

From Bodies to Blame: Exposure to Sexually Objectifying Media Increases Tolerance Toward Sexual Harassment

Philippe Bernard, Sabine Legrand, and Olivier Klein
Université Libre de Bruxelles

This paper investigates whether exposure to sexually objectifying media leads to more tolerance toward sexual harassment of women in the context of a real-life scenario. Moreover, given that self-objectification reflects the internalization of gender-based inequalities, we also tested whether self-objectification was associated with greater tolerance toward sexual harassment of women. Two hundred and ten undergraduate students (112 men) were asked to watch sexually objectifying (vs. neutral) video clips before completing a questionnaire assessing tolerance toward sexual harassment. As expected, we found that watching sexually objectifying video clips led to more victim blame when evaluating a real-life scenario of sexual harassment, but it did not affect general attitudes toward sexual harassment. Moreover, trait self-objectification was associated with general attitudes toward sexual harassment of women, with more tolerance toward sexual harassment among people with high trait self-objectification. In contrast, neither exposure to sexually objectifying video clips nor trait self-objectification affected perpetrator blame. These findings suggest that even short exposure to sexually objectifying media contributes to shifting attitudes toward sexual harassment of nonsexualized women in the real world, and they also illuminate the role of self-objectification in maintaining gender-based inequalities.

Keywords: sexual objectification, sexual harassment, self-objectification, victim blame, perpetrator blame

Sexual Objectification of Women and Social Perception

In Western societies, women are sexually objectified. “Sexual objectification occurs whenever a woman’s body, body parts, or sexual functions are separated out from her person, reduced to the status of mere instruments, or regarded as if they were capable of representing her” (Bartky, 1990 cited by Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p. 175). Women’s bodies are often

visually inspected (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001) and frequently targeted by comments centered on their physical appearance (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The visual media often conveyed the notion that women can be reduced to their sexualized bodies and body parts. Analyses of advertisements have shown that women are more often depicted in sexualized ways than men (Conley & Ramsey, 2011). Similarly, one study reported that women are portrayed as sex objects in ~50% of magazine advertisements (Lindner, 2004), and this sexual objectification is especially acute in fashion magazines aimed at men (Baker, 2005; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008) and in video games (Burgess, Stermer, & Burgess, 2007; Dill & Thill, 2007).

Objectification studies have shown that sexual objectification shifts recognition processes, implicit and explicit attitudes, and rape perception and that these effects are often confined to female targets (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper, & Puvia, 2011; Vaes Paladino & Puvia, 2011), although a few

This article was published Online First April 21, 2016.

Philippe Bernard, Sabine Legrand, and Olivier Klein, Research Center for Social and Cultural Psychology, Université Libre de Bruxelles.

This research was supported by the National Fund for Scientific Research (FRS-FNRS, Belgium) and by the Fonds d’Encouragement à la Recherche (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium).

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Philippe Bernard, Research Center for Social and Cultural Psychology, Université Libre de Bruxelles, CP 122, Avenue F. Roosevelt, 50, 1050 Brussels, Belgium. E-mail: pbernard@ulb.ac.be

studies also found effects for male targets (Gray, Knobe, Sheskin, Bloom, & Barrett, 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010). First, several studies showed that sexualized female bodies are visually perceived in piecemeal ways, similar to objects (Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, & Klein, 2012, 2015; Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Delmée, & Klein, 2015; Bernard, Gervais, Allen, & Klein, 2013, 2015; Civile & Obhi, 2015; see also Gervais, Vescio, Maass, Förster, & Suitner, 2012) and are seen as interchangeable things especially when having exaggerated sexual body parts (Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2012).

Second, from the perceiver's perspective, sexual objectification of women promotes a focus on their appearance. In comparison with perceptions of nonobjectified women, research found that men and women perceive an objectified female target as less competent, as less intelligent, as less possessing of human qualities and mental states, and as lacking in agency (Cikara, Eberhardt, & Fiske, 2010; Gurung & Chrouser, 2007; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper, & Puvia, 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010; Vaes et al., 2011).

Third, research suggests that the sexual objectification of women is associated with negative attitudes and behaviors toward women. Recently, Rudman and Mescher (2012) evaluated men's implicit associations between women and object or animal concepts. They found that these implicit associations predicted more benevolent attitudes toward sexual harassment and rape proclivity. In the same vein, sexual objectification of a rape victim (manipulated by the target's revealing vs. casual clothing) leads to viewing the target as more to blame (Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez, & Puvia, 2013) and the perpetrator as less to blame (Bernard, Loughnan, Marchal, Godart, & Klein, 2015). Importantly, priming sexual goals among men reinforces the likelihood of endorsing negative attitudes toward an interviewed female job applicant, suggesting that sexual goals may be sufficient to produce discriminatory behaviors toward women (Rudman & Borgida, 1995).

In sum, a growing body of sexual objectification research has mainly focused on why and how people perceive women who are depicted in sexualized ways, but it remains unclear whether exposure to sexually objectified depictions of women influences perceptions of

women in real life. This question is central with respect to objectification theory. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) indeed highlighted the existence of various forms of sexual objectification, ranging from less severe and more insidious forms of objectification (e.g., objectifying gaze in social interactions, women depicted in sexualized ways in the visual media) to severe manifestations of sexual objectification (e.g., sexual harassment, rape). Objectification theory also argues that less severe forms of sexual objectification contribute to create a cultural milieu that is more lenient toward more severe forms of sexual objectification of women. We aim to directly test this possibility by examining whether exposure to sexually objectifying media leads to greater tolerance toward sexual harassment of women. We hypothesized that exposure to such media (e.g., video clips) shifts college women's and men's perception of sexual harassment toward women. In the light of most research in objectification (Bernard et al., 2012; Gervais et al., 2012; Vaes et al., 2011), we did not expect this effect to be gender-specific.

Sexualized Media and Attitudes Toward Sexual Harassment

A vast literature documents how sexualized media influence attitudes toward women and sexuality. People are frequently exposed to sexual content in media (Kunkel et al., 2003), and previous investigations conducted in a Western context suggest that this exposure encourages traditional attitudes toward gender and sexual roles (for a review, see Ward, 2003). For instance, according to experimental studies and analysis of media use among adolescents, exposure to sexualized media leads young men and women to endorse a view of "women as sex-objects," as well as stereotypical views regarding gender roles (Peter & Valkenburg, 2007; Ward & Friedman, 2006). Similarly, viewing women depicted as sex-objects in magazines, music video clips, videogames, and movies promotes higher acceptance of rape myths, interpersonal violence, adversarial sexual beliefs, gender role stereotyping, and benevolent sexism as well as a lower acceptance of feminism (Kalog, 1999; Lanis & Covell, 1995; MacKay & Covell, 1997; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad, 2000; Stermer & Burkley, 2015). However, our

knowledge is scarce concerning the impact of sexually objectifying depictions of women on perceptions of sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment refers to a large variety of behaviors ranging from degrading and sexist remarks to sexual advances and sexual assault (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). Moreover, it is one of the most common forms of sexual discrimination perpetrated toward women (for a review, see Pina et al., 2009). To the extent that it involves appraising women in terms of their sexual functions, sexual harassment may thus be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of women's objectification in real life. Yao, Mahood, and Linz (2010) found that men who played a videogame portraying women as sex-objects reported a higher likelihood to sexually harass than men who played a control game. Moreover, viewing female videogame avatars promoted more tolerance toward rape myth acceptance among women (Fox, Ralston, Cooper, & Jones, 2014) and more sexual harassment among men, but not among women, in another case of a real-life scenario (Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008). Importantly, Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) found that exposure to three sexually objectifying video clips leads undergraduate men to express more agreement with adversarial sexual beliefs and greater acceptance of interpersonal violence and these authors also found a marginally significant effect of media exposure on concern for sexual harassment. Finally, a recent study showed that exposure to objectifying TV programs leads to more gender harassing proclivity and behavior among men due to increased conformity to masculine gender norms (Galdi, Maass, & Cadinu, 2013).

Although these prior studies are informative concerning the impact of videogames and music video clips on perception of sexual harassment, we identified two important limitations. First, the comparison between the objectification versus control conditions included methodological confounds. For instance, Galdi et al. (2013) utilized televised segments of successful women versus scantily dressed women (vs. neutral televised segments) and Dill et al. (2008) used real-life professional women as control images versus sexualized avatars in videogames. Hence, sexual objectification was confounded with the women's perceived competence. Additionally, some of the aforementioned studies uti-

lized videogame avatars that were fictitious (Dill et al., 2008; Fox et al., 2014) and only found an effect of such exposure among male participants. This may be due to the fact that women are less likely to play videogames than male participants, especially those games that portray women as sex-objects (such as action/adventure, fighter and shooter games; Lucas & Sherry, 2004). In our study, we relied on a better-controlled and more realistic manipulation of sexual objectification. We employed televised video clips, instead of videogame playing, to manipulate the sexual objectification of women. Indeed, video clips often depict women as subordinates to men and as sex-objects (Ward, 1995), and both women and men consume this type of media: Most people have spent several hours per day watching TV and online videos since childhood (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001). Drawing on recent research on objectification (Gray et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010), we manipulated sexual objectification as the amount of space dedicated to the women's body versus her face in the segments of video clips we selected. In this way, we compiled two sets of video clips, with one set emphasizing women's bodies (sexual objectifying) and the other set highlighting women's faces (personalizing).

Second, although Aubrey et al. (2011)'s work informs us on the effect of objectifying media on general attitudes toward sexual harassment, it offers little insight into how perceivers may react to actual instances of sexual harassment. Indeed, like all abstract mental representations, general attitudes are often poor predictors of judgment of concrete situations pertaining to the object of the attitude (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002; Fazio & Williams, 1986).

Our primary purpose in the present paper will be to investigate how exposure to sexually objectifying media influences men's and women's perceptions of women who are not sexualized and who are subjected to sexual harassment in the context of a real-life scenario. We hypothesized that male and female participants in the sexual objectification condition would report more tolerance toward sexual harassment compared with the participants who watched the personalizing videos (Hypothesis 1). To test this hypothesis, we assessed victim blame and perpetrator blame in the context of a real-life scenario depicting the most common form of sex-

ual harassment (i.e., a female victim sexually harassed by a man). We also evaluated general attitudes toward sexual harassment although these are likely to be more stable and less malleable.

Trait Self-Objectification and Attitudes Toward Harassment

Sexual objectification in the media not only affects attitudes toward women, it also leads women to internalize the objectifiers' perspective and to self-objectify (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Consistent with this view, a vast amount of literature shows that women who self-objectify are likely to suffer from numerous detrimental consequences including more body shame, lower well-being, and less sexual satisfaction (for a review, see Moradi & Huang, 2008). Furthermore, self-objectification is associated with objectification of others: the more individuals rank their own appearance attributes as more important than competence attributes, the more they stress appearance over competence for other women and men (Strelan & Hargraves, 2005).

Departing from this line of research that focuses on the negative consequences of self-objectification, recent studies have investigated how manifestations of sexual objectification of women in the environment contribute to women's self-objectification. For instance, exposure to objectifying media is likely to heighten women's self-objectification, appearance anxiety, negative mood, and body dissatisfaction (Harper & Tiggemann, 2008) and exposure to sexualized female models leads women to describe themselves in terms of appearance-related traits (Aubrey, 2006; Aubrey, Henson, Hopper, & Smith, 2009).

Pursuing the investigation of antecedents of trait self-objectification, recent research has integrated objectification theory with system-justification theory. System justification theory posits that people tend to maintain and justify the social system in which they exist even when this system is disadvantageous for them (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). In this view, Calogero and Jost (2011) hypothesized that the activation of sexist ideologies legitimizing traditional sexual and gender roles should remind women of their subordinate position compared with men, leading to more self-

objectification and other related outcomes among women. As predicted, these authors found that exposing men and women to benevolent and complementary (but not hostile) sexist stereotypes leads to increased self-objectification, self-surveillance, and body shame among women, whereas this manipulation did not affect self-objectification outcomes among men (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Calogero (2013) found that women's self-objectification was associated with acceptance of gender-specific justification beliefs and a lower level of gender-based social activism: the more women self-objectified, the less they participated in activism aiming to reduce gender inequalities. Interestingly, consistent with system-justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), Calogero (2013) also showed that this effect was mediated by system-justification beliefs: women who self-objectified did not struggle against gender-based inequalities because they were more likely to endorse sexist beliefs legitimizing these inequalities. In sum, this work suggests that self-objectification reflects an internalization of the subordinate position of women (Calogero & Jost, 2011) and contributes to maintaining gender-based inequality by lowering social activism against it (Calogero, 2013).

Extending this perspective, we posit that self-objectification is not only positively associated with internalization of gender-based inequalities, but rather actively contributes to the reinforcement of these inequalities (i.e., blaming a sexually harassed woman). We thus hypothesize that observers' trait self-objectification predicts victim blame and perpetrator blame in the context of a real-life scenario and general attitudes toward sexual harassment of women (Hypothesis 2). We will also explore whether this correlation is moderated by participant gender.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and ten participant undergraduate students (112 men; $M_{\text{age}} = 20.42$ years; $SD = 2.28$) were recruited on a Belgian university campus and participated in the experiment in exchange for course credit or monetary compensation. Moreover, the sample was mostly heterosexual ($N = 198$), with five gays/lesbians and seven bisexual participants. Participant gen-

der was equally distributed across the “personalizing” and “sexual objectifying” conditions (56 men and 49 women in each condition) as well as sexual orientation (i.e., six gays, lesbians, or bisexuals in each condition).

Procedure and Materials

The experiment took place via a computer. Instructions were delivered and responses recorded via LimeSurvey (LimeSurvey Project Team/Carsten Schmitz, 2012). At the beginning of the study, there was a welcoming message providing general information about the two steps of the study:

This study is interested in the psychological mechanisms involved in the perception of media. Two video clips will be presented. After each of them, you will be asked to answer a few questions regarding the singer appearing in the clip. Finally, you will be asked to fill a questionnaire about the perception of people. Completing this questionnaire will take you about 10–15 min.

First, they were asked to complete the self-objectification questionnaire (SOQ; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). Participants were then asked to view two video clips. They were informed that they will be asked to respond to a series of questions relative to the person appearing in the video clips. Participants then watched two short “personalizing” versus two “sexually objectifying” video clips. Subsequently, participants were told that:

In the context of relationships between men and women, some ambiguous behaviors may be interpreted as sexual harassment. In this study, we are also interested in how people perceive these behaviors. In this context, we invite you to fill out the following questionnaire.

Participants then filled a questionnaire assessing general attitudes toward sexual harassment. Finally, participants had to rate victim and perpetrator blame after reading an ambiguous sexual harassment scenario. At the end of the questionnaire, participants mentioned their gender, age, and sexual orientation.

Pretest of the video clips. We selected four video clips (two personalizing and two sexually objectifying video clips) in order to manipulate sexual objectification of the video clips presented to the participants. We found the original video clips on YouTube. The two sets of videos depicted Alexandra Stan and Anelia

(who are Romanian and Bulgarian singers, respectively) in either a sexually objectifying or personalizing way. For the sexually objectifying video clips, we chose “Lollipop” (Alexandra Stan, 2011a) and “Razdqlata” (Anelia, 2011). We selected two personalizing video clips involving the same singers: “Bitter Sweet” (studio version, Alexandra Stan, 2011b) and “Look into my eyes” (Anelia, 2010). We then edited the original video clips. Except the woman in each of the two objectified versus nonobjectified video clips, no other characters appeared in these video clips. Drawing on recent research on sexual objectification (Gray et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010; Vaes et al., 2011), we relied on a face-ism manipulation in order to manipulate sexual objectification: in each of the “personalizing” video clips, the women were casually clothed, they were singing and the camera mostly focuses on their faces (high face-ism). In contrast, in the “sexual objectification” condition, the women were scantily clothed (miniskirt or underwear), they were singing and sometimes dancing, and the camera mostly focuses on their sexualized bodies (low face-ism). In order to isolate the effect of sexually objectifying video clips from the potential effect of music and lyrics on our dependent variables, we cut the soundtrack associated with the video clips. Indeed, previous studies have found that music is likely to influence mood (Kenealy, 1988) and might thereby influence person perception and social interaction judgments (Forgas & Bower, 1987). Furthermore, we standardized the duration of each video clips (90 seconds). The edited video clips are available under request to the first author.

Then, 16 participants (10 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 23.50$ years; $SD = 2.73$) viewed the four clips and were asked to respond to the following question: “Was the woman appearing in this video clip depicted as a sex-object?” (1 = “Not at all” to 7 = “Very Much”). As predicted, participants provided higher ratings to the women appearing in the two “sexually objectifying” video clips ($M = 6.59$, $SD = .88$) than those appearing in the “personalizing” video clips ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.33$), $t(15) = -9.54$, $p < .001$. Note that participants who rated the video clips did not participate in the experiment.

Manipulation check. Participants were asked to indicate how sexually objectified the woman appearing in the video clip was (“Was the

woman appearing in this video clip depicted as a sex-object?" with anchors 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" to 7 = "*Strongly Agree*"). At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked to mention whether they had already watched at least one of the video clips before the experiment ("Yes" or "No").

Self-Objectification Questionnaire. The SOQ (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998) was used to measure trait self-objectification—the extent to which individuals considered five observable appearance-based attributes (i.e., physical attractiveness, weight, sex appeal, body measurements, firm/sculpted muscles) to be more important than five nonobservable competence-based attributes (i.e., health, strength, energy level, physical coordination, physical fitness). Participants were instructed to rank the 10 attributes as a function of their impact on the participants' physical self-concept. SOQ scores were calculated by subtracting the sum of five competence-based attributes from the sum of appearance-based attributes. The scores range from -25 to 25 , with higher scores reflecting higher self-objectification.

General attitudes toward sexual harassment. We utilized the "Attitudes toward sexually harassing behavior" questionnaire (Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982) that contains 11 items assessing general attitudes toward sexual harassment (e.g., "It is only natural for a man to make sexual advances to a woman he finds attractive"; "An attractive woman has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them"), $\alpha = .76$. Participants were asked to indicate the level of agreement with each item on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" to 5 = "*Strongly Agree*").

Sexual harassment scenario. We adapted a sexual harassment scenario (Klein, Apple, & Kahn, 2011) in French. Given that we tested our hypothesis among a university students' sample, this scenario was particularly relevant given that it portrays a sexual harassment scenario in which a senior graduate student sexually harasses a female student (see Appendix for the French version of the scenario):

Anne is a sophomore at her university, and she is really struggling with writing papers for classes. She went to the student resource center and applied for weekly tutoring sessions to improve her writing skills. John, a senior graduating with honors in English, was assigned as her tutor. He started tutoring through the Student Resource Center last semester because he needed some extra cash, and they pay a decent amount for the work he does. John has now been tutoring Anne for about

half of the semester, once a week. In almost every session, John makes some kind of comment to Anne about how attractive she is, usually noting her hair, her outfit, or her eyes. Anne always smiles and thanks John for the compliment. Anne has just filed a complaint with John's supervisor about the comments that John has been making to her after class. John isn't the only man who has commented on Anne's appearance. Many other men have told Anne how beautiful they think she is. She always changed the subject, getting them back on the topic they were supposed to be discussing. John has been tutoring for the Student Resource Center for over a year, and he has tutored many women during this time. He often commented to each of them in tutoring sessions that they are attractive women. None of these women ever complained about John, and all of them recommend him as a tutor to others.

Next, participants responded to eight items concerning attributions of blame for both the perpetrator and the harassed woman. These items were selected and translated in French from Klein et al. (2011). Four items aimed to evaluate perpetrator blame (e.g., "John's actions were beyond the limits of acceptable behavior"). Four other items assessed victim blame (e.g., "Anne is partly to blame for the situation"). Participants indicated whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement by rating each item on a seven-point rating scale, with anchors 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) and 7 (*Strongly Agree*). We computed two subscales for assessing victim blame ($\alpha = .61$) and perpetrator blame ($\alpha = .85$). Higher scores indicate greater blame.

Social desirability. In order to ensure that our results were not contaminated by self-presentation strategies, we utilized the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Reynolds, 1982) to measure social desirability. The scale includes 13 items (e.g., "It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged"). Total scores range from zero (low) to 13 (high social desirability). The mean score was $M = 5.23$, $SD = 2.53$.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Univariate and bivariate statistics appear in Table 1. As expected, we found a positive and significant correlation between self-objectification and general attitudes toward sexual harassment, $r(208) = .18$, $p = .01$. Note that this tendency was present (and even stronger)

Table 1
Descriptive Univariate and Bivariate Statistics

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	TSO	TSH	VB	PB	SD
TSO	−1.16	12.19	1	.18*	.07	.00	−.09
TSH	2.57	.60	—	1	.47**	−.24**	−.16*
VB	3.71	1.16	—	—	1	−.50**	−.13
PB	3.70	1.49	—	—	—	1	.12
SD	5.23	2.53	—	—	—	—	1

Note. TSO = trait self-objectification; TSH = general attitudes toward sexual harassment; VB = victim blame; PB = perpetrator blame; SD = social desirability.

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

among both male, $r(110) = .28, p = .002$, and female participants, $r(96) = .32, p = .002$. This may seem surprising, but it just reflects that the part of the variance explained by participant gender in the overall correlation “diluted” the relationship between the two variables. Furthermore, a negative significant correlation between social desirability and general attitudes toward sexual harassment, $r(208) = -.16, p = .02$, and a nearly significant negative correlation between social desirability and victim blame, $r(208) = -.13, p = .052$, were also noted.

A MANOVA examining the moderating role of participant gender on the dependent variables revealed that target gender indeed influences ratings on the dependent variables, $F(5, 204) = 17.20, p < .001$. Consistent with research in self-objectification (see Moradi & Huang, 2008), female participants report more trait self-objectification ($M = 1.18; SD = 10.85$) than male participants ($M = -3.21; SD = 12.95$), $F(1, 208) = 6.99, p = .009$. Second, consistent with a vast body of research that found that men are more likely to display negative attitudes toward female victims of sexual aggression (see Grubb & Harrower, 2008, for a review), we found higher scores on the victim blame subscale among male participants ($M = 3.93; SD = 1.14$) compared with female participants ($M = 3.45; SD = 1.14$), $F(1, 208) = 9.43, p = .002$. We observed the same pattern for the general attitudes toward sexual harassment, $F(1, 208) = 56.13, p < .001$, with higher score on this scale among male participants ($M = 2.83, SD = .57$) than among female participants ($M = 2.27, SD = .51$). Moreover, male participants’ ratings on perpetrator blame were lower ($M = 3.41; SD = 1.44$) than female participants’ ratings ($M = 4.04; SD = 1.49$), $F(1, 208) = 9.74, p =$

.002. Finally, ANOVA revealed no effect of participant gender on social desirability, $F(1, 208) = .22, p = .64$.

Manipulation Check

As predicted, participants rated the women appearing in the two “sexually objectifying” video clips as more depicted as a sex-object ($M = 6.36, SD = 1.01$) than those appearing in the “personalizing” video clips ($M = 3.05, SD = 1.39$), $F(1, 206) = 399.34, p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .66$. No main effect of participant or interaction between condition and participant gender emerged, $ps > .12$. In addition, 28 participants (18 men) of the present sample indicated they had seen at least one of the two video clips in another context than the present experiment. This being said, excluding participants that mentioned having already watched at least one of the video clips ($N = 28$, 18 participants in the sexual objectification condition) did not alter the significance of the findings. We did not exclude these 28 participants from the sample. The statistical analyses reported in this paper were thus conducted based on the entire sample.

Social Desirability

Social desirability was not affected by the sexual objectification condition, $F(1, 208) = .03, p = .87$, and did not interact with the sexual objectification condition in any of the regression models presented below (all $ps > .58$). In addition, including social desirability into our three regression models did not alter the significance of our findings. Consequently, we did not include social desirability in the following regression models.

Effect of Sexually Objectifying Video Clips and Self-Objectification Trait on Sexual Harassment Perception

First, we hypothesized that participants would display more positive attitudes toward sexual harassment after watching sexually objectifying (vs. personalizing) video clips (Hypothesis 1). Second, we hypothesized that the level of trait self-objectification will predict tolerance toward sexual harassment of women, with tolerance toward sexual harassment increasing as a function of trait self-objectification (Hypothesis 2).

We used a step-by-step regression analysis for each dependent variable (Aiken & West, 1991). In the first step, main effects of condition (coded as -1 = Sexual objectification; 1 = Personalization), participant gender (coded as -1 = Women; 1 = Men), and trait self-objectification (centered) were entered. In the second step, we added the product terms corresponding to the two-way interactions. In the third step, we added the three-way interaction term. All equations and statistics appear in Table 2.

General attitudes toward sexual harassment (Model 1). In the first step, contrary to Hypothesis 1, we did not find a main effect of the sexual objectification condition, $\beta = -.03$, $t = -.44$, $p = .662$. In contrast, consistent with Hypothesis 2, we found a significant main effect of self-objectification with tolerance toward sexual harassment increasing when trait self-objectification increases, $\beta = .27$, $t = 4.48$, $p < .001$. Moreover, a main effect of participant gender also emerged, $\beta = .51$, $t = 8.49$, $p < .001$, with higher tolerance toward sexual harassment among male participants. Finally, we did not find a significant interaction between

sexual objectification and self-objectification, $\beta = .03$, $t = .51$, $p = .611$, and the other interactions in steps two and three did not approach statistical significance (all $ps > .39$).

Victim blame (Model 2). Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we found a main effect of sexual objectification, $\beta = -.18$, $t = -2.66$, $p = .008$: participants rated the victim as more blameworthy after watching sexually objectifying video clips than personalizing video clips. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, a trend of self-objectification emerged, $\beta = .12$, $t = 1.81$, $p = .071$, with victim blame increasing when trait self-objectification increases. Furthermore, we found a main effect of participant gender, $\beta = .23$, $t = 3.40$, $p = .001$, with more victim blameworthiness attributed by male participants. Interactions in the second and third step were not significant (all $ps > .19$).

Perpetrator blame (Model 3). In step one, we found a main effect of participant gender: male participants blame the perpetrator less than female participants in step one, $\beta = -.22$, $t = -3.19$, $p = .002$. The other main effects in step one, and interactions in steps two and three did not reach statistical significance (all $ps > .37$).

Table 2
Regression Analysis

Regression models	Step	β	t	ΔR^2	p
Model 1 (General attitudes toward sexual harassment)					
Sexual objectification (SexO)	1	-.03	-.44		.662
Trait self-objectification (TSO)	1	.27	4.48		<.001
Participant gender (PG)	1	.51	8.49	.282	<.001
SexO $\times$ TSO	2	.03	.51		.611
SexO $\times$ PG	2	-.05	-.86		.394
TSO $\times$ PG	2	-.02	-.35	.287	.729
SexO $\times$ TSO $\times$ PG	3	-.04	-.66	.289	.507
Model 2 (Victim blame)					
Sexual objectification (SexO)	1	-.18	-2.66		.008
Trait self-objectification (TSO)	1	.12	1.81		.071
Participant gender (PG)	1	.23	3.40	.086	.001
SexO $\times$ TSO	2	-.09	-1.29		.198
SexO $\times$ PG	2	.02	.33		.740
TSO $\times$ PG	2	.06	.79	.097	.430
SexO $\times$ TSO $\times$ PG	3	.03	.38	.098	.703
Model 3 (Perpetrator blame)					
Sexual objectification (SexO)	1	.06	.84		.401
Trait self-objectification (TSO)	1	-.05	-.70		.482
Participant gender (PG)	1	-.22	-3.19	.050	.002
SexO $\times$ TSO	2	.02	.25		.800
SexO $\times$ PG	2	.03	.45		.653
TSO $\times$ PG	2	-.06	-.89	.054	.372
SexO $\times$ TSO $\times$ PG	3	.03	.36	.055	.717

Mostly consistent with hypothesis 1 and 2, sexually objectifying media leads to more victim blame and self-objectification predicted general attitudes toward sexual harassment as well as victim blame regardless of participant gender. In contrast, sexual objectification did not affect either the perception of the male harasser or general attitudes toward sexual harassment.

General Discussion

Departing from past research documenting biased impression formation that takes place when viewing sexualized images of women (Loughnan et al., 2010; Vaes et al., 2011), this paper examined the impact of sexually objectifying media on the perception of women in a real-life scenario. Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) indeed posits that exposure to visual media that displays women in sexually objectifying ways influences people's perceptions of women in real life. Consistent with the latter proposition, our study suggests that viewing sexually objectifying media contributes to evaluating a harassed female victim as more to blame. In contrast, exposure to sexually objectifying video clips did not shift either perpetrator blame or general negative attitudes toward women's sexual harassment. Following an exemplar-based perspective (cf. Bodenhausen, Schwarz, Bless, & Wänke, 1995; Smith & Zarate, 1992), this pattern of results suggests that participants may have evaluated the woman in the scenario based on the recently activated exemplar (i.e., the sexually objectified target), specifically shifting evaluation of the female target in the scenario instead of modifying perception of the perpetrator blame and more abstract knowledge structures such as general negative attitudes toward sexual harassment. Consistent with and extending the system justification perspective on self-objectification, we also found that trait self-objectification among men and women predicts tolerance toward sexual harassment. This important finding suggests that self-objectification does not merely reflect internalization of gender-based inequalities, but also actively contributes to reinforce them.

Whereas we found that men and women's self-objectification was associated with attitudes toward sexual harassment, the effect of

sexually objectifying video clips on tolerance toward sexual harassment of women did not interact significantly with trait self-objectification. This is consistent with recent research suggesting that exposure to benevolent and complementary forms of sexism increases self-objectification among women, but exposure to hostile sexist cues does not affect these outcomes (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Given that tolerance toward sexual harassment of women appears as an outcome of self-objectification, future research should directly manipulate the benevolent versus hostile media content to which viewers are exposed and examine whether trait self-objectification moderates their effect on the perception of indicators of gender-based inequalities such as sexual harassment behaviors. From a system justification perspective, one may expect that trait self-objectification would predict higher tolerance toward sexual harassment of women after watching media conveying benevolent—but not hostile—forms of sexism.

In line with research on self-objectification that explored the antecedents (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008) and the many costs of self-objectification for women (Moradi & Huang, 2008), this paper invites the development of a novel line of research that would examine the hitherto understudied outcomes of self-objectification (e.g., sexual harassment, rape proclivity, sexual adversarial beliefs), which reflect gender-based inequalities. Specifically, given that we found that people with high trait self-objectification are likely to display more tolerance toward sexual harassment and to display more negative attitudes toward a harassed victim after watching sexually objectifying media, this paper also invites further investigation of the role of self-objectification in the process of objectification of women. In this view, a crucial next step would be to examine whether self-objectification is specifically linked to more positive attitudes toward *sexual* mistreatment of women (e.g., rape perception) or related to derogation of women's rights more generally (e.g., nonsexual violence, inequalities in hiring decisions). Finally, we did not find an effect of exposure to objectifying video clips on general attitudes toward sexual harassment, possibly because general attitudes are more stable and less malleable. Nevertheless, it is plausible that longer and stronger exposure to such media may

modulate general attitudes toward sexual harassment (Aubrey et al., 2011).

We manipulated sexual objectification as the amount of space dedicated to the woman's sexualized body versus her face in the segments of video clips we selected. Although we found the expected significant difference in sexual objectification ratings between the two sets of video clips, future research might benefit from controlling potential target features—not related to the sexualized body—that may contribute to a focus on target sexuality even in the personalized condition (e.g., flirty facial expressions). The female targets used in our objectification video clips were thin and sexualized. Nonetheless, recent research suggests that body size plays a role in dehumanization and objectification. In a recent study, Holland and Haslam (2013) found that overweight women were perceived as having more moral values and mental states compared with female thin targets and those wearing revealing clothing. In this view, future studies should investigate whether target's characteristics—such as body size—are likely to temper the effect of sexually objectifying media on attitudes toward sexual harassment of women. Relatedly, singers appearing in the video clips convey idealized beauty standards. It might be of interest to orthogonally manipulate target sexual objectification and target attractiveness in order to assess the respective role of beauty standards and sexualization on the attitudes toward women in real life. Moreover, the woman in the real life harassment scenario was attractive. Future research should examine whether victim and perpetrator attractiveness modulate the effect of sexually objectifying video clips on people's perceptions of sexual harassment, as previous research showed that within an identical harassment context, attractive women are more likely to be harassed and attractive perpetrators are perceived as less harassing (Golden, Johnson, & Lopez, 2001).

The results we reported in this paper were not contaminated by social desirability. In a similar vein, future research should nonetheless include probe questions in order to ensure that participants' answers were not primed in a particular direction due to the design of the study. The reliability of the victim blame scale was low. Our victim blame scale only contains four items and we know that Cronbach's alpha is notori-

ously susceptible to the number of items in a measure as well as reflecting consistency only among unidimensional items (Peter, 1979). In this view, if we had generated 16 more parallel items by using the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula to the four existing items, reliabilities would have translated to .86 to .89. Alternatively, given that Cronbach's alpha is highly sensitive to a very small (or very large) number of items, researchers have proposed to look at the raw mean interitem correlation as a statistical marker of internal consistency, with a mean interitem correlation falling in the range of .20 to .40 reflecting a good internal consistency (see Briggs & Cheek, 1986; Clark & Watson, 1995). Using this criterion, all our items are positively correlated, and we found a mean interitem correlation of .28, which highlights that our scale has a satisfactory internal consistency. Moreover, the victim blame scale displays good construct validity (i.e., positive correlation between general attitudes toward sexual harassment and victim blame and a negative correlation between victim blame and perpetrator blame scale). This is relevant with regard to reliability as well given that an unreliable measure cannot be valid. Hence, the victim blame scale displays satisfactory reliability and good construct validity.

We solely relied on sexually objectifying versus personalizing video clips because both men and women broadly consume this type of media since childhood (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001). Nonetheless, in line with research showing that sexual objectification of women in visual media (Aubrey et al., 2011) and videogames (Dill et al., 2008) is associated with adversarial sexual beliefs and negative attitudes toward women, it is very plausible that sexual objectification of women conveyed by other types of media would lead to a similar effect on tolerance toward sexual harassment.

Concluding Remarks

Our paper showed that sexual objectification conveyed in the media is likely to influence the way people perceive sexual harassment perpetrated toward women. Extending the integration between objectification theory and system justification theory, we also illuminated the active role of self-objectification in the perpetuation of

the *status quo* in gender-based inequalities. We hope that this paper will provide a suitable platform to conduct novel research integrating media consumption, objectification, and discrimination.

References

- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. London, UK: Sage.
- Alexandra Stan. (2011a, February 9). *Lollipop (Param Pam Pam)* [Youtube video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfDAbsj72aI>
- Alexandra Stan. (2011b, September 17). *Bittersweet (LIVE) - dedicat lui Alex* [Youtube video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BQ09WcwwkVk>
- Anelia. (2010, January 19). *Anelia - Look into my eyes* [Youtube video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g57UdgXRtiA>
- Anelia. (2011, January 1). *Anelia feat. Dj Niki Razdqlata 2011 Full HQ* [Youtube video]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AO2RBAC_OtY&list=RD3RT7wlkxgwo&index=2
- Aubrey, J. S. (2006). Effects of sexually objectifying media on self-objectification and body surveillance in undergraduates: Results of a 2-year panel study. *Journal of Communication*, 56, 366–386. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00024.x>
- Aubrey, J. S., Henson, J. R., Hopper, K. M., & Smith, S. E. (2009). A picture is worth twenty words (about the self): Testing the priming influence of visual sexual objectification on women's self-objectification. *Communication Research Reports*, 26, 271–284. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08824090903293551>
- Aubrey, J. S., Hopper, K. M., & Mbure, W. (2011). Check that body! The effects of sexually objectifying music videos on college men's sexual beliefs. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 55, 360–379. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2011.597469>
- Baker, C. N. (2005). Images of women's sexuality in advertisements: A content analysis of Black- and White-oriented women's and men's magazines. *Sex Roles*, 52, 13–27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-1190-y>
- Bartky, S. L. (1990). *Femininity and domination: Studies in the phenomenology of oppression*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., Campomizzi, S., & Klein, O. (2012). Integrating sexual objectification with object versus person recognition: The sexualized-body-inversion hypothesis. *Psychological Science*, 23, 469–471. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797611434748>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S., Allen, J., Campomizzi, S., & Klein, O. (2015). Body parts reduction and self-objectification in the objectification of sexualized bodies. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 28, 39–61.
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., Delmée, A., & Klein, O. (2015). From sex-objects to human beings: Masked sexual body parts and humanization as moderators to women's objectification. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39, 432–446. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684315580125>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., & Klein, O. (2013). Perceptual determinants are critical, but they don't explain everything: A response to Tarr (2013). *Psychological Science*, 24, 1071–1073. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797612474672>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., & Klein, O. (2015). Commentary "The sexualized-body-inversion hypothesis revisited: Valid indicator of sexual objectification or methodological artifact?" *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 845. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00845>
- Bernard, P., Loughnan, S., Godart, A., Marchal, C., & Klein, O. (2015). The exonerating effect of sexual objectification: Sexual objectification decreases rapist blame in a stranger rape context. *Sex Roles*, 72, 499–508. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0482-0>
- Bodenhausen, G. V., Schwarz, N., Bless, H., & Wänke, M. (1995). Effects of atypical exemplars on racial beliefs: Enlightened racism or generalized appraisals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31, 48–63. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1995.1003>
- Briggs, S. R., & Cheek, J. M. (1986). The role of factor analysis in the evaluation of personality scales. *Journal of Personality*, 54, 106–148. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1986.tb00391.x>
- Burgess, M. C. R., Stermer, S. P., & Burgess, S. R. (2007). Sex, lies, and videogames: The portrayal of male and female characters on videogame covers. *Sex Roles*, 57, 419–433. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9250-0>
- Calogero, R. M. (2013). Objects don't object: Evidence that self-objectification disrupts women's social activism. *Psychological Science*, 24, 312–318. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797612452574>
- Calogero, R. M., & Jost, J. T. (2011). Self-subjugation among women: Exposure to sexist ideology, self-objectification, and the protective function of the need to avoid closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100, 211–228. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0021864>
- Cikara, M., Eberhardt, J. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2011). From agents to objects: Sexist attitudes and neural responses to sexualized targets. *Journal of Cogni-*

- tive Neuroscience*, 23, 540–551. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/jocn.2010.21497>
- Civile, C., & Obhi, S. S. (2015). Power, objectification, and recognition of sexualized women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684315604820>
- Clark, L. A., & Watson, D. (1995). Constructing validity: Basic issues in objective scale development. *Psychological Assessment*, 7, 309–319. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.7.3.309>
- Conley, T. D., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Killing us softly? Investigating portrayals of women and men in contemporary magazine advertisements. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35, 469–478. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684311413383>
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2002). The police officer's dilemma: Using ethnicity to disambiguate potentially threatening individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1314–1329. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.6.1314>
- Dill, K. E., Brown, B. P., & Collins, M. A. (2008). Effects of exposure to sex-stereotyped video game characters on tolerance of sexual harassment. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44, 1402–1408. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.06.002>
- Dill, K. E., & Thill, K. P. (2007). Video game characters and the socialization of gender roles: Young people's perceptions mirror sexist media depictions. *Sex Roles*, 57, 851–864. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9278-1>
- Fairchild, K., & Rudman, L. A. (2008). Everyday stranger harassment and women's objectification. *Social Justice Research*, 21, 338–357. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11211-008-0073-0>
- Fazio, R. H., & Williams, C. J. (1986). Attitude accessibility as a moderator of the attitude-perception and attitude-behavior relations: An investigation of the 1984 presidential election. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 505–514. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.51.3.505>
- Forgas, J. P., & Bower, G. H. (1987). Mood effects on person-perception judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 53–60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.53.1.53>
- Fox, J., Ralston, R. A., Cooper, C. K., & Jones, K. A. (2014). Sexualized avatars lead to women's self-objectification and acceptance of rape myths. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39, 349–362. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684314553578>
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 173–206. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>
- Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Cadinu, M. (2013). Objectifying media their effect on gender role norms and sexual harassment of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 398–413. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684313515185>
- Gervais, S. J., Vescio, T. K., & Allen, J. (2012). When are people interchangeable sexual objects? The effect of gender and body type on sexual fungibility. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51, 499–513. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02016.x>
- Gervais, S. J., Vescio, T. K., Maass, A., Förster, J., & Suitner, C. (2012). Seeing women as objects: The sexual body part recognition bias. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42, 743–753.
- Golden, J. H., III, Johnson, C. A., & Lopez, R. A. (2001). Sexual harassment in the workplace: Exploring the effects of attractiveness on perception of harassment. *Sex Roles*, 45, 767–784. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1015688303023>
- Gray, K., Knobe, J., Sheskin, M., Bloom, P., & Barrett, L. F. (2011). More than a body: Mind perception and the nature of objectification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101, 1207–1220. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0025883>
- Grubb, A., & Harrower, J. (2008). Attribution of blame in cases of rape: An analysis of participant gender, type of rape and perceived similarity to the victim. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13, 396–405. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2008.06.006>
- Gurung, R. A. R., & Chrouser, C. J. (2007). Predicting objectification: Do provocative clothing and observers characteristics matter? *Sex Roles*, 57, 91–99. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9219-z>
- Harper, B., & Tiggemann, M. (2008). The effect of thin ideal images on women's self-objectification, mood, and body image. *Sex Roles*, 58, 649–657. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9379-x>
- Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 598–601. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008>
- Heflick, N. A., Goldenberg, J. L., Cooper, D. P., & Puvia, E. (2011). From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47, 572–581. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020>
- Hofferth, S. L., & Sandberg, J. F. (2001). How American children spend their time. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63, 295–308. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00295.x>
- Holland, E., & Haslam, N. (2013). Worth the weight: The objectification of overweight versus thin targets. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 462–468. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684312474800>

- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. (1994). The role stereotyping in system justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1–27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x>
- Jost, J. T., Banaji, M., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, 25, 881–919. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x>
- Kalof, L. (1999). The effects of gender and music video imagery on sexual attitudes. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 139, 378–385. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224549909598393>
- Kenealy, P. (1988). Validation of music mood induction procedure: Some preliminary findings. *Cognition and Emotion*, 2, 41–48. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02699938808415228>
- Klein, K. M., Apple, K. J., & Kahn, A. S. (2011). Attributions of blame and responsibility in sexual harassment: Reexamining a psychological model. *Law and Human Behavior*, 35, 92–103. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10979-009-9216-6>
- Kunkel, D., Biely, E., Eyal, K., Cope-Farrar, K., Donnerstein, E., & Fandrich, R. (2003). *Sex on TV 3: A biennial report of the Kaiser Family Foundation*. Menlo Park, CA: Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Lanis, K., & Covell, K. (1995). Images of women in advertisements: Effects on attitudes related to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles*, 32, 639–649. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01544216>
- LimeSurvey Project Team/Carsten Schmitz. (2012). LimeSurvey: An Open Source survey tool/ LimeSurvey Project Hamburg, Germany. Retrieved from <http://www.limesurvey.org>
- Lindner, K. (2004). Images of women in general interest and fashion magazine advertisements from 1955 to 2002. *Sex Roles*, 51, 409–421. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000049230.86869.4d>
- Lott, B., Reilly, M. E., & Howard, D. R. (1982). Sexual assault and harassment: A campus community case study. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 8, 296–319. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/493964>
- Loughnan, S., Haslam, N., Murnane, T., Vaes, J., Reynolds, C., & Suitner, C. (2010). Objectification leads to depersonalization: The denial of mind and moral concern to objectified others. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 709–717.
- Loughnan, S., Pina, A., Vasquez, E. A., & Puvia, E. (2013). Sexual objectification increases rape victim blame and decreases perceived suffering. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 455–461. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684313485718>
- Lucas, K., & Sherry, J. L. (2004). Sex differences in video game play: A communication-based approach. *Communication Research*, 31, 499–523. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650204267930>
- MacKay, N. J., & Covell, K. (1997). The impact of women in advertisements on attitudes toward women. *Sex Roles*, 36, 573–583. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1025613923786>
- Milburn, M. A., Mather, R., & Conrad, S. D. (2000). The effects of viewing R-rated movie scenes that objectify women on perceptions of date rape. *Sex Roles*, 43, 645–664. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1007152507914>
- Moradi, B., & Huang, Y. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade of advances and future directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32, 377–398. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00452.x>
- Noll, S. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). A mediational model linking self-objectification, body shame, and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22, 623–636.
- Peter, J. P. (1979). Reliability: A review of psychometric basics and recent marketing practices. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 16, 64–73. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3150868>
- Peter, P., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2007). Adolescents' exposure to a sexualized media environment and their notions of women as sex objects. *Sex Roles*, 56, 381–395. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9176-y>
- Pina, A., Gannon, T. A., & Saunders, B. (2009). An overview of the literature on sexual harassment: Perpetrator, theory, and treatments issues. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 14, 126–138. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2009.01.002>
- Reynolds, W. M. (1982). Development of reliable and valid short forms of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 38, 119–125. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/1097-4679\(198201\)38:1<119::AID-JCLP2270380118>3.0.CO;2-I](http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/1097-4679(198201)38:1<119::AID-JCLP2270380118>3.0.CO;2-I)
- Rudman, L. A., & Borgida, E. (1995). The afterglow of construct accessibility: The behavioral consequences of priming men to view women as sexual objects. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31, 493–517. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1995.1022>
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2012). Of animals and objects: Men's implicit dehumanization of women and likelihood of sexual aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 734–746. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167212436401>
- Smith, E. R., & Zarate, M. A. (1992). Exemplar-based model of social judgment. *Psychological Review*, 99, 3–21. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.99.1.3>

- Stankiewicz, J. M., & Rosselli, F. (2008). Women as sex objects and victims in print advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 58, 579–589. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9359-1>
- Stermer, S. P., & Burkley, M. (2015). SeX-Box: Exposure to sexist video games predicts benevolent sexism. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 4, 47–55. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0028397>
- Strelan, P., & Hargreaves, D. (2005). Women who objectify other women: The vicious circle of objectification? *Sex Roles*, 52, 707–712. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-3737-3>
- Swim, J., Hyers, L., Cohen, L., & Ferguson, M. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 31–53. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00200>
- Vaes, J., Paladino, M. P., & Puvia, E. (2011). Are sexualized females complete human beings? Why males and females dehumanize sexually objectified women. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 774–785. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.824>
- Ward, L. M. (1995). Talking about sex: Common themes about sexuality in the prime-time television programs children and adolescents view most. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24, 595–615. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01537058>
- Ward, L. M. (2003). Understanding the role of entertainment in the sexual socialization of American youth: A review of empirical research. *Developmental Review*, 23, 347–388. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0273-2297\(03\)00013-3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0273-2297(03)00013-3)
- Ward, L. M., & Friedman, K. (2006). Using TV as a guide: Associations between television viewing and adolescents' sexual attitudes and behavior. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 16, 133–156. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00125.x>
- Yao, M. Z., Mahood, C., & Linz, D. (2010). Sexual priming, gender stereotyping, and likelihood to sexually harass: Examining the cognitive effects of playing a sexually explicit video game. *Sex Roles*, 62, 77–88. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9695-4>

Appendix

French Version of the Scenario

Anne est une étudiante de deuxième année à l'université, et elle a beaucoup de difficultés à rédiger les travaux demandés dans le cadre de ses cours. Elle s'est adressée au Centre d'Aide aux Etudiants et s'est inscrite aux sessions hebdomadaires de tutorat, afin d'améliorer ses compétences rédactionnelles. John, un diplômé avec mention grande distinction en anglais est le tuteur qui lui a été assigné. Il a commencé à donner des séances de tutorat lors du dernier semestre car il avait besoin d'un peu d'argent supplémentaire, et le Centre le rémunère bien pour le travail qu'il fournit. John est le tuteur de Anne depuis maintenant trois mois environs; il la rencontre une fois par semaine. Pratiquement lors de chaque séance, John fait à Anne des commentaires concernant le fait qu'il la trouve attirante, évoquant généralement ses cheveux, sa tenue, ou ses yeux. Anne sourit toujours, et remercie John pour le compliment. Anne vient

juste de déposer une plainte auprès du superviseur de John, concernant le commentaire que John lui a fait après la séance. John n'est pas le seul homme à avoir commenté l'apparence d'Anne. Beaucoup d'autres hommes ont dit à Anne à quel point ils la trouvent belle. Elle changeait toujours de sujet, les ramenant au point de la discussion qu'ils étaient supposés discuter. John a travaillé pour le Centre d'Aide aux Etudiants pendant plus d'un an, et il a été le tuteur de nombreuses femmes durant cette période. Il leur disait souvent, au cours des séances, qu'elles étaient des femmes attirantes. Aucune de ces femmes ne s'est jamais plainte de John, et toutes l'ont recommandé aux autres comme tuteur.

Received March 11, 2015
Accepted February 4, 2016 ■