Hans汉斯

"论以貌取人的后果"：自我客体化视角下的非常规外貌管理行为

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摘　要

当前社会对于外貌对于个体的价值越来越重视，生活在这种环境中的女性不可避免地会将这种观点所内化，这背后对个体所产生的影响值得我们去探究。相比于男性，女性常常更容易受到他人的性客体化、发生与更具吸引力的人的社会比较，这些都使得她们对自己的外貌不断地去审视，不断地与理想的美进行对比，这一过程就是自我客体化。而自我客体化所带来的后果常常也与身体形象分不开，如身体不满意、身体羞耻等等，这使得女性去考虑某些外貌管理手段去改变身体或外貌控制。除了整容手术、节食行为，未来还需考虑更多的视角去解释其他的非常规的外貌管理行为，以帮助女性追求更为健康的美的行为。

关键词

自我客体化，性客体化，整容手术，节食

"On the Consequences of Judging People by Appearance": Unconventional Appearance Management Behavior from the Perspective of Self-Objectification

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Abstract

The current society pays more and more attention to the value of appearance for individuals.

Women living in this environment will inevitably internalize this view. The impact on individuals behind this is worth exploring. Compared with men, women are often more susceptible to sexual objectification by others and social comparison with more attractive people, which makes them constantly examine their own appearance and constantly compare with the ideal beauty. This process is self-objectification. The consequences of self-objectification are often inseparable from body image, such as body dissatisfaction, body shame, etc., which makes women consider certain appearance management methods to change the body or appearance control. In addition to cosmetic surgery and dieting, more perspectives need to be considered in the future to explain other unconventional appearance management behaviors to help women pursue healthier beauty behaviors.

Keywords

1. 引言

当前的社会所认为的女性美的标准即"瘦"(Wu et al., 2023)"幼"(Dunaev et al., 2018; Slevec & Tiggemann, 2010) "白"。为了达到社会所认可的美的标准，女性会采取各种手段以缩小与理想的差距即采取外貌管理行为(Lennon & Rudd, 1994)。外貌管理行为常常包括两类，一类是常规的没有健康风险的行为，如改变发型、化妆、运动等等，另一类则是非常规的高风险行为，如整容手术、节食等等(Freedman, 1984; Lennon & Rudd, 1994)。当个体对自己的外貌越焦虑，越容易选择高风险的外貌管理行为(Reilly & Rudd, 2009)。

据 ISAP (2023)统计的数据发现进行整容手术的人数不断在增加，自 2022 年起全球进行整容外科和非外科手术的人数增加了 11.2%，中国排行第四名(International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, 2023)。也有研究统计发现大约 50%的青春期女生报告有节食行为(Field et al., 2010)。高风险意味着会对个体造成负面的影响，如很多研究发现进行整容手术会对个体造成很多负面的心理后果，如焦虑、抑郁、身体变形障碍(Honigman et al., 2004)；以及长久的节食行为会导致饮食障碍(Stice, 2002)。很多研究者从身体形象这一方面去探究女性追求这些非常规的外貌管理行为的原因，如对身体不满意(Abbas & Karadavut, 2017; Di Gesto et al., 2022; Pertschuk et al., 1998)、对外表拒绝敏感(Park et al., 2009, 2010)、体重管理(Gillen & Markey, 2021)、身体羞耻(Stice, 2002; Yao et al., 2021)等等。与此同时，当个体对自己的身体形象越来越关注，不断地将自己的形象与社会所规定的标准进行比较，会使得女性陷入了客体化的"陷阱"中(McKinley, 2011)。

随着外貌焦虑的普遍化和社会对美的标准日益苛刻，越来越多的人尤其是女性，采取高风险的外貌管理行为，如整容手术、极端节食等。这种现象不仅影响个体的心理健康，导致焦虑、抑郁等负面情绪的增加，还可能对整个社会的健康和伦理观念产生深远影响。通过研究非常规外貌管理行为，能够帮助社会更好地理解其背后的社会文化压力和心理机制，从而提供更为健康、合理的干预手段。此外，这类研究还可以为社会政策的制定提供科学依据，促进公众对外貌管理行为的理性认知，减少极端外貌管理行为的负面影响，尤其是在年轻群体中的传播。因此，本文基于客体化理论的基础上探讨女性对于非常规手术的偏好的原因，并对非常规外貌管理行为的后续研究进行了展望，以期对未来研究提供更多启发和参考。

2. 客体化理论

Fredrickson 和 Roberts (1997)提出的客体化理论认为当个体被他人以性客体化的方式看待后会导致自我客体化即：从外部角度评价自己的身体，只关注那些可观察到的身体属性(例如，"我看起来怎么样？")而不是从内部的角度，专注于不可观察的身体属性(例如，"我感觉如何？")，通常表现为习惯性地监视一个人的身体和外部外观。女性之所以容易发生自我客体化，这其实是因为其内化了社会观点，即把女性看作根据身体特征来评判的对象，这使得女性不断地身体监视或与不切实际的理想外表进行比较(McKinley, 2011)。女性自我客体化会给其带来很多负面的影响如羞耻(Calogero et al., 2014)、焦虑(Adams et al., 2017; Schlenker & Leary, 1982)、节食行为(Wang et al., 2022a)等等。

2.1. 客体化的特征

自我客体化的两个主要的特征是身体监视和身体羞耻(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。前者是指女性习惯性地从观察者的角度监视自己的外表，而身体羞耻则涉及对身体的负面感觉，当因未能达到理想的体型时对身体某些部位的憎恨，也包括对自我的负面感觉(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; McKinley & Hyde, 1996)。这两个特征并不是独立的，有研究发现身体监视会预测其身体羞耻(Wang et al., 2019)，当个体习惯性地从观察者的角度监视自己的身体(即身体监视)会导致其体验身体羞耻(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。

自我客体化最常见的表现就是自拍行为(Caso et al., 2020; Zheng et al., 2015)。如高频率自拍(Lyu et al., 2022)、自拍编辑(Terán et al., 2020)、自拍投资(Terán et al., 2020)、以及照片评论点赞(Wang et al., 2020)，这些行为都会导致女性过度关注自己的外貌，并进行不断的身体监视，将自己看作一个客体。但Hao (2023)发现了与以往研究不一致的地方，女性的自我客体化并不能预测其中国女性的自拍编辑行为，这可能是因为她们并不只是将自己的身体视为被观看和欣赏的对象。

2.2. 客体化与外貌管理行为的关系
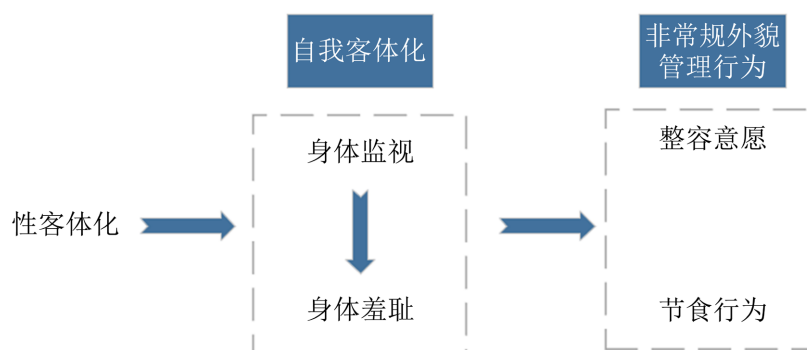
Figure 1. Relationship between self-objectification and unconventional appearance management behaviors
图 1. 自我客体化与非常规外貌管理行为的关系

当人们对照某种内在化或文化标准来评价自己时，就会产生羞愧这种负面情绪，女性可能会通过化妆、锻炼等等手段去改变身体和外貌，甚至回去尝试一些危险的手段：整容手术、节食行为等等(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。Ching 和 Xu (2019)研究中国女性的整容意愿发现：性客体化的经验会导致女性增加身体的不满意度，进而导致其整容意愿的提高。Ko 和 Wei (2020)考察客体化理论在亚裔和美籍亚裔女性中的作用，结果发现，自我客体化在不同的文化下所导致的社会外貌压力与整容意愿之间起着中介作用。Gillen 和 Markey (2021)也认为自我客体化是对整容手术感兴趣的原因，因为高的身体监视和身体羞耻会

导致女性对整容手术的兴趣增加(Kim, 2022; Őry et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2022b)。Wang 等(2022a)发现中国年轻人的自我客体化与节制饮食显著相关。同时也有研究证明，身体羞耻感是影响饮食行为紊乱的一个最接近的因素(Moradi & Huang, 2008; Yao et al., 2021)。尽管，女性比男性更容易自我客体化(Fredrickson et al., 1998)，但也有研究发现自我客体化程度较高的中国年轻男性，他们更倾向于尝试减少食物摄入(即克制饮食) (Niu et al., 2020)。

因此，自我客体化与非常规外貌管理之间的关系机制如图 1。

3. 女性自我客体化引发非常规外貌管理行为的原因分析

当女性接触到社会所认为的美的标准并将其内化时，就会采取一些手段来减少差距(Jackson & Chen, 2015)。因为理想的美与实际的身体形象之间的差异会助长对个体对身体的监视(Li et al., 2021)，即当女性以观察者的视角来看待自己的身体，期望他人根据外貌来评价自己时，她们可能会更加关注自己的外貌，更容易发现自己与美的理想之间的差距，导致人们努力去提高自己的吸引力(Sun, 2021)。Gillen 和 Markey (2021)研究发现自我客体化和从事一系列与外表相关的危险行为可能会使女性面临寻求整容手术的风险。性客体化、社会比较、客体化环境是促使女性自我客体化的重要因素，这些因素共同驱动了个体为了符合社会标准而采取极端行为。自我客体化带来的身体羞耻和身体监视，使得女性更倾向于选择这些手段以缩小与理想美的差距。也就是说，正是因为自我客体化中长期的外貌焦虑与身体监视，使得个体追求通过非常规手段改善外貌，以期获得社会认可。

3.1. 性客体化

客体化理论认为，当被性客体化时，女性会被视为取悦或供他人使用的身体或身体部分的集合，频繁的性客体化经历会使得女性以性客体化的角度看待自己，这一过程就是自我客体化(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)。当个体被性客体化时，人们更多会将他视为物而非完整的人，因而会降低对其感知(Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009)。孙青青等(2015)通过向男性和女性呈现客体化图片和非客体化图片发现无论男女，相比全身穿着服装，穿着泳装的人物均被认为更不聪明。女性经历性客体化如受到男性的注视、受到男性的性评论和称赞和理想美内化都会导致其自我客体化水平的提高(李俊一等，2015)。将自己性客体化的女性也会非常重视自己的外表(Lindberg et al., 2006)而非内部属性，这使得女性增加自己的身体不满意从而提高整容手术的考虑意愿(Ching & Xu, 2019)。Calogero 等(2010)通过一项研究证明了性客体化的经历会导致女性去考虑整容手术作为一种改变身体和控制外貌的手段。因此，无论是受到性客体化的经历还是将自己性客体化的行为，无疑会加重自我客体化水平，从而使得女性过度地关注外貌，从而想要寻求一系列风险的非常规管理行为以提升外貌。

3.2. 社会比较

Festinger (1954)的社会比较理论来解释外貌管理行为的动机，该理论认为个体倾向于将自己与相似的他人进行比较，以评价自己或获得自我提升。Rudd 和 Lennon (2000)提出的身体美学模型中提到，当女性进行向上的社会比较，即把自己与更有吸引力的同龄人相比时，就会对自己的外貌感到焦虑，于是大多数人就会去接受常规和非常规外貌管理行为。当社会比较关注外表方面，那么通常是向上比较(Nabi, 2008)，当人们进行向上的外表比较时，会导致个体采用观察者的视角来看待自己的身体(Feltman & Szymanski, 2018)即自我客体化。Cui 和 Fang (2022)研究发现对于有着不稳定和模糊的自我概念的大学生来说，越有可能和名人进行外貌比较，在这个过程中，也会导致高的自我客体化水平，从而增加其对整容手术的考虑。据此，在社会比较中，尤其是在与那些更具吸引力的女性比较后，使得自我客体化水平升高，促使女性感受到来自社会所认同的美丽标准的压力，从而可能导致她们采用非常规外貌管

理行为来迎合这些标准。

3.3. 客体化环境

当前的社会所盛行的物质主义，其主要的特征是两个突出的理想：完美的身体和物质的成功，物质主义价值观强调看起来漂亮，以及有钱和昂贵的财产(Halliwell & Dittmar, 2005)。这表明，支持物质主义价值观的人会接受或内化完美身材的理想(Ashikali & Dittmar, 2012; Teng et al., 2016)。有研究发现物质主义增加了中国女大学生的自我客体化倾向和外表管理意图(Ching & Xu, 2019; Sun, 2018; Teng et al., 2016)。尤其是那些自我概念清晰度低的女性越容易受到物质主义的影响，导致其进行不断的身体监视(Teng et al., 2017)从而去进行外貌管理(Teng et al., 2016)。除了物质主义导致女性的自我客体化水平的升高，进而影响其外貌管理行为之外，也有研究发现在"美貌作为一种货币"信念下，女性对自己的外貌越来越重视，这意味着她们会不断地去审视自己的外貌，即自我客体化，整容手术则将会被考虑作为一种在高客体化社会下获得更好的外貌和减少与美丽理想的差距的策略(Li et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2021)。将物质主义、美貌作为一种货币的价值观念内化的女性会不自觉地将自己客体化，不断进行监视，她们会认为，通过这些非常规的外貌管理行为提升外貌继而可以提高自我价值感和社会认同感。

4. 研究展望

综合前文可知，女性由于受到性客体化以及在客体化的环境中容易导致自我客体化，在与社会认可的美的标准进行比较时，会不断地监视自己的身体，从而产生对自己身体改变和外貌控制的想法，以提高自己的吸引力。因此，有着自我客体化视角的女性会更容易去考虑外貌管理行为，尤其是非常规和高风险的行为。这些研究结果不仅增进了我们对客体化理论的认识，同时也为探究整容手术和节食行为等高风险的行为的潜在机制提供了新的思路。因此，结合已有的研究结果，未来研究可以从以下几个方面展开。

4.1. 男性自我客体化与外貌管理行为之间的关系

尽管，女性比男性更容易出现自我客体化(Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)，过度关注自己的外表，但随着社会媒体的发展，社会不仅仅对女性的外貌有着不切实际的要求之外，对男性也是如此，比如苗条的身材、肌肉等等(Brown & Dittmar, 2005; Leit et al., 2002)。因此，男性的自我客体化也得到了一些研究者的关注(Zhu & Chi, 2023)。有研究发现，较高的自我客体化的中国年轻男性，他们更倾向于尝试减少食物摄入(即克制饮食)，以保持或改善自己的外貌(Niu et al., 2020)。因此，自我客体化程度高的男性选择一些高风险的外貌管理行为是有可能的。所以，未来研究可以从男性的角度去考虑是否存在性别差异在自我客体化与外貌管理行为之间的差异。

4.2. 除整容手术、节食之外的非常规外貌管理行为的研究

非常规外貌管理行为是具有高风险但能提升外貌的一些行为(Lennon & Rudd, 1994)，当前的研究者主要关注整容手术(Kim, 2022; Őry et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2022b)、节食行为(Wang et al., 2022a; Yao et al., 2021)这两个方面。但也有研究者发现药物使用(Hill et al., 2011)、过度锻炼(Gulker et al., 2001)等，同样也是那些过度关注自己身体形象的个体会采取的手段。因此，未来的研究还需多关注除整容手术、节食行为之外的非常规外貌管理行为。

综上，本文通过探讨自我客体化理论及其在女性非常规外貌管理行为中的作用，揭示了社会文化背景下女性为何容易选择高风险的外貌管理方式。自我客体化理论不仅帮助我们理解女性对整容手术、节食行为等行为的动机，还说明了性客体化、社会比较和客体化环境如何在潜移默化中影响女性的外貌管

理行为。随着社会对外貌标准的逐渐提高，这一现象值得引起社会和学术界的广泛关注。未来的研究可以进一步探索男性在自我客体化中的表现，以及其他形式的外貌管理行为的机制和后果。此外，通过提升大众对自我客体化的认识，倡导多元化的审美观，减少对女性外貌的单一化要求，可以更好地帮助个体做出健康的外貌管理决策。

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