Exploring the Effects of Reality Television on Body Image: Does Feminist Identification Matter?

by

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Abstract

Research has demonstrated that sociocultural factors exert tremendous influence on the development and maintenance of body dissatisfaction (Thompson et al., 1999). The mass media generally, and reality television in particular, represent potent transmitters and reinforcers of sociocultural standards of attractiveness. The present study investigated the influence of brief exposure to various types of reality television programming on women's state body image. In addition, the relationships among feminist identification, self-reported viewership of reality television programs, body image investment, and internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness were explored. Results indicated that exposure to reality competition and dating programs was associated with a significant decrease in state body satisfaction, while exposure to a reality drama program and sitcom was not associated with decreased state body satisfaction. In addition, participants who placed high importance on their identity as women reported that body image was of great importance to their self-concept. On the other hand, feminist ideology was not a predictor of body image investment. Self-reported reality television viewership was not found to predict internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness, while feminist identification (as measured both by the importance to identity of gender and feminist ideology) did predict internalization. The importance of identification as a woman, when examined independently of the measure of feminist ideology, was a significant predictor of reality television viewership.

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I. Introduction

An expansive body of literature has documented the high prevalence of body dissatisfaction among women in Western cultures, with nearly half of girls and women reporting global, negative evaluations of their bodies (Bearman, Presnell, & Martinez, 2006; Forbes, Jung, Vaamonde, Omar, Paris & Formiga, 2012; Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1985; Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999). Body dissatisfaction is far from benign, as researchers have documented numerous relevant psychological, physical, and social consequences. These include disordered eating behaviors (e.g., Levine & Murnen, 2009; Stice, 2002), depression (Johnson & Wardle, 2005), social anxiety (Cash & Fleming, 2002a; Cash, Theriault & Annis, 2004), poor self-esteem (Davison & McCabe, 2005), and diminished quality of life (Cash and Fleming, 2002b). Given the high prevalence and negative consequences associated with body dissatisfaction, researchers have investigated and elucidated the primary causes and factors that contribute to this phenomenon.

Theoretical Framework

Research has demonstrated that sociocultural factors exert tremendous influence on the development and maintenance of body dissatisfaction (Thompson et al., 1999). In the Tripartite Influence Model (also referred to as the sociocultural model), the mass media, family, and peers comprise three powerful transmitters and reinforcers of sociocultural standards of attractiveness (Levine & Harrison, 2004). The Tripartite Model emphasizes that current societal standards for female attractiveness overwhelmingly stress the desirability of thinness (Cash, 2011; Dittmar, 2005; Dittmar, 2009). Furthermore, the thin-ideal that is promoted by sociocultural influences lies far beyond the reach of the average woman (Klein & Shiffman, 2005).

The Tripartite Model proposes that the media's continual portrayal of thin women may lead to body dissatisfaction through two primary processes, including social comparison and

internalization of the thin-ideal (Thompson et al., 1999). Repeated exposure to images of ultrathin women in magazine, television, and music videos may result in a desire among some women to become as thin as those unrealistic images; that is, the thin-ideal becomes a personal standard against which some women judge their own physical appearance (Brown & Dittmar, 2005). Beyond the presentation of thin images alone, the mass media often associates thin women with desirable intangible qualities, such as happiness and success in life (Neel, 2013; Tiggemann, 2002). As a result, when women internalize the thin-ideal, their self-worth becomes entangled with their shape or weight; how closely their appearance aligns with the thin-ideal becomes central to their self-evaluation.

In addition to the Tripartite Model, Cultivation Theory may help explain how some women who view thin-ideal media develop body dissatisfaction. Cultivation theory proposes a relationship between television content and viewers' perceptions of reality (Gerbner, 1969). Specifically, this theory suggests that exposure to television subtly influences viewers' perceptions of reality, such that spending more time watching television leads viewers to perceive the real world in ways that reflect the most common and recurrent messages of the television world (Gerbner; Gerbner & Gross, 1976). In promoting images of women that are thinner than the average US woman (Fouts & Burggraf, 2000), the media may be shaping unrealistic beliefs about what the "normal" female body should look like.

As a relatively new and extremely popular genre of media, reality television may be particularly important as a transmitter of this sociocultural standard. Given that this genre purports to portray real people in real situations, viewers may expect—even more so than with other television genres—that what is portrayed in these programs is realistic and attainable. In contrast to this expectation, the casts of dating and makeover shows tend to include members

with idealized body types, such as women of a smaller stature with long hair and large breasts (McClanahan, 2007). Thus, heavy viewers of reality television may believe that the thin-ideal is normative and may perceive this unrealistic idea to be easily attainable.

Although the media is a powerful transmitter of sociocultural standards of attractiveness, it is also omnipresent to women across the U.S., and not all women who are exposed to the thin-ideal develop body dissatisfaction. The potential intervening factors are likely numerous, complex and interconnected, yet feminist theory may help to explain why some women are less affected by sociocultural influences than others. Current feminist theory contends that women's normative body dissatisfaction is not a function of individual pathology, but a systemic social phenomenon in which women and girls are constructed as objects to be watched and evaluated in terms of how their body fits cultural standards (McKinley, 2011). Objectification theory posits that when women are objectified in this way, they learn to watch their body from an outside perspective (e.g., to see if it is pleasing to others) to avoid negative judgment; that is, they self-objectify (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997).

Theoretically, women with strong feminist identification have an increased awareness of and resistance to the ways in which gender inequities are socially constructed and communicated through the objectification of women (Tiggemann & Stevens, 1999). Feminist identity development is often conceptualized using Downing & Rousch's (1985) theoretical model. This model specifies a progression through five stages (i.e., passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis, and active commitment). Movement through these stages involves progressing from a state of denial of sexism and endorsement of sex-role stereotypes, to increased awareness of oppression, to affiliation with women and rejection of men, finally culminating in a pluralistic perspective, a balanced, integrated sense of self, and an evaluation of

men on an individual basis (Downin & Rousch, 1985). Strong feminist identification is characterized by awareness of oppression and an increased tendency to critically evaluate narrowly defined gender norms; as such, feminist identification may reduce women's vulnerability to detrimental societal messages that promote body dissatisfaction (Snyder & Hasbrouk, 1996).

Purpose of the Study

The Tripartite Model highlights the strong influence that the media and other sociocultural influences may have on the development of body dissatisfaction among women. Cultivation theory contends that perceptions of what is real and normative alter as a function of time spent watching television. Collectively, these theories help explain the ways in which women internalize the thin-ideal, and the effect that this internalization then has on the extent to which women are dissatisfied with their bodies. While many factors likely influence the degree to which women internalize sociocultural standards of attractiveness, feminist identity development theory may help explain why it is that some women who are exposed to sociocultural messages do not develop body dissatisfaction.

There is a substantial body of research examining the effects of the mass media on women's body image; however, reality television represents a unique, relatively new, extremely popular and understudied genre with respect to body image. Therefore this dissertation will use both experimental and correlational methods to explore (1) the effects of exposure to various subgenres of reality television on women's state body image (2) the degree to which self-reported reality television viewership and feminist identification predict body image investment and internalization of sociocultural appearance standards.

Significance to Counseling Psychology

This dissertation is designed to contribute a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which viewership of and exposure to reality television are related to body dissatisfaction and feminist identification. To this researcher's knowledge, this is the first study to explore the effects of exposure to reality television on state body image, and the first to test the relationship between feminist identification and viewership of this popular media genre. It is hoped that this study may inform future research efforts on the relationship between the media and women's body image, as well as the ways in which feminist identification may serve as a protective factor against media influence.

Definitions

Reality television: Films people as they live out events (contrived or otherwise) as these events occur. Such programming is characterized by several elements: (a) people portraying themselves (b) filmed at least in part in their living or working environment rather than on a set, (c) without a script, (d) with events placed in a narrative context, (e) primarily for the purpose of viewer entertainment (Nabi, Biely, Morgan, & Stitt, 2003).

Romance/Dating show: Centers on finding a match for one or more individuals, with successful coupling as the conclusion or goal (Kosovski, 2007).

Reality drama: Offers an insider's perspective into the "real" lives of celebrity participants (Kosovski, 2007).

Competition: Similar to reality dramas in their focus on individual cast members and the stories told about them. During competition shows, games are played and prizes awarded (Kosovski, 2007).

State body image: An individual's evaluation and affect about their physical appearance at a particular moment in time (Cash, Fleming, Alindogan, Steadman, & Whitehead, 2002).

Internalization of societal standards of attractiveness: Process through which individuals

adopt societal standards of attractiveness, as communicated through sociocultural influences, as their personal appearance standard (Thompson et al., 1999).

Body image investment: The cognitive, behavioral and emotional importance of the body for self-evaluation (Cash, 2006).

Feminist Identification: The degree to which individuals are aware of and resistant to gender inequities in their sociocultural context (Downing & Rousch, 1985).

Research Questions

Q1: To what extent does experimental exposure to a subgenre of reality television (romance/dating, reality drama, or reality competition episode) result in state body dissatisfaction among women?

Q2: To what extent is self-reported viewership of reality television programming correlated with internalization of societal standards of attractiveness and body image investment?

Q3: To what extent is feminist identification correlated with internalization of societal standards of attractiveness and body image investment?

Q4: To what extent is feminist identification correlated with self-reported viewership of reality television programming?

Hypotheses:

1a. It is hypothesized that the participants who are exposed to reality television will produce significantly worse state body satisfaction scores than the participants who are exposed to a sitcom.

1b. It is hypothesized that the participants who are exposed to a reality dating program will produce significantly worse state body satisfaction scores than those who are exposed to a sitcom.

1c. It is hypothesized that the participants who are exposed to a reality competition program will produce significantly worse state body satisfaction scores than those who are exposed to a sitcom.

1d. It is hypothesized that the participants who are exposed to a reality drama program will produce significantly worse state body satisfaction scores than participants who are exposed to a sitcom.

- 2a. Greater voluntary viewership of reality television programming will predict greater body image investment.
- 2b. Greater voluntary viewership of reality television programming will predict greater internalization of societal standards of attractiveness.
- 3a. Greater feminist identification will be negatively correlated with body image investment.
- 3b. Greater feminist identification will be negatively correlated with internalization of societal standards of attractiveness.
- 4. Greater feminist identification will be negatively correlated with self-reported viewership of reality television.

II. Review of the Literature

Body Image

Generally, the term "body image" refers to an individual's internal representation of their outward physical appearance (Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999). A complex and multidimensional construct, body image is typically thought to be comprised of several elements: These include perception (Banfield & McCabe, 2002; Cash, 1994; Garner, Olmstead, & Polivy, 1983; Ruff & Barrios, 1986), cognition and affect (Cash & Pruzinsky, 1990), among others. Perceptual body image refers to the relative accuracy of individuals' subjective judgments of their own size or shape in comparison to their actual proportions (Cash, Wood, Phelps, & Boyd, 1991; Slade, 1994); as such, the study of perception typically involves assessing the accuracy of body size estimations, either at the level of individual body parts or the body as whole (Banfield & McCabe, 2002; Cash et al., 1991). The cognitive dimension of body image includes one's thoughts or expectations about body shape and appearance, while the affective component refers to feelings that individuals have about their physical appearance (Cash & Green, 1986; Cash & Pruzinsky, 1990; Thompson et al., 1999).

From a cognitive-behavioral perspective, body image attitudes are central organizing constructs in the interaction of cognitive and affective processes (Cash, 2011). Body image attitudes are comprised of two basic elements: evaluation and investment. Evaluation includes one's appraisals of her or his appearance, including, for example, how satisfied or dissatisfied an individual is with weight, shape, size or specific body parts. These evaluations tend to derive from the degree of distance or closeness between an individual's perception of their physical appearance and that individual's internalized and valued appearance ideals (Cash & Szymanski, 1995; McGee, Hewitt, Sherry, Parking & Flett, 2005). Investment denotes the degree of psychological importance that individuals place on their appearance (Cash, 2002a; Cash, 2011);

that is, investment refers to the cognitive, behavioral, and emotional importance of the body for self-evaluation (Cash, 2006). Individuals high in investment tend to assume or believe that their appearance is central to their sense of self (Cash, 2011), and they also tend to have greater body image reactivity and instability in their daily lives (Melnyk, Cash, & Janda, 2004).

Research related to body image generally has focused upon one or more of these dimensions, as well as the processes that may result in dissatisfaction with appearance, feelings of anxiety and discomfort, dysfunctional thoughts or beliefs about one's body, and/or avoidance of situations or objects that elicit body image concerns (Rushford & Ostermeyer, 1997; Thompson & van den Berg, 2002). "Body dissatisfaction" is a term often used in this area of research, as it appears to best capture the essence of an individual's global, subjective self-evaluation (Thompson et al., 1999). Levine and Smolak (2006) suggest that "body dissatisfaction' results from—and feeds—a schema that integrates three fundamental components: idealization of slenderness and leanness; an irrational fear of fat; and a conviction that weight and shape are central determinants of one's identity" (p. 11). The greater the distance between an individual's internalized appearance ideals and their self-perceived physical characteristics, the greater the potential for body dissatisfaction (Cash & Szymanski, 1995; McGee et al., 2005).

Gender differences in the prevalence of body dissatisfaction have been well documented (Hoek, 2006; Kessler, Chiu, Dernier, & Walters, 2005; Wittchen & Jacobi, 2005), as have the different societal standards of "attractiveness" for men and women (Law & Labre, 2002; Morry and Staska, 2001; Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, & Borowiecki, 1999; Ridgeway & Tylka, 2005). A recent meta-analysis revealed that the appearance norms encountered by women in daily life are more rigid, homogenous and pervasive than those for men, and that more messages implying the

attainability of the ideal appearance are directed at women (Boute, Wilson, Strahan, Gazzola, & Papps, 2011). Given these differences, it is reasonable to examine body image in men and women separately; given the high prevalence of body dissatisfaction among women (e.g., Polivy & Herman, 2002), this study will focus exclusively on the experiences of women.

Researchers have described a "normative discontent" among women in Western cultures, indicating that most women experience some degree of body or weight dissatisfaction (Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1985). Nearly half of girls and women report global negative evaluations of their bodies (Bearman, Presnell, & Martinez, 2006; Cash & Henry, 1995; Forbes, Jung, Vaamonde, Omar, Paris, & Formiga, 2012; Thompson et al., 1999). A substantial proportion, perhaps 20 percent, of girls and women ages 12 through 30 are estimated to have levels of body dissatisfaction high enough to create significant suffering for themselves and those close to them (Cash, 2002a; Levine & Smolak, 2006).

Negative body image tends to develop relatively early in life and tends to manifest in girls and women who are diverse in terms of ethnicity and age (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Lowes & Tiggemann, 2003; Shaw, Ramirez, Trost, Randall, & Stice, 2004). Two meta-analytic reviews of ethnic differences in body dissatisfaction indicated that White women were more dissatisfied than African American women (Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Roberts, Cash, Feingold, & Johnson, 2006); however, comparisons among the other ethnicities investigated (Asian-American, Hispanic) suggested differences very close to zero. As such, the differences in body dissatisfaction across diverse ethnic backgrounds may be smaller than commonly believed (Dittmar, 2009; Grabe & Hyde, 2006). In addition, body dissatisfaction in women is not limited to women within a certain age range (Hetherington & Burnett, 1994; Tiggemann, 2004; Tiggemann & Lynch, 2001). Research with large samples of older women has

found that over half of women ages 54 to 70 reported body dissatisfaction (Mangweth-Matzek, Rupp, Hausmann, & Assmayr, 2006; McLaren & Kuh, 2004). Thus, problems with body image among women appear to transcend age and ethnicity.

Negative body image is not only highly prevalent, but also associated with numerous psychological, physical and social consequences. These include disordered eating behaviors (Levine & Murnan, 2009; Stice, 2002; Neumark-Sztainer, Paxton, Hannan, Haines, & Story, 2006; Striegel-Moore & Bulik, 2007), depression (Johnson & Wardle, 2005; Noles, Cash & Winstead, 1985), social anxiety (Cash & Fleming, 2002a; Cash, Theriault, & Annis, 2004), poor self-esteem (Davison & McCabe, 2005; Monteath & McCabe, 1997; Paxton, Neumark-Sztainer, Hannan, & Eisenberg, 2006) and diminished quality of life (Cash & Fleming, 2002b). A meta-analysis of prospective and longitudinal studies pointed to negative body image as one of the most consistent and significant precursors of negative self-perception, negative emotional states, disordered eating and unhealthy body-related behaviors (Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008). Thus, body dissatisfaction may be conceptualized as a crucial component of women's physical and mental health (Dittmar, 2009; Grabe et al., 2008).

Influencing Factors: The Tripartite Model of Body Image Disturbance

Why is it that so many girls and women are dissatisfied with their bodies, regardless of actual body shape and size? Given the high prevalence and associated negative outcomes of body dissatisfaction, researchers have examined the multiple risk factors and influences that converge to initiate its onset. Efforts to define and measure these influences, as well as to elucidate the relationships among them, have resulted in multifactorial models. One such model, originally developed by Thompson et al. (1999), has been tested and confirmed with culturally diverse samples. Originating from a sociocultural framework, the Tripartite Influence Model highlights three primary core sources of influence—parents, peers and the media—each of which

contributes to the development of body image and eating disturbances. Moreover, at least two processes—appearance comparison and internalization of the thin-ideal—mediate the relationships among the three influences and body dissatisfaction (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2009; Keery, van de Berg, & Thompson, 2004; van de Berg, Thompson, Obremski-Brandon, & Coovert, 2002). Appearance comparison, a construct derived from social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), is defined as the tendency to examine others in an individual's environment and to make comparisons between the self and others with regard to physical appearance (van de Berg et al., 2002). Internalization of the thin-ideal refers to the process by which individuals who are exposed to images depicting societal ideals of beauty (e.g., ultra-thin women) adopt this virtually unattainable body size as their personal appearance standard and engage in behaviors designed to produce an approximation of this ideal (Brown & Dittmar, 2005; Thompson et al., 1999).

Figure 1 provides an illustration of the theoretical model (modified slightly from the one originally presented in Thompson et al., 1999):

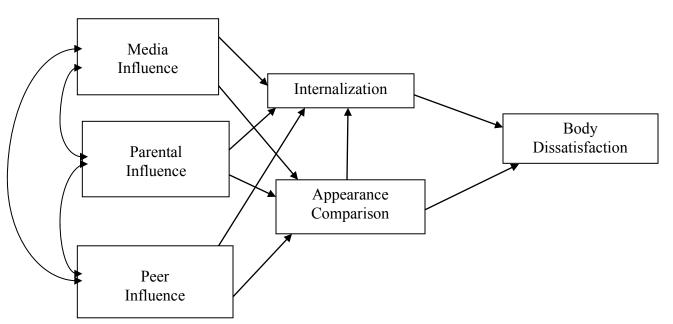


Figure 1: The Tripartite Model of Body Image Disturbance

Empirical investigations of the Tripartite Influence Model support the notion that peers, parents, and media influence body dissatisfaction (Field, Camargo, Taylor, Berkey, & Colditz, 1999; Field, Camargo, Taylor, Berkey, Roberts, & Colditz, 2002; McKnight Investigators, 2003; Thompson & Stice, 2001; Stice, 2002). Children learn what is considered to be an attractive body size and shape within their sociocultural context during early childhood (Markey, 2004). As such, researchers have tested the fit of the Tripartite Influence Model with adolescent samples in order to establish which factors may be formative in the development of body image disturbance and disordered eating (Shroff & Thompson, 2006). These tests have demonstrated that sociocultural influences (parents, peers, and media) lead not only to body dissatisfaction, but also to dietary restriction among middle school girls (Keery, et al., 2004). Moreover, among adolescents, peer and media influences appear to be more important than parental influences in relation to body dissatisfaction (Shroff & Thompson, 2006).

Research with international populations confirms the importance of sociocultural influences in the development of body image disturbance among women of diverse countries of origin. For example, the Tripartite Model has been established among university women in Australia and France (Rodgers, Chabrol, & Paxton, 2011), as well as women in Japan (Yamamiya, Shroff, & Thompson, 2008). Western media, in particular, appears to be a particularly strong sociocultural influence in diverse cultures. Three years after Western television was first broadcast in Western Fiji, native adolescent girls reported explicitly modeling the behavior and appearance of the television characters; they also endorsed the beginnings of weight and body shape preoccupation, purging behavior to control weight, and body disparagement (Becker, 2004). These dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors sharply contrasted with traditional Fijian cultural norms, which supported robust appetites and body shapes (Becker,

Burwell, Gilman, Herzog, & Hamburg, 2002). In other words, the disordered eating found among Fijian girls post-introduction to western television was virtually non-existent prior to the introduction of such media to this population. This research with multiple international samples underscores the strong influence of sociocultural factors, and the media in particular, on body dissatisfaction.

Although the Tripartite Influence Model has received substantial empirical support, Cash (2011) summarized several limitations with regard to the existing body of research. First, the model has been tested, for the most part, among White adolescent and young adult women; although there has been growing interest in and research related to the experiences of other groups (e.g., younger children, men, and more ethnically diverse samples), these populations warrant further attention in the literature (e.g., Cafri, Yamamiya, Brannick, & Thompson, 2005). Second, the influence of other influential sociocultural agents (e.g., coaches) and newer forms of media (e.g., the internet) should be examined (Cash, 2011; Dittmar, 2005). Third, an important direction for further research is the continued identification of moderating variables, or individual differences, that cause some individuals to become more or less vulnerable to the pressures to conform to sociocultural influences (Cash, 2011; Dittmar, 2005; Dittmar, 2009; Tiggemann, 2005). Finally, the existing research supporting this model is predominately correlational in nature; as such, causal directions cannot be established, and the relationships among the influences in the model may be complex and multidirectional (Cash, 2011; Dittmar, 2005).

The Media and Body Image

Of the three influences described in the tripartite model, the media has been described as the most powerful and pervasive transmitter of sociocultural ideals about female beauty (Cash, 2011; Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2002). The mass media, which includes television, magazines, video games, cinema, and the internet, are a major part of the lives of millions of women (Comstock & Scharrer, 2007), and the number of publications examining or describing the effects of different types of media on body image greatly outnumbers those examining the effects of parents and peers. A fairly recent review estimated that more than 100 published studies with a variety of methodologies, including experimental, correlational, and prospective, exist on the role of the media in body image concerns among women (Grabe et al., 2008). This pattern in the literature underscores the strong influence that the media can have on the extent to which young women are satisfied with their bodies.

Studies involving the examination of the content of the media reveal a number of potentially harmful messages about attractiveness, ideal body shapes, self-control, and weight control (Cash, 2011; Greenberg, Rosaen, Worrell, Salmon & Volkman, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009). For example, Cash (2011) noted that "a casual flick through any women's fashion magazine will reveal a plethora of young, tall, long-legged, large-eyed, moderately large-breasted, tanned but not too tanned, and clear-skinned women with usually White features" (p. 13). These images, sometimes explicitly, and sometimes implicitly, convey messages with the following easily extracted themes: (a) being sexually attractive is paramount; (b) the sources of information about attractiveness, style, and the best practices for being beautiful are located outside the self; and (c) mass media are the most important sources of the information, motivation, and products necessary to be attractive and fashionable (Ballentine & Ogle, 2005; Labre & Walsh-Childers, 2003). It is important to note that of the multiple messages conveyed about attractiveness and beauty, the most obvious and consistent physical characteristic shared by models across various forms of the media is that they are very thin; thus the current societal

standard for female beauty inordinately emphasizes the desirability of thinness (Cash, 2011; Dittmar, 2009; Dittmar, 2005; Fouts & Burgraff, 2000).

The media is replete with models who portray a thin-ideal that is unattainable to most. The images of women presented in various types of media today (movies, magazines, and television programs) are substantially thinner than those presented over the past several decades (e.g., Klein & Shiffman, 2005) and are thinner than the actual female population (e.g., Fouts & Burggraf, 2000). Moreover, thin television characters are over-represented while overweight characters are underrepresented (Greenberg, Eastin, Hofschire, Lachlan, & Brownwell, 2003). For example, recent content analysis of magazine images revealed that 95% of the models in fashion magazines were lean, 55% of the models in fitness magazines were lean and 36% were muscular, and only six percent of the models in both magazine types had soft, round body types (Wasylkiw, Emms, Meuse, and Poirier, 2009).

While emphasizing lean shapes and attractive facial features (Fouts & Burggraf, 2000; Sypeck, Gray, & Ahrens, 2004), the media also tend to associate thin women with happiness, desirability, and success in life (Tiggemann, 2002). Recently voted the world's most beautiful woman by People magazine, Gywneth Paltrow revealed in an interview with Women's Wear Daily that she has to exercise for two hours per day to maintain her shape. In the same article, she was described as the epitome of hard work, femininity, and sophistication (Neel, 2013). Even in children's media, a character's love for another character often depends on his or her physical appearance, and obese characters are often depicted with negative qualities, such as being evil, unfriendly, and cruel (Herbozo, Tantleff-Dunn, Gokee-Larose, & Thompson, 2004). Thus, various forms of media targeting a range of ages tend to promote and glamorize an unrealistic body ideal.

The images presented by the media are not only unattainable in terms of the size of the models and characters, but also are unrealistic in a number of other ways (Harrison, 2003). In print media, techniques such as Photoshop, makeup and lighting are routinely used to enhance the attractiveness of the thin models. In addition to these techniques, the practice of digitally altering or enhancing media images is now widespread across many fashion, media and advertising industries. Airbrushing is used to remove blemishes, imperfections and wrinkles, smooth or alter skin color and tone, change hair and eye colors, and importantly, to elongate limbs, enlarge breasts and slim waists, thighs and arms. Almost all media images will receive some form of digital alteration or enhancement, some to the extreme. The result is that consumers are presented with even more unrealistic images of female beauty and thinness, increasingly impossible for the average girl or woman to achieve (Slater, Tiggemann, Firth, & Hawking, 2012).

Media Exposure and Body Dissatisfaction: Experimental Research Support.

Exposure to these media messages negatively affects viewers, as evidenced by experimental, correlational, and longitudinal research (e.g., Birkeland, Thompson, & Herbozo, 2005; Bissell & Zhou, 2006; Cheng & Mallinkcrodt, 2009; Grabe et al, 2008; Groesz et al., 2002; Halliwell & Ditmar, 2004; Hardit & Hannum, 2012). The majority of studies in this area have used experimental methods to examine how women feel about their bodies after exposure to thin media models in contrast with other types of images (e.g., Dittmar & Howard, 2004; Grabe et al., 2008). In a hallmark study in this line of research, Stice and Shaw (1994) randomly assigned subjects to be exposed to magazine images of ultra-thin female models, average-weight female models, or control pictures containing no people. (It is interesting to note that the authors had difficulty finding pictures of average-weight women in mainstream magazines, but they located

several pictures of normal weight models in a magazine whose target audience was plus size women). Results indicated that a three-minute exposure to the thin-ideal images produced depression, stress, shame, insecurity and body dissatisfaction (Stice & Shaw, 1994). Since then, a number of experimental studies have been conducted, further illuminating the relationship between exposure to thin-ideal media and body dissatisfaction.

A review of the research available by 2006 confirmed Stice and Shaw's (1994) results, demonstrating that women were significantly more body dissatisfied after viewing thin-and-beautiful media images versus average-size, oversize, or non-body images—even after only five minutes of exposure (Cohen, 2006). Meta-analyses show that these findings are consistent across various types of media that promote the thin-ideal (Ferguson, 2013; Hausenblas, Campbell, Menzel, Doughty, Levine, & Thompson, 2013), including magazine advertisements (e.g., Halliwell & Dittmar, 2004) television commercials (e.g., Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004), music videos (e.g., Tiggemann & Slater, 2003), and pro-eating disorder websites (Bardone-Cone & Cass, 2006; Bardone-Cone & Cass, 2007). Experimental exposure to images of the ideal physique in laboratory settings has resulted in small effect sizes for other negative outcomes as well, including increased depression and anger, as well as decreased self-esteem and positive affect post-exposure (Hausenblas et al., 2013).

One critique of the experimental studies that measure the influence of media images on body image disturbance is that the stimuli are presented in such a way that participants are required to look at the images intently, and that this deliberate presentation does not accurately reflect the ways in which individuals interact with the media in their daily lives (Brown & Dittmar, 2005). To address this criticism, Brown and Dittmar (2005) conducted an analogue study, in which they aimed to create a reasonable experimental representation of low attention,

everyday exposure to thin models in the media by simulating typical daily situations, such as hearing television advertisements in the background or reading magazines cursorily. They used three exposure conditions: ultra—thin models processed at high attention, ultra—thin models processed at low attention, and neutral control images. Their results indicated that those women with a strong sense of thin-ideal internalization experienced an increase in body—focused anxiety, regardless of level of attention. In addition, level of attention was significant in its own right, in that the women who paid full attention to the thin images experienced more body—focused anxiety than those under low attention conditions. Interestingly, this effect for attention was independent of thin—ideal internalization, leading to the conclusion that the effect of a lifetime of consistent exposure to ultra—thin images is likely to be quite damaging to women (Brown & Dittmar, 2005).

There is some research suggesting that the experimental effects of media exposure are not universal. First, recent meta-analyses on the experimental study of media effects on women's body image revealed that women with preexisting body dissatisfaction may be more influenced by the thin-ideal images used in experimental research than women who are body satisfied (Ferguson, 2013; Hausenblas et al., 2013). Second, some results suggested that there was little to no immediate effect of thin-ideal media portrayals on women's body image (e.g., Halliwell, Dittmar, & Howe, 2005). Finally, an unexpected outcome has occurred in some experimental research, in which women's body dissatisfaction actually decreased after viewing appearance-focused stimuli (Durkin & Paxton, 2002; Joshi, Herman, & Polivy, 2004; Mills, Polivy, Herman & Tiggemann, 2002). Overall, however, many well-controlled and randomized experiments have demonstrated an effect of thin-ideal media on women's body dissatisfaction in samples of

varying ages. The majority of evidence from these experiments indicated that brief exposure to thin-ideal media leads to short-term, negative outcomes for women.

Media Consumption and Body Dissatisfaction: Correlational Research Support. Outside of the laboratory, naturalistic, correlational research has been implemented to investigate the relationship between women's media consumption and their body dissatisfaction (e.g., Bissell & Zhou, 2004; Jones, Vigfusdottir, & Lee, 2004). Cross-sectional studies have shown that the average amount of time that adolescent girls and adult women spend viewing appearancefocused media (both magazines and television programs) is positively correlated with body dissatisfaction, drive for thinness, internalization of the thin-ideal, and endorsement of surgery to attain a bust size that is neither small nor too large (Thomsen, 2002; Tiggeman, 2005; Tiggeman & Pickering, 1996). A similar relationship between music video viewing patterns and body dissatisfaction has been demonstrated as well (Hofschire & Greenberg, 2001). Although there is some variability in the survey-based empirical research on this topic (Levine & Harrison, 2004), two recent meta-analyses demonstrated small to moderate effect sizes for the correlation between media (both magazine and television) viewership and body dissatisfaction, as well as thin-ideal internalization (Grabe et al., 2008; Murnen et al., 2007). These correlational studies illustrate that regular exposure to thin-ideal media is frequently associated with higher levels of body dissatisfaction. Causal inferences cannot be drawn from this methodology, yet these findings

Mass Media and Body Dissatisfaction: Longitudinal Research Support. Compared with experimental and correlational studies, there is very little longitudinal research connecting media exposure with body image (Levine & Murnen, 2009), but the available research does shed light onto the longer term effects of media exposure. In a hallmark study in this line of research,

support the conclusions of experimental research (Grabe et al., 2008; Levine & Murnen, 2009).

Stice, Spangler and Agras (2001) randomly assigned adolescent girls to a 15-month fashion magazine subscription or a no-subscription condition and followed them over time. In doing so, the authors sought to test whether long-term exposure to media-portrayed, thin-ideal images in the natural environment resulted in lasting increases in negative affect and body dissatisfaction. Although results demonstrated no main effects for body dissatisfaction, there was evidence that exposure to thin-ideal images resulted in greater negative affect for vulnerable adolescents (those with initial elevation in pressure to be thin and body dissatisfaction) and increased body dissatisfaction for vulnerable participants who lacked adequate social support (Stice et al., 2001). Similarly, Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2003) found that an increase in body dissatisfaction after viewing appearance-related commercials predicted subsequent body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness in an adolescent sample two years later (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2003). Collectively, these findings imply that only vulnerable individuals are negatively affected by exposure to thinideal images over time.

Subsequent longitudinal research suggests that early exposure to thin-ideal television predicts subsequent body-image problems (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Harrison & Hefner, 2006; Sinton & Birch, 2006). For example, viewing appearance-focused television programs, but not magazines, predicted a decrease in appearance satisfaction among girls ages 5 to 8 one year later (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006). Overall television exposure predicted a thinner ideal adult body shape among girls aged 7 to 12 one year later (Harrison & Hefner, 2006). Finally, awareness of media messages about thinness was found predict the strength of appearance schemas one year later (Sinton & Birch, 2006).

Internalization of the Thin-Ideal

According to cultivation theory, repeated exposure to media content leads viewers to begin to accept media portrayals as representations of reality (Gerbner, Gross, & Morgan, 2002; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010); as such, the media's consistent depiction of a thin-ideal leads women to see this ideal as normative, expected, and central to attractiveness. Research has confirmed that women who are exposed to heavy amounts of thin-ideal media are likely to accept this ideal as a norm (Hendriks & Burgoon, 2003). Holstrom (2004) posited that women who frequently view thin-ideal media tend to perceive this thin-ideal to be not only normal, but also physically attainable. However, this ideal is virtually unattainable for most women (Thompson et al., 1999). If women who accept these body shapes as the norm then judge themselves in relation to those images, then body dissatisfaction is likely to occur (Schooler, Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2004). Moreover, there is research support for a direct relationship between internalization and body dissatisfaction; that is, the extent to which women internalize the media-promoted thin-ideal is positively correlated with the extent to which they experience body image dissatisfaction upon exposure to thin-ideal images (Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2002; Yamamiyaa, Cash, Melnykb, Posavacc, & Posavacc, 2005).

Who Internalizes Society's Standards of Attractiveness?

Because not all women who are exposed to media promoting the thin-ideal develop problems with body image, researchers have called for the exploration of the processes and factors that may mediate and moderate the psychosocial responses of women to these images (Dittmar, 2009; Dittmar, 2005; Tiggemann, 2005). Internalization of the thin-ideal has been established as an important mediator of the sociocultural influences on body image disturbance (Thompson et al., 1999; Tiggemann & McGill, 2004). Furthermore, certain individual difference

variables appear to serve as either risk or protective factors in relation to the internalization of the thin-ideal; that is, some traits, qualities, or tendencies may increase or decrease the likelihood of internalization. Constructs that appear to be relevant individual difference variables include physical characteristics, global self-esteem, autonomous regulation of eating behavior, and the ways in which women define beauty.

Research suggests that low self-esteem and certain physical characteristics may predict internalization of the thin-ideal (Catkikkas, 2011). A number of studies have demonstrated a negative correlation between self-esteem and internalization of societal standards of attractiveness (Clay, Vignoles, & Dittmar, 2005; Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Fingeret & Gleaves, 2004). The relationship between physical characteristics and internalization appears to be more complex. While research suggests that women who have physical characteristics that more closely align to the thin-ideal appear to experience less body dissatisfaction (Catkikkas, 2011), the findings in the research on Body Mass Index (BMI), one measure of body size based on weight and height, and internalization are inconclusive. The majority of studies have reported no significant association between BMI and the degree of internalization of standards of attractiveness (Brown, Hiltunen, Long, & Reinhalter, 2003; Engeln-Maddox, 2005; Fingeret & Gleaves, 2004; Low, Charanasomboon, Thompson et al., 2004). A small number of studies, all conducted with adolescent samples, reported a positive correlation between body mass index and degree of internalization (Keery et al., 2004; Sands & Wardle, 2003; Smolak, Levine, & Thompson, 2001).

Fewer studies examined what makes some women less likely to internalize the thin-ideal, but the existing research in this area suggests that autonomous regulation of eating behavior (Mask & Blanchard, 2011), critical consumption of the mass media, and conceptualization of

beauty as a broad and fluid construct (Holmqvist & Frisen, 2012) may all serve as protective factors against media influence. Mask and Blanchard (2011) examined the relative impact of thin-ideal media images on negative affect and size dissatisfaction among women who autonomously regulate their eating behavior and women who exhibit controlled regulation of eating behavior. Autonomous self-regulation was described as authentic and freely chosen, while controlled self-regulation was defined as pressured and compliant (i.e., rule-bound).

Interestingly, the thin-ideal messages, overall, had a detrimental effect on all of the measured outcomes; however, trait body dissatisfaction was associated with greater negative affect and size dissatisfaction among the women who felt less autonomous (Mask & Blanchard, 2011). In addition, an examination of the appearance ideals of fourteen year old adolescents with positive body images suggested that being critical of what is portrayed in the mass media and broadly defining beauty (e.g., as inclusive of personality characteristics as opposed to strictly physical characteristics) may protect against the deleterious effects of thin-ideal images (Holmqvist & Frisen, 2012).

Body Image, Feminist Identity, and Media Influence

Feminist identification has been explored as a potential protective factor against the internalization of society's standards of attractiveness (e.g., Murnen & Smolak, 2009). There is a substantial body of research exploring the relationship between feminist identity and body image issues, and a subset of the empirical and theoretical body image literature has investigated the claim that feminist identification may serve as a protective factor against body dissatisfaction (Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Snyder & Hasbrouck, 1996; Tiggemann & Stevens, 1999).

Theoretically, women with strong feminist identification have an increased awareness of and

resistance to the ways in which gender inequities are socially constructed and communicated through the objectification of women (Downing & Roush, 1985; Tiggemann & Stevens, 1999).

Current feminist theory contends that women's normative body dissatisfaction is not a function of individual pathology, but a systemic social phenomenon in which women and girls are constructed as objects to be watched and evaluated in terms of how their body fits cultural standards (McKinley, 2011). Objectification theory posits that women are subject to frequent forms of sexual objectification, the most common of which is sexualized gazing that leads to women's bodies being presumed as representative of their selves (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). When women are objectified, they are seen as mere bodies available for the pleasure of others (Bartky, 1990; Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). From infancy, girls are encouraged to focus on what they wear, how their hair is styled, their body shape, and other factors related to appearance. They are praised for their appearance and learn that they are judged by how they appear to others. Girls then learn to watch their body from this outside perspective to avoid negative judgment; that is, they self-objectify (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997).

Objectification of Women in the Media. The media promote and reinforce the objectification of women, for example, by presenting women as decoration in advertisements for various products (Morris & Nichols, 2013), producing advertisements that highlight only certain parts of women's bodies, and promoting product after product designed to "help" women reach sociocultural standards of attractiveness (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). This has negative consequences, as the degree to which women self-objectify has been positively correlated with the degree of their body dissatisfaction (e.g., Tiggemann & Lynch, 2001; Tiggemann & Slater, 2001). Given the strong presence of the thin-ideal in mass media, individual consumers have no

trouble finding the elements for maladaptive but normative media-based schemata concerning gender and attractiveness (Levine & Murnen, 2009).

"The 'thinness schema' for females is a set of assumptions, 'facts,' and strong feelings that are organized so as to establish a readiness to think and respond in terms of, for example, the following themes: (1) Women are 'naturally' invested in their beauty assets and thus beauty is a woman's principal project in life; (2) a slender, youthful attractive 'image' is really something substantive, because it is pleasing to males and it demonstrates to females that one is in control of one's life; and (3) learning to perceive, monitor, and indeed experience yourself as the object of an essentially masculine gaze is an important part of being feminine and beautiful" (Levine & Murnen, 2009, p. 15).

Feminist Identity Development. Feminist ideology emphasizes that a woman's appearance should not determine her self-worth (Wolf, 1991), and researchers have studied the process through which women come to embrace feminist ideology through the development of a feminist identity (Downing & Rousch, 1985). Historically, feminist identity development has been conceptualized as a uniform, stage-like concept according to Downing and Roush's (1985) theoretical model. This model specifies a progression through five stages (i.e., passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis, and active commitment). Movement from the lowest level to the highest level of feminist identity involves moving from a state of denial of sexism and endorsement of sex-role stereotypes, to increased awareness of oppression, to affiliation with women and rejection of men, finally culminating in a pluralistic perspective, a balanced, integrated sense of self, and an evaluation of men on an individualistic basis (Downing & Roush, 1985). The literature connecting this model of feminist identity development arose from earlier work examining the link between hyperfemininity and eating disorders.

Hyperfemininity has been defined as an extreme, uncritical, and passive acceptance of culturally prescribed traditional feminine norms (Boskind-Lodahl, 1976). Models of feminist identity development characterize this psychological state as the lowest level of feminist identity development and refer to this stage of feminist identity as "Passive Acceptance" (Downing & Roush, 1985). Boskind-Lodahl (1976) presented hyperfeminity as a risk factor for body dissatisfaction, suggesting that women who are relatively more hyperfeminine are also relatively more likely to subscribe to the cultural prescription of extreme thinness. In contrast, researchers have theorized that individuals who are high in feminist identity development should be less likely to internalize the socially prescribed thin-ideal for women; in theory, high feminist identity development is related to an increased tendency to critically evaluate narrowly defined gender norms. Indeed, "feminist identity development may allow women to transcend traditional gender-role expectations, reducing vulnerability to negative social messages that promote body concerns and disturbed eating within a traditional sociocultural context" (Snyder & Hasbrouk, 1996, p. 598).

Feminist Identity and Body Image. Although many early studies examined the link between adherence to traditional gender roles and body image, Snyder and Hasbrouck (1996) were the first to investigate the relationship between feminist identity development and body dissatisfaction, showing that body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness were positively related to low levels of feminist identity development (Stage 1: Passive Acceptance) and negatively related to high levels (Stage 5: Active Commitment). Stage 4 (Synthesis) feminist identity development scores were also negatively related to body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness. Subsequent examinations of the relationship between feminist identity development, body dissatisfaction and eating disorder symptoms yielded mixed and conflicting results. Some researchers have failed to

find a significant correlation between feminist identity and body-image attitudes among undergraduate women (Guille & Chrisler, 1999; Rubin, Nemeroff, & Russo, 2004). Tiggemann and Stevens (1999) reported mixed findings in a community sample of women aged 18–60 years. Interestingly, their results indicated no relationship between feminist identity and body image attitudes for women ages 18–29 and 50–59, but a significant inverse relationship between the two constructs among women ages 30 to 49.

Murnen and Smolak (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of the extant research connecting feminist identity and body dissatisfaction. These authors hypothesized that feminist women would endorse a positive body image as a result of their ability to critique cultural pressures and ideals related to thinness and attractiveness. Samples from 26 studies were compiled, and there were a total of 28 effect sizes from the studies examining the relationship between feminist identity and attitudes toward the body. The results indicated that this relationship was small but statistically significant, and there was a great deal of variability across studies. Interestingly, the effect sizes were significantly larger when feminist self-identification was incorporated into the measurement of feminist identity; when the sample was purposeful rather than convenient (e.g., women's studies students as opposed to an introduction to psychology class), and when the sample was of women older than traditional college age. Based upon these results, Murnen and Smolak (2009) proposed that a consolidated and well-developed feminist identity helps protect against extreme dissatisfaction with the body that can result from the internalization of unrealistic cultural ideals. This meta-analysis revealed also that feminist identity was associated with a lower drive for thinness, and with lower scores on eating disorder inventories. Moreover, the relationship between feminist identity and the internalization of the media was found to be stronger than that between feminist identity and body attitudes. Perhaps feminist women are

more resistant to media images that glorify slenderness; however, this resistance may not translate to higher body satisfaction rates.

A complicating aspect of the body image/feminist identity development research is that the very conceptualization of feminist identity is controversial, and a substantive debate exists with regard to the definition of feminist identity (Shibley & Hyde, 2002). The research suggests that feminist identity development is multifaceted and varies by feminist type (Enns & Sinacore, 2001). In addition, the measurement of feminist identity development can be problematic and unreliable (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Moradi et al., 2002), leading researchers to use measures of sexism and gender egalitarian attitudes rather than identity development for research exploring feminist ideology and body dissatisfaction (e.g., Leaper & Arias, 2011).

"Reality" Television

A relatively new form of media, reality television has been described as a phenomenon that "has forever changed the face of television programming" (Ebersole & Woods, 2007, p. 3). This unique genre is purported to be a display of real people in real situations; that is, these programs film real people as they live out events (contrived or not) in their lives, as these events occur (Nabi, Biely, Morgan, & Stitt, 2003). Reality television is characterized by several elements: "(a) people portraying themselves (i.e., not actors or public figures performing roles), (b) filmed at least in part in their living or working environment rather than on a set, (c) without a script, (d) with events placed in a narrative context, (e) for the primary purpose of viewer entertainment" (Mabi, Biely, Morgan, & Stitt, 2003, p. 304). In recent years, reality television programming and viewership has proliferated and become increasingly popular among viewers of all ages; 51.7 million viewers watched the season finale of *Survivor 1* (Caristi, 2001), and over 100 new reality programs have aired since the summer of 2000 (Nabi, So & de los Santos, 2013).

Despite the unifying characteristics of this genre, reality television is thought to be comprised of several subgenres: Thus far, five subtypes have been identified: these include reality drama (e.g., Real World), competition (e.g., Survivor), and romance/dating shows (e.g., The Bachelor and The Bachelorette), talent (e.g., American Idol), crime (e.g., COPS), and informational (e.g., Trading Spaces; Nabi, Stitt, Halford, & Finnerty, 2006). Researchers point out that this list is likely to expand and shift as the reality television genre continues to evolve (Nabi et al., 2013). Just as there are variations within the reality television genre, so too there are various reasons that regular viewers report engaging with this type of programming. For example, individuals view these programs out of curiosity (Baruh, 2010), fascination with fame (Reiss & Wiltz, 2004), or to simply pass the time (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007). Importantly, as viewers of these shows perceive the cast members to be (1) people they could meet and (2) to be behaving candidly, their investment in and enjoyment of these shows increases (Hall, 2009). Moreover, viewers are motivated to watch these programs in order to escape from reality and to fulfill social affiliation needs (Lundy, Ruth and Park, 2008). In other words, these reality television shows may serve as a substitute for social contact for some viewers.

As a current staple of television programming, reality television may be a powerful communicator of sociocultural ideals related to body image. As an example, while some viewers may expect that reality television programs would portray more "realistic" representations female bodies, the casts of dating and makeover shows tend to include members with idealized body types, such as women of a smaller stature with long hair and large breasts (McClanahan, 2007). In addition, researchers found that exposure to reality dating programs and perceived realism of these programs was associated with viewers' adoption of the dominant themes

portrayed in them, including the idea that women are sex objects (Ferris, Smith, Greenberg, & Smith, 2007).

A small but growing body of research documents the relationship between exposure to the characters of reality television and body dissatisfaction among viewers, most of whom are emerging adults (e.g., Mazzeo, Trace, Mitchell, & Gow, 2007). For example, some research indicates that women who internalized the thin-ideal reported decreased self-esteem after viewing reality television programs (Markey & Markey, 2010; Mazzeo et al, 2007). Additional research revealed that individuals who endorsed frequently viewing reality television programs with a focus on cosmetic surgery endorsed positive beliefs about such procedures, reported body dissatisfaction, and endorsed symptoms of disordered eating (Markey & Markey, 2010; Sperry, Thompson, Sarwer, & Cash, 2009). A recent, qualitative examination explored college men's and women's responses to a depiction of a woman's cosmetic surgery transformation as portrayed on reality television (Markey & Markey, 2012). Results indicated that both male and female participants viewed the reality TV programs featuring cosmetic surgery positively and endorsed the general importance of women's pursuit of beauty ideals. Further, women who responded more positively to the show also reported relatively more interest in obtaining cosmetic surgery than did women who responded less positively (Markey & Markey, 2012). A recent analysis of the influence of exposure to reality television on body image (measured as body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness) among young adults revealed that specific exposure to competition-based reality television shows, such as Dancing with the Stars, predicted both body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness (Egbert & Belcher, 2012). Results of this analysis highlight the importance of examining the impact of specific types or categories of reality

television shows on body image, given that global reports of the amount of exposure to reality television programs among the same sample had no relationship to body dissatisfaction.

Summary

Research on the mass media's influence on body dissatisfaction among women has been well-documented in multiple studies. However, not all women who are exposed to the mass media images of the thin-ideal develop negative body image attitudes. In addition, the media is itself a heterogeneous category, comprised of a number of sub-types. An important direction in which to further the knowledge base relative to the media's influence is to examine the characteristics of women who are more or less likely to be affected by these pervasive sociocultural messages, and to examine the influence of specific categories of media on body dissatisfaction and perceptions of attractiveness. A variety of methodologies have been employed in this line of research, and some researchers have suggested that experimental studies may be especially valuable when combined with correlational studies in which participants report their actual media use (Grabe et al., 2008). Reality television is a fairly recent and highly prevalent form of media, some categories of which may promote the thin-ideal despite purporting to portray real people in real situations. As such, it is important to examine the influence of this popular genre of media, as well as to examine the characteristics of women who voluntarily watch these shows and may be affected by them. A strong feminist ideology may serve to lessen the negative impact and internalization of sociocultural messages. In addition, a strong feminist identity may be associated with less voluntary viewership of the reality television genre. As a result, this study seeks to clarify the relationships among feminist identity, exposure to reality television, and body dissatisfaction.

III. Method

Design

This study used a mixed experimental/correlational, between subjects design. For the experimental piece, participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. Each participant was exposed to one of three subgenres of reality television programming, or a sitcom: The three subgenres of reality television included romance/dating, competition, and drama. The dependent variable for the experimental analysis was state body dissatisfaction. The correlational piece was comprised of two predictor variables: self-reported reality television viewership and feminist identification, and two outcome variables: internalization of sociocultural attitudes and body image investment.

Participants

Data were analyzed from 237 participants who met the following inclusion criteria: self-identification as a woman and a minimum age of 19 years at the time of the study. Of the 625 individuals who started the study, 274 individuals were missing all items; 19 participants missed the *Big Brother* manipulation check; 19 participants missed *The Bachelor* manipulation check; 4 participants missed the *Jersey Shore* manipulation check; and 6 participants missed the *Modern Family* manipulation check. The manipulation check was a single prompt to the participant to answer a true/false question related to the content in the video they viewed. Participants who missed the manipulation check answered this question incorrectly. Four individuals were not in any condition (did not view any video). In addition to excluding the 52 individuals who missed the manipulation check or were not in any condition, a total of 26 participants completed less than 20% of the total items in the study. These 26 were excluded from analysis, as a 20% cut-off for missingness has been established as an acceptable tolerance in the counseling psychology literature (Parent, 2013).

Some of the following descriptive information may not sum to 100% due to missing demographics data. With regard to ethnicity, approximately 88% of participants identified as Caucasian, 3.4% identified as African American, 2.1% identified as Latina, 2.1% identified as Bi/Multi-Ethnic, 1.3% identified as Asian, and 0.4% identified as Other. With regard to sexual orientation, 90% identified as heterosexual, 4% as Bisexual, 1.7% as Lesbian, and 1.3% as Questioning. With regard to highest level of completed education, 54% of participants reported completing a graduate or professional degree, 19% reported completing a bachelor's degree, 13% reported completing post-bachelor's coursework, 7% reported completing some college, 3% reported completing an associate's degree, and 1% reported receiving a high school diploma. Participants were also asked to report the number of hours of reality television programming viewed per week. The reported number of hours ranged from 0-60, with a mean of 4.8, a standard deviation of 8.9, and a median of 2.2.

Measures

Demographics. The demographics information elicited from participants included the following: age (+/-19), gender identification, ethnicity, level of education, sexual orientation, and the amount of hours of reality television programming voluntarily viewed per week. Age and gender were asked separately from the other demographics questions (at the beginning of the study) in order to screen out potential participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria. The remaining demographics questions were asked at the end of the study, after the participants had completed all other measures. Appendix B contains the demographics questions.

The Sociocultural Attitudes Toward Appearance Questionnaire (SATAQ-3). The Sociocultural Attitudes Toward Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ-3) is a revised version of two previous scales (Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Heinberg, Thompson, & Stormer 1995; Cusumano & Thompson, 1997). At the time of its development, the SATAQ-3 extended the

measurement of sociocultural influence on women's body image by including a focus on athleticism, examining media influences beyond internalization (e.g., pressure and information), and evaluating the distinctiveness of the internalization subscale. Comprised of 30 items designed to assess these multiple facets of media influence, the SATAQ-3 contains four subscales that measure Internalization-General (nine items), Internalization-Athlete (five items), Pressures (seven items), and Information (nine items), respectively (Thompson, van den Berg, Roehrig, Guarda, & Heinberg, 2004). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (definitely disagree) to 5 (definitely agree). Higher scores on this measure indicate a greater degree of internalization. The Information subscale assesses the extent to which various media are considered to be an important source for obtaining information about attractiveness, while the Pressures subscale assesses the extent to which participants feel pressured by various media to work toward obtaining cultural ideals of beauty and engage in potentially pathogenic behaviors to change their appearance. Internalization-General assesses the endorsement and acceptance of media messages promoting unrealistic ideals of female beauty and the striving toward them, while Internalization-Athletic assesses endorsement and acceptance of the athletic and toned body ideal for women (Calogero, Davis, & Thompson, 2004). Evaluations of this instrument have demonstrated its utility as a measure of the influence of common, largely unattainable media ideals (Forbes, Jobe, & Revak, 2006).

In two studies of university women ages 17-25, each subscale demonstrated high internal consistency, as indicated by the following Chronach's alphas: Information (0.94, 0.96), Pressures (0.94, 0.94), Internalization-Athlete (0.89, 0.95), Internalization-General (0.92, 0.96), and Total subscale (0.94, 0.96) (Thompson et al., 2004). The SATAQ-3 has demonstrated excellent reliability in a large clinical sample of women with eating disorders, and a factor analysis with

this population replicated, in large part, the structure previously found for the non-clinical samples of university women (Calogero et al., 2004). In addition, the SATAQ-3 subscales have been shown to predict a significant amount of variance associated with measures of body dissatisfaction; specifically, the Pressures, Internalization-General and Internalization-Athlete subscales predicted drive for thinness, and the Pressures subscale contributed significantly to body dissatisfaction (Thompson et al., 2004). Further, a comparison of SATAQ-3 scores between eating disturbed/eating disordered women and healthy controls demonstrated that eating disordered women reported significantly higher scores on the Pressures subscale, as well as the Internalization-General subscale (Thompson et al., 2004).

The Body Image States Scale. To address the need for a measure of a person's evaluative or affective body image states in specific contexts or in response to experimental manipulations, Cash, Fleming, Alindogan, Steadman, and Whitehead (2002) developed and validated the Body Image States Scale (BISS). This instrument consists of six items designed to assess various domains of respondents' current body experience, including overall physical appearance, body size and shape, and feelings of physical attractiveness-unattractiveness.

Responses to each item are recorded on a 9-point, Likert-type scale, within which half of the items are presented in a negative-to-positive direction (e.g., from "extremely dissatisfied" on one anchor to "extremely satisfied" on the other) and half are presented in a positive-to-negative direction (e.g., from "extremely satisfied" to "extremely dissatisfied"). Respondents are instructed to endorse the statement that best describes how they feel, at this very moment. BISS scores are calculated by computing the mean of the six items after reverse-scoring the three positive-to-negative items; thus, higher scores on the 9-point dimension indicate more favorable body image states.

The BISS was found to be acceptably internally consistent among women when completed across a range of imagined situational contexts (e.g., a positive situation, such as receiving a compliment; a negative situation, such as looking at models in magazines; and a neutral situation, such as a day at the beach) with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .77 to .90 (Cash et al., 2002). Test-retest reliability was .69 for women; given that the BISS is a state instrument, its stability was lower than that of trait body image measures. In addition, both men's and women's body image states were less favorable in negative versus positive contexts, which supports the sensitivity of the BISS (Cash et al., 2002).

The Appearance Schemas Inventory-Revised. The Appearance Schemas Inventory-Revised (ASI-R) was developed to address possible weaknesses of the original ASI; these problems included the inclusion of social schemas rather than self-schemas, a lack of behavioral items, and repeated failure to find expected gender differences (Cash, Melnyk, & Hrabosky, 2004). The ASI-R taps the investment dimension of the body image construct with 20 items focusing on the salience of appearance in six domains, including historical salience, attentional and cognitive salience, salience to an individual's sense of self, affective salience, behavioral salience, and interpersonal salience. Items are rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores on this instrument denote greater body image investment. The instrument is comprised of two subscales with 12 and 8 items, respectively; these are the Self-Evaluative Salience (of Appearance) and Motivational Salience (of Appearance) scales. The Self-Evaluative Salience (of Appearance) scale taps into individuals' beliefs about how their appearance affects their personal or social worth and sense of self. (e.g., "What I look like is an important part of who I am," "When I meet people for the first time, I wonder what they think about how I look;" Cash et al., 2004, p. 309). The Motivational Salience (of Appearance) scale assesses individuals' investment in being attractive and managing their appearance (e.g., "Before going out, I make sure that I look as good as I possibly can," "I have never paid much attention to what I look like;" Cash et al., 2004, p. 309).

The ASI-R composite measure and subscales each have acceptable internal consistency for women ages 18 and over: Cronbach's alpha is .88 for the composite measure, .82 for the ASI-R Self-Evaluative Salience subscale, and .90 for the ASI-R Motivational Salience subscale (Cash et al., 2004). In addition, the ASI-R was significantly correlated with the original, 14 item instrument, with r = .76, p < .001 for women and men. Among women, the ASI correlated, r = .79, p < .001 with the Self-Evaluative Salience factor and .45, p < .001 with the Motivational Salience factor; thus, the ASI-R converges with the original ASI but is not psychometrically identical to the original measure. Convergent validity indices suggest that greater schematic investment in appearance, as indicated by scores on the ASI-R, is correlated with greater internalization of societal/media ideals of appearance, poorer body-image evaluation, more body-image dysphoria, and poorer body-image quality of life (Cash et al., 2004).

Feminist Identification: Importance to Identity Subscale of the Collective Self-

Esteem Scale. The Importance to Identity Subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale was used to assess the perceived importance of the respondent's social identity as a woman, given that women's social gender identity has been found to predict self-identification as a feminist, as well as feminist ideology (Burn, Aboud, & Moyles, 2000; Henderson-King & Stewart, 1997; Liss, O'Connor, Morosky, & Crawford, 2001; Smith, 1999; Leaper & Aris, 2011). The Importance to Identity subscale was selected because this scale measures the extent to which social groups are important to respondents' sense of self, whereas the remaining subscales deal with judgments of worthiness or value (Lutanen & Crocker, 1992). The Identity

subscale consists of four items, for which respondents indicate their level of agreement on a Likert-type scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). On this scale, higher scores indicate a higher degree of feminist identification. Items are worded in such a way that social identity could be assessed in relation to a number of reference groups, such as ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc. The author of this scale has given permission for researchers to modify the verbiage of items for research purposes (http://faculty.psy.ohiostate.edu/crocker/lab/measures.php#home). For the purposes of this study, items were reworded to measure social gender identity; for example, the original item "Overall, my group memberships have very little to do with how I feel about myself" read as follows: "Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself." Appendix F contains the reworded identity subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale.

The Collective Self-Esteem Scale has strong psychometric properties. Reliability analyses indicated that Cronbach's alpha coefficients and item-total correlations were adequate for all subscales, as well as for the total Collective Self-Esteem scale (Crocker, 1992). Moreover, the Importance to Identity subscale did not correlate with the Social Desirability Scale, suggesting that this subscale is not simply reflecting response biases designed to present oneself in a favorable light (Crocker, 1992).

Feminist Identification: Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale – Short

Form. The Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale, which consists of 60 total items, was developed to provide a valid and encompassing measure of feminist attitudes and ideology. Items are rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 6 (Strongly agree). Three key domains and several subdomains are reflected in the LFAIS; these are (1) gender roles, (2) goals, including specific political agendas and global goals, and (3) feminist ideological

stances and underpinnings, including discrimination and subordination, the importance of collective action, and consciousness-raising (Morgan, 1996). The entire scale demonstrated adequate internal consistency, with a .94 Chronbach's alpha for the total sample (N=209) and .83 test-retest reliability in a small group (N=30) of undergraduates (Morgan, 1996). Tests of convergent validity demonstrated strong correlations between items on the LFAIS and other "feminism" items, with correlations ranging from .61-.68; moreover, the indicators of divergent validity were weakly associated with the LFAIS, as predicted (Morgan, 1996).

A short form of the LFAIS resulted from a study using the total LFAIS scale to predict overt, feminist-related behaviors (Morgan, 1994). The total score of the 10 total items comprising the short form was positively correlated with three behaviors (these included returning a provided letter to the governor in support of more stringent sexual harassment legislation, response to witnessing a sexist insult, and recognition of sexism in a television commercial) and had a significant correlation with the aggregated behavioral index (Morgan, 1994). The items provide a reliable short form for the LFAIS, with Cronbach's alpha at .84 (Morgan, 1994) and .81 (Morgan, 1996). This measure of feminist identity is comprehensive in that it is inclusive of feminist thought and attitudes that go beyond notions about "appropriate" gender roles (Morgan, 1996). Items from the LFAIS have been incorporated into a multidimensional model of feminist identification (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

Procedure

Realty television exposure conditions. After the participants read the informed consent letter and agreed to participate, they then answered the inclusion criteria questions (1) "What is your age?" (with two possible responses: Younger than 19; 19 or older) and (2) "What is your gender identity?" For those participants who met the inclusion criteria (19 years of age or older

and self-identifying as a woman), the survey software program randomly assigned one video clip per participant. Participants were instructed to "Please watch the following video" by pressing play when the video appeared on the screen. The participants then viewed a randomly assigned video clip of a reality television show from one of three genres (romance/dating, competition, or drama), or from a sitcom. An episode of *The Bachelor* was used for the romance/dating genre, *Jersey Shore* for the reality drama genre, and *Big Brother* for competition. A clip from *Modern Family* served as a control (non-reality) condition.

All reality television episodes were selected from the same episode number (3) of the season and from the same season (2011). Although selected from the same television broadcast season, each show used in the study was in a different season of its viewership. Table 1 details the season number of the shows included in this study. The three reality television shows selected to represent their respective categories (*The Bachelor, Big Brother,* and *Jersey Shore*) were selected because they were all very popular, aired during prime time, and featured several attractive women consistently over the courses of their respective seasons. Similarly, the sitcom selected as the control condition (*Modern Family*) was selected because it also aired during prime time, was very popular, and featured attractive women consistently over the course of its broadcast season.

In order to create video clips, the researcher used iMovie video editing software. Further, the researcher used the following criteria in the editing process: Video clips began as soon as the opening credits for each show ended; women in the clips were all wearing form-fitting tank tops or sleeved shirts; parts of the show in which female characters were nude or in bathing suits were cut; commercials were cut; the women in the clips were interacting with men, and no scenes without women present were included; and the women were active and talking (to each other and

to men) during the clips. After video editing was complete, each video clip used in the study was 5 minutes in length. Moreover, the researcher was mindful in editing these clips to maintain, as consistently as possible the centrality of the women to the scene in the clip, and the degree to which the women's bodies were covered. Although attractiveness was not experimentally controlled for or evaluated, shows were selected with consideration the need for similarity in level of attractiveness. For example, *Modern Family* was selected over another popular sitcom, *Big Bang Theory*, because the latter has multiple female cast members that are dressed to be less attractive physically. In addition, the composition of clips for each condition was judged, by the researcher, to be similar in level of attractiveness for female casts members featured.

Order Effects. After viewing the randomly-assigned video, all conditions immediately completed the manipulation check and then completed the Body Image States Scale. Next, participants completed the remaining measures. The order of these measures was randomized to control for order effects.

Accessing and Completing the Study. A link to the study was embedded in a post on the author's Facebook page. In addition to providing a link to the study, the Facebook post contained a message encouraging those who saw the post to share the link to the study on their own respective pages, in order to recruit more participants (Appendix C contains the message that was used for recruitment). Participants clicked the link in order to access the study. First, they read a short description of the study and an information letter that served as a consent form. Participants who were eligible and consented to participate (e.g., individuals who self-identified as a woman and were at least 19 years of age) proceeded to the study. Individuals who did not meet inclusion criteria (e.g., are below the age of 19 or who did not report that they self-identify as female) exited the study. Once the eligible and consenting participants entered the study, they

viewed the video clip of part of a reality television episode or the sitcom episode. Next, they completed a manipulation check and the Body Image States Scale, followed by the SATAQ-3, ASI-R, and feminist identification measures (CSES and LFAIS) in randomized order. As described earlier, the manipulation check was a single prompt to the participant to answer a true/false question related to the content in the video they viewed. Participants who missed the manipulation check answered this question incorrectly and were excluded from the analyses. Finally, participants completed the demographics section.

Statistical Analyses

To test the hypothesis that state body dissatisfaction was differentially affected based upon the category of television to which participants are exposed, a 1-way Analysis of Variance was used. To test the hypotheses that feminist identification and self-reported reality television viewership predicted body image investment and internalization, two regression analyses were used. Finally, a regression analysis was used to examine the relationship between feminist identification variables and viewership frequency. Findings are presented in Chapter 4.

Table 1: Broadcast Season of Each Television Show Used in the Manipulation

Show	2011 Broadcast Season
The Bachelor	Season15
Big Brother	Season 13
Jersey Shore	Season 3
Modern Family	Season 3

IV. Results

Overview

The following chapter reports the results of the analyses used to test the hypotheses presented. First, the data were examined for outliers, and three were found within the number of hours of reality television viewed per week variable. These participants reported watching 40, 50, and 60 hours of reality television per week, respectively. No outliers were removed, given that no participant reported watching more reality television per week than would be feasible to do. To test hypotheses 1a-1d, a 1-way Analysis of Variance and the Least Significant Difference post-hoc analysis were used. Regression analyses were used to test hypotheses 2, 3, and 4.

Before interpreting the results, however, data were screened to determine if they met the assumptions of the analysis. Data met guidelines for univariate normality (i.e., skewness < 3; kurtosis < .10; Weston & Gore, 2006). Simple correlations between variables and descriptive statistics are presented below, followed by the results of hypothesis testing.

Simple Correlations Between Variables and Descriptive Statistics.

Correlations were computed between each variable, and the correlations among variables used in the analyses are presented here. Table 2 presents a correlation matrix demonstrating correlations between the feminist identification and body image variables, as well as the means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alphas of each measure in the present sample. A positive correlation was found between internalization and investment (r = .521, p < .001), such that the greater the extent of internalization of sociocultural ideal standards of appearance, the greater the level of investment in body image. Positive correlations were also found between internalization and both measures of feminist identification: These included the importance to identity of gender (r = .148, p = .023) and feminist ideology (r = .149, p = .022). Thus, contrary to the

hypothesized relationships among these variables, a greater degree of internalization of sociocultural ideal standards of appearance was related to a greater degree of feminist identification. Body image investment was positively correlated with only one measure of feminist identification, which was the importance to identity of gender measure (r = .521, p = .000).

With regard to descriptive statistics, the participants were asked to list the titles of up to 5 reality television shows they watched most recently. A total of 160 participants listed the title of at least one reality television show; the remaining 77 participants either left this question blank or indicated that they do not regularly view reality television programming. Responses were reviewed to assess the extent of overlap among the shows listed by participants and the clips used in this study. A total of 60 shows were listed. 33 participants reported viewing *The Bachelor* recently; by contrast, only 3 participants reported viewing *Big Brother* and only 3 participants reported viewing *Jersey Shore*. Overall, *The Bachelor*, *American Idol*, and *The Real Housewives of Atlanta* were viewed by more participants in this study than were the other reality television programs listed.

The demographics variables were examined for differences among education level, sexual orientation, and ethnicity across the measures of body image investment and internalization, both measures of feminist identity development, and self-reported reality television viewership. Highest level of completed education was positively correlated with the LFAIS measure of feminist identification (r = .274, p = .000). Educational attainment was not significantly correlated with the CSES measure of feminist identification (r = .054, p = .410) internalization (r = .001, p = .993), body image investment (r = .096, p = .145), or self-reported reality television viewership (r = .013, p = .845). A MANOVA was used to examine potential

for this analysis, the ethnicity and sexual orientation variables were recoded in order for each group to contain enough participants to make a valid comparison. For each variable, the reference group (the group with the most participants) was coded as 1 and the comparison group was coded as 2. For ethnicity, the reference group, Caucasian, was coded as 1 with the Person of Color group coded as 2. For sexual orientation, the reference group, heterosexual, was coded as 1 with the sexual minority group coded as 2. Results indicated no significant differences across the measures of body image investment, internalization, feminist identification, and self-reported reality television viewership for ethnicity F(6, 216) = .092, p = .997 or sexual orientation F(6, 216) = .447, p = .847. The interaction between ethnicity and sexual orientation in relation to these measures was also non-significant F(6, 216) = .292, p = .940.

Analysis of Variance

Differences in state body image as a function of exposure to reality television or to a sitcom were examined using a one-way analysis of variance. For this data set, the assumptions of normality, independence and homogeneity of variance were tested and met; Levene's test was non-significant F(3, 233) = .789, p > .05. There were 62 participants who viewed *Modern* Family, 48 who viewed *Big Brother*, 55 who viewed *The Bachelor*, and 72 who viewed *Jersey* Shore. A significant main effect was found for viewing condition F(3, 236) = 2.66, p = .049, though the size of the difference was small with $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Post-hoc analyses using the least-significant difference (LSD) analysis demonstrated that participants who viewed *The Bachelor* (M=4.82, SD=1.41) and Big Brother (M=4.78, SD=1.57) had significantly worse state body satisfaction that the participants who viewed *Jersey Shore* (M=5.34, SD=1.61) and *Modern* Family (M=5.37, SD=1.39) (p < .05). Hypotheses 1a and 1d were therefore rejected, while

hypotheses 1b and 1c were supported. That no effect on state body image was found for exposure to a reality drama program was an unexpected finding. However, given that a difference was evident after a relatively brief exposure to dating and competition reality television shows, the question is raised as to the effect of longer-term exposure to these types of programs.

Regression Analyses

Feminist Identification and Self-Reported Reality Television Viewership as **Predictors of Body Image Investment.** Regression analyses were conducted to test the hypotheses that feminist identification predicted lower body image investment (2a), while greater self-reported reality television viewership predicted greater body image investment (3a). At the first step of the model, self-reported reality television viewership was entered as the predictor variable. At the second step of the model, the two measures of feminist identification (LFAIS and CSES) were entered as the predictor variables. At step one, self-reported reality television viewership did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable of investment $R^2 = .013$, F(1, 230) = 3.05, $\beta = .114$, p = .082. Hypothesis 2a was, therefore, rejected. However, feminist identification as measured by the LFAIS and CSES, when added to the model, accounted for significant additional variance in the dependent variable of investment $R^2\Delta = .055$, $F\Delta(2, 228) = 6.76$, p = .001. In particular, the measure of feminist identification assessing the importance of gender identity (CSES) contributed a significant amount of unique predictive value to the investment criterion variable: $\beta = .237$, p = .000, $sr^2 = .234$. Hypothesis 3a was, therefore, rejected. This means that, contrary to the stated hypothesis, participants who place high importance on their identity as women reported that body image was of great importance to their self-concept. On the other hand, in this model, the measure of feminist

identification related to feminist ideology (LFAIS), did not contribute unique predictive value to the criterion variable of investment: $\beta = -.036$, p=.580, $sr^2 = -.035$.

Feminist Identification and Self-Reported Reality Television Viewership as **Predictors of Internalization.** Regression analyses were conducted to test the hypotheses that greater self-reported reality television viewership predicted greater internalization (2b), while feminist identification predicted lower internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness (3b). At the first step of the model, self-reported reality television viewership was entered as the predictor variable. At the second step of the model, the two measures of feminist identification (LFAIS and CSES) were entered as the predictor variables. At step one, self-reported reality television viewership did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable of internalization $R^2 = .00$, F(1, 230) = .005, $\beta = -.005$, p = .945. Hypothesis 2b was, therefore, rejected. However, feminist identification as measured by the LFAIS and CSES, when added to the model, accounted for significant additional variance in the dependent variable of internalization $R^2\Delta = .042$, $F\Delta(2, 228) = 5.04$, p=.007 In this case, both the CSES, $\beta = .141$, p=.033, $sr^2=.14$, and the LFAIS, $\beta=.142$, p=.030, $sr^2=.143$, contributed unique predictive variance to the model. Hypothesis 3b was, therefore, also rejected. Contrary to the hypothesized relationships among these variables, a greater degree of feminist identification, as indicated by each of the two measures, was associated with a greater degree of internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness.

Feminist Identification as a Predictor of Reality Television Viewership. To examine the measures of feminist identification as predictors of reality television viewership, a regression analysis was conducted. Both measures of feminist identification were entered simultaneously into the model. The two measures did not explain a significant amount of the variance in reality

television viewership R^2 = .02, F(2, 231) = 2.77, p=.065. However, the importance of identification as a woman, when examined after controlling for variance accounted for by the measure of feminist ideology, was a significant predictor of reality television viewership t = 2.11, p = .036, sr^2 = .138. Hypothesis 4 was, therefore, rejected.

Table 2. Correlations, Descriptive Statistics, and Cronbach's alphas

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD α
1. BISS						5.1	1.51 .85
2. SATAQ	133*					3.0	0.77 .94
3. ASIR	206**	.521**				3.3	0.64 .88
4. CSES	.065	.148*	.231**			5.6	1.1 .78
5. LFAIS	.043	.149*	038	.064		4.7	0.54 .71

Note: BISS=State body image. SATAQ=Internalization. ASIR=Body image investment. CSES=Feminist identification (importance to identity of being a woman). LFAIS=Feminist identification (belief in equality and general feminist ideology). *p < .05; *** p < .01; **** p < .001.

Table 3. Reliability for Each Scale Used in the Current Investigation (Cronbach's alpha) Compared with Established Reliability

	Current Sample	Established Reliability	
BISS	.851	$.7790^{1}$	
SATAQ	.943	$.94, .96^{2}$ $.88^{3}$	
ASIR	.888		
CSE	.782	.7386 ⁴	
LFAIS	.706	.81 ⁵ , .84 ⁶	

Note: BISS=State body image. SATAQ=Internalization. ASIR=Body image investment. CSES=Feminist identification (importance to identity of being a woman). LFAIS=Feminist identification (belief in equality and general feminist ideology). ¹=Cash et al., 2002; ²=Thompson et al., 1996; ³=Cash et al., 2004; ⁴=Crocker, 1992; ⁵=Morgan, 1996; ⁶=Morgan, 1994.

V. Discussion

This chapter discusses the implications of the findings presented in Chapter 4, addresses the limitations of this study, and presents suggested areas for future research as well as clinical applications of the results. As previously discussed, the purpose of this study, broadly, was to explore the relationships among reality television exposure and feminist identification on women's body image. The study design included experimental and correlational components; specifically, an experimental study design and analysis of variance were used to examine the effects of exposure to various types of reality television programming on the state body image of adult women. The relationships among feminist identification, voluntary reality television viewership, and measures of trait body image were explored using correlational study design with separate regression analyses.

Implications of Findings

Exposure to reality dating and competition reality shows may result in state body dissatisfaction. The results of this study suggest that there may be a small, but statistically significant effect of brief exposure to dating and competition reality television programming on women's state body image relative to the effect of viewing a sitcom. On the other hand, no effect was found for exposure to a reality drama program compared to a sitcom. This is the first known study to compare the effects of various types of reality television programming on women's state body image; however, that the effect was found for these two particular categories is consistent with previous research using other measures of body image in relation to reality television viewership (Egbert & Belcher, 2012; Ferris, Smith, Greenberg, & Smith, 2007; Markey & Markey, 2010; McClanahan, 2007). Exposure to competition shows, in particular, has been shown to predict both body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness (Egbert & Belcher, 2012). The

casts of dating shows tend to be comprised of women with idealized body types (McClanahan, 2007), and, in a way (though a separate category of show), involve competition (in this case, for a romantic partner or mate). Moreover, exposure to reality dating programs, along with perceived realism of these programs, has been associated with viewers' adoption of their dominant themes, including the idea that women are sex objects (Ferris, Smith, Greenberg, & Smith, 2007). That the effects found in this study were evident after only five minutes of exposure raises the question of whether there may be a dose-response relationship; that is, the research has yet to identify whether more exposure to these types of programs yields a larger and more deleterious effect on women's body image.

In American culture, reality television programming, featuring dating or competition shows, is popular among young adult and adult women. These types of programs appear to transmit the damaging messages, discussed previously in relation to the mass media, which overemphasize both the importance of women's body shape and size and the desirability of attaining the thin-ideal (Cash, 2011; Greenberg, Rosaen, Worrell, Salmon & Volkman, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009). Reality television, a genre that specifically purports to portray "real people" in "real situations," may contribute to the perception among many women viewers that attaining the thin-ideal is both desirable and realistic. Because there is a dearth of research comparing the effects of various types of reality television programming, it is somewhat difficult to identify why an effect was found for dating and competition shows, but not for exposure to a reality drama program. As previously discussed, the more that viewers of reality television shows perceived the cast members to be (1) people they could meet and (2) to be behaving candidly, their investment in and enjoyment of these shows increases (Hall, 2009). It is possible that the reality drama program selected, *Jersey Shore*, differs from the other shows selected for

this study in that the women featured in *Jersey Shore* may portray in their dress, mannerisms, and language a certain regional stereotype that may have a different effect on the average viewer than the women featured in *The Bachelor* and *Big Brother*. For example, one of the prominent female characters of the *Jersey Shore* has been described in popular media as unintelligent, unconventionally attractive, poorly dressed, and behaving recklessly (e.g., regularly overconsuming alcohol, getting arrested, and using degrading language when arguing with other cast members; Hedegaard, 2011). Women appearing on several seasons of *The Bachelor*, however, have been described collectively as depicting conventional attractiveness: They are generally thin, stylish, white and have flawless skin (Spencer & Paisley, 2013). Future research using different shows within the same reality drama category of reality television may help to clarify the results of this study. For example, drama shows like those in the Desperate Housewives reality series might produce an effect on body image similar to the Bachelor and Big Brother. The Desperate Housewives reality series differs from the Jersey Shore because the former focus on money and glamour as they follow wealthy women. As such, caution is needed in interpreting the lack of effect of viewing *Jersey Shore* on body image and it may be the case that most reality drama shows would produce an effect (a possibility that would require additional research).

Feminists may have higher body image investment and greater internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness than non-feminists. Analyses of the relationships among feminist identification, internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness, and body image investment yielded unexpected results. Specifically, in this study, feminist identification as measured by the importance of gender to identity significantly predicted high investment in body image, indicating that body image was of greater importance to these

participants' self-concept than those who viewed gender as less important to their identity. Similarly, feminist identification as measured by both the importance of gender to identity and endorsement of feminist ideology significantly predicted the internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness, meaning that feminists were more likely to endorse internalization than non-feminist participants.

Feminist identification has been explored as a potential protective factor against the internalization of society's standards of attractiveness (e.g., Murnen & Smolak, 2009), though without conclusive results. Theoretically, women with strong feminist identification have an increased awareness of and resistance to the ways in which gender inequities are socially constructed and communicated through the objectification of women (Downing & Roush, 1985; Tiggemann & Stevens, 1999). A consolidated and well-developed feminist identity may help protect against the extreme dissatisfaction with the body that can result from the internalization of unrealistic cultural ideals (Murnen & Smolak, 2009). In addition, as women progress through the stages of feminist identity development (Downing & Roush, 1985), they may demonstrate less body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness (Snyder and Hasbrouck, 1996). On the other hand, some studies have demonstrated no relationship or mixed findings for the effect of feminist identification on body dissatisfaction (Guille & Chrisler, 1999; Rubin, Nemeroff, & Russo, 2004).

The results of the present study are somewhat difficult to interpret in light of the current research. As mentioned previously, the very conceptualization of feminist identity is controversial, and a substantive debate exists with regard to the definition of feminist identity (Shibley & Hyde, 2002). The research suggests that feminist identity development is multifaceted and varies by feminist type. Liberal feminists, for example, contend that women

need to assert their ability to achieve equality, while radical feminists advocate for the removal of the inherently oppressive and dominating patriarchal system (Enns & Sinacore, 2001). In addition, the measurement of feminist identity development can be problematic and unreliable (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Moradi et al., 2002). There is no true consensus in the field regarding the best measure of feminist identification, and no excellent measure of this construct exists. In addition, in light of the research indicating that the relationship between feminist identification and body image changes depending upon where a person is in the process of feminist identity development, it should be noted that the present study did not include (for the reasons of unreliable measurement noted above), a measure of feminist identification that would allow for analysis based upon a respondent's stage of identity development. Measurement issues aside, it is possible that the results of the extant literature examining the relationship between feminist identification and body image vary to such a large degree because feminists may be conceptualized as a heterogeneous group, within which there may be factors that differentiate vulnerability or sensitivity to damaging media messages.

Limitations

Several limitations to the present study warrant acknowledgement. First, these include the external validity of the results, which is a function of sample characteristics, as well as the nature of conclusions that may be drawn from correlational research. With regard to external validity, the present sample consisted of 237 women over the age of 19, the vast majority of whom identified as White (88%) heterosexual (90%), and reported having obtained at least a college degree (73%). Thus, the generalizability of these results extends only to women who share these characteristics. In addition, a relatively large number of participants dropped out of the current study for unknown reasons. It is possible that meaningful differences exist between those who

discontinued participation in this study, and those who completed the study. With regard to the correlational analyses conducted in this study, feminist identification significantly predicted the internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness and body image investment; however, a limitation of this study design is that causal relationships cannot be established. It cannot be said, therefore, that feminist identification causes women to become more invested in their body image or to internalize, to a greater degree than non-feminists, sociocultural standards of attractiveness.

Additional limitations involve characteristics of the selected video clips used in the manipulation. First, the attractiveness of the women in each clip was not measured using external raters. As such, possible undetected differences in attractiveness of these women could account for some of the difference in state body image found among participants. Second, each category of reality television programming was represented by one clip of one show; as a result, the clip and the category of reality television programming represented were confounded. Third, each clip used in the present study featured television programs that had aired previously.

Participants' previous exposure to manipulation content, therefore, could not be controlled. As a result, study participants may have been exposed to the content of these shows prior to their watching the clips used in the present investigation. It is possible that when the participants were exposed to this content during the study, their reactions and responses to survey items may have been triggered reactions based upon previous exposure to the respective shows, or exposure to the women featured in other contexts (e.g., magazine articles featuring images and content about these women).

The measurement of feminist identification proved to be a limitation of this study, as well as in the body of research devoted to measuring this aspect of identity (Moradi & Subich, 2002;

Moradi et al., 2002). With regard to this study, measures were selected based upon previous research, which established a multimodal model of feminist identification among adult women (Leaper & Arias, 2011). In the present sample, the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale—Short Form (LFAIS) and the Importance to Identity Subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES) demonstrated acceptable, but low internal consistency with $\alpha = .71$ and .78, respectively. In addition, the two measures were not highly correlated (see Table 2).

In exploring whether the number of hours spent viewing reality television was related to body image investment and internalization of sociocultural standards of attractiveness, no relationship was found in the present sample. This finding is inconsistent with previous research (Markey & Markey, 2010; Sperry, Thompson, Sarwer, & Cash, 2009) indicating a positive correlation among frequent reality television viewership and body dissatisfaction. Although no relationship was found in the present sample, it cannot be said with certainty that no relationship exists. It is possible that controlling for frequency of other types of television viewership would have produced a different result. In addition, the characteristics of individuals who may be considered heavy viewers of reality television have not been studied; as such, we do not know what factors are common among individuals who consume more of this type of programming than those who do not.

Directions for Future Research and Clinical Implications

Given the lack of consensus in the existing literature related to the measurement of feminist identification, future research should focus on developing a valid measure of this construct in order to clarify how this aspect of identity may affect various other aspects of identity, mental health, attitudes, and behaviors. Given that feminists may be a heterogeneous group, the development of more nuanced measures to capture differences within this population

may benefit future research in this area. In addition, in order to more fully understand the impact of exposure to various types of reality television programming on women's body image, future research should focus on recruiting a more diverse sample in terms of race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and educational attainment. Experimental studies using clips of existing reality television programs should include multiple representations of various genres within reality television, in order to avoid confounding the category of the show with the show selected for use in the study.

This study raises important clinical implications for therapists who may be working with women clients who identify as feminists or who present for therapy with body dissatisfaction. First, therapists should understand that clients who espouse feminist ideology are not immune to struggling with body image issues. In theory, feminist identification brings an increased awareness of the ways in which women are objectified for the purposes of subjugation in a patriarchal society. It is possible, however, that this increased awareness may carry risk, in the form of increased sensitivity or vulnerability to damaging media messages that convey the importance of attaining the thin-ideal. In other words, because feminists are more aware of the prevalence and damaging nature of these messages, they may be even more detrimentally affected by them than are women who do not identify as feminists. Second, therapists who are working with clients who present with body dissatisfaction and/or eating disorders may want to include media monitoring as an intervention in their work. Specifically, such clients may benefit from psycho-education regarding the deleterious influence that viewing thin-ideal images and internalizing media messages has on women's body image. As mentioned previously, there is a substantial body of evidence documenting this effect. More specifically, these clients may benefit from gaining insight into the ways in which viewing thin-ideal media in all forms, and

reality television in particular, affects their body image attitudes. For example, a measure such as the Body Image States Scale (BISS), which is short and valid, may be incorporated into clinical work to help clients reflect upon the potentially harmful effects of viewing these types of programs.

Conclusions

Findings from this study suggest that brief exposure to reality dating and competition shows may have a deleterious effect on women's state body image. Despite purporting to portray "real people in real situations," these genres of reality television may be perpetuating the largely unattainable thin-ideal. The internalization of this ideal has been linked with multiple negative outcomes for women, and media messages contribute to a sociocultural context in which a normative discontent (Rodin, et al.,1985) with women's bodies prevails. Most U.S. women do not look like the cast members featured in the dating and competition shows used in this study, and yet many women may feel pressured to transform their bodies to more closely match those featured in these types of programs. In order to do so, most women would need to go to unhealthy extremes.

This study's results suggest as well that feminist identification may not protect against the effects of unhealthy media messages on women's body image. In this study, women who identified as feminists internalized sociocultural standards of appearance and endorsed body image investment to a greater degree than women who did not identify as feminists. These results were unexpected and counter to some previous research identifying feminist identification as a possible protective factor against harmful media messages. While it is unclear exactly why these relationships emerged the way they did in this study, these results reinforce the power of sociocultural messages about appearance. Moreover, they suggest the need for ecological, as

well as individual-level prevention efforts. That is, in order to reduce the negative influence of media messages on women's body image, a combination of individual (e.g., CBT techniques) and systemic (e.g., advocacy for the representation of diverse body types in reality television shows) strategies may be warranted.

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Appendix A CONSENT FORM

Participant Selection and Purpose of the Study:

You are invited to participate in a research study because you are at least 19 years old and identify as a woman. The purpose of this study is to better understand characteristics of women who watch certain television programs. Please do not participate more than once. This study is being conducted by Erin English, a graduate student in the Auburn University Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling, under the supervision of Annette S. Kluck, Ph.D., Associate Professor and Training Director in the Auburn University Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling.

Procedure and Duration:

Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to view a brief video clip of a popular television program. You will then be asked to answer a variety of questions about yourself. The entire study should take about 25 minutes to complete.

Risks and Benefits:

The risks for participation in this study are minimal. You may experience slight discomfort as you answer personal questions.

Potential benefits include increased self-awareness. Additionally, to compensate you for your time, you will be offered the opportunity to participate in a raffle to win one of 5 \$30 gift cards to Amazon.com, which will be delivered to you electronically if you win. If you choose to enter the raffle, you will provide your e-mail address at the end of the survey. Your contact information will not be linked to your responses. If you decided to participate, you will not incur any costs.

Anonymity and Presentation of Data:

All data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. You will not be asked to provide your name or other potentially identifying information. The results of this study may be presented at a professional meeting and/or published in a scholarly journal.

Contact:

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the principle investigator, Erin English, at eme0003@auburn.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board at hsubjec@auburn.edu or lRBChair@auburn.edu, or by phone at (334) 844-5966.

Thank you for your time and assistance with my research. By clicking the link below, you acknowledge that you have read this information and give your consent to participate in this study. Please be reminded that you may discontinue the study at any point without penalty.

Appendix B DEMOGRAPHICS

Questions asked at the beginning of the study:

What is your age? Younger than 19

19 or older

Gender: Male

Female

Transgender F to M Transgender M to F

Other

Questions asked at the end of the study:

Ethnicity: African American Asian Caucasian Latino(a)

Native American Pacific Islander Bi/Multi-Ethnic Other

Sexual Orientation: Heterosexual Gay Lesbian Bi-sexual Questioning

Highest Level of Completed Education: Less Than High School Degree

High School Diploma Associates Degree Some College Bachelors Degree

Post Bachelors Coursework Graduate/Professional Degree

Approximately how many hours of reality television programming have you watched per week over the past month?

Please list the titles of up to five reality television shows that you have watched most recently:

Appendix C RECRUITMENT MESSAGE POSTED ON FACEBOOK

If you are at least 19 years old and identify as a woman, then you are eligible to participate in a research study about issues common to women. This study offers a chance to win one of five \$30 gift cards to Amazon.com. Please click the link below for more information and to access the study. (You may take the survey only one time.) Regardless of whether you participate, please share this on your wall and invite other women to participate as well!

Appendix D INFORMATION ABOUT OBTAINING INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE STUDY

This appendix provides information about where readers may obtain The Sociocultural Attitudes Toward Appearance Scale (SATAQ-3), the Body Image States Scale (BISS), the Appearance Schemas Inventory-Revised (ASI-R), the Collective Self-Esteem scale, and the Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale-Short Form (LFAIS).

The The Sociocultural Attitudes Toward Appearance Scale (SATAQ-3) is available to be downloaded from Dr. Kevin Thompson's website at the following address: http://bodyimagedisturbance.usf.edu/sat/ The scale is free to use for non-commercial purposes.

The Body Image States Scale (BISS) and the Appearance Schemas Inventory-Revised (ASI-R) are copyrighted and available for purchase at Dr. Thomas Cash's website: http://www.body-images.com/assessments/index.html.

The Collective Self-Esteem Scale and a description of its psychometric properties are found in: Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*, 302-318. A copy of this article may be obtained by e-mailing CrockerLabManager@gmail.com.

The Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale-Short Form and a description of its psychometric properties may be found in:

Morgan, B. L. (1996). Putting the feminism into feminism scales: Introduction of a liberal feminist attitude and ideology scale. *Sex Roles*, *34*, 359-390.