The effects of objectification on stereotypical perception and attractiveness of women and men

Chiara Rollero[1] & Stefano Tartaglia[2]

[1]University eCampus, Italy
[2]University of Turin, Italy

Objectification has been found to have negative consequences on how women are perceived by others. However in an even more sexualized world being a sexual object has become a standard of physical attractiveness for women and objectification could foster a positive evaluation increasing attractiveness. Although Objectification Theory was originally grounded in women's experiences, some research points to the promise of Objectification Theory for understanding men's experiences as well. The aim of the paper was investigating the effects of objectification on gender stereotypes and perceived attractiveness. Two experimental studies were conducted. Study 1 (N=139) investigated the effects of objectification on female targets. Study 2 (N=146) investigated the effects on male targets. In both studies three dependent variables were considered: communality, agency, and attractiveness. Results of Study 1 revealed that objectified women were considered less communal and more attractive. Moreover, men perceived objectified women less agentic than the non-objectified ones, whereas women showed the opposite perception. Concerning men, objectification has a limited impact, as it interacted with participants' gender only on communality: men considered objectified males more communal than the non-objectified ones, while women revealed the opposite perception.

Keywords: Objectification Theory, Gender stereotypes, Physical attractiveness, Sexualization, Experimental design

In Western societies women's condition remarkably improved in the last century. However, gender literature has largely shown that stereotypes against women still persist, but in a more subtle and apparently benevolent tone (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Such stereotypes lead to gender discrimination and to a hierarchical difference in terms of status inequality (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Along with gender stereotypes, other cultural processes harm women. In particular, the objectification perspective (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)

Corresponding author: chiara.rollero@uniecampus.it

underlines that women are largely objectified in contemporary countries. When objectified, they are reduced to the status of "mere instruments" available for visual inspection, evaluation, and the pleasure of others (Bartky, 1990, p. 26). Driving the attention to the body might increase attractiveness, which has been shown to favor a positive evaluation of women by onlookers (Langlois et al., 2000). However, objectification could have also many damaging consequences (see Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Moradi & Huang, 2008).

To better understand these cultural processes, the study here presented aimed at investigating if objectification has an impact on gender stereotypes and on perceived attractiveness

Gender stereotypes and evaluation of men and women

Most research on stereotypes has focused on the processes involved in activating stereotypes, however in the last years researchers have begun to look at dimensions that might explain the content of stereotypes. The Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014) argues that stereotype content can be explained systematically referring to two fundamental dimensions of social perceptions: warmth and competence. When dealing with gender stereotypes, these dimensions have been equated to communality and agency (Wade & Brewer, 2006).

The distinction between communal and agentic attributes is one of the most influential approaches to the conceptualization of gender stereotypes (Eagly, 2005). Communal characteristics describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people whereas agentic characteristics describe primarily an assertive, controlling, and confident tendency. Literature has largely shown that people expect and prefer that women be communal, manifesting traits such as warmth, kindness, and sensitivity. In contrast, men are expected to show traits such as aggressiveness, self-confidence, dominance, and ambition (Eagly, 2005; Williams & Best, 1990). Like other stereotypical beliefs, gender stereotypes are consensual and exist as ideology that is socially built and shared (Eagly, 2005).

This horizontal dimension of differences leads to a hierarchical difference in terms of status inequality (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) Men are seen as more status worthy and competent overall and more skilled at the things that "count most", whereas women are viewed as less competent in general but nicer and better at communal tasks (Fiske et al., 2002).

Although communal traits are less valued than agentic characteristics, women's communality is more directly related to liking, which is a stronger component of overall evaluative ratings used by individuals (Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998). As Eagly and Mladinic (1994) showed about the "women are wonderful effect", women are evaluated more positively than men on overall measures of evaluation (such as likeability and niceness), despite the fact that men are preferred over women on indicators of respect and power

(Langford & Mackinnon, 2000). Thus, on the one hand, communal stereotypes harm women from reaching leadership positions, but, on the other, they represent the most significant basis on which a positive evaluation of women is founded.

Objectification theory

Literally, objectification refers to perceiving a person as an object. When objectified, women are seen as a sexualized object, separate from nonphysical characteristics (McKee, 2005). The cultural climate surrounding women's bodies is one in which women are looked at, evaluated, and potentially objectified. As a consequence, individuals learn that women's bodies are able to represent them. This association between women's worth and their physical appearance paves the way for the objectification of women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper, & Puvia, 2011; Rollero & Tartaglia, 2013).

The consequences of objectification seem to concern mainly two different domains: the perception of humanness and the perception of competence (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010). Concerning humanness, research showed that objectified women are attributed less mind, less moral status, and less warmth than non-objectified women (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010). In reference to competence, Heflick and Goldenberg (2009) demonstrated that focusing on a woman's appearance lead individuals to reduce the perception of her competence. Indeed, in contrast to the favorable effects overall attractiveness has on perceived competence (Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, 2003), the sexy woman stereotype is associated with a lack of competence-related traits (Glick, Larsen, Johnson, & Branstiter, 2005).

As above seen, when dealing with gender stereotypes warmth and competence can be equated to communality and agency (Wade & Brewer, 2006). Thus, the perception of communality and agency might be a potential effect of the objectification process, although it has not directly been tested yet.

Objectification Theory was originally grounded in women's experiences, but some research points to the promise of Objectification Theory for understanding men's experiences as well, as men too can be targets of objectification processes (Moradi & Huang, 2008). It is important to explore the specific meanings and manifestations of objectification theory constructs with men, evaluating, rather than assuming, construct equivalence for women and men (Moradi & Huang, 2008).Very few studies have examined the effects of objectification of males (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et. al, 2010) and report divergent data. Specifically, Loughnan et al. (2010) carried out an experiment manipulating objectification through pictures depicting non-famous individuals. The objectified images pictured women in bikinis and shirtless men. The non-objectified images consisted of full-clothed women and men. Results showed not only that objectified targets were attributed less mind and less moral patiency, but also that the effect of objectification was greater for male targets than for females. Differently, Heflick and colleagues (2011) in three different studies showed that objectified females, but not males, suffer the negative consequences

of objectification. Regardless the familiarity with the target and his/her attractiveness, driving the attention to a woman's appearance diminished the perception of her competence, warmth and morality. On the contrary, focusing on a men's appearance did not have these effects.

These two papers report very different methods concerning both manipulation (bikini or full-clothed targets versus driving attention to appearance or to performance) and targets (non famous versus famous) and this can explain why results are divergent. For that reason, according to the same authors (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010), the objectification of males still deserves more attention in research.

Sexiness as a standard of physical attractiveness

As seen, in general objectification has negative effects but, in an even more sexualized world, it could foster a positive evaluation, in particular for women. In the last decades the women's image spread by the mass media has become even more sexualized (Merskin, 2003). At the same time the sexual representation of women shifted from a passive position to an active one and this may be interpreted as empowering (Gill, 2003). In other words, in a sexualized world to be considered a sexual object could be seen as a positive outcome for women. However, as Liss and colleagues (2011) have shown, "although it might sound empowering, the experience of being sexualized does not appear to be" (Liss, Erchull, & Ramsey, 2011, p. 66). The sexualization of women may promote an additional standard for women's physical appearances, reinforces gender inequalities and does not provide any protective benefits (Liss et al., 2011; Nowatski & Morry, 2009). Sexualization, as defined by the American Psychological Association's Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2007), "includes sexual objectification, valuing people primarily for their sex appeal, and setting sexiness as a standard of physical attractiveness" (Nowatski & Morry, 2009, p. 95). So in contemporary culture objectification can increase the perception of women's attractiveness.

The two-faced role of attractiveness

It is well known that several positive stereotypes are associated with physical attractiveness and human culture values attractiveness more in females than in males (Langlois et al., 2000). For example attractiveness has positive job-related outcomes such as better performance evaluations, higher wages, and more probability of promotion (Hosoda et al., 2003). Nevertheless some authors (Glick et al., 2005) proposed to distinguish between physical attractiveness and sexiness. Indeed, while physical attractiveness has been shown to generate a broadly favorable impression of both men and women, investigations of the traits associated to women's sexiness suggest a stereotype that is poor match for high-status jobs. In other words, in contrast to the favorable effects overall attractiveness has on perceived competence, the sexy woman stereotype is associated with a lack of competence-related traits, and is viewed as less suited for high-status jobs (Glick et al., 2005).

Starting from this theoretical background, the present research aimed to verify the effects of objectification on gender stereotypes (communality and agency) and on the evaluation of attractiveness. Two experimental studies tested the effects of objectification on the evaluation of both women (Study 1) and men (Study 2). Although very few studies on objectification processes take into account the effect of participants' gender (see Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015), in the present studies it was considered as a key variable. Indeed, although most stereotypes are consensual, as they are socially and culturally rooted, literature on sexist attitudes has shown that men and women endorse different levels of such stereotypic attitudes (see Glick et al., 2004; Rollero et al., 2014).

Study 1

In the first study the effects of objectification on the evaluation of a female target were tested. The following hypotheses were set.

Hypothesis 1: An objectified woman would be considered less communal than a non-objectified woman. Since previous research showed that objectified women are attributed less humanness and less warmth than non-objectified women (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010), objectification should reduce also women's perceived communality;

Hypothesis 2: An objectified woman would be considered less agentic than a non-objectified woman. Theoretically, objectification implies passivity (being seen as object), which is the contrary of agency, and past research has consistently shown that objectification reduces the perception of women's competence (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010).

Hypothesis 3: Because in the contemporary world to be a sexual object has become a standard of physical attractiveness for women (Nowatski & Morry, 2009), objectification should increase a woman's perceived attractiveness.
The study consisted of a 2 (Objectified vs. non-Objectified) x 2 (Gender of participant: Male vs. Female) between-subjects experimental design.

Method

Stimuli. Following Study 2 of Loughnan and colleagues (2010) objectification was manipulated by varying the amount of skin the person in photograph displayed. In the non-objectified condition participants viewed a photograph of a casual dressed woman whereas in the objectified condition the same woman wore a bikini. The dimension, position, and face-ism (measure of facial prominence in the visual representation of a person) of the person was the same in all the photographs to avoid possible influences of intervenient variables. We used two different stimuli, i.e. pictures, for each condition. The same two women were pictured in the objectified and in the non-objectified condition. To select the stimuli a pre-test was conducted. 60 university students (34 males and 26 female; average age 22.27; SD = 2.13) received a set of five photographs reproducing different casual dressed females and

were asked to rate the physical attractiveness of the persons reproduced. The chosen targets for the experiment were the women that had the average evaluation of attractiveness, i.e. that were rated neither beautiful nor ugly.

Measures.

Communality and Agency. To assess the tendency to ascribe communal and agentic attributes to the target, participants were asked to evaluate the target on a list of five communal traits and five agentic traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Spence & Buckner, 2000) The communal attributes were: sympathetic, aware of others' feelings, emotional, understanding, and kind. The agentic attributes were: efficient, decisive, ambitious, independent, and self-confident. Participants were asked "How much do you think the person reproduced in the photograph is ..." using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). As in previous studies (Spence & Buckner, 2000), the two sets of five items showed good internal consistency (Communality Cronbach's α =.79; Agency α =.74) and were combined in two single variables.

Attractiveness. By means of a single item participants were asked to evaluate the attractiveness of the target on a 10-point scale[1].

Participants. The study was conducted in Italy. A sample of 139 university students (67 male and 72 female) participated in the study. Participants were recruited via students' assistance among undergraduate and graduate students of Arts and Sciences schools. For their degree thesis, two undergraduates in Psychology contacted other students attending courses of all the faculties of the University. Their average age was 23.12 years (SD = 2.72). The ethnic composition of the sample was completely homogeneous: all participants were Caucasian.

Procedure. Subjects were told that they would have participated to an impressions formation research.

Participants were randomly assigned to view a photograph (5.31 in. [13.5 cm] x 7.87 in. [20.0 cm]) of an objectified woman or a photograph of a non-objectified woman. After viewing the photograph participants were asked to rate the target on communal and agentic attributes and to evaluate her attractiveness.

Results

Two-way between-group ANOVAs were performed to determine the presence of significant effects on each dependent variable.

Communality. As predicted by Hypothesis 1 Objectification decreased the perception of Communality, $F(1,135) = 10.96$, $p <.01$, eta square = .08. The objectified woman ($M = 3.83$; $SD = 1.12$) was considered less communal than the non-objectified woman ($M = 4.44$; $SD = .98$). Rater gender had no effect, $F(1,135) = 1.33$, $p=.25$. There was no interaction effect, $F(1,135) = .07$, $p =.79$.

Agency. Neither Objectification, $F(1,135) = .58$, $p =.45$, nor Rater gender, $F(1,135) = .12$, $p =.73$, had any effect on Agency, whereas an interaction effect was found, $F(1,135) = 5.20$, $p <.05$, eta square = .04. Interpreting the slopes differences presented in Figure 1 it is clear that the evaluation of agency trends in males and females were reversed; males evaluated a non-objectified female

---

1   The evaluation on 10-point scale is familiar to Italians because this scale is used for the marks in the school. Ten means full marks whereas one is the worst mark.

target higher on agency than an objectified female target, while the females did the opposite. Objectification has different effects by gender; it makes males prone to evaluate the objectified target more stereotypically than the non-objectified and females to do just the opposite. Then hypothesis 2 was not confirmed.

Attractiveness. As predicted by Hypothesis 3 Objectification had a significant effect on Attractiveness, $F(1,133) = 7.12$, $p < .01$, eta square $= .05$. In the Objectification condition the target ($M = 5.79$; $SD = 1.85$) was evaluated more attractive than in the not-Objectification condition ($M = 4.86$; $SD = 2.20$). Rater gender had no effect, $F(1,133) = .01$, $p = .93$, and there was no interaction effect, $F(1,133) = .15$, $p = .70$.
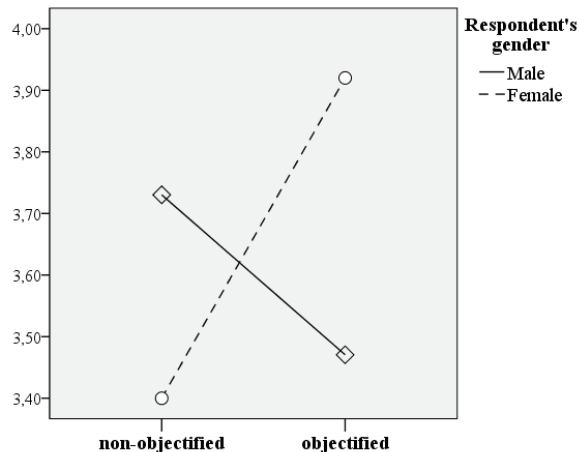

Figure 1. Interaction of objectification and respondent's gender: Agency scores, target woman.

Study 2

Given that literature states that the objectification of males deserves more attention in research (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010), Study 1 was replicated using a male target. The experimental design was the same. The only differences were the photographs used as stimuli: they reproduced the same two male subjects in an objectified vs. non-objectified condition. The choice of the target persons was made by means of a pre-test like in Study 1. Because the very few studies on the effects of the objectification of males report divergent data (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010), no specific prediction was made.

The study consisted of a 2 (Objectified vs. non-Objectified) x 2 (Gender of participant: Male vs. Female) between-subjects experimental design.

Method

Stimuli. The objectification was manipulated in the same way of Study 1. Following Loughnan and colleagues (2010), in the non-objectified condition participants viewed a photograph of a casual dressed man whereas in the objectified condition the same man wore a swimsuit. The dimension, position, and face-ism (measure of facial prominence in the visual representation of a person) of the person was the same in all the photographs. We used two different stimuli, i.e. pictures, for each condition. The same two men were pictured in the objectified and in the non-objectified condition. The stimuli were selected by means of the same pre-test used for the stimuli of the Study 1 choosing the men that had the average evaluation of attractiveness, i.e. that were rated neither beautiful nor ugly.

Measures. To assess communality, agency, and attractiveness we used the same measures used in the Study 1.

Participants. A sample of 146 Italian university students (70 male and 76 female) participated in the study. Participants were recruited via students' assistance among undergraduate and graduate students of Arts and Sciences schools. Their average age was 23.56 years (SD = 3.59). The ethnic composition of the sample was completely homogeneous: all participants were Caucasian.

Procedure. Subjects were told that they would have participated to an impressions formation research.

Participants were randomly assigned to view a photograph (5.31 in. [13.5 cm] x 7.87 in. [20.0 cm]) of an objectified man or a photograph of a non-objectified man. After viewing the photograph participants were asked to rate the target on communal and agentic attributes and to evaluate her attractiveness.

Results

Communality. Neither Objectification, $F(1,142) = .06$, $p = .81$, nor Rater gender, $F(1,142) = 3.60$, $p = .06$, had any effect on Communality, whereas an interaction effect was found, $F(1,142) = 6.93$, $p < .01$, eta square = .05. Interpreting the slopes differences presented in Figure 2 we see that the evaluation trends in males and females were reversed. Males evaluated a non-objectified male target lower on communality than an objectified male target, while the females did the opposite.

Agency. No significant effect was found on Agency. There was no main effect of Objectification, $F(1,142) = .02$, $p = .90$, and Rater gender, $F(1,142) = .05$, $p = .82$. The Condition x Gender of participant interaction was not significant, $F(1,142) = .02$, $p = .89$.

Attractiveness. No significant effect was found on Attractiveness: Objectification, $F(1,138) = .72$, $p = .40$; Rater gender, $F(1,138) = .58$, $p = .45$; Interaction, $F(1,138) = .01$, $p = .99$
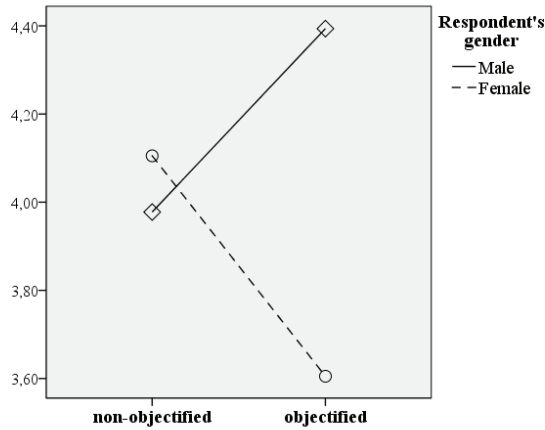
Figure 2. Interaction of objectification and respondent's gender: Communality scores, target man.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to investigate the effects of objectification on gender stereotypes and on perceived attractiveness. As Objectification Theory posits, objectification occurs for any individual whose worth is strongly and exclusively linked to appearance (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Our results show that men and women evaluate objectified targets differently and, although this study did not directly compare reactions to male vs. female targets, different characteristics were attributed to male objectified target in Study 2 relative to female objectified target in Study 1. Indeed, objectification affects the perception of communality, agency, and attractiveness of the female target, whereas in the case of the male target, objectification interacts with gender but only for communality.

An objectified woman is considered less communal, more agentic – only by women – and more attractive than a non-objectified woman. As stated before, on the one hand communality harms women from holding leadership positions, but on the other it fosters a positive global evaluation (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Wojciszke et al., 1998). Objectification deprives women of the "women are wonderful effect", which is the basis of liking, although stereotypical (Langford & Mackinnon, 2000). Contrary to expectations, objectification does not reduce agency: rather, women consider the objectified female target as more agentic. This result deserves some reflection because objectification should logically imply a passive position and not an active one. We can argue at least two interpretations of this finding. If we assume that in a sexualized world being considered a sexual object can be perceived as a benefit by women (Nowatski &

Morry, 2009), an objectified woman may be seen as potentially suited for success by other women. As Gill (2003) argues, objectification is so insidious because it is disguised as sexual subjectivity and may be interpreted as empowering. An alternative interpretation is that women may see an objectified female target as bold and not caring what other people think about her body. This may be why women saw her as having greater agency. But this can be an unwitting effect of a culture where women are evaluated mainly from their body. It was noted that mass media often use a feminist rhetoric in advertisements that show sexualized women supposedly demonstrating their power and agency (Gill, 2003, 2008). Thus, women may see showing their body as positive, but this form of objectification may contribute to women's oppression even if they are not consciously aware of it (Liss et al., 2011). However, since we actually can not know whether agency was perceived by our women as a positive or negative connotation, these arguments should be considered with caution. As regards attractiveness, in line with our hypothesis, objectification makes a woman more attractive. Because in the contemporary world being a sexual object is a key standard of attractiveness for women (Nowatski & Morry, 2009), it is not surprising that emphasizing physical appearance increases attractiveness.

When male targets are considered, their agentic traits and their attractiveness do not vary when focus on their appearance is highlighted. Concerning communality, women perceive an objectified man as less communal than a non-objectified man. Results are partially in line with literature, which reports divergent data on the effects of objectification on warmth and moral patiency (Heflick et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2010). The effect on communality is consistent with Loughnan et al.'s (2010) results, showing a greater effect of objectification on males' moral patiency than on females'. The absence of effect on agency is coherent with the research by Heflick and colleagues (2011), who found significant consequences only for objectified females. As explained earlier, there are several differences between the two cited studies (i.e. manipulation, kind of targets) and also among these studies and the ones here presented. So, in order to interpret the origins of these discrepancies in the results, further research is needed. Nevertheless, our results strengthen the idea that objectification processes should be specifically investigated also in reference to men, as construct equivalence for men and women can not be assumed. Possibly, findings are so conflicting because male worth is not typically tied to appearance, since Western culture values appearance more in female than in males (Langlois et al., 2000). Although men are also subjected to objectifying treatments, many studies provide evidence that women's bodies are targeted for objectification more often than men's (for a review see Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997).

Considering both studies, another finding seems interesting: the interplay between the gender of the observer and the gender of the target. Indeed, objectification makes men prone to evaluate the objectified female target more stereotypically than the non-objectified one, whereas female respondents show the opposite pattern. Similarly, an objectified male target is considered less stereotypical (i.e., communal) by men and more stereotypical by women. It is

clear that more work is needed assessing respondent gender differences. In any case our findings support the conclusion that objectification has a greater impact on target women than on target men. Indeed the objectification perspective (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) maintains that cultural milieu socializes women to an objectifying (and self-objectifying) approach more than men. The strong difference in the degree to which women and men's bodies are objectified is well established. For example, across many forms of media, a common finding is that women are depicted as sexual objects more often than men (Ward, 2003) and this may explain why women are more sensitive to objectification processes, both as targets and as observers. Given the current study design (i.e., two separate studies reported) it is impossible to make direct comparisons between male and female targets.

The studies here reported have some limits that may be solved in future research. First, the choice of stimuli was patterned on Loughnan et al. (2010) but the absence of a manipulation check both in their study and in the ones here reported does not allow to be sure that the swimsuit-clad stimulus was indeed perceived as more objectified than the more fully-clad stimulus. Second, some characteristics of the sample (i.e., age and sexual orientation) may influence the evaluation of objectified targets. Further research could be useful, taking into account different populations. Third, the effects of objectification on female attractiveness may differ for more or less attractive people. In this study we chose to select stimuli rated neither beautiful nor ugly, further research could compare stimuli different in attractiveness.

Conclusion

Despite the above described limitations, this research offers some new insights into the stereotype dynamics, especially in reference to objectification processes. In general, the present study confirms the negative effect of objectification on women's perception but demonstrates an even more worrying phenomenon. Women themselves positively judge an objectified woman, even more than men do. This fact suggests that in contemporary society women are victims of a culture that induces them to internalize as values the causes of their own devaluation. These findings stress the need to think of interventions for the media system and educational institutions (Choate & Curry, 2009) aimed at changing this blameworthy culture.

References

American Psychological Association (2007). Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. *Report of the APA task force on the sexualization of girls*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

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

Choate, L., & Curry, J. R. (2009). Addressing the sexualization of girls through comprehensive programs, advocacy, and systemic change: Implications for professional school counselors. *Professional School Counseling, 12*(3), 213–222.

Eagly, A. H. (2005). Achieving relational authenticity in leadership: Does gender matter? *The Leadership Quarterly, 16*, 459–474.

Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders. *Psychological Review, 109*, 573–598.

Eagly, A. H., & Mladinic, A. (1994). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes and judgements of competence. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 5, pp. 1–35). New York: Wiley.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 878–902.

Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification Theory: Toward understanding women's lived experience and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 173–206.

Gill, R. (2003). From sexual objectification to sexual subjectification: The resexualisation of women's bodies in the media. *Feminist Media Studies, 3*, 100–106.

Gill, R. (2008). Empowerment/sexism: Figuring female sexual agency in contemporary advertising. *Feminism & Psychology, 18*, 35–60.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance. Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist, 56*, 109–118.

Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., ... Wells, R. (2004). Bad but bold: Ambivalent attitudes toward men predict gender inequality in 16 nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *86*, 713–728.

Glick, P., Larsen, S., Johnson, C., & Branstiter, H. (2005). Evaluations of sexy women in low and high status jobs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 29*, 389–395.

Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 598–601.

Heflick, N. A., Goldenberg, J. L., Cooper, D. P., & Puvia, E. (2011). From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*, 572–581.

Hosoda, M., Stone-Romero, E. F., & Coats, G. (2003). The effects of physical attractiveness on job-related outcomes: A meta-analysis of experimental studies. *Personnel Psychology, 56*, 431–462.

Langford, T., & Mackinnon, N. J. (2000). The affective bases for the gendering of traits: Comparing the United States and Canada. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*, 34–48.

Langlois, J. H., Kalakanis, L., Rubenstein, A. J., Larson, A., Hallam, M., & Smoot, M. (2000). Maxims or myths of beauty? A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 126*, 390–423.

Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Empowering or oppressing? Development and exploration of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37*, 55–68.

Loughnan, S., Haslam, N., Murnane, T. Vaes, J., Reynolds, C., & Suitner, C. (2010). Objectification leads to depersonalization: The denial of mind and moral concern to objectified others. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 709–717.

McKee, A. (2005). The objectification of women in mainstream pornographic videos in Australia. *Journal of Sex Research, 42*, 277–290.

Merskin, D. (2003). Fashioning foreplay: Fashion advertising and the pornographic imagination. *Feminist Media Studies*, 3, 106–109.

Moradi, B., & Huang, Y.P. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade of advances and future directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*, 377–398.

Nowatski, J., & Morry, M. M. (2009). Women's intentions regarding, and acceptance of, self-sexualizing behavior. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*, 95–107.

Ridgweway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system – A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society, 18*, 510–531.

Rollero, C., Glick, P., & Tartaglia, S. (2014). Psychometric properties of short versions of the ambivalent sexism inventory and ambivalence toward men inventory. *TPM: Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology, 21*(2), 149–159.

Rollero, C., & Tartaglia, S. (2013). Men and women at work: The effects of objectification on competence, pay, and fit for the job. *Studia Psychologica, 55*, 139–152.

Spence, J. T., & Buckner, C. E. (2000). Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes and sexist attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 24,* 44–62.

Tartaglia, S., & Rollero, C. (2015). Gender Stereotyping in Newspaper Advertisements A Cross-Cultural Study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 46*(8), 1103–1109.

Wade, M. L., & Brewer, M. B. (2006). The structure of female subgroups: An exploration of ambivalent stereotypes. *Sex Roles, 54*, 753–765.

Ward, L. M. (2003). Understanding the role of entertainment media in the sexual socialization of American youth: A review of empirical research. *Developmental Review, 23*, 347–388.

Williams, J. E., & Best, D. L. (1990). *Measuring sex stereotypes. A multination study.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wojciszke, B., Bazinska, R., & Jaworski, M. (1998). On the dominance of moral categories in impression formation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24*, 1245–1257.