allen, & Spangler, 2010)。这一研究结果是否可以扩展到自我客体化的女性身上?未来应该使用多种实验方法和技术手段来深入探究自我客体化与女性健康问题之间的关系。

最后,除了探讨自我客体化及相关的心理健康问题外,还要从预防和干预的角度对女性自我客体化展开研究。要对社会环境进行引导,大众传媒要倡导女性形象的多样性,引用强奸干预项目中的男士项目(Foubert, 2005),教育男士尊重女性,改变男性对女性的性客体化态度。学生是自我客体化和进食障碍等心理问题产生的重要群体,要开展基于学校的一些项目进行干预。Wilksch 和

Wade (2014)开展了一个基于学校对进食障碍进行干预的项目,通过对媒体和抑郁情绪的干预,明显降低了学生的进食障碍症状(Wilksch & Wade, 2014)。我国目前也已经开始了对身体意象和进食障碍等方面的研究(陈红, 2010),并探索了基于学校的学生超重干预模式,通过对“自我客体化”、“瘦理想内化”等进行认知干预,降低青春期女性的身体不满意,形成了健康的身体观,这种干预对预防初中女生的身体不满意效果最佳(潘晨璟, 陈红, 蒋霞霞, 杨江丽, 王春, 2010)。在女性自身方面,应帮助女性发展非外貌相关的能力,例如人际交往技巧,批判性思维能力和运动能力(Noll & Fredrickson, 1998)。女性应该学会用批判的思维去分析社会媒体中传播的那些超瘦形象,从整体上去看待自己的身体,尤其是身体的各种能力,而不仅仅是外貌特征。Tylka 和 Augustus-Horvath (2011)建议女性多参与正念(mindfulness)为基础的项目,例如瑜伽,改善女性的身心关系,提高身体内部感知觉(如,感情、疲劳、饥饿、疾病),把身体看成是具体的、社会的、心理的整合体,尊重并接受自己的身体(Tylka & Augustus-Horvath, 2011)。还要降低社会环境已经造成的女性自我客体化,减轻其消极结果。基于认知失调(cognitive dissonance)理论,Becker 等人(2013)进行了一个“瘦”理想身材内化(进食障碍的一个主要风险因素)的认知失调干预,发现同伴引导的认知失调干预降低了自我客体化和身体控制信念的水平(Becker et al., 2013)。Menzel (2013)对比了自我客体化的认知失调干预,“瘦”理想内化的认知失调干预和没有干预的控制组,结果发现,相比“瘦”理想内化的干预,自我客体化认知失调干预较大降低了自我监视水平,而且效果延长到一个月之后(Menzel, 2013)。在以后的研究中,要开发出更简便有效的干预方式。

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Self-Objectification: Effects on Women's Mental Health and Hypothesized Mechanisms

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Abstract: From a socio-cultural perspective, sexual objectification theory implicates experiences of gender-role socialization and sexual objectification as key influences on the development of mental health problems. Self-objectified women come to treat themselves as objects to be looked upon and continually evaluated based on their physical appearance which they perceive to fall short of internalized, culturally-prescribed ideals. This discrepancy results in body shame, anxiety, reduced flow experiences and lower internal bodily awareness, and ultimately leads to mental health problems, such as eating disorders, depression, sexual dysfunction and substance abuse. Recent research has demonstrated robust correlations between self-objectification and mental health problems in women and has generated hypotheses about underlying mechanisms. However, future research is needed to assess generalizability to culturally-diverse samples, assess causal relations via experimental manipulations of central constructs, and investigate neural correlates using neuroimaging technology. In addition, strategies aiming to reduce self-objectification should be evaluated to prevent and treat consequences of sexual objectification.

Key words: sexual objectification; self-objectification; women's mental health