**The sources and consequences of sexual objectification**

L. Monique Ward1†, Elizabeth Daniels2, Eileen Zurbriggen3, and Danielle Rosenscruggs1

1Psychology Department, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

2Psychology Department, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, Colorado Springs, CO, USA

3University of California, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA, USA

†email: ward@umich.edu

Author contributions

All authors researched data for the article. L.M.W., E.D., and E.Z. contributed substantially to discussion of the content. All authors wrote the article and reviewed and/or edited the manuscript before submission.

Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Peer review information

*Nature Reviews Psychology* thanks [Referee#1 name], [Referee#2 name] and the other, anonymous, reviewer(s) for their contribution to the peer review of this work.

Publisher's note

Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

**ABSTRACT**

Sexual objectification (treating a person as a body or collection of body parts) involves a cultural prioritizing of women’s sexual appearance and appeal over other attributes. Sexual objectification is prevalent, permeates many aspects of women’s lives, shapes general assumptions about women, and exacts many consequences on women and society. In this Review, we synthesize empirical evidence about the sources and consequences of seeing women as sexual objects, and of women’s objectification of themselves (self-objectification). In general, sexually objectified women are perceived more negatively, and as less competent and less fully human than non-sexually objectified women. Exposure to this cultural messaging has broad consequences and fuels sexist attitudes and violence toward women. A central consequence for women is self-objectification, which is associated with a more negative body image; diminished mental, physical, and sexual health; and impaired cognitive performance. Sociocontextual factors influence women’s experiences with sexual objectification, and here we explore the role of race and ethnicity, in particular. We conclude with suggested directions for future research.

**[H1] Introduction**

Sexual objectification occurs when a person is treated as a body (or collection of body parts), valued predominantly for their sexual appeal and the ways they can fulfill other people’s sexual needs1,2. Sexual objectification occurs mainly for women and adolescent girls, and takes multiple forms, occurring at the interpersonal level (for example, verbal and nonverbal evaluations of a woman’s body, unwanted sexual advances), at the cultural level (for example, exposure to objectified representations of women in traditional and social media), and as an immersive interpersonal or cultural experience (such as in modeling and beauty pageants)3. These behaviors are not benign but are a form of sexism that strips women of the qualities that make them human (including their competencies, emotions, and cognitions) and restricts focus to their sexual body parts and functions. Sexual objectification is prevalent4,5 and linked to viewing women, as a group, as primarily sexual objects and to women’s valuing themselves mainly for their sexual appeal to others. Both perspectives are problematic, and are associated with women’s diminished mental, physical, and sexual health6,7, reduced cognitive performance8, and vulnerability to violence2,9.

Most research on sexual objectification has relied on two theories that were proposed independently yet contemporaneously – objectified body consciousness10 and objectification theory2. Objectified body consciousness10 was conceptualized as a multidimensional construct comprised of three inter-related components: body surveillance (chronically monitoring the body), body shame (feeling bad because one perceives that one’s body does not meet cultural beauty standards), and appearance control beliefs (believing that with enough effort one can control what one’s body looks like). By contrast, self-objectification*,* which is conceptually similar to body surveillance and entails scrutinizing and monitoring the body for compliance with cultural beauty standards, was put forward as a unidimensional construct2. Both theories were developed in response to a Western cultural milieu that overvalues women’s physical and sexual attractiveness and undervalues their personhood, such as their capacities, thoughts, and feelings. In such environments, women experience interpersonal treatment based on their attractiveness (for example, objectifying comments or gazes from others), and mass media commonly depict women as sexual objects. In response to these conditions, women might internalize external perspectives as primary means to view their bodies, thereby considering themselves as an object for others’ evaluation. Such self-objectification disrupts embodiment, that is, experiencing the world through one’s body (for example, through movement11) because of pressure to meet external standards.

In this Review, we summarize research on sexual objectification, with particular attention to studies published in the past decade. First, we discuss the sources of sexual objectification. Next, we review the consequences of seeing women as sexual objects, and in women’s objectification of themselves. Finally, we explore how the sexual objectification experiences of women of color align with and diverge from those of white women and propose directions for future research. Given the breadth of research on sexual objectification, we focus on studies of adult women or studies addressing men’s treatment of adult women (for a review concerning youth, see12; for a review of impacts for boys and men, see13). Building on existing reviews6,7, we seek to provide a synthesis of findings rather than critiques of individual studies.

Concerning specific terminology, many scholars have expanded the original theorizing underlying most research on sexual objectification to include the construct of sexualization4. Sexual objectification and sexualization are related constructs but are not synonymous (Box 1). Here we use the terms sexually objectifying or objectifying unless authors used sexualized or sexualizing when describing their experimental stimuli or findings.

**[H1] Sources of sexual objectification**

The sexual objectification of women is ubiquitous in patriarchal societies and is conveyed by many sources. One prominent source of women’s sexual objectification is experienced via the models of beauty ideals and normative assumptions observed in traditional mainstream media, namely television programs and commercials, music videos, movies, magazines, and video games (for a review, see5). In these venues, sexually objectifying content takes multiple forms, including the overrepresentation of women wearing clothes that expose a lot of skin, verbal comments about women’s bodies and appearance, camera angles that target sexual body parts, and the explicit and implicit valuing and rewarding of women’s appearance over other attributes. Such treatment has been documented across media. In scripted television programs, high value is placed on women’s physical attractiveness and sexual appeal14,15, with one analysis reporting 24 sexualizing instances per TV episode16. This emphasis on women’s physical attractiveness also extends to television programs aimed at 8-to-12-year-olds17 and unscripted (‘reality’) programming18. In one analysis of the highest degree of body exposure observed for each of 622 reality TV characters, only 4% of female cast members exhibited no body exposure, versus 32% of male cast members19. Sexually objectifying depictions of women are especially prevalent and explicit in music videos. In one analysis, 65% of popular music videos contained sexual objectification, and 91% of female artists wore provocative clothing (compared to 36% of male artists20). Indeed, in music videos women are consistently more provocatively dressed than men, reveal more body parts, and dance in more sexually suggestive ways21-25.

Similar patterns of greater sexual objectification of women relative to men have been found in magazines26, print advertisements27, music lyrics28,29, video games30,31, and fictional films32. Furthermore, advertisements in teen magazines are more appearance-focused (71%) than nonappearance-focused (30%33. Although the findings above are specific to US media, these patterns have been documented globally, and have been reported for scripted Spanish TV programs34, TV programs popular with Flemish youth35, TV ads from the Philippines36, and trailers and posters for Hindi films37. Although differences in the levels of sexual objectification for female and male characters are not always observed (for example, see ref15), overall findings indicate that sexually objectified portrayals of women are highly prevalent across mainstream media.

Sexually objectifying content is also present on social media, especially image-based social networking sites such as Instagram and Facebook38-40. The affordances of social media, including interactivity, comparison with similar others, opportunities for public validation (for example, ‘likes’), and the ability to compose, edit, and control self-presentation, might enhance the appeal and power of these platforms41. In one study, 54% of images of women posted with the hashtag ‘fitspiration’ contained at least one aspect of objectification (such as an alluring or sultry gaze), and almost 26% of objectified images of women involved sexy posing42. Other similar analyses have found that ‘fitspiration’ posts of women are substantially more sexualized than posts of men43,44. However, more general content analyses of social media profiles (typically of college women) are less consistent in terms of the prevalence of sexual objectification: Some studies have found fairly high levels45,46, whereas others have found low47-50 or modest levels of sexual objectification51. For example, one analysis of undergraduate women’s Facebook profiles reported a mean sexualization score of 19.0 (on a scale from 0 to 25)45, whereas another analysis of U.S. undergraduate women’s Instagram and Facebook profiles reported mean sexualization scores of 4.9 and 4.2 (on a scale from 0 to 23), respectively50. Together, these findings indicate that exposure to sexual objectification on social media might vary depending on platform and hashtag usage.

Interactions at the personal level also convey messages that promote sexual objectification. These interpersonal interactions include verbal and nonverbal evaluations of the female body (such as leering and making sexual comments) and unwanted sexual advances (including unwanted touching and sexual harassment). Women regularly and frequently experience these phenomena. Interpersonal sexual objectification was reported an average of 2.7 times over five days in one multi-nation sample of women aged 18 to 46ref 52 and 3.7 times per week in a sample of Australian women aged 18 to 46ref 53. The most frequently reported events include being a target of an objectifying gaze, catcalls, whistles, or stares54. The Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale55 (Table 1) is the most widely used measure for assessing the general frequency of interpersonal sexual objectification and examines the occurrence of fifteen specific behaviors. Findings across 21 samples reveal average frequencies of experiences of interpersonal sexual objectification between ‘rarely’ and ‘occasionally’ (between 2 and 3 on a 5-point scale)3, 55-72.

Although all women are vulnerable to sexual objectification, sexism, racism, and heteronormativity intertwine to influence the nature of sexually objectifying experiences73. Queer, transgender, and racialized women experience severe forms of sexual objectification, such as sexual harassment, physical attacks, and sexual assault, at higher rates than heterosexual and white cis-women73-75. In addition to experiencing body comments and sexualized gazes, queer women and women of color also report being fetishized and must navigate stereotypes of hypersexuality and sexual availability to men73-76. Overall, interpersonal sexual objectification is a regular occurrence for most women, and some women are more vulnerable to its more extreme forms.

Finally, sexual objectification is communicated via cultural products marketed to girls and women, including sexualized clothing and toys (for example, Barbie dolls), appearance-enhancing products, and Halloween costumes77. Cultural sexual objectification is also evident in gender ideologies that value appearance and beauty for women but not men78; in the prevalence of beauty pageants for girls and women; in the abundance of careers that exploit women’s but not men’s bodies and sexual appeal (for example, exotic dancing, cocktail waitressing, cheerleading; Box 2); and in the sexualizing of normal female body functions, such as breastfeeding79, and everyday social activities, such as drinking alcohol80,81.

**[H1] Consequences of seeing women as sexual objects**

Sexually objectifying cultural messages communicated through media, cultural norms and activities, or interpersonal interactions, generate significant consequences. These messages shape explicit and implicit attributions about women and fuel sexist attitudes and violence toward women.

**[H2] Explicit and implicit attributions**

One set of consequences reflects explicit assumptions about sexually objectified women. Experimental studies have found that sexually objectified or sexualized women are perceived more negatively than non-sexually objectified or non-sexualized women on multiple dimensions, including being seen as less capable82, intelligent82,83, competent47,82-87, determined82, agentic87, fully human88, moral82,86, worthy of moral consideration83,89, warm86, socially appealing47,84, and as having less self-respect82 (for a review, see ref5). Similar patterns have been found in studies comparing sexualized and non-sexualized female student government candidates90, female businesswomen91,92, and female athletes93,94. Moreover, participants evaluate other professionally-dressed women more negatively after being exposed to images of sexualized women95,96.

Most research on sexual objectification has used white targets as stimuli. However, some studies have included Black targets97,98 or have matched the race or ethnicity of the target and participant99. In one such study female participants (66% white, 22% Black), rated Black sexualized targets as more popular than Black non-sexualized targets, whereas white sexualized targets were rated as less popular than white non-sexualized targets97. In that study sexualization was operationalized as seductive body language, cleavage and skin exposure, and sheer clothing. By contrast, in another study where sexual objectification was operationalized as self-touch and cleavage, participants (53% white, 46% Black) did not rate Black versus white targets differently in terms of perceptions of their morality, warmth, or competence98. Collectively, the existing evidence indicates that sexually objectified or sexualized women are perceived less positively than their non-objectified or non-sexualized counterparts.

Because people’s explicit responses can be subject to social desirability biases such as the need to appear moral, ethical, or intelligent100,101, psychologists have also used implicit measurement techniques to investigate whether sexual objectification causes people to be perceived or categorized as objects. Many of these studies draw on a large literature demonstrating that person recognition involves different mental processes than object recognition. Specifically, people are processed configurally, as a holistic Gestalt, whereas objects are processed analytically, in a more piecemeal fashion102,103. This processing difference can be measured via the body inversion effect103 in which participants are slower to process upside-down images of people compared to properly oriented (upright) images, whereas images of objects are generally processed equally well in either orientation. An initial study found an inversion effect indicative of configural processing for sexualized men but not for sexualized women, suggesting that sexualized women (but not men) are perceived as objects rather than humans104. Although critics have argued that these processing differences could be due to confounding factors such as greater asymmetry in the images of women compared to the images of men105 or idiosyncratic differences in stimuli106,107, the key finding that sexualization leads women to be processed as objects has been replicated in multiple studies drawing on both behavioral and neuroscience methods108-110. This effect is found more consistently for female targets, but it has also been observed for male targets111.

Other studies have used the Implicit Association Test112 to probe unconscious associations with sexually objectified women. In one such study, objectified women were more readily associated with animal words than were non-objectified women, non-objectified men, or objectified men113; in another study, women high in self-objectification showed stronger associations between objectified women and animal words than did women low in self-objectification114. Studies such as these that probe implicit or unconscious dehumanizing biases hold promise in elucidating the far-reaching effects of sexualization.

**[H2] Gender beliefs and sexism**

Sexual objectification is related to individuals’ support for sexism, traditional gender roles, and objectifying beliefs about women. Frequent everyday exposure to media that are typically high in sexually objectifying content, such as music videos, women’s magazines, and reality TV, is associated with stronger support of sexist or objectifying beliefs about women18, 115-121. Findings from experimental studies support these associations. Undergraduates exposed to specific media featuring sexually objectified women endorsed sexist statements or traditional gender stereotypes more strongly than participants without this exposure120, 122-125 (but see ref126 for null effects). In one study, women shown clips from superhero movies that included portrayals of sexualized female victims (for example, shown as weak and in need of rescue) expressed stronger support for traditional gender role beliefs than those who were shown no media content124.

Similar results have emerged with more interactive media. For example, playing a video game as or among sexualized female avatars predicts stronger endorsement of hostile sexism127, greater acceptance of rape myths128,129, greater tolerance of sexual harassment128,130, greater self-objectification131,129, and an underestimation of women’s cognitive abilities132. These effects are sometimes moderated by circumstances of the gameplay, such as level of immersion127, visual similarity to the avatar131, and level of cognitive load involved133. Failures to find effects of sexualized avatars on sexist attitudes and beliefs134,135 have been attributed to poor external validity of the laboratory gaming experience127, or the power and agency of sexualized female avatars, which might override perceptions that they are passive sexual objects127,134,135.

The consequences of sexual objectification extend beyond sexist beliefs and perceptions to actual behaviors. Exposure to sexually objectifying media has been associated with increases in looking at female bodies with an objectifying gaze136, asking more sexist questions during mock job interviews137, and stronger intention to engage in sexual coercion, share sexist jokes through digital media, or harass female communication partners138,139. More broadly, holding objectifying attitudes towards women in general has been linked to heavier use of a sexualizing gaze towards women140 and greater support of hostile sexism among women and men141,142. Indeed, greater support for objectifying beliefs about women is correlated with greater support of hostile sexism and the Madonna-Whore dichotomy—the contradictory, binary belief that women are either ‘good’ (for example, chaste and pure) or ‘bad’ (for example, seductive and promiscuous)— among heterosexual men in Israel, Germany, and the U.S., and greater support for sexual double standards among heterosexual men in Israel and the U.S.143,144. Together, these findings indicate that consuming sexually objectifying media and internalizing objectifying beliefs about women can trigger limiting and sexist perspectives toward women.

**[H2] Dehumanization and interpersonal violence**

 Sexual objectification is a risk factor for violence, harassment, and rape-supportive attitudes, partly because the sexually objectified person is perceived as less human (a phenomenon known as dehumanization) and elicits less empathy145. As noted above, participants rate sexualized women as having less competence, warmth, and morality (markers of humanization) than non-sexualized women146,147. Moreover, in experimental studies participants were less likely to say they would help a sexualized versus non-sexualized victim of intimate partner violence148, were more approving of bullying when it was directed toward a “sexually available” girl versus a girl whose description did not suggest promiscuity149, were slower or less willing to help a sexualized versus non-sexualized victim of sexual harassment150, and engaged in more actual aggression toward an objectified versus non-objectified woman by choosing to have her hold her hand in ice water for a longer amount of time151 or choosing to give her a louder burst of white noise152.

 Dehumanization mediates the association between objectification and aggression (ref 88, but see ref 133). For example, in one study with Italian college students, the reduced willingness to help a sexualized victim of intimate partner violence was mediated by ‘moral patiency’ (a measure of perceived humanity)148. Empathy for the victim or target is also influenced by sexualization. One study found that Fijian women who viewed a music video that featured sexualized women later displayed less empathy for a hypothetical female victim of intimate partner violence153. According to one proposed model reduced empathy mediates the association between viewing sexually objectifying media and accepting sexual harassment145.

 Correlational studies provide additional support for these associations. More frequent exposure to objectifying media is associated with men’s greater endorsement of women as sexual objects and, in turn, greater support of rape myths and violence against women119,121 and more frequent use of deceptive courtship practices119. A meta-analysis of 166 studies and 321 independent effects sizes reported that sexualized media (compared to neutral media) were positively associated with aggressive behavior (*r*=.19), thoughts (*r*=.14), and attitudes (*r*=.13)9. Moreover, men who report that they sexually objectify women are more likely to justify violence against women, perpetrate physical and psychological abuse against partners63, and commit acts of sexual aggression154-156; however, one study found this latter association in college students in the U.S. but not in the Philippines156. Again, this association might be mediated by dehumanization63.

**[H1] Consequences of seeing oneself as a sexual object**

In addition to shaping how individuals perceive women in general, sexually objectifying experiences and messages influence how women perceive themselves, most notably by spurring self-objectification or objectified body consciousness. With self-objectification, women value themselves predominantly for their body’s sexual appeal and less for their competencies, personality, or other traits. This narrow self-perception has extensive consequences for women’s cognitive performance and mental, physical, and sexual health (Figure 1). Despite these adverse consequences, women sometimes engage in self-objectification and even report enjoying the sexualized gaze (Box 3), partly because the costs of sexual objectification are often hidden while the potential benefits are promoted. Indeed, the culture’s extreme focus on monitoring and policing women’s appearance behooves women to self-objectify in an effort to control how others will perceive and engage with them.

Self-objectification can arise from multiple actions, including experiencing a sexualized gaze or commentary from others, engaging in appearance-focused activities (for example, exotic dancing or trying on swimwear), or viewing or engaging with sexually objectifying media2. Indeed, a meta-analysis of 50 studies and 261 effect sizes found a positive effect of sexualizing media on self-objectification (*r*=.19) that was independent of participant characteristics (age, gender, race, and student status), study design, publication year, and measure of objectification157. Similarly, social media use and specific social media behaviors (such as posting selfies or receiving comments about one’s appearance) are related to greater self-objectification in undergraduate women158-160. In this section we synthesize findings across the individual actions that might produce self-objectification to focus on its consequences for women.

**[H2] Mental health and well-being**

According to objectification theory, self-objectification is likely to lead to mental health consequences such as shame, anxiety, and depression2. There is indeed robust evidence that self-objectification is associated with greater depressive symptoms (for review, see ref161). Although most studies on self-objectification and depression have been conducted using predominantly white U.S. college samples, this association has also been found among Belgian162, Australian163, Taiwanese164, Canadian165, and Indian166 women. In addition, a correlation between self-objectification and depressive symptoms in women has been observed in U.S. samples where the majority of participants are Latina and/or Black59,167,168 (but see ref 69). These findings are supported by experimental studies in which self-objectification is primed or manipulated125,169. Associations between self-objectification and depressive symptoms have been found to be partially or fully mediated by body shame and appearance anxiety (for reviews see refs161,170), and by dissociation171, fear of men and taking of precautions to protect oneself from rape3, and use of internalizing coping strategies59.

 Self-objectification is also correlated with lower self-esteem in North American female college students172, older women in Canada (mean age 66173), male and female college students in the U.S.174, and mid-life women and men in the U.S. (mean age 36ref 175). As with depression, associations between self-objectification and self-esteem are often mediated by factors such as body shame175-177 or appearance anxiety172,177. Self-objectification is also associated with higher levels of loneliness175, deliberate self-harm178, and narcissism179, and lower levels of life satisfaction180, subjective well-being165, and positive affect, vitality, and ‘flow’ (a pleasurable state of energized focus in which one loses track of time)181.

 Several studies support objectification theory’s prediction that self-objectification should be associated with anxiety (for a review, seeref 182). For example, self-objectification is correlated with generalized anxiety in American female and male college students174 and in white and Black American female college students183. Specific anxiety about risk and harm to the body is also associated with self-objectification. Women who self-objectify provide higher estimates of their risk of being a victim of rape or intimate partner violence compared to those who do not self-objectify54,184. Not surprisingly, self-objectification in women is correlated with fear of being raped184, fear of men3, and anxiety about personal safety185. Women who score higher on self-objectification report taking more precautions to protect themselves from rape3 and having a restricted sense of their freedom of movement185. In sum, self-objectification interferes with positive mental health.

**[H2] Body satisfaction and eating disorders**

Objectification theory posits that habitual body monitoring in response to objectifying appearance pressures predicts body shame2. Specifically, shame results when a woman feels that her body does not live up to cultural beauty expectations and that others judge her body as undesirable. Thus, eating disorders might be one consequence of self-objectification, as women might engage in maladaptive eating practices in an attempt to achieve culturally-determined ideal body sizes. Indeed, a meta-analysis186 of 53 studies found that self-objectification is associated with disordered eating (*r* = .39) (see also ref 187). The effect was stronger in women (*r* = .41) than men (*r* = .20). In addition, the association was stronger among Caucasian (*r* = .42) and Asian American women (*r* = .42) compared to African American or Black women (*r* = .34), was strongest among heterosexual women (*r* = .39), and was weakest among heterosexual men (*r* = .23)186. There is also evidence that body surveillance is correlated with other appearance beliefs among undergraduate women, including weight and/or shape concerns183 and body dissatisfaction62. Together, these findings indicate that self-objectification is associated with a range of maladaptive body attitudes and eating behaviors.

Furthermore, self-objectification has implications for women’s attitudes toward cosmetic surgery. Greater self-objectification, body surveillance, and body shame are related to greater consideration of cosmetic surgery in English188, Australian189, Chinese190, German191, and American192 women. In addition, talking about bodies and posting and editing selfies more frequently on social media are associated with increased body surveillance and shame, and consequently greater consideration of cosmetic surgery, among female Chinese college students193-195. These findings indicate that the extent to which women are interested in elective cosmetic surgery is related to their tendency to self-objectify.

**[H2] Physical health**

Self-objectification is linked to women’s physical health and greater participation in health-compromising behaviors, possibly because women who self-objectify might pay less attention to their internal states and personal health. Several findings support this explanation. First, among young women, higher levels of self-objectification are associated directly or indirectly via body shame with a greater motivation to drink to cope196,197, heavier consumption of alcohol and other drugs58, and greater likelihood of being a smoker198,199. Second, because white yet tanned skin is a core part of the feminine beauty ideal, greater body and skin-tone surveillance are linked to heavier skin tanning behaviors and inclinations among white women200-202 and to skin-bleaching behaviors among Indian and Black women203,204, despite the health risks of these behaviors. Third, greater self-objectification is associated with less sensitivity to internal states, including less accurate detection of one’s heartbeat205. Indeed, one study found that greater self-objectification predicted both greater skin exposure and reports of feeling less cold when wearing little clothing outside a nightclub on a cold night, suggesting that self-objectification is linked with denial or diminished awareness of bodily sensations206. Fourth, greater self-objectification is associated with lower levels and less enjoyment of physical activity207,208 (but see ref 209, for null results), and stronger endorsement of appearance-related reasons to exercise and fewer health and/or fitness reasons210,211. Overall, these findings illustrate that greater self-objectification is linked to less attention to internal states and greater willingness to engage in health-risk behaviors.

**[H2] Cognitive performance**

Self-objectification is theorized to impair cognitive performance by consuming attentional resources2. In the first empirical test of this proposition, state self-objectification (a temporary state of high self-objectification) was manipulated by assigning participants to wear either a swimsuit (objectifying condition) or sweater (non-objectifying condition) while completing a math test212. Women assigned to wear a swimsuit performed worse (marginal effect, *p* = .056) on the math test compared to women assigned to wear a sweater, whereas men’s performance was not influenced by dress. A subsequent study used the same paradigm but had male participants wear a speedo rather than swim trunks; in this case, all participants in the swimsuit condition performed worse than participants in the sweater condition213 (but see ref 214 for null effects). Similar research using this paradigm found that women in the swimsuit condition exhibited slower reaction times on a measure of cognitive flexibility (Stroop test) compared to women in the sweater condition215.

Other manipulations have also been used to create a state of self-objectification216. For example, one study found that American female college students who received an objectifying gaze performed worse on a math test than those who did not, whereas men’s performance did not differ between conditions217 (see also refs 218,219). Other studies that experimentally manipulated objectification by placing mirrors and scales in testing rooms report null or conditional effects220-222. Researchers speculate that these manipulations likely produced null findings because they were too subtle222 or were overpowered by another aspect of the experimental design221, and therefore did not induce self-objectification. Importantly, a systematic review of findings across nine studies concluded that self-objectification does impair cognitive functioning8 (see also ref 182). Taken together, the literature indicates that self-objectification might influence women’s cognitive performance and perhaps men’s to a lesser extent, but the effects likely vary based on the manipulation used to induce self-objectification.

**[H2] Sexual health and sexual agency**

A core theorized outcome of women’s self-objectification is diminished sexual well-being2. When greater attention is given to how the body looks than to how it feels, women’s ability to derive sexual pleasure and their inclination to advocate for their needs might be jeopardized. Moreover, greater attention to body appearance might lead to more body shame and appearance anxiety, which, in turn, might diminish sexual confidence. Empirical findings support these contentions, especially when self-objectification is measured by body surveillance. Women who report a greater tendency to monitor their appearance also report lower levels of sexual satisfaction224, 225; see 223 for null results, sexual esteem224-226, and sexual assertiveness225,227, and greater sexual appearance anxiety228, sexual monitoring227, sexual risk behaviors229, and body self-consciousness during sexually intimate moments230,231. Some studies do not report direct contributions of body surveillance to sexual well-being but instead report mediated connections, whereby body surveillance predicts women’s sexual well-being through other factors such as self-consciousness during intimacy232,233, body shame232,234-236, or appearance anxiety163,228.

However, these effects of self-objectification on sexual well-being vary based on the measurement of self-objectification. Connections between self-objectification and women’s sexual well-being are relatively weak when measured via the Self-Objectification Questionnaire alone163, 233,237,238, but are more robust with a combined assessment of objectified body consciousness, which predicts lower condom negotiation efficacy, lower relationship satisfaction, and greater body self-consciousness during intimacy239,240.

Finally, there are downstream consequences of objectification from a romantic partner, specifically. Objectifying a partner might represent an inability to see her as a whole, complete person, which could interfere with the ability to connect emotionally and build a fully satisfying relationship241. Indeed, empirical evidence indicates that for heterosexual women, perceiving objectification from a partner is linked to greater self-objectification which, in turn, is associated with lower sexual satisfaction242, lower perceived relationship quality243, decreased interest/desire in sex244, and decreased ability to refuse sex from a partner244. Together, these findings illustrate that engaging in self-objectification, either in general or spurred by perceived partner objectification, might diminish women’s sexual comfort, agency, and satisfaction.

**[H1] Sexual objectification and women of color**

The tenets of objectification theory were not assumed to apply uniformly across all women but were instead proposed to vary by sociocontextual factors such as culture, class, race, and ethnicity2. Concerning race, in particular, there is evidence that the sexual objectification experiences of women of color align with and diverge from those of white women in meaningful ways. Black women typically report lower levels of body surveillance and self-objectification compared to white women213,230,245-247, but Asian and Latina women sometimes report lower230,248,249, higher213, or comparable levels247,250 of body surveillance and self-objectification compared to white women. Consistent with objectification theory, among Asian American women, greater body surveillance predicts greater body dissatisfaction, greater body shame, lower body esteem, greater consideration of cosmetic surgery, and higher eating disorder symptomatology248,250-253. Similar associations are reported among Asian national women in China, Korea, and Pakistan193,194,254,255. Analyses testing pathways between body surveillance, body shame, and disordered eating among Latina women also support objectification theory’s core model69,247,248,256. By contrast, among Black women, although greater body surveillance is linked to greater body shame, which in turn predicts more symptoms of disordered eating or reduced sexual agency70,229,247,257, these paths are sometimes weaker for Black women than for white women230,247,258.

Despite evidence that some associations emerge as expected among women of color, concerns have been raised about the meaning of these findings because the theories and measures were developed to reflect the experiences of white, Western women. Importantly, women of color face distinct beauty standards from their cultures of origin that are not reflected in typical assessments of self-objectification. Western beauty ideals prioritize thinness, pale skin, blond hair, and traditional European American facial features259. Norms for other cultural groups differ from this standard. For example, whereas many Asian cultures do value thinness and light skin, facial features and facial shape are often more central to judgments of women’s attractiveness than are bodily features252,260. To address these differences, scholars working with women of color have begun to incorporate culture-specific aspects into their assessments, including eye shape and size surveillance261, facial surveillance260, and skin-tone surveillance166,203,262, which are often more predictive of women’s well-being than the original body surveillance and self-objectification scales.

Objectification processes among women of color might also reflect the psychological impact of dueling appearance expectations. Women of color in majority white nations are exposed to two standards of beauty, rendering their social comparison processes more complex259. They might be surveilling their bodies and comparing themselves to both standards, must contend with appearance critiques and pressures from both cultures, and might feel highly conflicted in seeking to conform to two ideals252,259,263,264. Moreover, internalizing ideals that are not only unattainable but that specifically devalue racially-relevant features might be especially harmful. As such, internalizing each ideal might produce unique consequences that might vary based on proximity to the white ideal. According to theories of stigmatized groups265, Black women (who might be farther from the white ideal than Latina or Asian women) might feel more able to engage in adaptive disidentification from the historically oppressive white ideal, drawing instead on alternative in-group values266.

For women of color, the impact of these dueling appearance norms might also vary based on the strength of one’s ethnic or racial identity. Specifically, scholars have examined whether having an affirming ethnic or racial identify enables women of color to distance themselves from appearance expectations of the dominant culture60,70. Among Black women, holding positive feelings about one’s racial group is indeed associated with less body dissatisfaction267,268, lower internalization of mainstream beauty ideals268,269, fewer eating, shape, and weight concerns269, fewer maladaptive eating behaviors270, and greater body appreciation269. By contrast, among Asian American women, a strong ethnic or racial identity exacerbates body image concerns and is linked with a greater drive for thinness271, higher levels of body dissatisfaction259,272 (but see ref 273, for null results), and higher levels of disordered eating attitudes272. Moreover, for Asian American women, a strong ethnic or racial identity strengthens associations between pressure for thinness and body preoccupation274 and between appearance bias and body shame60. Because Asian and Eurocentric appearance standards overlap considerably, Asian women with a high ethnic or racial identity might experience added pressure to attain both standards60. Another possibility is that because many Asian cultures are collectivistic, such that personal goals are sublimated in favor of group goals, Asian American women with a strong ethnic or racial identity might experience additional pressures to conform to all cultural ideals, including appearance ideals248,274, and might perceive nonconformity as a failure that reflects badly on close others.

Furthermore, women of color are subjected to racialized forms of sexism and sexual objectification that are not experienced by white women275. Such racism includes stereotypes about group members (for example, sexually exotic ‘China Dolls’ or sexually insatiable Jezebels), teasing about phenotypic attributes (such as nose width or eye shape), racial fetishism and exotification, assumptions of a universal appearance (“they all look alike”), and other gendered racial microaggressions that often include inappropriate comments about the bodies, sexuality, and attractiveness of women of color97,253,261,264,276,277. These experiences are objectifying in that they treat women of color as caricatures instead of distinct individuals, fragment them and focus on specific body parts, judge them as less than human or not human, discount personal feelings or thoughts, and treat individual members as interchangeable251,277. These racialized objectification experiences might become internalized to create self-denigrating views of race-related features, promote greater adherence to white beauty standards, and possibly motivate unhealthy attempts to change one’s appearance261,278. Facing sexual objectification based on multiple social identities might make women of color more vulnerable to chronic self-objectification and to the violence that comes from dehumanization253,278.

To address this concern, scholars have begun to jointly examine objectification and racism251,252. For example, one study examined contributions of objectification variables and ethnic discrimination experiences to mental health among Latina women69. Both body surveillance and racial discrimination yielded significant, positive indirect associations with eating disorder and depressive symptomatology, mediated by body shame. New scales have also been developed to incorporate both phenomena. For example, assessments of gendered racial microaggressions include subscales addressing assumptions of beauty and sexual objectification (with items such as “objectified based on physical features”279). Among Black women, experiencing sexually objectifying gendered racial microaggressions more frequently and perceiving them as more stressful have each been associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms, greater psychological distress, lower body appreciation, and greater appearance-contingent self-worth168,277,279.

Finally, intersectionality theorists posit that individuals’ multiple intersecting identities shape their experiences in contextually-dependent ways, thereby leading to different sexual objectification experiences97,280. Using this framework, scholars have begun to test how sexual objectification processes are shaped by intersections of race, gender, and body size97, or how self-objectification varies within subgroups of Asian American women261. Future work should incorporate other social identities, such as class and sexual orientation.

To summarize, women of color face many of the pressures and consequences outlined by objectification theory and experienced by white women, but they also have distinct experiences shaped by culture-specific beauty ideals, dueling expectations, and interlocking systems of gender and racial oppression264. This multiplicity of experience demands awareness that current approaches might not fully capture the dehumanization to which women of color are subjected251.

**[H1] Summary and future directions**

Sexual objectification is a powerful force that permeates many aspects of women’s lives, including their consumption of traditional and social media and their everyday interpersonal interactions. This cultural prioritizing of women’s sexual appearance and appeal shapes assumptions about women. At the most basic level, sexually objectified women are perceived more negatively than non-objectified women and are seen as less competent and less fully human. Exposure to this cultural messaging has broad consequences for women’s well-being and violence toward women. A central consequence for women is self-objectification, that is, valuing one’s appearance and sexual appeal above other attributes. This self-perspective is harmful and is associated with a more negative body image; diminished mental, physical, and sexual health; and increased risk for eating disorders.

Much of the research on sexual objectification has focused on the deleterious effects of self-objectification on women. However, researchers should consider more deeply how sexual objectification is related to women’s ability to be autonomous members of society. For example, women in the U.S. recently lost federal protection of their bodily autonomy when the Supreme Court overturned the landmark Roe v. Wade ruling that federally protected a woman’s right to an abortion. Thus, women’s right to self-determination in the U.S. has been limited through a denial of their autonomy to control their reproduction. This denial of autonomy will have material, social, and psychological consequences for women forced to carry an unwanted pregnancy to term. In Iran, adolescent girls and young women demonstrated publicly against their government’s denial of their autonomy and attempts to silence them in the wake of the death of a 22-year-old woman, Mahsa Amini, who died in police custody for alleged non-compliance with a law mandating that women veil in public281. Thus, the sexual objectification of women in societies around the world has direct implications for women’s human rights including living as autonomous agents in their society. The issue of autonomy has been central to international law on human and women’s rights since World War II (for example in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and women’s economic autonomy continues to be crucial to their ability to control their lives282. We encourage researchers to consider how sexual objectification influences all aspects of women’s humanity and their ability (or inability) to function within environments that sexually objectify their social group as a dominant practice.

Several other areas need further attention, as well. First, scholars should expand research on the consequences of sexual objectification. Given concerns about policy changes affecting women’s rights, more research is needed on the link between self-objectification and political action. Research has already shown that higher levels of self-objectification are associated with greater support for the gender status quo283,284 (but for null results, see ref 237), less intention to engage in gender-based social activism283,284, and lower levels of political interest, efficacy, and information-seeking285. Self-objectification might contribute to sustaining the gender status quo by directing women’s energies toward managing their external appearance at the expense of other domains and social issues286. Research should continue to explore these connections, incorporate current social policies and newer forms of activism, and investigate moderators of these associations. More research is also needed on the impact of self-objectification on women’s performance. Existing analyses have focused on performance on academic tests, such as math tests. Real-world and long-lasting effects on other performance domains should also be studied. For example, how do stronger tendencies to self-objectify influence women’s career choices or perseverance on challenging workplace tasks?

Second, as the media landscape expands and shifts, research approaches must evolve with it, especially investigations of social media. Current analyses of the prevalence of sexually objectifying images on social media have focused on specific hashtags such as ‘thinspiration’ and ‘fitspo’. Future research needs to look across content and platforms more broadly, including newer platforms such as Tik Tok, because the affordances of specific platforms are not equivalent287. Moreover, experimental studies that test the impact of sexually objectifying media on women’s mental health should include diverse types of sexually objectifying media, not just thin-ideal media.

 Third, potential differences and changes in the nature or frequency of objectifying interactions and women’s reactions to them (including the tendency to self-objectify) across the lifespan should be examined. In particular, research should investigate whether these experiences vary with age or with particular life events such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, divorce, and menopause. Longitudinal research is needed to better understand the trajectory of sexual objectification across adulthood and to understand differential consequences for specific life stages. Expanding the populations studied beyond white college women will also help identify who is most vulnerable to the negative consequences of self-objectification.

 Fourth, scholars need to continue theorizing about the nature and dynamics of the sexual objectification construct. Standardizing the operationalization and measurement of sexual objectification and sexualization would allow for better cross-study comparisons and identification of overall trends. There is also a need to theorize and empirically assess whether self-objectification and self-sexualization can be distinguished and, if so, if they yield different consequences.

 Finally, more research is needed on potential protective factors and interventions (Box 4), perhaps borrowing from work conducted with adolescents. For example, data suggest that engagement in team sports is beneficial for enhancing feelings of embodiment among adolescent girls12. It would be useful to test similar premises among adult women of various ages. Similarly, it might be beneficial to examine the potential impact of empowering or counter-stereotypical media content, building on effective media literacy programs among youth (see ref 288 for meta-analytic review). Indeed, exposure to educational or empowering media campaigns has shown benefits among adult men289 and women290. Together, these efforts will expand knowledge about the wide-reaching consequences of sexual objectification and potential interventions to mitigate negative outcomes.

**References**

1. Bartky, S. L. (1990). *Femininity and domination: Studies in the phenomenology of oppression*. New York: Routledge.

2. Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women’s lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(2), 173–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>

3. Szymanski, D., Swanson, C., & Carretta, R. (2021). Interpersonal sexual objectification, fear of rape, and U.S. college women’s depression. *Sex Roles, 84*(11-12), 720-730. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01194-2

4. American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. (2007). Report of the APA task force on the sexualization of girls. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Retrieved from [www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html](http://www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html).

5. Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015. *Journal of Sex Research*, *53*(4-5), 560–577. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496

6. Moradi, B., & Huang, Y. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade of advances and future directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32*(4), 377-398. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00452.x

7. Roberts, T.-A., Calogero, R. M., & Gervais, S. J. (2018). Objectification theory: Continuing contributions to feminist psychology. In C. B. Travis, J. W. White, A. Rutherford, W. S. Williams, S. L. Cook, & K. F. Wyche (Eds.), APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and battlegrounds (pp. 249–271). American Psychological Association. [https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-01](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0000059-013)

8. Winn, L., & Cornelius, R. (2020). Self-objectification and cognitive performance: A systematic review of the literature. *Frontiers in Psychology, 11(*20). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00020>

9. Burnay, J., Kepes, S., & Bushman, B. (2022). Effects of violent and nonviolent sexualized media on aggression-related thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and behaviors: A meta-analytic review. *Aggressive Behavior, 48*(1), 111-136. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21998>

10. McKinley, N. M., & Hyde, J. S. (1996). The objectified body consciousness scale: Development and validation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *20*(2), 181-215. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1996.tb00467.x

11. Piran, N., & Teall, T. L. (2012). The developmental theory of embodiment. In G. L. McVey, M. P. Levine, N. Piran, & H. B. Ferguson (Eds.), *Preventing eating-related and weight-related disorders: Collaborative research, advocacy, and policy change* (169-198). Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

12. Daniels, E., Zurbriggen, E., & Ward, L. M. (2020). Becoming an object: A review of self-objectification in girls. *Body Image, 33,* 278-299. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.02.016>

13. Tolman, D. L. (2013). It’s bad for us too: How the sexualization of girls impacts the sexuality of boys, men, and women. In E. L. Zurbriggen & T-A. Roberts (Eds.), *The sexualization of girls and girlhood: Causes, consequences, and resistance* (pp. 84-106). Oxford University Press.

14. Kim, J., Sorsoli, C., Collins, K., Zylbergold, B., Schooler, D., & Tolman, D. (2007). From sex to sexuality: Exposing the heterosexual script on primetime network television. *Journal of Sex Research, 44*(2), 145-157. https://doi.org/[10.1080/00224490701263660](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1080/00224490701263660)

15. Sink, A., & Mastro, D. (2017). Depictions of gender on primetime television: A quantitative content analysis. *Mass Communication and Society*, *20*(1), 3-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2016.1212243

16. McDade-Montez, E., Wallander, J., & Cameron, L. (2017). Sexualization in U.S. Latina and White girls’ preferred children’s television programs. *Sex Roles, 77*(1-2), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0692-0

17. Gerding, A., & Signorielli, N. (2014). Gender roles in tween television programming: A content analysis of two genres. *Sex Roles*, *70*(1-2), 43-56. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0330-z

18. Ferris, A. L., Smith, S. W., Greenberg, B. S., & Smith, S. L. (2007). The content of reality dating shows and viewer perceptions of dating. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(3), 490-510. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00354.x>

19. Flynn, M. A., Park, S. Y., Morin, D. T., & Stana, A. (2015). Anything but real: Body idealization and objectification of MTV docusoap characters. *Sex Roles*, *72*(5-6), 173-182. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0464-2

20. Karsay, K., Matthes, J., Buchsteiner, L., & Grosser, V. (2019). Increasingly sexy? Sexuality and sexual objectification in popular music videos, 1995-2016. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture, 8*(4), 346-357. https://doi.org/[10.1037/ppm0000221](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1037/ppm0000221)

21. Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, *14*(4), 475-501. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2010.513468>

22. Kozman, C., Selim, A., & Farhat, S. (2021). Sexual objectification and gender display in Arabic music videos. *Sexuality & Culture, 25*(5), 1742-1760. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-021-09847-4>

23. Turner, J. S. (2011). Sex and the spectacle of music videos: An examination of the portrayal of race and sexuality in music videos. *Sex Roles*, *64*(3-4), 173-191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9766-6

24. Wallis, C. (2011). Performing gender: A content analysis of gender display in music videos. *Sex Roles*, *64*(3-4), 160-172. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9814-2

25. Ward, L. M., Rivadeneyra, R., Thomas, K., Day, K., & Epstein, M. (2013). A woman's worth: Analyzing the sexual objectification of Black women in music videos. In E. L. Zurbriggen & T-A. Roberts (Eds.), *The sexualization of girls and girlhood: Causes, consequences, and resistance* (pp. 39-62). New York: Oxford University Press.

26. Hatton, E., & Trautner, M. N. (2011). Equal opportunity objectification? The sexualization of men and women on the cover of Rolling Stone. *Sexuality & Culture*, *15*(3), 256-278. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-9093-2

27. Stankiewicz, J. M., & Rosselli, F. (2008). Women as sex objects and victims in print advertisements. *Sex Roles*, *58*(7-8), 579-589. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9359-1

28. Rasmussen, E., & Densley, R. (2017). Girl in a country song: Gender roles and objectification of women in popular country music across 1990 to 2014. *Sex Roles*, 76(3-4), 188-201. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11199-016-0670-6

29. Smiler, A., Shewmaker, J., & Hearon, B. (2017). From “I want to hold your hands” to “Promiscuous”: Sexual stereotypes in popular music lyrics, 1960-2008. *Sexuality & Culture*, 21(4), 1083-1105. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-017-9437-7

30. Burgess, M. C., Stermer, S. P., & Burgess, S. R. (2007). Sex, lies, and video games: The portrayal of male and female characters on video game covers. *Sex Roles*, *57*(5-6), 419-433. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11199-007-9250-0

31. Downs, E., & Smith, S. L. (2010). Keeping abreast of hypersexuality: A video game character content analysis. *Sex Roles*, *62*(11-12), 721-733. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9637-1

32. Smith, S. L., & Choueiti, M. (2011). *Gender inequality in cinematic content? A look at females on screen and behind-the-camera in top-grossing 2008 films*. Report from Annenberg School of Communication.

33. Daniels, E. A., Layh, M., & Porzelius, L. (2016). Grooming ten-year-olds with gender stereotypes? A content analysis of preteen and teen girl magazines. *Body Image, 19*, 57-67. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2016.08.011>

34. Lacalle, C., & Castro, D. (2017). Representations of female sexuality in Spanish television fiction. *Convergencia, 75*, 45-64. <https://doi.org/10.29101/crcs.v0i75.4656>

35. Rousseau, A., Eggermont, S., Bels, A., & Van den Bulck, H. (2018). Separating the sex from the object: Conceptualizing sexualization and (sexual) objectification in Flemish preteens’ popular television programs. *Journal of Children and Media, 12*(3), 346-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2018.1425888>

36. Prieler, M., & Centeno, D. (2013). Gender representation in Philippine television advertisements. *Sex Roles*, *69*(5-6), 276-288. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11199-013-0301-4

37. Ghaznavi, J., Grasso, K., Taylor, L. (2017). Increasingly violent but still sexy: A decade of central female characters in top-grossing Hollywood and Bollywood film promotional material. *International Journal of Communication, 11*, 23-47. Available at <http://ijoc.org>

38. Alberga, A., Withnell, S., & von Ranson, K. (2018). Fitspiration and thinspiration: A comparison across three social networking sites. *Journal of Eating Disorders, 6*(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40337-018-0227-x>

39. Ghaznavi, J., & Taylor, L. (2015). Bones, body parts, and sex appeal: An analysis of #thinspiration images on popular social media. *Body Image, 14*, 54-61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.03.006>

40. Talbot, C., Gavin, J., van Steen, T., & Morey, Y. (2017). A content analysis of thinspiration, fitspiration, and bonespiration imagery on social media. *Journal of Eating Disorders, 5*(40), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40337-017-0170-2>

41. Trekels, J., Ward, L. M., & Eggermont, S. (2018). I “like” the way you look: How appearance-focused and overall Facebook use contribute to adolescents’ self-sexualization. *Computers in Human Behavior, 81, 198-208.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.12.020

42. Tiggemann, M., & Zaccardo, M. (2016). ‘Strong is the new skinny’: A content analysis of #fitspiration images on Instagram. *Journal of Health Psychology, 23*(8), 1003-1011. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105316639436>

43. Carrotte, E., Prichard, I., & Lim, M. (2017). “Fitspiration” on social media: A content analysis of gendered images. *Journal of Medical Internet Research, 19*(3). <https://doi.org/10.2196/jmir.6368>

44. Murashka, V. Liu, J., & Peng, Y. (2020). Fitspiration on Instagram: Identifying topic clusters in user comments to posts with objectification features. *Health Communication, 6(12), 1537-1548*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2020.1773702>

45. Ruckel, L., & Hill, M. (2017). Look @ me 2.0: Self-sexualization in Facebook photographs, body surveillance and body image. *Sexuality & Culture, 21*(1), 15-35. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-016-9376-8>

46. Sarabia, I., & Estevez, A. (2016). Sexualized behaviors on Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior, 61*, 219-226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.03.037>

47. Daniels, E. A., & Zurbriggen, E. L. (2016). “It’s not the right way to do stuff on Facebook:” An investigation of adolescent girls’ and young women’s attitudes toward sexualized photos on social media*. Sexuality & Culture, 20*(4),936-964. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-016-9367-9>

48. Hall, P. C., West, J., & McIntyre, E. (2012). Female self-sexualization in MySpace.com personal profile photographs. *Sexuality & Culture, 16(1)*, 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-9095-0>

49. Kapidzic, S., & Martins, N. (2015). Mirroring the media: The relationship between media consumption, media internalization, and profile characteristics on Facebook. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 59*(2), 278-297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2015.1029127>

50. Ramsey, L., & Horan, A. (2018). Picture this: Women’s self-sexualization in photos on social media. *Personality and Individual Differences, 133*, 85-90. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.06.022>

51. Bell, B., Cassarly, J., & Dunbar, L. (2018). Selfie-objectification: Self-objectification and positive feedback (“likes”) are associated with frequency of posting sexually objectifying self-images on social media. *Body Image, 26*, 83-89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2018.06.005>

52. Koval, P., Holland, E., Zyphur, M., Stratemeyer, M., Knight, J., Bailen, N., Thompson, R., Roberts, T., & Haslam, N. (2019). How does it feel to be treated like an object? Direct and indirect effects of exposure to sexual objectification on women’s emotions in daily life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 116*(6), 885-898. https://doi.org/[10.1037/pspa0000161](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1037/pspa0000161)

53. Holland, E., Koval, P., Stratemeyer, M., Thomson, F., & Haslam, N. (2016). Sexual objectification in women’s daily lives: A smartphone ecological momentary assessment study. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 56*(2), 314-333. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12152

54. Donnelly, L., & Calogero, R. (2018). The role of stranger harassment experiences in college women’s perceived possibility of gender crimes happening to them. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 48*(3), 165-173. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12497

55. Kozee, H. B., Tylka, T. L., Augustus-Horvath, C. L., & Denchik, A. (2007). Development and psychometric evaluation of the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *31*(2),176–189. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2007.00351.x

56. Augustus-Horvath, C. L., & Tylka, T. L. (2009). A test and extension of objectification theory as it predicts disordered eating: Does women’s age matter? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*(2), 253–265. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014637

57. Brewster, M. E., Velez, B. L., Esposito, J. W., Geiger, S., Keum, E., & TaeHyuk, B. (2014). Moving beyond the binary with disordered eating research: A test and extension of objectification theory with bisexual women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61*(1), 50–62. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034748>

58. Carr, E., & Szymanski, D. (2011). Sexual objectification and substance abuse in young adult women. *The Counseling Psychologist, 39*(1), 39-66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010378449

59. Carr, E. R., Szymanski, D. M., Taha, F., West, L. M., & Kaslow, N. J. (2014). Understanding the link between multiple oppressions and depression among African American women: The role of internalization. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(2), 233-245. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313499900

60. Cheng, H-L. (2022). Body shame among Asian American college women: The roles of sexual objectification, internalized racism, and ethnic identity strength. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*. https://doi.org/10.1080/09515070.2022.2065664

61. Jiao, J., Terán, L., & Aubrey, J.S. (2022). Buffering an objectifying culture: Interpersonal sexual objectification, self-objectification, and attachment anxiety. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843221115335

62. Lindner, D., & Tantleff-Dunn, S. (2017). The development and psychometric evaluation of the Self-Objectification Beliefs and Behaviors Scale. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *41*(2), 254-272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317692109

63. Sáez, G., Riemer, A. R., Brock, R. L., & Gervais, S. J. (2020). The role of interpersonal sexual objectification in heterosexual intimate partner violence from perspectives of perceivers and targets. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(3-4), 1430-1455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520922348>

64. Szymanski, D. M. (2020). Sexual objectification, internalization, and college women’s depression: The role of shame. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *48*(1), 135–156. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019878847

65. Szymanski, D. M., & Feltman, C. (2014). Experiencing and coping with sexually objectifying treatment: Internalization and resilience. *Sex Roles, 71*(3-4), 159-170. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0392-6

66. Terán, L., Jiao, J., & Aubrey, J.S. (2021). The relational burden of objectification: Exploring how past experiences of interpersonal sexual objectification are related to relationship competencies. *Sex Roles, 84*(9-10), 610-625. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01188-0>

67. Tolaymat, L. D., & Moradi, B. (2011). US Muslim women and body image: Links among objectification theory constructs and the hijab. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *58*(3), 383–392. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023461>

68. Tylka, T. L., & Kroon Van Diest, A. M. (2014). You looking at her ‘‘hot’’ body may not be ‘‘cool’’ for me: Integrating male partners’ pornography use into objectification theory for women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39*(1), 67-84. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314521784

69. Velez, B. L., Campos, I. D., & Moradi, B. (2015). Relations of sexual objectification and racist discrimination with Latina women’s body image and mental health. *The Counseling Psychologist, 43*(6), 906-935. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000015591287>

70. Watson, L., Ancis, J., White, D., & Nazari, N. (2013). Racial identity buffers African American women from body image problems and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*(3) 337-350. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312474799

71. Watson, L., Grotewiel, M., Farrell, M., Marshik, J., & Schneider, M. (2015). Experiences of sexual objectification, minority stress, and disordered eating among sexual minority women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39(4)*, 458-570. https://doi.org/[10.1177/0361684315575024](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/0361684315575024)

72. Watson, L., Marszalek, J. M., Dispenza, F., & Davids, C. M. (2015). Understanding the relationships among White and African American women’s sexual objectification experiences, physical safety anxiety, and psychological distress. *Sex Roles, 72*(3-4), 91-104. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0444-y

73. Flores, M., Watson, L., Allen, L., Ford, M., Serpe, C., Choo, P., & Farrell, M. (2018). Transgender people of color’s experiences of sexual objectification: Locating sexual objectification within a matrix of domination. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 65*(3), 308-323. https://doi.org/[10.1037/cou0000279](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1037/cou0000279)

74. Chmielewski, J. (2017). A listening guide analysis of lesbian and bisexual young women of color’s experiences of sexual objectification. *Sex Roles, 77*(7-8), 533-549. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0740-4>

75. Tebbe, E., Moradi, B., Connelly, K., Lenzen, A., & Flores, M. (2018). “I don’t care about you as a person”: Sexual minority women objectified. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 65*(1), 1-16. https://doi.org/[10.1037/cou0000255](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1037/cou0000255)

76. Watson, L., Robinson, D., Dispenza, F., & Nazari N. (2012b). African American women’s sexual obj experiences: A qualitative study. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *36*(4), 458-475. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312454724

77. Sherman, A., Allemand, H., & Prickett, S. (2019). Hypersexualization and sexualization in advertisements for Halloween costumes. *Sex Roles*, 83(3-4), 254-266. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01105-0

78. Smolak, L., & Murnen, S. K. (2011). The sexualization of girls and women as a primary antecedent of self-objectification. In R. M. Calogero, S. Tantleff-Dunn, & J. K. Thompson (Eds.), Self-objectification in women: Causes, consequences, and counteractions (pp. 53–75). American Psychological Association. [https://doi.org/10.1037/12304-003](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/12304-003)

79. Zaikman, Y., & Houlihan, A. (2022). It’s just a breast: An examination of the effects of sexualization, sexism, and breastfeeding familiarity on evaluations of public breastfeeding. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth, 22*, 122. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12884-022-04436-1

80. Haikalis, M., DiLillo, D., & Gervais, S. (2017). Up for grabs? Sexual objectification as a mediator between women’s alcohol use and sexual victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 32*(4), 467-488. <https://doi.org/>[10.1177/0886260515586364](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/0886260515586364)

81. Riemer, A. R., Haikalis, M., Franz, M., Dodd, M., DiLillo, D., & Gervais, S. (2018). Beauty is in the eye of the beer holder: An initial investigation of the effects of alcohol, attractiveness, warmth, and competence on the objectifying gaze in men. *Sex Roles, 79*(7-8), 449-463. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0876-2

82. Graff, K., Murnen, S., & Smolak, L. (2012). Too sexualized to be taken seriously? Perceptions of a girl in childlike vs. sexualizing clothing. *Sex Roles, 66*(11-12), 764–775. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0145-3>

83. 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*(5), 709-717. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.755>

84. Daniels, E. A. (2016). Sexiness on social media: The social costs of using a sexy profile photo. *Sexualization, Media, and Society*, *2*(4), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2374623816683522>

85. Fasoli, F., Durante, F., Mari, S., Zogmaister, C., & Volpato, C. (2017). Shades of sexualization: When sexualization becomes sexual objectification. *Sex Roles, 78*(5-6), 338-351. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0808-1>

86. Heflick, N., Goldenberg, J., Cooper, D., & Puvia, E. (2011). From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality, and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*(3), 572-581. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020>

87. Wollast, R., Puvia, E., Bernard, P., Tevichapong, P., & Klein, O. (2018). How sexual objectification generates dehumanization in Western and Eastern cultures: A comparison between Belgium and Thailand. *Swiss Journal of Psychology, 77*(2), 69-82. https://doi.org/10.1024/1421-0185/a000209

88. Arnocky, S., Proietti, V., Ruddick, E., Côté, T., Ortiz, T., Hodson, G., & Carré, J. (2019). Aggression toward sexualized women is mediated by decreased perceptions of humanness. *Psychological Science, 30*(5), 748-756. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797619836106>

89. Kellie, D., Blake, K., & Brooks, R. (2019). What drives female objectification? An investigation of appearance-based interpersonal perceptions and the objectification of women*.* *PLoS ONE, 14*(8), e0221388. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0221388>

90. Smith, J., Liss, M., Erchull, M., Kelly, C., Adragna, K., & Baines, K. (2018). The relationship between sexualized appearance and perceptions of women’s competence and electability. *Sex Roles*, 79(11-12), 671-682. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0898-4>

91. Howlett, N., Pine, K. J., Cahill, N., Orakçıoğlu, İ., & Fletcher, B. C. (2015). Unbuttoned: The interaction between provocativeness of female work attire and occupational status. *Sex Roles, 72*(3-4), 105– 116. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0450-8.

92. Wookey, M., Graves, N., & Butler, J. C. (2009). Effects of a sexy appearance on perceived competence of women. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 149* (1), 116-118. https://doi.org/[10.3200/SOCP.149.1.116-118](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.3200/SOCP.149.1.116-118)

93. Daniels, E. A., Hood, A., LaVoi, N. M., & Cooky, C. (2021). Sexualized and athletic: Viewers’ attitudes toward sexualized performance images of female athletes.*Sex Roles, 84*(1-2), 112-124. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01152-y>

94. Nezlek, J. B., Krohn, W., Wilson, D., & Maruskin, L. (2015) Gender differences in reactions to the sexualization of athletes. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 155*(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2014.959883>

95. Horgan, T., Herzog, N., Grey, M., Latreille, T., & Lindemulder, J. (2017). Sex doesn’t always sell: The effects of objectifying images on the perceived competence of a spokeswoman. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture, 7*(4), 450-466. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000145>

96. Schooler, D. (2015). The woman next to me: Pairing powerful and objectifying representations of women. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 15(1*), 198-212. https://doi.org/ [10.1111/asap.12070](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1111/asap.12070)

97. Biefeld, S. D., Stone, E. A., & Brown, C. S. (2021). Sexy, thin, and white: The intersection of sexualization, body type, and race on stereotypes about women.*Sex Roles, 85*(5-6), 287-300. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01221-2>

98. Daniels, E. A., Jerald, M. C., & Ward, L. M. (2022). The woman in the (rearview) mirror: Viewers’ attitudes toward objectified car selfies of Black and White women. *Psychology of Popular Media, 11*(2), 217-226. [https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000363](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/ppm0000363)

99. Loughnan, S., Fernandez-Campos, S., Vaes, J., Anjum, G., Aziz, M., Harada, C … & Tsuchiya, K. (2015). Exploring the role of culture in sexual objectification: A seven nation study. *Revue internationale de psychologie sociale, 28*(1), 125-152. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-de-psychologie-sociale-2015-1-page-125.htm>

100. Krumpal, I. (2013). Determinants of social desirability bias in sensitive surveys: A literature review. *Quality and Quantity, 47*, 2025–2047. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-011-9640-9

101. Paulhus, D. L. (1991). Measurement and control of response bias. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes (pp. 17-59). San Diego: Academic Press.

102. Maurer, D., Le Grand, R., & Mondloch, C. J. (2002). The many faces of configural processing. *Trends in Cognitive Science, 6*(6), 255-260. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1364-6613(02)01903-4

103. Reed, C. L., Stone, V. E., Bozova, S., & Tanaka, J. (2003). The body inversion effect. *Psychological Science, 14*(4), 302-308. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.14431

104. 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*(5), 469–471. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611434748

105. Schmidt, A. F., & Kistemaker, L. M. (2015). The sexualized-body-inversion hypothesis revisited: Valid indicator of sexual objectification or methodological artifact? *Cognition, 134,* 77-84. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2014.09.003

106. Tarr, M. J. (2013). Perception isn’t so simple: Commentary on Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, and Klein (2012). *Psychological Science, 24*(6), 1069-1070. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612474669

107. Zogmaister, C., Durante, F., Mari, S., Crippa, F., & Volpato, C. (2020). Measuring objectification through the Body Inversion Paradigm: Methodological issues. *PLoS ONE 15*(2), e0229161. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal. pone.0229161

108. Bernard, P., Content, J., Deltenre, P., & Colin, C. (2018). When the body becomes no more than the sum of its parts: The neural correlates of scrambled versus intact sexualized bodies. *NeuroReport*, *29*(18), 48–53. https://doi.org/10.1097/WNR.0000000000000926

109. Bernard, P., Rizzo, T., Hoonhorst, I., Deliens, G., Gervais, S. J., Eberlen, J., Bayard, C., Deltenre, P., Colin, C., & Klein, O. (2018). The neural correlates of cognitive objectification: An ERP study on the body inversion effect associated with sexualized bodies. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *9*(5), 550–559. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617714582>

110. Vaes, J., Cristoforetti, G., Ruzzante, D., Cogoni, C., & Mazza, V. (2019). Assessing neural responses towards objectified human targets and objects to identify processes of sexual objectification that go beyond the metaphor. *Scientific Reports*, *9*, Article 6699. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-019-42928-x

111. Cogoni, C., Carnaghi, A., & Silani, G. (2018). Reduced empathic responses for sexually objectified women: An fMRI investigation. *Cortex*, *99*, 258–272. https://doi.org/10.1016/j .cortex.2017.11.020

112. Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(6), 1464-1480. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1464

113. Vaes, J., Paladino, M. P., & Puvia, E. (2011). Are sexualized women complete human beings? Why men and women dehumanize sexually objectified women. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*(6), 774–785. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.824

114. Puvia, E., & Vaes, J. (2013). Being a body: Women’s appearance related self-views and their dehumanization of sexually objectified female targets. *Sex Roles, 68*(7-8), 484-495. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0255-y

115. Custers, K., & McNallie, J. (2016). The relationship between television sports exposure and rape myth acceptance: The mediating role of sexism and sexual objectification of women. *Violence Against Women, 23*(7), 813-829. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216651340>

116. Grower, P., Ward, LM., & Trekels, J. (2019). Expanding models testing media contributions to self-sexualization. *Sage Open, 9(2),* 1-14. https://doi.org/ [10.1177/2158244019848905](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/2158244019848905)

117. Hust, S., & Lei, M. (2008). Sexual objectification, sports programming, and music television. *Media Report to Women, 36*(1), 16-23. www.mediareporttowomen.com

118. Jerald, M., Ward, L. M., Moss, L., Thomas, K., & Fletcher, K. D. (2017). Subordinates, sex objects, or Sapphires? Investigating contributions of media use to Black students’ femininity ideologies and stereotypes about Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 43*(6), 608-635. https://doi.org/[10.1177/0095798416665967](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/0095798416665967)

119. Seabrook, R., Ward, L. M., & Giaccardi, S. (2019). Less than human? Media use, objectification of women, and men’s acceptance of sexual aggression. *Psychology of Violence, 9*(5),536-545. https://doi.org/ [10.1037/vio0000198](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1037/vio0000198)

120. Ward, L. M. (2002). Does television exposure affect emerging adults’ attitudes and assumptions about sexual relationships? Correlational and experimental confirmation. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 31*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014068031532

121. Wright, P. J., & Tokunaga, R. (2016). Men’s objectifying media consumption, objectification of women, and attitudes supportive of violence against women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 45*(4), 955-964. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0644-8

122. Aubrey, J. S., Gamble, H., & Hahn, R. (2016). Empowered sexual objects? The priming influence of self-sexualization on thoughts and beliefs related to gender, sex, and power. *Western Journal of Communication, 81*(3), 362-384. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2016.1257822>

123. Kistler, M. E. & Lee, M. J. (2010). Does exposure to sexual hip-hop music videos influence the sexual attitudes of college students? *Mass Communication and Society, 13*(1), 67-86. https://doi.org/[10.1080/15205430902865336](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1080/15205430902865336)

124. Pennell, H. & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2015). The empowering superheroine? The effects of sexualized female characters in superhero films on women. *Sex Roles, 72*(5-6), 211-220. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11199-015-0455-3

125. Rollero, C. (2013). Men and women facing objectification: The effects of media models on well-being, self-esteem and ambivalent sexism. *Revista de Psicolgia Social, 28*(3), 373-382. https://doi.org/10.1174/021347413807719166

126. Sprankle, E. L., End, C. M., & Bretz, M. N. (2012). Sexually degrading music videos and lyrics: Their effects on male’s aggression and endorsement of rape myths and sexual stereotypes. *Journal of Media Psychology, 24*(1), 31-39. https://doi.org/[10.1027/1864-1105/a000060](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1027/1864-1105/a000060)

127. LaCroix, J., Burrows, C., & Blanton, H. (2018). Effects of immersive, sexually objectifying, and violent video games on hostile sexism in males. *Communication Research Reports, 35*(5), 413-423. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2018.1525351>

128. Driesmans, K., Vandenbosch, L., & Eggermont, S. (2015). Playing a videogame with a sexualized female character increases adolescents’ rape myth acceptance and tolerance toward sexual harassment. *Games for Health Journal, 4*(2), 91-94. <https://doi.org/10.1089/g4h.2014.0055>

129. Fox, J., Ralston, R. A., Cooper, C. K., & Jones K. A. (2014). Sexualized avatars lead to women’s self-objectification ad acceptance of rape myths. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39(3), 349-362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314553578>

130. Yao, M., 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*(1-2), 77-88. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9695-4>

131. Fox, J., Bailenson, J. N., Tricase, L. (2013). The embodiment of sexualized virtual selves: The Proteus effect and experiences of self-objectification via avatars. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29*(3), 930-938. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.12.027>

132. Behm-Morawitz, E., & Mastro, D. (2009). The effects of the sexualization of female video game characters on gender stereotyping and female self-concept. *Sex Roles, 61*(11-12), 808-823. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11199-009-9683-8

133. Noël, T., Larøl, F., & Burnay, J. (2021). The impact of sexualized video game content and cognitive load on state rape myth acceptance. *Frontiers in Psychology, 12*, Article 614502. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.614502>

134. Lindner, D., Trible, M., Pilato, I., & Ferguson, C. (2020). Examining the effects of exposure to a sexualized female video game protagonist on women’s body image. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, *9*(4), 553-560. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000251>

135. Read, G., Lynch, T., & Matthews, N. (2019). Increased cognitive load during video game play reduces rape myth acceptance and hostile sexism after exposure to sexualized female avatars. *Sex Roles, 79*(11-12), 683-698. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0905-9

136. Karsay, K., Matthes, J., Platzer, P., & Plinke, M. (2018). Adopting the objectifying gaze: Exposure to sexually objectifying music videos and subsequent gazing behavior. *Media Psychology, 21*(1), 27-49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2017.1378110>

137. Hitlan, R. T., Pryor, J. B., Hesson-McInnis, S., & Olson, M. (2009). Antecedents of gender harassment: An analysis of person and situation factors. *Sex Roles, 61*(11-12), 794-807. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9689-2

138. Burnay, J., Bushman, B., & Larøi, F. (2019). Effects of sexualized video games on online sexual harassment. *Aggressive Behavior, 45*(2), 214-223. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21811>

139. Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Cadinu, M. (2014). Objectifying media: Their effect on gender role norms and sexual harassment of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(3), 389-413. https://doi.org/ [10.1177/0361684313515185](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/0361684313515185)

140. Bareket, O., Shnabel, N., Abeles, D., Gervais, S., & Yuval-Greenberg, S. (2019). Evidence for an association between men’s spontaneous objectifying gazing behavior and their endorsement of objectifying attitudes toward women. *Sex Roles, 81*(3-4), 245-256. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0983-8>

141. Harsey, S., & Zurbriggen, E. (2020). Men and women’s self-objectification, objectification of women, and sexist beliefs. *Self and Identity*, 20(7), 861-868. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2020.1784263

142. Xiao, L., & Wang, F. (2021). Examining the links between beauty ideals internalization, the objectification of women, and ambivalent sexism among Chinese women: The effects of sexual orientation. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 50*(2), 553-562. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-020-01718-7

143. Bareket, O., Kahalon, R., Shnabel, N., & Glick, P. (2018). The Madonna-whore dichotomy: Men who perceive women’s nurturance and sexuality as mutually exclusive endorse patriarchy and show lower relationship satisfaction. *Sex Roles, 79*(9-10), 519-532. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0895-7

144. Kahalon, R., Bareket, O., & Shnabel, N. (2019). The Madonna-whore dichotomy is associated with patriarchy endorsement: Evidence from Israel, the United States, and Germany. (2019). *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 43*(3), 348-367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319843298>

145. Galdi, S., & Guizzo, F. (2021). Media-induced sexual harassment: The routes from sexually objectifying media to sexual harassment. *Sex Roles, 84*(11-12), 645-669. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01196-0

146. Bernard, P., Content, J., Servais, L., Wollast, R., & Gervais, S. (2020). An initial test of the cosmetics dehumanization hypothesis: Heavy makeup diminishes attributions of humanness-related traits to women. *Sex Roles, 83*(5-6), 315-327. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01115-y

147. Bernard, P., & Wollast, R. (2019). Why is sexualization dehumanizing? The effects of posture suggestiveness and revealing clothing on dehumanization. *Sage Open*, 9(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019828230

148. Pacilli, M., Pagliaro, S., Loughnan, S., Gramazio, S., Spaccatini, F., & Baldry, A. (2017). Sexualization reduces helping intentions towards female victims of intimate partner violence through mediation of moral patiency. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 56*(2), 293-313. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12169

149. Pickel, K., & Gentry, R. (2017). Slut shaming in a school bullying case: Evaluators ignore level of harm when the victim self-presents as sexually available. *Sex Roles*, 76(1-2), 89-98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0662-6

150. Spaccatini, F., Pacilli, M., Pagliaro, S., & Giovannelli, I. (2022). Victim blaming 2.0: Blaming sexualized victims of online harassment lowers bystanders’ helping intentions. *Current Psychology*, Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-02884-8

151. Vasquez, E., Ball, L., Loughnan, S., & Pina, A. (2018). The object of my aggression: Sexual objectification increases physical aggression toward women. *Aggressive Behavior, 44*(1), 5-17. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21719

152. Blake, K., Bastian, B., & Denson, T. (2019). Heightened male aggression toward sexualized women following romantic rejection: The mediating role of sex goal activation. *Aggressive Behavior, 44*(1), 40-49. https://doi.org/[10.1002/ab.21722](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1002/ab.21722)

153. Johnson, J., Edwards, W., Pagliaro, S., & Lecci, L. (2021, May 12). Sexualized music videos desensitize Fijian women to intimate partner violence suffering: The mediating role of culpability attributions. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advanced online publication*.* <https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1177/08862605211015260>

154. Gervais, S., DiLillo, D., & McChargue, D. (2014). Understanding the link between men’s alcohol use and sexual violence perpetration: The mediating role of sexual objectification. *Psychology of Violence, 4*(2), 156-169. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033840

155. Riemer, A. R., Sáez, G., Brock, R. L., & Gervais, S. J. (2022). The development and psychometric evaluation of the Objectification Perpetration Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000607

156. Tuliao, A. P., Landoy, B. V. N., Mullet, N. D., Canoy, N., Klanecky, A. K., & McChargue, D. E. (2021). A cross-cultural comparison of the role of sexual objectification in the relationship between alcohol use and sexual assault perpetration. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 36*(15**-**16), NP8224**–**NP8246. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519842850

157. Karsay, K., Knoll, J., & Matthes, J. (2018). Sexualizing media use and self-objectification: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 42*(1), 9-28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317743019>

158. Garcia, R. L., Bingham, S., & Liu, S. (2022). The effects of daily Instagram use on state self-objectification, well-being, and mood for young women.*Psychology of Popular Media, 11*(4), 423-434. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000350>

159. Salomon, I., & Brown, C. S. (2021). That selfie becomes you: Examining taking and posting selfies as forms of self-objectification.*Media Psychology, 24*(6), 847-865. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2020.1817091>

160. Vendemia, M. A., & DeAndrea, D. C. (2021). The effects of engaging in digital photo modifications and receiving favorable comments on women’s selfies shared on social media.*Body Image, 37*, 74-83. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.01.011>

161. Jones, B. A., & Griffiths, K. M. (2015). Self-objectification and depression: An integrative systematic review. *Journal of Affective Disorders, 171*, 22-32. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2014.09.011

162. Wollast, R., Riemer, A. R., Bernard, P., Leys, C., Kotsou, I., & Klein, O. (2019). How self‐compassion moderates the effect of body surveillance on subjective happiness and depression among women. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *60*(5), 464–472. <https://doi-org/10.1111/sjop.12553>

163. Tiggemann, M., & Williams, E. (2012). The role of self-objectification in disordered eating, depressed mood, and sexual functioning among women: A comprehensive test of objectification theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 36*(1), 66-75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311420250

164. Fang, S.-Y., Chang, H.-T., & Shu, B.-C. (2014). Objectified body consciousness, body image discomfort, and depressive symptoms among breast cancer survivors in Taiwan. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *38*(4), 563–574. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314552652

165. Choma, B. L., Shove, C., Busseri, M. A., Sadava, S. W., Hosker, A. (2009). Assessing the role of body image coping strategies as mediators or moderators of the links between self-objectification, body shame, and well-being. *Sex Roles, 61*(9-10), 699-713. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9666-9

166. Prusaczyk, E., & Choma, B. L. (2018). Skin tone surveillance, depression, and life satisfaction in Indian women: Colour-blind racial ideology as a moderator. *Body Image*, *27*, 179–186. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2018.10.001>

167. Milan, S., & Perez, S. D. (2021). Body surveillance as a prospective risk factor for depressive symptoms in low-income adolescent girls from the United States. *Body Image, 36*, 214-217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.12.001

168. Stanton, A., Avery, L., Matsuzaka, S., & Espinel, S. (2022). Black women’s experiences of gendered racial sexual objectification, body image, and depressive symptoms. *Body Image, 41*(4), 443-452. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.04.014

169. Thøgersen-Ntoumani, C., Ntoumanis, N., Cumming, J., Bartholomew, K., & Pearce, G. (2011). Can self-esteem protect against the deleterious consequences of self-objectification for mood and body satisfaction in physically active female university students? *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, *33*(2), 289-307. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.33.2.289

170. Tiggemann, M. (2011). Mental health risks of self-objectification: A review of the empirical evidence for disordered eating, depressed mood, and sexual dysfunction. In R. Calogero, S. Tantleff-Dunn, & J. K. Thompson (Eds.), *Self-objectification in women: Causes, consequences, and counteractions* (pp. 139-159). American Psychological Association.

171. Erchull, M. J., & Liss, M., & Lichiello, S. (2013). Extending the negative consequences of media internalization and self-objectification to dissociation and self-harm. *Sex Roles, 69*(11-12), 583-593. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0326-8

172. Adams, K. E., Tyler, J. M., Calogero, R., & Lee, J. (2017). Exploring the relationship between appearance-contingent self-worth and self-esteem: The roles of self-objectification and appearance anxiety. *Body Image, 23*, 176-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.10.004

173. Watt, A. D., & Konnert, C. A, (2020). Body satisfaction and self-esteem among middle-aged and older women: The mediating roles of social and temporal comparisons and self-objectification. *Aging & Mental Health, 24*(5), 797-804. https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2018.1544222

174. Hanna, E., Ward, L. M., Seabrook, R. C., Jerald, M., Reed, L., Giaccardi, S., & Lippman, J. R. (2017). Contributions of social comparison and self-objectification in mediating associations between Facebook use and emergent adults’ psychological well-being. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 20*(3), 172-179. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2016.0247>

175. Teng, F., Gao, W., Huang, X., & Poon, K.-T. (2019). Body surveillance predicts men’s and women’s perceived loneliness: A serial mediation model. *Sex Roles*, *81*(1–2), 97-108. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0977-6>

176. Barzoki, M. H., Vahedi, M., Nourmohamadi, S., & Kalantari, S. E. (2018). The mediating role of contingent self-esteem in the association between self-objectification and self-esteem. *Sexuality & Culture*, *22*(4), 1300-1309. <https://doi-org/10.1007/s12119-018-9533-3>

177. Choma, B. L., Visser, B. A., Pozzebon, J. A., Bogaert, A. F., Busseri, M A., & Sadava, S. W. (2010). Self-objectification, self-esteem, and gender: Testing a moderated mediation model. *Sex Roles, 63*(9-10), 645-656. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9829-8

178. Nelson, A., & Muehlenkamp, J. J. (2012). Body attitudes and objectification in non-suicidal self-injury: Comparing males and females. *Archives of Suicide Research*, *16*(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13811118.2012.640578>

179. Carrotte, E., & Anderson, J. (2019). Risk factor or protective feature? The roles of grandiose and hypersensitive narcissism in explaining the relationship between self-objectification and body image concerns. *Sex Roles, 80*(7-8), 458-468. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0948-y

180. Mercurio, A. E., & Landry, L. J. (2008). Self-objectification and well-being: The impact of self-objectification on women’s overall sense of self-worth and life satisfaction. *Sex Roles, 58(7-8)*, 458-466. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9357-3

181. Breines, J. G., Crocker, J., & Garcia, J. A. (2008). Self-objectification and well-being in women’s daily lives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*(5), 583-598. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207313727

182. Kahalon, R., Shnabel, N., & Becker, J. C. (2018). Experimental studies on state self-objectification: A review and an integrative process model. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*(1268). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01268

183. Fitzsimmons-Craft, E. E., & Bardone-Cone, A. M. (2012). Examining prospective mediation models of body surveillance, trait anxiety, and body dissatisfaction in African American and Caucasian college women. *Sex Roles, 67,* 187-200. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0151-5

184. Fairchild, K., & Rudman, L. (2008). Everyday stranger harassment and women’s objectification. *Social Justice Research, 21*(3), 338-357. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-008-0073-0

185. Calogero, R. M., Tylka, T. L., Siegel, J. A., Pina, A., & Roberts, T.-A. (2021). Smile pretty and watch your back: Personal safety anxiety and vigilance in objectification theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 121(6), 1195–1222. [https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000344](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/pspi0000344)

186. Schaefer, L., & Thompson, J. (2018). Self‐objectification and disordered eating: A meta‐analysis. *The International Journal of Eating Disorders, 51*(6), 483-502. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.22854>

187. Nechita, D., Bud, S., & David, D. (2021). Shame and eating disorders symptoms: A meta‐analysis. *The International Journal of Eating Disorders, 54*(11), 1899-1945. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.23583>

188. Calogero, R. M., Pina, A., Park, L. E., & Rahemtulla, Z. (2010). Objectification theory predicts college Women’s attitudes toward cosmetic surgery.*Sex Roles, 63*(1-2), 32-41. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9759-5>

189. Vaughan-Turnbull, C., & Lewis, V. (2015). Body image, objectification, and attitudes toward cosmetic surgery.*Journal of Applied Biobehavioral Research, 20*(4), 179-196. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jabr.12035>

190. Jackson, T., & Chen, H. (2015). Predictors of cosmetic surgery consideration among young Chinese women and men. *Sex Roles*, *73*(5–6), 214–230. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0514-9>

191. Skowronski, M., Busching, R., & Krahé, B. (2021). Women’s exposure to sexualized TV, self-objectification, and consideration of cosmetic surgery: The role of age. *Psychology of Popular Media*. https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000348

192. Gillen, M. M., & Markey, C. H. (2021). Body image, weight management behavior, and women’s interest in cosmetic surgery. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, *26*(5), 621–630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2020.1776890>

193. Lyu, Z., Jiao, Y., Zheng, P., & Zhong, J. (2021). Why do selfies increase young women’s willingness to consider cosmetic surgery in China? The mediating roles of body surveillance and body shame. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 27(5), 1205-1217. https://doi.org/[10.1177/1359105321990802](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/1359105321990802)

194. Sun, Q. (2020). Selfie editing and consideration of cosmetic surgery among young Chinese women: The role of self-objectification and facial dissatisfaction. *Sex Roles*, 84(11-12), 670-679. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01191-5

195. Wang, Y., Fardouly, J., Vartanian, L., Wang, X., & Lei, L. (2022). Body talk on social networking sites and cosmetic surgery consideration among Chinese young adults: A serial mediation model based on objectification theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 46*(1), 99-110. https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843211026273

196. Baildon, A., Egan, S., Christ, C., Lorenz, T., Stoltenberg, S., & Gervais, S. (2021). The sexual objectification and alcohol use link: The mediating roles of self-objectification, enjoyment of sexualization, body shame, and drinking motives. *Sex Roles*, *85*(3-4), 190-204. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01213-2

197. Le, T. P., Iwamoto, D. K., & Samee, A. A. (2021). Examining the association between sexism, self-objectification, empowerment, and alcohol-related problems: Pathways through drinking to cope. *Addictive Behaviors*, *120*, 106964. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2021.106964>

198. Flissel, D. L., & Lafreniere, K. D. (2006). Weight control motives for cigarette smoking: Further consequences of the sexual objectification of women? *Feminism & Psychology*, *16*(3), 327–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353506067850>

199. Harrell, Z., Fredrickson, B., Pomerleau, C., & Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (2006). The role of trait self-objectification in smoking among college women. *Sex Roles, 54(11-12)*, 735-743. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9041-z

200. Choukas-Bradley, S., Nesi, J., Widman, L., & Noar, S. M. (2019). Examining the roles of self-objectification and appearance expectations in young women’s indoor tanning behavior. *Sex Roles*, *80*(1–2), 52–62. <https://doi-org/10.1007/s11199-018-0913-9>

201. Stapleton, J. L., Manne, S. L., Greene, K., Darabos, K., Carpenter, A., Hudson, S. V., & Coups, E. J. (2017). Sociocultural experiences, body image, and indoor tanning among young adult women. *Journal of Health Psychology, 22*(12), 1582–1590. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105316631198.

202. Trekels, J., Eggermont, S., Koppen, E., & Vandenbosch, L. (2017). Beauty ideals from reality television and young women’s tanning behavior: An internalization and self-objectification perspective. *Communication Quarterly*, 66(3), 325-343. https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2017.1381627

203. Choma, B. L., & Prusaczyk, E. (2018). The effects of system justifying beliefs on skin-tone surveillance, skin-color dissatisfaction, and skin-bleaching behavior. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *42*(2), 162–177. <https://doi-org/10.1177/0361684317747845>

204. Harper, K., & Choma, B. L. (2019). Internalised white ideal, skin tone surveillance, and hair surveillance predict skin and hair dissatisfaction and skin bleaching among African American and Indian Women. *Sex Roles*, *80*(11–12), 735–744. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0966-9>

205. Ainley, V., & Tsakiris, M. (2013). Body conscious? Interoceptive awareness, measured by heartbeat perception, is negatively correlated with self-objectification. *PLoS One, 8*(2), e55568. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0055568

206. Felig, R., Jordan, J., Shepard, S., Courtney, E., Goldenberg, J., & Roberts, T. (2021). When looking ‘hot’ means not feeling cold: Evidence that self-objectification inhibits feelings of being cold. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 61(2), 455-470. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12489

207. Dieker, J., Renn, B., & Daniels, E. (2022). Self-objectification: Implications for physical activity in middle-aged women and men. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*. Advanced online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2022.2073377

208. Greenleaf, C. (2005). Self-objectification among physically active women. *Sex Roles, 52*(1-2), 51–62. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-1193-8>

209. Faries, M. D., & Espie, E. (2016). Objectified body consciousness, physical activity, and dietary intake in women. *Journal of Applied Biobehavioral Research*, *21*(1), 25–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/jabr.12041

210. Strelan, P., & Hargreaves, D. (2005). Reasons for exercise and body esteem: Men’s responses to self-objectification. *Sex Roles, 53*(7-8), 495–503. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-7137-5

211. Strelan, P., Mehaffey, S., & Tiggemann, M. (2003). Self-objectification and esteem in young women: The mediating role of reasons for exercise. *Sex Roles, 48*(1/2), 89-95. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022300930307

212. Fredrickson, B. L., Roberts, T., Noll, S. M., Quinn, D. M., & Twenge, J. M. (1998). That swimsuit becomes you: Sex differences in self-objectification, restrained eating, and math performance.*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*(1), 269-284. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.1.269>

213. Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., & Lin, J. (2004). The swimsuit becomes us all: Ethnicity, gender, and vulnerability to self-objectification.*Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*(10), 1322-1331. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167204264052>

214. Gapinski, K. D., Brownell, K. D., & Lafrance, M. (2003). Body objectification and “fat talk”: Effects on emotion, motivation, and cognitive performance. *Sex Roles, 48*(9–10), 377–388. [https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023516209973](https://doi.org/10.1023/A%3A1023516209973)

215. Quinn, D. M., Kallen, R. W., Twenge, J. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2006). The disruptive effect of self-objectification on performance.*Psychology of Women Quarterly, 30*(1), 59-64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00262.x>

216. Garcia, R., Earnshaw, V., & Quinn, D. (2016). Objectification in action: Self- and other-objectification in mixed-sex interpersonal interactions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 40*(2), 213-228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315614966>

217. Gervais, S. J., Vescio, T. K., & Allen, J. (2011). When what you see is what you get: The consequences of the objectifying gaze for women and men.*Psychology of Women Quarterly, 35*(1), 5-17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684310386121>

218. Gervais, S. J., Wiener, R. L., Allen, J., Farnum, K. S., & Kimble, K. (2016). Do you see what I see? The consequences of objectification in work settings for experiencers and third party predictors. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy (ASAP)*, *16*(1), 143–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12118

219. Wiener, R. L., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., & Marquez, A. (2013). Eye of the beholder: Effects of perspective and sexual objectification on harassment judgments. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *19*(2), 206–221. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028497

220. Guizzo, F., & Cadinu, M. (2017). Effects of objectifying gaze on female cognitive performance: The role of flow experience and internalization of beauty ideals.*British Journal of Social Psychology, 56*(2), 281-292. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12170>

221. Kozak, M., Roberts, T., & Patterson, K. (2014). She stoops to conquer? How posture interacts with self-objectification and status to impact women’s affect and performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(3), 414-424. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313517865>

222. Tiggemann, M., & Boundy, M. (2008). Effect of environment and appearance compliment on college women’s self-objectification, mood, body shame, and cognitive performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*(4), 399-405. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00453.x>

223. Barzoki, M., Kontula, O., Mokhtariaraghi, H., & Mahboubishariatpanahi, N. (2017). Dual contradictory effects of self-objectification on sexual satisfaction. *Sexuality & Culture, 21*, 627-642. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-017-9408-z

224. Calogero, R. M., & Thompson, J. K. (2009a). Potential implications of the objectification of women’s bodies for women’s sexual satisfaction. *Body Image*, *6(2)*, 145-148. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2009.01.001>

225. Grower, P., & Ward, L. M. (2021). Differentiating contributions of self-objectification and self-sexualization to young women’s sexual agency. *Body Image, 38*, 63-71. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.03.005>

226. Calogero, R. M., & Thompson, J. K. (2009b). Sexual self-esteem in American and British college women: Relations with self-objectification and eating problems. *Sex Roles, 60*(3-4), 160-173. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9517-0>

227. Smolak, L., Murnen, S. K., & Myers, T. A. (2014). Sexualizing the self: What college women and men think about and do to be “sexy.” *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *38*(3),379–397. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314524168

228. Vencill, J., Tebbe, E., & Garos, S. (2015). It’s not the size of the boat or the motion of the ocean: The role of self-objectification, appearance anxiety, and depression in female sexual functioning. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39*(4), 471-483. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315587703

229. Watson, L., Matheny, K., Gagné, P., Brack, G., & Ancis, J. (2012a). A model linking diverse women’s child sexual abuse history with sexual risk taking. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*(1), 22-37. https://doi.org/[10.1177/0361684312454535](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/0361684312454535)

230. Claudat, K., Warren, C. S., & Durette, R. T. (2012). The relationships between body surveillance, body shame, and contextual body concern during sexual activities in ethnically diverse female college students. *Body Image*, *9*(4), 448–454. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2012.05.007>

231. Higgins, M., Choukas-Bradley, S., Crowder, E., & Bardone-Cone, A. (2016). Examining moderators of the relation between body consciousness during sexual activity and disordered eating. *Advances in Eating Disorders: Theory, Research, and Practice, 4*(1), 31-46. https://doi.org/10.1080/21662630.2015.1081074

232. Claudat, K., & Warren, C. (2014). Self-objectification, body self-consciousness during sexual activities, and sexual satisfaction in college women. *Body Image, 11*(4), 509-515. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.07.006>

233. Steer, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2008). The role of self-objectification in women’s sexual functioning. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 27*(3), 205-225. https://doi.org/[10.1521/jscp.2008.27.3.205](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1521/jscp.2008.27.3.205)

234. Clapp, A., & Syed, M. (2021). Self-objectification and sexual satisfaction: A preregistered test of the replicability and robustness of Calogero and Thompson (2009) in a sample of U.S. women. *Body Image, 39*, 16-29. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.05.011>

235. Manago, A., Ward, L. M., Lemm, K., Reed, L., Seabrook, R. (2015). Facebook involvement, objectified body consciousness, body shame, and sexual assertiveness in college women and men. *Sex Roles, 72(1-2)*, 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0441-1

236. Parent, M., & Moradi, B. (2015). Self-objectification and condom use self-efficacy in women university students. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 44*(4), 971-981. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-014-0384-1

237. DeWilde, M., Casini, A., Wollast, R., & Demoulin, S. (2020). Sex is power belief and women’s mental health: The mediating roles of self-objectification and sexual subjectivity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(5), 1017-1031. https://doi.org/[10.1002/ejsp.2643](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1002/ejsp.2643)

238. Grower, P., & Ward, L. M. (2018). Examining the unique contribution of body appreciation to heterosexual women’s sexual agency. *Body Image, 27,* 138-147. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2018.09.003>

239. Corona, R., Hood, K. B., & Haffejee, F. (2019). The relationship between body image perceptions and condom use outcomes in a sample of South African emerging adults. *Prevention Science*, *20*(1), 147–156. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11121-018-0957-7

240. Kashubeck-West, S., Zeilman, M., & Deitz, C. (2018). Objectification, relationship satisfaction, and self-consciousness during physical intimacy in bisexual women. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, *33*(1–2), 97–112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681994.2017.1419569>

241. Ramsey, L. R., Marotta, J. A., & Hoyt, T. (2017). Sexualized, objectified, but not satisfied: Enjoying sexualization relates to lower relationship satisfaction through perceived partner-objectification. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *34*(2), 258–278. <https://doi-org/10.1177/0265407516631157>

242. Brock, R., Ramsdell, E., Sáez, G., & Gervais, S. (2021). Perceived humanization by intimate partners during pregnancy is associated with fewer depressive symptoms, less body dissatisfaction, and greater sexual satisfaction through reduced self-objectification. *Sex Roles, 84*(5-6), 285-298. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01166-6

243. Strelan, P., & Pagoudis, S. (2018). Birds of a feather flock together: The interpersonal process of objectification within intimate heterosexual relationships. *Sex Roles, 79*(1), 72–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0851-y

244. Ramsey, L., & Hoyt, T. (2015). The object of desire: How being objectified creates sexual pressure for women in heterosexual relationships. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39*(2), 151-170. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314544679

245. Kelly, N., Mitchell, K., Gow, R., Trace, S., Lydecker, J., Bair, C., & Mazzeo, S. (2012). An evaluation of the reliability and construct validity of eating disorder measures in white and black women. Psychological Assessment, 24(3), 608–617. [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026457](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0026457)

246. Overstreet, N., & Quinn, D. (2012). Contingencies of self-worth and app concerns: Do domains of self-worth matter? *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 36*(3), 314-325. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311435221>

247. Schaefer, L., Burke, N., Calogero, R., Menzel, J., Krawczyk, R., & Thompson, J. (2018). Self-objectification, body shame, and disordered eating: Testing a core mediational model of objectification theory among White, Black, and Hispanic women. *Body Image, 24*(1), 5–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.10.005

248. Frederick, D. A., Kelly, M. C., Latner, J. D., Sandhu, G., & Tsong, Y. (2016). Body image and face image in Asian American and white women: Examining associations with surveillance, construal of self, perfectionism, and sociocultural pressures. *Body Image, 16*, 113–125. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.12.002

249. Grabe, S., & Jackson, B. (2009). Self-objectification and depressive symptoms: Does their association vary among Asian American and White American men and women? *Body Image, 6*, 141-144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2009.02.001

250. Frederick, D., Forbes, G., Grigorian, K., & Jarcho, J. (2006). The UCLA Body Project I: Gender and ethnic differences in self-objectification and body satisfaction among 2,206 undergraduates. *Sex Roles, 57*(5-6), 317-327. https://doi.org/10. 1007/s11199-007-9251-z

251. Cheng, H.-L., Tran, A., Miyake, E., & Kim, H. (2017). Disordered eating among Asian American college women: A racially expanded model of objectification theory. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 64*(2), 179-191. [https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000195](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/cou0000195)

252. Ko, S., & Wei, M. (2020). A culturally modified application of objectification theory to Asian and Asian-American women. *The Counseling Psychologist, 48*(7), 1048-1075 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000020938872>

253. Le, T. P., Kuo, L., & Yamasaki, V. (2020). Gendered racial microaggressions, feminism, and Asian American women’s eating pathology: An intersectional investigation. *Sex Roles, 83*(3-4), 127-142. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01100-5

254. Lee, M. (2022). Exploring how Instagram addiction is associated with women’s body image and drive for thinness. *Social Science Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03623319.2022.2092380>

255. Mustafa, S., & Akram, M. (2022). Self-consciousness, self-objectification, and social anxiety as predictors of photo editing behavior among emerging adults. *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies*. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2022/6609752>

256. Boie, I., Lopez, A. L., & Sass, D. A. (2013). An evaluation of a theoretical model predicting dieting behaviors: Tests of measurement and structural invariance across ethnicity and gender. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 46*, 114-135. https://doi.org/10.1177/0748175612468595

257. Davies, A. E., Burnette, C. B., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2021). Testing a moderated mediation model of objectification theory among Black women in the United States: The role of protective factors. *Sex Roles, 84*(1), 91–101. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020- 01151-z

258. Fitzsimmons, E. E., & Bardone-Cone, A. M. (2011). Downward spirals of body surveillance and weight/shape concern among African American and Caucasian college women. *Body Image*, *8*(3), 216–223. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2011.04.003

259. Lau, A., Lum, S., Chronister, K., & Forrest, L. (2006). Asian American college women’s body image: A pilot study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*, 259-274.

260. Kim, S. Y., Seo, Y. S., & Baek, K. Y. (2014). Face consciousness among South Korean women: A culture-specific extension of objectification theory. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61(1), 24–36. [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034433](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0034433)

261. King, J., & Iwamoto, D. (2022). Not all the same: Examining Asian American women’s self-objectification processes using a latent class and cultural-specific approach. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 46*(2), 209-225. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843221081525>

262. Buchanan, T. S., Fischer, A. R., Tokar, D. M., & Yoder, J. D. (2008). Testing a culture- specific extension of objectification theory regarding African American women’s body image. *The Counseling Psychologist, 36(5)*, 697–718. https://doi.org/10.1177/ 0011000008316322

263. Brady, J., Kaya, A., Iwamoto, D., Park, A., Fox, L., & Moorhead, M. (2017). Asian American women’s body image experiences: A qualitative intersectionality study. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 41*(4), 479-496. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317725311

264. Watson, L., Lewis, J. A., & Moody, A. T. (2019). A sociocultural examination of body image among Black women. *Body Image, 31*, 280–287. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j. bodyim.2019.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.%20bodyim.2019.03.008)

265. Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. Psychological Review, 96(4), 608–630. [https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.96.4.608](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0033-295X.96.4.608)

266. Greenwood, D. N., & Dal Cin, S. (2012). Ethnicity and body consciousness: Black and White American women's negotiation of media ideals and others' approval. Psychology of Popular Media Culture, 1(4), 220–235. [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029411](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0029411)

267. Rakhkovskaya, L. M., & Warren, C. S. (2016). Sociocultural and identity predictors of body dissatisfaction in ethnically diverse college women. *Body Image*, *16*, 32–40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.10.004

268. Rogers Wood, N., & Petrie, T. (2010). Body dissatisfaction, ethnic identity, and disordered eating among African American woman. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(2), 141-153. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018922

269. Cotter, E., Kelly, N., Mitchell, K., & Mazzeo, S. (2015). An investigation of body appreciation, ethnic identity, and eating disorder symptoms in Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(1), 3-25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413502671

270. Henrickson, H. C., Crowther, J. H., & Harrington, E. F. (2010). Ethnic identity and maladaptive eating: Expectancies about eating and thinness in African American women. Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16(1), 87-93. [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013455](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0013455)

271. Sabik, N. J., Cole, E. R., & Ward, L. M. (2010). Are all minority women equally buffered from negative body image? Intra-ethnic moderators of the buffering hypothesis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34*, 139–151. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402. 2010.01557.x

272. Tsai, G., Curbow, B., & Heinberg, L. (2003). Sociocultural and developmental influences on body dissatisfaction and disordered eating attitudes and behaviors of Asian women. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 191*(5), 309-318.

273. Cheng, H.-L. (2014). Disordered eating among Asian/Asian American women: Racial and cultural factors as correlates. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *42*(6), 821–851. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000014535472

274. Phan, T., & Tylka, T. (2006). Exploring a model and moderators of disordered eating with Asian American college women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*(1), 36-47. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.53.1.36

275. Moradi, B. (2010). Addressing gender and cultural diversity in body image: Objectification theory as a framework for integrating theories and grounding research. *Sex Roles, 63*(1–2), 138–148. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9824-0 M

276. Frederick, D., Schaefer, L., Hazzard, V., Rodgers, R., Tylka, T., Ong, L., Pennesi, J., et al. (2022). Racial identity differences in pathways from sociocultural and obj constructs to body satisfaction: The U.S. Body Project I. *Body Image, 42*, 140-155. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.01.019

277. Dunn, C., Hood, K., & Owens, B. (2019). Loving myself through thick and thin: Appearance contingent self-worth, gendered racial microaggressions and African American women’s body appreciation. *Body Image, 30*(1), 121-126 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.06.003

278. Cheng, H.-L., & Kim, H. Y. (2018). Racial and sexual objectification of Asian American women: Associations with trauma symptomatology, body image concerns, and disordered eating. *Women & Therapy, 41*(3–4), 237–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2018.1425027

279. Lewis, J. A., & Neville, H. A. (2015). Construction and initial validation of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Black women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62*(2), 289–302. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000062

280. Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist, 64*(3), 170–180. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564

281. Hafezi, P. (2022, October 30). Security forces tear gas students defying Iran protest ultimatu. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/iranians-appear-defy-warning-powerful-guards-with-more-protests-2022-10-30/>

282. Howard-Hassmann, R. E. (2011). Universal women's rights since 1970: The centrality of autonomy and agency. *Journal of Human Rights, 10*(4), 433-449. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2011.619398>

283. Calogero, R. (2013). Objects don’t object: Evidence that self-objectification disrupts women’s social activism. *Psychological Sciences, 24*(3), 312-318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612452574

284. Calogero, R. M., Tylka, T. L., Donnelly, L. C., McGetrick, A., & Leger, A. M. (2017). Trappings of femininity: A test of the “beauty as currency” hypothesis in shaping college women’s gender activism. *Body Image*, *21*, 66–70. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.02.008>

285. Gothreau, C. (2021). Sex objects: How self-objectification undermines political efficacy and engagement. *Journal of Women, Politics, & Policy, 42*(4), 275-296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2021.1941630>

286. Calogero, R., & Jost, J. (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*(2), 211-228. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021864

287. Sharp, G., & Gerrard, Y. (2022). The body image “problem” on social media: Novel directions for the field. *Body Image, 41*, 267-271. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.03.004

288. Zuair, A., & Sopory, P. (2022). Effects of media health literacy school-based interventions on adolescents’ body image concerns, eating concerns, and thin-internalization attitudes: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Health Communication*, 37(1), 20-28. https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2020.1813954

289. Guizzo, F., & Cadinu, M. (2020). Women, not objects: Testing a sensitizing web campaign against female sexual objectification to temper sexual harassment and hostile sexism. *Media Psychology, 24*(4), 509-537. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2020.1756338

290. Guizzo, F., Cadinu, M., Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Latrofa, M. (2017). Objecting to objectification: Women’s collective action against sexual objectification on television. *Sex Roles*, 77(5-6), 352-365. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0725-8

291. Gervais, S., Davidson, M., Styck, K., Canivez, G., & DiLillo, D. (2018). The development and psychometric properties of the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale – Perpetration Version. *Psychology of Violence, 8*(5), 546-559. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000148>

292. Parent, M., Garos, S., Branscome, E., & Piper, M. (2020). What is bad from the gander is bad from the goose: Development and validation of the Women’s Objectification of Women Scale. *Assessment, 27*(5), 941-958. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191117754138

293. Curran, P. (2004). Development of a new measure of men’s objectification of women: Factor structure test-retest validity. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/psych\_honproj/13/

294. Hollett, R. C., Rogers, S. L., Florido, P., & Mosdell, B. (2022). Body gaze as a marker of sexual objectification: A new scale for pervasive gaze and gaze provocation behaviors in heterosexual women and men.*Archives of Sexual Behavior, 51*(6), 2759-2780. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-022-02290-y>

295. Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Empowering or oppressing? Development and exploration of the Enjoyment of Sexualization scale. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*(1),55–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210386119

296. Visser, B. A., Stiner, E. R., & Doyle, L. A. (2022). The ESS-R: An enjoyment of sexualization scale for diverse populations.*Sexuality & Culture, 26*(5), 1684-1710. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-022-09963-9>

297. Nowatzki, J., & Morry, M. (2009). Women’s intentions regarding, and acceptance of, self-sexualizing behavior. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*(1), 95-107. https://doi.org/[10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.01477.x](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.01477.x)

298. Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 10*(3)*,* 252-264 <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4>

299. Morris, K. L., Goldenberg, J., & Boyd, P. (2018). Women as animals, women as objects: Evidence for two forms of objectification.*Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 44*(9), 1302-1314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218765739>

300. Nussbaum, M. C. (1995). Objectification. *Philosophy and Public Affairs, 24*(4), 249-291.

301. Langton, R. (2009). *Sexual solipsism: Philosophical essays on \pPornography and objectification*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

302. Szymanski, D. M., & Mikorski, R. (2017a). Does the work environment matter? Sexual objectification and waitresses’ body dissatisfaction. *Body Image, 23*, 9-12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.07.009

303. Szymanski, D. M., & Mikorski, R. (2017b). Sexually objectifying environments: Power, rumination, and waitresses’ anxiety and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 41(3)*, 314–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317709438

304. Szymanski, D. M., & Feltman, C. (2015). Linking sexually objectifying work environments among waitresses to psychological and job-related outcomes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39*(3), 390-404. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314565345

305. Szymanski, D., & Mikorski, R. (2016). Sexually objectifying restaurants and waitresses’ burnout and intentions to leave: The roles of power and support. *Sex Roles, 75*, 328-338. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0621-2

306. Downs, D. M., James, S., & Cowan, G. (2006). Body objectification, self-esteem, and relationship satisfaction: A comparison of exotic dancers and college women. *Sex Roles, 54*, 745–752. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9042-y

307. Barton, B. (2007). Managing the toll of stripping: Boundary setting among exotic dancers. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 36*(5), 571-596. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241607301971

308. Moffitt, L. B., & Szymanski, D. (2011). Experiencing sexually objectifying environments: A qualitative study. *The Counseling Psychologist, 39*(1), 67-106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010364551>

309. Bettis, P., & Adams, N. G. (2006). Short skirts and breast juts: Cheerleading, eroticism and schools. *Sex Education, 6*(2), 121-133. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681810600578800

310. Egan, R., & Hawkes, G. (2008). Endangered girls and incendiary objects: Unpacking the discourse on sexualization. *Sexuality and Culture, 12*, 291–311. https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12119-008-9036-8

311. Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2009). The risks and rights of sexualization: An appreciative commentary on Lerum and Dworkin’s “bad girls rule.” *Journal of Sex Research, 46*(4), 268–270. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/00224490903082694

312. Else-Quest, N. M., & Hyde, J. S. (2009). The missing discourse of development: Commentary on Lerum and Dworkin. *Journal of Sex Research, 46*(4), 264-267. https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490903079559

313. Lerum, K., & Dworkin, S. L. (2009). “Bad girls rule”: An interdisciplinary feminist commentary on the report of the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. *Journal of Sex Research, 46*(4), 250–263. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490903079542

314. Calogero, R. M., Tantleff-Dunn, S., & Thompson, J. K. (Eds.). (2011). *Self-Objectification in Women: Causes, Consequences, and Counteractions*. American Psychological Association. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1chs18w

315. Barnett, M., Maciel, I., & Gerner, M. (2018). Enjoyment of sexualization and feminism: Relationships with sexual self-schema. *Sexuality & Culture, 22*(3), 669-684. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-018-9515-5

316. Hurt, M., Nelson, J., Turner, D., Haines, M., Ramsey, L., Erchull, M., & Liss, M. (2007). Feminism: What is it good for? Feminine norms and objectification as the link between feminist identity and clinically relevant outcomes. *Sex Roles, 57*(5-6), 355-363. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9272-7

317. Feltman, C., & Szymanski, D. (2018). Instagram use and self-objectification: The roles of internalization, comparison, appearance commentary, and feminism. *Sex Roles, 78*(5-6), 311-324. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0796-1

318. Murnen, S., & Smolak, L. (2009). Are feminist women protected from body image problems? A meta-analytic review of relevant research. *Sex Roles, 60*(3-4), 186-197. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9523-2

319. Muehlenkamp, J. J., & Saris–Baglama, R. N. (2002). Self–objectification and its psychological outcomes for college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *26*(4), 371-379.

320. Myers, T. A. (2022). What about being a feminist is protective? An examination of constructs related to feminist beliefs as moderators of the relationship between media awareness and thin-ideal internalization. *Body Image*, *41*, 248-261. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.03.001>

321. Myers, T. A., Ridolfi, D. R., Crowther, J. H., & Ciesla, J. A. (2012). The impact of appearance-focused social comparisons on body image disturbance in the naturalistic environment: The roles of thin-ideal internalization and feminist beliefs. *Body Image*, *9*(3), 342-351. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2012.03.005>

322. Neff, K. D. (2003). The development and validation of a scale to measure self-compassion. *Self and Identity*, *2*(3), 223-250. h[ttps://doi.org/10.1080/15298860309027](https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1080/15298860309027)

323. Daye, C. A., Webb, J. B., & Jafari, N. (2014). Exploring self-compassion as a refuge against recalling the body-related shaming of caregiver eating messages on dimensions of objectified body consciousness in college women. *Body Image*, *11*(4), 547–556. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.08.001

324. Liss, M., & Erchull, M. J. (2015). Not hating what you see: Self-compassion may protect against negative mental health variables connected to self-objectification in college women. *Body Image, 14*, 5-12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.02.006

325. Mosewich, A., Kowalski, K., Sabiston, C., Sedgwick, W., & Tracy, J. (2011). Self-compassion: A potential resource for young women athletes. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 33*(1), 103-123. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.33.1.103

326. Wollast, R., Riemer, A. R., Sarda, E., Wiernik, B. M., & Klein, O. (2020). How self-compassion moderates the relation between body surveillance and body shame among men and women. *Mindfulness*, *11*(10), 2298–2313. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-020-01448-w>

327. Gobin, K., McComb, S., & Mills, J. (2022). Testing a self-compassion micro-intervention before appearance-based social media use: Implications for body image. *Body Image, 40*, 200-206. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.12.011

328. Seekis, V., Bradley, G., & Duffy, A. (2020). Does a Facebook-enhanced mindful self-compassion intervention improve body image? An evaluation study. *Body Image, 34*, 259-269. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.07.006

329. Rodgers, R. F., Donovan, E., Cousineau, T., Yates, K., McGowan, K., Cook, E., ... & Franko, D. L. (2018). BodiMojo: Efficacy of a mobile-based intervention in improving body image and self-compassion among adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *47*(7), 1363-1372. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0804-3

330. Albertson, E., Neff, & Dill-Schackleford, K. (2015). Self-compassion and body dissatisfaction in women: A randomized controlled trial of a brief meditation intervention. *Mindfulness, 6*(3), 444-454. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-014-0277-3

331. Baránková, M., & Sládkovičová, R. (2022). Distorted body image in women: Emotion focused training for self-compassion and self-protection as an effective instrument for its moderation. *Archives of Psychiatry & Psychotherapy*, *24*(2), 30-40. https://doi.org/ 10.12740/APP/144881

332. Toole, A., & Craighead, L. (2016). Brief self-compassion meditation training for body image distress in young adult women. *Body Image, 19*, 104-112. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2016.09.001

333. de Wet, A., Lane, B., & Mulgrew, K. (2020). A randomized controlled trial examining the effects of self-compassion meditations on women’s body image. *Body Image, 35*, 22-29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.07.009

334. Fraser, E., Misener, K., & Libben, M. (2022). Exploring the impact of a gratitude-focused meditation on body dissatisfaction: Can a brief auditory gratitude intervention protect young women against exposure to the thin ideal? *Body Image*, *41*, 331-341. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.04.002>

335. Alleva, J., Tylka, T., van Oorsouw, K., Montanaro, E., Perey, I., Bolle, C., Boselie, J., Peters, M., & Webb, J. (2020). The effects of yoga on functionality appreciation and additional facets of positive body image. *Body Image, 34*, 184-195. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.06.003

336. Cox, A., Ullrich-French, S., Cole, A., & D’Hondt-Taylor, M. (2016). The role of state mindfulness during yoga in predicting self-objectification and reasons for exercise. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 22*, 321-327. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2015.10.001

337. Daubenmier, J. J. (2005). The relationship of yoga, body awareness, and body responsiveness to self-objectification and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 29*(2), 207–219. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00183.x

338. Halliwell, E., Dawson, K., & Burkey, S. (2019). A randomized experimental evaluation of a yoga-based body image intervention. *Body Image*, *28*, 119–127. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2018.12.005>

339. Impett, E., Daubenmier, J., & Hirschman, A. (2006). Minding the body: Yoga, embodiment, and well-being. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy, 3*(4), 39-48. https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2006.3.4.39

340. Alleva, J., Martijn, C., Van Breukelen, G., Jansen, A., & Karos, K. (2015). *Expand Your Horizon*: A programme that improves body image and reduces self-objectification by training women to focus on body functionality. *Body Image, 15*, 81-89. <https://doi.org./10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.07.001>

341. Alleva, J., Diedrichs, P., Halliwell, E., Martijn, C., Stuijfzand, B., Treneman-Evans, G., & Rumsey, N. (2018). A randomized-controlled trial investigating potential underlying mechanisms of a functionality-based approach to improving women’s body image. *Body Image, 25*, 85-96. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2018.02.009

342. Dimas, M. A., Galway, S. C., & Gammage, K. L. (2021). Do you see what I see? The influence of self-objectification on appearance anxiety, intrinsic motivation, interoceptive awareness, and physical performance. *Body Image*, *39*, 53-61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.05.010>

343. Myers, T. A., & Crowther, J. H. (2008). Is self-objectification related to interoceptive awareness? An examination of potential mediating pathways to disordered eating attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32*(2), 172-180. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00421.x>

344. Slater, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2012). Time since menarche and sport participation as predictors of self-objectification: A longitudinal study of adolescent girls. *Sex Roles, 67*(9-10), 571-581. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0200-0

345. Alleva, J. M., & Tylka, T. L. (2021). Body functionality: A review of the literature. *Body Image*, *36*, 149-171. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.11.006>

346. Fardouly, J., Diedrichs, P. C., Vartanian, L. R., & Halliwell, E. (2015). Social comparisons on social media: The impact of Facebook on young women's body image concerns and mood. *Body image*, *13*, 38-45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.12.002>

347. Roberts, T. A., Daniels, E. A., Weaver, J. M., & Zanovich, L. S. (2022). “Intermission!” A short-term social media fast reduces self-objectification among pre-teen and teen dancers. *Body Image*, *43*, 125-133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2022.08.015>

348. Weinstein, E. (2017). Adolescents' differential responses to social media browsing: Exploring causes and consequences for intervention. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *76*, 396-405. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.07.038>

349. Sun, M., Jiang, L. C., & Huang, G. (2022). Improving body satisfaction through fitness app use: Explicating the role of social comparison, social network size, and gender. *Health Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2022.2054099>

350. Cohen, R., Fardouly, J., Newton-John, T., & Slater, A. (2019). # BoPo on Instagram: An experimental investigation of the effects of viewing body positive content on young women’s mood and body image. *New Media & Society*, *21*(7), 1546-1564. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819826530>

351. Fioravanti, G., Svicher, A., Ceragioli, G., Bruni, V., & Casale, S. (2021). Examining the impact of daily exposure to body-positive and fitspiration Instagram content on young women’s mood and body image: An intensive longitudinal study. *New Media & Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211038904>

352. Brown, Z., & Tiggemann, M. (2020). A picture is worth a thousand words: The effect of viewing celebrity Instagram images with disclaimer and body positive captions on women’s body image. *Body Image*, *33*, 190-198. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.03.003>

353. Tiggemann, M., Anderberg, I., & Brown, Z. (2020). # Loveyourbody: The effect of body positive Instagram captions on women’s body image. *Body Image*, *33*, 129-136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.02.015>

Table 1.

*Popular scales for measuring self-objectification, self-sexualization and interpersonal objectification*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Scale name**  | **Assesses** | **Total # of items** | **Subscales**  | **Sample item** | **Psychometric properties** |
| Objectified Body Consciousness Scale10 | Extent to which women internalize cultural beauty standards and consider their body as an object for evaluation by men | 24 | Body surveillance |  “During the day, I think about how I look many times”.  | Cronbach’s α = .79 undergraduate women; .76 middle-aged women (Study 2) |
| Body shame | “When I am not the size I think I should be, I feel ashamed.” | Cronbach’s α = .84 undergraduate women; .70 middle-aged women (Study 2) |
| Appearance control beliefs | “I can weigh what I’m supposed to when I try hard enough.” | Cronbach’s α = .68 undergraduate women; .76 middle-aged women (Study 2) |
| Self-objectification Questionnaire212 | The extent to which individuals view their body in appearance-based vs. competence-based characteristics | 12 (subsequently shortened to 10 items) | -  | Participants rate the importance of 6 appearance-based characteristics (for example, weight), and 6 competence-based characteristic (for example, muscular strength) to their physical self-concept. | N/A |
| Self-Objectification Beliefs and Behaviors Scale62 | Multi-dimensional measure of self-objectification in women | 14 | Internalizing an observer’sperspective of the body |  “I consider how my body will look to others in the clothing I am wearing.” | Cronbach’s α = .91 (Study 2) |
| Equating the body to who one is as a person and valuing appearance above other attributes | “How I look is more important to me than how I think or feel.” | Cronbach’s α = .92 (Study 2) |
| InterpersonalSexual Objectification Scale55 | Frequency with which women experience sexual objectification | 15 | Body evaluation  | “How often have you felt that someone was staring at your body?” | Cronbach’s α = .92 and .94. (Study 3: T1 and T2, 3 weeks later) |
| Unwanted explicit sexual advances | “How often has someone made a degrading sexual gesture towards you?” | Cronbach’s α = .82 and .86. (Study 3: T1 and T2, 3 weeks later) |
| Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale—Perpetration Version291 | Frequency with which men or women perpetuate sexual objectification | 15 | Body gazes  | “How often have youleered at someone’s body?”  | Women*: r*α = .87Men: *r*α = .86(Study 1) |
| Body comments | “How often have you made a rude, sexual remark about someone’s body?” | Women*: r*α = .80Men: *r*α = .84(Study 1) |
| Unwanted explicit sexual advances | “How often have you touched or fondled someone against her/his will?” | Women*: r*α = .88Men: *r*α = .85(Study 1) |
| Women’s Objectification of Women Scale292 | Frequency with which women experience objectification by other women | 9 | - | “Has a woman given you unwelcome advice about your appearance?” | Cronbach’s α = .88 (Study 4) |
| Men’s Objectification of Women Scale293  | Men's objectification of women | 22 or 12 (short form) | Internalized sexual objectification  | “I often imagine what women I meet on a daily basis would be like in bed.”  | 22-item form: Cronbach’s α = .9212-item form: Cronbach’s α = .92 |
| Disempathy and commenting about women's bodies | “You can tell a lot about a woman’s sexual availability by how she looks.” | 22-item form: Cronbach’s α = .8412-item form: Cronbach’s α = .72 |
| Insulting unattractive women | “I make jokes about ugly women.” | 22-item form: Cronbach’s α = .8412-item form: Cronbach’s α = .84 |
| Objectification Perpetration Scale155 | Men’s objectifying attitudes about women including cognitions, motivations, and behaviors | 16 | Sex-based objectification | “It is sometimes okay for me to manipulate women to have sex with them.”  | Cronbach’s α = .97 (Study 2) |
| Appearance-based objectification | “Whether a woman is attractive or not depends on what I think.” | Cronbach’s α = .88 (Study 2) |
| Scale for Pervasive Gaze and Gaze Provocation Behaviors in Heterosexual Women and Men294 | Pervasive body gaze towards others and provocative behaviors that invite gaze from others toward the self | 12 | Pervasive body gaze | “No matter where I am, I typically find myself looking at the bodies of men/women.”  | Women*:* α = .86Men: α = .88(Study 1) |
| Body gaze provocation | “I make an effort to behave in a manner which attracts attention to my body.” | Women*:* α = .86Men: α = .89(Study 1) |
| Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale295 | The extent to which a woman enjoys sexualized, appearance-based attention from men | 8 | - | “It is important to me that men are attracted to me.” | Cronbach’s α = .86 (Study 2) |
| Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale-Revised296  | The extent to which one enjoys sexualized attention from individuals of a gender one is attracted to (the original scale measured male gaze specifically) | 8 | - | “I feel proud when people (of the gender I’m attracted to) compliment the way I look.” | Cronbach’s α = .83 (Study 2) |
| Self-SexualizationBehavior Questionnaire for Women227 | The frequency with which college women engage in self-sexualizing behavior | 10 | - | “How often do you do the following things specifically in order to look sexy? Wear a low-cut blouse or dress? Remove or trim genital hair?” | Cronbach’s α = .84 (Study 3) |
| Sexualizing Behavior Scale297 | College women’s likelihood and/or acceptance of engaging insexualizing behavior  | 10 | Own likelihood of participating in sexualizing behaviors(Sexualizing Behavior)  | How likely are you to take a pole dancing or strip aerobics class  | Cronbach’s α = .78 |
| General acceptance of sexualizing behaviorsfor women (Sexualizing Acceptance) | How appropriate is it for women to attend a female nude dance bar with male friends or boyfriend?  | Cronbach’s α = .89 |

**Figure captions**

**Figure 1.****Theorized objectification processes.** Exposure to sexual objectification in society leads to self-objectification. With self-objectification, women value themselves predominantly for their body’s sexual appeal and less for their body functions, competencies, personality, or other traits. This narrow self-perception has extensive consequences for women’s cognitive performance and mental, physical, and sexual health. Adapted from refs2,6,10,212.

**Box 1**: **Theory and terminology**

Research on sexual objectification often features several terms including objectification, sexual objectification, and sexualization and their derivatives (such as objectified, sexualized), which are related but distinct constructs5. Much of the research on sexual objectification relies on objectification theory2 and theorizing on objectified body consciousness10 and sexualization4. However, although not as frequently considered, theorizing on dehumanization298 and its application to sexual objectification (animalistic vs. mechanistic dehumanization299) are also relevant. Furthermore, this research has been informed by important conceptual work outside of psychology.

For example, work in philosophy has outlined seven ways in which an individual can be objectified: instrumentality (treated as a tool for another’s purposes); denial of autonomy (right to self-determination is denied); inertness (treated as not having agency); fungibility (treated as interchangeable with others); violability (person’s bodily integrity is ignored); ownership (treated as another’s property); and denial of subjectivity (person’s experiences and feelings are ignored)300. According to this work, objectification can be—but is not necessarily—sexual. For example, parents might deny the autonomy of their young children. Denial of autonomy can also be sexual objectification, for example, when a woman is tied up with ropes in pornography. Later work added three additional forms of objectification: reduction to body (value another person for their body or body parts), reduction to appearance (value another person based on their aesthetics), and silencing (another person’s capacity for speech is ignored)301. Objectification scholars in psychology have drawn on some of these ideas (such as reduction to body) more heavily than others (such as fungibility).

At present, the field does not have a shared understanding of how sexual objectification and sexualization are distinct constructs. For example, researchers agree that sexual objectification entails a denial of mind and personhood as one is treated as an object by another, whereas sexualization entails a focus on another’s sexual appeal85,148. However, some researchers specify that sexualization involves valuing a person for their sexual appeal85 whereas others focus on visual aspects of sexualization (for example, level of undress148). Others have proposed that sexualization is a form of sexism5.

More broadly, researchers’ use of terminology to refer to sexual objectification and sexualization is variable and overlapping. Sometimes these terms are used synonymously. In other cases, researchers use a particular term (such as sexually objectified) over another term (sexualized), for the same experimental stimuli (for example, a woman wearing a bikini). The literature would benefit from more precise definitions of these constructs, consistent usage of terms and operationalizations, as well as clarity pertaining to the associated underlying theoretical frameworks.

**Box 2: Sexually objectifying environments**

 One understudied source of sexual objectification are women’s experiences working in or moving through sexually objectifying environments, such as beauty pageants, strip clubs, or cheerleading competitions. In sexually objectifying environments attention is strongly oriented towards women’s bodies, they have little power over their surroundings, and male gaze is both approved of and encouraged. These conditions create an intensely immersive and objectifying experience, above and beyond the traditionally objectifying environments women navigate in their daily lives. Quantitative studies of waitresses working in sexually objectifying environments underscore their experiences of body shame and dissatisfaction302,303, anxiety, rumination, and disordered eating303, depression and diminished job satisfaction304, and burnout and intentions to leave the workplace305. These associations extend to related professions. For example, compared to college students, exotic dancers report higher levels of body surveillance and greater valuation of physical attractiveness over physical competence306.

Qualitative studies confirm that women working in these environments are aware of both everyday experiences of sexual objectification such as the male gaze, and more extreme versions such as unwanted touching and sexual harassment. They report that they are always being judged based on their bodies and are often required to follow strict regulations about their appearance307,308. Although the women acknowledge some benefits of these environments, including financial support, popularity (for example, high school cheerleaders309), or learning to set boundaries with men307, their working experiences are often fraught with negative emotions, a high degree of ambivalence, and appearance anxiety. Consequently, women in these environments report using a range of resistance strategies to cope with objectification and subsequent negative emotions, including setting personal rules about interactions with men, creating a separate work persona, detaching emotionally, and making light of unwanted attention307,308.

**Box 3: Sexual objectification versus sexual empowerment**

 Some scholars have been critical of research focused on the negative effects of sexual objectification and self-objectification and have argued that sexual objectification can be enjoyable and self-objectification empowering. One critique is that research on sexual objectification overwhelmingly focuses on the harms associated with sexuality (especially women’s sexuality), thereby playing into cultural fears about the dangers of female sexual desire310. These critics argue that women’s sexual desire needs to receive equal attention from researchers who should ask whether sexualization or objectification can arise from women’s own agency and be empowering or lust-promoting311. These critiques appear to conflate sexual objectification with sexuality or sexual behaviors and desires more generally; however, these are distinct concepts which are generally not conflated by sexual objectification researchers312.

 A second critique assumes that objectification theory constructs women as passive vessels with no agency to resist the objectifying messages they encounter in the broader culture313. However, objectification theory does not advance a deterministic model of the effects of objectification. Furthermore, it has inspired a large body of work seeking to understand ways in which various identities, beliefs, and actions can interrupt the pathway from objectification to self-objectification to negative mental and physical health consequences314.

 In general, published work advancing the argument that sexual objectification can be empowering has been mainly theoretical. However, there is one relevant body of empirical work on the enjoyment of sexualization. Enjoyment of sexualization refers to the extent to which women find men’s sexual attention enjoyable, positive, and rewarding. However, the root cause of this enjoyment is up for debate. For example, a woman’s enjoyment of sexualization could be a sign that she is sexually agentic and empowered, and able to act on her own sexual desire. Alternatively, enjoyment of sexualization could be a sign of the brutal effectiveness of patriarchal oppression, in that the object of oppression is so well socialized that she comes to enjoy her own objectification. There is evidence to support both the positive (e.g., ref 315) and negative (e.g., ref 241) interpretation. One study sought to disentangle some of these mixed and conflicting results by testing how self-objectification and enjoyment of sexualization predict sexual health and empowerment225. Although enjoyment of sexualization was associated with greater entitlement to sexual pleasure, it was not linked with greater sexual assertiveness or satisfaction. These findings suggest that whereas women might enjoy the sexual attention they receive for their sexual appearance, they are not necessarily better positioned to enact behaviors that lead to the satisfaction of their sexual desires, even if they do feel more entitled to sexual pleasure.

**BOX 4: Potential protective factors and intervention strategies**

Given the negative consequences of sexual and self-objectification, effective strategies are needed to combat adverse outcomes. Although more research is required, there are promising initial results regarding potential protective factors and intervention strategies.

**[H1] Feminist beliefs and identity**

Several studies have found a mitigating role of feminist beliefs and feminist identity, such that these factors predict less body surveillance and shame316 and minimize the effects of Instagram usage on body surveillance317. Furthermore, a meta-analysis of 26 studies318 found a small but significant association (*r* = .12, *p* <.001) between feminist identity and positive body image. However, self-objectification was not explicitly assessed. Still, understanding the mechanisms behind this protective role requires further exploration. For example, feminist identity delivers greater protection against thin-ideal internalization (which is linked to self-objectification319), compared to feminist beliefs alone320. Additionally, there are inconsistencies regarding the protective nature of feminist beliefs in cases of upward appearance-focused social comparison and body image disturbance321. Whereas feminist beliefs protected against body image disturbance behaviors(such as body checking), they did not buffer against maladaptive cognitions(such as body dissatisfaction).

**[H1] Mindful self-compassion**

Mindful self-compassion typically includes self-kindness, mindfulness, and recognition of common humanity322. Correlational studies have established that mindful self-compassion protects against feelings of self-objectification, body shame, and body surveillance323-326. Mindful self-compassion interventions, including digital micro327,328 and multi-week interventions329, have also shown lasting effects in increasing body appreciation and reducing negative self-referential beliefs (body dissatisfaction, body shame, contingent appearance-based self-worth330-332) (for mixed and/or null results, see refs333,334).

**[H1] Function over form**

Functional awareness refers to a shift in one’s focus from the body’s appearance to how it functions and feels. Several interventions have attempted to promote functional awareness, including yoga programs335-339 and structured body functionality writing programs340,341. These programs decrease self-objectification and increase body appreciation, connectedness, and satisfaction. These benefits might arise from the association between interoceptive awareness (that is, awareness of internal physical sensations) and self-objectification, although the association is still not fully understood163,205,342,343. Additionally, sports participation has been associated with lower levels of self-objectification, mainly among adolescent girls344. Additionally, sports participation has been shown to be negatively associated with self-objectification. For example, in a study conducted with female adolescents, researchers found a negative relation between time spent participating in sports and self-reported levels of self-objectification344.

Although there is growing evidence to support the positive effects of function over form interventions, additional research is needed to understand the differential impacts of mode of delivery, dosage, functionality domain, and user identity345.

**[H1] Reducing beauty-based comparisons**

Finally, reductions in beauty-based social comparisons and increases in body-positive content exposure might minimize self-objectification. Several studies have manipulated social media use to reduce maladaptive social comparisons, which contribute to increased body-image disturbance and self-objectification346-348. For example, adolescents experienced decreased body shame and surveillance and increased mental states following a three-day social media fast, and these effects were mediated by improvements in self-compassion and self-esteem347. Fitness apps have also been shown to improve body satisfaction349, indicating that social media use focused on body function might buffer against self-objectification. Exposure to body-positive social media content (for example, content that celebrates body diversity and is not digitally manipulated) has also been shown to increase body satisfaction compared to thin-ideal content exposure, which increases self-objectification350,351. However, body-positive captions did not influence body perceptions, particularly when paired with thin-ideal images352,353. This discrepancy could indicate that the protective benefits of body-positive messaging might be limited to visual content.