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Objectifying Women's Bodies Is Acceptable from an Intimate Perpetrator, at Least for Female Sexists

María Lameiras-Fernández, Susan T. Fiske, Antonio González Fernández, and José F. Lopez

Faculty of Education, Universidad de Vigo

Department of Psychology, Princeton University

Faculty of Education, Universidad de Vigo

Department of Psychology, Princeton University

Abstract

Objectification of the female body is generating much research. Nevertheless, this has revealed little about whether women's evaluations depend on the level of psychological intimacy with the perpetrator of that objectification. Intimacy theory predicts that objectifying comments would seem more acceptable coming from a close partner, especially for sexist women. The present study begins to fill these gaps by analyzing responses from 301 heterosexual/bisexual adult women in the United States ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.02$, range = 18–72) to appearance and sexual body comments made by four different male perpetrators: strangers, colleagues, friends, or partners. Measures assessed women's perceptions of objectification, as well as reported enjoyment of these comments. As long as they were not negative, comments from heterosexual partners were perceived as the least objectifying and enjoyed the most; comments from colleagues, strangers, and friends were linked with greater objectification and less enjoyment. Additionally, sexist attitudes toward men and women—but more clearly toward men—linked with objectification and enjoyment. Future research directions and practical implications are discussed.

Keywords

Objectification; sexualization; sexual harassment; romantic relationship; body image; heterosexuality

Arguably, the deification of the body has characterized Western cultures in the 21st century, thereby causing the body to become a main element of gender identity. The human form has been subjected to a gendered standard of beauty (for a review see Calogero & Tylka, 2010;

Corresponding Author: Antonio González Fernández, University of Vigo, Faculty of Education, c/ Avenida Castelao s/n, 32004 Ourense, Spain aglez@uvigo.es. Correspondence concerning this manuscript should be addressed to María Lameiras-Fernández, University of Vigo, Faculty of Education, c/ Avenida Castelao s/n, 32004 Ourense, Spain. lameiras@uvigo.es, sfiske@princeton.edu, jflopez@princeton.edu

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Tylka & Calogero, 2010, 2011), and these deep-seated norms have imposed preconceived reference points, leaving little room for other body types (Butler, 1990). As such, human bodies are compared to beauty standards and “are not allowed to naturally develop into a diverse range of shapes, sizes, and attributes” (Calogero & Tylka, 2010, p. 1), instead stigmatizing fat body types (Murray, 2005, 2008; Puhl & Latner, 2007). The modern standard of female beauty comprises extreme thinness with large breasts (Hesse-Biber, Leavy, Quinn, & Zoino, 2006; Levine & Harrison, 2004), whereas male beauty includes muscular mass and apparent strength (Ridgeway & Tylka, 2005). These ideals of the “gendered body” may be internalized and cultivated at early ages (Harriger, Calogero, Witherington, & Smith, 2010), rooted in sexist beliefs that attach thinness and fragility to femininity, but muscularity and strength to masculinity.

In the current research we examined women’s reactions to objectification of their bodies, according to appearance and sexualization, as channeled through men’s comments, both positive and negative. We assessed women’s perceived objectification and reported enjoyment from hypothetical comments by a partner, acquaintance, colleague, or stranger. We further explored whether women’s own hostile and benevolent sexism toward men and women might condition their responses.

Objectification of Women’s Bodies by Self and Others

Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) framed the female experience in a culture that sexually objectifies female bodies. Treating women as sexual objects is ubiquitous and inescapable; “girl watching” (Quinn, 2002, p. 386) is frequently accepted as a natural and commonplace activity, so “all women are potential recipients of sexual objectification by virtue of having a female body” (Watson, Marszalek, Dispenza, & Davids, 2015, p. 93). Women’s concern with their physical appearance is widespread (Ettcoff, Orbach, Scott & D’Agostino, 2004) and risky for their physical and mental health (Calogero, Herbozo & Thompson, 2009). Arguably, this focused attention on the bodies of women, or *bodyism* (Unger & Crawford, 1996), may explain the prevalence of body dissatisfaction. The internalization and consistency of the thin-body ideal, together with perceived social pressures to be thin, have contributed significantly to women’s body-image problems (Cafri, Jamaniya, Brannick, & Thompson, 2005). Indeed, the widespread nature of corporal dissatisfaction in women has coined the phrase “normative discontent” (Orbach, 1978; Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1984): Women’s dissatisfaction with their body is more a rule than an exception in today’s society (Fallon, Harris, & Johnson, 2014).

According to objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), messages of objectification also drive experiences of self-objectification, placing women in the perspective of the observer or third person; this creates an external observer of one’s own body as its principal controller. For this reason, women demonstrate greater levels of surveillance over their body and higher levels of shame and anxiety in relation to their appearance than men do (Slater & Tiggemann, 2010). As a consequence, women get more involved in conversations about appearance (Jones & Crawford, 2006) and about other specific topics involving the negative aspects of their bodies (Arroyo & Harwood, 2012; Payne, Martz, Tompkins, Petroff, & Farrow, 2010), show greater sensitivity to appearance-

based rejection (Park, Diraddo, & Calogero, 2009), and report being teased about their bodies more than men and boys do (Eisenberg, Berge, Fulkerson, & Newmark-Sztainer, 2011). Such psychological investments in physical appearance may explain why more women, when compared to men, experiment with dieting (Gillen, Markey, & Markey, 2012), undergo cosmetic surgery (Calogero, Pina, Park & Rahemtulla, 2010), and consume anti-aging products (Muisse & Demarais, 2010). Focusing attention on the bodies of women disconnects girls and women from their own thoughts, feelings, and desires (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007), promoting self-objectification.

Appearance versus Sexual Objectification

To gain an in-depth understanding of how female bodies are objectified by self or others, Franzoi's concept (1995) is useful: Form and function are at odds, so this distinguishes between the way a body looks and the way it functions (Abbott & Barker, 2011). The body of a woman is described as a form or an object (passive/fragile), whereas the male body is described by its function or process (active/strong). This knowledge is based on gender stereotypes that link femininity with passivity and masculinity with activity (Eagly, 1995; Spence & Helmreich, 1979). In emphasizing form over function, female bodies are transformed literally into objects.

This objectification can operate at two levels. The first level is aesthetic/decorative, where the beauty of the body is primarily to be viewed/admired (like a sculpture), whereas the second level depicts the female body to be used (as a sexual/erotic object), partially or entirely for male pleasure. Heterosexual men's sexual attraction to the female body may represent a threat, which is resolved at least in part "through a literal association between women and objects" (Goldenberg, 2013, p. 89). Further, objectification (aesthetic/decorative and sexual/erotic) is a form of dehumanization (Haslam, Loughnan, & Holland, 2013) that involves a similar disregard for reality where people are not treated as human beings (Gervais, Bernard, Kelin, & Allen, 2013). Any investigation of objectification should account for both the aesthetic appearance and sexual body dimensions.

Enjoyment or Disempowerment?

In contrast to objectification as dehumanizing, some research finds women reporting pleasure and feeling power from being positively evaluated in an objectified environment (Mofflitt & Szymanski, 2011). Fascination with the sexualization of women has become fashionable; this has been called "raunch culture" (Levy, 2005, p. 3), "porno-chic" culture (McNair, 2002, p. 61), or a more broadly defined and neutral term, "sexualization of culture" (Attwood, 2006, p. 79). Linking objectification and empowerment, modern sexualized woman are identified as having girl power or power femininity (Lazar, 2006), and therefore women are seen as having an enormous "erotic capital" that may be used (Hakim, 2010, p. 500). This image of modern women as sexualized-empowered was embraced from American post-feminism or "choice" feminism (Hirshman, 2006), which describes women "as unconstrained subjects living in a world full of opportunities and possibilities previously denied to them" (Thompson & Donaghue, 2014, p. 25). Post-feminist rhetoric revolves

around the capacity of women to make their own decisions and sees women as fully capable of following their genuine desires and interest.

However, the enjoyment of sexualization is linked with negative consequences for women (e.g., high self-objectification, body surveillance and body shame) (Liss, Erchull, & Ramsey, 2011). So objectification and the enjoyment of sexualization of women's bodies may be a double-edged sword. This question is especially relevant because it implies that although women may enjoy messages about their bodies, this may represent a dis-empowering experience in both intimate and societal contexts.

Objectification and Enjoyment for Female Targets

Women are exposed to messages of sexualization from two levels: macro (e.g., pornography, mass media, and advertising) and micro (e.g., interpersonal context) (Calogero & Tylka, 2010). Within interpersonal sexual objectification, Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) described two forms: body evaluation (e.g., comments made about the body) and unwanted sexual advances, which are less frequent (Kozee, Tylka, Augustus-Horvarth & Denchik, 2007). Women report more sexual objectification events involving comments about their bodies (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Whether focused on aesthetic appearance or sexual body, these comments are often intended as compliments.

Compliments, among the most widely studied speech acts, are a major area for linguists' attention (Maiz-Arevalo, 2012). In pioneering linguistic work about gender patterns in compliments, Holmes (1988, p. 446) defined a compliment as "a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) that is positively valued by the speaker and hearer." She also showed that women are far more likely to receive compliments than men are and that almost 75% of all compliments received were about appearance, more than any other topic, whereas men's received compliments were mostly about goal-oriented activities. Men and women tend to give compliment on different aspects, and gender seems to be the most significant differentiating factor. In a more recent review about compliments, Rees-Miler (2011) supports results from a previous review and concludes that, in unstructured settings, appearance compliments reinforce the norm of effortful attention to daily appearance by women. Thus, the linguistic research suggests that aesthetic qualities (the way a body looks) versus functional aspects (the way a body functions) (Abbott & Barker, 2011; Franzoi, 1995) are received differently by men and women. Accordingly, boys place less emphasis on their appearance and more on other domains such as athletic competence (Ricciardelli, McCabe, & Ridge, 2006). And although women also receive compliments from other women, it is not to the same extent that they receive them from men (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005).

Objectification and Enjoyment from Different Male Perpetrators

Women receive objectifying comments—whether positive or negative, appearance or sexual—in a variety of interpersonal settings. The objectification of women at work (sexual harassment) is still insufficiently studied and still debated legally, politically, and academically (Dillon, Adaer, & Brase, 2015). Sexual harassment in workplaces (e.g., office,

school) comes from bosses, teachers, colleagues, clients, or peers; these workplace experiences make women uncomfortable (McDonald, 2012). Most sexual harassment targets women (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008), who most frequently report non-physical behaviors such as remarks about sexual body or appearance (McDonald, 2012)

On the other hand, stranger harassment is a form of interpersonal sexual harassment perpetrated in public spaces (e.g., street, public transportation, stores, and bars). The impact of sexual harassment by strangers still has not been thoroughly investigated, although these behaviors have a high incidence and may affect women even more than workplace sexual harassment (MacMillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000). In a study by Fairchild and Rudman (2008), 41% of 228 participants reported experiencing unwanted sexual attention from strangers at least once a month.

Sexual harassment by strangers and acquaintances is conceptually related, and the negative consequences of sexual objectification are present in both. In fact, Riemer, Chaudoir, and Earnshaw (2014) suggest similarities between how participants evaluated as sexist several comments made by bosses and strangers about women's bodies, but when the comments were made by boyfriends, they were more likely to be identified as non-sexist. The authors put forward the *psychological intimacy* hypothesis—rather than resource dependency—to explain these results. However, despite compliments representing a common, culturally embedded form of communication used within close relationships, we have little information about how women perceive the comments about their bodies made by partners (Doohan & Manusov, 2004; Ramsey & Hoyt, 2015; Zurbriggen, Ramsey & Jaworski, 2011) or people in their personal sphere (e.g., friends), from whom they probably receive most of these messages.

In a heterosexual relationship, men value their female partner having an attractive body (Legenbauer et al., 2009). The importance of appearance in romantic relationships (Markey & Markey, 2006) might seem to predict a high value that women would place on their partners' comments about their bodies. Comments that foster body objectification may provide feedback and reward mechanisms in women, playing roles in romantic relationships by attracting and maintaining romantic partners. Gill (2009, p. 346) goes further by defining the term “menology,” which is the specific learned knowledge about men's attitudes that women acquire to obtain and maintain a partner, in particular being taught to display a desirable body. Additionally, women have more difficulties classifying objectification behavior as sexist when coming from a potential romantic partner (Milillo, 2006) or a heterosexual partner (Moya, Glick, Expósito, Lemus, & Hart, 2007). Following the psychological intimacy hypothesis proposed by Riemer et al. (2014), less objectification and more enjoyment would be expected when comments about body were made by partners or even friends, but when comments were made by strangers and colleagues, more objectification and less enjoyment would be expected.

Moderation by Sexism

Finally, considering that objectification comments reinforce the idea of traditional femininity that emphasizes the value of women's appearance and beauty, assessments that women make of these comments should also be modulated by their own level of sexism (Glick & Fiske,

2001). The theory of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996,1997) explains how intimate heterosexual relationships operate in the context of societal gender inequality. Hence, sexual harassment is motivated by gender roles and sexist beliefs toward women, so less sexist attitudes could relate to rejecting men's comments about women's bodies. Sexist attitudes exist not only toward women but also toward men; they represent a complementary set of gendertraditional beliefs (Glick et al., 2004).

The Present Study

The present study aimed to fill gaps regarding the objectification of women—through both positive/negative and appearance/sexual comments—assessing women's enjoyment of sexualization within the interpersonal context, especially contrasting heterosexual partners with other perpetrators. To the best of our knowledge, our study represents the first opportunity to characterize the responses from a heterogeneous sample of U.S. women to positive and negative comments made by different categories of perpetrators on both their appearance (aesthetic decorative level) and sexual body (sexual/erotic level). The first goal of our study was to assess women's reported objectification and enjoyment from comments on their appearance and sexual body (four types of comments: positive appearance, negative appearance, tame sexual body, and crude sexual body) as made by four different perpetrators (strangers, colleagues, friends, and partners). The second objective of our study was to determine how participants' reactions to comments about women's appearance and sexual bodies related to their own level of sexist attitudes toward women and men.

We proposed three hypotheses. (a) Hypothesis 1 predicted that women would feel less objectified and most enjoyment from comments about positive appearance and tame sexual body, and they would feel more objectified and less enjoyment by comments about crude sexual body and negative appearance. (b) Hypothesis 2 expected that women would feel less objectified and most enjoyment from comments about appearance/sexual body when made by a partner, as opposed to a stranger, colleague, or friend. (c) Hypothesis 3 hypothesized that the enjoyment of objectifying comments would be positively associated with sexist attitudes toward women and men and that perceiving comments as objectifying would be negatively associated with sexist attitudes toward women and men. Additionally, sexist attitudes (toward women and men) would moderate the relationship between perpetrators and feelings of objectification/enjoyment of sexualization of comments about appearance and sexual body.

To our knowledge, the present study is the first to test women's reactions to objectifying comments from different perpetrators and as a function of their own sexism toward men and women.

Method

Participants

Fully 301 women ($M_{age} = 37.02$, $SD = 12.20$, range = 18–72) from the United States participated in this study; 266 (88.40%) participants identified as heterosexual and 35 (11.60%) as bisexual. They reported on their educational background: 37 (12.30%) had

attained a high school diploma or less; 121 (40.20%) had some college or vocational training, or an associate degree; 116 (38.50%) had a bachelor's degree, and 27 (9.00%) had a Master's or professional degree. According to the participants' self-report, 29 (9.60%) were Black, 26 (8.60%) were Asian, 15 (5.00%) were Hispanic, and 7 (2.40%) were mixed race; the remainder identified as White 224 (74.40%). Participants reported on height and weight, which was used to calculate body mass index ($MBMI = 25.91$, $SD = 6.98$, range = 16.31–65.77). Of all participants, 97% reported having had a partner, and 97% reported having had a work colleague. All women were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT), screened in Qualtrics, and compensated \$1.00.

Procedure

The research received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. Eligible participants took the 15-minute survey in Qualtrics with all responses collected within 24 hours from April 29, 2015 to April 30, 2015. After providing consent, participants were asked to imagine short scenarios in which a man (either a stranger, a colleague, a friend, or a partner) made a comment to them. The prompts fit each perpetrator: Stranger (“When you are walking down the street a male stranger says to you...”); Colleague (“When you are at the office a male colleague says to you...”); Friend (“When you are at a coffee shop a male friend says to you...”); and Partner (“When you are at home your male partner says to you...”). Each participant imagined only one type of perpetrator. The second part of each scenario described an appearance or sexual-body comment from the same male perpetrator (either a stranger, a colleague, a friend, or a partner). Each participant evaluated only two comments (one about appearance and one about sexual body), either both positive or both negative. Each participant rated the two comments as made by one perpetrator (stranger, colleague, friend, or partner) on measures of perceived objectification and reported enjoyment (below). Finally, they completed scales of hostile and benevolent sexism toward men and women.

Stimuli: Appearance or Sexual Body Comment

First, to choose the comments used in our study, a list of appearance-related comments followed an exhaustive literature review on the topic, reviewing websites about harassment, women's comments in informal meetings, and the contributions of the research team. The final comments were selected based on a previous pilot study with 204 U.S. women recruited from AMT, screened in Qualtrics, and compensated \$1.00. Each pilot participant was assigned to a perpetrator (4 conditions: stranger, colleague, friend, partner) and rated 32 ad hoc comments from the same perpetrator. Comments from the four types (positive and negative appearance, tame and crude sexual body) appeared in random order. Pilot participants rated how frequent, realistic, disturbing, and positive each comment was on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Based on the pilot results, two of the eight comments were selected within each comment type.

The eight comments were: positive comments about appearance (“I like how those jeans fit you” and “You have a nice body”); negative comments about appearance (“I don't like how those jeans fit you” and “I don't like how that dress fits you”); tame sexual-body comments (“Hey babe, you're hot” and “Wow, you're very sexy in that shirt”); and crude sexual-body

comments (“Your ass turns me on. When can I grab those cheeks?” and “Can I see a little more skin? I know you can turn me on”).

Design and Measures

The design was $2 \times 2 \times 4$, corresponding to 2 Comment Types (within subjects, appearance/sexual-body), 2 levels of Positivity (between subjects: positive-tame/negative-crude), and 4 Perpetrators (between subjects: stranger, colleague, friend, and partner). There were two versions of each comment type, but we combined results for the two versions because they were conceptual replications. Thus, every participant rated one appearance-based and one sexualbody-based comment. Both comments had the same perpetrator and comment positivity (positive appearance and tame sexual body or negative appearance and crude sexual body), the combination randomly assigned to each participant. As noted, perpetrator and comment positivity/crudeness were between-participants conditions, whereas comment type (appearance/sexual body) was a within-participants condition. About half of the participants ($n = 151$) saw the appearance comment first, and the other half ($n = 150$) saw the body comment first.

Objectification and Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale.—All participants answered 18 items of the Objectification and Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (OEES; Lameiras, Fiske, Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Carrera, 2017). OEES measured the extent to which women enjoyed/rejected comments about appearance and sexual body received by men. OEES included for the first time a measure of enjoyment of sexualization specifically focused on sexualization from different perpetrators, not only from men in general as measured by ESS (Liss et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the OEES also included for the first time questions about rejecting appearance and sexual-body-based comments based on Nussbaum’s (1995) seven proposed components of objectification. The scale included a 10-item Objectification subscale (e.g., “Do you feel like a tool for a specific purpose?”; “Do you feel like you belong to others?”; “Do you feel treated like an object?”) and an 8-item Enjoyment of Sexualization subscale (e.g., “Do you feel a boost in your self-esteem?”; “Do you feel good?”; “Do you feel desired?”). Responses used a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 6 (*agree strongly*). Higher scores (averaged) on the two scales indicated more objectification or more enjoyment of sexualization, respectively. Every participant filled out these items twice, once for each of the two comments they read (appearance and sexual body comments) from a single perpetrator.

OEES showed good internal consistency and validity (Lameiras et al., 2017). In the current study, the internal consistency (alpha) of the Objectification subscale was .90 for appearance comments and .89 for sexual-body comments; internal consistency of the Enjoyment of Sexualization subscale was .90 for appearance comments and .87 for sexual-body comments. Correlations between the enjoyment and objectification factors were $-.64$ for appearance comments and $-.73$ for sexual-body comments.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.—The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) consisted of two composite variables (Glick & Fiske, 1996): (a) hostile sexism (ASI-H), assessing sexist

antipathy toward women, and (b) benevolent sexism (ASI-B), assessing sexist positivity toward women. Participants answered the short version, the 12-question Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014) (e.g., “Men are incomplete without women” [ASI-B]; “Women seek to gain power by getting control over men” [ASI-H]). Responses used a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alphas of the original short version were .80 and .85, respectively, for the ASI-B and ASI-H subscales. Cronbach’s alphas were .88 and .83, respectively, in our study.

Ambivalence toward Men Inventory.—The Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (AMI) consists of two composite variables (Glick & Fiske, 1999): (a) hostility toward men (AMI-H), which assesses sexist antipathy toward men, and (b) benevolence toward men (AMI-B), which assesses sexist positivity toward men. Participants answered the short version, consisting of 12 items (Rollero et al., 2014). (e.g., “Men are more willing to take risks than women” [AMI-B]; “Men will always fight to have greater control in society than women” [AMI-H]). Responses used a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach’s alphas of the original short version were .81 and .79 for the B and H subscales, respectively. In our study, Cronbach’s alphas were .76 and .83, respectively.

Results

Hypothesis 1: Women Prefer Tame over Crude Comments

To test Hypothesis 1, a sequence of mixed two-way ANOVAs evaluated objectification and enjoyment related to positive/negative appearance and tame/crude sexual-body comments by each of the four perpetrators (partner, friend, colleague, and stranger). To retain focus on the hypotheses, each ANOVA assessed appearance and sexual-body comments separately for objectification and enjoyment in turn. This section on Hypothesis 1 examines its predicted positivity main effects and their generality across perpetrator and comment type. To test this hypothesis, we ran four ANOVAs, applying a Bonferroni correction across them wherein $p < .0125$. To compare the means of the two types of comments about appearance (positive vs. negative) and sexual body (tame vs. crude), t -tests were performed.

Objectification.—The first ANOVA compared objectification due to appearance comments (positive vs. negative). Significant main effects emerged for perpetrator, $F(3,297) = 14.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$, and for positivity, $F(1,299) = 13.51, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$, but not for their interaction (perpetrator \times positivity), $F(3,297) = 1.80, p = .15, \eta^2 = .02$. Objectification did not differ between positive and negative appearance comments for strangers, $t(76) = 1.69, p = .096, d = .16$, colleagues ($t(72) = -.81, p = .423, d = -.19$), or friends ($t(73) = -1.01, p = .316, d = -.23$); only when the perpetrator was a male partner was there a significant difference, $t(72) = -4.14, p = .001, d = -.97$ (see Table 1a).

The second ANOVA compared objectification due to sexual body comments (tame vs. crude), showing a significant main effect for perpetrator, $F(3,297) = 27.61, p = .001, \eta^2 = .22$, and for positivity, $F(1,299) = 32.26, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$, but not for the interaction (perpetrator by positivity), $F(3,297) = .15, p = .93, \eta^2 = .00$. For all perpetrators, higher objectification was reported for crude sexual body comments: strangers, $t(76) = -3.42, p =$

001, $d=-.79$; colleagues, $t(72)=-2.35$, $p=.004$, $d=-.54$; friends, $t(73)=-2.67$, $p=.009$, $d=-.62$; and partners, $t(72)=-2.99$, $p=.004$, $d=-.69$ (see Table 1a).

Enjoyment.—The third ANOVA about appearance comments showed significant main effects for perpetrator, $F(3,297)=17.14$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.15$, and for positivity, $F(1,299)=189.49$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.39$, as well as their interaction (perpetrator \times positivity), $F(3,297)=5.74$, $p=.001$, $\eta^2=.05$. As Hypothesis 1 predicted, positive appearance comments were always enjoyed more than negative ones, regardless of perpetrator: strangers, $t(76)=5.26$, $p=.001$, $d=1.21$; colleagues, $t(72)=4.30$, $p=.001$, $d=.99$; friends, $t(73)=8.36$, $p=.001$, $d=1.92$; and partners, $t(72)=10.1$, $p=.001$, $d=2.34$ (see Table 1b).

The fourth ANOVA about sexual body comments showed significant main effects for perpetrator, $F(3,297)=32.52$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.25$, positivity (tame vs. crude), $F(1,299)=30.04$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.09$, but not for their interaction (perpetrator \times positivity), $F(3,297)=1.26$, $p=.29$, $\eta^2=.01$. As Hypothesis 1 predicted, tame sexual body comments were almost always considered more enjoyable than crude ones, namely from strangers, $t(76)=2.93$, $p=.011$, $d=.68$; friends, $t(76)=3.54$, $p=.001$, $d=.82$; and partners, $t(72)=3.18$, $p=.011$, $d=.73$, but did not differ when comments were made by colleagues, $t(72)=1.20$, $p=.231$, $d=-.27$ (see Table 1b). Overall, these results support Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2: Women Prefer Objectifying Comments from Partners

To test Hypothesis 2, a new sequence of eight ANOVAs explored how participants felt (objectification and enjoyment) in relation to comments about their appearance and sexual body. To test this hypothesis, we applied a Bonferroni correction across the eight ANOVAs wherein $p < .00625$. Post hoc tests within each ANOVA were Tukeys.

Objectification.—A sequence of four ANOVAs was conducted, this time analyzing perceived objectification from comments on appearance and sexual body within each comment type by perpetrator. In the first ANOVA, a significant effect emerged in felt objectification from positive comments on appearance, $F(3,145)=11.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2=.19$. The pairwise comparisons of means, using Tukey post hoc tests, showed no differences among comments made by strangers, colleagues, and friends, but significant differences between comments made by partners compared with strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.28$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.23$), and friends ($p = .026$, $d = .76$) (see Table 1a). The second ANOVA also indicated a significant perpetrator effect in objectification from tame sexual-body comments, $F(3,145)=12.30$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2 = .20$. Post hoc analyses showed no differences between tame sexual-body comments made by strangers, colleagues and friends; however, such comments made by partners differed significantly from comments from strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.28$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.35$), and friends ($p=.003$, $d=.86$).

In the third ANOVA, when objectification from negative comments on appearance was analyzed, a significant perpetrator effect was shown, $F(3,148) = 4.57$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .08$. The only significant post hoc difference was between strangers versus friends ($p = .037$, $d = .63$) and partners ($p = .027$, $d = .64$) (see Table 1a). The fourth ANOVA showed a significant main effect in objectification from crude sexual-body comments by perpetrator, $F(3,148) = 15.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. There were no significant post hoc differences among comments

by colleagues, strangers, and friends, but significant differences did emerge between strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.36$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.37$), and friends ($p < .001$, $d = .88$) versus partners.

Enjoyment.—Four ANOVAs analyzed perceived enjoyment from comments about appearance and sexual body. The first ANOVA compared enjoyment of positive comments on appearance by perpetrator and showed a significant perpetrators main effect, $F(3,145) = 17.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$. The pairwise comparisons of means, using the Tukey post hoc test, showed that partners (and to a lesser extent, friends) stood out: No significant differences were found when positive comments on appearance were made by colleagues or strangers, but significant differences were found between colleagues ($p = .005$, $d = .80$) and strangers ($p = .013$, $d = .69$) versus friends, as well as between partners versus strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.43$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.55$) and friends ($p = .023$, $d = .77$) (see Table 1b). The second ANOVA also showed a significant main effect in enjoyment of tame sexual-body comments by perpetrator, $F(3,145) = 22.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .32$. The pairwise comparisons of means showed a similar pattern of partners standing out (and friends somewhat): No significant differences were found in enjoyment when comments were made by colleagues and strangers, but significant differences were found between colleagues versus friends ($p = .005$, $d = .81$) as well as between strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.50$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.83$) and friends ($p < .001$, $d = 1.03$) versus partners (see Table 1b).

No significant effect was shown by the third ANOVA, $F(3,148) = 1.94$, $p = .125$, $\eta^2 = .04$, for enjoyment of negative appearance comments by perpetrator. Thus, women's (lack of) enjoyment of negative comments on appearance did not depend upon the perpetrators. Finally, in the fourth ANOVA, a significant effect emerged for enjoyment of crude sexual-body comments, $F(3,148) = 12.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .20$. The pairwise comparisons of means showed no significant differences for comments by colleagues/strangers/friends, but significant differences between partners and strangers ($p < .001$, $d = 1.22$), colleagues ($p < .001$, $d = 1.13$), and friends ($p < .001$, $d = .86$). These results support Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: Sexism Moderates Women's Responses

Simple correlational analyses (see Table 2) revealed that enjoyment of the comments about the sexual body was associated with more hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women and toward men and were more intense when the comments evaluated were about appearance. On the other hand, although objectification related to sexist attitudes toward both women and men, the relationship appears weaker than in the case of enjoyment of sexualization. (Correlations among study variable across all perpetrators are available in an online supplement; see Tables 1s and 2s.)

We tested Hypothesis 3 through hierarchical linear regressions to predict objectification and enjoyment of sexualization. In all cases, the first step included the perpetrator of the comments (stranger, colleague, friend, and partner); the second step included sexist attitudes, that is, hostile sexism toward women (ASI-H), benevolent sexism toward women (ASI-B), hostility toward men (AMI-H), and benevolence toward men (AMI-B); and the third step

included interactions between perpetrator and sexist attitudes. These analyses separately examine appearance (positive and negative appearance comments; see Table 3) and sexual body comments (tame and crude sexual body comments; see Table 4).

In the first step across all four types of comments, the results confirm that perpetrator was a significant predictor. Women felt less objectification and more enjoyment when they had a more intimate relationship with the perpetrator for all comment types. For appearance comments, an adequate amount of variance was explained for positive appearance comments' objectification ($R^2 = .16, p < .001$) and enjoyment ($R^2 = .23, p < .001$) (see Table 3a). Less variance was explained for negative appearance comments, as expected from the ANOVA we previously reported (objectification: $R^2 = .07, p < .001$ and enjoyment: $R^2 = .04, p < .001$) (see Table 3b). For sexual body comments, an adequate amount of variance was explained for tame sexual body comments' objectification ($R^2 = .15, p < .001$) and enjoyment ($R^2 = .24, p < .001$) (see Table 4a); as well as crude sexual body comments, objectification ($R^2 = .20, p < .001$) and enjoyment ($R^2 = .15, p < .001$) (see Table 4b).

Step 2 included sexist attitudes toward women and men, which improved model fit for objectification and for enjoyment for all type of comments. Sexist attitudes related to objectification but not enjoyment when women received comments about positive appearance. Specifically, less hostile attitudes toward women and more hostile attitudes toward men predicted greater objectification (see Table 3a). Also, sexist attitudes related to objectification and enjoyment when they received comments about negative appearance (more hostile attitudes toward men predicted greater objectification and more benevolent attitudes toward men predicted greater enjoyment; see Table 3b). For sexual body comments, sexist attitudes also related to objectification and enjoyment. Specifically, for tame sexual body comments, more hostile attitudes toward women predicted greater enjoyment and more hostile attitudes toward men predicted greater objectification (see Table 4a). Finally, for crude sexual body comments, more hostile attitudes toward men related to more objectification and less enjoyment (see Table 4b).

Step 3 included the Perpetrator \times Sexist Attitudes interaction in order to probe the moderation effect. Results confirm that sexist attitudes did not moderate the relationship between perpetrator and objectification for any type of comments—except a significant interaction between perpetrators and hostile attitude toward women that emerged for positive appearance comments ($\beta = .22, t = 2.10, p = .039$) (see Table 3a). This result might suggest that hostile sexism toward women (ASI-H) moderated the perpetrator effect, although only for objectification about positive appearance comments. Simple slopes analysis compared the lower (25th percentile) vs. the higher (75th percentile) values in ASI-H (see Figure 1; also see the online supplement for the raw data and an alternate figure at + 1 SD). This analysis confirmed that the level of ASI-H impacts negatively on the objectification about positive appearance comments but only when the perpetrator was a stranger ($\beta = -.43, p < .035$). However, the power of ASI-H as predictor of objectification with positive appearance comments was not significant for colleagues, friends, and partners. Overall, these results only partially support Hypothesis 3. A direct effect of sexist attitudes (more clearly toward men than toward women) on objectification and enjoyment is confirmed but not the moderation of sexist attitudes on perpetrator effects.

Discussion

In the first place, our results suggest that positive appearance comments were always considered more enjoyable than negative ones, and tame sexual body comments were always considered more enjoyable and less objectifying than crude sexual body comments. But, only when partners made them, positive appearance comments were considered less objectifying than negative appearance comments. These results are consistent with Hypothesis 1.

Secondly, consistent with Hypothesis 2, depending on the source, rated objectification followed the same patterns for all types of comments except for negative appearance comments. Thus, women felt less objectified when partners—as opposed to strangers, colleagues, and friends—made comments (about positive appearance and tame/crude sexual body). Likewise, the women's enjoyment of the different comments followed the same source-dependent pattern: the most enjoyment when a partner made comments (about positive appearance and tame/crude sexual body). One exception was the case of negative-appearance comments, for which reactions were equally negative (enjoyment) for all cases and perpetrators, and also women felt more objectifying when negative appearance comments were made by strangers vs. friends and partners.

Regarding the last goal of our study—to examine the relationship between women's reactions to comments and their own sexist attitudes—enjoyment of sexualization and objectification related to sexist attitudes toward men more clearly than toward women: Only participants with more hostile attitudes toward women (ASI-H) felt less objectified with positive appearance comments and felt more enjoyment with comments about tame sexual body. Therefore our study showed sexist attitudes toward women (hostile and benevolent) to be a weak predictor of enjoyment and objectification associated with the comments about the appearance and the sexual body. On the contrary, however, sexist attitudes toward men represented a more powerful predictor, such that higher hostile sexism toward men (AMI-H) predicted a greater objectification with all type of comments and less enjoyment with crude sexual body comments. Additionally, higher benevolent sexism toward men (AMI-B) predicted greater enjoyment but only for negative appearance comments. Finally, sexist attitudes do not predict enjoyment of positive appearance comments for any perpetrators.

The most relevant results of our study supported more enjoyment and less objectification when partners made comments about appearance and sexual body, and less enjoyment and more objectification when the same comments were made by strangers, colleagues and friends, except when negative appearance comments were evaluated. Our results are consistent with the results of Riemer et al. (2014), supporting the hypothesis that psychological intimacy is relevant to the evaluation of women's enjoyment of body-centered comments. The results of our study corroborate this claim because more enjoyment and less objectification were observed when comments were made by intimate partners, and the least enjoyment and more objectification when the comments were made by strangers, colleagues and friends. Comments from strangers and colleagues were perceived similarly, as in Riemer et al. (2014), when strangers and bosses were evaluated in an undergraduate sample.

According to Loughnan and Pacilli (2014), street sexual harassment (by strangers) and workplace sexual harassment (by colleagues or bosses) could be considered types of sexual objectification with a hostile intent and a blatant expression. So, women may more easily recognize that these forms of hostile objectification could punish those women who do not submit to gender stereotypes in the same way that hostile sexist behaviors do (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For this reason, it may be easier for women to recognize objectification perpetrated by strangers and colleagues, reject it, and feel less enjoyment.

On the other hand, Loughnan and Pacilli (2014) argue that compliments within social interactions may be seen as an emblematic case of benevolent intent and subtle expression of objectification. Comments/compliments about appearance and sexual body could be effective forms of feedback and reward for women who acquiesce to gender stereotypes, as in the case of benevolent sexism. Through comments/compliments, women can feel attractive and desired, validating their appearance and positively influencing their self-esteem. This creates a cycle that can trap women, because in order to receive this reward, women must continue taking care of their appearance and body, thereby maintaining the value of their body as the main element that defines their higher value. Because of this, it may be more difficult for women to recognize objectification perpetrated by partners, as our study suggests.

Women probably implicitly assume that in a close relationship they will be valued for other nonphysical qualities, not *only* for their bodies. Indeed, women who are valued for their bodies *and* for other nonphysical qualities feel more satisfied with their relationships (Meltzer & McNulty, 2014). Extending this idea, women could also expect to be valued for their body and for other nonphysical qualities by their friends. Such a hypothesis could explain the result of our study. Our data show that all women enjoy comments about positive appearance and tame sexual body more when they were made by friends, as opposed to strangers and colleagues, but the level of enjoyment never reached the level of comments made by partners. Indeed, the results show that women feel the least enjoyment and greater objectification when comments were made by colleagues, even at the same level as those made by strangers. One explanation may be that women expect evaluations from colleagues to be based only on nonphysical qualities, thereby experiencing greater betrayal (i.e., more objectification and less enjoyment) when they receive comments about their bodies from colleagues in the workplace.

Additionally, the greater enjoyment and less objectification that was experienced by the women in our study when the comments were made by partners may reflect beliefs concerning motivation. Comments are made based upon “good intentions” and “for your own good,” or made in way that “did not try to hurt.” These beliefs could have an anesthetic effect on the critical scrutiny of comments received specifically from their partner or a potential partner because women believe they are in a safe space. Such beliefs may be misplaced, as suggested, for example, by the alarming evidence and dramatic consequences of intimate partner violence (Stöckl et al., 2013).

In fact, the space defined within a close relationship may be the most vulnerable for women because romantic love seems culturally sacred and magical (Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2010). It is

probably difficult for women to discern the inherent inequality built into romantic relationships, and it is this partner-inequality unawareness that keeps women from realizing that objectification comments in this context are sexist (Milillo, 2006). Therefore, objectification by partners could be considered to be chivalrous behavior, as with other benevolent sexist behaviors (Glick & Fiske, 2001). If a benevolent sexist is less likely to be seen as sexist (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005), partner objectification maybe more dangerous for women because the enjoyment of objectification comments by an intimate partner, more than other perpetrators, could be an effective way to keep women objectified and thus hold them in a position of inequality (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Thus, intimate partner objectification could be a benign communication of sexual interest but could go beyond by blending affection with dominance, making it difficult for women to separate a male intimate's benevolent caring from manipulative control (Moya et al., 2007), in a similar way to objectification comments.

Therefore, heterosexual men's compliments to women in romantic relationships may reinforce a feedback cycle of objectification and self-objectification that continually rewards any effort to submit to standards of beauty. In fact, heterosexual men reported higher levels of partner objectification than did women (Zubriggen, Ramsey, & Jaworski, 2011), and women who felt that their partners frequently surveyed their bodies were more likely to experience self-surveillance, increased body shame, and lowered sexual adequacy (Ramsey & Hoyt, 2015). Moreover, those who experienced sexualization tended to feel more objectified by their partner, lowering relationship satisfaction (Ramsey, Marotta, & Hoyt, 2017). Our result, although weakly, show that the objectification perceived when women received positive appearance comments by their partners may be more harmful because their lower sexism might not protect them in the way it does when comments are made by strangers or colleagues. Sexist attitudes may be a red flag for women when comments about appearance are made by a stranger, a colleague, but not when they come from a partner, so objectification may indeed slip below the radar in romantic relationships. This provocative idea needs a more nuanced evaluation in future research.

Our results also suggest that the objectification and the enjoyment of the sexualization of women's bodies may represent opposite sides of the same coin (Liss et al., 2011). The high negative correlation between enjoyment and objectification ($-.73$ for sexual body and $-.64$ for appearance comments) supports that idea, although factor analyses support two independent factors (enjoyment of sexualization; felt objectification; Lameiras et al., 2017).

Finally, the relationship between enjoyment/objectification on appearance with sexist attitudes was more clearly related to sexist attitudes toward men but more weakly toward women. Our results support, for the first time, the importance of attitudes toward men in understanding the evaluations that women make about men's comments about appearance and the sexual body of women. However, taking into account that attitudes toward men and attitudes toward women are a complementary set of gender-traditional beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999), it seems premature to discard the role that sexist attitudes toward women may have in assessing women's appearance-related comments, and future research should continue to investigate these relationships.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although our study is the first known to quantify women's feelings of enjoyment and objectification from comments by different perpetrators, our results should be taken with caution. First, several scenarios and comments were selected by authors from a pilot survey and used to assess how women feel when comments are made by several perpetrators; although the comments were chosen following a reasoned judgment process, the selection process inevitably involves a certain bias. Therefore, it may be wise to replicate our study incorporating different scenarios and comments to explore whether women evaluate them in a similar way. Additionally, it could be interesting to include other perpetrators in the work place (e.g., boss, supervisors, or clients) because the perpetrator-victim relationship is important to understanding aggression in workplace context (Pina & Gannon, 2012).

Additionally, our results suggest a point about the relation between this feeling and sexist attitudes, but indicate that objectification and enjoyment of sexualization only partially relate to sexist attitudes (toward men but more weakly toward women). However, our study represents the first time this relation was evaluated so it should be replicated including other scales and samples to support the stability of our results. Furthermore, we cannot rule out social desirability as a factor in our findings. This question also should be explored in future research.

In addition, it could be fruitful, as suggested by Calogero and colleagues (2009), to carry out qualitative studies in which participants face in-depth interviews or focus-group situations with real experiences in order to provide insight into the lesser-known aspects involved in women's reactions to different kinds of comments/compliments. In the future, it may also be advantageous to extend these studies to include men so as to explore not only how they feel when receiving objectification messages (Visser, Sultani, Choma & Pozzebon, 2014), but also how they perceive objectification when they make comments on women's appearance and sexual body. There also needs to be more in-depth research done into other forms of interpersonal objectification (e.g., objectifying gazes, Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2011; cat-call remarks, Chaudoir & Quinn, 2010), both within and beyond romantic relationships, a virtually uncharted area of research to date.

Finally, although our study is the first, to our knowledge, to use a sample of the general population, only heterosexual and bisexual women were included. It could be advantageous to show whether these results are replicated with other samples of women of a different sexual orientation to know how they feel when appearance-related comments were made by women (partners or not) and men (not partners), and also other samples of heterosexual women of varying backgrounds, ages, and contexts. Future studies should also include validation checks for self-reported gender.

Practice Implications

Our study has relevant implications for a variety of professionals, including activists, therapists/counselors, and educators. Objectification by colleagues or strangers is overt, and our results suggest high rejection by participants to comments on their appearance and sexual body when made by strangers and colleagues. Additionally, there are terms to

identify it clearly: workplace sexual harassment or street sexual harassment. On the other hand, our results suggest high reported enjoyment and low perceived objectification when the comments were made by partners, making it more difficult to identify objectification by partners. Recent studies inform us that partner objectification maybe related to negative consequences (directly or indirectly), including sexual pressure and coercion, women's body shame, and women's lowered sexual agency (Ramsey & Hoyt, 2015; Zubriggen et al., 2011).

Thus, our results suggest the difficulties women have in identifying comments on their appearance and sexual body as objectification inside romantic relationships, despite this occurring when strangers or colleagues made the comments. Goals arguably should be to help women realize that a comment/compliment about their bodies is not necessarily a good thing (Calogero et al., 2009) and to help women recognize partner objectification and to stop paying attention to the most benevolent and chivalrous men (Motañes, Lemus, Moya, Bohner & Megias, 2013). Chivalrous men may be much more likely to objectify women by paying them compliments on their appearance and their bodies. Therefore, the goal could be to help women deactivate their romantic idealizations and understand that objectification of any kind and from any perpetrator emphasizes external physical features rather than internal mental states like thoughts, feelings, goals, and desires.

What is more, a chronic focus on appearance could limit women from developing the competences needed to improve their social status and their positions in society. Therefore, our data could support a clear message to girls and women: Whoever it comes from, objectification reinforces the notion that women's bodies exist for the pleasure of men. In order to get these messages out, they could be disseminated within the education system as well as through social networks, internet, and media; they should encourage critical reflection about partner objectification and how intimate partner objectification may be analogously to intimate partner violence. These messages may be included in programs focusing on comprehensive sex education, prevention of dating violence, prevention of sexual abuse, prevention of sexual harassment, and any program designed to promote the overall health of younger and older women. All of these materials and interventions should make the links between gender socialization and objectification explicit because, in both cases, women are defined by their bodies and appearance.

In addition, the objectification of women is intricately linked to compulsory heterosexual masculinity and femininity. Therefore, it is necessary to work specifically on gender stereotypes to bring about the necessary changes in the way in which girls and women as well as boys and men build their identities and relationships.

Conclusion

The present study represents the first approach to know how women evaluate comments about appearance and sexual body when made by different perpetrators (strangers, colleagues, friends, and partners), and show, for the first time, how they were influenced by sexist attitudes. The results of our study lend strong support to the psychological intimacy hypothesis (Riemer et al., 2014) and help to understand the clear rejection of comments about appearance and sexual body from strangers and colleagues, and even friends, but the

greater enjoyment and less objectification when comments were made by partners. Our study takes a step forward by presenting the first known test that enjoyment and objectification are related to sexist attitudes (more strongly toward men than toward women). Our research focuses on one objectifying behavior that women can experience frequently, but surprisingly this subject has been given very little attention until now. More work should be focused in this direction to improve our capacity to understand the complexity of the objectification process in an interpersonal context so as to develop effective prevention actions to reduce its harmful consequences for women.

Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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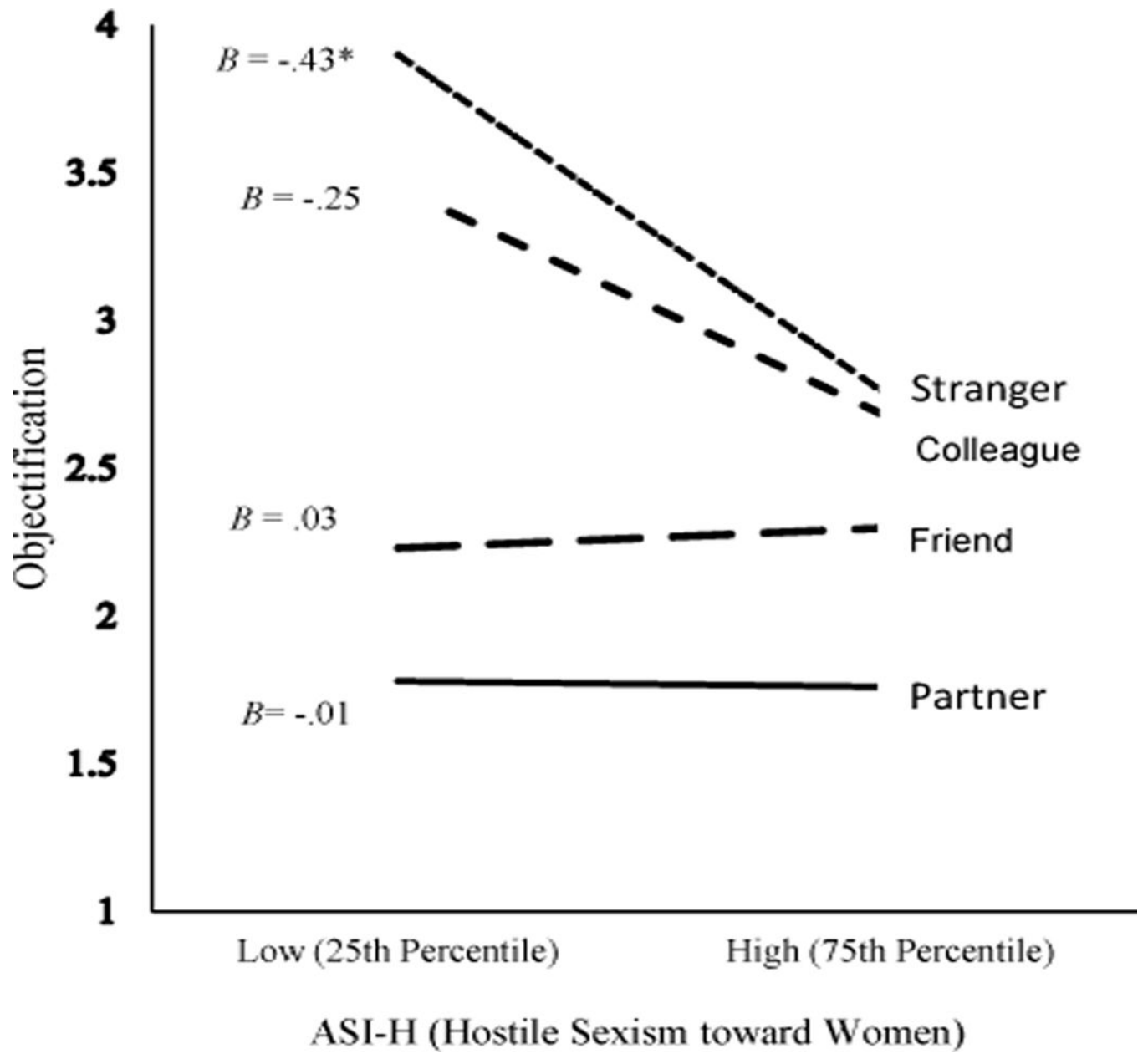


Figure 1. Objectification of positive appearance comments as a function of perpetrator and Hostile Sexism toward Women. B = Standardized regression coefficient. $*p < .05$.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Reported Objectification and Enjoyment of Sexualization by Comment Type and Perpetrator

Perpetrator	Appearance Comments				Sexual Body Comments			
	Positive		Negative		Tame		Crude	
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
(a) Reported Objectification								
Stranger	43	3.01 (1.21) _a	35	3.47 (1.16) _a	43	3.19 (1.22) _a	35	4.07 (.99) _b
Colleague	34	3.12 (1.43) _a	40	3.36 (1.09) _a	34	3.39 (1.37) _a	40	4.02 (.91) _b
Friend	35	2.47 (1.22) _a	40	2.74 (1.13) _a	35	2.81 (1.37) _a	40	3.60 (1.18) _b
Partner	37	1.67 (.86) _a	37	2.70 (1.23) _b	37	1.79 (.96) _a	37	2.55 (1.21) _b
(b) Reported Enjoyment of Sexualization								
Stranger	43	3.13 (1.21) _a	35	1.87 (.84) _b	43	3.10 (1.14) _a	35	2.38 (.96) _b
Colleague	34	3.01 (1.20) _a	40	1.95 (.93) _b	34	2.76 (1.13) _a	40	2.47 (.99) _a
Friend	35	3.91 (1.05) _a	40	2.10 (.82) _b	35	3.64 (1.04) _a	40	2.68 (1.27) _b
Partner	37	4.67 (.92) _a	37	2.34 (1.06) _b	37	4.67 (.95) _a	37	3.81 (1.35) _b

Note. Different subscripts comparing positive with negative appearance comments, and comparing tame and crude sexual body comments indicate significant differences ($p < .05$).

Table 2

Correlations among Study Variables

Variables	Correlations							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Perpetrator	--							
2. ASI-Hostile Sexism	.01	--						
3. ASI-Benevolent Sexism	.04	.48**	--					
4. AMI-Hostile Sexism	.02	.33**	.48**	--				
5. AMI-Benevolent Sexism	-.01	.64**	.75**	.41**	--			
6. Enjoyment; Appearance	.27**	.11	.15*	.06	.19**	--		
7. Enjoyment; Sexual Body	.41**	.22**	.17**	.01	.24**	.67**	--	
8. Objectification; Appearance	-.33**	-.09	-.12*	.12*	-.08	-.64**	-.49**	--
9. Objectification; Sexual Body	-.39**	-.14*	-.12*	.13*	-.13*	-.61**	-.73**	.73**

Notes. Perpetrator: stranger = 1, colleague = 2, friend = 3, partner = 4. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (assessing sexism toward women); AMI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (assessing sexism toward men).

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

Table 3
 Hierarchical Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Objectification and Enjoyment of Sexualization for Appearance Comments

Predictors	Reported Objectification			Reported Enjoyment of Sexualization								
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3						
	β	t	r	β	t	r						
(a) Positive Appearance Comments												
Perpetrator ^a	-.40	-5.30***	-.40	-5.36***	-.40	-5.33***	.48	6.64***	.48	6.59***	.48	6.72***
ASI-Hostile Sexism			-.22	-2.12*	-.19	-1.84*			.17	1.66	.13	1.29
ASI-Benevolent Sexism			-.16	-1.40	-.14	-1.19			.01	.11	-.01	-.10
AMI-Hostile Sexism			.21	2.49*	.23	2.59**			-.07	-.88	-.07	-.84
AMI-Benevolent Sexism			.11	.83	.09	.65			.04	.31	.06	.49
Perpetrator x ASI-H					.22	2.10*					-.17	-1.71
Perpetrator x ASI-B					.08	-.13					-.12	-1.17
Perpetrator x AMI-H					-.04	-.49					.02	.27
Perpetrator x AMI-B					-.15	-1.17					.05	.41
$F(df, df_{error})$		25.13 (1,147)***		6.99 (5,143)***	4.33 (9,139)***	44.15 (1,147)		6.87 (5,143)***		4.37 (9,139)***		
R^2		.161***		.223***	.249***	.231***		.267***		.306***		
ΔR^2		.063*		.026		.036				.040		
(b) Negative Appearance Comments												
Perpetrator ^a	-.27	-3.46***	-.28	-3.67***	-.30	-3.72***	.19	2.37*	.22	2.81**	.20	2.53**
ASI-Hostile Sexism			-.03	-.31	.00	.00			.02	.16	.01	.13
ASI-Benevolent Sexism			-.22	-1.69	-.23	-1.67			-.11	-.88	-.13	-.94
AMI-Hostile Sexism			.28	3.15**	.25	2.66**			.02	.25	.03	.35
AMI-Benevolent Sexism			-.01	-.07	.00	.00			.36	2.75**	.36	2.65**
Perpetrator x ASI-H					.01	.13					.07	.75
Perpetrator x ASI-B					.24	1.71					-.02	-.21
Perpetrator x AMI-H					-.08	-.83					.08	.84
Perpetrator x AMI-B					-.19	-1.31					-.07	-.75
$F(df, df_{error})$		11.99 (1,150)***		3.78 (5,146)***	2.36 (9,142)**	2.48 (1,150)*		4.24(5,146)***		2.50 (9,142)**		

Predictors	Reported Objectification						Reported Enjoyment of Sexualization					
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
R^2	.074***		.142***		.160***		.036*		.127***		.137***	
ΔR^2			.068*		.018				.091**		.010	

Note. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (assessing sexism toward women); AMI = Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (assessing sexism toward men).

^aPerpetrator: stranger =1, colleague =2, friend =3, partner =4.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

Hierarchical Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Objectification and Enjoyment of Sexualization for Sexual Body Comments

Table 4

Predictors	Reported Objectification						Reported Enjoyment of Sexualization					
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
(a) Tame Sexual Body Comments												
Perpetrator ^a	-.39	-5.14***	-.39	-5.25***	-.39	-5.29***	.49	6.73***	.49	6.99***	.50	7.01***
ASI-Hostile Sexism	-.18	-1.73	-.17	-1.61			.21	2.16*	.20	2.01*		
ASI-Benevolent Sexism	-.16	-1.47	-.14	-1.22			-.08	-.80	-.11	-1.3		
AMI-Hostile Sexism	.31	3.75***	.31	3.68***			-.12	-1.51	-.10	-1.48		
AMI-Benevolent Sexism	-.01	-.11	-.03	-.19			.18	1.44	.19	1.48		
Perpetrator x ASI-H			.11	1.03			-.06	-.66				
Perpetrator x ASI-B			.01	.04			-.09	-.91				
Perpetrator x AMI-H			-.07	-.89			.08	.98				
Perpetrator x AMI-B			-.09	-.71			-.07	-.54				
<i>F</i> (df, <i>df</i> _{error})	23.07 (1,147)***	7.68 (5,143)***	6.08 (9,139)***	45.33 (1,147)***	8.82 (5,143)***	5.35 (9,139)***						
<i>R</i> ²	.152***	.253***	.283***	.236***	.319***	.348***						
ΔR^2	.101***	.029	.083**									
(b) Crude Sexual Body Comments												
Perpetrator ^a	-.45	-6.12***	-.46	-6.45***	-.45	-6.20***	.39	5.15***	.41	5.68***	.42	5.62***
ASI-Hostile Sexism	-.14	-1.61	-.15	-1.65			.13	1.43	.15	1.66		
ASI-Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.14	-.02	-.20			.04	.36	.07	.56		
AMI-Hostile Sexism	.23	2.85	.24	2.79**			-.16	-1.89	-.18	-2.07*		
AMI-Benevolent Sexism	-.15	-1.28	-.14	-1.16			.23	1.85	.21	1.64		
Perpetrator x ASI-H			-.03	-.33			.02	.23				
Perpetrator x ASI-B			-.02	-.13			.04	.27				
Perpetrator x AMI-H			-.03	-.36			-.13	-1.41				
Perpetrator x AMI-B			-.04	-.34			-.05	-.37				
<i>F</i> (df, <i>df</i> _{error})	24.83 (1,150)***	6.96 (5,146)***	3.88 (9,142)***	26.49 (1,150)***	7.09 (5,146)***	4.16 (9,142)***						

Predictors	Reported Objectification			Reported Enjoyment of Sexualization		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
R^2	.200***	.279***	.281***	.150***	.253***	.267***
ΔR^2		.080**	.002		.103***	.014

Note. ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (assessing sexism toward women); AMI = Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (assessing sexism toward men).

^aPerpetrator: stranger =1, colleague =2, friend =3, partner =4.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.