MAGAZINES TARGETING YOUNG MEN: MEN'S OBJECTIFICATION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

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MAGAZINES TARGETING YOUNG MEN: MEN'S OBJECTIFICATION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to expand knowledge regarding the effects of viewing Lad magazines on men. Specifically, this study was the first to examine men's reactions to Lad magazines, a relatively new and popular genre of lifestyle magazines targeted at eighteen to twenty-six year old men, including the U.S. titles Maxim, FHM (For Him Magazine), and Stuff. This study examined whether Maxim magazine had an effect on men's attitudes toward women, attitudes about dating and relationships, objectification of women, and dating norms and expectations. This study also examined whether conformity to a traditional male gender role norm predicted these attitudinal changes. One hundred and one college males enrolled at the University of Missouri were exposed to either *Maxim* magazine or *National* Geographic Adventure magazine. Attitudes toward women, attitudes about dating and relationships, objectification of women, and dating norms and expectations were assessed, along with conformity to masculine gender role norms. Repeated measures ANOVAs and repeated measures ANCOVAs did not demonstrate significant effects of viewing the magazines. Implications for future research and practice are discussed.

Chapter One: Overview

The media has become a prominent influence and source of information in the lives of most Americans (Thompson & Heinburg, 1999). Statistics indicate that 83% of girls and women read fashion magazines (Levine & Smolak, 1996), and 70% of girls endorse them as a good source of beauty and fitness information (Kilbourne, 1999; Levine, Smolak & Hayden, 1994). Singhal and Rogers (1999) posit that, "We are educated by the entertainment media, even if unintended by the source and unnoticed by the audience" (p. 8). While researchers have begun to explore the effects of mass media viewing, our grasp on the psychological effects of such viewing remains in its infancy.

Explanations of how the media affects us have begun to accumulate, suggesting that the media has an impact on what people believe, think, and feel. Cultivation theory explains the notion of how over time, media viewing can influence viewers' social realities simply through repeated, ongoing exposure to a particular set of values, types of people, and themes (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994). Thus, through repeated media viewing, messages that media sources portray become internalized. In essence, media messages which are consistently transmitted result in acceptance of such ideas as one's own. Priming theory is another perspective which is often used to explain the impact of short-term media exposure (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994; Ward, 2003). Priming theory draws from cognitive theories positing that cognitive processing of stimuli activates ("primes") certain schema, bringing them to mind. Immediately following this priming effect, the schema which have been activated are highly accessible, affecting subsequent appraisal of conceptually related material encountered after media exposure. Through chronic accessibility of such schema, long-term effects of media are a

possibility (Ward, 2003). In sum, both cultivation and priming theory aim to explain the impact of media on its viewers.

One type of media, magazines, has been found to be a particularly influential and immediate media source. Researchers examining the effects of magazine exposure have found that adolescents consistently cite magazines as a preferred and reputable source of information (Bielay & Herold, 1995; Treise & Gotthoffer, 2002). This finding, together with the sizeable adolescent readership of magazines, indicates that magazines provide an important foundation for the development of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs. Literature reviewing the sexual content in teen girl's and women's magazines shows a significant focus upon the presentation of oneself as sexually desirable with the goal of gaining the attention of men (Carpenter, 1998; Duffy & Gotcher, 1996; Duran & Prusank, 1997; Durham, 1996, 1998; Garner, Sterk, & Adams, 1998; Krassas, Blauwkamp, & Wesselink, 2001; McMahon, 1990; Prusank, Duran, & DeLillo, 1993; Taylor, 2005; Ward, 2003). Women's magazines have been the focus of most research to date (Ward, 2003), although a relatively new body of research has been devoted to exploring the content of magazines targeted at young men.

Specifically, the genre of magazines known as "Lad Magazines" have become a research focus for scholars interested on the effects of media on young men. Lad magazines are a relatively new and popular genre of lifestyle magazines targeted at eighteen to twenty-six year old men. These magazines are known for their overtly sexual content and vulgar humor (Carr, 2003). In particular, the magazines depict women in virtually pornographic poses and styles despite the fact that the women are not completely nude. The entire genre of magazines, which hailed from the United Kingdom,

originally included only three American titles, *Maxim, Stuff,* and *FHM: For Him Magazine*; currently only *Maxim* and *Stuff* remain on the shelves. These magazine titles were recently banned from Wal-mart's shelves as the covers which picture scantily clad women were inciting customer complaints (Carr & Hays, 2003). However, the popularity of these magazines has been undeniable as *Maxim* boasts a readership of over 12 million in the United States alone and has become the fastest growing and most successful men's magazine in the country (Maxim Online, 2003; Maxim Online, 2006; Taylor, 2005). In effect, these magazines seem to be both popular with their intended audiences and to have garnered the attention of those interested in the psychological effects of the media.

Very recently, researchers have begun to examine Lad magazines. One study specifically explored the messages of the articles containing sexual content (Taylor, 2005). The overall message was reflective of very narrow male sexuality oriented toward sexual variety, which is thought to be consistent with predominant gender stereotypes about sex. Additionally, Taylor suggested that Lad Magazines portray the message that women's sexual experiences serve as a pathway to fulfilling men's sexual needs. Finally, this same researcher conducted a correlational study which found a relationship between reading Lad magazines and endorsement of permissive sexual attitudes, expectations of greater sexual variety, and a more aggressive sexual self-schema (Taylor, 2006). While Taylor has explored both the content of Lad Magazines and correlations between reading them and sexual attitudes, no experimental studies have yet been conducted regarding the psychological effects of this magazine content on young men. This was the purpose of the present study.

Prior to discussing the study in greater detail, however, additional background material is warranted. The following overview will first focus on magazine content and advertisements. Specifically, in this section, first will be a discussion of the few existing analyses of Lad magazine content. Next, because there are no specific studies of Lad magazine advertisements, what is known about magazine advertisements in general will be overviewed, with a special focus on the sexual suggestiveness and nudity of women in magazine advertisements. Finally, this first section concludes by emphasizing how magazines convey cultural standards for appearance, sexuality, and sexual behavior through their depictions of women. A second section follows, which briefly reviews studies on the psychological effects of the media.

Magazine Content and Advertisements

Content analyses have almost exclusively focused on women's magazines (Ward, 2003) with much less research focusing on the content of magazines targeting both male and female audiences or solely male audiences. Two studies which did examine magazines targeting solely male and male/female audiences looked at *Cosmopolitan*, *Self*, *GQ*, and *Playboy* magazines; the authors found that the contents treated women as sex objects through both objectifying images (Krasses, Blauwkamp, & Wesselink, 2001) and written content regarding relationships (Duran & Prusank, 1997). While these magazines are intended to appeal to adult audiences, male and female, only three studies, to date, have examined the content of magazines specifically targeting young males, Lad magazines (Johnson, 2007; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink, 2003; Taylor, 2005).

As noted above, in one of the three studies on Lad magazine content, Taylor (2005) reports that the most common topic found in Lad magazine articles about sex is

that women serve as the means by which men may improve upon their own sex lives. More specifically, the findings of Taylor's (2005) study indicated that the majority of articles about sex had as the main topic what women like (41%), followed by unorthodox sexual behaviors or positions (20%), and improving one's sex life (19%). Secondary topics within articles were also analyzed, and it was found that the most common secondary topic was improving one's sex life (52%). Further, articles that were principally focused on what women want were also likely to contain the secondary topic of improving one's sex life. The findings seem to elicit the notion that most important is for a man to improve his sex life, and possibly, what women want is only important if it improves one's own sex life. Further, the images accompanying the articles mostly pictured women described as "beginning to disrobe" or "discreetly nude" (Taylor, 2005).

Two additional studies on Lad magazines reinforce the findings of Taylor (2005). Krassas et al. (2003) examined the sexual rhetoric in editorial photographs in issues of *Maxim* and *Stuff* magazines (Krassas et al, 2003). Content analyses indicated that these two magazines construct sexuality in restricted ways, using images to provide readers with ideas about female sexuality by portraying women more often than men as sexual objects, thereby reinforcing objectification (Krassas et al, 2003). Further, the authors of this study contend that the magazines portray women as objects of sexual desire and conquest, yet their pleasure is secondary to men receiving sexual satisfaction, consistent with Taylor's (2005) analyses. A third study conducted by Johnson (2007) analyzed the content of cover lines and cover images on *Maxim* magazine, revealing that cover lines advocate easy and wonderful sex without intimacy while cover images set up an impossible standard for female beauty. These three studies were the first to examine Lad

magazines, and all revealed a view of non-intimate and easy sexuality, with women as objects to please men. Interestingly, however, none of these studies were focused on the advertisements in Lad magazines. Certainly, exposure to magazines naturally includes viewing of both content and advertisements.

Not surprisingly, the advertisements within magazines are consistent with magazine content (Krassas et al., 2003; Kilbourne, 1999). Magazines are supported through advertisements placed within them, and thus, content is expected to support and help promote products being advertised (Kilbourne, 1999). While relatively few studies have specifically examined the sexual content of advertisements in men's magazines, researchers have examined this in women's magazines and have examined trends among both men's and women's magazines.

One study examined levels of nudity in advertisements found in women's magazines (Soley & Reid, 1988), and a few others have reported on trends in sexual explicitness in women's and men's magazines over time (Pope, Olivardia, Borowiecki, & Cohane, 2001; Reichert, Lambiase, Morgan, Carstarphen, & Zavoina, 1999; Solely & Kurzbard, 1986; Soley & Reid, 1988). These studies found female models being portrayed nude more often than male models in both men's and women's magazines and ads in general becoming more sexually explicit and portraying more nudity over time. In men's magazines, the differences between ads picturing women only versus those picturing men only was more pronounced than in women's magazines, with 78% of women versus 17% of men shown suggestively clad, partially clad, or nude (Pope, Olivardia, Borowiecki, & Cohane, 2001; Reichert et al., 1999; Solely & Kurzbard, 1986). Indeed, both content and advertisements in magazines have been found to contain

sexually explicit, objectifying images of women accompanying messages intent on helping men improve their sex lives.

Both magazine content and advertisements are also found to portray cultural standards such as those for appearance, sexuality, and sexual behavior through their depictions of women. For instance, the ideal, "attractive" body size as portrayed in the media has become much smaller than the weight of the average woman (Garner, Garfinkel, Schwartz, & Thompson, 1980; Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, & Agrens, 1992) and very thin, beautiful women are depicted as successful characters (Strigel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1986; Thompson, 1990). In addition, advertisements portray women in sexually objectified and demeaning ways, often depicting sexual acts in dehumanizing, objectifying, almost pornographic representations (Kilbourne, 1999). Women are overwhelmingly portrayed with the emphasis on either their bodies or on one particular body part rather than on their heads or faces like men are, and women are often displayed as dismembered parts of bodies (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Each of these examples demonstrates the role of the media in furthering the cultural message of objectification of women. While studies that reveal the content and messages of magazine articles and advertisements are critical, of more relevance to psychologists are studies of the psychological effects of such content on women and men.

Psychological Effects of Media Content

In the following section, research examining the psychological effects of media images will be briefly reviewed. First, studies examining effects of media images of women on women will be reviewed. This will be followed by a review of the effects of sexually explicit media images found in both violent and non-violent pornography on

aggression in both men and women. Next will be a review of studies which investigate effects of non-violent, sexually explicit media images on variables other than aggression in male viewers, specifically examining the impact of media images of women on men. Finally, a study exploring the relation between Lad magazines specifically and psychological attitudes will be discussed.

Previous research has studied the effects of media images of women on women's well-being, women's body image, and sexual objectification of women. Media images have been shown to have a profound influence on women's well-being (Heinburg & Thompson, 1995; Irving, 1990; Stice & Shaw, 1994) producing depression, decreased self-esteem, decreased weight satisfaction, stress, guilt, and shame in women. The sociocultural feminist perspective helps to explain this relationship further through the premise that meaning is culturally constructed, and thus, the feminine body has been constructed as an object to be viewed (Spitzack, 1990). The notion that women are objects for the male gaze has been portrayed consistently through media images (Levant & Brooks, 1997).

Previous research has also explored the effects of violent mass media images, non-violent pornography and sexualized media images, although the line between the latter two is often vague and inconsistently defined. Sexually violent media have been implicated in furthering men's desensitization to violence against women, desensitization to the degradation of women, finding violence against women as humorous and enjoyable, and viewing female victims as guilty (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1984). Additionally, studies have consistently shown that violent mass media images incite increased acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape myths among both males and

females (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1985; Donnerstein & Linz, 1987; Malamuth & Check, 1981a; Malamuth & Check, 1983). On the other hand, research linking aggression and non-violent pornography have shown mixed findings. While some researchers report that those exposed to non-violent pornography show increased aggression (Baron & Bell, 1977; Donnerstein, Donnerstein, & Evans, 1975; Malamuth, Feshback, & Jaffe, 1977; Meyer, 1972; Zillmann, 1971, 1979), others have found that exposure reduced aggressive behaviors (Baron, 1977; Baron & Bell, 1973; Donnerstein et al., 1975; Frodi, 1977; Zillmann & Sapolsky, 1977). Thus, findings are inconclusive, at best. Clearly, more research on the effect of non-violent pornography on aggression is needed.

Likewise deserving of additional study is the effect of non-violent pornography and sexualized media images on variables other than aggression. Research has analyzed the impact of sexualized media images of women on men in terms of only a limited set of outcome variables. For instance, research on the effects of nonviolent pornographic material has been linked with men's poorer evaluations of a female sexual partner (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Jansma, Linz, Mulac, & Imrich, 1997), and viewing beautiful women on a popular television program has been shown to lead to men's harsher evaluation of potential dates (Strasburger, 1989). Another study found that after men looked at erotic images of women from a popular erotic magazine, they were less attracted to and loving towards their mates (Kenrick, Gutierres, and Goldberg, 1989). MacKay and Covell (1997) discovered that after viewing sexualized advertisements of women from current magazines, male and female undergraduates were found to have attitudes supportive of sexual aggression and lower acceptance of feminism. Similarly, Lanis and Covell (1995) found that males shown advertisements portraying women as sex objects were more

accepting of rape myths, gender-role stereotyping, interpersonal violence, and more adversarial sexual beliefs, which was consistent with previous findings (Malamuth & Briere, 1986). In sum, these studies have found relationships between sexually objectifying images of women and men's attitudes towards the women in their lives, feminism, women's appearance, sexual attitudes, and gender-role attitudes.

Only one study to date has examined the relation between Lad magazines specifically and psychological attitudes. Taylor (2006) examined the relationships between reading Lad magazines (Maxim and FHM (For Him Magazine) and pornographic magazines (Penthouse and Playboy) and men's attitudes, beliefs, and sexual self-schema. This study relied on correlational data, asking participants to rate their frequency of reading specific magazine titles over the past year and examining the relationship between reading rates and expectations of variety in sexual relationships, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness, sexual self-view, and recent sexual behavior (Taylor, 2006). Additionally, this study relied upon men's recollection of past exposure and did not utilize a research design which could imply causation or indicate effects of the magazines. One finding of this study was that reading Lad magazines was related to beliefs that greater sexual variety is commonplace while reading pornographic magazines was not. Another finding was that neither reading pornographic magazines nor reading Lad magazines was related to aggressive attitudes towards women. Finally, these researchers reported that reading pornographic magazines was related to more permissive attitudes towards dating relationships with low levels of commitment, and reading Lad magazines was related to a more aggressive sexual self-schema (Taylor, 2006). These results suggest that reading Lad magazines is related to beliefs about greater sexual

variety and more aggressive sexual self-schema. This study provides important information regarding the relationships between reading Lad magazines and expectations of variety in sexual relationships, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness, sexual self-view, and recent sexual behavior. Of note, the results of this study also clearly suggest the need for experimental research on the effects of Lad magazines.

As discussed earlier, experimental studies indicate an effect of pornographic and sexualized media on men's evaluations of women as sexual partners and as potential dates (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Jansma, Linz, Mulac, & Imrich, 1997; Strasburger, 1989), yet no studies have experimentally assessed the effects of Lad magazines on men's attitudes towards dating and relationships, men's objectification of women, or men's attitudes towards women. Likewise, the effects of the sexual content of Lad magazines (Taylor, 2005) on expectations for sexual dating norms have not been studied experimentally. The purpose of this study was to experimentally investigate the impact of Lad magazine sexualized media content and advertisements on men's objectification of women, attitudes towards women, attitudes about dating and relationships, and dating norms and expectations.

Another purpose of this study was to examine the potential mediating effect of men's gender roles on the effect of Lad magazine content and images. Traditionally masculine gender-role attitudes have been studied as an outcome variable after viewing sexually objectified images of women (Lanis & Covell, 1995), but they have not been examined as a mediating factor in exploring the effects of sexualized media images of women on men. One study, however, indicates that these variables may be an important mediator of men's reactions to media. Specifically, Garst and Bodenhausen (1997)

investigated the effects of both traditionally masculine media images and less traditional images of men on men's gender role attitudes. Importantly, they found that men who initially adhered to less traditional gender role attitudes espoused more traditional attitudes following exposure to masculine male media images than even those who had held more traditional gender role attitudes from the start (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997). Given this interesting finding, this study examined men's gender roles as a possible mediator of the impact of viewing the sexualized content of a Lad magazine, *Maxim*.

The participants in this study viewed both content and advertisements from the Lad magazine *Maxim* in addition to taking measures of male gender role norms and preand post-measures of attitudes towards women, objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, and dating norms and expectations. Of the three U.S. titles in the Lad magazine genre, *Maxim* is the oldest and most successful with a readership of over 12 million, 76% of which are male according to *Maxim*'s data (Maxim Online, 2003). *Maxim* magazine was therefore chosen over the other lad magazines due to its established presence in U.S. culture (Taylor, 2005). The effects from those who viewed *Maxim* magazine were compared to a control group who viewed magazine content and advertisements that did not contain any sexual content or advertisements picturing women.

In sum, the goal of this study was to add to our limited knowledge of the psychological effects of a popular genre of magazines on young men's attitudes towards women, tendency toward objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, and dating norms and sexual expectations, outcomes which may contribute to the detrimental effects of the media on men's and women's well-being. Further, this

study aimed to provide valuable information about a possible mediating factor which may predispose some men to be more negatively affected by this type of media, conformity to a male gender role.

Research hypotheses were as follows:

- There will be changes in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) for those participants in the experimental condition.
 Specifically, it was hypothesized that:
 - Attitudes towards women will become more negative after viewing the
 Maxim magazine content and images.
 - b. Objectification of women will increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
 - c. Attitudes about dating and relationships will become more traditionally male focused after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
 More specifically, participants' will endorse greater acceptance of the viewpoints that men are sex-driven and have trouble being faithful, dating is a game or recreational sport, and women are sexual objects whose value is based on their physical appearance.
 - d. Estimated percentages indicating participants' perceptions of the level of sexual activity and sexual risk-taking behaviors among their peers will increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
- 2. There will be a greater change in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating

- norms and expectations) for participants in the experimental group than for participants in the control group.
- 3. Participants' level of conformity to male gender role norms will influence the degree of change in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) upon viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.

Chapter Two: Method

This methods chapter will be divided into three subsections. In the first subsection, the selection, obtainment, and demographic characteristics of participants will be described. The second section will discuss the instruments selected for this study. This section will include information on psychometric properties for the following scales used to measure the following constructs: the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) was used to measure male gender role conformity, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWS) was used to assess male's attitudes about the roles and behaviors of women and men, the Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ) was modified to measure objectification of others (women), the Attitudes about Dating and Relationships (ADR) scale was used to measure attitudes about sexual roles and sexual relationships, the Dating Norms and Expectations (DNE) scale was used to assess participants' expectations about the level of sexual activity among their peers, and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC-SDS) was used to assess participants' responses for the degree to which they respond in culturally sanctioned ways. The third and final section will discuss procedures used to collect the data.

Participants

Participants were 101 graduate and undergraduate, male students at a large,
Midwestern University. Ages ranged from 18 to 30 (M=20.57, SD=2.32). The majority of
participants (87%) identified themselves as White. The remaining ethnic/racial
identifications of the participants were: 7% African American, 3% Asian
American/Pacific Islander, 1% Latino/a, 1% Native American, 1% Other, and 0% Noncitizen of the U.S. As for relational status, 70% of participants identified as single, 21%

as partnered/cohabitated, 6% as Other, 2% as married, and 1% as Separated/Divorced. Pertaining to educational level, 89% of participants reported having 'some college' education, 8% of participants stated that they had a Bachelor's degree, 2% reported having a high school degree, and 1% reported having a Master's or Specialist degree. In response to a question about sexual orientation, 96% of participants identified themselves as Straight, 3% as Bisexual, and 1% as Gay. Respondents were predominantly Christian (77%), with 8% non-religious, 5% as agnostic, 4% as atheistic, 4% identifying as Jewish, and 2% as other. Finally, 28% of participants were affiliated with a Greek Organization (i.e., a fraternity).

Instruments

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik, Locke, Ludolow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Frietas, 2003). The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) is a 94-item measure of masculine gender role conformity as learned through social norms (Mahalik, 2000). Specifically, the CMNI determines one's conformity to normative ways of feeling, acting, and thinking as reflected by 11 masculinity subscales: Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Power over Women, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status. For the purposes of this study, only the subscale scores of Playboy (CMNI-PB) and Power over Women (CMNI-POW) were utilized. In order to avoid overwhelming participants with the length of this scale in its entirety, a panel of experts conceptually discussed which subscales to use and decided upon these two subscales. Sample items from each subscale include "If I could, I would frequently change sex partners" from the Playboy Subscale, and "In general, I control the women in

my life" from the Power over Women Subscale. The CMNI was constructed using a 4-point scale (0 = strongly disagree and 3 = strongly agree) with higher scores indicating more conformity to masculine norms. Mahalik et al. (2003) demonstrated good internal consistency estimates on the CMNI, with coefficient alpha at .94 for total score and subscale alphas at .88 for the CMNI-PB and .87 for the CMNI-POW. Likewise, these researchers reported that the CMNI scores had high test-retest reliability estimates (.95 for total CMNI score with subscales at .91 for the CMNI-PB and .74 for the CMNI-POW) over a 2-3 week period (Mahalik et al., 2003). For the current study, coefficient alpha was .85 for the CMNI-PB, .81 for the CMNI-POW, and .83 for both subscales combined. A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix B.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWS; Galambos, Petersen, Richards, & Gitelson, 1985). The Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents is a 12-item measure which assesses participants' attitudes about the roles and appropriate behaviors of women and men. Respondents rate their level of agreement with the twelve statements through the use of a 4-point Likert-type scale, and responses are coded from 1 to 4, with higher values indicating a less traditional attitude toward gender and lower scores indicating a more traditional attitude. Sample items which may be either endorsed or rejected include "Swearing is worse for a girl than for a boy," and "Boys are better leaders than girls." Scores on the scale are calculated through summing across the 12 items, with possible scores ranging from 12 to 48. The authors of the AWS report alpha levels of .78 and .72 for males and females respectively in grades 6 through 12, and Ward and Rivadeneyra (1999) reported coefficient alphas of .80 and .79 for undergraduate males and females, respectively (Ward & Rivadeneyra, 1999). Test-retest reliability was

established twice with a one-year interval between measurements; for 6th grade boys correlations were .73 at 7th grade and .57 at 8th grade while 6th grade girls correlations were .54 at 7th grade and .62 at 8th grade (Galambos et al., 1985). For this study, coefficient alpha was .78. To establish convergent validity, the AWSA was compared with the Bem Sex Role Inventory Subscales of Masculinity, Femininity and Androgyny. Results revealed that among girls, masculinity was related to egalitarian attitudes toward women (.27), and that among boys, femininity was correlated at two separate times with attitudes toward women (.26 and .33). Finally, androgyny correlated with less traditional attitudes toward women for both boys and girls (.20 - .33) (Galambos et al., 1985). A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix C.

Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ; Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). The Self-Objectification Questionnaire is a measure of individual differences in self-objectification, which is the degree to which individuals view their bodies in observable, appearance-based (objectified) terms or non-observable, competence-based (non-objectified) terms. More specifically, the original SOQ asks respondents to rank a list of 10 attributes in ascending order of how important each is to them, with 10 being most important and 1 being least important. The attributes ranked include five attributes pertaining to physical attractiveness (i.e., weight, sex appeal, physical attractiveness, firm/sculpted muscles, measurements), and five based on physical competence (i.e., strength, physical coordination, energy level, health, physical fitness). Objectification scores are calculated by subtracting the sum of the ranked competence items from the sum of the appearance items (Fredrickson et al, 1998).

The SOQ has been administered as both a trait and a state measure, both of which are consistent with objectification theory (Grabe, Routledge, Cook, Andersen, & Arndt, 2005). For the purposes of this study, this measure was modified to assess objectification of others rather than self-objectification. Specifically, instead of ranking the importance of one's own attributes, participants were asked to rank the attributes of others, specifically women. Similar modifications of this scale have been used in previous research (Grabe et al., 2005; Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Roberts, Goldenberg, Power, & Pyszczynski, 2002).

Another modification of this scale, for the purposes of this study, was the addition of five additional items for participants to rank. Specifically, these items were added to assess the degree to which individuals view others through non-observable, personality-based terms. The five new attributes added for this study were the personal characteristics of honesty, sense of humor, kindness, compassion, and generosity. These newly added personal characteristics were chosen based on being the most commonly named by a panel of experts who were asked to state the five personality traits of a partner that are most important to them. A "Personality" score was derived by subtracting the sum of the ranked personality items from the sum of the appearance items. Thus, both the more traditional objectification score based on the competence items (SOQ-C) and the newly developed personality score (SOQ-P), unique to this research, could range from -50 to 50 with higher scores reflecting more objectification (appearance attributes).

Noll (1996) reported that the Self-Objectification Questionnaire evidenced satisfactory construct validity, as demonstrated by correlations with instruments assessing preoccupation with appearance, (r = .46 - .52). No test-retest reliability has been reported

for the SOQ, although the authors indicate that this is sorely needed (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). In this research, coefficient alpha was .67 for the SOQ-C and .80 for the SOQ-P. A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix D.

Attitudes About Dating and Relationships (ADR; Ward & Rivadeneyra, 1999). The Attitudes about Dating and Relationships scale was developed to measure participants' attitudes about dating, sexual roles, and romantic relationships. The 38-item measure has been found in preliminary research to have three factors/subscales: Men are Sex-Driven (ADR-MSD) (e.g., "Men are always willing and ready for sex; they think about it all the time.", alpha = .71), Dating is a Game (ADR-DG) (e.g., "Dating is basically a game, a battle of the sexes, where both males and females try to gain the upper hand and manipulate each other.", alpha = .59), and Women are Sexual Objects (ADR-WSO) (e.g., "Being with an attractive woman gives a man prestige.", alpha = .76)¹. Participants are asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement to each item on a 6-point, Likert-type scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Mean scores are calculated for total score (ADR-Tot) and/or for each subscale (ADR-MSD, ADR-DG, and ADR-WSO) with higher scores representing greater acceptance of the viewpoints that men are sex-driven, dating is a game, and women are sexual objects (Kim & Ward, 2004). For the current study, coefficient alpha was .83 for the ADR-Tot, .75 for the ADR-MSD, .57 for the ADR-DG, and .74 for the ADR-WSO. A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix E.

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¹ These subscales were given shorter names and abbreviations for the purpose of ease of reporting in this research. The author of the ADR called these subscales, "Men are sex-driven and have trouble being faithful", "Dating is a game or recreational sport", and "Women are sexual objects whose value is based on their physical appearance".

Dating Norms and Expectations (DNE; Ward & Rivadeneyra, 1999). The Dating Norms and Expectations scale assesses participants' expectations about the level of sexual activity among their peers. Respondents are asked to estimate the number of males and females (separately) who have engaged in a list of 12 risk-related or recreational sexual behaviors (e.g., "have had sex on a hook-up or with a girl they just met," "have received oral sex"). The behaviors included in the list were chosen from general literature on sexual risks (e.g., Metzler, Noell, & Biglan, 1992; Ward & Rivadeneyra, 1999). For each behavior, participants are asked to circle a number from 0 to 100 (i.e., 0, 10, 20, 30, etc.) which reflects their sense of the percentage of males and the percentage of females who have engaged in that behavior by the age of 19. Therefore, scores can be viewed per each item individually ("have had sexual intercourse at least once" reflects participants' estimates of the percentage of males and of females who have had sex by age 19), or as a total score reflecting the sum of the estimates for both sexes (across all 24 behaviors) providing an overall expected level of peers' risk-related sexual behaviors. For the current study, only the total score was utilized. Coefficient alpha for this measure in the current study was .91. A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix F.

Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994). The Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS) is an eight-item measure which was designed to assess attitudes about male roles and was derived from the Masculine Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). The MRAS uses a 7-point Likert scale, and participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement with each of the eight items. Sample items include, "I admire a man who is totally sure of himself", and "It bothers me when a guy acts like a girl." Total scores on the MRAS can range from 8 to 56, with

higher scores indicating greater endorsement of traditional attitudes about male roles. Two factors have been identified through factor analyses: Status and Toughness, and Antifemininity. Status and Toughness can be described as the expectation that men achieve status and others' respect in addition to being mentally, emotionally, and physically tough and self-reliant, while Antifemininity is thought of as the belief that men should avoid stereotypically feminine activities and occupations (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). The MRAS was designed to measure the relatively broad construct of attitudes about male gender roles, and it was found to have coefficient alpha of .56 among a large sample of single, never married males ages 15-19 (Pleck et al., 1994). Coefficient alpha for the current study was .68. A copy of this scale can be found in Appendix G.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale-Short Version (MC-SDS; Reynolds, 1982). The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC-SDS) was developed to assess a particular type of bias in responding: social desirability (Crown & Marlowe, 1964). This scale has been a widely recognized and cited measure of psychological defensiveness (Barger, 2002; Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Pierce, Sarason, & Sarason, 1992; Snyder, Harris, Anderson, Holleran, Irving, Sigmon, et al., 1991; Tangney, Hill-Barlow, Wagner, Marschall, Borenstein, Sanftner, et al., 1996). The original 33-item measure with a true-false, forced-choice response format has since been developed into several short versions (Loo & Thorpe, 2000). Reynolds (1982) developed a short version (Form C) with 13 items; this version was utilized in the current study due to its superior factor structure. The MC-SDS includes two factors labeled attribution and denial, with 8 denial items and five attribution items in the 13-item, true-false, forced-choice response format (Millham, 1974; Ramanaiah & Martin, 1980; Ramanaiah, Schill, & Leung, 1977). For the

attribution items, when a selection of "true" is indicated, the respondent is awarded one point, indicating a stronger tendency to respond in a socially desirable way than someone who responded "false". Attribution items include statements such as "I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake." The denial items are awarded a point when a "false" response is given. The denial items contain socially disapproved but common behaviors such as "There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone." Scores can thus range from 0 -13 for this form of the MC-SDS, with higher scores indicating more socially desirable responding.

Reliability and validity of the MC-SDS have been examined by various psychometric researchers on a variety of populations including adolescents and college students of both genders (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Davis & Cowles, 1989).

Convergent and discriminant validity for the MC-SDS were evaluated by comparing correlations among the MC-SDS, Edward's Social Desirability scale, and various Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI; Hathaway & McKinley, 1943) scales. The MC-SDS was found to be correlated more strongly with the MMPI validity scales than with the clinical MMPI scales (Barger, 2002). Further, internal consistency reliability estimates were found for a total sample and for both genders on Form C to range from .53 to .67 by Loo and Thorpe (2000), and Barger (2002) showed internal consistency reliabilities ranging between .62 and .89 for this form of the MC-SDS. For the current study, coefficient alpha was .65. A copy of this instrument can be found in Appendix H.

Demographic Questionnaire. The author constructed demographic questionnaire consisted of 13 questions regarding participants' ethnicity, religion, age, socioeconomic

status, sexual orientation, relationship status, Greek affiliation, and whether and with what frequency participants subscribe to or read *Maxim*, *FHM*, or *Stuff* magazine in addition to any other magazines. A copy of the demographic questionnaire can be found in Appendix I.

Procedure

Prior to recruiting participants, the researcher submitted an application to the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Once approved, a random sample of participants was obtained through classroom solicitation in several large introductory classes in the departments of journalism, psychology, engineering, and education.

The sample size was decided based on several factors. First, studies which examined similar phenomena utilized samples which were of similar or smaller sizes. In addition, preliminary power analyses were conducted to determine whether there was sufficient power when the current sample size was reached. Further, the specified demographic criteria were chosen due to the target market for these types of media publications which tends to be 18 to 26-year-old males.

In addition, the magazines chosen to represent the experimental and control conditions were chosen purposefully by the researcher. Of the three magazines in the lad magazine genre, *Maxim* is the oldest and most successful with a readership of over 12 million, of which 76% are male according to *Maxim*'s data (Maxim Online, 2003).

Maxim magazine was therefore chosen over the other lad magazines due to its established presence in U.S. culture (Taylor, 2005). Therefore, participants randomly assigned to the experimental group were given *Maxim* magazine. The participants randomly assigned to the control condition were given a past edition of *National Geographic Adventure*

magazine. National Geographic Adventure was one of four magazines pilot-tested by the researcher with males ages 18-30 years. Specifically, National Geographic Adventure, ESPN the Magazine, Filter, and Newsweek were given to 12 men between the ages of 18 and 30, who were asked to look through and rank the magazines based on which would be most interesting for them to read. These magazines, in particular, were selected by the researcher due to an absence of objectifying female images. The magazine which was ranked the highest most consistently was National Geographic Adventure. Thus, National Geographic Adventure was chosen as the control magazine due to an absence of objectifying female images and content which was found to be most interesting for males in that age range.

As noted earlier, participants were recruited in several large lectures in the departments of journalism, psychology, engineering, and education. Specifically, participants were recruited near the beginning of class time and asked to sign-up for the study which would take place at a later date. The classroom recruitment script provided a brief description of the study, information on the length of time the study would take, and information regarding incentives for participation (See Appendix J). In two of the classrooms, participants were offered extra credit for their participation. Additional incentives offered to participants included pizza upon completion of the study, a free issue of *Maxim* magazine, and entry into a raffle for one of 10 \$25 gift certificates to the University Bookstore.

Participants who signed up in the classrooms were asked to return to a campus computer lab to complete the study at a pre-designated time. Of approximately 1100 solicited, 140 signed up to participate in the study; of the 140 who signed up, 101 showed

up to participate in the study. They were sent reminder emails the day before (See Appendix K), and if they did not show up for the study, they were sent a final email offering another chance to participate (See Appendix L). Upon reporting to the lab, participants were assigned a computer, logged on to the website where the study was found, and asked to begin the online survey. Upon loading the website, participants initially read the informed consent including information about how to contact the researcher and decided whether or not to continue participating in the study (See Appendix M). Participants were informed that although internet transmission of data is not secure and thus, complete confidentiality of data could not be ensured, no names would be collected and confidentiality would thus be guaranteed once data had been received by the researcher. Participants agreed to the confidentiality statement by choosing the option to continue with the survey. Participants initially completed the instruments in the following order: Attitudes about Dating and Relationships scale, Self-Objectification Questionnaire, Dating Norms and Expectations Scale, Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents, Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, Male Role Attitudes Scale, Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, and the demographic questionnaire. Directions on how to complete each of the measures preceded each of the inventories.

After completing these instruments, participants reached the web page in the survey which read, "Please raise your hand to be issued a magazine." They were given an issue of either *Maxim* magazine or *National Geographic Adventure* magazine. All magazines were covered so that the front cover was not visible and were randomly assigned to participants. Participants assigned to the experimental condition received the

July 2006 edition of *Maxim* magazine. The participants randomly assigned to the control condition were given the October 2006 edition of *National Geographic Adventure* magazine. Participants were asked to view their magazine as they might in their leisure time for 15 minutes. The researcher timed participants and asked them to return to the web survey after 15 minutes.

After viewing the magazines, participants were asked to complete the following online questionnaires for a second time: Attitudes about Dating and Relationships scale, Self-Objectification Questionnaire, Dating Norms and Expectations, and Attitudes

Toward Women Scale for Adolescents scale online. In addition, a manipulation check asked participants to name three things that they read or viewed in the magazine and to rate their interest in the magazine on a scale of 1 to 7 (See Appendix N). Finally, after all study data had been collected, participants were emailed a brief written description of the study's purpose and information on how to contact the experimenter with questions (See Appendix O). The entire experiment took participants an average of 45-60 minutes to complete.

Chapter Three: Results

This chapter will describe and summarize the statistical analyses used to evaluate the research questions proposed in the previous chapters. First, the exploratory and preliminary analyses are reported. Following this, the results for the study hypotheses are presented. Specifically, repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Repeated Measures Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVAs) are reported to examine the three research hypotheses.

Preliminary Analyses

Several exploratory and preliminary analyses were conducted to check the validity of the data. Specific analyses pertained to an error detection item, results of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, manipulation check items, an item pertaining to interest level in magazines, and items assessing previous magazine reading and involvement. Each of these will be discussed below.

Ninety percent of participants answered the following error detection item correctly: "Please choose 'strongly agree' for this item". However, the remaining 10% answered with the opposite item anchor, most likely then due to possible confusion resulting in responses of "strongly disagree" rather than "strongly agree". Thus, the researcher decided to retain these respondents.

Scores on the MC-SDS were examined to identify outlier data sets due to socially desirable responding. If a participants' total MC-SDS score was two standard deviations beyond the group mean this indicated an invalid response set. One participant's data was found to be invalid using this method, and thus, this respondent was dropped.

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Answers on the manipulation check asking participants to list three topics that they recalled from reading the magazine tended to be remarkably similar according to treatment group, and all answers were found in the magazines. Specifically, participants who viewed *Maxim* magazine all remembered viewing at least one of the following: a Casino Royale advertisement, poker tips, an article on Jessica Simpson, alcohol advertisements, and/or mostly nude models. Participants who viewed *National Geographic Adventure Magazine* remembered viewing articles about at least one of the following: lions in Africa, fatigue, an island getaway, edible plants, and/or a road trip. Interest in the magazines ranged from 1 (least interested) to 7 (most interested), with those having read *Maxim* magazine reporting a mean interest of 4.92, SD=1.611, and those having read *National Geographic Adventure* reporting a mean interest level of 4.35, SD=1.866. Thus, experimental and control groups do not differ significantly on participants' level of interest in the magazine viewed, t(97)= -1.689, p>.09.

In checking items assessing previous magazine involvement, it was found that the number of respondents in the control group and experimental group who responded that they regularly read *Maxim, FHM*, or *Stuff* did not differ significantly, t(98)= -.169, p>.86. In particular, 42.9% of control group members answered that they regularly read these magazines as opposed to 41.2% of experimental group members. Likewise, no significant differences were found between the control and experimental groups in the amount of time respondents who read these magazines regularly spend reading them per week, t(40)=1.45, p>.15. For control group members, 38.8% reported that they spend less than two hours a week reading these magazines and 4.1% reported that they spend 2-4 hours a week reading them. For the experimental group, 41.2% of members reported spending

less than 2 hours a week reading these magazines. In terms of percentages of participants who reported subscribing to either *Maxim*, *FHM*, or *Stuff*, 2% of the members of the control group reported that they subscribed to one of these titles, while 5.9% of the experimental group reported subscribing to one of these magazines. These numbers, however, did not represent significant differences between the experimental and control groups, t(96)=.933, p>.35.

In addition to the above described preliminary data analyses concerned with the validity of the data, preliminary analyses were conducted to examine the means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables, and these are presented in Table 1. No variables needed to be combined or eliminated on the bases of correlations in the range (.90 or above) in which they would cause statistical problems in subsequent multivariate analyses (Tabachnik and Fidell, 2007). Some correlations were high enough (.70 or above) to present possible logical problems in interpretation, and thus, as recommended by Tabachnik and Fidell, consideration was given to the appropriateness of combining or eliminating variables. Because those variables highly correlated were the total score and subscale scores of the Attitudes About Dating and Relationships scale, which are traditionally considered independently, no variables were combined or eliminated. Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether differences existed between the experimental and control group members on demographic variables, covariates, and dependent variables prior to viewing the magazines (i.e., pre-intervention scores). There were no differences between these groups with regard to: age, t(96) = -.487, p>.62; race, t(98)=-.411, p>.68; relational status, t(98)=.202, p>.840; educational level, t(98)=.043, p>.966; income level, t(98) = -.441, p>.66; sexual orientation, t(98) = 1.044, p>.29; or

affiliation with Greek organizations, t(98)= .318, p>.75. Also, pre-intervention scores did not differ significantly between the experimental and the control groups on the dependent variables and covariates: Attitudes About Dating and Relationships Scale Total Score (ADR – Tot), t(87)= -.781, p>.43; Attitudes About Dating and Relationships Scale, Men are Sex-Driven Subscale (ADR –MSD), t(97)= -1.35, p>.18; Attitudes About Dating and Relationships Scale, Dating is a Game Subscale (ADR – DG), t(96)=-1.54, p>.12; Attitudes About Dating and Relationships Scale, Women are Sexual Objects Subscale (ADR - WSO), t(94)= -.69, p>.49; Self-Objectification Questionnaire, Competence Subscale (SOQ -C), t(85)= .421, p>.67; Self-Objectification Questionnaire, Personality Subscale (SOQ - P), t(91)= .669, p>.50; Dating Norms and Expectations (DNE), t(95)=2.014, p>.05; Attitudes toward Women for Adolescents Scale (AWS) t(95)= 1.836, p>.07; Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS), t(96)= -1.534, p>.12; Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory Power over Women Subscale (CMNI – POW), t(96)=-.517, p>.60: Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory Playboy Subscale (CMNI -PB), t(95)= -.652, p>.52. In examining correlations between study variables at Time 1 and covariates, the CMNI-POW correlated significantly with all other study variables except for the DNE, p > .08 and the ADR-DG, p > .05. The CMNI-PB did not correlate significantly with any of the study variables except for the SOQ-P, p < .05, the ADR-MSD, p < .01, the ADR-DG, p < .01, and the ADR-WSO, p < .05. The MRAS correlated significantly with all other study variables. For this reason, the MRAS, the CMNI-PB, and the CMNI-POW were examined as covariates for those variables with which they correlated. A power analysis indicated that the power for the time X condition analysis was .40 to

detect a moderate effect size which was judged to be adequate (McGrath & Meyer, 2006).

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance

To analyze the research questions regarding the effect on the dependent variables of viewing *Maxim* magazine and whether those viewing *Maxim* were affected more than those viewing *National Geographic Adventure*, repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted with one condition (type of media/magazine) at two levels (experimental and control) on each of the eight dependent variables (ADR-Tot, ADR-MSD, ADR-DG, ADR-WSO, SOQ-C, SOQ-P, DNE, and AWS). A Bonferroni correction resulted in the overall alpha level being set at .00625. No significant results were found through the ANOVAs, and thus, the hypotheses regarding the effect on the dependent variables of viewing *Maxim* magazine and whether those viewing *Maxim* were affected more than those viewing *National Geographic Adventure* were not supported (See Table 2). *Repeated Measures Analysis of Covariance*

To examine the research questions concerning the effect on the dependent variables (ADR-Tot, ADR-MSD, ADR-DG, ADR-WSO, SOQ-C, SOQ-P, DNE, and AWS) of viewing *Maxim* magazine, whether those viewing *Maxim* were affected more than those viewing *National Geographic Adventure*, and whether this effect was predicted by conformity to traditional male gender norms (CMNI-POW, CMNI-PB, and MRAS), eight repeated-measures analysis of covariance (ANCOVAs) were conducted, with ADR-Tot, ADR-MSD, ADR-DG, ADR-WSO, SOQ-C, SOQ-P, DNE, and AWS as dependent variables, condition (experimental versus control) and time (pre-viewing versus post-viewing) as the blocking variables, and the MRAS, CMNI-POW, and CMNI-PO

PB as covariates². Again a Bonferroni correction adjusted the overall alpha level to .00625.

In interpreting the ANCOVAs, none of the overall treatment effects of time X condition were statistically significant. Thus, the research questions concerning the effect on the dependent variables (ADR-Tot, ADR-MSD, ADR-DG, ADR-WSO, SOQ-C, SOQ-P, DNE, and AWS) of viewing *Maxim* magazine and whether those viewing *Maxim* were affected more than those viewing *National Geographic Adventure* were not supported through either the ANOVAs or the ANCOVAs.

To assess whether conformity to male gender role norms predicted degree of change in the dependent variables, the strength of the effects of the MRAS, the CMNI-POW, and the CMNI-PB as covariates in the ANCOVAs were examined. The influence of the covariates were examined in two ways: 1) by determining if any significant interaction effects from the ANOVA drop out in the ANCOVA (i.e., thus interactions are due to the covariates) and 2) by examining the significance levels of the covariates in the ANCOVA.

One of the time X covariates, the MRAS, was significant on one subscale, the ADR-MSD, F (1, 86)= 10.45, p<.004, the partial eta squared of .11 indicating a small effect size (See Table 2). Thus, attitudes about male gender role norms did have an effect on the results of the manipulation of one subscale of the ADR, as men who had higher scores on the MRAS, indicating more traditional male gender role attitudes, scored higher (more conservative attitudes about dating and relationships, specifically that men are sexdriven) on the ADR-MSD after viewing *Maxim* magazine. However, considering the

² The MRAS, CMNI-POW, and CMNI-PB were utilized independently as covariates only with the variables with which they were found to be correlated.

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effect of the manipulation was not significant, this finding is not meaningful as this simply indicates that traditional male gender role attitudes were a small source of variance in the measurement of changes in attitudes about men being sex-driven. In other words, the covariate MRAS (traditional male gender role attitudes) adjusted attitude scores regarding men being sex-driven on the ADR-MSD after the covariate was adjusted for other covariates, main effects, and interaction.

Chapter Four: Discussion

This chapter begins by discussing the results presented in Chapter 4. First, the findings of this research are discussed along with possible explanations of the findings and their convergence or divergence from previous research and theory. Following this is a discussion of the limitations of this research, including methodological implications and considerations. Next, implications for future research and practice are discussed, followed by a summary and conclusion.

Summary of Study Results

The results of this study indicated that none of the research hypotheses were wholly supported. In other words, there were no changes in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) for those participants in the experimental condition. Specifically, attitudes towards women did not become more negative after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images, objectification of women did not increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images, attitudes about dating and relationships did not become more traditionally male focused after viewing the Maxim magazine content and images (i.e., participants' did not endorse greater acceptance of the viewpoints that men are sex-driven and have trouble being faithful, dating is a game or recreational sport, and women are sexual objects whose value is based on their physical appearance), and estimated percentages indicating participants' perceptions of the level of sexual activity and sexual risk-taking behaviors among their peers did not increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images. Further, changes in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of

women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) were similar for participants in the experimental and control group. And finally, participants' level of conformity to male gender role norms did not influence the scores on the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women, objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) upon viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images except for the Male Role Norms Attitudes Scale accounting for a small portion of the variance regarding beliefs about men being sex-driven, one subscale of the Attitudes about Dating and Relationships Scale.

Several possibilities may explain these largely null results. First, it is possible that viewing *Maxim* magazine simply does not have an effect on these variables, specifically objectification of women, attitudes towards women, attitudes toward dating and relationships, and expectations about dating and relationships. Contrarily, it is possible that viewing the content and images of *Maxim* magazine does have an effect, yet no effects were found through this research due to the research design and the limitations of this particular study. These distinct possibilities will each be presented separately along with several more detailed explanations for both, accompanied by supporting theory and research. First, however, a word about the finding that traditional male gender role norms predicted the belief that men are sex-driven.

It is entirely unsurprising that this covariate, male gender role norms, was found to account for some of the variance regarding the belief that men are sex-driven. Male gender role norms entail a belief regarding male sexuality as central and more important for men than for women (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). Accordingly, because the belief that men are sex-driven is contained within traditional male gender role norms, it

makes sense that male gender role norms predicted this belief. Nonetheless, all of the other study hypotheses were unsupported, and as stated above, this chapter will focus on possible explanations for these findings.

Explanation One: Viewing Maxim Has No Effect

As noted above, the fact that the findings of this research were insignificant can be explained in two general ways: 1) there actually was no effect, or 2) there was an effect but the methodology of this study was inadequate to reveal it. This section deals with the first explanation in more detail. Specifically, this section will discuss four theories of why viewing *Maxim* may indeed have no effect: social comparison theory and image susceptibility, desensitization of young men, degradation versus sexual explicitness regarding images viewed, and men's prior socialization.

Social Comparison Theory and Image Susceptibility. The original conceptualization for this study was at least partially based on research findings that women are negatively affected by media images of attractive women. Research had consistently found that women's body image, self-image, mood, and overall well-being are decreased by viewing media picturing women who meet the sociocultural standards for attractiveness including the thin ideal body type (Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2000; Heinburg & Thompson, 1995; Irving, 1990; Stice & Shaw, 1994). Nevertheless, the question of how men are affected by media images has been largely unexplored. Indeed, little prior research has examined how men are affected by viewing the ever-present images of sexualized and attractive women, and no prior research had examined the effects of Lad magazines.

The related, and limited, prior research on the effect of viewing media images of women on men's attitudes and behaviors yielded several findings. Specifically, prior research had found that long-term exposure to sexually explicit material that depicts women in degrading and subordinate (but nonviolent) ways seems to have a negative impact on viewers' attitudes (Donnerstein & Linz, 1987). Additionally, research had analyzed the impact of sexualized media images of women on men in terms of a limited set of outcome variables such as attitudes towards women's appearance, sexual attitudes and attitudes towards feminism, acceptance of rape myths, gender-role stereotyping, interpersonal violence, and adversarial sexual beliefs (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Jansma, Linz, Mulac, & Imrich, 1997; Kenrick, Gutierres, and Goldberg, 1998; Lanis & Covell, 1995; MacKay & Covell, 1997; Malamuth & Briere, 1986; Strasburger, 1989). These studies found relationships between sexually objectifying images of women and men's attitudes towards feminism, women's appearance, sexual attitudes, and gender-role attitudes. However, again, no studies had explored the impact of sexualized images of women such as those in *Maxim* magazine on men's objectification of women and attitudes towards women. This was the focus of this study, and based on both results of studies of women viewing female images, the previous research examining how men are affected by viewing images of sexualized and attractive women, and a critical view of sexist attitudes in our culture, it was hypothesized that the images in Maxim magazine would have a deleterious effect on men's views of women, dating and relationships. However, again, no such effect was found.

One possible explanation is social comparison. Jones (2001) posits that while images of female attractiveness present an important source of social comparison and

self-evaluation for girls and women, they are not personally relevant for boys and men (Major, Testa, & Bylsma, 1991). In other words, when men view images of women, there may not be an immediate effect on men's perceptions. Some researchers have suggested that observers tend to be most attracted to media models who are most similar to themselves, and similarity is thought to amplify persuasion through impacting source credibility and attractiveness (Bersheid, 1985; McGuire, 1985). Therefore, maybe men are not affected by viewing images of attractive women because women are simply very different from men. Using social comparison theory and conceptualizing this area of research as a two by two matrix of type of image (male, female) by type of viewer (male, female), we would expect that women would be affected by images of women and men would be affected by images of men, whereas the reverse would not be true: women would not be influenced by images of men and men would not be influenced by images of women. Again, prior research strongly supports the notion that women are affected by viewing images of women. This research supports the notion that men are not affected by viewing images of women. Prior research has neglected to examine the effect of images of men on women, and this would be an interesting test of social comparison theory. Finally, one previous study has examined the effect of female images on males and the findings were in support of what social comparison theory would predict: When Hargreaves and Tiggeman (2003) exposed boys to thin-ideal images of female attractiveness, boys own body satisfaction was not affected.

Perhaps then social comparison theory only in part accounts for the findings of this study. Perhaps the findings can be accounted for by a combination of social comparison theory and men's versus women's susceptibility to images. In other words, perhaps women are more affected by viewing media images than are men. Ward's (2003) review of the literature supports this notion, as Ward concluded the effects of sexual media content were stronger and more consistent among female viewers than among male viewers. Indeed, in a study of teenage boys and girls, Wooley and Wooley (1984) found that girls are more influenced by, and therefore more vulnerable to, cultural mandates of attractiveness. This can be further explained through cultural norms for appearance and the cultural preoccupation with traditional female beauty (Johnston, 1997). Women often use appearance as a standard by which they judge both themselves and other women (Littrell & Eicher, 1973). Thus, women may be impacted by viewing media picturing other attractive women because they use such images as a basis for salient and important self- and other-judgments. Men, on the other hand, base their self-judgment on a number of attributes, with attractiveness being potentially a less salient variable for such self-evaluation.

In summary, this study found no effect on men's attitudes when viewing images of women. This can potentially be explained by both social comparison theory (i.e., images of women are not salient for men) and by the tentative notion that men may not be susceptible to media images, either of women or themselves.

Desensitization of Young Men. Another possible explanation for the lack of effects caused by Maxim may be that young men in college are so highly desensitized to sexualized images of attractive women that they are unlikely to be affected by something as mundane as Maxim magazine. Maxim has been described as including "salacious content and bawdy humor" (Carr, 2003), yet its content can be distinguished from pornography because it does not picture women nude. However, with continuous access

to the internet, an increasingly global society, and increasingly sexualized and/or violent images in the media, hard core pornography has become very accessible. Therefore, it may be that the young men who participated in this study did not react strongly to a media publication which is somewhat less shocking in nature than the hard core pornography to which they are likely exposed.

While the participants in this study were asked to record the amount of time they spend reading magazines in the Lad magazine genre (*Maxim*, *FHM*, and *Stuff*), they were not questioned about the amount of pornography they consume or the amount of media they consume, in general. Thus, it is possible that these men's perceptions and attitudes toward women had already been impacted by the media these young men are consuming regularly, and thus, viewing *Maxim* magazine had little additional effect on their perceptions. It must be mentioned that the lack of control over the media that participants' consumed prior to completing this study makes experimental control a confounding factor when conducting this type of media research. Future research should examine pornography consumption as a potential moderating variable (i.e., are men who regularly view pornography less effected by *Maxim* images than men who do not?)

Sexual Explicitness versus Degradation. As noted above, it is possible that Maxim magazine did not have an impact because the men in this study were already desensitized to sexualized images of women through other media, including hard core pornography. A related explanation concerns the content of such pornography as compared to the content of Maxim. More specifically, a possible explanation for the null results of this study pertains to sexually explicit versus sexually degrading images.

As referenced in an earlier chapter, the distinction must be made between sexually violent media images and nonviolent pornography. Maxim magazine does not consider itself to be pornographic in nature, but it does portray women in very sexually suggestive attire and postures. Thus, despite Maxim's self-definition, one could argue that its' images are akin to those found in nonviolent pornography, and thus viewers should react similarly, as well. Whereas violent images in pornography have been found to promote aggressive behavior, change rape related attitudes, and influence other anti-social behaviors, findings regarding the effects of nonviolent pornography are inconsistent (Donnerstein & Linz, 1987). That is, while some research has not uncovered any harmful effect of nonviolent pornography, other studies have found nonviolent pornography to have an effect on attitudes and behaviors, both violent and nonviolent, that may cause negative reactions toward women (Dworkin, 1985; MacKinnon, 1986). However, even when examining nonviolent pornography, most research fails to separate sexual explicitness from degradation and to separately assess the effects of each (Donnerstein & Linz, 1987). In response to this need, one study found no effects of sexually explicit and degrading media nor sexually explicit and non-degrading media on men's evaluations of their female partners' intellectual competence, sexual interest, sexual attractiveness, and sexual permissiveness (Jansma, Linz, Mulzc, and Imrich, 1997). Another study, however, did note that degradation of women alone had similar effects on aggressive attitudes toward women as did the mixed effect of sexual explicitness and degradation (Donnerstein, 1984). These researchers thus concluded that degradation of women may well be the aspect of some nonviolent pornography which has an effect on attitudes toward women.

Applying these findings to *Maxim* magazine content, again, its' images can be conceptualized as akin to those found in nonviolent pornography. Thus, the results of this study are consistent with those previous findings that nonviolent pornography does not have effects on attitudes and behaviors. Likewise, since degradation of women may well be the aspect of some nonviolent pornography which has an effect on attitudes toward women, *Maxim* may not have an effect on attitudes toward women because of its lack of images of women in obviously subordinate or degrading scenes.

Prior Socialization of Men. A fourth possible explanation for why this study found no effects for viewing Maxim magazine may be the prior socialization of the participants. More specifically, the socialization of men in our culture contributes to the development of negative attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships; such socialization effects may have already taken hold by the time men reach young adulthood, and thus, these men may be less susceptible to the impact of media sources such as Maxim magazine. Even more specifically, men's socialization towards nonrelational sexuality may be well-solidified prior to young adulthood.

A theory pertaining to the development of nonrelational sexuality in men entails the way many men experience sexuality as unrelated and unconnected (Levant, 1997). This experience of sexuality as unrelated and unconnected could be a large factor in the development of negative attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships. Two explanations for the socialization of nonrelational sexuality have been presented by Levant (1997), and these are emotional socialization practices and parenting. Each will be described in turn.

First, Levant (1997) theorized that through men's emotional socialization, which is informed by traditional masculinity ideology, men are taught to develop an inability to determine their emotions (Allen & Haccoun, 1976; Balswick & Avertt, 1977; Brody & Hall, 1993; Levant & Kopecky, 1995/1996; Stapley & Haviland, 1989), to transform vulnerable emotions into anger which is expressed aggressively (Levant & Kopecky, 1995/1996; Long, 1987), and to suppress and transmit their caring/connection emotions through the channel of sexuality (Brooks, 1995; Hudson & Jacot, 1991; Levant & Kopecky, 1995/1996). This channeling of their caring and connection emotions through sexuality is directly related to the development of nonrelational sexuality. For instance, half as many men as women report that affection was their reason for having sexual intercourse for the first time (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994). Further, Zilbergeld (1992) writes about how both an absence of realistic, compassionate portrayals of sex in the media and the omnipresent, unrealistic images of sexy women contribute to teenage boys' development of unconnected lust as they learn about sex. Possibly these unrealistic, sexy images of women, similar to those found in magazines like *Maxim*, are not enough by themselves to shape men's perceptions, but instead they contribute to an environment which has already laid the foundation for the development of nonrelational sexuality. Thus, men's socialization experiences are a factor in shaping male sexuality into something detached and objectified. Again, in terms of the results of this study, one may hypothesize that due to their socialization, non-relational sexuality has already taken hold among men by young adulthood and that further modification through media sources like *Maxim* are unlikely. In other words, the media images in *Maxim* magazine

are merely part of the larger context of development of non-relational sexuality to which men have already become accustomed by the time they are young adults.

Along with general emotional socialization, a second way in which men are socialized to develop a nonrelational sexual orientation, and likely, negative attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships, is parenting (Levant, 1997). One of the ways in which researchers propose that male emotionality is affected is the way mothers tend to attempt to quiet excitable and emotional male infants more so than female infants (Haviland & Malatesta, 1981; Malatesta, Culver, Tesman, & Shephard, 1989). Additionally, it has been found that when fathers tend to become more involved with their children, which is typically after the thirteenth month of life (Lamb, 1977), they tend to treat their children in stereotypically gendered ways (Grief, Alvarez, & Ulman, 1981; Lamb, Owen, & Chase-Lansdale, 1979; Schell & Gleason, 1989; Siegal, 1987). Likewise, both mothers and fathers tend to use differential patterns of language for emotional expression depending on the gender of their child. For instance, parents of male children typically discourage the expression of emotions such as fear and sadness (vulnerable emotions), while female children are encouraged to express emotions such as warmth and affection (caring/connecting emotions) and are discouraged when it comes to the expression of anger or aggression (Brody & Hall, 1993; Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn, 1987; Fivush, 1989; Fuchs & Thelen, 1988; Greif et al., 1981). Finally, parents seem to encourage sex-segregated peer groups while children are young, resulting in patterns of play which differ along gender-stereotyped lines. To illustrate, girls' play typically includes maintaining relationships and telling each other secrets, thus fueling emotional skills such as empathy, self-awareness, and expressivity (Lever, 1976; Maccoby, 1990;

Paley, 1984). Boys' play, on the other hand, typically includes following sets of rules while being involved in more structured activities, thus action skills like teamwork, stoicism, toughness, and competition are highly valued and learned (Lever, 1976; Maccoby, 1990; Paley, 1984). These impacts on young males' development may have many effects, the most important of which for the purposes of this discussion may be the inhibition of empathic, connection-facilitating emotions which instead are channeled through sexuality (Brooks, 1995; Hudson & Jacot, 1991; Levant & Kopecky, 1995/1996), and again result in nonrelational sexuality (Levant, 1997). Again, these early influences on men's emotional development may preclude media sources like *Maxim* viewed in young adulthood from having any further impact on male's attitudes toward women, dating, and relationships.

In summary of the sections presented above, four explanations have been presented in support of *Maxim* having no effect on participants' attitudes toward women, dating, and relationships. These four explanations were social comparison theory and image susceptibility, desensitization of young men, degradation versus sexual explicitness regarding images viewed, and men's prior socialization. Nonetheless, as stated earlier, it is possible that *Maxim*'s effects were not found due to the research design of this particular study.

Explanation Two: Research Design was Inadequate to Reveal Maxim's Effects

Supposing the opposite view, that *Maxim* magazine does potentially have an effect on men's views of women, dating, and relationships, we might surmise that the research design of this study may have had an effect on the results. These issues with the research design can also be considered limitations of this research. Thus, the limitations

of this particular research which may have contributed to insignificant results include the amount of time participants' viewed the media, the face validity of the research design, the constructs which were chosen as dependent variables, the instruments chosen to measure the constructs, generalizeability, and the sample of men who participated in the research. Each of these will be discussed below.

Length and Content of Media Exposure. Possibly, had participants' been given a longer length of time to view the magazines or been directed to view only sexually explicit advertisements or images, effects may have been found. Priming theory explains the impact of short-term media exposure through the activation of cognitive schema (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994; Ward, 2003). According to this theory, the short length of exposure to the magazines for this study, fifteen minutes, should potentially lead to effects, yet no effects were found in this research. This time limit was strictly adhered to by the researcher and thus, by participants in this study. However, participants were allowed to view whichever aspects of the magazine they chose to, yet participants remembered very similar aspects of the publication when asked to recall three things that they viewed. Perhaps exposing men to the entire issue of *Maxim* magazine through this study diluted the effects that may have occurred had they simply viewed sexually explicit advertisements or images of women. While it may have made viewing less amenable to a real-life situation, providing only the images of attractive women from the advertisements and content of *Maxim* magazine while leaving out the magazine articles may have led to the detection of an effect. Another possibility may well be that both the time-frame was too short and the exposure too little. In other words, if participants' had read the magazine in its entirety daily for a month, changes may have occurred. Past media

research has found effects through very short exposure, yet a shorter length of exposure time may mean a few minutes of one type of media, and thirty minutes of another. Previous research exposing men to media has included exposure to videos, television content, television commercials, music videos, and magazine advertisements only (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997; Hargreaves & Tiggeman, 2003; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988; MacKay & Covell, 1997; Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005; Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker, 2005). This is the first research to utilize a short-term exposure to an entire magazine. Future research may attempt to replicate this study by increasing participants' exposure to *Maxim* magazine or simply presenting participants with sexually explicit advertisements and images from *Maxim* to test whether effects are then apparent.

Face Validity. The face validity of the research design may also have issued some problems with finding effects of Maxim magazine. Several of the research participants asked questions upon returning to the questionnaires following the intervention stating that they had already finished these questionnaires. Little time had passed since they had just completed the same questionnaires, and many of the participants were aware that they were being asked to complete the questionnaires for a second time. Perhaps the participants were able to remember their initial answers to the questionnaires and responded in a similar fashion the second time around. Although a social desirability questionnaire was included in the study, perhaps this was not an issue of social desirability but of something else. For example, because participants knew they had read the questions the first time around, perhaps they skimmed the questions and answered similarly instead of thoroughly reading through the inventories the second time. Had they

thoroughly read the questions, perhaps they would have given different answers, more reflective of the effects of *Maxim* viewing.

Constructs Measured. Another possibility is that Maxim has an effect on constructs other than those which were chosen by the researcher to represent the dependent variables. To expand upon this idea, possibly *Maxim* does have an effect on certain aspects of men's views and perceptions, even on some views relating to or pertaining to women, yet the particular constructs which were measured through this study (i.e., attitudes toward women, attitudes toward dating and relationships, objectification of women, and dating norms and sexual expectations) were not affected by viewing the magazine. For example, possibly *Maxim* may have an impact on men's beliefs about their own sexuality or gender role conformity. Additionally, *Maxim* appears to conform to traditional male gender role constraints for men such as power, dominance, toughness, and anti-femininity, and thus, testing its effects on these domains may be interesting. Likewise, measuring the impact of *Maxim* magazine on rape myth acceptance and attitudes about violence toward women may be an appropriate task for future research, especially in regards to further examination of the issue of sexual explicitness versus degradation of women and the separate effects of each. Further research is also needed to test whether Maxim has an effect on how men believe women should look and what men expect regarding women's appearance. Thus, it is readily apparent that examination of the impact of *Maxim* magazine on other aspects of men's attitudes, beliefs, and expectations is sorely needed.

Instrumentation. Similarly, it is possible that the instruments chosen to measure the constructs which were chosen as dependent variables were not valid indicators of

these constructs. In searching for an instrument which measures objectification of women from a male perspective, very limited options were available. Thus, the instrument that was chosen to measure this construct was amended from a scale which originally measured self-objectification to measure objectification of another. Further, both the Attitudes Toward Dating and Relationships scale and the Dating Norms and Expectations scale have been used only in limited applications; these two scales lack test-retest reliability. Should an expanded repertoire of instruments become available, this research could be repeated using different instruments to measure the impact of the media on these constructs.

Sampling Issues. Another potential problem could be the sample that was utilized for the purposes of this research. Namely, the participants were college students, who may already be educated about and aware of the impact of such media publications. Possibly, the students' who were sampled had previous knowledge and sophistication regarding their ability to be influenced by the types of messages being conveyed through viewing Maxim magazine. Similarly, the generalizeability of the sample is limited due to the fact that the participants were college students at a large, Midwestern University, likely of higher socioeconomic status, more highly educated, and less diverse than a non-college sample. Future research may attend to this issue by testing men within the target demographic group for Maxim magazine (18-26- year-old men) outside of a University or college setting and in different geographic locations.

Generalizeability and Control. Common to most research, generalizeability is typically an issue, and this study is no exception. The researcher went to great lengths to provide as natural a condition as possible in conducting this research through having

participants look through an issue of *Maxim* magazine in its entirety, asking participants to read through as though they would in their leisure time, and not assigning certain content for participants to view. However, simply through conducting a research study in a computer lab where participants were asked to complete inventories online prior to and after reading through the magazine, the life-like quality of this research was compromised. Additionally, pizza was provided for participants, many of whom chose to eat while they read through their magazine. While this may lend viewing to be more similar to an actual life situation, it may also have caused attention to be divided between the two tasks of eating and viewing the magazine, which could have interfered with the findings. These issues should be taken into account for variations on this study conducted in the future.

Implications for Future Research

Despite the null findings, this research has many implications for research and practice, both of which will be discussed. In reference to the implications of this study on future research, several modifications to the existing study are possible, some of which have been mentioned throughout the previous section which focused on the possible impact of the research design on the study results.

Future research should attempt to replicate this study with attention to several aspects of the research design. For instance, future research could utilize different instruments to measure the constructs chosen as dependent variables. Likewise, there is an urgent need for researchers to design valid and reliable instruments to measure men's objectification of women, and men's perceptions about how women should appear.

Research may also test the same intervention with changes to the time allotted for

magazine viewing, testing effects after a longer time has been given for participants to view the magazine and with fewer distractions. Another methodological variation would be to test the effects of the intervention right after viewing and then after longer intervals of time, such as after a week and after two weeks. Future research also needs to attend to sampling issues and seek a more diverse sample, especially seeking diversity with respect to socioeconomic status, age, and education level. For example, might high school-aged males be less secure in their beliefs and attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships, and thus, be more susceptible to media like *Maxim* magazine? In an effort to make the study more generalizeable, future research may attempt to find a more reallife environment for men to view the magazines in. For example, this research could be done through mailing the magazines to men at their home addresses, asking them to log onto a website, view the magazine, and complete the online inventories in the comfort of their own homes. However, this would compromise control over the research. To improve upon control but concede some generalizeability, this research could again be conducted in a lab setting with the researcher assigning only certain articles and advertisements from the magazine or only providing participants with specific images from the magazine. Likewise, this research calls into question previous magazine research conducted with women, as most prior magazine research has utilized concentrated images of specific advertisements or content; thus, researchers should reexamine the effects of women's magazines using the entire magazine as in this study. Still another modification to this research may be the replication of this study using a different issue of *Maxim* magazine or another magazine from the Lad magazine genre. As noted earlier in this chapter, research should examine the effect of images of men on

women to test social comparison theory. Future research should also examine pornography consumption as a potential moderating variable of the effects of Lad magazines. Also, more research is needed to help separate the effects of sexual explicitness from degradation in sexually explicit media. Obviously, more research is needed regarding the overall question of this research, and that is, what does have an impact on the development of men's negative attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships and men's objectification of women? A greater understanding of the impact of socialization practices, parenting practices, and other types of media on men's development of nonrelational sexuality is also sorely needed.

Implications for Practice

There are also several implications for practice that stem from a consideration of this research. Although this study was the first of its kind, the results of this research at least tentatively indicate that practitioners need not be overly concerned regarding men's consumption of magazines like *Maxim*. However, the researcher urges practitioners not to make premature conclusions based on this one study. Additionally, the researcher strongly suggests that counselors dealing with men with negative attitudes toward women, dating, and relationships have discussions with these clients about what may be influencing these attitudes. Counselors should specifically assess their male clients' perceptions of the impact of Lad magazines on their views regarding women. Despite the findings of this one study which found no effects of one issue of one Lad magazine, helping men to recognize how media may reinforce negative attitudes towards women, dating, and relationships cannot be underestimated, particularly because such attitudes are

likely to cause interpersonal difficulties for men in their romantic relationships. Helping clients to recognize what may impact their difficulties in relationships is critical.

Conclusion

In summary, this study found that viewing *Maxim* magazine had no effect on men's attitudes towards women, objectification of women, dating norms and expectations, and attitudes about dating and relationships and that men's conformity to traditional gender role norms did not influence the degree of change in these variables. Although results were insignificant, this does not render this area of research unimportant. The fact that no effects were found through viewing Maxim magazine may indicate that other factors contribute more to negative attitudes toward women, dating, and relationships in men, or it may signify that certain aspects of this research design resulted in insignificant findings. Nonetheless, it is of the utmost importance that we continue to strive to understand the impact of the media, including the impact of newer sources of information like Lad magazines, which have become an insidious force in men's lives. Still, in closing, the null results of this research lead the researcher to agree with the views of Donnerstein and Linz (1987): "Where do these attitudes come from? We would be reluctant to place the blame on the media. If anything, the media act to reinforce already existing attitudes and values.... They do contribute, but are only part of the problem." (p. 212). Sexist attitudes toward women may already be in place, and media sources such as *Maxim* magazine may simply serve to reinforce them.

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Appendix A: Literature Review

The mass media has become a prominent influence in the lives of most individuals in the United States (Thompson & Heinburg, 1999). Mass media has been defined as "modes of communication that generate messages designed for very large, heterogeneous, and anonymous audiences with the goal of maximizing profit" (Harris, 1994; Levine & Smolak, 1998; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). Indeed, the most available and likely source of information in society today is the mass media. Estimates of advertisements encountered by a single individual every day are somewhere in the range of 3,000 advertisements per day (Cash & Prudinsky, 2002).

This widespread viewing has become problematic because within current mass media messages, the distinction between reality and a fictionalized ideal are often unclear (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). Because the images that individuals are constantly exposed to through the mass media are perceived as realistic, they seem to play a role in defining and shaping cultural standards (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). Thus, the media appears to both reflect and shape ideas prominent in American culture.

Possibly because the images shown in the media are perceived as realistic, the media has been implicated as having an impact on viewers' ideas, thoughts, and feelings (e.g., Stice & Shaw, 1994). Cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994) is the notion that over time, ongoing exposure to a particular set of values, types of people, and themes can strongly influence viewers' conceptions of social reality. Thus, application of this theory to media messages translates to the eventual internalization of mass media images, to media messages leading to an altered view of the real world, and to the idea that media images are both realistic and mainstream. Cultivation theory

distinguishes between heavy and light viewers of media and the difference this makes in endorsement and acceptance of media perspectives (Gerbner et al., 1994; Ward, 2003). In other words, more media viewing leads to further internalization and endorsement of repeated media messages. While Cultivation theory has been criticized for it's lack of attention to different viewer choices and interpretations and the related assumption of uniform media content (Harris, 1994; Perse, 1986; Potter, 1986; Ward, 2003), it is still widely cited as a model in this area of research (Ward, 2003).

Priming theory is another theoretical perspective which is used to support research in this area (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994; Ward, 2003). This theory is particularly applicable in the context of short-term media exposure. Priming theory draws from cognitive theories which posit that cognitive processing of a certain stimulus "primes" or activates schema, bringing them to mind. Following this priming effect, the schema which are activated are highly accessible for a short time. This, in turn, affects an individual's subsequent appraisal of conceptually related material encountered following media exposure. Through chronic accessibility of certain schema, long-term effects of the media are a possibility (Ward, 2003). As such, the media one views might later affect judgments because the schema that were activated through media viewing remain readily accessible (Bargh, 1984; Higgins & King, 1981).

Magazines, in particular, have been found to be one of the most influential and immediate forms of media. Current research is undisputed in the finding that adolescents and young adults use magazines to obtain information and prefer magazines to other sources of information (Bielay & Herold, 1995; Treise & Gotthoffer, 2002). Moreover, magazines are believed to be one of the most accessible forms of media when it comes to

finding information about sexuality (Garner, Sterk, & Adams, 1998; Ward, 2003). In a review of the literature regarding sexual content in magazines, teen girl's and women's magazines are heavily focused upon and contain a consistent concentration on the presentation of oneself as sexually desirable with the goal of gaining the attention of men (Carpenter, 1998; Duffy & Gotcher, 1996; Duran & Prusank, 1997; Durham, 1996, 1998; Garner et al., 1998; Krassas, Blauwkamp, & Wesselink, 2001; McMahon, 1990; Prusank, Duran, & DeLillo, 1993; Smith & Matre, 1975; Taylor, 2005; Ward, 2003). Although media research on television use has been the focus of empirical study over the past few decades, researchers are beginning to take notice of magazine use and related effects. In fact, Kim and Ward (2004) assert that, "magazines may be the next large venue for researchers to test for potential media effects" (p. 57). While women's magazines have been the focus of most research to date (Ward, 2003), a relatively new body of research has been devoted to exploring the content of magazines targeted at young men.

Specifically, the genre of magazines known as "Lad Magazines" have become a research focus for scholars interested on the effects of media on young men. Lad magazines are a relatively new and popular genre of lifestyle magazines targeted at eighteen to twenty-six year old men. These magazines are known for their overtly sexual content and vulgar humor (Carr, 2003). In particular, the magazines depict women in virtually pornographic poses and styles despite the fact that the women are not completely nude. The entire genre of magazines, which hailed from the United Kingdom, originally included only three American titles, *Maxim, Stuff,* and *FHM: For Him Magazine*; currently only *Maxim* and *Stuff* remain on the shelves. These magazine titles were recently banned from Wal-mart's shelves as the covers which picture scantily

clad women were inciting customer complaints (Carr & Hays, 2003). However, the popularity of these magazines has been undeniable as *Maxim* boasts a readership of over 12 million in the United States alone and has become the fastest growing and most successful men's magazine in the country (Maxim Online, 2003; Maxim Online, 2006; Taylor, 2005). In effect, these magazines seem to be both popular with their intended audiences and to have garnered the attention of those interested in the psychological effects of the media.

One study has explored the content of these types of magazines, finding that the overall message of the articles about sex within the magazines reflects a very narrow male sexuality oriented toward sexual variety, which is thought to be consistent with predominant gender stereotypes about sex (Taylor, 2005). Further, these magazines were suggested to portray the message that women's sexual experiences serve as a pathway to fulfilling men's sexual needs (Taylor, 2005). Lad magazines, therefore, include explicit information regarding how men should behave sexually and possibly misleading information regarding women's sexual preferences. The same author conducted a correlational study which found a relationship between reading Lad magazines and endorsement of permissive sexual attitudes independent of actual sexual behavior, expectations of greater sexual variety, and a more aggressive sexual self-schema (Taylor, 2006). Thus, while the content of Lad Magazines has been explored and correlational data has been presented, no studies had been conducted regarding the psychological effects of this magazine content on young men. Ward (2003) states, "Study is needed concerning the sexual content and impact ... of other media such as men's magazines...".

Therefore, the focus of the current study was to assess some of the psychological effects of this particular form of media, Lad magazines.

In the following review of the literature, research related to the content of women's and men's magazines will be reviewed including the content of both editorial copy and advertisements. Following the exploration of magazine content, the effects of women's magazines on women's well-being, women's body image, and objectification of women will be covered. Next, a review of the pornography research will be discussed. Fourth, an exploration of some theories regarding men's sexuality and sexual development will ensue. Finally, several studies which examine the psychological effects of the media on men will be examined thoroughly.

Magazine Content

Researchers within the field of media psychology have generally been interested in both content of media and the psychological effects of media. While the psychological effects are of interest for the current study, it is critical to first explore what magazines contain before delving into the effects of the content. In the following section, the content of women's magazines, the content of men's magazines, and the content of advertisements especially pertaining to sociocultural standards for appearance and the objectification of women will be discussed.

Sexual messages and images in magazines are found to be both abundant and graphic in mainstream magazines. Magazines are found to be more explicit and direct regarding sexuality than television as they often contain content relating to frank discussions of sexual techniques, suggestions on how to improve sexual relationships, and exposure to nude and provocatively posed models (Ward, 2003). This focus on

sexual relationships and sexual content can be further separated into several recurrent themes.

As mentioned earlier, research regarding the content of magazines has focused heavily on magazines targeted at women and teenage girls (Ward, 2003). In a review of the literature regarding sexual content in these magazines, Ward (2003) uncovers several recurring themes. The first theme was related to the need for women to become sexual objects to attract men (Ward, 2003). A second theme included the idea that the bulk of the work in relationships was to be undertaken by women (Duran & Prusank, 1997; Garner et al., 1998; Prusank et al., 1993). Third, the differences in the sexual nature of men and women was emphasized (Carpenter, 1998; Duran & Prusank, 1997; Durham, 1996, 1998). Fourth, female sexuality was pictured in conflicting and contradictory ways both encouraging sexual attractiveness and not encouraging sexual activity (Durham, 1996, 1998; Garner et al., 1998). Fifth, certain aspects of women's sexuality seem to be missing from magazine content such as women's sexual desires, homosexuality, and masturbation (Duffy & Gotcher, 1996; Durham, 1998; Garner et al., 1998). Ward (2003) indicates that overall, women's magazines construct a portrayal of traditional sexual roles and emphasize women's pleasuring of men through beauty enhancement and sexual availability (Garner et al., 1998). Women's magazines seem to portray the idea that the role of women in the sexual lives of men is centrally important.

Conversely, the content of men's magazines is a relatively new area of research within the study of media effects. One study of the magazines *Cosmopolitan*, *Self*, *GQ*, and *Playboy* demonstrated that the contents treat women as sex objects through objectifying images (Krasses, Blauwkamp, & Wesselink, 2001) and written content

regarding relationships (Duran & Prusank, 1997). However, these magazines are intended to appeal to adult audiences, male and female. To date, only three studies have examined the contents of magazines targeted at male audiences, specifically the study of the sexual content in American Lad Magazines (Johnson, 2007; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink, 2003; Taylor, 2005). The findings of Taylor's (2005) study indicated that the majority of articles about sex had as the main topic what women like (41%), followed by unorthodox sexual behaviors or positions (20%), and improving one's sex life (19%) (Taylor, 2005). Secondary topics within articles were also analyzed, and the researcher found that the most common secondary topic was improving one's sex life (52%). Further, articles that were principally focused on what women want were also likely to contain the secondary topic of improving one's sex life. The findings seem to elicit the notion that most important is improving one's sex life, and possibly, what women want is only important if it improves one's own sex life. In addition, all of the articles in this study sample included a photograph, and most pictured a woman described as beginning to disrobe or discreetly nude (Taylor, 2005). Therefore, the images accompanying the articles were of women either undressing or inconspicuously nude. The second study of this kind examined the sexual rhetoric in editorial photographs within issues of *Maxim* and Stuff magazines (Krassas et al, 2003). The results of a content analysis revealed that these two magazines construct sexuality in restricted ways using images to provide readers with messages about sexuality and sexual practices by portraying women more often than men as sexual objects, thereby reinforcing objectification of women (Krassas et al, 2003). Further, both magazines were found to assume heterosexuality of readers (Krassas et al., 2003). A third study conducted by Johnson (2007) analyzed the content

of cover lines and cover images on *Maxim* magazine, revealing that cover lines advocate easy and wonderful sex without intimacy while cover images set up an impossible standard for female beauty. However, these three studies are the first of their kind to explore the content of men's magazines, and no studies as of yet have taken this further by examining the psychological effects of the content on men.

Not surprisingly, the advertisements contained within magazines tend to be consistent with magazine content. In effect, the articles in magazines are meant to sell the products advertised, and the products are marketed to a target audience who likely reads the media (Kilbourne, 1999; Krassas et al., 2003). As author and speaker Jean Kilbourne (1999) states, "Although we like to think of advertising as unimportant, it is in fact the most important aspect of the mass media. It *is* the point." Kilbourne goes on to state that 60% of magazine production is supported by advertising. In fact, even the editorial content of magazines tends to be basically selling the goods advertised throughout. Lines between advertisements and content are further blurred by such things as "advertorials", which refers to an advertisement that is disguised as editorial copy (Kilbourne, 1999). Certainly, the advertisements and the editorial copy tend to be conveying the same cultural values and messages.

Relatively few studies have examined the sexual content within magazine advertising, but those which have been conducted mostly pertain to levels of nudity and sexual explicitness of content and images. For example, women's magazines have been found to picture female models either suggestively clad, partially clad, or nude in 38% of single-sex advertisements, while this held true for men in only 20% of the single-sex ads (Soley & Reid, 1988). In men's magazines, the differences between ads picturing women

only versus those picturing men only was larger, with 78% of women and 17% of men shown suggestively clad, partially clad, or nude. Further, advertising has become more sexually explicit over time portraying more nudity (Pope, Olivardia, Borowiecki, & Cohane, 2001; Reichert et al., 1999; Solely & Kurzbard, 1986; Soley & Reid, 1988), and ads picturing both women and men have become more intimate in the posturing of the models (Reichert et al., 1999). These studies suggest a trend towards women being shown more often as nude than men and today's advertisements portraying more overt sexuality than those in past years.

Both the magazines and the advertisements typically reflect cultural standards such as those for appearance. Due to this, the advertisements in magazines often depict women in very specific ways. For instance, over the last few decades, the ideal, "attractive" body size has become much smaller than the weight of the average woman (Garner, Garfinkel, Schwartz, & Thompson, 1980; Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, & Agrens, 1992). In addition, the trend is for ads to picture very thin women, who depict very successful and beautiful characters (Striegel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1986; Thompson, 1990). Further, the societal standards for attractiveness are almost always unachievable, a central tenet of the sociocultural model (Fallon, 1990). Therefore, there is an increasing discrepancy between images shown of women and what women actually look like or should be like.

In addition to advertising creating and reflecting a sociocultural standard for appearance, the advertisements and media seem to reflect a cultural standard for women's sexuality and sexual behavior. Advertisements consistently portray women in very sexually objectified and demeaning ways. Jean Kilbourne asserts that the goal of these

sexualized images is power over another, whether male dominance or female exploitative sexuality (Kilbourne, 1999). Further, advertising continually represents sexual acts as dehumanizing and objectifying, often pornographic by most standards (Kilbourne, 1999). It seems that these advertisements help to establish certain cultural values and attitudes towards women as objects of men's desire.

One of the most important findings regarding content of magazine images has been the previous research reflecting advertising's sexual objectification of women. For example, women are often portrayed in the visual media with the emphasis on either their bodies or on one particular body part rather than on their heads or faces like men are (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). In addition, magazines often display women as dismembered parts of bodies (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). These media images tend to communicate the societal standards for attractiveness, to objectify women, and to also imply how this influences social and economic success. In sum, the media seems to have a role in furthering the objectification of most women.

While women have routinely been objectified through advertisements and media images, the depiction of men in ads has increasingly pictured men in objectifying ways (Thompson, 2000). Men are typically portrayed as dominant while females are portrayed as nurturant within print media (Busby, 1975; Durkin, 1985a; Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997; Leppard, Ogletree, & Wallen, 1993; Lovdal, 1989; Pearson, Turner, & Todd-Mancillas, 1991; Rudman & Verdi, 1993; Signorielli & Lears, 1992). As one researcher posits, advertising currently promotes a "masculine ideal" which includes men emanating power, dominance, physical strength, and detachment and which denies and represses

men's feminine traits (Jacobson and Mazur, 1995). Thus, Garst and Bodenhausen (1997) suggest that the stereotypic images of men in advertising are ever present.

While these objectifying depictions of men are cause for concern, the context within which these ads are received is different from that for women. When men are depicted as objects, they are not exposed to a culture in which they are routinely judged and valued for their physical appearance (Bordo, 1999; Kilbourne, 1999; Murnen, Smolak, Mills, & Good, 2003). Thus, the consequences for this type of objectification which is shown in advertisements is vastly different because the social realities for men are not the same as for women. When women are objectified, however, there is risk, as women are constantly objectified and deal with consequences ranging from economic discrimination to violence (Kilbourne, 1999). Possibly because of these risks, much attention has been devoted to the investigation of the psychological effects of media images and media content on women.

Psychological Effects of Magazines on Women

Effects of media images have been studied in several regards. Research has covered several aspects of the effects of media images on women's well-being, women's body image, women's sexual attitudes, and the objectification of women. The bulk of this research has studied effects of television viewing, although some studies examine other types of media exposure (Ward, 2003). In addition, theories which help to explain these findings are discussed.

Previous research overwhelmingly supports the notion that media context and advertisements have a profound effect on women's well-being. Research has explored both women's well-being and mediating factors which explain why certain women may

be more profoundly affected by advertising. One study reported that exposure to pictures of thin models resulted in decreased self-esteem and decreased weight satisfaction for women (Irving, 1990). Additionally, Stice and Shaw (1994) reported that exposure to images of ultra-thin models produced depression, stress, guilt, and shame among women. Heinburg and Thompson (1995) demonstrated that Caucasian women's internalization and acceptance of a thin ideal body type moderated the effects of exposure to the media. Further, a meta-analyses conducted by Groesz, Levine, and Murnen (2000) which utilized 25 studies to explore the main effect of mass media images portraying the thin body ideal on female body image found the most significant result to be that mass media promulgate a slender ideal which elicits body dissatisfaction. Some researchers have surmised about the cumulative effects of viewing these images, reporting that with significant findings of short-term effects, we can only imagine what long-term effects of media viewing may be (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994).

The sociocultural feminist perspective is one theory which explains the relationship between media images and cultural ideas. By studying the meanings that a given culture constructs rather than assuming that the meaning is objectively determined, social construction theorists can better understand the influence of culture on how women are valued in a society. Within the framework of this theory is the belief that the feminine body has been constructed as an object to be viewed (Spitzack, 1990). The idea that women are objects for the male gaze has been found to be portrayed consistently through media images (Levant & Brooks, 1997). Brown and Jasper (1993) argued that women's social value is closely related to their body size and shape and has been throughout history. Furthermore, the feminine gender role seems to hold appearance as a

centrally important theme which may even affect how a woman is valued and treated in this culture (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Striegel-Moore et al., 1986). In comparison, cultural standards for men's attractiveness seem to be much less harsh than those for women (Franzoi, Kessenich & Sugrue, 1989; Rodin et al., 1985). In addition, women themselves often use appearance as a standard by which they judge other women (Littrell & Eicher, 1973). Thus, the overall focus of the media on women's appearance contributes to a cultural context which continually objectifies women. Attention to the damaging effects of cultural messages of stringent appearance standards is important as this seems to be the context that both men and women are exposed to through mass media such as magazines and magazine advertisements. Whether the cultural messages that the media projects have an effect on women's sexual attitudes has been another area of research focus.

Studies regarding media effects on women's sexual attitudes are overwhelmingly based on exposure to television media (Ward, 2003). The studies which have examined effects on sexual attitudes have mostly examined participants' agreement with statements regarding sexual relationships following media exposure (Ward, 2030). Several such studies have found that more exposure to sexually oriented media such as music videos or soap operas is associated with more liberal and more stereotypical sexual attitudes (Strouse & Buerkel-Rothfuss, 1987; Strouse et al., 1995; Walsh-Childers & Brown, 1993; Ward, 2002), dysfunctional views of relationships (Haferkamp, 1999), greater acceptance of sexual harassment (Strouse et al., 1994), and conflicted views about marriage (Signorielli, 1991). As an example, girls exposed to sexist but nonviolent rap videos were found to be more accepting of teen dating violence immediately following exposure

while those who did not view these videos showed no change in attitudes towards teen dating violence (Johnson et al., 1995). In addition, Ward (2002) discovered that when exposed to primetime TV images of men as sex-driven, women as sexual objects, and dating as a game, women strongly endorsed these stereotypes. Thus, there appears to be an effect of television viewing of stereotyped images of men and women on women's subsequent change in sexual attitudes or attitudes towards relationships. While these studies utilized television as the media source, the relationship between magazine reading and sexual attitudes has also been explored.

One such study examined the effects of magazine use and sexual attitudes of female college students. In this study, magazines aimed at both an adult audience and those which are indicated for a teen audience were utilized, and measures included level of magazine reading, femininity ideology, attitudes about sex and relationships, and reading motivations. The researchers found that frequent adult-focused women's magazine reading was correlated with weaker support of sexual stereotypes about men, less equating of sex with risk, and self-censorship while teen-focused magazine reading was associated with greater endorsement of male sexual stereotypes (Kim & Ward, 2004). Also, those who reportedly read magazines for sex and relationship advice were found to endorse male sexual stereotypes and a sexually assertive female role (Kim & Ward, 2004). Importantly, the authors concluded that levels of exposure to magazines may have a role in shaping women's sexual attitudes and femininity ideologies. Thus, a relationship between women's magazine consumption and sexual attitudes has been empirically supported, although the effects of men's magazines on men's sexual attitudes remain largely unstudied. Similarly, the psychological effects of pornography, a medium closely related to the popular genre of magazines targeting young men referred to as Lad magazines, has also been focused upon.

Research on the Psychological Effects of Pornography

While research on the effects of mainstream images in men's magazines is lacking, researchers have distinguished between and explored the effects of sexualized images (nonaggressive pornography), violent sexualized mass media images, and aggressive pornography on male and female audiences, although the major focus of this line of research has been on violent media images. The following section succinctly reviews some research conducted using violent mass media images and non-violent sexualized media images.

Findings regarding the effects of violent, sexualized mass media images on both male and female participants have provided evidence of a negative impact on viewers. The images shown in these studies are not, however, considered to be aggressive pornography. Aggressive pornography, for the purposes of this review, refers to X-rated images of sexual coercion where force is either implied or used against a woman to obtain sexual acts (Donnerstein & Linz, 1987). In one study conducted by Malamuth and Check (1981a), male and female students were shown clips of films containing scenes of women as victims of aggression within erotic contexts; following viewing, the participants were given a sexual attitudes survey several days later which showed that males but not females increased in acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape myth acceptance. This was especially noteworthy as the films were not X-rated materials but more "prime-time" materials, and results were still notable. Two similar studies followed (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1985; Malamuth & Check, 1983) with similar findings that

the images of sexual violence against women did not need to be pornographic in nature to incite increased acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape myths. Further, in an intensified version of these studies, men were shown sexually violent films for 10 hours a day, five days in a row, filling out mood questionnaires and ratings after each movie, and a week later, they watched a reenactment of an actual rape trial; findings indicated that over time, participants became desensitized to violence against women, rated the violent scenes against women as less degrading, more humorous, and more enjoyable, and rated the rape victim as more worthless, more to blame, and as having less severe injuries than a control group who only viewed the rape trial (Linz, Donnerstein, and Penrod, 1984). While these findings related to media images of sexual violence are consistent, contradictory results regarding the effects of nonaggressive pornography are apparent.

While some researchers found that those predisposed to aggression and exposed to nonaggressive pornography showed increased aggressive behavior (Baron & Bell, 1977; Donnerstein, Donnerstein, & Evans, 1975; Malamuth, Feshbach, & Jaffe, 1977; Meyer, 1972; Zillmann, 1971, 1979), others found that exposure to nonaggressive pornography reduced subsequent aggressive behavior (Baron, 1977; Baron & Bell, 1973; Donnerstein et al., 1975; Frodi, 1977; Zillmann & Sapolsky, 1977). However, research distinguishes between low levels of arousal which may distract from aggression, and those participants who may find pornography displeasing which may increase their subsequent aggression (Baron, 1977; Donnerstein, 1983; Zillmann, 1979). Further, long-term exposure to sexually explicit material that depicts women in scenes of degradation and subordination (but not violence) may have a negative impact on other aspects of viewers' attitudes, but more research has been called for to further explore these findings

(Donnerstein & Linz, 1987). In sum, violent sexual mass media images appear to incite negative consequences even as nonaggressive pornography is linked with mixed findings on subsequent levels of aggression. However, due to the objectifying nature of nonaggressive pornography towards women, other harmful consequences besides aggression are possible.

In examining the connection between nonaggressive pornography and related rape myth acceptance, belief in women as sexual objects, endorsement of force in sexual relationships, conservative sex roles, and rape myth acceptance, findings are again contradictory. While Zillman and Bryant (1982, 1984) suggested that viewing nonaggressive pornography may cause participants to become less supportive of statements of sexual equality and less punitive towards a rapist, resulting in viewing women as sex objects or as sexually promiscuous, Linz et al. (1988) did not find the same results through a similar study. In effect, Linz et al. (1988) did not find an effect when men viewed pornographic films or R-rated sexually nonexplicit films on their beliefs and attitudes about women. These studies utilized only film media but found conflicting evidence of whether films may affect attitudes about women. It seems that further research is sorely needed on these effects and on different types of media exposure.

Men's Sexual Development

In an effort to understand the effects of media images on men's attitudes towards women and sexual objectification of women, a discussion of men's sexual development is appropriate. Specifically, a phase in men's sexual development known as nonrelational sexual orientation and a related theory referred to as The Centerfold Syndrome are

helpful in aiding conceptualization of how sexually explicit media images of women may affect men.

Researchers note that men's sexual development typically includes different phases including the phase known as nonrelational sexual orientation. Nonrelational sexual orientation or nonrelational sexuality can be thought of as the tendency to experience sex as lust while disregarding the need for relational intimacy or emotional attachment (Levant & Brooks, 1997). Thus, the targets of a man's sexual desire become objectified and are pursued to fulfill his own needs. While nonrelational sex has been found to be normative for men in our society, it is not necessarily thought to be essential or unchangeable by those who take a social constructionist perspective (Levant & Brooks, 1997). Nonrelational sexual orientation is thought to take place along a continuum with consensual casual sex with a nonrelational sex-oriented partner on one end, casual sex with an intimate sexual relations-oriented partner in the middle, and forced sex or rape at the far end of the continuum (Levant & Brooks, 1997). Additionally, men are thought to vary in the extent to which they prescribe to a nonrelational sexuality ranging from mild forms to severe forms. While mild forms of nonrelational sexual orientation may be characterized by enjoying unconnected lust at times, in more severe forms, nonrelational sexuality may include such behaviors as repetitive infidelity, compulsive womanizing, and Don Juanism; compulsive involvement with pornography, phone/computer/Compact-disc sex, strip shows, "gentlemen's clubs", and prostitution; or sexual paraphilias, addictions, compulsions, and rituals (Levant & Brooks, 1997).

This nonrelational sexual orientation taken in context of a media environment which presents women's bodies as objects for others' viewing pleasure is illuminating. While occasionally showing women as objects of sexual desire may not be inherently problematic, when women are always depicted in this light, objectification is normalized and men's views of women's humanity is severely limited (Ward & Harrison, 2005). Consequently, men's likely objectification of women during this phase is fostered through confrontation with media images which consistently further this view and neglect to provide an alternate view of women.

Similarly, a theory which helps to explain men's sexuality through the study of socially constructed gender roles is collectively known as The Centerfold Syndrome (Brooks, 1995). The Centerfold Syndrome is described as a pervasive distortion in the way men are taught to think about women and sexuality resulting from the social construction of male sexuality and the ways men relate with women and intimacy from early on (Brooks, 1995). This theory is thought to consist of five key elements: voyeurism, objectification, masculinity validation, trophyism, and fear of true intimacy (Brooks, 1995). The element of objectification relates that as men are called upon to be observers, women are the observed and thus, become objects as men become objectifiers (Brooks, 1995). Further, Brooks describes how the powerful (men) watch the less powerful (typically women), and the powerless (again typically women) can only watch covertly. Taken in combination with the impact of the media which constantly portrays women in objectifying ways, this leads one to conclude that the media may in fact perpetuate this Centerfold syndrome and/or nonrelational sexuality. While many men may experience this phase or remain in this phase, it seems that certain men, specifically

those typifying a nonrelational sexual orientation may be more likely to respond to media messages which further this type of nonrelational sexuality.

In the context of the media images that men consistently view, the impact of sexualized media images of women on men may be subsequently detrimental to women. Further, men in a non-relational phase of sexual orientation may be especially likely to respond to the media messages which further this objectification. Additionally, younger men who view the magazines in which objectified, degrading images and content regarding women are prevalent, such as in Lad Magazines, seem to be especially likely to be affected by these messages.

Psychological Effects of Media on Men

As described earlier, the media context to which many men are constantly exposed includes advertising and magazines which, by reflecting cultural trends, objectifies women. In particular, the genre of magazines previously discussed, Lad magazines, has been found to contain these types of images and content (Taylor, 2005). Objectification of women seems to be both encouraged through this media content and constructed socially through men's gender roles and expectations for men's sexuality. Although the effects of Lad magazines have not been studied, some research has explored the effects of some other men's and women's magazines, including the images and advertisements effects on men's gender role status, men's attitudes towards women's appearance, men's sexual attitudes and attitudes towards feminism, and men's acceptance of rape myths, gender-role stereotyping, interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs.

Previous research relates that certain personal variables of men may have a mediating role in establishing the effects of the media. Garst and Bodenhausen (1997) studied the effects of media images of men on men's gender role attitudes. These researchers predicted that several factors may play a role in mediating the impact of media exemplars including prior male gender role attitudes, attractiveness of male media models, and similarity of media models to research subjects. The researchers noted contradictory research in predicting whether masculine gender role conformity may moderate the impact of men viewing male media images. For instance, the authors note that more traditionally masculine men are part of a culture which reinforces the portrayal of masculine gender role behaviors and punishes men who display feminine gender role behaviors (Kanner, 1990). As such, more traditionally masculine men may have more constricted ideas of what represents the male role while less traditional men may have wider representations which are less stable and more susceptible to influences like the media (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997). Further, more highly gender-typed individuals seem to respond negatively to deviations from the norm (Ruble & Stangor, 1986), and more traditional men may have narrower and less complex male gender role attitudes which are less susceptible to the influence of media images (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997). Conversely, the reverse may be true in that less traditional men have developed some resistance to the restrictive traditional prescriptions for male behavior (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997). While these researchers give explanations for both possibilities, they found that men who adhered to less traditional gender role attitudes espoused more traditional attitudes than the others after exposure to masculine male media images (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997). Thus, masculine images seem to have more of an effect on less

traditionally masculine men. Nonetheless, research has yet to explore such conformity to masculine gender roles and how men subsequently view women.

Previous research has identified some of the psychological effects of media images which objectify women on certain aspects of men's regard for women. For instance, Lavine, Sweeney, and Wagner (1999) explored the impact of ads of women on men's body image. Although this study did not explore the effects of images of women on men's regard for women but instead upon men's self-regard, the authors' interpretation of the study results provides important information for the purposes of this research. While the advertisements did not have a direct effect on men's body image, the researchers posited that this was likely due to the fact that the impact of women's ads have more of an effect on men's expectations and evaluations of women and girls which at the time, had been largely unexamined. Further, research on pornographic material has been linked with poorer evaluations of a sexual partner (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Jansma, Linz, Mulac, & Imrich, 1997). Strasburger (1989) discovered that after viewing one episode of Charlie's Angels television show, which featured three beautiful women, male college students were harsher in evaluating potential dates than were males who did not view the episode. In another study Kenrick, Gutierres, and Goldberg (1998) found that after men looked at erotic images of women taken from a popular erotic magazine, they were less attracted to and loving to their mates. Some research has explored the impact of sexual images of women in the media on younger aged males. For instance, Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2003) explored the effects of images of the female "thin ideal" on 13-15 year old boys, finding that boys who were moderately invested in appearance as a basis for self-evaluation were most influenced by the commercials they

viewed. These studies all seem to have identified similar effects of media images on men and boy's ideas regarding how the real women in their lives should appear. However, none of the aforementioned studies have examined the effects of this type of media specifically on men's subsequent objectification of women.

In a study conducted by MacKay and Covell (1997), the impact of sexual images and progressive images of women in advertisements on men's sexual attitudes and attitudes towards feminism was explored. In this study the researchers showed male and female undergraduates sexual images and control advertisements from current magazines and then administered the Sexual Attitudes Survey subscales of Rape Myth Acceptance, Adversarial Sexual Beliefs, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence, and Sex-Role Stereotyping (Burt, 1980) in addition to the Feminism and Women's Movement scale (Fassinger, 1994). Findings suggested that viewing sexual image advertisements was related to attitudes supportive of sexual aggression and lower acceptance of feminism among the male undergraduates (MacKay & Covell, 1997).

Further, Lanis and Covell (1995) found that males shown advertisements portraying women as sex objects were more accepting of rape myths, gender-role stereotyping, interpersonal violence and more adversarial sexual beliefs. This held consistent with previous findings regarding the impact of media images of women as sex objects on gender-role attitudes (Malamuth & Briere, 1986). These studies have linked sexually objectifying images of women with attitudes towards feminism, sexual attitudes, and gender-role attitudes, yet no experimental studies have explored specifically the impact of these images on men's objectification of women and attitudes towards women. In addition, few studies have examined the effects of men's magazines, and no

experimental studies have explored the effects of the particular form of media in question, the relatively new and popular genre of magazines known as Lad magazines. Therefore, the current study will explore these links.

In a seminal study conducted by Taylor (2006), the relationships between reading Lad magazines (Maxim and FHM (For Him Magazine) and pornographic magazines (Penthouse and Playboy) and men's attitudes, beliefs, and sexual self-schema that are consistent with the content of these magazines were explored. This study utilized correlational data, asking participants to rate their frequency of reading specific magazine titles over the past year and examining the relationship between reading rates and expectations of variety in sexual relationships, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness, sexual self-view, and recent sexual behavior (Taylor, 2006). Specifically measured were the relationships between reading Lad magazines and pornographic magazines and the aforementioned variables. Additionally, this study relied upon men's recall of past exposure and did not utilize a research design which could imply causation or indicate effects of the magazines. One finding of this study indicated that reading Lad magazines was related to beliefs that greater sexual variety is commonplace while reading pornographic magazines was not. Another finding was that neither reading pornographic magazines nor reading Lad magazines was related to aggressive attitudes towards women. Finally, reading pornographic magazines was related to more permissive attitudes towards dating relationships with low levels of commitment, and reading Lad magazines was related to a more aggressive sexual self-schema (Taylor, 2006). Thus, study results suggest that reading Lad magazines is related to beliefs about greater sexual variety and more aggressive sexual self-schema. This study provides

important information regarding the relationships between reading Lad magazines and expectations of variety in sexual relationships, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness, sexual self-view, and recent sexual behavior. This research directly suggests the need for future research which experimentally examines the effects of Lad magazines.

Moreover, studies indicate an effect of pornographic material and television media on men's evaluations of women as sexual partners and as potential dates (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Jansma, Linz, Mulac, & Imrich, 1997; Strasburger, 1989), yet no studies have assessed the effects of magazines, in particular magazines targeted at young men, on men's attitudes towards dating and relationships. Likewise, the sexual content of Lad magazines has been determined (Taylor, 2005). However, the effects of this sexual content on expectations for dating norms and especially for sexual expectations regarding one's peers have not been studied.

Concurrently, while traditional masculine gender-role attitudes have been studied as an outcome after viewing sexually objectified images of women (Lanis & Covell, 1995) and for their mediating effect in viewing masculine images of men (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997), they have not been studied as a possible mediating factor in exploring the effects of sexualized media images of women on men. At the same time, the sexual content of media has been found to be very gender-specific, with both men and women receiving specific messages regarding expected sexual behavior where women are sexual objects and men are the aggressors (Ward, 1995). Therefore, the level to which men ascribe to masculine gender role norms may affect the level of acceptance and endorsement of media messages regarding their attitudes towards women and subsequent

objectification of women. Thus, the goals of this study included the following research questions and hypotheses:

- There will be changes in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) for those participants in the experimental condition.
 Specifically, it is hypothesized that
 - Attitudes towards women will become more negative after viewing the
 Maxim magazine content and images.
 - Objectification of women will increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
 - c. Attitudes about dating and relationships will become more traditionally male focused after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
 More specifically, participants' will endorse greater acceptance of the viewpoints that men are sex-driven and have trouble being faithful, dating is a game or recreational sport, and women are sexual objects whose value is based on their physical appearance.
 - d. Estimated percentages indicating participants' perceptions of the level of sexual activity and sexual risk-taking behaviors among their peers will increase after viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.
- 2. There will be a greater change in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) for participants in the experimental group than for participants in the control group.

3. Participants' level of conformity to male gender role norms will influence the degree of change in the dependent variables (i.e., attitudes towards women; objectification of women, attitudes about dating and relationships, dating norms and expectations) upon viewing the *Maxim* magazine content and images.

Appendix B: CMNI-94- Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory³

Instructions: The following pages contain a series of statements about how people might think, feel or behave. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. Thinking about *your own actions, feelings and beliefs*, please indicate how much *you* personally agree or disagree with each statement by circling \underline{SD} for "Strongly Disagree", \underline{D} for "Disagree", \underline{A} for "Agree", or \underline{SA} for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. Please respond with your first impression.

1.	SD	D	Α	SA	If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners
2.	SD	D	Α	SA	I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men
3.	SD	D	Α	SA	An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex
4.	SD	D	Α	SA	I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals
5.	SD	D	Α	SA	If I could, I would date a lot of different people
6.	SD	D	Α	SA	I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship
7.	SD	D	Α	SA	I treat women as equals
8.	SD	D	Α	SA	I only get romantically involved with one person
9.	SD	D	Α	SA	In general, I control the women in my life
10.	SD	D	Α	SA	I would feel good if I had many sexual partners
11.	SD	D	Α	SA	Men and women should respect each other as equals
12.	SD	D	Α	SA	Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters
13.	SD	D	Α	SA	Women should be subservient to men
14.	SD	D	Α	SA	Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex
15.	SD	D	Α	SA	Men should not have power over women
16.	SD	D	Α	SA	It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time
17.	SD	D	Α	SA	I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship
18.	SD	D	Α	SA	Things tend to be better when men are in charge
19.	SD	D	Α	SA	A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person
20.	SD	D	Α	SA	I love it when men are in charge of women
21.	SD	D	Α	SA	I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond

³ Playboy Subscale includes item numbers: 1, 3 (reverse coded-rc), 5, 6 (rc), 8 (rc), 10, 12 (rc), 14, 16, 17 (rc), 19, 21 (rc). Power Over Women Subscale includes item numbers: 2 (rc), 4 (rc), 7 (rc), 9, 11 (rc), 13, 15 (rc), 18, 20.

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Appendix C: AWSA- Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1 = Agree Strongly, 2 = Agree Mildly, 3 = Disagree Mildly, or 4 = Disagree Strongly

1. Swearing is worse for a girl than for a boy.	AS	AM	DM	DS
2. On a date, the boy should be expected to pay all expenses.	AS	AM	DM	DS
3. On the average, girls are as smart as boys.	AS	AM	DM	DS
4. More encouragement in a family should be given to sons than daughters to go to college.	AS	AM	DM	DS
5. It is all right for a girl to want to play rough sports like football.	AS	AM	DM	DS
6. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in making family decisions.	AS	AM	DM	DS
7. It is all right for a girl to ask a boy out on a date.	AS	AM	DM	DS
8. It is more important for boys than girls to do well in school.	AS	AM	DM	DS
9. If both husband and wife have jobs, the husband should do a share of the housework such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.	AS	AM	DM	DS
10. Boys are better leaders than girls.	AS	AM	DM	DS
11. Girls should be more concerned with becoming good wives and mothers than desiring a professional or business career.	AS	AM	DM	DS
12. Girls should have the same freedoms as boys.	AS	AM	DM	DS

Appendix D: SOQ- Self-Objectification Questionnaire-modified⁴

This section is concerned with how people think about other people's attributes. Listed below are 15 different personal attributes. For this section, please think about women's personal attributes. When you think about or look at women, which of these personal attributes do you think is most important? Please rank the attributes in order from what you think is most important in women (rank = 15) to what you think is least important in women (rank = 1).

Strength	
Sex appeal	
Generosity	
Firm/sculpted muscles	
Kindness	
Physical Coordination	
Energy level	
Compassion	
Physical attractiveness	
Sense of Humor	
Measurements	
Physical fitness	
Honesty	
Health	
Weight	

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⁴ Competence Subscale includes: Strength, Physical Coordination, Energy Level, Physical Fitness, and Health. Personality Subscale includes: Generosity, Kindness, Compassion, Sense of Humor, and Honesty. Physical Attractiveness Subscale includes: Sex Appeal, Firm/Sculpted Muscles, Physical Attractiveness, Measurements, and Weight.

Appendix E: ADR-Attitudes About Dating And Relationships⁵

There are lots of opinions about what dating is like and how relationships work. We are interested in what you think. Below are 38 statements reflecting different opinions about dating and relationships. Read each statement and decide how much you agree or disagree with it. Then for each statement, select one of the 6 response options and circle the one that best reflects your feelings. We are not interested in what society says. We just want to get a sense of your personal opinions on these issues.

try to gain the upper hand and manipulate each other.	A SA
handle them.	A SA
3 The primary goal of sayual intercourse is to have children SD D DI AI	A SA
5. The primary goal of sexual intercourse is to have clinicien.	
4. Men are mostly interested in women as potential sex partners and don't want SD D DL AL to be "just friends" with a woman.	
5. There are certain tips or strategies that men and women use and share for SD D DL AL meeting and picking up members of the other sex.	A SA
6. Sexual activity is desirable as early in a relationship as possible. SD D DL AL	A SA
7. Women should be more concerned about their appearance than men. SD D DL AL	A SA
8. Men should be the initiators in sexual relations, and should be the ones to ask SD D DL AL women out and to initiate physical contact.	A SA
9. A good way to reward or punish someone is by giving or withholding sex. SD D DL AL	A SA
10. Using her body and looks is the best way for a woman to attract a man. SD D DL AL	A SA
11. It's difficult for men to resist sexual urges and to remain monogamous. SD D DL AL	A SA
12. You don't need a relationship to have good sex; all you need are two people SD D DL AL who are attracted to each other.	A SA
13. Sex is a private matter between 2 partners and should not be discussed with SD D DL AL others.	A SA
14. It's more important to date someone you can relate to rather than someone SD D DL AL who has a great body.	A SA
15. It is natural for a man to want to admire or ogle women, and to comment on SD D DL AL their bodies, even if he has a girlfriend.	A SA
16. It is not "nice" or feminine for women to sleep with men they don't love or to SD D DL AL be too interested in sex.	A SA
17. A good way to romance/impress a woman is with fancy gifts, including SD D DL AL flowers, candy, and nice dinners.	A SA
18. In the dating game, men frequently compete with each other for women, and SD D DL AL women try to lure or "capture" men.	A SA

⁵ Men are Sex-Driven Subscale (ADR-MSD) includes item numbers: 4, 11, 15, 26, 32, 34, 36. Dating is a Game Subscale (ADR-DG) includes item numbers: 1, 6, 9, 12, 29. Women are Sexual Objects Subscale (ADR-WSO) includes item numbers: 2, 7, 10, 19, 21, 25 (reverse coded-rc), 31, 37. Items 3, 5, 8, 13 (rc), 14 (rc), 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23 (rc), 24, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, and 38 are computed into total score (ADR-Tot).

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SD=St	rongly disagree	D=Disagree	DL=Disagree a little	AL=Agree a little	A=Ag	ree	SA=	=Strong	gly A	gree
19.		spend a lot of tings "let herself go."	me trying to be pretty; i	no one wants to date a	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
20.	A new boyfrien parents before to		ermission and approval	from his date's	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
21.	There's nothing	wrong with me	n whistling at shapely v	women.	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
22.	Sex belongs onl	ly in married rela	ationships.		SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
23.	Most women lik	ke kind, consider	rate men better than tou	igh ones or "bad boys."	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
24.		at there are certain xual interest or a	in signs and gestures wattraction.	omen use as an	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
25.	It bothers me w	hen a man is into	erested in a woman only	y if she is pretty.	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
26.	Something is w	rong with a guy	who turns down a chan	ace to have sex.	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
27.	Women like to a muscular and ha		odies and are attracted r	most to men who are	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
28.			ard with men and should ke the sexual advances.		SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
29.			ful in meeting or pickin xy, or cute pick-up line		SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
30.	Having a "one-is.	night stand" is o	kay as long as both part	tners agree that's all it	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
31.	There is nothing body.	g wrong with me	en being primarily inter	ested in a woman's	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
32.	Men who are "g (i.e., "players")		lies" and who can get a	ny woman into bed	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
33.	Women are attr	acted most to a r	man with money, a grea	at job, or a "hot" car.	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
34.	Men are always	ready and willing	ng for sex; they think al	bout it all the time.	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
35.			est things to meet, attra about his true feelings.	ect, and get a woman	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
36.	It is only natura attractive.	l for a man to m	ake sexual advances to	a woman he finds	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
37.	Being with an a	ttractive woman	gives a man prestige.		SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA
38.	No matter what a man.	she says, a wom	nan isn't really happy o	r successful without	SD	D	DL	AL	A	SA

Appendix F: DNE-Dating Norms and Expectations

We are interested in what people think is typical behavior for people their age. Below is a list of behaviors often involved in dating and sexual relationships. For each behavior, we want you to estimate the PERCENTAGE of males and females in this country who have done that behavior by the time they <u>finish</u> their first year of college (about age 19).

By age 19, what percentage (0-100%) of An							_				
1. have had a sexually transmitted disease (STD)?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
2. have had sexual intercourse at least once?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
3. have gotten a girl pregnant?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
4. have had sex on a hook-up or with a girl they	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
just met?											
5. have gotten drunk and engaged in sexual	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
behavior they later regretted?											
6. have received oral sex?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
7. have intentionally used alcohol or drugs to	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
lose inhibitions about sex?											
8. have performed oral sex?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
9. have had more than 10 sexual partners overall?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
10. will usually have sex without using condoms?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
11.have had anal sex with a girl?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
12. have had a same-sex sexual experience?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
By age 19, what percentage (0-100%) of An	nei	ica	ın F	FEN	ΙA	LE	col	leg	e s	tud	ents:
13. have had a sexually transmitted disease (STD)?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
14. have had sexual intercourse at least once?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
15. have been pregnant?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
16. have had sex on a hook-up or with a boy they	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
just met?											
17.have gotten drunk and engaged in sexual	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
behavior they later regretted?											
18.have received oral sex?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
19. have intentionally used alcohol or drugs to	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
lose inhibitions about sex?											
20. have performed oral sex?	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
	0	10 10	20 20	30 30	40 40	50 50		70 70		90 90	100 100
20. have performed oral sex?											
20. have performed oral sex? 21. have had more than 10 sexual partners overall?	0	10	20 20	30 30	40	50	60 60	70 70	80 80	90 90	100

24. have had a same-sex sexual experience?

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Appendix G: MRAS-The Male Role Attitudes Scale⁶

Directions: Please read each of the following statements and decide how much you agree or disagree with them. There are no wrong or right answers. Fill in the number on the answer sheet which best describes your views about each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly	disagree	slightly	no	slightly	agree	strongly
disagree		disagree	opinion	agree		agree

- 1. It is essential for a guy to get respect from others.
- 2. A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
- 3. I admire a man who is totally sure of himself.
- 4. A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems.
- 5. A young man should be physically tough, even if he is not big.
- 6. It bothers me when a guy acts like a girl.
- 7. I don't think a husband should have to do housework.
- 8. Men are always ready for sex.

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⁶ Status and Toughness subscale includes item numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Antifemininity subscale includes item numbers: 6, 7, 8.

Appendix H: MC-SDS- Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C⁷

Directions: Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally. Please answer by using the following scale:

1=True 2=False

- 1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
- 2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
- 3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
- 4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I know they were right.
- 5. No matter who I am talking to, I am always a good listener.
- 6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
- 7. I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
- 8. I sometimes try to get even, rather then forgive and forget.
- 9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
- 10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different form my own.
- 11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
- 12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
- 13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

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⁷ Attribution items include numbers: 5, 7, 9, 10, 13. Denial items include numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12.

Appendix I: Demographic Questionnaire

Please read the following demographic items carefully and answer to the best of your knowledge. Please note that your responses will be treated anonymously.

1	Age		

2. Race/Ethnicity

- 1. African-American
- 2. Asian-American/ Pacific Islander
- 3. Latino/a
- 4. Native American
- 5. Non-citizen of the U.S.
- 6. White
- 7. Other

3. Relational Status:

- 1. Single
- 2. Married
- 3. Partnered/Cohabitated
- 4. Separated/Divorced
- 5. Other

4. Educational level:

- 1. High school
- 2. Some college
- 3. Bachelor's degree
- 4. Master's/Specialist degree
- 5. Advanced degree (i.e., Ph.D, M.D., etc.)

6. Religion:

- 1. Judaism
- 2. Christianity
- 3. Muslim
- 4. Buddhist
- 5. Hindu
- 6. Chinese Folk
- 7. Tribal religions
- 8. New Religions
- 9. Non-religious
- 10. Atheist
- 11. Agnostic
- 12. Other

7. Approximate Income level:

If self-supporting please report own income, if supported by parent(s) or guardian(s) please report that income:

	2.	\$15,000- \$25,000
		\$25,000- \$50,000
		\$50,000- \$75,000
		\$75,000- \$100,000
		\$100,000 and above
7	Sexual	Orientation:
٠.		Gay
		Bisexual
		Transgender
		Transgender
		Straight
Ple	ease ans	wer yes or no to the following questions:
8.	Are yo	ou affiliated with a Greek Organization (fraternity/sorority)?
9.	Do yo	ou read the magazines Maxim, For Him Magazine (FHM), or Stuff?
rea to	ding an question 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	answered "yes" to question 9, please estimate the amount of hours spent by of these magazines per week. If you answered "no" to question 9 please skip in 11: Less than 2 hours a week 2-4 hours a week 4-6 hours a week 6-8 hours a week More than 8 hours a week ou read or subscribe to any other magazines? If so please list.
	Do yo	ou subscribe to any of these magazines, <i>Maxim</i> , <i>For Him Magazine</i> (<i>FHM</i>), or
	If you oscribe	answered "yes" to question 12, please indicate which magazine titles you to:

1. Less than \$15,000

Appendix J: Classroom recruitment script

I am here to ask for 18-26 year-old males' participation in a study I am conducting involving how the media affects male college students. As you are probably aware, the media is the most direct route for information travel, and many of the messages sent by the media may affect people. I am asking you to participate in a study that I am conducting which will hopefully help us all better understand the psychological effects of the media. Your participation will not only help psychologists interested in the effects of the media, but will help those in all professions who work with the media that we view on a regular basis.

It will most likely take you about 45-50 minutes to complete this study. You will first be asked to complete some survey questions online using a computer. Next, you will be provided with a popular magazine to view as if you were viewing it in your leisure time, and finally, you will be asked to return online to answer a few more survey questions. Following collection of all study data, you will be provided with information regarding the purpose of this research and information on how to contact me. Please remember that all information you provide is anonymous and will be treated in a confidential manner.

After you complete the study, you will have a chance to enter into a raffle to win one of ten \$25.00 gift certificates to the University Bookstore. (Depending on which classroom: In addition, you will be given extra credit for your participation by your instructor.) Pizza and a free issue of a popular men's magazine will also be provided for you upon completion of the study. If you would like to participate please remain in the classroom (or sign up on the scheduling sheet being passed around for XXX day at XXX time). If you have questions for me prior to participating in the study, please feel free to

ask me. Also, you may contact me by email with questions prior to or after completion of the study at eabe9f@mizzou.edu (written on board).

Appendix K: Reminder Email

Hi!

I am emailing to remind you that you are signed up to participate in a research experiment held tomorrow night, (Date Inserted), at (Time Inserted) in Cornell Hall computer lab, downstairs, Room 003.

Remember that you will be taking a study for about 45-50 minutes. You will be provided with pizza and a magazine upon leaving to compensate for your time, and I will enter you into a raffle for one of 10 \$25 gift certificates to the University Bookstore.

Thank you so much for volunteering!!

Emily Hamilton

Emily Hamilton, M.A.

Doctoral Candidate, Counseling Psychology

Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology

University of Missouri-Columbia

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Email is not a secure form of communication; confidentiality cannot be guaranteed..

Appendix L: Follow-up/Final Email for No-Shows

Hi,

I just wanted to give you another chance to come and participate in my research project! I understand that things get in the way, and I would still love for you to attend if you are able to. If you're still interested in participating please come tomorrow night, (Date Inserted), at (Time Inserted) to Cornell Hall computer lab, downstairs, Room 003. If tomorrow night does not work for you, please email me back, and we can find a better time for you.

Remember that you will be taking a study for about 45-50 minutes. You will be provided with pizza and a magazine upon leaving to compensate for your time, and I will enter you into a raffle for one of 10 \$25 gift certificates to the University Bookstore.

If you are no longer interested, please just disregard this message. I appreciate your time!

Thank you so much for volunteering!!

Emily Hamilton

Emily Hamilton, M.A.

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Appendix M: Informed Consent

Purpose and Expected Benefits

You are invited to participate in a study on the effects of the media on college students, a research project conducted by Emily Hamilton, M.A. The purpose of this study is to gain knowledge regarding the psychological effects of the media on college students and to help educate professionals of these effects. By gaining a better understanding of the psychological effects of the media on college students, professionals may be better informed of the potential effects of the media we view regularly.

Participant Responsibilities

You will be asked to read and click on 'agree with terms of informed consent' giving your consent to participate in this study. By agreeing to the terms of this consent form you understand that your participation will involve the following: a) completing inventories regarding demographic information, gender roles, attitudes, and expectations, b) viewing a popular magazine, and c) completing similar inventories following viewing of the magazine. These activities combined should take you less than 50 minutes to complete.

Possible Risks

While this study poses no greater risk than those ordinarily encountered in everyday life, many of the questions in this study relate to personal attitudes and beliefs, some of which may be sensitive or may make you feel uncomfortable. Further, this study will require your viewing of a popular magazine containing articles, advertisements, and images which may also cause discomfort. Please understand that your completion of these activities is completely **voluntary** and that there is no penalty for refusal to participate. Also understand that you may stop completion of this project at any time if you feel bothered with the content of the activities, and you may refuse to answer a question(s) if you so choose. However, please also realize that you may only enter the prize raffle after you complete the entire study.

Confidentiality

Moreover, the information that you contribute is **private** and **anonymous**. No one outside of the small research team will have access to the completed data. Although internet transmission of data is not completely secure and thus, complete confidentiality cannot be assured, no identifying information will be asked for during any portion of the study and once data is downloaded, the website will be dismantled. Results of this study may be published in scientific journals, but you will not be identified in any such publication. Also, the results of this research will be made available to you upon request.

If you have questions about this study, you may contact Emily Hamilton (e-mail: eabe9f@mizzou.edu). Also, you may direct any questions about the use of human subjects in research to the **Campus IRB Compliance Office** at the University of Missouri-Columbia at the phone number, (573) 882-9585, fax number, (573) 884-8371, e-mail address, www.research.missouri.edu/cirb/about.html.

I agree to participate in this study
I decline to participate in this study

Appendix N: Manipulation Screening

Please	answer the following questions regarding the magazine you viewed:
1.	Please list three things that you remember reading or viewing in the magazine.
2.	Please rate your interest in the magazine you viewed on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being least interesting and 7 being most interesting.

Appendix O: Debriefing Email

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. The purpose of this research is to investigate how the psychological effects of magazine content may be predicted by conforming to a masculine gender role. This study also examines how the magazine viewed may influence a change in attitudes towards women and objectification of women.

Previous research in this area has concentrated on whether similar effects such as changes in sexual attitudes, attraction towards a partner, and beliefs about gender roles were found after viewing various forms of media. This research has focused on media targeting and picturing both men and women and has found that men rated their attraction and lovingness towards a partner less favorably after viewing beautiful women in the media. However, studies such as this one have neglected to assess other effects of the media (i.e., attitudes towards women, objectification of women, attitudes towards dating and relationships, dating expectations) or to inquire into whether masculinity influences the effects of magazine content.

This study may help to answer some questions about how magazines affect men's attitudes towards women, objectification of women, attitudes toward dating and relationships, and dating expectations and perceived norms. Additionally, more may be discovered regarding whether traditionally masculine men are more or less likely to be affected by these magazines. This study may help professionals to become informed about the potential impact of magazines on men, men's attitudes towards women, men's objectification of women, and the role of masculinity in mediating these effects.

If you have any questions/comments about the procedures or this study, you may contact Emily Hamilton at eabe9f@mizzou.edu.

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Main Study Variables

Variables	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. ADR-TOT	3.44 (.467)											
2. ADR-MSI	3.25 (.788)	.80**										
3. ADR-DG	2.96 (.798)	.62**	.59**									
4. ADR-WSC	3.53 (.758)	.86**	.66**	.54*	*							
5. SOQ-C	2.19 (12.79)	.38**	.39**	.23*	.39**	*						
6. SOQ-P -1	3.20 (18.67)	.29**	.31**	.20	.33**	* .30*	·*					
7. DNE 84	4.76 (243.16)	.12	.03	.13	.12	.13	.05					
8. AWS 3	7.22 (5.33)	56**-	.37**	16	61	18	22*	25*	k			
9. MRAS	35.05 (6.96)	.63**	.39**	.22*	.64*	* .33	**.28*	**.20*	*61*	**		
10. CMNI-POW	v17.07 (3.67)	.45**	.39**	.18	.46*	* .26	* .27*	.18	63*	**.44	**	
11. CMNI-PB	23.27 (5.54)	.17 .3	7** .5	60** .	26*	.21	.21*	.03	.08	.03	.22*	

Note: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations are pre-intervention scores. ADR-Tot (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Total Score), ADR-MSD (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Men are Sex-Driven Subscale), ADR-DG (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Dating is a Game Subscale), ADR-WSO (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Women are Sexual Objects Subscale), SOQ-C (Self-Objectification Scale, Competence Subscale), SOQ-P (Self-Objectification Scale, Personality Subscale), DNE (Dating Norms and Expectations Scale), AWS (Attitudes Towards Women for Adolescents Scale), MRAS (Male Role Attitudes Scale), CMNI-POW (Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, Power over Women Subscale), CMNI-PB (Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, Playboy Subscale). * p<.05. ** p<.01.

Table 2

ANOVAs and ANCOVAs Results					D 4' C
Results	df	SS	MS		Proportion of total variance
ANOVA (ADR-Tot)					
Between					
Group	1	.36	.36	.74	
Error	76	37.08	.49		
Within					
Time	1	.20	.20	11.17**	*
Time*Treat	1	5.0E-02	5.0E-02	2.74	
Error	76	1.38	1.8E-02		
ANCOVA (ADR-Tot)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	15096.76	15096.76	41.22**	** .36
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	1560.84	1560.84	4.26*	.06
Group	1	12.76	12.76	.04	.00
Error	73	26736.65	366.26		
Within					
Time	1	43.00	43.00	1.71	.02
Covariate MRAS	1	151.02	151.02	6.01*	.08
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	5.94	5.94	.24	.00
Time * Treat	1	51.60	51.60	2.05	.03
Error	73	1834.5	25.13		
	10	9.9	3.60		Proportion of
Results	df	SS	MS	F	total variance
ANOVA (ADR-MSD)					
Between					
Group	1	4.56	4.56	3.72	
Error	95	16.69	1.23		
Within					
Time	1	1.27	1.27	16.14**	k
Time*Treat	1	.44	.44	5.56*	
Error	95	7.49	7.88E-0)2	
ANCOVA (ADR-MSD)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	12.97	12.97		
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	11.53	11.53		
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	1.66	1.66	2.14	
Group	1	2.66	2.66	3.43	.04
Error	86	66.63	.78		
Within			_		
Time	1	.24	.24		.04
Covariate MRAS	1	.72	.72		
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	5.63E-0	2 5.63	E-02 .82	.01

Covariate CMNI-POW	1	5.84E-02	5.84	4E-02 .85	.01
Time * Treat	1	5.64E-04	5.64	E-04 .01	.00
Error	86	5.91	6.87	E-02	
Results	df	SS	MS	F	Proportion of total variance
ANOVA (ADR-DG)					
Between					
Group	1	3.52	3.52	2.85	
Error	94	115.84	1.23		
Within					
Time	1	.52	.52	6.02*	
Time*Treat	1	1.91E-04	1.91E-	04 .00	
Error	94	8.12	8.64E-	02	
ANCOVA (ADR-DG)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	6.45	6.45	7.73**	.08
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	21.22	21.22	25.45***	
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	.14	.14	.17	.00
Group	1	4.23	4.23	5.07*	.06
Error	86	71.70	.83		
Within					
Time	1	.15	.15	1.91	.02
Covariate MRAS	1	.44	.44	5.45*	.06
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	1.67E-03		2-03 .02	.00
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	5.13E-03		2-03 .06	.00
Time * Treat	1	4.74E-02		-02 .58	.01
Error	86	6.98	8.12E		.01
				-	
					Proportion of
Results	df	SS	MS	F	total variance
ANOVA (ADR-WSO)					
Between					
Group	1	.72	.72	.63	
Error	89	101.73	1.14		
Within					
Time	1	1.17	1.17	19.24**	*
Time*Treat	1	1.12E-0	4 1.12E-	04 .00	
Error	89	5.43	6.10E-	02	
ANCOVA (ADR-WSO)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	25.96	25.96	51.61**	** .39
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	2.25	2.25	4.47*	.05
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	2.21	2.21	4.40*	.05
Group	1	4.17	4.17	8.29**	
Error	80	40.24	.50	-	

Within					
Time	1	5.88E-0	4 5.88E-0	04 .01	.00
Covariate MRAS	1	3.53E-0)2 3.53E-	02 .56	.01
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	4.08E-0	2 4.08E-	02 .64	.01
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	1.92E-0	1.92E-02 1.92E-02		.00
Time * Treat	1	.10	.10	1.59	.02
Error	80	5.07	6.33E-	02	
					Proportion of
Results	df	SS	MS	F	total variance
ANOVA (SOQ-C)					_
Between					
Group	1	34.00	34.00	.11	
Error	74	22349.02	302.01		
Within					
Time	1	.25	.25	.01	
Time*Treat	1	120.14	120.14	4.15*	
Error	74	2144.35	28.98		
ANCOVA (SOQ-C)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	1645.80	1645.80	5.92*	.08
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	434.63	434.63	1.56	.02
Group	1	38.02	38.02	.14	.00
Error	68	18914.94	278.16		
Within					
Time	1	57.67	57.67	2.64	.04
Covariate MRAS	1	3.96E	-02 3.96E	2-02 .00	.00
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	56.53	56.53	2.59	.04
Time * Treat	1	170.66	170.66	7.83*	** .10
Error	68	1482.91	21.81		
					Proportion of
Results	df	SS	MS	F	total variance
ANOVA (SOQ-P)					
Between					
Group	1	7.86	7.86	.01	
Error	83	5540.96	669.17		
Within					
Time	1	1.32	1.32	.065	
Time*Treat	1	50.74	50.74	2.49	
Error	83	1690.08	20.36		
ANCOVA (SOQ-P)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	1283.60	1283.60	2.22	.03
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	572.93	572.93	.99	.01
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	1323.87	1323.87	2.28	.03
Group	1	2789.56	2789.56	4.82	* .06
Error	75	43443.72	579.25		

Within					
Time	1	19.39	19.39	.90	.01
Covariate MRAS	1	60.59	60.59	2.82	.04
Covariate CMNI-PB	1	11.27	11.27	.52	.01
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	23.46	23.46	1.09	.01
Time * Treat	1	10.52	10.52	.49	.00
Error	75	1609.37	21.46		
				Pr	oportion of
Results	df	SS	MS		tal variance
ANOVA (DNE)					_
Between					
Group	1	486470.22	486470.22	4.76*	
Error	90	9192948.62	102143.87		
Within					
Time	1	57016.96	57016.96	19.37***	:
Time*Treat	1	2055.57	2055.57	.70	
Error	90	264914.97	2943.50		
ANCOVA (DNE)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	216557.70	216557.70	2.14	.03
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	40695.46	40695.46	.40	.01
Group	1	460398.33	460398.33	4.54*	.05
Error	85	8613929.11	101340.34		
Within					
Time	1	9575.42	9575.42	3.18	.04
Covariate MRAS	1	2101.36	2101.36	.70	.01
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	312.84	312.84	.10	.00
Time * Treat	1	1439.17	1439.17	.48	.01
Error	85	255716.31	3008.43		
				Proportion of	
Results	df	SS	MS		tal variance
ANOVA (AWS)					
Between					
Group	1	250.67	250.67	4.47*	
Error	91	5095.99	56.00		
Within					
Time	1	16.73	16.73	8.55**	
Time*Treat	1	2.02	2.02	1.03	
Error	91	178.12	1.96		
ANCOVA (AWS)					
Between					
Covariate MRAS	1	645.95	5 645.95	25.82***	.23
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	975.19	975.19	38.97***	.31
Group	1	91.19	91.19	3.64	.04
Error	86	2151.92	25.02		
Within					

Time	1	8.19E-02 8.19E-	02 .04	.00
Covariate MRAS	1	2.55E02 2.55E	-02 .01	.00
Covariate CMNI-POW	1	1.55 1.55	.82	.01
Time * Treat	1	1.81 1.81	.96	.01
Error	86	162.32 1.89		

Note: ANOVA= analysis of variance, ANCOVA= analysis of covariance, SS= Sum of Squares, MS = Mean Square, ADR-Tot (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Total Score), ADR-MSD (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Men are Sex-Driven Subscale), ADR-DG (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Dating is a Game Subscale), ADR-WSO (Attitudes Towards Dating and Relationships Scale, Women are Sexual Objects Subscale), SOQ-C (Self-Objectification Scale, Competence Subscale), SOQ-P (Self-Objectification Scale, Personality Subscale), DNE (Dating Norms and Expectations Scale), AWS (Attitudes Towards Women for Adolescents Scale), MRAS (Male Role Attitudes Scale), CMNI-POW (Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, Power over Women Subscale), CMNI-PB (Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, Playboy Subscale). * p<.05. ** p<.01. ***p<.001.

VITA

Emily A. Hamilton was born July 2, 1978 in Alton, IL. She graduated from the University of Missouri-Columbia in 2000 with a Bachelor's Degree with honors in Psychology and a Minor in Human Development and Family Studies. She earned a Master's degree in Counseling Psychology from the University of Missouri-Columbia in 2002. She will complete her APA-accredited predoctoral internship at the Southern Illinois University Carbondale Counseling Center in 2008, and she plans to pursue a career in clinical practice.