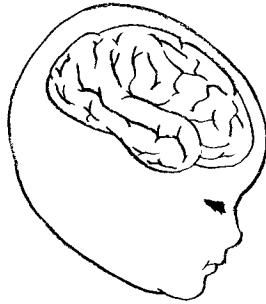


女の子脳 男の子脳

神経科学から見る子どもの育て方



はじめに

- 1 10,648 人を対象にしたインターネット調査より (Sharp 2004) .
- 2 UNICEF 2001.
- 3 Wordes and Nunes 2002.
- 4 Center for Disease Control (疾病対策センター, 以下 CDC) 2002.
- 5 CDC 1997.
- 6 この数字は, 2005 年に発表された最新のデータに基づいている (U.S. Department of Education 2007) .
- 7 これは, 小論文が必須試験項目になった 2006 年以降の男の子と女の子の平均点の差である (College Board 2008) .
- 8 National Science Foundation 2006.
- 9 U.S. Government Accounting Agency 2003.
- 10 他の種については, ありあまるほどの証拠があるにもかかわらず, 人間ではアンドロゲン受容体 (テストステロンと結び付き, 霊長類の性分化の最初のきっかけになる) が, 妊娠期間の前半に存在することを示す証拠はほとんどない. 人間の胎児を対象にしたある研究では, アンドロゲン受容体を確認できなかったようだ (Abramovich et al. 1987) . だが雄のアカゲザルを対象にした実験では, アンドロゲン受容体が妊娠第 1 期 (初期の 3 か月) の終わりに現われはじめることがわかった. ただし, 視床下部という限られた領域だけだった (Choate et al. 1998) .
- 11 新生児の男児の脳は, 新生児の女児の脳より 8% 大きい. これは, 出生時 9% 重い体重と同程度だ (Gilmore et al. 2007) . 13 か月では, 脳の大きさの差は 11% 近くになる (Lenroot et al. 2007) .
- 12 CDC による 2 歳から 12 歳までの男の子と女の子の成長曲線図 (<http://www.cdc.gov/growthcharts> 参照) . 脳の大きさの差については, Lenroot et al. 2007 の報告による, 9 歳児の脳の容積の平均をもとにしている .
- 13 Clark et al. 2001; Barry et al. 2004; Matthis et al. 1980; Benninger et al. 1984.
- 14 最近行なわれたメタ分析によると, 肥満度指数 (BMI) の分散 (全データの平均からのばらつき. より正確には, 標準偏差の二乗) の 77% が遺伝子によると考えられることがわかった (Speakman 2004) .
- 15 (傍注に対する注) Rose et al. 2006.
- 16 Brizendine 2006, p.14.
- 17 このような神経伝達物質レベルの性差にかんする主張は, Michael Gurian の著書に見られ, 彼の「脳に基づく」教員訓練に広く影響している. ただし, 私が見つけた唯一の研究は, 男の子と女の子にこうしたホルモンの有意な差が見つからなかったことを報告していた. オキシトシンについては Fries et al. 2005, セロトニンについては Flachaire et al. 1990. を参照 .
- 18 Sax 2005, pp.101-2. この主張は, 私が第 6 章で論じる成人男性と女性の空間処理

における違いを根拠にしている. ただし, この差は子どもには見られず, 実際に数学的課題に取り組んでいる男性と女性にも見られない .

- 19 Gurian 2001, p.21.
- 20 Gurian and Stevens 2005, p.42.
- 21 Sax 2005. 引用箇所は, Sax の著書のカバー見返しより .
- 22 Brizendine, 2006, p.8.
- 23 Halpern 2000, pp.66-68.
- 24 Begley 1995.
- 25 Bishop and Whalsten (1997) をはじめ『タイム』や『ニューズウィーク』, また Phil Donahue が 1985 年に発表した著書 *Human Animal* (Simon and Schuster) などさまざまな大衆メディアが, 脳梁の二型性 (著しい性差があること) をどのように報道したかについて詳述している .
- 26 Bell and Variend 1985; Clarke et al. 1989; Koshi et al. 1997; Giedd et al. 1999b; Ng et al. 2005.
- 27 Gurian and Stevens (2005, p.48) には, 「男の子の脳梁と, ……女の子の脳梁は太さが異なる (25% の違いが明らかになった研究もある)」とある. Leonard Sax は, コンセンサスデータを無視して, 男の子と女の子の「脳の違い」にかんする自分のホームページに, 脳梁について都合のよい研究だけを引用している (<http://www.singlesexschools.org/brain.html>) .
- 28 Cahill 2005.
- 29 Lippa 2002, pp.5-6.
- 30 Hyde 2005.
- 31 このセリフは, ミルウォーキーのウィスコンシン大学コミュニケーション学教授 Kathryn Dindia 博士が発信源のようだ .
- 32 Leuptow 2005.
- 33 Lippa 1998.
- 34 Corbett et al. 2008.

1 お腹の中のピンクとブルー

- 1 Efrat et al. 1999.
- 2 (傍注に対する注) Nelson 2000, pp.122-25.
- 3 Fugger et al. 1998.
- 4 Schulman and Karabinus 2005; Matken et al. 2003.
- 5 Kaiser 2005; Kaplan 2008.
- 6 Shettles and Rorvik 2006.
- 7 Han et al. 1993. 実際に最近の調査により, 精液の中では, X 精子のほうが Y 精子より速く泳ぐことがわかっている (Maligaya et al. 2006) .
- 8 Wilcox et al. 1995.
- 9 一人っ子政策が取られ, 結婚した娘が義理の親の面倒をみるためほぼ例外なく

生家を離れる中国では、最近のデータによると、女の子100人に対して男の子の割合は117人。富裕な地域では、女の子100人に対して男の子は135人になる。インドの一部の地域でも同様の比が報告されている (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, UK, 2003)。

10 Robertson 2002.

11 Almond and Edlund 2008.

12 この問題にかんして嬉しいニュースが韓国から届いている。女性の教育と仕事の機会が劇的に向上するにつれて、1990年には女の子100人に対して男の子は117人ほどだったものが、2007年には女の子100人に対して男の子108人ほどになった (Sang-Hun 2007)。

13 E. Scott Sills 博士の言葉。Kranz 2001 に引用されている。

14 Simpsn et al. 1987.

15 Fujimoto and Soules 1998.

16 Nagamani et al. 1979; Reyes et al. 1974.

17 Hines et al. 2003.

18 Vilain 2000.

19 ラットの雌では、左脳と右脳を結ぶはたらきをする白質の太い束、すなわち脳梁が、出生後のエストロゲンによって細くなることがわかっている。人間の女の乳児にも、エストロゲンが同じように作用するのかどうかはわかっていない。だが、人間の場合はどちらかというと、男性の脳梁より女性の脳梁のほうがやや太いのだから、ラットとは異なる。ラットでのこうした発見から、定説を覆す新しい説が導かれる。女性の脳は、もはや人間の脳のたんなるデフォルト (初期設定) とは考えられない。正常な発育にはテストステロンがないだけではだめで、卵巣ホルモンも必要である (Fitch and Denenberg 1998)。

20 Bakker et al.2006

21 LeVay and Valente 2002, p.130; Ross et al.2002.

22 Beatty 1992.

23 Kelly et al. 1999

24 Meaney and Stewart 1981.

25 Kelly et al. 1999.

26 Vito and Fox 1981. 矛盾するようだが、ラットの脳では、テストステロンはアロマターゼと呼ばれる酵素によってエストロゲンに変換されてさまざまな効果を発揮する。ところが霊長類では、テストステロンはおもにアンドロゲン受容体を通じて雄性化効果を発揮する。

27 Herman et al. 2003; Wallen 2005.

28 Wallen 2005; Herman and Wallen 2007.

29 人間の視床下部における性差を探していた4つの研究グループが、女性より男性のほうが大きい3つの小さな領域を特定した。アメリカの3つの研究チーム (Allen et al.1989; LeVay 1991; Byne et al.2001) が、「前視床下部間質核の第3核 (INAH-3)」は、男性のほうが大きいという結論で一致した。しかし Allen

et al. は、「前視床下部間質核の第2核 (INAH-2)」にも性差を認めたが、LeVay と Byne はこの点については認めていない。オランダの研究グループは、当初 INAH-3 でも INAH-2 でも差を発見できなかったが、より大きな脳のサンプルに基づき、INAH-1 は男性のほうがおよそ2倍大きいと報告した (Swaab et al. 2002)。ただし最近になって Swaab と同僚は、INAH-3 の一部は、男性のほうが女性より約2倍大きいことを追認した (Garcia-Falgueras and Swaab 2008)。そうは言っても、この差はラットの性差よりかなり小さく、脳の驚くほど小さな領域にあたる。

30 Vasey and Pfaus 2005.

31 Hines et al. 2003.

32 (傍注に対する注) Arnold 2003.

33 Iervolino et al. 2005. この規模の大きい研究によって、同性の双子はふつうのきょうだいより、未就学期の性に典型的 (ジェンダー・ティピカル) な行動に強い影響を及ぼすことが明らかにされた。

34 Bradley et al. 1998.

35 (傍注に対する注) Reiner and Gearhart 2004; Meyer-Bahlburg 2005.

36 Pasterski et al. 2007.

37 Servin et al. 2003.

38 Berenbaum and Snyder 1995.

39 Hines 2004, p.152

40 Berenbaum 1999.

41 Zucker et al. 1996.

42 Pasterski et al. 2005.

43 Joint LWPES/ESPE CAH working group 2002.

44 vom Saal and Bronson 1980; Vandenberg 2003.

45 Dempsey et al. 1999.

46 Cohen-Bendahan et al. 2004. 一方、異性の双子をもつ女子の大規模な研究からは、指の長さの雄性化 (本文で後述) にかんする一貫性のある証拠は見つからなかった (Medland et al. 2008a)。

47 McFadden 1993.

48 McFadden and Pasanen 1998.

49 Gooren 2006.

50 Bearman and Brückner 2002.

51 Cohen-Bendahan et al. 2005a.

52 Resnik et al. 1993.

53 Cole-Harding et al. 1998. この予備調査結果は、査読 (専門家による精査) 済み雑誌に発表されていない。

54 Rodgers et al. 1998. 同様に、より最近行われた規模の大きな研究では、異性の双子の女子と同性の双子の女子で関心を持つ遊びが異なることを示す証拠は見つからなかった (Iervolino et al. 2005)。

- 55 Loehlin and Martin 2000.
 56 Kovas et al. 2007.
 57 Luciano et al. 2004.
 58 Rose et al. 2002.
 59 (傍注に対する注) Lummaa et al. 2007. 現代のフィンランドの大規模な研究については Rose et al. 2002 を、オランダ、オーストラリア、アメリカの双子を対象にした最近の研究は Medland et al. 2008b を参照した。
 60 Henderson and Berenbaum 1997.
 61 Cohen-Bendahan et al. 2005b. この研究は、テストステロンが母親の血液を介して双子の姉(妹)に到達する可能性を否定している。だが、ホルモンが双子の胎膜間を直接行き来する可能性は残っている。
 62 Manning et al. 1998.
 63 Malas et al. 2006.
 64 Lutchmaya et al. 2004.
 65 この検査をしなければ、指の比と胎内のテストステロンの相関関係は、さまざまな要素が混じった母集団で測定されたものになることは避けられない。その場合、遺伝子、ホルモン、生化学など、さまざまな男性性因子が原因に考えられるだろう。
 66 このうち2つの研究は、CAHの女の子の指の長さの比が男性に近いことを発見した(Brown et al. 2002 および Okten et al. 2002)。3番目の非常に規模の大きい研究では違う結果になった(Buck et al. 2003)。CAHの女の子の指の長さの比は、女性の平均と変わらなかった。ただしこの研究で測定したのは、左手の指の長さだった。
 67 Van Anders et al. 2006; Voracek and Dressler 2007. より信憑性の高い研究では、異性の双子の女子における指の長さの比が男子の指の長さの比に近いことは確認されなかった(Medland et al. 2008a)。
 68 たとえば Hampson et al. 2008 を参照されたい。
 69 Lippa 2003; Manning et al. 2007; Collaer et al. 2007; McFadden et al. 2005.
 70 Collaer et al. 2007.
 71 Eaton and Enns 1986; Robles de Medina et al. 2003.
 72 Pergament et al. 2002.
 73 Ingemarsson 2003.
 74 Perelman et al. 1986.
 75 Lazarus 2001.
 76 Mage and Donner 2004.
 77 Leader et al. 1982.
 78 Hepper et al. 1997; Miller et al. 2006.
 79 Lundqvist and Hafström 1999.
 80 Pergament et al. 2002.
 81 Cooperstock and Campbell 1996.
 82 Ingemarsson 2003; Mizuno 2000.
 83 Bhaumik et al. 2004.
 84 Trivers and Willard 1973.
 85 Hrđy 1999, pp.318-50; Cronk 2007; Gaulin and Robbins 1991; Koziel and Ulijaszek 1991.
 86 Almond and Edlund 2006.
 87 Wells 2000.
 88 Gualtieri and Hicks 1985.
 89 Muehlenbein and Bribiescas 2005.
 90 Geary 1998, pp.216-17.
 91 Perry et al. 1999.
 92 Tamimi et al. 2003.
 93 Askling et al. 1999.
 94 del Mar Melero-Montes and Jick 2000.
 95 Vanston and Watson 2005.
 96 Perry et al. 1999.
 97 Klinga et al. 1978; Meulenberg and Hofman 1991.
- 2 ピンクのおくるみ、ブルーのおくるみ**
 1 Eogan et al. 2003.
 2 Boatella-Costa et al. 2007.
 3 Bekedam et al. 2002.
 4 Eogan et al. 2003; Lieberman et al. 1997; Harlow et al. 1995.
 5 Sheiner et al. 2004.
 6 Boatella-Costa et al. 2007; Lundqvist and Sabel 2000.
 7 Rosen and Bateman 2004.
 8 Lenroot et al. 2007.
 9 Schmidt et al. 2001.
 10 Flory 1935; Tanner 1990, pp.56, 175.
 11 Thordstein et al. 2006.
 12 Jing et al. 2008.
 13 Barry et al. 2004; Clarke et al. 2001; Benninger et al. 1984; Matthis et al. 1980.
 14 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974.
 15 Baker 1987.
 16 Guinsburg et al. 2000.
 17 Bartocci et al. 2006.
 18 American Academy of Pediatrics, Task Force on Circumcision 1999.
 19 Yawman et al. 2006.
 20 Alanis and Lucidi 2004.

- 21 Richards et al. 1976. のちの報告(Brackbill and Schroder 1980)は38の研究を検証し、包皮切除手術は新生児の行動にほとんど影響を及ぼさないと結論した。興味深いことにこの報告では、新生児の男児と女児の行動面での違いを示す証拠もほとんど見つからなかった。
- 22 Balogh and Porter 1986.
- 23 Makin and Porter 1989.
- 24 Doty et al. 1984.
- 25 Bartocci et al. 2000.
- 26 McFadden 1998. メールでのやりとりでMcFadden 博士は、聞こえ方の性差によって教室での男の子と女の子の経験が大きく変わるのかという質問に、「馬鹿げていると言ってよい。閾値の3デシベルという差は、閾値上のレベルではほぼ確実に消えてなくなる。つまり、教師が男の子に女の子より大きな声で話したからといって、とくに有益なことなどない…(中略)…[そして]聞こえ方の些細な違いのために男女別学教育を主張するなど、馬鹿馬鹿しいにもほどがある」と述べた。
- 27 Ribeiro and Carvalho 2008; Stuart and Yang 2001; Eldredge and Salamy 1996. Ribeiro と Carvalho によれば、新生児のV波潜時(刺激から反応までの時間)の性差のほとんどは、女の子のほうが蝸牛が小さいことに起因する。Stuart と Yang は、乳児の聴覚の脳幹反応における性差にかんする既存の証拠をまとめて「はっきりしない」と結論している。
- 28 Eldredge and Salamy 1996 による。
- 29 Sininger et al. 1998. この研究は、Leonard Sax (2005, p.17) にも引用されているが、Sax は誤って彼らの発見を、女の子のほうが男の子より聴覚脳幹反応が「80%も速い」としている。Sax の誤った理論は、Lieberman (2006a) によって綿密に検証され批判されている。
- 30 Berninger 2007.
- 31 McFadden 1993.
- 32 Berninger 2007.
- 33 この性差度は、Berninger (2007) のデータに基づき Liberman (2008) が計算したもの。
- 34 Sax 2005, pp.17-18, 87-88. 可聴閾値の性差から、教室の行動を推測する Sax の外挿法も、彼のウェブサイト (<http://www.singlesexschools.org/research-learning.htm>) で論じられている。Sax の聞こえ方の性差にかんする誇張された主張に対して、さらに完全な分析と批評を行なっているのが Liberman だ (2006a, 2006b, 2008 を参照)。2008年の投稿で Liberman は次のように書いている。「私の意見では、聞こえ方に男女で差があるのは間違いない。だがこの問題について2つの疑問点がある。第1の疑問は、これらの差が——とくに男女それぞれの集団内のばらつきに比べて——男女混合の教室で重大な問題を発生させるほど大きく、一貫性があるのかということだ。私の知るかぎり、サックス博士の主張は真実とは言いがたい。実のところ、私には「馬鹿げた」という表現のほうがふさわしいのではない
- かと思う。第2の疑問は、サックス博士の著書 *Why Gender Matters* で科学的証拠として示されているものが、信頼に値するかどうかということだ。規模の小さいことが明らかなサンプルを綿密に検証させていただいた結果、私の出した答えは『信頼には値しない』だ」。
- 35 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, pp.25-26. 3か月半から13か月の乳児の研究の中で、2つの実験が、女の子は男の子より耳からの刺激に敏感なことを示した。1つの実験は、女の子より男の子のほうが敏感なことを示した。そして他の6つの実験では、性差は確認されなかった。
- 36 Ibid., pp.29-32.
- 37 Malcom et al. 2002; Peterzell et al. 1995.
- 38 Gwiazda et al. 1989.
- 39 Held et al. 1988.
- 40 私は Carolyn Rovee-Collier と、乳児の学習の性差についてやりとりした。彼女の研究室は、さまざまな刺激を用いた乳児のオペラント条件付けにかんする多数の論文を発表している。Rovee-Collier からの返事は以下のとおり。「私たちはあらゆる月齢の乳児を対象に繰り返し性差にかんする分析を行なったが、何も見つからなかった」
- 41 Nagy et al. 2007a. 物をつまむ能力の性差については Butterworth and Morissette 1996 による。
- 42 Jacklin et al. 1984.
- 43 Reinisch and Sanders 1992; Capute et al. 1985.
- 44 Grattan et al. 1992.
- 45 Eaton and Enns 1986.
- 46 Mondschein et al. 2000.
- 47 Wallen 2005.
- 48 Halpern 2000, p.96.
- 49 Molfese and Molfese 1979.
- 50 Shucard et al. 1981.
- 51 Molfese and Radtke 1982.
- 52 Friederici et al. 2008.
- 53 Newmark et al. 1997.
- 54 Sininger et al. 1998.
- 55 Fenson et al. 1994.
- 56 Butterworth 1998.
- 57 Berglund et al. 2005.
- 58 Fenson et al. 1994, pp.74-79.
- 59 Ibid., p.117. 中国人の子どもも対象に含めた別の研究によると、2歳では語彙と文法の発達において女兒が男児をわずかにリードしていた。ただし、性別は言語発達の全分散の1%に満たなかった (Zhang et al. 2008)。
- 60 Eliot 2000, pp.382-90.

- 61 Hittleman and Dickes 1979.
- 62 Leeb 2004. 別の実験でも（性別を隠す処置はされていなかったが）、生後1か月と3か月のどちらの赤ちゃんたちにもアイコンタクトの時間に性差は現われなかった（Moss and Robson 1968）。
- 63 Connellan et al. 2000. 著者たちは差異の大きさを報告していないが、女兒のほうがどれだけコネランの顔に強く惹きつけられたのかを計算してみたところ、性差度は-0.17（小さい差異）だった[性差度の定義から、マイナスは、女兒のほうがより強く惹きつけられたことを示す]。男の子のほうがどれだけモビールに強く惹きつけられたかを示す性差度は+0.47（中程度）だった。
- 64 Sax 2005, p.19; Brizendine 2006, p.15; Pinker 2005b; Pinker 2008, p.35.
- 65 この点について、Baron-Cohenにメールで問い合わせたところ、Cnnellanが赤ちゃんの性別について「いくつかのケースに限り」知っていたことを認めた。博士は、ビデオテープから赤ちゃんの目の動きを測定する分析者たちには、赤ちゃんの性別が知られないことを確実にするための標準的な手順を踏んだことを強調した。
- 66 Spelke 2005. 私は、乳児の顔の認知にかんして数多くの論文を発表しているロンドン大学の発達心理学者 Mark Johnson に手紙を書いた。彼からの返事は以下のとおり。「顔の好みにかんする新生児の研究では、明らかな性差はまったく見つかっていない」
- 67 Cossette et al.1996. この報告では、赤ちゃんたちが生後2か月半と5か月のときの2回、実験を行なった。どちらの月齢でも、男の赤ちゃんも女の赤ちゃんも、母親の顔よりモビールを眺めている時間のほうがかなり長かった。だが2か月半（5か月ではなく）では、女兒は男児より長い時間母親にほほえんでいた。この研究では、感情表出にかんして32の比較が行なわれたが、目立った性差が現われたのはこの点だけだった。またビデオテープに記録された赤ちゃんの表情を比較した研究者たちは、赤ちゃんの性別を知っていた。
- 68 Moss and Robson 1968.
- 69 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, pp.36-37. 著者たちはその時点までに、社会的もしくは非社会的な刺激に対する乳児の注目に見られる性差を発見した13の実験を認めた（そのうち10の実験が論文として発表された）。非社会的刺激にかんする9つの実験のうち、5つの実験では、女兒のほうが男児より対象を見つめる時間が長かった。残りの4つの実験では男児のほうが女兒より長く対象を見つめていた。そして社会的刺激を用いた4つの実験のうち、3つでは男児のほうが対象を長く見つめ、1つでは女兒のほうが長く見つめた。MaccobyとJacklinは次のように結論した。「視覚的な社会的刺激にかんする興味に、男女による差はないという地味な結果となった」
- 70 Brizendine 2006, p.15.
- 71 Cooke et al. 1999.
- 72 Haviland and Malatesta 1981.
- 73 Nagy et al. 2001.
- 74 4つの研究が、プラゼルトン新生児行動評価を用いて性差を見つけようとした。Boatella-Costa et al. (2007)による研究ではその差が最大で、男の子のほうがむずかりやすいと報告している。Lundqvist and Sabel (2000)の報告では、むずかりやすさに有意の差は見られなかったが、女の子のほうが自分を慰める能力で高い得点をあげた。だが他の2つの研究は、どちらの評価についても性差を認めなかった（Davis and Emory 1995; Canals et al. 2003）。
- 75 Davis and Emory 1995. ただしこの研究では、実際の新生児の行動には何ら有意な性差が認められなかった。
- 76 Haviland and Malatesta 1981.
- 77 Lavelli and Fogel 2002.
- 78 Haviland and Malatesta 1981.
- 79 Malatesta and Haviland 1982. 著者たちが指摘するように、面白い表情の差は実際には顔のつくりの微妙な違いによるのかもしれない。女兒は男児より目が少し大きく、眉の位置が少し高い。そのため女兒に比べて目がやや細く、眉が低いつくりの男児の顔より面白いという印象を与えるのかもしれない。それで、女兒はより社会性が発達しているように思われる可能性がある。
- 80 Manstead 1992.
- 81 Leeb 2004; Lavelli and Fogel 2002.
- 82 Simner 1971. 同様の発見をした他の2つの研究は、Eisenberg and Lennon 1983によって再調査されている。
- 83 Baron-Cohen 2003, p.1.
- 84 McClure 2000.
- 85 Brizendine 2006, p.16.
- 86 McClure 2000.
- 87 Bachevalier et al. 1989; Hagger and Bachevalier 1991.
- 88 Maccoby 1998, p.16.
- 89 NICHD Early Child Care Research Network 2005, p.125.
- 90 Belsky and Rovine 1988.
- 91 Baydar and Brooks-Gunn 1991.
- 92 NIMH fact sheet 2004/2007.
- 93 Mandell et al. 2005.
- 94 (傍注に対する注) Flora 2006.
- 95 Eisenberg and Lennon 1983.
- 96 Baron-Cohenのグループは、この調査では男性と女性の共感能力に統計上有意な違いを見つけれなかった（Baron-Cohen et al. 2001）。
- 97 Baron-Cohenの研究所が行なった、胎内のテストステロンとさまざまな行動的指標の相関関係を取り上げたいくつかの実験の梗概がある。男の子と女の子を一緒に分析した場合には、ほとんどの場合に有意な相関関係が見られた。だが男女別のグループ内では、大きな影響は見られなかった。いくつかの実験について、著者たちは自分たちの実験はこうした差を発見するには統計的に「不足だっ

- た」と述べているが、もっと規模の大きい母集団で検証するという解決策はとられなかった。著者たちは、胎児期のテストステロンと共感能力についてのある尺度（子どもが漫画のキャラクターの行動を説明する際に用いたキャラクターの意図を表現する言葉の数）の有意な相関関係を発見したが、他の共感の指標との相関関係は見つからなかった。また、子どもたちが用いた意図表現との相関関係は、男の子と女の子を分けて分析した場合は確認できなかった（Knickmeyer et al. 2006b）。この研究では、著者たちは胎児期のテストステロンと男の子の限定的な興味に有意な相関関係があることを発見したが、女の子では確認できなかった。また、胎児期のテストステロンと人間関係の有意な相関関係も発見したが、男女に分けた集団内では確認できなかった（Knickmeyer et al. 2005a）。この実験は、男児の胎児期のテストステロンと母親の顔を見つめる行為の相関関係を発見したが、女兒では確認できなかった（Lutchmaya et al. 2002a）。男の子と女の子を一緒に分析した場合には、羊膜のテストステロンレベルと語彙の規模に有意な相関関係が見られたが、男女別の集団ではテストステロンレベルと語彙の規模に相関関係は見られなかった（Lutchmaya et al. 2002b）。
- 98 (傍注に対する注) Aueyeung et al. 2008.
 99 Knickmeyer et al. 2006a.
 100 Courchesne et al. 2003.
 101 Merke et al. 2003.
 102 Muhle et al. 2004; Ronald et al. 2006.
 103 Pickles et al. 2000.
 104 (傍注に対する注) Muhle et al. 2004.
 105 DeNoon 2006.
 106 Landa 2007.
 107 Helt et al. 2008.
 108 Rubin et al. 1974.
 109 Haviland and Malatesta 1981.
 110 Stern and Karraker 1989.
 111 Bridges 1993.
 112 男児と女兒では活動レベルが異なることから、この所見は間違いないと思われる（Pomerleau et al. 1997）。
 113 Karraker 1995.
 114 DeCasper and Prescott 1984.
 115 Quinn et al. 2002.
 116 Coates and Wolfe 1995.
 117 Schmidt et al. 2002.
 118 Quigley 2002.
 119 Meaney and Stewart 1981.
 120 Brown and Dixson 1999.
 121 Hagger and Bachevalier 1991.
 122 Mann and Fraser 1996.
 123 Raivio et al. 2003.
 124 Mann and Fraser 1996.
 125 Held et al. 1988.
 126 Friederici et al. 2008. この研究と Held et al. の研究は、どちらも大変規模が小さいが、唯一相関関係を認めている。同じように、視覚と言語処理（つまり一般的に脳の成熟）は、胎児期のテストステロンのために後れると考えられる。また男の子における出生後のテストステロンの個人差は、胎内で同じような差があることを反映している。
 127 Swan et al. 2003.
 128 Fernandez et al. 2007.
 129 Rogan and Ragan 2003; Schoeters et al. 2008.
 130 最大の証拠は、ロチェスター大学の Shanna Swan らが行ったフタレートと男の子のテストステロンの関係にかんする研究である。Swan らは、男の赤ちゃんの肛門とペニスの間隔を測った（げっ歯類では、アンドロゲン攪乱化学物質への感応性のパラメーターになっている）。そして肛門からペニスまでの間隔と、妊娠中に母親が浴びたフタレートの量に相関関係があることを発見した。非常に刺激的な発見ではあるが、この研究は実際、乳児に有害な影響があるかどうかという証拠は把握しておらず、そのため追試が必要であると指摘しておく（Swan et al. 2005）。
 131 Bucher 2008. 新生児期に医療手当てを受けて高レベルの DEHP に曝された子どもたちを追跡した研究では、その後の成長、内分泌機能、思春期の発達に有害な影響は見られなかった（Rais-Bahrami et al. 2004）。
 132 Rogan and Ragan 2003.
 133 Setchell et al. 1997.
 134 Chen and Rogan 2004.
 135 Kouki et al. 2003.
 136 Sharpe et al. 2002.
 137 Storm et al. 2001.
 138 British Dietetic Association 2003.
 139 どの国の親も赤ちゃんに対して、高い声でゆっくり歌うような語りかけをするが、それにはちゃんとした理由がある。Patricia Kuhl らは、こうした赤ちゃん言葉（赤ちゃん向けの話し方）は、大人どうして話すときに用いているような普通の声の高さや抑揚より、赤ちゃんが言葉を学習するのに役立つことを証明した。この研究は、3つの国（アメリカ、スウェーデン、ロシア）の母親が、赤ちゃん言葉を話しているとき（自分の赤ちゃんに語りかけているとき）、普段の声（大人に話しかけているとき）に比べて、異なる母音を強調していることを明らかにした。母親は、アーとかウーといった音の違いをことさらに強調していた。これは、赤ちゃんが発話を学習する際の優れた手本となる（Kuhl et al. 1997）。概して男の子のほうが、言語を習得する速度が遅いことを考えると、とくに男の子には、親や養育

者たちが、面白く、心を落ち着かせ、手本となるスタイルで話しかけることが有益になるだろう。

140 Zimmerman et al. 2007.
 141 Kuhl et al. 2003.
 142 Kent 1984.
 143 Debaryshe 1993; Whitehurst et al. 1988.
 144 Paradise et al. 1997.
 145 Rosenfeld 1995.
 146 Johnston et al. 2004.
 147 Field 1995.
 148 Ryan et al. 2002.
 149 Lavelli and Poli 1998.
 150 Horwood and Fergusson 1998.
 151 University of California Pediatric Environmental Health Speciality Unit 2008.

3 遊びを通じて学ぶ

1 Halpern 2000, p.252.
 2 Servin et al. 1999.
 3 Furby and Wilke 1982.
 4 Alexander et al. 2008.
 5 Serbin et al. 2001. ただし同様のイギリスの研究では (Campbell et al. 2000), 9 か月になると, 男の子だけに有意な好みの差がわずかに表われた。同じ月齢の女の子が女の子向けのおもちゃを好んで見つめることはなく, 3 か月ではおもちゃに対する視覚上の好みに変化はなかった。
 6 van de Beek et al. 2007.
 7 Servin et al. 1999.
 8 Servin et al. 2003; Berenbaum and Snyder 1995.
 9 Hines et al. 2002. ただし他の2つの研究では, 羊水中のテストステロンと誕生後の関心を持つ遊びについて, 男の子でも女の子でも相関関係が見つからなかった (van de Beek et al. 2007; Knickmeyer et al. 2005b)。また異性の双子の女の子にかんする研究では, おもちゃの選択に対する胎児期のテストステロンの影響は明らかにされなかった (Henderson and Berenbaum 1997)。
 10 Alexander and Hines 2002.
 11 Hassett et al. 2008. この研究では, 男の子用おもちゃとしてさまざまな種類の乗り物のおもちゃを, 女の子用おもちゃとしてさまざまなぬいぐるみと布製のお人形を用いた。雄のアカゲザルは, 布のぬいぐるみより乗り物に強い興味を示したが, 雌はどちらのタイプのおもちゃでも同じように遊んだ。ただし Alexander と Hines が実験を行なったサヴァンナモンキーでは, 動物のぬいぐるみに対する好みに性差は見られなかった。こうしたおもちゃは, 乗り物やボールに比べて性的に中性

と言えそうだ。

12 Herman et al. 2003. この論文によると, 雄のサルと雌のサルの性差度は 1.94 とかなり大きい。
 13 Iervolino et al. 2005. 興味深いことにこの研究では, 男の子より女の子のほうが, 性に特有の行動が遺伝子によって決定される傾向が強いという結論を下している。女の子の遊びの分散のうち 57% は遺伝子によるものであり, それに対して男の子では 34% と見積もられている。その差は, 男の子が親や社会 (すなわち養育) に強く制約されている事実の表われかもしれない。反対に女の子は, 男の子のおもちゃで遊んではいけないと止められる機会が少ないので, 遊びの選択にもっと自由に遺伝的な可能性を発現させられるのかもしれない。
 14 Katz and Boswell 1986.
 15 Lytton and Romney 1991.
 16 Raag and Rackliff 1998.
 17 Martin and Dinella 2002.
 18 van Beijsterveldt et al. 2006.
 19 Sandberg et al. 1993.
 20 Coolidge et al. 2002. 興味深いことに, 未就学児 (プレスクール生) を対象にした大規模な研究では, 異性のようなふるまいをする男の子について, 遺伝の果たす役割がとくに低く, それと呼応して, 年上の子どもたちにかんする発見と比較すると, 環境の果たす役割が大きいことがわかった (Knafo et al. 2005)。この不一致はおそらく, 子どもたちが非常に幼いとき異性のようなふるまいを見せると, 親が抵抗すること (とくに男の子に対して) 示しているのだろう。異性のようなふるまいは定義するのが難しいため, 幼い子どもたちの場合, 遺伝によるものとは見えないかもしれない。ほとんどの幼い男の子と女の子は, おめかし用の衣装であれ, お人形であれ, スポーツであれ, おもちゃの車であれ, 年長の子どもたちより異性の領分を探索する。そのため, この年齢で子どもたちが本当にその性の枠からはみ出しているのかどうかを見極めるのは難しい。
 21 「女っぽい男 (シシー)」がホモセクシュアルかバイセクシュアルになる確率は, Richard Green の調査でも報告により異なり, 68 パーセントから 80 パーセントの幅がある。Le Vay (1996, p. 98) の報告の数字はもっと高く, Green の最初の論文 (1985) では 68 パーセントだ。ただし, 少年のうち 6 人は 16 歳未満だったので, 最終的な性的指向とは言えないかもしれない。
 22 Peplau et al. 1999.
 23 LeVay 1996, pp.100-01.
 24 Best and Williams 1993.
 25 Fagot et al. 1992.
 26 Fagot and Leinbach 1993.
 27 Weinraub et al. 1984.
 28 Maccoby 1998, p. 165.
 29 Lobel and Menashri 1993.

- 30 Bem 1998, p.109.
- 31 Campbell et al. 2002.
- 32 Maccoby 1998, p.22.
- 33 Maccoby 1998, pp.98, 288.
- 34 Best and Williams 1993. この分析は、テキサス大学の心理学者 David Buss の有名なデータに基づいている。現代の37の文化における男性と女性を対象にした Buss の研究は、女性が「強く、豊かな稼ぎ手」を求め、男性が「美しく、思いやりがあり、養育的な」女性を求める証明として用いられることが多い。
- 35 Serbin et al. 1979.
- 36 Rust et al. 2000. この研究で、上のきょうだいがある2番目の子の男らしさ、もしくは女らしさに与える影響はかなり大きい。性差度（上が同性か異性かによる性差度）は女の子の場合で0.57、男の子の場合で0.66である。きょうだいの性別が未就学児の遊びに相当の影響を及ぼすことを明らかにしたもう一つの研究については、Iervolino et al. 2005 を参照。
- 37 Henderson and Berenbaum 1997.
- 38 American Automobile Association 2008.
- 39 Berk 2003, p.536.
- 40 Campbell and Eaton 1999.
- 41 Eaton and Enns 1986.
- 42 Hines et al. 2002.
- 43 Knickmeyer et al. 2005b.
- 44 Pellis and Pellis 2007.
- 45 Wallen 1996.
- 46 Geary 1998, pp.226-27.
- 47 Connor 1989.
- 48 Carlsson-Paige and Levin 1999.
- 49 Leveroni and Berenbaum 1998.
- 50 Herman et al. 2003.
- 51 Blakemore 1992.
- 52 Blakemore 1990.
- 53 Blakemore 1998.
- 54 Berk 1994.
- 55 McClure 2000.
- 56 Boyatzis et al. 1993.
- 57 Fenson et al. 1994.
- 58 Halpern 2000, pp.95-97; Joseph 2000.
- 59 Hines 2000; Malouf et al. 2006.
- 60 Whiting and Edwards 1992.
- 61 Zaichowsky et al. 1980, pp.44-45.
- 62 Levine et al. 1999.
- 63 3歳までに、女の子は次にあげる2つの微細運動課題を、男の子より速く正確に行なえることがわかっている。(H)連続して各指で親指に触れる。(F)大人の手の形を真似る。一方、同じ年ごろの男の子は、狙った場所に向かってボールを放るといった標的に物を当てる技に優れている (Kimura 2000, pp.35-38)。
- 64 Morrongiello and Dawber 2000.
- 65 Zucker et al. 1996.
- 66 O'Brien and Huston 1985.
- 67 Espinosa 2002; Duncan et al. 2007.
- 68 Rolnick and Grunewald 2003.
- 69 Eliot 2000, pp.154-56.
- 70 Rauscher et al. 1997.
- 4 学校生活のはじまり**
- 1 West et al. 2000.
- 2 Deming and Dynarski 2008. この分析によると、6歳から幼稚園に入園する児童のうち増加した約3分の2は赤シャツ組によるもので、残りの3分の1は学校の入学の締め切りが早まったことによる。
- 3 NICHD Early Child Care Research Network 2007.
- 4 West et al. 2000; Stipek 2002.
- 5 Byrd et al. 1997.
- 6 Stipek 2002; Eliot 2000, pp. 456-59.
- 7 Cahan and Cohen 1989.
- 8 Morrison et al. 1997.
- 9 Deming and Dynarski 2008.
- 10 もっと正確に言えば、Hyde と Linn が行なったメタ分析によると、6歳以下の子どもの言語能力の差は性差度で0.13だ (Hyde and Linn 1988)。これは標準的な知能 (IQ) テストのおおよそ2ポイントに相当する。この差は、6歳から10歳のあいだに性差度で0.06まで縮小する。
- 11 Halpern 2000, pp.97-98.
- 12 Levine et al. 1999; Voyer et al. 1995.
- 13 Robinson et al. 1996.
- 14 Peters et al. 1990.
- 15 Smith et al. 2000.
- 16 Kimura 2000, pp. 35-38.
- 17 Hyde and Linn (1988) に報告された、言葉の多さの性差にかんする性差度0.33をもとにした。
- 18 Brocki and Bohlin 2004.
- 19 Halpern 1989.

20 American Psychiatric Association 2000.
 21 Diamond 1985.
 22 Maccoby 1998, p.116.
 23 Kochanska et al. 1996.
 24 Bendersky et al. 2003.
 25 Else-Quest et al.2006. 抑制制御にかんする女の子の優位性を示す性差度は 0.41. これは、実行注意制御（強い衝動に対する子どもの意識的・意図的な注意を要求する）における性差度 1.01 と同じく、高い数字だ。
 26 Giedd et al. 1999a.
 27 Overman et al. 1996.
 28 Barry et al. 2004; Clarke et al. 2001.
 29 Liottei et al. 2007.
 30 Berk 2003, p.504.
 31 Diamond et al. 2007.
 32 Reid and Harris 1993.
 33 Pellegrini and Smith 1998.
 34 Cotman and Berchtold 2002.
 35 Fabes et al. 2003.
 36 Pettit et al. 1990.
 37 Martin and Fabes 2001.
 38 Frey and Ruble 1992.
 39 Maccoby 1998, pp.287-88.
 40 Fabes et al. 1997.
 41 Robert and Héroux 2004.
 42 このプログラムは SUNNY Buffalo の Douglas Clements と Julie Sarama によって開発された。詳細は <http://www.gse.buffalo.edu/org/buildingblocks> を参照。
 43 Hines 2004, p.227.
 44 Lummis and Stevenson 1990.
 45 Råty et al. 2002.
 46 Schugurensky 2002.
 47 Sadker and Sadker 1995.
 48 Gore and Roumagoux 1983.
 49 LaFrance 1991.
 50 Sanders 1997.
 51 Plewis 1997.
 52 Kleinfeld 1998.
 53 Fabes et al. 1997.
 54 BBC News 1999.
 55 Bjorklund and Brown 1998.
 56 Diamond et al. 2007

57 さらに詳細を知りたい人は Lillard 2005 を参照。
 58 National Education Association 2003; Center for Early Childhood Leadership, National-Louis University, 2004.
 59 Hopf and Hatzichristou 1999.
 60 National Education Association 2003. この報告によると、2001 年では男性教員の平均年収は 46,326 ドル、女性教員の平均年収は 42,440 ドルだった。だが American Federation of Teachers (2005) によるさらに新しいデータでは、教員の給与の男女差はなくなり、2003 年から 2005 年にかけてわずかに減少した（インフレの影響のため）。
 61 Icon 2005.
 62 Piburn 2005.
 63 Eliot 2000, pp.138-44.

5 言葉の不思議

1 Gurian and Stevens 2005, p.52.
 2 Brizendene 2006 のカバーから引用した。
 3 Liberman 2006c.
 4 Mehl et al. 2007.
 5 Gleason and Ely 2002.
 6 Hyde 2005.
 7 Hyde and Linn 1988.
 8 Lee et al. 2007. この 2007 年の Nations Report Card は、全米の 191,000 人の 4 年生と 160,700 人の 8 年生を対象にしたテストをもとにしている。
 9 Grigg et al.2007, p.8; Corbett et al. 2008, p.74.
 10 Verner 2005; Doyle 1997.
 11 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2005, p.150; OECD 2004, p.285.
 12 Archer 2004b.
 13 Kirsch et al. 2002.
 14 Halpern 2002; Halpern 2000, pp.82, 259; Corbett et al. 2008, p.52.
 15 Morris 2003.
 16 College Board 2008.
 17 Halpern, pp.127-28.
 18 College Board 2005.
 19 Burton et al. 1988.
 20 1999 年、女性たちは毎年 SAT の予備試験に 2800 万ドルの奨学金を与えている全国優秀学生奨学金 National Merit Scholarship Corporation に勝訴した。裁判を起こすまでは、奨学金を勝ち得た女の子は毎年 40% に満たなかった。和解のために、テストの作成者は試験に小論文を追加することに合意し、それにより性差が劇的

- に縮まった (FairTest Examiner 1999) . 教育テストサービス (ETS) は、2005 年の SAT の試験でも同様の改革を行なった .
- 21 Lummis and Stevenson 1990.
- 22 Pinker 1995, p.151.
- 23 Whitehurst and Lonigan 2001.
- 24 Kovas et al. 2005.
- 25 Neuman 1986.
- 26 Anderson et al. 1985.
- 27 NAEP Data Explorer, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/nde>
- 28 Hedges and Nowell 1995.
- 29 Peterson 2004.
- 30 Shaywitz et al. 1995.
- 31 たとえば Simon Baron-Cohen は、Shaywitz の研究を著書 *The Essential Difference* (2003, p. 58) で、「画期的な研究」だと称賛している .
- 32 Sally Shaywitz でさえ、この研究が大衆紙に拡大解釈されているとはっきり認めている . 「私たちが研究対象にした女性全員が左右の脳をバランスよく使っているわけではなく、男性と女性では課題の処理の方法は異なるものの、成績に変わりはないと断わっておくことは重要だ…… (中略) ……ときどき私は、男女の小さな違いが何を意味するのか、本当のところまだわかっていないのに、大げさにとらえすぎて泥沼にはまってしまうのではないかと心配になる」 (Poppick 2005) .
- 33 Sommer et al. 2008.
- 34 Sommer et al. 2008; Sommer et al. 2004; Frost et al. 1999; Hiscock et al. 1994.
- 35 Witelson et al. 1995.
- 36 Jacobs et al. 1993.
- 37 その源はおそらく、男性の側頭平面に比べ、女性の側頭平面が脳に占める比が大きいことを発見した規模の小さな研究 (被験者 21 名) だったのだろう (Harasty et al. 1997) . だがその後、もっと大勢の男性と女性を対象に行なわれた研究では、この発見は裏づけられなかった . また、男の子と女の子の側頭平面の大きさの違いも確認されなかった . これらの結果は Knaus et al. 2004. にまとめられている .
- 38 Witelson and Pallie 1973; Wada et al. 1975; Vadlamudi et al. 2006; Eckert et al. 2001. ただし、3 歳から 14 歳の子どもを対象にしたある実験は、女の子のほう側頭平面により大きな左右の非対称性が見られるという「意外な性差」を報告した (Preis et al. 1999) . 成人では、7 つの研究を検証したレビューが、女性の側頭平面は男性より 2.5% 対称性の度合いが高いと報告した (Shapleske et al. 1999) . だが Sommer et al. (2008) は、男性のほうの方が対称性に富むことを発見している .
- 39 Molfese and Molfese 1979; Shucard et al. 1981; Molfese and Radtke 1982; Friederici et al. 2008.
- 40 Plante et al. 2006.
- 41 Burman et al. 2008 は、9 歳から 15 歳の子どもを対象にした研究を行ない、女の子のほうが成熟した脳の活性化パターンを示すことを発見した . これは女の子のほうがつづり字や音韻のテストの成績がよいことと関連している .
- 42 Milles et al. 2005.
- 43 Friederici et al. 2008.
- 44 Cohen-Bendahan et al. 2004.
- 45 たとえば Lutchmaya et al. (2002b) は、幼児を男女別にした母集団内で、胎内のテストステロンと語彙の規模の相関関係を確認できなかった .
- 46 Hines 2004, pp.168-69.
- 47 Hampson 1990.
- 48 Maki et al. 2002; Symonds et al. 2004.
- 49 最近行なわれた 2 つの研究によると月経周期の違いによって、言語課題に取り組んでいるときの女性の脳の活性が異なることが判明した (Konrad et al. 2008; Craig et al. 2008) . ただしどちらの研究でも、女性の言語課題の成績は、月経周期のホルモンが多く分泌される時期と少ない時期で変化がなかったと断わっておくことは重要だ . つまり、血液中のホルモンレベルの変化が言語処理と関係があるかどうかは明らかではない .
- 50 Gordon and Lee 1993; Mordecai et al. 2008; Konrad et al. 2008.
- 51 Halari et al. 2005.
- 52 Fitch and Bimonte 2002.
- 53 Lacreuse 2006.
- 54 Rapp et al. 2003; Shumaker et al. 2004. HRT にかんする初期の研究は、被験者の無作為化もプラシーボ (偽薬) 効果を使った対照実験も行なわれていなかったため、健康者バイアスがかかっていると考えられている . すなわちホルモン治療を選択した女性は、そうしなかった女性より精神機能が優れていたが、もともと健康も学歴も恵まれていた . どちらの要素も、加齢に伴う認知機能の変化でよりよい成績に関係しているとされる .
- 55 Maki 2006.
- 56 Fenson et al. 1994.
- 57 Galsworthy et al. 2000.
- 58 Kovas et al. 2005.
- 59 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, pp.79-85.
- 60 Huttenlocher et al. 1991; Hart and Risely 1992.
- 61 Leaper et al. 1998.
- 62 Maccoby 1998, p.107.
- 63 Gleason and Ely 2002.
- 64 Kovas et al. 2005.
- 65 Galsworthy et al. 2000.
- 66 Walker et al. 1994.
- 67 Eckert et al. 2001.
- 68 Harlaar et al. 2005.

69 Cruise 2003.
 70 (傍注に対する注) Shaywitz et al. 1990. この問題については、今も激しい議論が続いている。たとえば Liederman et al. 2005 対 Siegel and Smyth 2005 を参照。
 71 Rutter et al. 2004; Liederman et al. 2005.
 72 Schumacher et al. 2007; Fisher and Francks 2006.
 73 Temple 2002.
 74 Simos et al. 2002; Temple et al. 2003; Eden et al. 2004.
 75 Eden and Moats 2002; Alexander et al. 2004.
 76 Vellutino and Scanlon 2001.
 77 Siegel and Smyth 2005.
 78 Eliot 2000, pp.358-64.
 79 Mills et al. 2005.
 80 Raizada et al. 2008.
 81 Whitehurst and Lonigan 2001.
 82 Levy et al. 2006.
 83 ここにあげた以外にも、男の子の読み書き能力の向上に役立つさまざまなアドバイスは Ontario Ministry of Education (2004) が発表した優れたオンライン情報で見ることができる。
 84 Ontario Ministry of Education (2004)
 85 Tyre 2008, p.153.

6 数学の壁

1 男性医師と女性医師の給与格差は、女性が比較的給与の低い小児科医や家庭医を専門に選ぶことも大きく関係している。また女性は、1週間あたりの労働時間も男性に比べて少ない(平均して男性 57 時間に対して女性 49 時間。Kane and Loeblich 2003)。ただし、医科大学院を卒業して 10 年以上になる女性医師の給与は、こうした専門や労働時間の違いを差し引いても、男性の給与の 85% にすぎない (Baker 1996)。
 2 Work/life & Women's Initiative Executive Committee 2004.
 3 Halpern 2000, p.113
 4 Grigg et al. 2006. 数学の成績は、<http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/ltr/results2004/sub-math-gender.asp> で閲覧できる。最近アメリカの 10 の州で数学の標準学力テストの分析が行なわれたが、男の子と女の子で全体的に差は出なかった。だがこれらのテストは、微妙な差を検知するには簡単すぎたのだろう (Hyde et al. 2008)。
 5 (傍注に対する注) Freeman 2004, p.8.
 6 Kleinfeld 1998.
 7 Halpern et al. 2007.
 8 OECD 2004, pp.97, 297.
 9 この言葉は社会学者 Lucy Sells の造語で、Halpern 2000, p.113 に引用されている。

10 Hedges and Nowell 1995.
 11 Freeman 2004, p.63.
 12 College Board 2008.
 13 Freeman 2004, p.13.
 14 Maines 2007.
 15 U.S.Department of Labor, 2002; Freeman 2004, p.79.
 16 Bae et al. 2000, p.84.
 17 Handelsman et al. 2005 に報告されたこの数字は、全米上位 50 校の大学を対象にしたもの。理数系の学部に占める女性教員の割合は、中堅校や短大ではもっと高くなる。
 18 ガラスの天井は言語を駆使する分野でも存在する。たとえば法曹界では女性が占める割合は、法学部の学生では 48%、法律事務所のアソシエイト弁護士では 44% だが、パートナー弁護士(事務所の共同経営者もしくはそれに準ずる格を有する弁護士)では 17% にすぎない。National Association for Law Placement の 2005 年のデータより。引用元 Katz 2006.
 19 Pinker の引用は Johnson 2005 による。
 20 (傍注に対する注) Pinker 2005a.
 21 Benbow and Stanley 1983.
 22 Kessel 2006.
 23 Halpern 2000, p.115.
 24 Association for Women in Mathematics, 2006.
 25 Monastersky 2005.
 26 Ruskai 1991.
 27 Hyde and McKinley 1997, p.39.
 28 Eccles and Jacobs 1986.
 29 これは彼の著書 *Count Down* にかんするインタビューによる。<http://www.houghtonmifflinbooks.com/features/countdown/> で閲覧できる。
 30 Spelke 2005.
 31 Ibid.
 32 Wade 2006.
 33 Rosalind Franklin は、結晶化した DNA の X 線回折写真を撮った。Watson と Crick は Franklin に無断で写真を利用し、自分たちの理論を実証した。多くの歴史家が、そんなできごとがなければ、Franklin は数週間以内に自力で DNA の二重らせん構造を考えついていたに違いないと考えている。いずれにせよ、その後のウイルス粒子の構造にかんする研究は、Franklin が女性であったにもかかわらず、空間的想像力に妨げられていなかったことを証明している (Maddox 2002)。
 34 Voyer et al. 1995; Masters and Sanders 1993.
 35 空間認知能力を司るのが、脳の右半球であることはよく知られている。そこで、空間処理を行なうとき男性は女性より右脳を活性化させるので、男性は空間能力に優れているという説があり、複数の実験に支持されている (Frings et al. 2006)

- など) . ただしこれとは逆の, 男性は左脳を強く活性化させるという結果になった研究も複数ある (Roberts and Bell 2002) . だが, 単独で7つの研究を検証したレビューによれば, 空間処理を行なうとき, 男性が女性より右脳を活性化させているという理論を支持する研究は1つしか発見されなかった (Jager and Postma 2003) .
- 36 Levin et al 1999.
- 37 Hespos and Rochat 1997; Örnkloo and von Hofsten 2007.
- 38 Moore and Johnson 2008; Quinn and Liben 2008.
- 39 Voyer et al. 1995. ただし研究者たちは, 8歳以下の子どもたちが空間課題に取り組んでいるとき, 脳の活性化にほとんど性差を確認できなかった (Roberts and Bell, 2000, 2002) .
- 40 Hecht and Proffitt 1995.
- 41 Voyer et al. 1995, p.261.
- 42 Baker 1987, p.11.
- 43 Gwiazda et al. 1989.
- 44 Malcolm et al. 2002.
- 45 Schrauf et al. 1999.
- 46 Held 1989.
- 47 Moffatt et al. 1998.
- 48 Weiss et al.2003; Grön et al. 2000; Thomsen et al. 2000.
- 49 Blanch et al. 2004.
- 50 Voyer et al. 2007.
- 51 Cherney and Ryalls 1999.
- 52 Voyer et al. 2007.
- 53 Francis 2004, pp.150-74.
- 54 Wynn et al. 1996.
- 55 (傍注に対する注) Francis 2004, p.161.
- 56 Jacobs et al. 1990.
- 57 Jones et al. (2003) は, 空間能力の性差の諸説にかなする既存の証拠を検証し, 領域説 (活動領域の大きさを性差の原因とする) にかんする弱い根拠は存在するものの, 狩猟者 - 採集者説を支持する証拠はないと結論した .
- 58 Yurgelun-Todd et al. 2003; Gur et al. 2002; Pruessner et al. 2001.
- 59 Goldstein et al. 2001; Giedd et al. 1997; Caviness et al. 1996.
- 60 Maguire et al. 2000.
- 61 Wynn et al. 1996.
- 62 Jardine and Martin 1984.
- 63 Williams and Meck 1991.
- 64 これらの実験は, 胎児期のテストステロンと後の空間能力および数学的能力のあいだに反対の関係を見いだした . つまり, 胎内で浴びたテストステロンレベルが低かった子どもほど, 数学的能力に秀でていた (Jacklin et al. 1988; Finegan et al. 1992) . 3番目の実験 (Grimshaw et al. 1995) は, 羊水のテストステロン濃度と女の子の心的回転作業の速さが正比例の関係にあることを発見した . ただし, 通常の性差のパラメーターとされるテストステロンと心的回転の正確さに相関関係は見いだせなかった .
- 65 Luciano et al. 2004; Hines 2004, pp.174-75. ある予備実験は, 異性の双子の女の子は空間能力が高いと報告した (Cole-Harding et al. 1988) . ただしこの発見は, 査読付き学術誌には掲載されなかった .
- 66 Puts et al. 2008.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Mueller et al. 2008.
- 69 これらには高齢の男性 (Janowsky et al. 1994) および10代後半の女性 (Aleman et al. 2004) の研究も含まれている . 逆に, 前立腺ガンの男性 (Cherrier et al. 2003) の研究では, アンドロゲンの活動を阻害する薬を服用すると, 心的回転能力が衰えることがわかった (そして言語記憶は向上した) .
- 70 Van Goozen et al. 1995.
- 71 Slabbekoorn et al. 1999.
- 72 Hines 2004, p.178.
- 73 Halari et al. 2005.
- 74 Liben et al. 2002.
- 75 月経周期のエストロゲンがさかんに分泌される時期と空間能力の低下の関係を発見した研究は, Hausmann et al. 2004; Maki et al. 2002; Halpern and Tan 2001; Moody 1997. 関係を確かできなかった実験は, Rosenberg and Park 2002; Epting and Overman 1998; Gordon and Lee 1993.
- 76 Sandstrom and Williams 2004.
- 77 Yankova et al. 2001.
- 78 Ross et al. 2002.
- 79 Hines 2004, p.179.
- 80 Sherwin 2003.
- 81 Halpern et al. 2005, p.58.
- 82 数十年にわたりこのテーマに取り組んでいる Melissa Haines (2004, p. 180) は「まとめると, アンドロゲンとエストロゲンが人の認知能力に及ぼす活性化の影響を何度も調査した結果, こうした影響が存在することを示す確たる証拠は得られない」と結論している .
- 83 Cohn 2000.
- 84 Casey et al. 1995.
- 85 Halpern 2000, p.118.
- 86 Beth Casey, 引用元 Olson 2005, p.73.
- 87 Esgate and Flynn 2005.
- 88 Casey et al. 2004.
- 89 Casey et al. 2001.

90 Berry 1966, 1971.
 91 Levine et al. 2005.
 92 Brosnan 1998; Connor and Serbin 1977.
 93 Ozel et al. 2004.
 94 Lum et al. 2002.
 95 Green and Bavelier 2003.
 96 Cherney 2008; De Lisi and Wolford 2002; Newcombe et al. 2002; Subrahmanyam et al. 2000; Okagaki and Frensch 1994.
 97 Feng et al. 2007.
 98 Newcombe et al. 2002.
 99 Thomas et al. 1973.
 100 Vasta et al. 1996.
 101 Li et al. 1999.
 102 Li 2000
 103 Zimmer 2006.
 104 Bae et al. 2000, p. 62.
 105 Lummis and Stevenson 1990.
 106 Halpern 2000, p.28; Entwisle and Baker 1983.
 107 Ginsburg et al. 2005, p.20.
 108 Casey et al. 2001.
 109 Halpern 2000, p.292.
 110 Howe 1996.
 111 Spencer et al. 1999.
 112 Aronson et al. 1999.
 113 Stone et al. 1999; Koenig and Eagly 2005.
 114 Davies et al. 2002. ステレオタイプなコマーシャルは、ここであげたような職業への関心だけでなく、難度の高い数学のテストにおける女性の成績にも悪影響を及ぼすといったように、ステレオタイプ脅威をさらに裏づけている。
 115 Olson 2004, pp.30-31.
 116 McDonnell 2005.
 117 Wallon 2005.
 118 Dean 2006.
 119 Babcock and Laschever 2007, p. 101.
 120 OECD 2004, p. 294.
 121 Connor et al. 1978.
 122 Brosnan 1998.
 123 Chabris and Glickman 2006.
 124 Storm and Jenkins 2002, p. 58.
 125 Terlecki and Newcombe 2005.
 126 AAUW Educational Foundation 2000.

127 Burkam et al. 1997.
 128 Vanderkam 2005.
 129 Jacobs et al. 2005.
 130 Good et al. 2003.
 131 Huntsinger and Jose 1995.
 132 Dee 2005.

7 ラヴ&ウォー

1 Malatesta and Haviland 1982; Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, pp. 177-82.
 2 Haviland and Malatesta 1981.
 3 Quas et al. 2000.
 4 Manstead 1992.
 5 Simon and Nath 2004. 男性と女性が報告した感情経験の量は全体としては同じだったが、どのような感情を経験したかには違いがあった。男性が興奮、誇り、穏やかさといった肯定的な感情を報告したのに対して、女性は不安や悲しみを口にする場合が多かった。Simon と Nath は、この違いの主な原因は、対象となった大規模な女性たちの社会的経済的地位が男性に比べ低いことだと考えた。
 6 Van Tilburg et al. 2002.
 7 Pollack 1998. 男の子の感情抑制にかんする同様の見解は Kindlon and Thompson 1999 にも記述がある。
 8 Rosenbloom 2005.
 9 Campbell and MacQueen 2006; Kendler et al. 2006.
 10 Jans et al. 2006.
 11 Angold et al. 1999.
 12 Holden 2005.
 13 Susman et al. 1998.
 14 MacPhee and Andrews 2006.
 15 Kling et al. 1999.
 16 Lippa 2002, p.50.
 17 Lee 2000.
 18 Kling et al. 1999.
 19 Piccinelli and Wilkinson 1999.
 20 Wichstrøm 1999.
 21 Piccinelli and Wilkinson 1999; Kuehner 2003.
 22 Hojat et al. 2002.
 23 Eisenberg and Lennon 1983.
 24 Wager et al. 2003.
 25 Hall 1978.
 26 これは2つの研究を根拠にしている (Erwin et al. 1992; Rahman et al. 2004) . だ

- がもう1つの研究は、男性も女性も同じように男性の顔の表情を読むことができるものの、女性の表情を読む能力については、女性のほうがかなり優れていると報告している (Lewin and Herlitz 2002) .
- 27 Geary 2002.
- 28 Seifritz et al. 2003; Proverbio et al. 2006.
- 29 20の研究を検証したレビューによると、半分の研究が、女の子のほうが男の子よりほほえむ回数が多いとし、残りの半分の研究は男の子のほうが女の子よりほほえむ回数が多いとしていた。対照的に、成人を対象にした研究では、19のうち18の研究が女性のほうが男性よりほほえむ回数が多いとしていた (Hall and Halberstadt 1986) . 別の研究では、ほほえみの性差は思春期に最大となり成人してから徐々に縮小するとされているが、子どもにかんするデータはない (La France et al. 2003) .
- 30 McClure 2000.
- 31 Cushing and Kramer 2005.
- 32 Barnett and Rivers 2004, p.213.
- 33 Cushing and Kramer 2005.
- 34 Dunn et al. 1991.
- 35 Grinspan et al. 2003.
- 36 Campbell 1999.
- 37 Archer 2004a; Hyde 1984.
- 38 Campbell et al. 1998.
- 39 Pellis and Pellis 2007.
- 40 Archer 2004a.
- 41 Geary 1998, pp.59-62.
- 42 (傍注に対する注) Jones et al. 2003.
- 43 Thorne 1993, p.58.
- 44 Hampson et al. 2008; Bailey and Hurd 2005; Benderlioglu and Nelson 2004.
- 45 Archer 2006.
- 46 Wingfield 2005, Feingold and Mazzella 1998.
- 47 Archer 2006; Edwards et al. 2006.
- 48 Carver et al. 2008.
- 49 Fleming et al. 2002.
- 50 Domes et al. 2007.
- 51 Wang et al. 1998.
- 52 Gray et al. 2007.
- 53 Letendre 2007.
- 54 Crick et al. 1997.
- 55 Mealey 1999.
- 56 Campbell 1999.
- 57 Potegal and Archer 2004.
- 58 Simmons 2002; Wiseman 2002.
- 59 Crick et al. 1997.
- 60 Bussey and Bandura 1999.
- 61 Maxson 1999.
- 62 Archer 2000.
- 63 Crick 1997.
- 64 Lagerspetz 1999. たとえばフィンランドのデータでは、女性による暴行事件の数は1960年代後半の約2%から1994年には約10%と、5倍に増えている。
- 65 Pinker 2007.
- 66 Wiegand 1998.
- 67 Cashdan 1998.
- 68 Kivlighan et al. 2005.
- 69 Rhodes 2006.
- 70 Geary 1998, p.151.
- 71 (傍注に対する注) LaFraniere 2007.
- 72 Mealey 1999.
- 73 Campbell 1999.
- 74 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, p.250.
- 75 Strube 1981.
- 76 Gneezy and Rustichini 2004.
- 77 Rimm 1999, pp.170-74, 185-90.
- 78 Byrnes et al. 1999.
- 79 Quiñones-Jenab 2006.
- 80 Morrongiello et al. 2000.
- 81 Byrnes et al. 1999.
- 82 UNICEF 2001.
- 83 Linakis et al. 2006.
- 84 National Center for Health Statisticsのデータによる。http://www.childtrendsdatabank.org/indicators/77VehicleDeaths.cfmを参照。
- 85 Brown et al. 2002.
- 86 Whitley et al. 1999.
- 87 McCord et al. 2001, pp.56, 85.
- 88 Greenfeld and Snell 2000.
- 89 Embrey and Fox 1997.
- 90 Ben-Shakhar and Sinai 1991; von Schrader and Ansley 2006. 後者は、アイオワ基礎テスト (全米で実施される標準テスト) を受けた子どもという非常に大きな規模の母集団を対象に行なわれた。女の子は男の子より問題を空欄にする傾向が強かった (とくに低学年で顕著だった)。だが抜かした問題の数は少なかったため、全体の点数にたいした影響はなかった。
- 91 American Physical Society 1996.

92 Stoel et al. 2006.
 93 Lang et al. 2007.
 94 Chen et al. 2004.
 95 Hampson et al. 2008; Aluja and Torrubia 2004; Kerschbaum et al. 2006. ただし Rosenblitt et al. 2001 では、テストステロンと刺激追求に相関関係は見られなかった。
 96 Campbell 1999.
 97 Fried-Buchalter 1997.
 98 Brierley et al. 2002; Goldstein et al. 2001; Durston et al. 2001. ただし最近行なわれた複数の研究は、扁桃体の大きさに男女差はないと報告した。また別の研究は、CAH の女の子は胎内で高いレベルのアンドロゲンに曝されており、荒っぽい遊びを好む傾向が見られるが、扁桃体は大きくないと報告している (Merke et al. 2003)。
 99 Cahill et al. 2004; Canli et al. 2002.
 100 Ernst et al. (2007) がこの関係を示唆した。Ernst et al. は、CAH の女性が男性特有の扁桃体の活性パターンを示すことを発見した。だが最近行なわれた Ciumas et al. (2008) の研究は、CAH 患者の辺縁系の機能が女性的なものであることを発見した。つまり、胎内のテストステロンが成人の感情の神経処理に影響しているかどうかは依然として不明のままだ。
 101 Clark and Goldman-Rakic 1989.
 102 Overman 2004; Bolla et al. 2004.
 103 Jacklin et al. 1983.
 104 Kagan et al. 1987.
 105 Maccoby and Jacklin 1974, pp. 182-90. ただし、女の子は男の子よりおそれや不安の感情を認めるようだが、観察や生理学による研究からはこうした感情の存在に明らかな性差は見られない。
 106 Chen et al. 1998.
 107 Mondschein et al. 2000. 第 2 章も参照。
 108 Morrongiello and Dawber 2000.
 109 Potegal and Archer 2004; Morrongiello and Dawber 2000.
 110 Chen et al. 1998.
 111 Rowling 2005, pp.389-96.
 112 Lippa 2002, pp.21-22
 113 Herdt and McClintock 2000.
 114 McClintock and Herdt 1996.
 115 Ankarberg and Norjavaara 1999.
 116 Richter 2006.
 117 Halpern et al. 1997, 1998.
 118 Halpern et al. 1993.
 119 Archer 2006.

120 Finkelstein et al. 1998.
 121 Schwab et al. 2001.
 122 Finkelstein et al. 1997.
 123 Susman et al. 1998.
 124 Lieben et al. 2002.
 125 Graber and Petersen 1991.
 126 Giedd et al. 1996. この論文で Giedd は脳について次のような結論を下している。「思春期のころに成熟が著しく進むという仮説は支持できない」
 127 Lenroot et al. 2007.
 128 Swabb and Hofman 1988.
 129 Chung et al. 2002.
 130 Giedd et al. 1996.
 131 Cooke et al. 1999.
 132 Hamann 2005.
 133 Abdelgadir et al. 1999.
 134 Finkelstein et al. 1998.
 135 Graber and Sontag 2006.
 136 Jaffee and Hyde 2000.
 137 Pollack 1998, p. 299.
 138 Lippa 2002, p. 145.
 139 Huesmann et al. 2003.
 140 American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2007) .

8 真の調和を求めて

1 http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d06/tables/dt06_104.asp.
 2 ニューヨーク市立大学クイーンズ校, Andrew Beveridge の調査による。引用元 Roberts 2007.
 3 引用元 Rimer 2005.
 4 Pell Institute と National Center for Education Statistics のデータによる。『ワシントンポスト』紙にも掲載されている。http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/education/daily/graphics/gender_062502.html.
 5 Sininger et al. 1998.
 6 (傍注に対する注) Liberman 2006b and 2008. 引用は Sax 2005, p.18 より。
 7 聴覚系の性差について広範な調査を行なっているテキサス大学の Dennis McFadden は私に次のようなメールを送ってきた。「聞こえ方のわずかな性差のために、男女別学制を主張するなんてまったく寝ぼけた話だ」
 8 Leonard Sax (2005, pp.19-22) は、男の子と女の子では網膜に根本的な性差があるため、異なる色を好むと主張する。だが David Hilbert (2006) は、Sax の主張が色覚異常に近いラットのデータをもとにしたものであることを指摘する。Hilbert に

よれば、ヒトから得られた唯一のデータによると、網膜の細胞の2つのタイプ(M細胞とP細胞)から入って来る情報に性差がないことがわかっており、Saxの「男の子は黒や灰や銀といった色を好む。M細胞がそのようにできているからだ」という主張と矛盾する。

- 9 Tyre 2005.
10 Elmlinger et al. 2005.
11 Flachaire et al. 1990.
12 Fries et al. 2005.
13 Halpern 1997; Hyde and Linn 2006.
14 Thompson and Ungerleider 2004.
15 Harker 2000.
16 Marsh and Rowe 1996.
17 Salomone 2003, p.239.
18 U.S. Department of Education (米国教育省), Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development 2005.
19 Smithers and Robinson 2006.
20 Kaminer 1998.
21 Schemo 2006.
22 Salomone, 2003, pp.218-19; Smithers and Robinson 2006.
23 Datnow et al. 2001.
24 Schemo 2006.
25 Salomone 2003, p.235.
26 Spielhofer et al (2004) は、男女別学教育によって女の子の学業に対する興味が向上するが、男の子には同様の効果がないことを発見した。米国教育省 (Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development 2005) は、女の子にはごくわずかながらこうした効果があることを認めたものの、男の子には認めなかった。
27 Babcock and Laschever (2007, p.101) が引用した研究によると、女性の就職希望者が全体の25%かそれ未満の場合では、MBA取得者の女性に対する評価は低くなり、女性は女性というステレオタイプで評価される傾向が強まる。同様に、ステレオタイプ脅威にかんする研究では、学生は自分が周囲の集団ほど期待されていない少数派に属していると自覚すると、実際に成績が下がることが判明した。
28 Haag 2000.
29 Dee 2005.
30 Marsh and Rowe (1996, p. 153) はオーストラリアの学校にかんする分析で「男の子と女の子は男女混合クラスで、男女別のクラスにいるとき以上に自分たちの先入観と向き合わざるを得なくなったとき、男女平等の方向へと態度を改めた」と述べている。
31 Han and Northoff 2008.
32 ある研究者が明らかに触れていたが、性格特性の性差は、発展し自由な文化ほど大きくなるようだ (Schmitt et al. 2008)。

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