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HELD DOWN THROUGH THEIR BODIES: SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION OF WOMEN AND THE LEGITIMIZATION OF PATRIARCHY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Linda, and the memory of my late father, Joseph. They have always offered me support in all of my endeavors, and I could not have completed this dissertation without their encouragement along the way.

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Abstract

Based on social dominance theory, I proposed that the belief that it is permissible to view women as sexual objects (i.e., the sexual objectification of women) serves as a legitimizing myth used in the maintenance of patriarchy. To examine this hypothesis, five studies were conducted. Study 1 found that social dominance orientation (i.e., SDO) is positively associated with sexually objectifying attitudes toward women. Studies 2 and 3 failed to find evidence that an experimental manipulation known to influence SDO levels directly impacts the sexual objectification of women. Study 4 found evidence that increasing levels of sexually objectifying behavior towards women increases patriarchy support among low SDO men. Finally, Study 5 failed to find evidence that the sexual objectification of women impacts patriarchy support, precluding further attempts at examining whether the sexual objectification of women mediates the relationship between SDO and patriarchy support. Studies 2, 3, and 5 failed to replicate established findings in the social dominance literature suggesting that SDO should be affected by the manipulations that were employed in these studies. Implications for the current theorizing, possible explanations for the current results, and future directions are discussed.

Introduction

Social hierarchies are often held together not through force and intimidation, but through the shared beliefs, values, stereotypes, attitudes, and ideologies that suggest that the status and power distinctions separating dominant groups from subordinate groups are legitimate (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Consistent with this view, attitudes toward women's sexuality and the traditional view of the sanctity of their bodies may have played an important role in justifying the status boundaries underlying a number of established social hierarchies. For instance, ideologies suggesting that white women must preserve their chastity may have helped justify the lynching of black men believed to have had relations with these women, further justifying the control that white men had over African American males in the United States' race-based hierarchy (Pratto & Walker, 2004). At present, I argue that believing it is permissible to view women as sexual objects helps legitimize the subordinate status women hold below men in patriarchal societies. When women are seen as sexual objects they are denied human attributes (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan, Haslam, Murnane, Vaes, Reynold, & Suitner, 2010; Vaes, Paladino, & Puvia, 2011) and are seen as mere instruments through which goals can be met (Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008). Thus, viewing women as sexual objects may reinforce the subordinate status relative to men with which women are bequeathed across many societies. This thesis was explored using a framework derived from social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Social Dominance Theory and Gender Hierarchy

Social dominance theory was developed to unveil the origins of social hierarchies and unjust treatment of groups, and to address the consequences of

oppression for the members of dominant and subordinate groups (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, Oratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004). The primary aim of social dominance theory is to explain why social hierarchies that contain dominant and subordinate groups are so prevalent across societies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social dominance theory proposes that all civilizations that produce an economic surplus will create social hierarchies that are based on arbitrary sets of criteria. The arbitrary set of criteria that are used to distinguish between the social status of one group and another in a given society derives from group differences in nationality, class, descent, religion, race, ethnicity, estate, or clan membership. For example, the hierarchy that is used to discriminate against Blacks relative to Whites in the United States reflects a race-based foundation as its arbitrary criterion (Pratto, et al., 2006). A feature shared by all hierarchies with an arbitrary base is that they focus on the dominance over subordinate male collectives by dominant male collectives. Two additional types of social hierarchies are believed to exist across all societies, not just those that produce an economic surplus (Pratto et al., 2006). These two remaining types of social hierarchies are not focused primarily on the control of subordinate males by dominant males and are based on fixed sets of criteria across all societies. The first of these two remaining types of social hierarchies corresponds to an age-based hierarchical system, in which adults universally hold a dominant position over children. Finally, gender-based hierarchical systems also exist in which males universally hold a dominant position over females. The degree to which each hierarchical system is prevalent in a given society differs substantially across societies.

The present research was designed to uncover features of the gender-based hierarchical system in which men hold a dominant position over women, also known as patriarchy. Social dominance theory argues that the United States, like all other societies, has a patriarchal gender structure (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Although men's status is no longer elevated over women in the United States to the same degree as in the past, men still tend to wield more power and influence than women do, as evidenced by gender differences in salaries and domestic violence. For instance, men are more likely than women to possess paid full-time jobs, and earn higher salaries than women even in occupations matched on skill level (Wirth, 2001; Acker, 1989). When formerly male-prevalent jobs change to become female prevalent, the salaries and prestige associated with the jobs decline (Reskin, 1988; Sanday, 1974). Furthermore, women in high status, well-paid occupations earn less (on average) than men in the same occupations (e.g., doctors; American Medical Association, 2002). Finally, the potential for physical and psychological violence by men toward women serves as an additional source of gender inequality (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983). Women are more likely than men to be injured or killed by their domestic partners. Moreover, women are more likely to be victims of assault, rape, sexual harassment, and emotional abuse (Archer, 2000; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Sagrestano, Heavey, & Christensen, 1999).

Given women's subordinate status in our society and the negative consequences that this status bestows on them, one might ask why women rarely challenge their subordinate status positions or fight to change them. According to social dominance theory, social hierarchies are maintained to a large extent through legitimizing myths.

These myths correspond to ideologies that suggest, among other things, that members of subordinate groups deserve their subordinate status and should not challenge their social rank (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). More specifically, hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths are beliefs, attitudes, values, or stereotypes that support policies that assist dominant groups, and suggest that subordinate groups are inferior and entitled to their subordinate status. Although individuals in dominant groups tend to support hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths to a greater extent than do individuals in subordinate groups, hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths are likely to be accepted by members of both dominant and subordinate groups (Pratto, et al., 2006). For instance, beliefs and attitudes espousing the superiority of Whites over African Americans were endorsed by both White and African American individuals for much of the history of the United States. Thus, legitimizing myths guide members of dominant and subordinate groups in a collaborative effort that results in the oppression of subordinate groups through the promotion of the belief that the inequality separating the groups is fair and justified (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). A few examples of legitimizing myths include racist ideologies, heterosexist ideologies, and ageist ideologies. Of particular interest at present, are those beliefs and stereotypes that may be used in the legitimization of patriarchy. Consistent with social dominance theory, I argue that the belief that it is permissible to view women as sexual objects corresponds to one such belief.

Women as Sexual Objects and the Legitimization of Patriarchy

It has been suggested that stereotypes about men and women represent legitimizing myths serving in the maintenance of patriarchy (Pratto & Walker, 2004). Many gender stereotypes appear to reflect power distinctions between men and women,

and the use of these stereotypes contributes to acceptance of the subordinate status of women compared to men. For example, stereotypes representing women as being warm and communal, and representing men as being competent and agentic reinforce the preexisting gender structure (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975; Williams & Best, 1990; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eagly & Steffen, 1984). By being seen as warm and communal, women appear suited for caretaking roles, such as the role of a housewife, a mother, a nurse, or a secretary (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988). In contrast, by being seen as competent and agentic, men appear suited for prestigious, professional jobs and leadership roles. Empirical evidence supports the notion that gender stereotypes serve in the maintenance of patriarchy. For example, participants in a recent study rated a number of communal and agentic traits on whether each trait applied more to women or men, which served to make these gender stereotypes salient. Afterwards, female participants who completed these ratings were more satisfied with the status held by women relative to men in the United States than female participants who did not complete these ratings (Jost & Kay, 2005). As a result, it was argued that positive gender stereotypes served to attenuate women's dissatisfaction with their social rank.

Gender stereotypes can reinforce patriarchy in other ways. For instance, Pratto et al. (2006) have argued that when members of subordinate groups internalize a legitimizing myth about their group, they behave in debilitating ways that reinforce the legitimizing myth which in turn becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. For example, a prevalent stereotype in our society suggests that women perform poorly at math (Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990; Fennema & Sherman, 1977; Jacobs & Eccles, 1985). Women who are aware of this stereotype are more likely to perform poorly on math exams,

which in turn can lead them to disengage from math related subjects at school (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Unfortunately, math-based skills are necessary in a number of high status jobs, and many women may be unable to obtain these jobs due to obstacles resulting from poor math skills.

Sexist ideologies are legitimizing myths that serve to maintain patriarchy and are supported, to a large extent, by gender stereotypes (Pratto & Walker, 2004). These ideologies conceptualize the members of one sex as superior or of a higher status than members of the opposite sex in a particular domain. Many researchers have found that people who endorse social hierarchies are more likely than others to endorse sexist ideologies, a difference that would be expected if sexist ideologies serve as legitimizing myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Bates & Heaven, 2001; Heaven, 1999; Lippa & Arad, 1999; Pratto et al., 2006; Russell & Trigg, 2004). Thus, sexist ideologies, and the gender stereotypes that underlie them, appear to influence support for patriarchy in a manner consistent with how legitimizing myths would be expected to function.

I propose that the sexual objectification of women may also contribute to the maintenance of patriarchy. Sexual objectification occurs when men focus on women's physical or sexual features at the expense of their thoughts, feelings, and desires (e.g., Loughnan, et al., 2010; Vaes, et al., 2011). The sexual objectification of women is maintained by the belief that it is permissible to view women as sexual objects. This belief serves as a legitimizing myth that supports the subordination of women by men. As a result of sexual objectification, women are viewed as less competent and agentic, and as possessing a lesser moral status (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan et al., 2010; Schwarz & Kurz, 1989; Gray, Knobe, Sheskin, & Bloom, 2011). When women

are sexually objectified, they are also perceived as separate body parts rather than as complete human beings, and as more animal-like than women who have not been sexually objectified (Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, & Klein, 2012; Vaes et al., 2011). Finally, women who are sexually objectified are viewed as mere instruments through which the sexual needs of men can be met (Gruenfeld, et al., 2008). Because viewing a woman as animal-like and denying her human attributes suggests that she is of a sub-human rank (Haslam, 2006), and because men are more likely to view women as instruments to meet their goals when in positions of power over them (Gruenfeld et al., 2008), sexual objectification may imply that the objectified woman is of a lower social status than the man objectifying her. Thus, coming to view women as sexual objects may serve in the maintenance of patriarchy by implying that women are of a lower social rank than men. Indirect support for this view can be been found in studies that show that when male interviewers are led to view women as sexual objects they behave in more dominating and sexist ways toward women they are interviewing for jobs (Rudman & Borgida, 1995).

The belief that it is permissible to view women as sexual objects is expressed in our culture in a variety of ways. For example, many representations of women on television portray women as sexual objects (Murnen & Seabrook, 2012). That is, female television characters are disproportionately young, single, and provocatively dressed (Davis, 1990). Furthermore, magazine advertisements are far more likely to portray women's full bodies than men's full bodies. Men, instead, are most often portrayed in pictures showcasing their heads and upper bodies (Archer, Iritani, Kimes, & Barrios, 1983). Similarly, men do appear to place greater importance on physical attractiveness

and youth when evaluating women than women do when evaluating men (Buss, 1989). Furthermore, in measures assessing the extent to which women have come to internalize the cultural portrayals depicting women as sexual objects, it is often found that women have come to put undo emphasis on their bodies in determining their overall worth (Szymanski, Moffitt, & Carr, 2011). The norms of femininity to which women often prescribe suggest that women should strive to be thin and should focus heavily on maintaining their physical appearance (Mahalik et al., 2005). Many women come to internalize the belief that it is permissible to be viewed as sexual objects. Unfortunately, this belief is associated with a number of debilitating consequences for women that may ultimately make it more difficult for them to challenge their subordinate rank. For example, research suggests that women engage in self-debilitating cognitions and behaviors once they have come to internalize the emphasis society places on their appearance (Szymanski, et al., 2011). Women are more likely to perform poorly on tests when attending to themselves as sexual objects (Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998). Moreover, women who have come to view themselves as sexual objects show increased support for the gender status quo and, as a result, engage in less social activism than others (Calogero, 2013). Finally, when women come to internalize the emphasis society places on their appearance, they become more likely to engage in suicidal ideation, experience depression, and develop eating disorders (Szymanski et al., 2011). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) argue that societal expressions of objectification socialize women to see themselves as sexual objects. From my perspective, women may also come to endorse the legitimizing myth that they have to be attractive to men as a way to justify a patriarchal system in which they hold subordinate roles. Not all women

are likely to endorse their own sexual objectification to the same degree, as people are known to endorse gender-based legitimizing myths to varying degrees. One factor that is known to predict the extent to which people endorse legitimizing myths is the extent to which they endorse social hierarchy.

The Endorsement of Social Hierarchies

People vary in how much they endorse hierarchical group based-systems, an individual difference that is called social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The members of groups that hold more power in society exhibit higher levels of SDO on the average than the members of groups that hold less power. For example, Whites score higher than minority group members, men score higher than women, heterosexuals score higher than lesbians and gay men, and the wealthy score higher than the less wealthy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). People who score high in SDO are more likely than others to hold nationalist positions, endorse wars, accept death penalties, view immigration unfavorably, and express racism (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Duriez & van Hiel, 2002; Esses. Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Heaven & Quintin, 2003; Sidanius, Oratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004; Pratto & Lemieux, 2001). Although dominant group members tend to score higher than subordinate group members on this measure, both dominant and subordinate group members can score high on it. However, scoring high on this measure has different meanings for the members of dominant and subordinate groups. When the members of dominant groups score high on this measure, it means that they accept their superiority. When the members of subordinate groups score high on it, it suggests that they accept their subordination (Pratto et al., 2006).

Situational factors can influence one's SDO, and the relationship between one's SDO and legitimizing myths. For example, changes in social power can influence one's SDO. Consistent with this view, Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, and Duarte (2003) found that from their first to later years of schooling, both male and female students being trained for high status professions experienced an increase in their SDO over time, whereas students being trained for low status professions experienced a decrease in their SDO over time. Furthermore, participants experimentally-assigned to high power roles score higher on a subsequent measure of SDO than participants assigned to low power roles (Guimond et al., 2003; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003). Other research has shown that when a hierarchical structure is threatened by competition from subordinate groups, those who are high in SDO become especially likely to endorse legitimizing myths (Pratto & Shih, 2000; Quist & Resendez, 2002). It has been argued that the more an individual identifies with a group, the more this person is likely to respond to information suggesting that other groups are overtaking authority positions by taking action to reestablish social status (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). Thus, high SDO individuals are likely to respond to group-based threats by increasing their support for hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths as a way to reestablish their social status in the face of threat (Pratto & Shih, 2000).

Of particular importance to the present thesis, SDO has been consistently shown to be related to attitudes toward women. Individuals who are high on SDO are more likely than others to endorse sexism (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Bates & Heaven, 2001; Heaven, 1999; Lippa & Arad, 1999; Pratto et al., 2006; Russell & Trigg, 2004). Furthermore, individuals who report high SDO levels are more likely than others to

blame rape victims for their misfortunes (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, individuals who have a high SDO are more likely than others to believe that men should dominate women sexually (Rosenthal, Levy, & Earnshaw, 2012).

Overview of the Present Research

Although past research has not assessed whether social dominance influences the sexual objectification of women, a few researchers have theorized that gender-based social hierarchy increases the sexual objectification of women (e.g., Pratto & Walker, 2004; Kuhn, 1985; Stoltenberg, 1989; Connell, 1987). Most notably, some researchers have argued that sexual objectification is a legitimizing myth that functions to create, maintain, and strengthen patriarchy (Connell, 1987; Kuhn, 1985; Pratto & Walker, 2004; Stoltenberg, 1989). From their perspective, any ideology that allows women to be judged by their appearance and to be considered as sex objects, legitimizes the unequal gender power distribution. More importantly, these ideologies contribute to the violence against women and cause them physical and psychological harm (Pratto & Walker, 2004).

In summary, although some researchers have assumed that sexual objectification may function as a legitimizing myth (e.g., Pratto & Walker, 2004), no research has systematically tested the hypothesis that sexual objectification operates as a legitimizing myth that promotes and reinforces patriarchy. Study 1 was designed as an initial test of this idea. If sexual objectification represents a legitimizing myth that serves in the maintenance of patriarchy, then people who are higher than average in social dominance orientation may be particularly likely to report sexually objectifying

attitudes. Studies 2 and 3 sought to test a similar hypothesis by manipulating rather than measuring social dominance orientation, and using direct measures of sexual-objectification as opposed to a self-report measure of attitudes. In Study 4, I used a different approach to test the relationship between sexual objectification and endorsement of patriarchy. Specifically, Study 4 tested the idea that engaging in sexual objectification should increase patriarchy support. Finally, Study 5 was designed to assess the full model that I have proposed by testing the idea that the relationship between social dominance and patriarchy support is partially mediated by the sexual objectification of women.

Study 1

The first study tested the hypothesis that there is a correlational relationship between SDO and the sexual objectification of women among both men and women, and that this relationship should be particularly stronger among men. It was anticipated that as social hierarchy endorsement increases, people should increase their sexual objectification of women. If the assumption that the sexual objectification of women functions as a legitimizing myth is correct, we should expect to find that legitimizing myths that reinforce social hierarchy become increasingly more appealing as individuals come to endorse social hierarchy. In addition to assessing SDO and the sexual objectification of women, participant sex was also assessed in this study to determine if any relationship that exists between SDO and sexual objectification is moderated by sex. Based on the SDO literature, it is likely that men sexually objectify women more than women do as a result of social hierarchy endorsement because men are dominant in patriarchal societies, and dominant group members tend to support legitimizing myths

that reinforce a social hierarchy more than subordinate group members (Pratto et al., 2006). However, subordinate group members also tend to endorse legitimizing myths that reinforce their subordination, at least to a degree (Pratto et al., 2006). Consistent with this perspective, SDO should predict the sexual objectification of women for both men and women. However, SDO should predict the sexual objectification of women to a greater extent among men than among women.

Method

Participants

Eight hundred sixty-eight participants (592 female) took part in the study for partial course credit. Age ranged from 17 to 51 years (M = 18.98). Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: 71.3% as White, 8.1% as Asian, 6.5% as Black, 6.2% as Latino, 5.6% as Native American, and 2.3% identified with a different ethnicity.

Measures

Social dominance orientation. The 16-item SDO_6 measure was used to assess social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix A). Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree completely*) to 7 (*Agree completely*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*) also labeled. Sample items from this measure include "*Some groups of people are simply inferior to others*" and "*In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups*". Several items are keyed in a negative direction and then reverse scored to address the potential for response bias. After reverse coding

appropriate items, mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of social hierarchy. The 16 items demonstrated good internal reliability (α = .92).

Sexual objectification. Sexual objectification was assessed using 13 items from the Sexual Objectification Scale Revised (SOS-R; Morse, 2007; See Appendix B). The complete SOS-R scale contains 26 items assessing men's sexually objectifying attitudes about women. However, part of the SOS-R scale cannot assess the sexual objectification of women when completed by female subjects. For instance, the item, "*My girlfriend or wife should be willing to have sex with me whenever I want to*" refers to a situation that heterosexual women do not encounter, and heterosexual women should therefore be unable to express attitudes in response to this statement. Therefore, only the SOS-R items that are able to assess the sexual objectification of women by both men and women were included in the sexual objectification measure in this study. Sample items include "*It's fun to rate women based on the attractiveness of their bodies*" and "*It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know*". Participants indicated their agreement with each attitudinal statement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 9 (*Very much*). Several items on this measure are keyed in a negative direction and then reverse scored to address the potential for response bias. After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of sexual objectification. The 13 items demonstrated good internal reliability (α = .85).

Demographic Questionnaire. A brief survey assessed participants' age, ethnicity, and sex.

Results

Means and Standard Deviations

SDO scores of participants were below the midpoint of the scale on average (M = 2.80, SD = 1.12) among both women (M = 2.74, SD = 1.09) and men (M = 2.93, SD = 1.12). Sexual objectification scores were also below the midpoint of the response scale (M = 3.62, SD = 1.34). Overall, women tended to report lower sexual objectification scores (M = 3.23, SD = 1.15) than men (M = 4.49, SD = 1.31).

Factor Analysis of Sexual Objectification Measure

A factor analysis was conducted to validate the short version of the SOS-R (Morse, 2007) measure used in this study. Since the items on the SOS-R scale have not been previously validated in a sample containing female participants, it was important to rule out the possibility that endorsing the statements on this measure had a different meaning for women than men. If this was the case, women's responses to the measure may not reflect sexual objectification, but some other component of gender relations. An exploratory factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood Estimation suggested that a single factor underlies the 13 items (Factor Eigenvalue = 4.69 [accounting for 36.05% of the variance], Eigenvalues for other possible factors at or below 1). As Table 3 shows, all thirteen items loaded well on Factor 1. This outcome coupled with the face validity of the items suggests that the items were all assessing sexual objectification. Factor loadings on the sexual objectification factor ranged from .45 to .74. When combined, the thirteen items were positively correlated with the SDO_6 scale, r (867) = .31, $p < .01$.

Effect of Sex and SDO on Sexual Objectification

Next, I proceeded to test the primary hypothesis of this study, that SDO should predict sexual objectification for men and women, but that SDO would predict sexual objectification better for men than women. The results of the study were submitted to a multiple regression predicting sexual objectification. Centered values (Aiken & West, 1991) of the predictor variable, SDO, sex (coded as *female* = 0; *male* = 1), and the interaction between sex and SDO were regressed on sexually objectifying attitudes. The overall model predicting sexual objectification was significant, $R^2 = .26$, $F(3, 864) = 101.52$, $p < .01$, $f^2 = .35$. Additionally, sex, $\beta = .99$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .14$, and SDO, $\beta = .27$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .04$, each predicted significant variance in sexual objectification, indicating that sexual objectification was higher among men than women, and that as SDO increased so did sexual objectification. Furthermore, these effects were qualified by a significant Sex X SDO interaction, $\beta = .14$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .01$. Simple slopes analyses were used to decompose the significant Sex X SDO interaction, following Aiken and West's (1991) procedures. These analyses revealed that, as predicted, SDO was a better predictor of sexual objectification for men, $\beta = .39$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .06$, than for women, $\beta = .25$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .04$ (see *Figure 1*).

Discussion

As predicted, the results of Study 1 provided evidence that SDO predicts the sexual objectification of women among both men and women, and that this relationship is stronger for men than women. However, it is worth noting that SDO did not appear to predict sexual objectification much more strongly for men than women, and that the

interaction effect is likely attributable in part to having a large number of participants in the sample, causing a small difference to emerge as statistically significant. The finding that SDO is correlated with sexual objectification not only among men, but also among women is meaningful, and consistent with the tenets of social dominance theory arguing that subordinate groups support practices that justify their subordinate status.

Although these initial results support the hypothesis that SDO is related to the sexual objectification of women for both sexes, these findings are correlational in nature. Thus, the direction of causation between SDO and sexual objectification remains unclear. For example, although it is expected that SDO leads to sexual objectification, it remains possible that the sexual objectification of women may increase the endorsement of social hierarchy. Although this relationship would be consistent with the proposition that sexual objectification serves as a legitimizing myth, it would suggest that beliefs about social hierarchy do not shape how one evaluates women. Instead, this relationship would indicate that the sexual objectification of women helps shape ideological beliefs about social hierarchy. In order to determine if SDO leads to the sexual objectification of women, it is necessary to employ an experimental manipulation of SDO before assessing sexual objectification. Study 2 and Study 3 were designed with this goal in mind.

Study 2

Although Study 1 provided tentative evidence that the general endorsement of social hierarchy, SDO, is related to the sexual objectification of women, it did not experimentally test whether an increase in the endorsement of social hierarchy produces an increase in the amount that individuals sexually objectify women. Study 2 sought to

demonstrate a cause and effect relationship between SDO and the sexual objectification of women by specifically examining whether increasing social dominance levels would lead to increased sexual objectification. Study 2 used a manipulation of social power to influence social dominance levels and a more direct measure to assess the sexual objectification of women.

In this study, I predicted that a manipulation of SDO would increase the sexual objectification of women. SDO was manipulated in this study by employing a manipulation designed to alter situational power levels. Past research has shown that changes in the extent to which one has power in a given situation influences SDO levels (Guimond et al., 2003). In this research it was found that when individuals learned that they would make good leaders, a manipulation that served to place individuals in a state where they felt a high degree of power, they reported higher SDO levels compared to individuals who learned that they would make average leaders (Guimond et al., 2003). This research also revealed that participants in the high power condition reported higher levels of prejudice in general, endorsed more sexist attitudes, and displayed more bias against Arabs and Blacks, than individuals in an average power condition (Guimond et al., 2003). Thus, these findings suggest that the power manipulation that will be employed in this study should not only influence social dominance levels, but can also further impact the endorsement of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths such as general prejudice, the endorsement of sexist attitudes, and bias against ethnic outgroups.

Instead of using a self-report measure to assess sexual objectification as in Study 1, the dependent variable of this study consisted of an attention-based measure. This measure focuses on how long it takes individuals to disengage their attention from

sexually objectifying images of women compared to non-sexually objectifying images of women (Maner et al., 2007), and has been used in previous research assessing levels of objectification of women among men after exposure to a masculinity-based threat (Bartak, Carvallo, & Findley, 2013).

Study 2 used a sample containing both male and female participants. Although I expected that men would be particularly prone to sexually objectify, I also expected that women would sexually objectify other women, to some degree. In order for an ideology that justifies the social status of a subordinate group to be a truly effective legitimizing myth, this ideology should be accepted by both dominant and subordinate group members, albeit to a different degree (Pratto et al., 2006).

Method

Participants

This study drew from a participant pool of introductory psychology students at the University of Oklahoma. Participants completed the study as partial fulfillment of a research exposure requirement in their introductory psychology course. One hundred seventy five participants took part in this study (81 males). Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: 68.0% as Caucasian, 7.4% as African American, 7.4% as Latino/Hispanic, 6.9% as Asian, 6.9% as an ethnicity other than those assessed, and 3.4% as Middle Eastern. Age ranged from 18 to 33 years old (M = 19.5).

Design and Procedure

The design of this study included three variables as predictors of sexual objectification. The first variable consisted of the participant's gender. In addition,

participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were either led to believe that they would make good leaders (*social dominance condition*) or not (*control condition*). Finally, participants completed both clothed and nude image trials on a sexual objectification measure. Thus, the complete design of the study included two between-subject factors, gender of participant and social dominance condition, and one within-subjects factor, image type, as predictors of sexual objectification.

Participants were led to believe that they were taking part in two unrelated studies. The first study was introduced as a study designed to explore leadership abilities, whereas the second study was presented as a study designed to assess participants' perceptions of others. This procedure was employed to minimize associations drawn between the manipulation of SDO and assessment of sexual objectification.

First, in what ostensibly was the first study, participants were asked to complete a social dominance orientation measure. Next, participants were asked to complete a task designed to manipulate social dominance levels. This social dominance manipulation task was modeled after a similar task used by Michinov et al. (2002), and consisted of a questionnaire presented to participants on the computer that ostensibly assessed leadership ability. The questionnaire consisted of 60 questions about personality attributes and leadership skills that appeared relevant to organizational settings (see Appendix D). Participants respond to each item on a 5-point Likert scale indicating the extent to which the statement was true for them, from *1 (Not at all true)* to *5 (Completely true)*. After the participants completed the questionnaire, the computer appeared to calculate the participant's score on the leadership questionnaire and

provided false feedback about their leadership ability. The score and accompanying feedback that participants received in the control and experimental conditions was the same information provided in other studies employing this manipulation (Michinov et al., 2002). Participants randomly assigned to the high social dominance condition were led to believe that they had obtained a very high leadership score. Participants assigned to this condition received the following score and feedback: *"31 of a maximum 40 – You clearly have the profile of a person who is able to lead and to hold a position of high responsibility*"). Participants assigned to the control condition were led to believe that they had obtained an average leadership score. In this condition, participants received the following score and feedback: "*20 out of 40 – You have the profile of a person who has an average ability to lead and to hold a position of average responsibility*").

Next, participants were led to believe that they had completed the first study and would begin a second, unrelated study that would look at their perceptions of others. To establish if the social dominance manipulation successfully altered social dominance levels, participants completed a second social dominance orientation measure at the beginning of this ostensibly second study. Changes in SDO levels from the scores assessed earlier were used to determine the effectiveness of the manipulation. Next, they completed a measure of sexual objectification. This measure consisted of an attentional disengagement task designed to assess how efficiently people can shift their attention away from a particular stimulus. Sexual objectification on the attentional disengagement measure that was used in this study reflects the extent to which participants take longer to shift attention away from nude, relative to clothed, images of

women. In this task, we assessed how quickly participants identified stimuli presented to them immediately after they viewed different types of photographs. The following target photographs were presented during this task: (a) four images of houses, (b) eight images of nude women (*with sexual body parts blurred*) and (c) eight images of those same women clothed. The two sets of women's images are closely matched in all respects other than whether or not the women are clothed (i.e., *the women are posed in the same in both sets of images, the lighting is the same in both sets of images, and the background is the same in both sets of images*) (see Appendix F). The photographs of houses were presented one time each during four practice trials at the beginning of the task. The eight clothed and eight nude women were presented three times each over the course of forty-eight experimental trials, and one time each over the course of sixteen filler trials. During filler trials, the photograph and stimulus pairs appeared in the same corner of the screen as one another (e.g., the upper left corner).

The procedure for the trials was: First, a plus-sign was presented in the center of the screen for a one second interval. Next, an image appeared for 500 ms in one of the four screen quadrants (i.e., upper left, lower right, etc.). When the target photo disappeared, a categorization object (*circle or square*) was presented in either the same quadrant as the picture (*filler trials*) or in a different location (*attentional shift trials*). When the categorization object was presented, the participants were tasked with identifying the object as a circle or square by clicking the Q or P key, respectively, on the computer keyboard. These two keys were chosen due to their respective placement on the computer keyboard. The keys appear at opposite ends of a letter row, providing enough space between them for participants to comfortably assign a finger from each

hand to a single key and extend their hands an equal distance from their body. Participants were instructed to make their selections as quickly and accurately as possible. Thus, on attentional shift trials (*the trials of interest*), participants needed to divert their attention away from the target photograph to elsewhere on the screen. The speed with which participants responded after the object appeared served to measure attentional adhesion: Slower responding indicated that a participant took longer to shift attention away from the photograph. Once an object was categorized, a 2,000 ms break preceded the next trial.

After completing the sexual objectification task, participants completed a demographics survey assessing their age, ethnicity, and sex. Finally, participants were debriefed. On the computer screen, participants read that they received false feedback on the leadership skills task, and that their leadership skills task had not actually been scored. Apologies were made for the use of deception, and participants were informed that deception was necessary to control the conditions of the feedback given, such that all individuals within a condition received the same feedback. Furthermore, participants learned that the false feedback was designed to manipulate perceptions of power. Participants were also provided with information about the sexual objectification task, and learned that we expected increases in objectification to be reflected in longer reaction times during nude image trials. Participants also were informed that sexual objectification is commonly expressed by people in our society, and that they should not feel bad if they expressed such attitudes on the sexual objectification measure, as such responses are often encouraged by societal norms and depictions of women in popular

culture. Participants were encouraged not to share information about the study with others.

Finally, after the debriefing and before being dismissed from the study participants were allowed to ask any questions that they wished about the study. In addition, participants were asked to sign a form containing the same debriefing information that was provided on the computer screen and informed that they had the opportunity to withdraw their data by checking a box on the form. No participant in the study chose to withdraw their data.

Measures

Manipulation check. Participants completed eight items from the SDO_6 measure at the beginning of the study (see Appendix C), and an additional eight items from the SDO_6 measure after completing the SDO manipulation (see Appendix E; Pratto et al., 1994). Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree completely*) to 7 (*Agree completely*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*), also labeled. After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were calculated for each of the two SDO measures with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of social hierarchy. Both the initial eight-item SDO measure ($\alpha = .78$) and the eight-item measure completed after the manipulation ($\alpha = .86$) had adequate internal reliability. Difference scores were created by subtracting mean scores on the initial SDO measure from mean scores on the SDO measure completed after the manipulation. Therefore, positive difference scores indicate an increase in endorsement of SDO.

Sexual objectification. The dependent variable in this study referred to how quickly, on average (in milliseconds), participants identified the objects that appeared in the third position of each attentional disengagement trial. Of particular interest was how quickly participants identified objects as a function of the type of image that preceded them. When participants sexually objectify women on this task, they are expected to take longer to identify objects displayed after nude images of women appear than to identify objects displayed after clothed images of women appear. Past research suggests that when a mating goal is primed, individuals sexually objectify other individuals who are portrayed in pictures and take longer to disengage attention away from these pictures (Maner et al., 2007). These findings are consistent with theorizing that views sexually objectification as a means by which sexual goals can be met (Guimond et al., 2003). Thus, to the extent that a woman is sexually objectified, it should take longer for objectifiers to disengage their attention away from images of her because they are looking at her in a goal-directed manner. Separate attentional disengagement scores were calculated for nude image trials and clothed image trials, and these scores correspond to the average time it took a participant to identify the objects on the trials of interest. Trials where participants incorrectly identified the object (approximately 6% of trials) were excluded in these calculations. Furthermore, trials where participants took unusually long to respond (greater than 2.5 standard deviations above their personal mean) and unusually low response times (less than 200 ms) were excluded in the calculations.

Demographic Questionnaire. A brief survey assessed participants' age, ethnicity, and sex.

Results

Means and Standard Deviations

On the average, the SDO difference scores suggested that participants were reporting similar levels of social dominance during the initial assessment and the assessment that was completed after the manipulation (M = 0.10, SD = 0.68). Scores were comparable for men (M = 0.08, SD = 0.69) and women (M = 0.12, SD = 0.66). Finally, participants took slightly longer on average to complete nude image trials (M = 510.14, SD = 90.82) than clothed image trials (M = 501.74, SD = 90.82), a tendency that was stronger in men (M = 514.67, SD = 95.90 vs. M = 501.28, SD = 83.45) than women (M = 506.25, SD = 86.52 vs. M = 501.28, SD = 86.89).

Manipulation Check

To test whether the SDO manipulation successfully altered SDO levels, we compared the SDO difference scores between conditions by sex. Scores on the difference score manipulation check measure were analyzed to determine if the social dominance manipulation successfully influenced SDO levels differently across sex. It was anticipated that participants in the high power condition would score higher on the manipulation check measure than participants in the average power condition, and that this would particularly be the case among men. A factorial ANOVA was used to determine if condition influenced the manipulation check scores differently by sex. In this factorial ANOVA, I looked at the interaction of condition and sex, as well as the main effects of condition and sex, in predicting scores on the manipulation check measure. The Sex x Condition interaction did not predict manipulation check scores,

$F(1, 171) = 0.01$, $p = .41$. Additionally, sex, $F(1,171) = 0.21$, $p = .65$, and condition, $F(1,171) = 1.06$, $p = .31$, did not predict manipulation check scores. Thus, the results of this analysis suggest that the social dominance manipulation was not effective for either men or women.

Effect of Sex and Social Dominance Condition on Reaction Times

Next, I looked at whether the social dominance condition interacted with sex in predicting sexual objectification. It was anticipated that participants assigned to the high leadership condition would be more likely to sexually objectify women, compared to participants in the average leadership condition. Furthermore, the social dominance manipulation was expected to influence sexual objectification to a greater extent among men than among women. By endorsing hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths, the members of subordinate groups (i.e., women in this case) are supporting practices that legitimize their low status, which has negative consequences for them. Women should thus be less likely to sexually objectify other women than will men. To test these predictions, a repeated measures ANOVA was run with the sexual objectification measure serving as the dependent variable. It was expected that among men, the social dominance manipulation would impact reaction times on nude image trials more than it would impact reaction times on clothed image trials. This prediction was made because when women are sexually objectified, they are viewed in an instrumental fashion (Gruenfeld et al., 2008), and because people take longer to disengage attention from instrumentalized stimuli than non-instrumentalized stimuli (Maner et al., 2007), they should take longer to disengage attention from objectified than non-objectified stimuli. In this analysis, social dominance condition, sex, and the two-way interaction between

these variables served as predictors of scores on the nude image and clothed image reaction time measures.

In the repeated measures ANOVA, the within subject factor, image type, had a significant effect on reaction times, $F(1,171) = 13.05$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .13$, showing that participants did sexually objectify women across sex and leadership condition. However, this main effect was qualified by a marginally significant Sex x Image Type interaction, $F(1,171) = 3.48$, $p = .06$, $= .11$, $\eta^2 = .04$, indicating that men were more likely to sexually objectify than women. The Condition x Image Type interaction, $F(1,171) = 1.65$, $p = .20$, was not significant. Thus, participants assigned to the high and average leadership conditions did not differ in how much they sexually objectified women. Finally, the SDO Condition x Sex x Image Type interaction was non-significant, $F(1,171) = 0.49$, $p = .49$. Contrary to predictions, male and female participants assigned to the high or low leadership condition did not differ in how much they sexually objectified women.

Discussion

Study 2 failed to find evidence to suggest that manipulating social dominance, by altering situational power, influences sexual objectification. Past research has found that a power manipulation influences forms of objectification that are not based on sexualizing others (Gruenfeld et al., 2008), and in the present study it was anticipated that a power manipulation would also extent to influencing sexual objectification. However, the results of Study 2 did not support this hypothesis. There was no change in SDO as a function of condition or the condition x sex interaction, suggesting that the power manipulation did not adequately alter SDO levels. These null findings may

reflect that the manipulation unsuccessfully influenced SDO levels. This assumption is supported by the manipulation check assessment. Levels of SDO were not different between participants who received a high or average leadership feedback. The lack of support for the hypothesis that social dominance increases objectification, in addition to the lack of evidence that the manipulation influenced social dominance, suggests that this study may have been ineffective at exploring the proposed hypotheses.

Beyond the effect of the manipulation, a marginally significant effect was found when looking at the sex by image type interaction, such that males looked at the nude relative to clothed images longer (M = 13 ms) than did females (M = 4 ms). This finding suggests that men sexually objectified the photographed women more than did women overall. However, this objectification was not moderated by levels of SDO or sex, as predicted.

It is possible that participant reaction times while completing the dependent measure in Study 2 were influenced by factors other than sexual objectification. The reaction time measure in this study assessed how quickly participants identified shapes after viewing nude and clothed images of women. It was anticipated that participants would take longer to disengage their attention from nude relative to clothed images of women to the extent that they viewed these women primarily as a means through which sexual goals could be met. When women are sexually objectified they are viewed as a means to meet sexual goals (Connell, 1987), and a similar reaction time measure as the one used in Study 2 has previously been used to assess changes in the extent to which people view others in a goal-directed manner (Maner et al., 2007). However, other factors could have also influenced how quickly individuals completed the trials. For

instance, heterosexual women may have felt uncomfortable or disgusted while looking at nude images of women, or viewed these women as rivals, leading them to more quickly identify the shapes. Furthermore, it is possible that other features of the images influenced participant responses. For example, private parts were blurred in the nude images. Thus, participants may have looked longer at these images due to the novelty of seeing images of people with body parts blurred and not because these images portrayed nude women.

Study 3

Study 3 was designed to test the hypothesis that increasing social dominance levels would lead to increased sexual objectification.[1] However, in this study I used a new manipulation of SDO and assessed sexual objectification differently. Within social dominance theory, stereotypes and prejudicial ideologies serve to legitimize and maintain existing social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Based on this tenet, a threat to an existing hierarchy should increase SDO among high status individuals (Quist & Resendez, 2000; Pratto & Shih, 2000) and promote practices designed to reestablish the group's dominance among this group (Quist & Resendez, 2000). In the face of a group-based threat, high SDO individuals should be more likely to increase their support for social hierarchy as a way to feel better about the ingroup's social standing and to legitimize impressions about the ingroup's social status (Quist & Resendez, 2000). However, low SDO individuals do not support group-based hierarchy under threatening or non-threatening conditions, nor do they see the endorsement of group-based hierarchy as a means to resolve threats to their ingroup's status. Accordingly, it was anticipated that a patriarchy threat would affect high SDO men, but

not low SDO men. Furthermore, it was anticipated that increasing SDO levels would result in increased sexually objectifying behavior among high SDO individuals. As SDO increases, one's endorsement of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths should increase. This assumption is consistent with research that has shown that high SDO, but not low SDO, individuals are more likely to endorse legitimizing myths about Blacks such as negative stereotypes and negative attitudes after exposure to a threat to their group (Quist & Resendez, 2000; Pratto & Shih, 2000). Because it is hypothesized that sexual objectification is a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth, I anticipated that a patriarchy threat would increase the sexual objectification of women among high SDO men due to the SDO levels of these individuals being heightened by the threat. Furthermore, because I hypothesized that the link between social dominance and sexual objectification should be especially strong among men, and because Study 1 found that SDO and the sexual objectification of women are more strongly correlated among men than women, Study 3 contained a sample of only male participants in an attempt to assess the association between social dominance and sexual objectification under the most favorable conditions.

Method

Participants

This study drew from a participant pool of male introductory psychology students at the University of Oklahoma. One hundred eighteen male participants completed the study as partial fulfillment of a research exposure requirement in their introductory psychology course. Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: 70.3% as Caucasian, 9.3% as Asian, 7.6% as an ethnicity other than those assessed, 6.8% as

Latino/Hispanic, 5.1% as African American, and 0.8% as Middle Eastern. Age ranged from 17 to 41 years (M = 19.3).

Design and Procedure

The design of this study included three factors as predictors of sexual objectification. In addition to participants' gender, individual differences in SDO were examined as a continuous variable in this study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were either led to believe that women would increasingly hold positions of high power in the coming years (*patriarchy threat condition*) or not (*control condition*). Furthermore, all participants completed a recall task for male targets and a separate recall task for female targets. Thus, the complete design of the study included an SDO measure and a patriarchy threat manipulation as between-subjects factors, and target sex as a within-subjects factor, predicting sexual objectification.

First, participants were asked to complete the same measure of social dominance orientation that was completed in Study 1. Next, participants proceeded to complete a manipulation task intended to increase SDO levels (see Appendix G). More specifically, this task was designed to threaten patriarchy by suggesting that in the coming years, women would be increasingly hired for the same high status jobs that, presently, are most often held by men. After being randomly assigned to condition, individuals who were assigned to the patriarchy threat condition read a news article that presented evidence which suggested that women made better leaders than men, and that women were likely to acquire much more power in the coming years (e.g., acquire status, hold

leadership positions). Individuals assigned to the control condition read an article describing how different organizations are preparing for climate change. The brief news article was displayed to participants for three minutes. At the completion of this time, the computer automatically advanced to the next task. This procedure was enforced so that all participants were exposed to the manipulation for the same amount of time.

After reading the news article, participants completed a cognitive measure designed to assess sexual objectification. This measure has been previously used by Gervais and colleagues (2013) who have argued that the different operationalizations of sexual objectification that have been proposed in the sexual objectification literature share one common feature—people who sexually objectify do not perceive targets as complete beings; instead, they see them as bodies, or even separate body parts within bodies. Accordingly, the measure of sexual objectification used in this study was designed to determine to what degree men's and women's bodies were viewed as a group of separate body parts rather than as a single entity (Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2012). More specifically, to the extent that individuals find it difficult to match correctly the body parts of individuals after viewing them, it would suggest that they had sexually objectified these individuals. In short, the measure of sexual objectification used in this study was designed to determine how well individuals match up women's, and men's, heads and bodies that were previously presented together as a composite.

Participants viewed 24 full body images of men and women at the beginning of this sexual objectification task. More specifically, images of 12 women and 12 men were displayed in a random order onscreen, each for a five second interval. Participants then proceeded to complete a surprise matching task after all 24 images were displayed.

The order in which the female and male target matching tasks were completed varied randomly across participants. During the matching task's study phase, each body was paired with each same-sex head briefly while participants made no responses. That is, some of the participants began the matching task by viewing each of the 12 female bodies onscreen for five seconds. During the five second interval, each of the 12 female heads flashed briefly over the top of the body. The same study phase procedure was used at the beginning of the male target matching task, albeit presenting the male heads and bodies. Sample images from this task are found in Appendix H.

Participants continued to the task's experimental phase after being allowed to study the 12 heads paired with each body for the members of a given sex. In the experimental phase, participants tried to match the correct head with each body. During the experimental phase, each of the 12 heads appeared individually over the top of each body, although this time participants indicated via a key press whether they believed each head was the correct match for the given body or not. The heads appeared in a random order during each matching task trial. Participants pressed the L key on their computer keyboard if they believed that the head appearing onscreen matched the onscreen body, or they pressed the D key if they believed that the head was not the appropriate match for the body. These two keys were selected for assessing participant responses because they appear in a single row and are separated by enough distance to make it unlikely that participants would press one of them unintentionally. All participants made a selection of 1 match and 11 non-matches for each trial. That is, there were no trials in which participants failed to make a match selection. If participants indicated that a head was a match, that response served as their selection for

the body, unless they changed their mind. That is, participants still evaluated each head, and could change their selection if they chose to do so. After evaluating all heads for a given body, they proceeded to the next matching task trial. Thus, participants viewed 12 heads with each body, and could match a single head to multiple bodies. After completing this procedure for all 12 female or male bodies, participants proceeded to do the same task for the remaining gender group.

Finally, after completion of the sexual objectification task, participants completed a manipulation check item and a demographics survey assessing their age and ethnicity.

Measures

Social dominance orientation. SDO was assessed with same 16-item SDO_6 measure used in Study 1 (Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix A). Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree completely*) to 7 (*Agree completely*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*), also labeled. After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of social hierarchy. The 16 item measure had good internal reliability ($\alpha = .91$).

Sexual objectification. Matching task scores from the cognitive task were calculated separately for the male and female targets. Participants received a score of 0 if they selected the incorrect head to match a body in a given trial, or a score of 1 if they selected the correct head to match the body. Because a total of 12 trials were completed for each sex, and participants selected a head that they believed to be a match on every

trial, participants received a score ranging from 0 to 12 representing the number of correct matches they made across male target trials, in addition to a score ranging from 0 to 12 representing the number of correct matches they made across female target trials.

Manipulation check item. To determine whether the social dominance manipulation successfully threatened men's dominant status, participants were asked to respond to the item, "*To what extent did you find the news article that you read to be threatening to individuals of your gender?*" on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*).

Demographic Questionnaire. A brief survey assessed participants' age and ethnicity.

Results

Means and Standard Deviations

SDO scores were below the midpoint of the scale on average (M = 3.10, SD = 1.17). Additionally, participants tended to be correct on more trials from the male matching task (M = 2.56, SD = 1.67) than the female matching task (M = 1.86, SD = 1.36), although participants tended to perform quite poorly on both tasks.

Manipulation Check

The patriarchy threat manipulation was first evaluated to determine if it effectively altered participant perceptions about men's status within the gender hierarchy. It was anticipated that the news article about female leaders would threaten

men's perceptions about their social status more than the news article about weather. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to explore whether the social dominance manipulation influenced participant responding on the manipulation check item, "*To what extent did you find the news article that you read to be threatening to individuals of your gender?*" The analysis revealed that the news article about female leaders (M = 2.77, SD = 0.22) was evaluated as significantly more threatening than the news article about weather (M = 1.55, SD = 0.21), $F(1, 116) = 17.74$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .13$. This finding indicates that the manipulation effectively altered threat perceptions. However, since participants in the control condition were not exposed to any threat at all, I conducted a more rigorous test to establish if the threat manipulation had been successful.

Past research has found that individuals who highly identify with a group perceive more threat than others when outgroups threaten to overtake their status positions (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). In the present study, SDO can be used to reflect a proxy of group identification because the more that dominant group members embrace group dominance motives, the more strongly they tend to also identify with their ingroups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, I expected to find that the news article in the patriarchy threat condition would be evaluated as particularly threatening by high SDO individuals. To test this prediction, only scores on the manipulation check item in the patriarchy threat condition were evaluated. A correlational analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between SDO and scores on the manipulation check item in the patriarchy threat condition. The analysis revealed that SDO did not correlate with perceived threat in this condition, $r(60) = -.03$, $p = .81$. Thus contrary to results derived from the one-way ANOVA, this finding suggests that the patriarchy threat news article

was not perceived as more threatening to high SDO than low SDO participants. Therefore, the success of the threat manipulation is questionable.

Overall Effect of Target Gender on Matching Task Scores

Because participants completed separate matching tasks for female targets and male targets, I explored the impact of target group sex on the matching task as a way to assess if participants did sexually objectify women. Based on the operationalization of sexual objectification as perceiving people as separate body parts rather than as a complete entity (Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2012), and because participants were expected to sexually objectify females more than males, it was anticipated that more mistakes would be made on female target trials than on male target trials due to the body parts of women being perceived less as comprising a whole person than the body parts of males. The overall effect of target sex was estimated from the mean difference between the male and female target matching task scores (M = -0.70). Consistent with expectations, participants made significantly more mistakes on female trials than on male trials, $t(117) = -3.92$, $p < .01$, $d = .36$. Thus, relative to men, participants were more likely to sexually objectify women.

Effect of SDO and Patriarchy Threat on Sexually Objectifying Behavior

For the main analysis of this study, it was expected that the patriarchy threat manipulation (i.e., men's status threat) would be especially likely to lead to the sexual objectification of women among high SDO men. To examine if patriarchy threat condition especially led to the sexual objectification of women among high SDO men as predicted, a repeated measures regression was run with the sexual objectification

measure serving as the dependent variable. It was expected that among high SDO men, threat condition would impact the female matching task scores significantly more than it impacted the male matching task scores.

This hypothesis was evaluated using a regression analysis. In this analysis, SDO (derived from a centered version of the predictor; Aiken & West, 1991), condition (coded as 0 = *control*; 1 = *patriarchy threat*), and the interaction of SDO and patriarchy threat condition were regressed on sexual objectification. To incorporate the effect of the within-subjects variable, target gender, established methods for incorporating within-subject dependent measures were followed (Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001). Each participant's male target matching task score was subtracted from his female target matching task score. The resulting difference scores were treated as the dependent variable. A difference score with a negative value, thus, indicates that a participant made more mistakes when attempting to correctly match the heads and bodies of female targets than when attempting to correctly match the heads and bodies of male targets.

The analysis looked at whether patriarchy threat condition impacted the female target matching task scores, relative to the male target matching task scores, differently for high and low SDO individuals. The female-male matching task difference score was regressed on SDO, patriarchy threat condition, and their interaction. The overall model predicting sexual objectification was not significant, $R^2 = .04$, $F(3, 114) = 1.48$, $p = .23$. Furthermore, none of the predictors were related to the difference score in the regression. That is, patriarchy threat condition, $\beta = -.53$, $p = .15$, SDO, $\beta = -.02$, $p = .95$, and the SDO x Patriarchy Threat Condition interaction, $\beta = .36$, $p = .26$, did not predict

the difference score (see Table 1). Thus, contrary to predictions, the relationship between social dominance condition and the female target matching task scores, relative to the relationship between social dominance condition and the male target matching task scores, was no different for high SDO than low SDO participants (see Figure 2).

Discussion

It was anticipated that SDO would interact with patriarchy threat condition to affect sexual objectification levels because when group status is threatened high SDO individuals respond by engaging in behavior that reinforces the preexisting social structure (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). However, the results of Study 3 failed to support the hypothesis that threatening male dominance over women would lead high SDO men to increase sexual objectification.

Three reasons may explain the null effects of this study. First, the patriarchy threat manipulation may have been inadequate at manipulating social dominance levels. Although overall participants found the news article to be more threatening in the experimental than control condition, past research and theorizing suggests that high SDO individuals should have found the news article in the social dominance condition more threatening than low SDO individuals, as high SDO individuals are more invested in their status in dominant groups than low SDO individuals (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, the patriarchy threat condition news article did not appear to have threatened high SDO individuals more than low SDO individuals. This finding indicates that the manipulation may have failed to influence social dominance levels, which would make it impossible to test whether a patriarchy threat manipulation influences sexual objectification. Although the manipulation that was used in this study was modeled

after similar group-based threat manipulations (e.g., Pratto & Shih, 2000), it is possible that the patriarchy threat news article that was used in the social dominance condition was not sufficiently threatening to high SDO individuals.

Second, the sexual objectification measure used in this study may have lacked the sensitivity necessary to capture variability in sexually objectifying behavior. Although overall, it appears that there was a sexual objectification effect, such that participants objectified photographed women more relative to photographed men, this sexual objectification measure still may not have been sensitive enough to capture variability resulting from the experimental manipulation. Participants, on average, only correctly paired 1.85 out of 12 female heads to the appropriate bodies, and 2.56 out of 12 male heads to the appropriate bodies. It is reasonable to assume, that participants found the task to be quite difficult across conditions, and the lack of variability in matching task scores across conditions reflects a floor effect resulting from most participants making mistakes on the majority of trials.

Finally, the scores on the matching task may have been influenced by confounding factors that were not anticipated or controlled for. It was anticipated that participants would make more mistakes when completing female matching task trials than when completing male matching task trials. This pattern of results was anticipated because past research on sexual objectification has shown that more mistakes are made when attempting to match the heads and bodies of women when one views women in a sexually objectified manner (Gervais et al., 2012). However, one could argue that in this measure sexual objectification could yield more mistakes on male than female matching trials, rather than fewer mistakes. Recall that in Study 2 males took longer to disengage

their attention away from nude images of women than did females. It is possible, that sexual objectification could lead male participants to take longer to complete trials in which images of women are presented than trials in which images of men are presented. In other words, it is possible that male participants would made fewer mistakes on the female target trials because they should be more careful in their deliberations compared to their deliberations on male matching trials.

Study 4

Study 4 was undertaken with a different goal than Studies 2 and 3. Studies 2 and 3 looked at whether social dominance increases the sexual objectification of women, whereas the goal of Study 4 was to determine if sexually objectifying women increases patriarchy support. One way in which hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths reinforce a social hierarchy is by increasing support for it (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, if sexual objectification is a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth that reinforces patriarchy, as proposed, sexually objectifying should increase patriarchy support. Moreover, sexual objectification should increase patriarchy support more among low SDO individuals than high SDO individuals, and particularly among low SDO men. SDO reflects the general tendency to endorse social hierarchies and patriarchy support reflects the endorsement of a particular type of social hierarchy, two concepts that are strongly related (Schmitt & Wirth, 2009). Thus, SDO and patriarchy support should be strongly positively correlated. As a result, the baseline patriarchy support levels of high SDO individuals should be high and possibly impervious to increases, whereas the baseline patriarchy support levels of low SDO individuals should be low and possibly more malleable. As a result, it should be more likely to increase

how much low SDO individuals support patriarchy compared to high SDO individuals. Furthermore, when women support patriarchy it has the negative consequence of legitimizing the subordinate status of their gender ingroup. In contrast, when men endorse patriarchy it legitimizes the desirable, dominant status of their gender ingroup. Consequently, men, compared to women, should be more likely to endorse patriarchy. Even so, the members of subordinate groups do tend to participate in their own subordination to a degree (Pratto et al., 2006) and, as shown in Study 1, support ideologies that legitimize the unequal gender power distribution (see also, Pratto & Walker, 2004). Thus, we should also expect to observe a similar pattern of increase in support for patriarchy among low SDO women (compared to high SDO women) after engaging in sexual objectification; albeit, to a lesser degree than men. In sum, in Study 4 I evaluated whether the sexual objectification of women was more likely to increase patriarchy support among low SDO individuals, and whether this outcome was more likely to occur among men compared to women.

Method

Participants

This study drew from a participant pool of introductory psychology students at the University of Oklahoma. Participants completed the study in partial fulfillment of a research exposure requirement in their introductory psychology course. Two hundred eighteen participants took part in this study (85 males). Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: 70.2% as Caucasian, 8.7% as African American, 7.8% as

Latino/Hispanic, 6.0% as Asian, 4.6% as an ethnicity other than those assessed, and 2.8% as Middle Eastern. Age ranged from 17 to 37 years old (M = 19.2).

Design and Procedure

Three factors were included as predictors of patriarchy support in this study. Two of the factors corresponded to gender and individual differences in SDO (measured as a continuous variable). In addition, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were either led to focus on the physical features of women (*sexual objectification condition*) or not (*control condition*). Thus, the complete design of the study included gender, an SDO measure, and a sexual objectification manipulation as between-subjects predictors of patriarchy support.

At the beginning of the study, participants completed the same measure of SDO that was completed in Studies 1 and 3 (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) before proceeding to a sexual objectification manipulation task. In this task, participants were randomly assigned to either focus on the physical features of women (*sexual objectification condition*) or non-physical features of women (*control condition*) (Gray et al., 2011). Participants were informed that this task measured first impressions, and that the study was designed to assess what factors lead to consensus in first impressions across people. During this task, participants viewed eight images of women, each for 3 seconds. The same images were presented to participants in both conditions (see Appendix I). After an image was displayed for 3 seconds, the computer automatically presented the first of four questions assessing the participant's impressions of the pictured woman. For the four questions, participants in the sexual objectification condition were asked to rate

how attractive, sexy, pretty, and cute each woman was. Alternatively, participants in the control condition were asked to rate the women on how likely they were to have visited Egypt, how likely they were to enjoy Haitian cuisine, how likely they were to play Badminton as a hobby, and how likely they were to put on their left shoe before their right.

Upon completion of the sexual objectification manipulation task, participants completed a measure assessing patriarchy support. Finally, participants completed a demographics survey that assessed sex, ethnicity, and age.

Measures

Social dominance orientation. The 16-item SDO_6 measure was used to assess social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix A). Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree completely*) to 7 (*Agree completely*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*), also labeled. After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of social hierarchy. The 16 item measure had good internal reliability ($\alpha = .91$).

Appearance-based ratings. During the sexual objectification manipulation task, participants rated eight pictured women on four traits related to physical appearance (sexual objectification condition) or not related to physical appearance (control condition), completing a total of 32 ratings over the course of the task. The pictured women were rated on 5-point Likert scales ranging from 1 *(Not at all)* to 5 *(Extremely).*

The 32 item physical appearance measure was internally reliable in the sexual objectification condition (α = .94).

Patriarchy support. Nine items that focused on men maintaining power over women were adapted from two preexisting measures (Mahalik et al., 2003; Springer & Mouzon, 2011), and used to assess patriarchy support (α = .85; see Appendix J). This questionnaire contains opinion statements, such as, "*When a husband and wife make decisions about buying major things for the home, the husband should have the final say.*" and, "*It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.*" Participants indicated their agreement with each statement on an 11-point scale ranging from 1 to 11 that included the following labels: *1 (Disagree extremely), 3 (Disagree mostly), 5 (Disagree slightly), 7 (Agree slightly), 9 (Agree mostly),* and *11 (Agree extremely).* After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating greater patriarchy support. The nine-item measure had good internal reliability (α = .91).

Demographic Questionnaire. A brief survey assessed participants' age, ethnicity, and sex.

Results

Means and Standard Deviations

SDO scores were below the midpoint of the scale on average (*M* = 3.10, *SD* = 1.17). On average, SDO scores for men (*M* = 3.15, *SD* = 1.05) were comparable to those of women (*M* = 2.92, *SD* = 1.10). Patriarchy support scores were also below the

midpoint of the response scale (M = 3.88, SD = 1.59) for both men (M = 4.35, SD = 1.14) and women (M = 3.59, SD = 1.75) on average.

Factor Analysis on the Patriarchy Support Measure

In order to validate the patriarchy support measure that was used in this study, I conducted a factor analysis to evaluate whether the nine items included in the measure assessed a single construct. An exploratory factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood Estimation suggested that a single factor underlies the nine items (Factor 1 Eigenvalue = 4.34 [accounting for 48.23% of the variance], Eigenvalues for other possible factors at or below 1). As Table 4 shows, all nine items loaded well on Factor 1. This outcome coupled with the face validity of the items suggested that the items were all assessing the same construct: patriarchy support. Factor loadings on the patriarchy support factor ranged from .37 to .80. When combined, the thirteen items had a strong positive correlation with the SDO_6 measure, r (214) = .51, $p < .01$.

Effect of Sexual Objectification on Support for Patriarchy by Sex and SDO

Before conducting the main analyses, I explored the data for outliers. Two participants were identified as outliers, with patriarchy support scores more than three standard deviations above the sample mean. Data from these two individuals were excluded from subsequent analyses, leaving data from 216 participants.

It was anticipated that sexual objectification would increase patriarchy support, and that this increase would be especially pronounced among low SDO men. High SDO individuals tend to consistently support social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, high SDO individuals were expected to show strong support for patriarchy with

or without exposure to the sexual objectification manipulation. In contrast, low SDO individuals are less likely to support social hierarchies. Thus, I predicted that a sexual objectification manipulation would likely increase patriarchy support levels in low SDO individuals if sexual objectification reflects a legitimizing myth. Additionally, sexual objectification would more likely increase patriarchy in men than women because women should be somewhat resistant to endorse ideologies that support their subordination to men (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, I explored if sexual objectification condition interacted with sex and SDO to influence patriarchy support levels.

To examine if the sexual objectification manipulation led to an increase in patriarchy support among low SDO men, a multiple regression was conducted with patriarchy support serving as the dependent variable. In this analysis, SDO (derived from a centered version of the predictor; Aiken & West, 1991), sexual objectification condition (coded as *control* = 0; *objectification* = 1), sex (coded as *female* = 0; *male* = 1), and the two- and three-way interactions between these variables were regressed on patriarchy support.

The overall model predicting patriarchy support was significant, $R^2 = .31$, $F(7, 208) = 13.36$, $p < .01$, $f^2 = .45$. The analysis revealed a significant main effect for SDO, $\beta = .87$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .22$. As levels of SDO increased, levels of patriarchy support also increased. Sexual objectification condition did not predict patriarchy support, $\beta = .02$, $p = .95$, nor did sex, $\beta = .43$, $p = .13$. Furthermore, the two-way interactions corresponding to the Sex x Sexual Objectification Condition interaction, $\beta = .26$, $p = .52$, the Sex x SDO interaction, $\beta = .04$, $p = .89$, and the SDO x Sexual Objectification

Condition interaction, β = -.05, p = .82, did not predict patriarchy support. However, the analysis yielded a marginally-significant SDO x Sex x Sexual Objectification Condition interaction, β = -.64, p = .09, sr^2 = .01 (see Table 3). This marginally-significant three-way interaction was decomposed using simple slopes analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). SDO interacted with objectification condition among males, β = -.23, p < .05, sr^2 = .02, but not among females, β = -.02, p = .82. As predicted, the interaction between SDO and condition among males resulted from a tendency for low SDO males (*i.e., who scored 1 SD below the mean*) to support patriarchy more in the sexual objectification condition than in the control condition, β = .27, p < .05, sr^2 = .02, but for high SDO males (*i.e., who scored 1 SD above the mean*) to display no such preference, β = -.13, p = .24. Among females, objectification condition was unrelated to support for patriarchy—regardless of whether they were low, β = -.01, p = .94, or high, β = .00, p = .99, in SDO. Thus, the marginally significant interaction supported the study hypothesis that a sexual objectification manipulation would increase patriarchy support among low SDO men (see Figure 3). However, sexual objectification condition did not influence patriarchy support among women or high SDO men.

Exploratory Analyses using the Attractiveness Ratings

In the sexual objectification condition, I evaluated if the physical appearance of the pictured women was evaluated differently by men and women. Past research has found that when women are perceived as sexy by men, they are sexually objectified more than otherwise by men. However, women's ratings of sexiness by other women do not correlate with the extent to which they are sexually objectified by women (Vaes et al., 2011). It is possible that in the present study, men's perceptions of the women's

sexiness accentuated the impact of the sexual objectification manipulation for them. If this was the case, the sexual objectification manipulation may have influenced men more strongly than women. I conducted a One-Way ANOVA to evaluate if sex predicted the overall physical attractiveness ratings in the sexual objectification condition. The analysis revealed that sex was unrelated to overall attractiveness ratings, $F(1, 106) = 0.76$, $p = .39$. A different one-way ANOVA was conducted to evaluate if men found the pictured women sexier than did female participants. The analysis revealed a significant effect of sex, $F(1, 106) = 3.80$, $p = .05$, $sr^2 = .04$. Men rated the pictured women as more sexy ($M = 2.813$, $SD = 0.65$) than women did ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.76$).

Next, I conducted a multiple regression to determine if ratings of sexiness interacted with sex and SDO to influence patriarchy support in the sexual objectification condition. It is possible that sexual objectification condition was more effective at influencing patriarchy support among low SDO men than low SDO women because perceptions about the pictured women's sexiness increased the impact of the manipulation for men. Past research suggests that ratings of sexiness influence sexual objectification among men but not women (Vaes et al., 2011). Thus, it is possible that the sexual objectification manipulation was more effective for men than women at influencing patriarchy support. More specifically, men's perceptions of the pictured women's sexiness may have enhanced the manipulation's effectiveness for them, accounting for why sexual objectification increased patriarchy support among low SDO men, but not low SDO women. To examine if in the sexual objectification condition, sexiness ratings interacted with sex and SDO to influence patriarchy support, a multiple

regression was conducted with patriarchy support serving as the dependent variable. In this analysis, perceived sexiness and SDO (each derived from centered versions of the predictors; Aiken & West, 1991), sex (coded as 0 = *female*; 1 = *male*), and the two- and three-way interaction between these variables, were regressed on patriarchy support. This analysis produced significant main effects of sex, $\beta = -.92$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .04$, and SDO, $\beta = .55$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .08$, such that men supported patriarchy more than women and as SDO increased support for patriarchy increased. However, perceived sexiness, $\beta = .12$, $p = .25$, was unrelated to patriarchy support. The two-way interaction, Sex x Perceived Sexiness was marginally significant, $\beta = .85$, $p = .08$, $sr^2 = .02$, and the two-way interaction, SDO x Sex was significant, $\beta = .78$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .04$. However, the two-way interaction, Perceived Sexiness x SDO, $\beta = .27$, $p = .28$, did not predict patriarchy support. Finally, the critical three-way interaction, Perceived Sexiness x SDO x Sex was non-significant, $\beta = .06$, $p = .80$. Thus, although the sexiness ratings may have influenced patriarchy support more strongly among men than women, in general, the sexiness ratings did not influence patriarchy support more for men than women at different SDO levels.

Discussion

The results of Study 4 supported the hypothesis that low SDO men would be more likely to support patriarchy when objectifying women. These results revealed that sexually objectifying behavior increased patriarchy support for at least some people, and supports the assumption that the sexual objectification of women is a legitimizing myth that reinforces patriarchy.

In this study, high SDO men and women regardless of SDO level, did not differ in their support of patriarchy across conditions. It is possible that the relatively high patriarchy support levels of high SDO men and women across conditions rendered their patriarchy support levels impervious to the influence of sexually objectifying behavior. It is also notable that in the sexual objectification condition, the levels of patriarchy support expressed by low SDO men approached the levels espoused by high SDO men, given that low SDO men in the control condition expressed very low levels of patriarchy support.

The results of Study 4 did not support the hypothesis that sexual objectification would influence patriarchy support for low SDO women. Perhaps sexual objectification does not directly enhance attitudes about patriarchy in women, but instead influences women's patriarchy support in less direct ways. Directly supporting patriarchy for women is akin to supporting the subjugation of one's gender ingroup, an act most people would likely find undesirable. However, past research has found that when women come to internalize sexually objectifying attitudes in the form of self-objectification, they become less likely to engage in social activism that would bolster their social standing (Calogero, 2013). Thus, it is possible that sexual objectification indirectly leads women to accept a subordinate status by first enhancing self-objectification. Additionally, it is possible that when women sexually objectify other women, it has a different effect on them compared to men. Past research has found that women find sexually objectified women to be vulgar and superficial, whereas men, in contrast, find them to be sexually attractive (Vaes et al., 2011). Thus, sexually objectifying women may trigger different associated perceptions in men than women,

and these differences may account for why low SDO men, but not low SDO women, increased their support of patriarchy in the sexual objectification condition.

Furthermore, it is worthwhile noting that across conditions in Study 4, participants viewed pictures depicted women in somewhat revealing clothing, which likely weakened the impact of the manipulation. Although participants in the control condition did not answer questions about the physical appearance of the pictured women, the content of the pictures themselves likely elicited some degree of sexual objectification in all participants. Past research has found that women depicted in a revealing manner are sexually objectified more than those not depicted in this manner (e.g., Gray et al., 2011). Thus, although low SDO men who answered questions about physical appearance supported patriarchy more than low SDO men who did not answer questions about physical appearance, it is likely that the obtained effect would have been stronger had participants in the control condition viewed neutral images rather than images portraying women in a revealing manner.

Study 5

Study 5 explored a meditational model that focused on social dominance, sexual objectification, and support for patriarchy as the factors of interest. Whereas Studies 2 and 3 focused on predicting sexual objectification from social dominance, and Study 4 focused on predicting patriarchy support from sexual objectification, this study focused on testing the path from social dominance to patriarchy support through sexual objectification. First, this model suggests that social dominance would produce an increase in patriarchy support. Social dominance reflects the general endorsement of

social hierarchy, and patriarchy support reflects the endorsement of a specific type of social hierarchy. Past research has shown that gender differences in social dominance orientation are positively related to gender-based interests with regards to patriarchy (Schmitt & Wirth, 2009). Thus, increasing the general endorsement of social hierarchy should increase the endorsement of patriarchy. Secondly, it was anticipated that social dominance would increase sexual objectification. Drawing on the rationale presented in studies 2 and 3, I argued that sexual objectification functions as a legitimizing myth that reinforces patriarchy. As social dominance level increases, so does support for hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). If the sexual objectification of women functions as a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth as predicted, an increase in social dominance should increase sexual objectification. Additionally, sexual objectification is expected to increase patriarchy support. Because it was predicted that sexual objectification functions as a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth with respect to patriarchy, sexual objectification was expected to reinforce patriarchy. This is consistent with the view that one means by which a legitimizing myth can reinforce a social hierarchy is by increasing support for it (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, it was predicted that sexual objectification would partially mediate the relationship between social dominance and patriarchy support. I view the sexual objectification of women as just one type of legitimizing myth that reinforces patriarchy, and other legitimizing myths such as gender stereotypes and sexist attitudes (Pratto & Walker, 2004), should also contribute to the legitimization of patriarchy. As social dominance increases, sexual objectification should increase, and

this increase in sexual objectification should partially account for higher levels of patriarchy support.

To test directly the path from social dominance, to sexual objectification, and patriarchy support, this study used an experimental manipulation of social dominance. The manipulation consisted of the same threat to the dominant status of men in gender hierarchies used in Study 3. When individuals who strongly identify with a group to which they belong perceive a challenge to their group's authority positions, they are likely to take steps to reestablish those status positions (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). Consequently, when perceiving a threat to their ingroup, individuals who highly identify with the group are more likely than those with a low group identity to advocate practices that would preserve the preexisting social hierarchy. From my perspective, the sexual objectification of women and patriarchy support are practices that preserve patriarchy. Thus, when the dominant status of men is threatened, men who highly identify as male should become more likely to sexually objectify women and support patriarchy than men who do not strongly identify with their gender group. As a result, sexual objectification should mediate the impact of a social dominance-based threat on patriarchy support more among men who strongly identify as male than among men with a weaker group identity (see Figure 4). This hypothesis was explored in Study 5.

Method

Participants

One hundred fifty three male participants signed up to take part in the study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk website. The study was hosted through Qualtrics.

Participants were provided with a link to the Qualtrics page hosting the study when they agreed to take part in the study on Mechanical Turk. Participation was limited to individuals 18 years of age or older, who were male, and who were living in the United States. Participants were 35.2 years of age on average, and ranged from 19 to 68 years of age. Participants identified their ethnicity as follows: 69.9% as Caucasian, 15.7% as Asian, 6.5% as Black, 6.5% as Latino, and 1.3% identified with a different ethnicity. Participants completed the study in exchange for $.50 cents.

Design and Procedure

Mechanical Turk has preset settings to limit study participation based on location and age, using information provided in each individual user's profile. These preset filters were used to prevent individuals who were not 18 years or older and living in the United States from viewing the study. Individuals who passed these initial screening criteria were provided with a brief overview of the study on the Mechanical Turk website when they clicked on the study. These individuals could then click a button to respond to three demographic questions in exchange for two cents. The questions assessed the age, sex, and ethnicity of potential participants. This procedure was used to ensure that only males took part in the study. Those individuals who did not identify themselves as male were not allowed to proceed with the study, and were presented with a message that indicated that they were not eligible to take part in the study. These individuals received two cents for responding to the screening questions.

Eligible participants were first asked to complete a measure of male gender identification. Next, participants proceeded to the social dominance manipulation task.

For this task, participants were randomly assigned to condition and read a brief news article that was used to manipulate social dominance levels in Study 3. Individuals in the control condition read about how organizations were adapting to climate change, whereas individuals in the social dominance condition read about how women were better suited than men to be leaders and that women were likely to hold a greater proportion of high status jobs in the near future (see Appendix G).

Next, participants completed a measure designed to assess sexually objectifying attitudes toward women. After completing this measure, participants proceeded to complete a measure that assessed patriarchy support. Finally, participants responded to two manipulation check questions.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire. A brief survey assessed participants' age, ethnicity, and sex

Male gender identification. An 8-item measure assessing male gender identification was used to assess the extent to which participants identified with their gender group (see Appendix K). This measure was originally modified from a measure of collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and used in previous research (e.g., Schmader, 2002). Sample items include, "*Being a male is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am*" and "*In general, I'm glad to be a male*." Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*), also labeled. After reverse coding appropriate items, mean scores were

calculated, with higher scores indicating greater identification with the male gender. The eight item measure was internally reliable (α = .85).

Sexual objectification. A 7-item measure was used to assess sexual objectification. This measure contained four items that I developed, in addition to three items adopted from the Sexual Objectification Scale-Revised (Morse, 2007) that assessed attitudes regarding the evaluation of women based on their physical appearance. The questions on this measure were opinion statements, such as: "*It's okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know*", and "*There's nothing wrong with rating women on their physical appearance*" (see Appendix L). Participants responded to each attitudinal statement using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree completely*) to 7 (*Agree completely*), with the midpoint, 4 (*Neither agree nor disagree*), also labeled. Mean scores were calculated, with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of sexual objectification. The seven item measure was internally reliable (α = .85).

Patriarchy support. A measure of resource allocation decisions was used to assess patriarchy support (see Appendix M). A variant of this measure was used in past research to compare the extent to which participants allocated resources between Whites and minority students (Sidanius, Haley, Molina, & Pratto, 2007). The measure was modified in the current study to refer to the dominant and subordinate groups in patriarchal systems (males and females, respectively). While completing this allocation decisions task, participants were asked to "*Assume that a large state university has decided to allocate an unspecified amount of money to the support of various student organizations. Some of the organizations consist primarily of male students while others*

consist primarily of female students." Participants then selected one of seven alternatives, indicating how much money they felt should be allocated to the student organizations. The measure contained the following scale-point labels, with the sum to be distributed to male organizations appearing first in each pair: a) $70,000; $10,000, b) $90,000; $50,000, c) $110,000; $90,000, d) $130,000; $130,000, e) $150,000; $170,000, f) $170,000; $210,000, and g) $190,000; $250,000. Scores were reverse coded so that higher scores indicate greater patriarchy support.

Manipulation check items. To determine if the manipulation was viewed to threaten men's dominant status in the experimental condition, participants responded to the item, "*To what extent did you find the news article that you read to be threatening to individuals of your gender?*" on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*). In addition, in order to assess if participants paid attention to the content of the articles read, they were asked to respond to a single item question asking whether they read about an article about "climate change" or "women being good leaders."

Results

Means and Standard Deviations

Male gender identification scores were below the midpoint of the response scale on average (M = 2.43, SD = 1.05), whereas sexual objectification scores (M = 4.17, SD = 1.25) and patriarchy support scores (M = 4.14, SD = 0.93) were slightly above the midpoint of the response scales on average.

Sexual Objectification Measure Factor Analysis

Participants who failed to correctly identify what the news article they read was about were excluded from all analyses (n = 2). Next, I conducted a factor analysis to validate the sexual objectification measure that was used in this study, determining if all seven items assessed a single construct. An exploratory factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood Estimation suggested that a single factor underlaid all seven items (Factor 1 Eigenvalue = 3.96 [accounting for 56.62% of the variance], Eigenvalues for other possible factors at or below 1). As Table 5 shows, all 7 items loaded well on Factor 1. This outcome coupled with the face validity of the items suggested that the items were all assessing sexual objectification. Factor loadings on the sexual objectification factor ranged from .53 to .81. When combined, the seven items were moderately positively correlated with the male gender identification scale, r (149) = .32, p < .01.

Manipulation Check

Past research has found that individuals who strongly identify with a group perceive more threat than others when outgroups threaten to overtake their social status (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). Thus, if the manipulation was successful, we would expect that the news article that participants read in the social dominance condition would be particularly threatening to males high in gender identification. To determine if the manipulation was viewed as more threatening to men high in gender identification, I evaluated scores on the manipulation check item in the social dominance condition. A correlational analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between male gender identification *and* scores on the manipulation check item in the social dominance

condition. Counter to predictions, male gender identification did not correlate with perceived threat in the social dominance condition, $r(60) = -.09$, $p = .42$, suggesting that the patriarchy threat news article was not perceived as more threatening for men high in gender identification than men low in gender identification.

Conditional Indirect Model

To examine moderation effects in the proposed conditional indirect model, I used the analytic methods discussed in Preacher et al. (2007). In this model, it was predicted that social dominance would lead to patriarchy support through sexual objectification, and that this relationship would be stronger among individuals who identified highly with the male gender. This analysis produced two multiple regression models. The mediator variable model treated sexually objectifying attitudes as the dependent variable, and the dependent variable model treated patriarchy support as the dependent variable. In the mediator variable model, male gender identification significantly predicted sexual objectification, $b = .50$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .05$. This analysis revealed that individuals who were more likely to identify themselves with their gender group, engaged in more sexual objectification. Social dominance condition did not significantly influence sexual objectification, $b = .95$, $p = .37$. Furthermore, the Male Gender Identification x Social Dominance Condition interaction did not predict sexual objectification, $b = -.23$, $p = .23$. In the dependent variable model that tested the influence of male gender identification, social dominance condition, and sexual objectification on patriarchy support, male gender identification, $b = .11$, $p = .37$, sexual objectification, $b = .01$, $p = .91$, and social dominance condition, $b = .04$, $p = .97$, were found not to influence patriarchy support. Furthermore, the Male Gender Identification

x Condition interaction did not predict patriarchy support, b =-.04, p = .78. Thus, the analyses failed to identify sexual objectification as a significant mediator, and no relationship was found between social dominance condition and patriarchy support. With 5000 resamples, the conditional indirect effect was non-significant for men who did not identify highly with their gender (95% BCa CI: {-0.0416, 0.0248}) and men who identified highly with their gender (95% BCa CI: {-0.0892, 0.0685}).

Discussion

The results of Study 5 failed to support the proposed conditional indirect model that suggested that sexual objectification would mediate the relationship between social dominance and patriarchy support, especially for men who identified highly with their gender. Several factors in the proposed model were not related to one another as anticipated. Social dominance, for example, did not predict patriarchy support. This finding was unexpected, as social dominance reflects the general endorsement of social hierarchy, and is positively associated with attitudes about patriarchy (Schmitt & Wirth, 2009). This finding could suggest that the social dominance manipulation failed to influence social dominance levels in the intended manner, or that the patriarchy support measure was not sensitive enough to capture variability in attitudes about patriarchy. Although the social dominance manipulation was closely modeled after similar manipulations used in prior research (e.g., Pratto & Shih, 2000; Quist & Resendez, 2002), it may have failed to threaten perceptions of social dominance as intended, as in Study 3. This perspective is supported by how participants responded on the manipulation check item. Men high in gender identification were expected to report feeling more threatened in the patriarchy threat condition than men low in gender

identification (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008); however, the extent to which participants reported feeling threatened in the patriarchy support condition was unrelated to their gender identification levels.

In addition, the patriarchy support measure may not have been sensitive enough to capture variability in attitudes about patriarchy. Indeed, there was little variability in responding on the patriarchy support measure across conditions. On this single-item measure, 129 of 153 participants (84.3%) chose the option that indicated that they would distribute an equal amount of money to male and female organizations. This can be explained by issues arising from the inclusion of neutral response options on Likert scale items, noted by several researchers in the past. For instance, people often select a neutral response option if they wish to avoid the cognitive effort required to pick a satisfactory answer (Krosnick et al., 2002). People are especially likely to avoid cognitive effort in responding when unmotivated (Garland, 1991; Johns, 2005). Because the study sample was primarily composed of adults beyond the typical age of college students (M = 35.2), it is possible that the tendency toward neutral responding on the patriarchy support measure reflected a lack of motivation by participants to respond to an issue that lacked self-relevance. If an individual does not currently attend college or work in a college environment, he or she may be largely uninterested in how monetary resources are distributed in that setting. Thus, individuals in this study without college ties may have been largely unmotivated to indicate how monetary resources should be distributed between male and female groups in a college, leading many of them to choose the neutral response option on the patriarchy support measure.

Finally, social dominance did not influence sexual objectification, and sexual objectification did not influence patriarchy support in this study. Studies 1 and 2 also found that manipulations of social dominance failed to lead to changes in sexually objectifying behavior. Thus, it is possible that a social dominance manipulation will not influence people to alter their sexually objectifying behavior, as none of the current studies found supporting results for this hypothesis. Regarding the influence of sexual objectification on patriarchy support, however, sexual objectification was found to influence patriarchy support in Study 4 for low SDO men, demonstrating that sexual objectification can at least lead to increased patriarchy support as assessed by some measures. The finding that sexual objectification did not predict patriarchy support in the present study may again reflect that the patriarchy support measure that was used in this study was unable to capture variability in patriarchy support due to most participants choosing the neutral response option.

The only significant finding in this study indicated that male gender identification predicted sexual objectification. It was found that the more men identified with their gender, the more they tended to see women as sex objects. This finding may reflect a mere association between these two factors. It has been argued that the sexual objectification of women is a norm of masculinity (Mahalik et al., 2003). Gender roles (which include the endorsement of gender norms) are believed to form the basis of gender identity (Buss, 1995; Eagly, 1987). Thus, the extent to which men identify with their gender might be expected to be positively associated with the extent to which they sexually objectify women if the sexual objectification of women is a norm of masculinity.

General Discussion

The goal of this research was to test the assumption that sexual objectification operates as a legitimizing myth that promotes and reinforces patriarchy. This assumption was tested in five different studies designed to assess the relationship between SDO and sexual objectification, and the effect of sexual objectification on endorsement of patriarchy. Overall, the results of these studies provided partial support for the thesis proposed in this research. In Study 1, those who scored higher than average in SDO reported higher than average sexual objectification attitudes. This was true for both men and women, supporting the tenets of social dominance theory that suggest that hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths are often endorsed by both dominant and subordinate group members (Pratto et al., 2006). As expected, SDO was more strongly correlated with sexual objectification among males than among females. Because men possess a dominant status in patriarchal societies, they should be expected to endorse legitimizing myths that reinforce patriarchy more than women (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Even so, high SDO individuals from subordinate groups tend to endorse hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths more than their low SDO counterparts (Pratto, et al., 2006), which accounts for the finding that SDO was positively correlated with sexual objectification in women. When subordinate group members have high SDO, these individuals endorse practices benefitting dominant groups more than they would otherwise (e.g., Sidanius, Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994). High SDO women's objectification of other women would appear to undermine attempts by women to advance into high status occupations, due to sexual objectification, causing women to be viewed as less competent and agentic than non-objectified women, and as possessing

a lesser moral status (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan et al., 2010; Schwarz & Kurz, 1989; Gray et al., 2011).

The results of Study 4 were partially consistent with the main assumption of the current research. In this study, I tested the prediction that sexually objectifying women should increase patriarchy support, especially among low SDO men and women. Since high SDO males, and to some extent high SDO women, are very likely to show strong support for patriarchy, I did not expect that sexual objectifying behavior would increase their levels of patriarchy support. In Study 4, sexually objectifying behavior led to increased support for patriarchy among low SDO males, but not among high SDO males or among women. The effects of sexual objectification on patriarchy support observed in this study are consistent with the tenets of social dominance theory. From this perspective, it would be beneficial for dominant groups to have practices that bolster support for their dominant status among ingroup members who do not generally support their group's dominant status. Because high SDO individuals in dominant groups tend to endorse social hierarchies to a greater extent than do their low SDO counterparts, it is not as crucial to have practices that increase group support by these individuals. Study 4 may provide useful information to our understanding of how male homosocial behavior reinforces patriarchy in our society among male ingroup members, due to how applicable this sexual objectification manipulation is to everyday settings. The sexual objectification manipulation in Study 4 reflected an activity—the evaluation of women based on their physical appearance—which norms of masculinity encourage men to engage in (Mahalik et al., 2003). Thus, societal norms that encourage men to evaluate the physical appearance of women may lead men who do not normally endorse

patriarchy to become more supportive of it when they conform to these masculine norms.

Furthermore, the results of Study 4 have further implications for our understanding of social dominance theory. Generally, low SDO individuals are found not to endorse hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, past research has assessed endorsement of these legitimizing myths as a dependent variable or in correlational studies. To my knowledge, this is the first study in which participants are forced to engage in a behavior that presumably reflects a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth to assess how doing so influences social hierarchy endorsement. It was found that men who do not typically support patriarchy would support patriarchy more when they sexually objectified women. Thus, when low SDO individuals engaged in behavior presumably reflecting a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth, they became more likely to endorse the associated social hierarchy.

It is known that both dominant and subordinate group members tend to endorse hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths to some degree (Sidanius & Prattio, 1999). Accordingly, in Study 4 I also expected to find that low SDO women would support patriarchy more when they sexually objectified women (the same as low SDO men). However, this prediction was not supported. Low SDO women did not support patriarchy any more when they objectified other women than when they did not objectify women. Perhaps sexual objectification is experienced differently by men and women. For instance, past research has found that women find sexually objectified women to be vulgar and superficial, whereas men find sexually objectified women to be physically attractive (Vaes et al., 2011). Thus, perhaps women who objectified in the

study felt the desire to distance themselves from other women, rather than necessarily wanting to support patriarchy more.

Additionally, it is important to note that there are multiple ways in which sexual objectification can influence patriarchy indirectly. For example, women's sexual objectification of other women may not lead them to support patriarchy more than they normally do. Instead, women indirectly reinforce patriarchy when they themselves have been sexually objectified. Research has shown that sexual objectification affects women in debilitating ways that may, ultimately, reinforce patriarchy (Syzmanski et al., 2011). For instance, it has been found that to the extent that women internalize sexually objectifying attitudes about them, they also are less likely to engage in social activism or object to their subordinate status (Calogero, 2013). Thus, women who are sexually objectified may reinforce patriarchy indirectly when they choose not to challenge it.

A number of proposed hypotheses were not supported in the present research. First, the hypothesis that experimentally increasing SDO levels would increase sexual objectification was not supported in Studies 2, 3, and 5. In these studies the manipulations of SDO failed to influence sexually objectifying behavior. Study 2 used feedback about one's leadership skills to impact SDO, whereas Studies 3 and 5 used a patriarchy-threat based manipulation to affect men's SDO. A test of the effects of the manipulation on SDO in each of the three studies revealed that the manipulations were not successful. In Study 2, levels of SDO remain unchanged after exposure to false feedback about leadership ability. Similarly, in Studies 3 and 5, perceived threat to group status did not differ between men high and low in SDO, as predicted.

It appears that the issue of null findings in these studies appears to lie largely with the SDO manipulations in those studies being ineffective. Evidence suggests that sexually objectifying behavior was assessed successfully in these three studies. In Study 2, male participants tended to take disproportionately longer to disengage their attention from the nude images of women relative to clothed images of women, compared to female participants. Because it takes longer to disengage one's attention from a stimulus when sexually objectifying it, this finding suggests that males were more likely to sexually objectify the photographed nude women than were females. This finding was consistent with the results of Study 1 and past theorizing suggesting that men are most often the instigators of objectification toward women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1999). Furthermore, in Study 3, men were found to make more mistakes in matching up the bodies and heads of pictured women than pictured men. When an individual is sexually objectified, he or she is seen as separate body parts rather than as a complete person and these body parts are, consequently, viewed as interchangeable with those from other bodies that can serve the same purpose (Gervais, et al., 2012). Thus, this finding from Study 3 suggests that the pictured women were objectified by the male participants overall more than were the pictured men. Thus, this pattern of results suggests that the sexual objectification measure in Study 3 was capturing the construct of sexual objectification to some degree. Finally, the measure of sexual objectification that was used in Study 5 was derived from established items assessing sexual objectification, not only proved to be reliable but it was correlated with a measure of male identification, as predicted. Past research has shown that sexual objectification is positively correlated with the endorsement of masculine norms, presumably a factor that is closely related to

male gender identification. Thus, it would appear that the sexual objectification measure used in Study 5 was indeed assessing sexual objectification.

Even though these dependent measures do appear to be capturing sexually objectifying behavior to some degree, one of them may not be particularly sensitive to variability in sexually objectifying behavior. There was little variability in scores on the sexual objectification measure that was used in Study 3. For this measure, participants attempted to correctly match the heads of men and women to their associated bodies after viewing composite images of these people (Gervais et al., 2012). Most participants had very low scores on the measure, indicating that they found the matching task to be very difficult. The difficulty of the matching task may have resulted in a floor effect on the objectification measure, making it difficult to capture variability in sexual objectification.

In hindsight, it may have been beneficial to assess additional moderating factors in Studies 2, 3, and 5 to better capture the desired pattern of results. Although past research has demonstrated a causal relationship between group status and the endorsement of group-based hierarchies (e.g., Guimond et al., 2003), some research has also found that high group status does not always lead to support for social inequality. Specifically, highly identified group members have positive attitudes toward social inequality in response to intergroup threat based on the extent to which they perceive their group to be of high status (Morrison, Fast, & Ybarra, 2009). Although men are generally regarded as a high status group within the gender social hierarchy, and being a leader is often regarded as a high status position, some participants in the present studies may not have regarded their membership in these groups to reflect high status

positions. Those individuals who did not hold their membership in these groups in high esteem would not likely respond to their membership in these groups with increased SDO levels.

In Study 5, the hypothesis that especially in men who highly identified with their gender, sexual objectification would mediate an effect of social dominance on patriarchy support was not supported. In this study, not only did a social dominance manipulation fail to influence sexual objectification as discussed earlier, but social dominance and sexual objectification were unrelated to patriarchy support. Social dominance and sexual objectification may have not been related to patriarchy support in this study because the patriarchy support was inefficient at capturing variability in patriarchy support. The vast majority of participants in this study selected the neutral response option on the patriarchy support measure. Most participants may have selected the neutral response option because they were unmotivated to complete the patriarchy support task. This task was likely unrelated to the personal interests of most participants. That is, the sample of participants in this study was largely composed of mature adults who were beyond the typical age of college students, but the patriarchy support measure asked participants to consider how monetary funds should be distributed in a college setting. Because this task was not personally relevant to most of them, these participants were likely uninterested and chose the neutral response option to avoid putting forth cognitive effort (Krosnick et al., 2002).

It is worthwhile to address briefly the contrasting findings between Studies 4 and 5 regarding the relationship between sexual objectification and patriarchy support. Study 4 showed that sexual objectification predicted patriarchy support for low SDO

men. However, sexual objectification did not predict patriarchy support in Study 5. These contradicting findings may, again, reflect the inefficient nature of the patriarchy support measure that was used in Study 5. Although scores on the patriarchy support measure that was used in Study 4 were relatively low on average, this measure contained several items, and scores were normally distributed. In contrast, Study 5 used a single item that appeared to assess the construct of patriarchy support poorly. Thus, the reason why sexual objectification led to patriarchy support for low SDO men in Study 4, but not in Study 5, is that the findings in Study 4 better capture the nature of the relationship between sexual objectification and patriarchy support.

Limitations and Future Directions

This research has two limitations that should be addressed. First, scales presented at the beginning of the studies may have influenced responses on later study tasks. In Study 4, for example, it is possible that the SDO measure weakened the sexual objectification manipulation. An ingroup versus outgroup mentality may have been unexpectedly elicited by introducing the concept of social hierarchy into this study, which could have led men to be uninterested in the physical appearance of women even though the sexual objectification manipulation was designed to draw attention to women's physical appearance. Similarly, scales presented at the beginning of the studies could have also influenced participant responses on the dependent measures that were used in this research. For instance, the SDO measure, which assesses attitudes about social hierarchy, may have influenced participant responses on some of the dependent measures that were used (e.g., reaction time in attention-disengagement task used in Study 2) because discrimination based on being a member of a subordinate

group has negative consequences for individuals (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and the topic of social hierarchy is, consequently, emotionally-laden for many people. Thus, thoughts about social hierarchy may have lingered in the minds of many participants while they completed the dependent measures in these studies, affecting their responses. In hindsight, it would have been beneficial to assess individual differences of interest before participants came to the experimental sessions.

A second limitation is that social desirability concerns may have limited the efficacy of the scales assessing patriarchy support in Studies 4 and 5. Societal norms dictate that people should express fair gender attitudes, which may have led some participants to suppress their attitudes supporting patriarchy. In hindsight, it would have been beneficial to assess support for patriarchy using implicit measures. Although these type of measures have not been used in past research on patriarchy, it could be possible to adapt the affect misattribution procedure to assess patriarchy support in an implicit manner (Payne, Cheng, Govorun, & Stewart, 2005). When using the affect misattribution procedure, images of Chinese ideographs are subliminally primed by pictures reflecting attitude objects in affect misattribution tasks. Presumably, image primes displaying women in submissive roles and men in dominant roles could represent the attitude objects to assess patriarchy support in this task. In the affect misattribution procedure, participants rate the extent to which they believe various Chinese ideographs have positive or negative connotations while attempting to ignore prime images; even so, ratings of the Chinese ideographs reflect affective and cognitive misattributions resulting from the attitude objects. Thus, to the extent that individuals support patriarchy, they would be expected to express that Chinese ideographs

proceeded by images of submissive women or dominant men have positive connotations.

Although the generalizability of the findings reported in this dissertation are limited in some respects, there are also a number of future directions that may warrant exploration. Based on the finding of Study 4, it would be interesting to observe whether engaging low SDO individuals in other practices that reflect hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths, results in increased support for social hierarchies associated with the legitimizing myths. For instance, if low SDO men were forced to express gender stereotypes, doing so might increase their support of gender-based social hierarchy. Although low SDO men are less likely to stereotype women (Whitley, 1999), supporting hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths may engender a form of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) that could be attenuated by changing their attitudes to show increased support for social hierarchy.

It would also be worthwhile for future research to explore if sexual objectification affects SDO levels. The results of Study 1 suggest that SDO and sexual objectification are positively correlated. However, across three studies it was found that SDO manipulations did not impact sexual objectification levels. Therefore, the direction of the relationship between SDO and sexual objectification may be different from what was expected. Instead of SDO predicting sexual objectification, it is possible that sexual objectification predicts SDO. Study 4 was the only study in the present set of studies in which sexually objectifying behavior was manipulated and attitudes towards a type of social hierarchy were assessed. It might be interesting for further research to manipulate sexual objectification, to determine if sexual objectification influences not only attitudes

about patriarchy, but also attitudes about social inequality in general, as assessed by SDO. Social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) argues that group-based social hierarchy and attitudes about group-based social hierarchy are affected by legitimizing myths. Thus, when a man comes to endorse the sexual objectification of women, his SDO should be expected to increase consequently. Even so, past research has neglected to experimentally assess the impact of legitimizing myths on SDO.

In addition, there may be other ways to manipulate social dominance orientation that are worth exploring in future research to look again experimentally at the influence of social dominance orientation on sexually objectifying behavior. Past research has found that only when high and low status ethnic group members are primed with their ethnicity do the high status group members respond by having higher SDO levels than the low status group members (Huang & Liu, 2005). Thus, it might be useful to see if merely priming men with their gender will lead them to have higher SDO levels than when they are not primed with their gender, and if this manipulation will increase sexual objectification.

Finally, it would be beneficial for future research to emphasize the role of emotions in sexual objectification. Evidence suggests that emotions influence sexual objectification, and sexually objectified individuals are perceived as experiencing emotions differently than non-objectified individuals. For instance, it has been found that men sexually objectify women to a greater extent when they are feeling sexually aroused (Vaes et al., 2011). Furthermore, people who have been objectified are perceived as experiencing emotions more intensely than when they have not been objectified (Gray, et al., 2011).

Considering the role of emotions in sexual objectification may have led to different expected results being drawn in hypotheses about the relationship between SDO and sexual objectification than those which guided this research. For instance, it is possible that men frequently inhibit their sexual objectification tendencies due to the emotions that they experience when feeling dominant. Researchers have recently argued that men are socialized to initiate and direct sexual encounters with women. However, these norms are is some way inconsistent with other societal norms that forbid men from sexually dominating women (Kiefer & Sanchez, 2007). Thus, for many men, sexual objectification may be associated with emotional ambivalence, causing anxiety from the conflicting societal norms encountered by men who are feeling dominant. Experienced anxiety when dominance is elicited could lead men to sexually objectify women less than they would if these emotions were not experienced. This view is consistent with past research that suggests that men suppress the concept of dominance following exposure to sex primes (Kiefer & Sanchez, 2007). Thus, contrary to tenents of this dissertation, it is possible that men may suppress expressions of sexuality when made to feel dominant. Such concerns could potentially be addressed by having participants take a placebo pill that they are told may lead them to experience anxiety. If participants were to misattribute negative emotions to an external source when feeling dominant, it would allow for their sexual objectification tendencies to be assessed without the influence of ambivalent anxiety. Researchers have used a similar approach to determine if cognitive dissonance has an arousal component (Zanna & Cooper, 1974).

Incorporating emotions into sexual objectification research would likely help clarify models proposed by other researchers as well. For example, some models conceptualize sexual objectification as local, rather than a global, appraisal of women driven by sexual or mating goals (Gervais, Bernard, Klein, & Allen, 2014). However, it is possible that the objectification of women is not always driven by these goals. Emotion researchers have recently argued that emotions with high motivational intensity, such as anger, fear, desire for tasty foods, as well as sexual arousal, narrow one's focus to local features (Harmon-Jones, Price, & Gable, 2012). Thus, from this perspective, feeling intense emotions towards women, such as anger of fear, could also lead to their objectification.

One final issue that needs to be addressed when conducting sexual objectification research is that researchers should carefully consider how participants may feel when they are completing any sexual objectification task. Expressions of sexual objectification may conflict with some people's religious beliefs, beliefs about their sexuality, or beliefs about the appropriateness of evaluating the physical appearance of women. Thus, the completion of these tasks may well elicit in participants an array of negative moods, such as guilt or shame. Thus, it is important that researchersengage in practices at the end of this type of studies that restore participants' mood states and eliminate any negative moods they may experience. In hindsight, I should have made an attempt to improve participant mood states at the end of these studies. For instance, a number of participants may have felt uncomfortable about viewing the nude images of women that were presented in the sexual

objectification measure that was used in Study 2. I should have employed a mood restoration procedure at the end of this study.

A number of practices could be used to restore participant mood states at the end of sexual objectification studies. For example, simply playing music that an individual enjoys at the end of an experiment could be beneficial. Research has shown that playing enjoyable music can restore a positive mood when one is feeling negative emotions or depressed (Thayer, Newman, & McClain, 1994). Perhaps participants could be allowed to select the song that they most enjoy from a list of available music, and they can be asked to listen to this song before they leave the experiment. It would also be worthwhile to follow up with participants a few days after they have completed experiments assessing sexual objectification to make sure that they are not experiencing any residual negative effects from taking part in the experiment.

Conclusions

Complementing previous research that has attempted to examine the relationship between SDO and the legitimizing myths that support patriarchy (Spence, et al., 1975; Williams & Best, 1990; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eagly & Steffen, 1984), the current research attempted to examine if SDO relates to the sexual objectification of women, if social dominance increases the sexual objectification of women, and if sexual objectification increases patriarchy support. Although the current results were unable to give a clear indication of whether increased social dominance underlies increases in sexual objectification, Study 1 provided an initial indication that SDO is correlated with sexual objectification. Furthermore, Study 4 supported the notion that for low SDO

men, sexual objectification increases patriarchy support. Thus, the current work provides both a theoretical and empirical first step for future research to continue examining the relationship between social dominance and sexual objectification.

Footnotes

[1] Study 3 was conducted prior to Study 2; however, pragmatic considerations have led me to present these studies in a different sequential order than they were conducted in. Specifically, the results of Study 2 were presented before the results of Study 3 because Study 2 used a sample containing both men and women, whereas Study 3 only used male participants. I felt it was best to present the results from a study showing how both men and women respond to a social dominance manipulation before presenting the results from a study showing only how men respond to a social dominance manipulation.

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Appendix A

Tables and Figures

Table 1

Study 1: Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Objectification (N = 868)

	Model 1		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*B*
Intercept	3.28	0.04	
SDO	0.27	0.04	.25**
Sex	0.99	0.08	-.38**
SDO x Sex	0.14	0.07	.08*
R^2		.26	

Note: SDO was mean centered. Sex coded as 0 = *female*; 1 = *male*.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 2

Study 3: Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Objectification (N = 118)

	Model 1		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*B*
Intercept	-0.46	0.27	
SDO	0.02	0.23	-.09
Con	-0.53	0.37	-.13
SDO x Con	0.36	0.32	.15
R^2		.04	

Note: SDO was mean centered. Condition coded as 0 = *control*; 1 = *patriarchy threat*.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 3

Study 4: Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Patriarchy Support (N = 216)

	Model 1		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*B*
Intercept	3.60	0.18	
SDO	0.87	0.16	.57**
Sex	0.43	0.28	.13
Condition	0.02	0.25	.01
SDO x Sex	0.04	0.26	.01
SDO x Con	-0.05	0.22	-.02
Con x Sex	0.26	0.40	.06
SDO x Con x Sex	-0.64	0.37	-.18
R^2		.31	

Note: SDO was mean-centered. Gender: 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*; Condition: 0 = *control*; 1 = *exper*.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Table 4

Factor Loadings for 13 Sexual Objectification Items, Study 1

Sexual Objectification Item	Factor 1
Whistling at a female stranger	.65
Stare at the body	.54
Touches a woman's butt	.45
Social gatherings more enjoyable	.49
Wet T-Shirt contests not degrading	.43
Dress in revealing clothing	.58
Female co-worker's attractiveness	.45
Actresses who refuse nude scenes	.62
Talk with a woman	.52
Notice particular body parts	.74
"Locker room talk"	.46
The term "score" is degrading	.52
It's fun to rate women	.72

Note. Loadings are for Maximum Likelihood Estimation. Principal Components Analysis yielded virtually identical results.

Table 5

Factor Loadings for 9 Patriarchy Support Items, Study 4

Patriarchy Support Item	Factor Loading
It does not seem right for a man to let a woman drive the car.	.48
Women should be subservient to men.	.80
Things tend to be better when men are in charge.	.88
I love it when men are in charge of women.	.86
Men should not have power over women. (R)	.37
Men and women should respect each other as equals. (R)	.49
I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men. (R)	.55
When a husband and wife make decisions about buying major things for the home, the husband should have the final say.	.67
It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.	.59

Note. Loadings are for Maximum Likelihood Estimation. Principal Components

Analysis yielded virtually identical results.

Table 6

Factor Loadings for 7 Sexual Objectification Items, Study 5

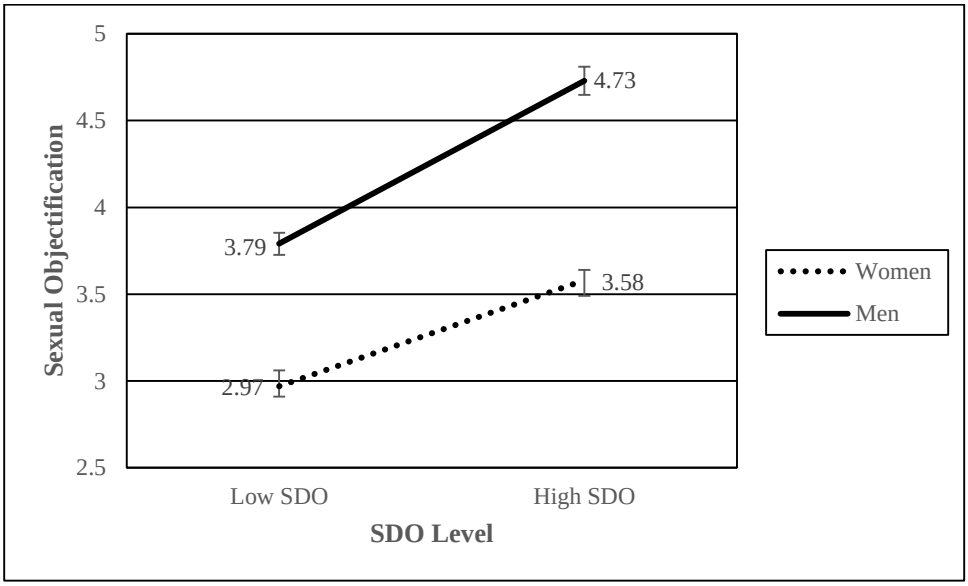
Sexual Objectification Item	Factor Loading
When looking at an attractive woman, I focus more on her legs, hips, and chest than her face.	.56
It's fun to rate women based solely on the attractiveness of their bodies.	.76
I'd rather a woman be boring but attractive than interesting but unattractive.	.55
There's nothing wrong with watching women in tight clothing walking down the street.	.76
I'm more drawn to attractive women when they show some skin.	.67
It's okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know.	.77
There's nothing wrong with rating women on their physical appearance.	.81

Note. Loadings are for Maximum Likelihood Estimation. Principal Components

Analysis yielded virtually identical results.

Figure 1

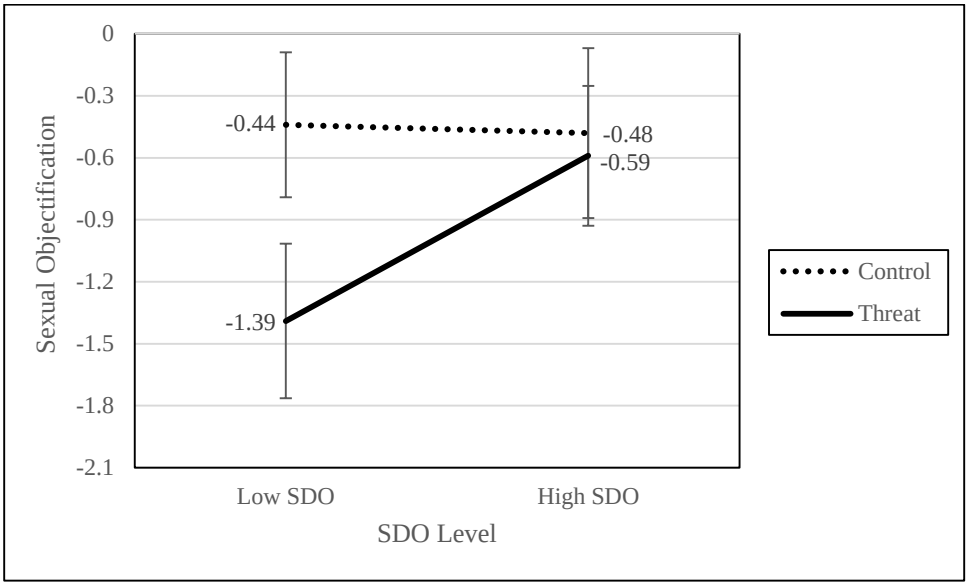
Study 1: Predicted sexual objectification from SDO and gender.



Note: Predicted values for participants 1 *SD* above and below the mean in SDO

Figure 2

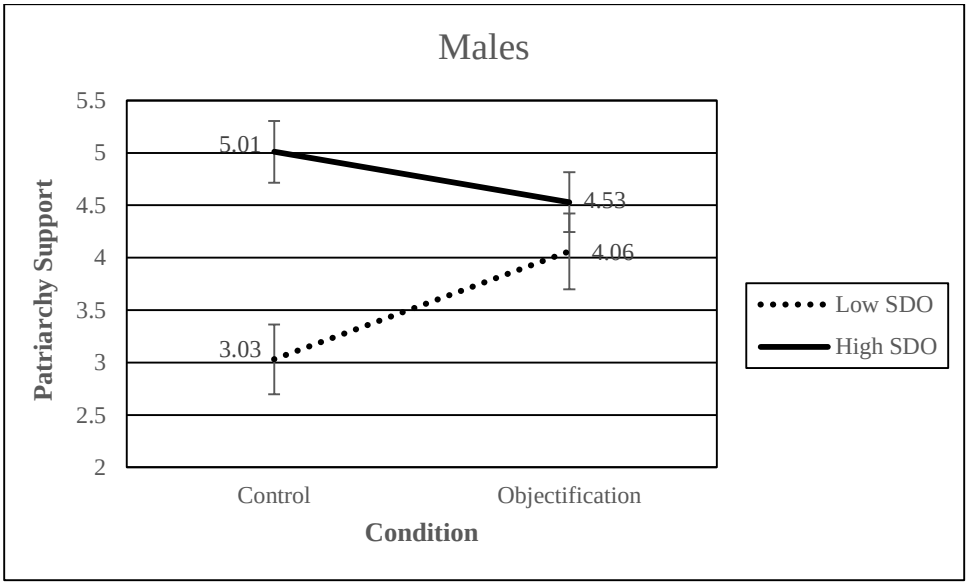
Study 3: Predicted sexual objectification from SDO and condition

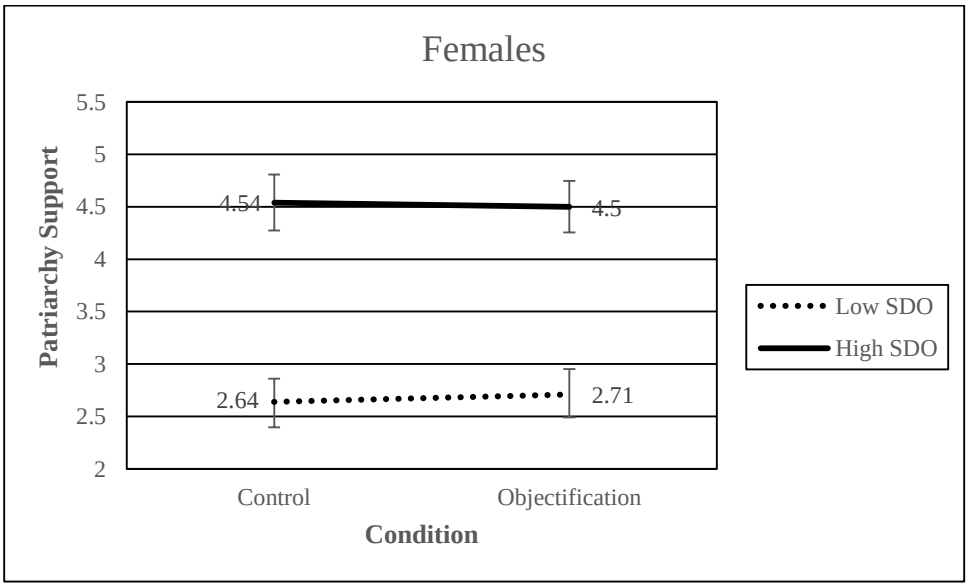


Note: Predicted values for participants 1 SD above and below the mean in SDO

Figure 3

Study 4: Patriarchy support as a function of gender, SDO, and objectification condition.

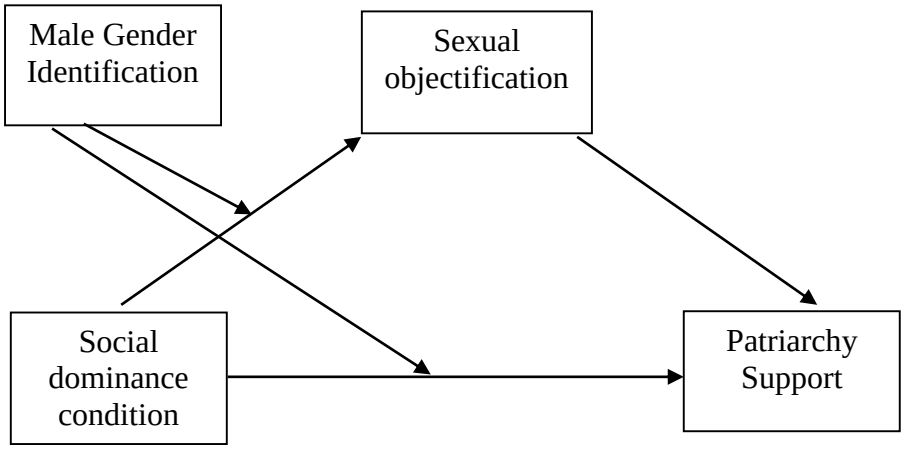




Note: Predicted values for participants 1 *SD* above and below the mean in SDO

Figure 4

Study 5: Proposed conditional indirect model.



APPENDIX B

Study Materials

SDO_6 Scale (Studies 1, 3, and 4)

The following questionnaire assesses the degree to which you agree with a variety of statements about others. Please answer the questions as accurately and honestly as possible using the provided scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree Completely			**Neither Agree Nor Disagree**			**Agree Completely**

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No one group should dominate in society.

Sexual Objectification Measure (Study 1)

Please respond to the following statements as honestly and accurately a possible.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all Very much

1. There is nothing wrong with a guy whistling at or calling out to a female stranger to let her know that he thinks she is attractive.
2. It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know.
3. It is not a big deal when a man touches a woman's butt at a party or bar.
4. Social gatherings are more enjoyable when there are sexually available women present.
5. Hot body or "Wet T-shirt" contests are degrading to women.
6. Women should not dress in revealing clothing.
7. A female co-worker's physical attractiveness isn't important to me.
8. Actresses who refuse to do nude scenes are making a big deal out of nothing.
9. I would rather talk with a woman than look at her body.
10. When I first see a woman, I am likely to notice particular body parts, such as her legs, hips, chest, etc.
11. Locker room talk among guys bothers me.
12. I think the term "score" when talking about having sex with a woman is degrading.
13. It is fun to rate women based on the attractiveness of their bodies.

Pre-Manipulation SDO Measure (Study 2)

The following questionnaire assesses the degree to which you agree with a variety of statements about others. Please answer the questions as accurately and honestly as possible using the provided scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree Completely			**Neither Agree Nor Disagree**			**Agree Completely**

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
3. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
4. It would be good if groups could be equal.
5. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
6. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
7. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
8. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Leadership Assessment Questionnaire (Study 2)

You will now respond to a scientific test designed to assess leadership skills applicable to business-like organizations. This task assesses how well you would perform in such a leadership role. After completing this measure, your scores will be compared to those of others who have completed this measure. You will receive your score. Please answer each question honestly and accurately.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				**Very much**

1. When assigning tasks to others, I imagine I would consider people's skills and interests.
2. I doubt myself and my ability to succeed.
3. I expect nothing less than top-notch results from people.
4. If I were in a leadership position, I would expect my people to work harder than I do.
5. When someone is upset, I try to understand how he or she is feeling.
6. When circumstances change, I struggle to know what to do.
7. I think that personal feelings shouldn't be allowed to get in the way of performance and productivity.
8. I am highly motivated because I know I have what it takes to be successful.
9. Time spent worrying about team morale is time that's wasted.
10. I get upset and worried quite often in the workplace.
11. My actions show people what I want from them.
12. When working with a team, I encourage everyone to work toward the same overall objectives.
13. In a managerial position, I would be willing to make exceptions to my rules and expectations because it's easier than being the enforcer all the time.
14. I enjoy planning for the future.
15. I feel threatened when someone criticizes me.
16. I make time to learn what people need from me, so that they can be successful.
17. I'm optimistic about life, and I can see beyond temporary setbacks and problems.
18. I think that teams perform best when individuals keep doing the same tasks and perfecting them, instead of learning new skills and challenging themselves.
19. I am not anxious when I speak with others.
20. I am able to accomplish more than most others.
21. I have faith and trust in people.
22. I like to work on difficult problems.
23. I consider matters carefully before acting on them.
24. I feel I am responsible for my actions.
25. I hold positive views of myself.
26. I am comfortable taking actions whenever needed.
27. I enjoy working with others.
28. I do not handle change well.
29. I tend to become easily frustrated.

30. I normally adopt an active role in group work.
31. I never make independent decisions.
32. I am self-assured in relationships with others.
33. I balance multiple tasks and prioritize when faced with limited time and resources.
34. I create a positive environment by expressing optimism and offering encouragement to my coworkers.
35. I keep a mental record of every commitment that I make and follow through on my promises.
36. I ask questions to try and piece together unrelated information.
37. I find a way to get things done and will sacrifice personally to reach the goal.
38. I do not have a thorough understanding of my own emotions and feelings and how they impact the situations at hand.
39. I give people a sense of personal fulfillment by recognizing their individual contributions in the achievement of a goal.
40. I display stamina, energy, and intensity in achieving high standards of performance.
41. I cannot express myself in consistent moods that invite participation and further communication with others.
42. I act decisively with a passion for making things happen.
43. I do not consider the emotions or feelings of others before taking action.
44. I find solutions when obstacles are blocking the path to my goals.
45. I am not open to new ideas from others.
46. I can successfully help individuals reach higher levels of performance.
47. I tend to offer constructive criticism to others.
48. I do not seek better solutions to problems.
49. I display trust in others by giving them additional responsibilities.
50. I do not accept rejection well.
51. I tend to motivate others to help me reach goals.
52. I provide honest, clear feedback to others.
53. I tend to think "outside the box" when developing new ideas.
54. I control and selectively display my emotions and feelings in a beneficial way.
55. I do not recognize the contributions of others in the achievement of goals.
56. I am not cautious when making difficult decisions.
57. I am not interested in thought-provoking questions or discussions.
58. I tend to be critical of the work of others.
59. I become frustrated when forced to work with others.
60. I believe I can accomplish more than the average person.

Post-Manipulation SDO Measure (Study 2)

The following questionnaire assesses the degree to which you agree with a variety of statements about others. Please answer the questions as accurately and honestly as possible using the provided scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree Completely			**Neither Agree Nor Disagree**			**Agree Completely**

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
3. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
4. It would be good if groups could be equal.
5. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
6. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
7. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
8. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Sample Stimuli from Sexual Objectification Measure (Study 2)





Patriarchy Threat Social Dominance Manipulation (Studies 3 and 5)

Control Condition

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What works and what doesn't in the workplace

by Victor Lipman

How Companies Are Preparing For Climate Change

A new, growing discipline is known as Climate Resilience.
Published on March 1, 2013 by Victor Lipman in Mind of the Manager

Climate change has arrived. 2012 is in the books as one of the warmest years on record, and extreme costly weather events are becoming the norm rather than the exception. Against this backdrop, the debate is slowly migrating from partisan wrangling over the existence of climate change to more productive efforts to think creatively about how to prepare for it.



My interest here is not to make the case for climate change – many far more knowledgeable than I have already done so – but to show how some forward-thinking companies are taking tangible, constructive steps to anticipate it and mitigate its impact. This new but growing discipline is known as "Climate Resilience."

A diverse group of organizations, working with environmentally oriented consultants, have produced an excellent, comprehensive report titled "Value Chain Climate Resilience: A Guide To Managing Climate Impacts in Companies and Communities." The companies involved in the report include Starbucks, Swiss Re, Levi Strauss, Calvert Investments, Earth Networks, Entergy and Green Mountain Coffee Roasters. The consulting firms involved include Acclimatise, Oxfam America and BSR.

The 40-page report is full of valuable information such as: *"The climate is changing and impacts on businesses and communities are already being felt. Rising temperatures, changing rainfall patterns, and more severe weather events are being observed. Nine out of ten companies have suffered weather-related impacts in the past three years, and most have seen an intensification of such impacts. Meanwhile, communities on which businesses depend for their supplies, workforce, sales, and more are being affected. A change in climate will lead to a changing business environment and changing community relationships…"Corporate climate resilience is a relatively new field, yet good examples of multinational and medium-sized companies taking action to minimize the implications of a changing climate do exist. Readers will find many illustrative examples of climate resilience in action in this report."*

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What works and what doesn't in the workplace

by Victor Lipman

Why Women are Better at Everything

A new, growing body of research is beginning to show strong support for the notion.
Published on March 1, 2013 by Victor Lipman in Mind of the Manager

Recently in the Wall Street Journal, MarketWatch columnist David Weidner noted that contrary to what some people might think, women "do almost everything better" than men—from politics to corporate management to investing.



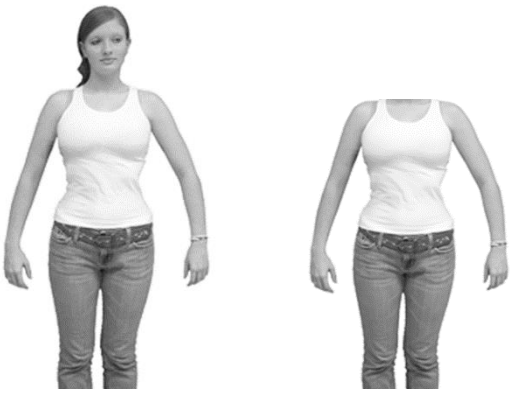
Weidner cites a recent study by Barclays Wealth and Ledbury Research, which found that women were more likely than men to make money in the market, mostly because they didn't take as many risks. And why are they risk averse? Because they're not as overconfident as men, the study found. This same study found that when it comes to honesty, intelligence and a handful of other character traits that are valuable in political leaders, women tend to be superior to men.

Furthermore, a new report by business and financial consulting firm Rothstein Kass states that female hedge fund managers are more profitable than their male counterparts. The "old boys club" is slowly but surely feeling the rattle of the increasing female power. Rothstein Kass reports that, during the third quarter of 2012, women brought in a 8.95-percent return on investment over the median average of 2.69-percent in the overall financial reports. This basically means that companies with women at the helm brought in more money after taxes, and therefore reeled in more profit for their company.

Finally, the top scholar on gender and leadership, Dr. Alice Eagly, recently stated that her studies show that women are more likely than men to possess the leadership qualities that are associated with success. That is, women are more transformational than men-they care more about developing their followers, they listen to them and stimulate them to think "outside the box," they are more inspirational, and they are more ethical. Dr. Bernard Bass, who developed the current theory of transformative leadership, predicts that in the future women leaders will dominate simply because they are better suited to 21st century leadership/management than are men.

Sample Stimuli from Sexual Objectification Measure (Study 3)









Sexual Objectification Manipulation (Study 4)

Rating Task Instructions

Next, you will complete a first impressions task. While psychological studies have shown that people do form detailed impressions of others on the basis of a very few cues, the variables determining the extent to which these early impressions are generally shared across people have not yet been completely identified.

You will now be shown pictures of some individuals. Please examine the pictures carefully because you will be asked to formulate your first impressions of these individuals based on your observations. Each image will appear for 3 seconds.

Sample Stimuli from Sexual Objectification Manipulation (Study 4)



Ratings Completed After Viewing Each Image (Study 4)

Control Condition

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				**Very much**

1. How likely is she to have visited Africa?
2. How likely is she to play backgammon?
3. How likely is she to enjoy Haitian cuisine?
4. How likely is she to enjoy knitting as a hobby?

Sexual Objectification Condition

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				**Very much**

1. How attractive is she?
2. How sexy is she?
3. How pretty is she?
4. How cute is she?

Patriarchy Support Measure (Study 4)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Disagree Extremely		**Disagree Mostly**		**Disagree Slightly**		**Agree Slightly**		**Agree Mostly**		**Agree Extremely**

1. It does not seem right for a man to let a woman drive the car.
2. Women should be subservient to men.
3. Things tend to be better when men are in charge.
4. I love it when men are in charge of women.
5. Men should not have power over women.
6. Men and women should respect each other as equals.
7. I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men.
8. When a husband and wife make decisions about buying major things for the home, the husband should have the final say.
9. It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.

Male Gender Identification (Study 5)

Please answer the following questions as accurately and honestly as possible.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree Strongly			**Neither Agree Nor Disagree**			**Agree Strongly**

1. I often regret that I am a male.
2. Overall, being a male has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
3. In general, I'm glad to be a male.
4. Being a male is an important reflection of who I am.
5. Overall, I often feel that being a male is not worthwhile.
6. Being a male is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.
7. I feel good about being a male.
8. In general, being a male is an important part of my self-image.

Sexual Objectification Measure (Study 5)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree Completely		**Neither Agree Nor Disagree**				**Agree Completely**

1. When looking at an attractive woman, I focus more on her legs, hips, and chest than her face.
2. It's fun to rate women based solely on the attractiveness of their bodies.
3. I'd rather a woman be boring but attractive than interesting but unattractive.
4. There's nothing wrong with watching women in tight clothing walking down the street.
5. I'm more drawn to attractive women when they show some skin.
6. It's okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know.
7. There's nothing wrong with rating women on their physical appearance

Patriarchy Support Measure (Study 5)

Assume that a large state university has decided to allocate an unspecified amount of money to the support of various student organizations. Some of the organizations consist primarily of male students while others consist primarily of female students.

How much money do you feel should be allocated to the different student organizations?

1) **$70,000 to organizations with mostly males; $10,000 to organizations with mostly females**
2) **$90,000 to organizations with mostly males; $50,000 to organizations with mostly females**
3) **$110,000 to organizations with mostly males; $90,000 to organizations with mostly females**
4) **$130,000 to organizations with mostly males; $130,000 to organizations with mostly females**
5) **$150,000 to organizations with mostly males; $170,000 to organizations with mostly females**
6) **$170,000 to organizations with mostly males; $210,000 to organizations with mostly females**
7) **$190,000 to organizations with mostly males; $250,000 to organizations with mostly females**