

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Western Cultural Identification Explains Variations in the Objectification Model for Eating Pathology Across Australian Caucasians and Asian Women

Citation for published version:

Shiyun, C, Fuller Tyszkiewwicz, M, Utpala, R, Yeung, V, de Paoli, T, Loughnan, S & Krug, I 2016, 'Western Cultural Identification Explains Variations in the Objectification Model for Eating Pathology Across Australian Caucasians and Asian Women', *Frontiers in Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01578

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01578

Link:

Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version: Peer reviewed version

Published In: Frontiers in Psychology

Publisher Rights Statement:

This Document is Protected by copyright and was first published by Frontiers. All rights reserved. It is reproduced with permission.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Édinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.





ACCULTURATION EXPLAINS VARIATIONS IN THE OBJECTIFICATION MODEL FOR EATING PATHOLOGY ACROSS AUSTRALIAN CAUCASIANS AND ASIAN WOMEN

Charmain S. Tan Shiyun^{1, 2}, Matthew Fuller-Tyszkiewicz³, Ranjani Utpala², Victoria Yeung⁴, Tara de Paoli¹, Steve Loughnan⁵, Isabel Krug^{1*}

¹University of Melbourne, Australia, ²National University of Singapore, Singapore, ³Deakin University, Australia, ⁴Lingnan University, Hong Kong, ⁵University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

Submitted to Journal: Frontiers in Psychology

Specialty Section: Eating Behavior

Article type: Original Research Article

Manuscript ID: 182947

Received on: 18 Jan 2016

Revised on: 26 May 2016

Frontiers website link: www.frontiersin.org



Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest

Author contribution statement

CT, IK, SL, RU and MT drafted the manuscript and conceptualized the aims and hypotheses. MT conducted the analyses. IK, VY, CT, TP set up data collection. All authors provided feedback on different versions of the manuscripts. All authors read and approved the final manuscript and are accountable for all aspects of the work in ensuring that questions related to the accuracy of any part of the work are appropriately investigated.

Keywords

objectification, body shame, appearance anxiety thin-ideal internalization, eating pathology, cultural, Acculturation

Abstract

Word count: 294

Objective: To assess differences in trait objectifying measures and eating pathology between Australian Caucasians and Asian women with high and low levels of acculturation and to see if exposure to objectifying images had an effect on stateobjectification. A further aim was to assess using path-analyses whether an extended version of the objectification model, including thin-ideal internalization, differed depending on the level of acculturation. Method: A total of 424 participants comprising 162 Australian Caucasians and 262 Asians (n=133 with high and n=129 with low levels of acculturation) took part in the current study. Participants were randomly allocated into one of two conditions, presenting either objectifying images of attractive and thin Asian and Caucasian female models (objectification group, n=204), or showing neutral images of objects (e.g. chairs, tables: control group, n=220). Subsequently, participants were asked to complete a series of questionnaires assessing objectification processes and eating pathology. Results: Findings revealed that the Caucasian group presented with significantly higher internalization and body surveillance scores than either of the two Asian groups and also revealed higher scores on traitself-objectification than the low-acculturated Asian sample. Differences across the Asian groups were also revealed, with the low-acculturated Asian group presenting with higher body shame than the high-acculturated Asian group. As regards to the effects of objectifying images on state self-objectification, we found that ratings were higher after exposure to women than to control objects for each of the three acculturation groups. Finally, multi-group analyses revealed that our revised objectification model functioned equally across the Caucasian and the high-acculturated Asian groups, but differed for Caucasians and the low-acculturation Asian group. Conclusions: Our findings outline that individuals with varying acculturation levels, might respond differently to self-objectification processes. Acculturation should therefore be taken into consideration when working with women from different cultural backgrounds.

Funding statement

We don't have any funding for the study. We have therefore applied for a reduction in the processing fee, but haven't yet heard back as regards to the outcome of our application.

Ethics statement

(Authors are required to state the ethical considerations of their study in the manuscript including for cases where the study was exempt from ethical approval procedures.)

Did the study presented in the manuscript involve human or animal subjects: Yes

Please state the full name of the ethics committee that approved the study. If the study was exempt from this requirement please state the reason below.

Ethical Approval for the Current Study by obtained from University of Melbourne School of Psychological Sciences Ethics Committee

Please detail the consent procedure used for human participants or for animal owners. If not applicable, please state this.

Participants provided consent by ticking of a box indicating that they conented to take part in the current study. A tick off box was chosen, since the assessment included an online questionnaire. Participants were able to withdraw from the study at any time.

Please detail any additional considerations of the study in cases where vulnerable populations were involved, for example minors, persons with disabilities or endangered animal species. If not applicable, please state this. Not applicable

1	ACCULTURATION EXPLAINS VARIATIONS IN THE
2	OBJECTIFICATION MODEL FOR EATING PATHOLOGY
3	ACROSS AUSTRALIAN CAUCASIANS AND ASIAN WOMEN
4 5	
6	Charmain Samantha Tan Shiyun ^{1,2} , Matthew Fuller-Tyszkiewicz ^{3,4} , Ranjani Utpala ² , Victoria
7	Yeung ⁵ , Tara de Paoli ¹ , Stephen Loughan ⁶ , & Isabel Krug ^{1*}
8	
9	¹ Melbourne School of Psychological Sciences, The University of Melbourne, VIC, Australia
10	² Psychology Department, National University of Singapore, Singapore
11	³ Centre for Social and Early Emotional Development, School of Psychology, Deakin University,
12	VIC,
13	⁴ School of Psychology, Deakin University, School of Psychology, Deakin University
14	⁵ Department of Applied Psychology, Lingnan University, Hong Kong
15	⁶ Department of Psychology, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh
16	
17	Word count: 7497
18	Number of Tables: 2
19 20	Number of Figures: 4
21	
22	
23	*Address for correspondence:
24	Isabel Krug, PhD, Senior Lecturer in Clinical Psychology, University of Melbourne, Psychology
25	Clinic, 14-20 Blackwood Street, Vic 3010, Melbourne, Australia; Tel: + 61390358551;
26	Fax:+61393264774; e-mail: Isabel.krug@unimelb.edu.au

1 2 3

ABSTRACT

4 **Objective:** To assess differences in trait objectifying measures and eating pathology between 5 Australian Caucasians and Asian women with high and low levels of acculturation and to see if 6 exposure to objectifying images had an effect on state-objectification. A further aim was to 7 assess using path-analyses whether an extended version of the objectification model, including 8 thin-ideal internalization, differed depending on the level of acculturation. Method: A total of 9 424 participants comprising 162 Australian Caucasians and 262 Asians (n=133 with high and 10 n=129 with low levels of acculturation) took part in the current study. Participants were randomly allocated into one of two conditions, presenting either objectifying images of attractive 11 and thin Asian and Caucasian female models (objectification group, n=204), or showing neutral 12 13 images of objects (e.g. chairs, tables; control group, n=220). Subsequently, participants were 14 asked to complete a series of questionnaires assessing objectification processes and eating pathology. **Results:** Findings revealed that the Caucasian group presented with significantly 15 16 higher internalization and body surveillance scores than either of the two Asian groups and also revealed higher scores on trait-self-objectification than the low-acculturated Asian sample. As 17 regards to the effects of objectifying images on state self-objectification, we found that ratings 18 19 were higher after exposure to women than to control objects for each of the three acculturation groups. Finally, multi-group analyses revealed that our revised objectification model functioned 20 equally across the Caucasian and the high-acculturated Asian groups, but differed for Caucasians 21 22 and the low-acculturation Asian group. Conclusions: Our findings outline that individuals with varying acculturation levels, might respond differently to self-objectification processes. 23 Acculturation should therefore be taken into consideration when working with women from 24 25 different cultural backgrounds.

26

Key words: Objectification, body shame, appearance anxiety thin-ideal internalization, eating
 pathology, cultural, acculturation

2

29 30

1 2

INTRODUCTION

3 Objectification theory, developed by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), proposes a formal 4 framework that allows incorporation of both sociocultural (including media influences) and 5 psychological risk factors, and their interactions with eating pathology. The literature has also 6 advocated for the inclusion of internalization of the media ideal as preceding self-objectification, 7 however studies incorporating this variable have been scarce (Moradi, & Huang, 2008). Most of 8 the studies supporting the model have been correlational and only more recently have studies 9 established growing support for the model using experimental designs (Harper, 2008) or 10 structural equation modelling (SEM) and/or path-analyses (Dakanalis et al., 2015a,b; Tiggemann, & Williams, 2012). Moreover, cross-cultural validation of the objectification model 11 using these designs have been extremely limited (Kim et al., 2014), and the extent to which 12 13 participants had acculturated to western ideals was not directly measured in the few cultural 14 studies, even though it would likely impact the effects of ethnicity on objectification-related outcomes (Doris et al., 2015). The present study assessed, for the first time, within an Australian 15 16 and Hong Kong context, differences across three acculturation groups (Caucasians, highacculturated Asians and less-acculturated Asians). It should be noted that the cultural norms in 17 Australia and Hong Kong (given that it used to be a British colony), aligns with the thin ideal in 18 19 other western cultures (Jennings et al., 2006; Lai et al., 2013); and that Australia has a high proportion of Asian heritage individuals. In specific the current study will assess differences 20 across the three acculturation groups in trait objectification processes and eating pathology and 21 22 will use an experimental design to investigate whether exposure to objectifying media images had an effect on state-objectification in these three groups. Additionally, this study assessed, 23 using path-analyses, whether a revised version of the objectification model, including thin-ideal 24 25 internalization, varied depending on the level of acculturation of the participants.

26

27 Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) asserts that women, through gender socialization and repeated experiences of sexual objectification (e.g., sexual harassment, 28 29 exposure to media that objectify women), begin to take on an observer's perspective of their body, and perceive and consider themselves as objects to be judged based on appearance (i.e., 30 they self-objectify). Self-objectification is characterized by habitual monitoring of one's outward 31 32 appearance. The literature further distinguishes between state and trait self-objectification. The former refers to self-objectification that occurs as a consequence of an objectifying encounter or 33 34 within a specific context (e.g., experimentally induced), while the latter relates to intrapersonal 35 characteristics, which tends to be more stable, though in this instance, is still influenced by longstanding socialization processes (Moradi, & Huang, 2008). Self-objectification is the 36 primary component of the objectification model, and the mechanism by which exposure to a 37 38 cultural environment that encourages objectification of women results in psychological 39 problems.

40

More recently, the literature has advocated for the inclusion of internalization as preceding selfobjectification (Dakanelis et al., 2014; Moradi, & Huang, 2008; Tiggemann, 2013). Internalization of the media ideal refers to the extent an individual endorses and engages in behaviours which helps them to abide by societal archetypes of attractiveness (Harrison et al., 2006). While most women in westernized countries are exposed to the pervasive thin-ideal female form and the pressure to conform, not all of them go on to experience adverse

1 psychological outcomes. It has been argued that the adoption of cultural standards of beauty (i.e., 2 internalization) is a key mediating variable between exposure to sexual objectification and self-3 objectification, psychological issues and maladaptive eating patterns, and should therefore be 4 included in future objectification studies (Moradi, & Huang, 2008). *Figure 1* outlines the 5 objectification model, including thin-ideal internalization, as it relates to eating pathology.

6 7

8

---- Insert figure 1 about here ----

9 Correlational studies of the objectification model (with or without internalization) have found
10 relationships between self-objectification processes and levels of eating disorder symptoms
11 across a variety of population types, including adolescents (Slater & Tiggemann, 2010), young
12 females (Dakanalis et al., 2013, 2016), older women (Augustus-Horvath & Tylka, 2009),
13 physically active women (Greenleaf & McGreer, 2006), women with eating disorders (Calogero
14 et al., 2005), deaf women (Moradi, & Rottenstein, 2007), lesbian women (Kozee & Tylka, 2006)
15 and heterosexual and gay men (Dakanalis et al., 2012; Engeln-Maddox et al., 2011).

16

In the few comparative studies between Caucasian and Asian women, Frederick and colleagues 17 (Frederick et al., 2006; 2007), reported equal levels of body surveillance, but greater body 18 19 dissatisfaction in Asian compared to Caucasian women, once body mass index (BMI) was statistically controlled. However, despite differences in body dissatisfaction, there was a similar 20 body surveillance-body dissatisfaction relationship across both groups. Another study comparing 21 22 Caucasian and Asian women revealed that self-objectification was related to body shame and 23 surveillance in both groups, despite higher trait self-objectification, body surveillance and body shame scores in the Caucasian group (Claudat et al., 2012). Therefore, these studies suggest that 24 25 the relationships conceived within the objectification model might be similarly applicable to Asian women, however further experimental studies and research using more advanced statistical 26 27 procedures such as SEM and/or path modelling in cultural diverse samples are required to verify these initial findings. 28

29

30 To date, experimental studies that have tested the effect of objectifying media images on state self-objectification have been relatively scarce. One of the key studies in this area, elicited state 31 self-objectification by exposing women to advertisements taken from fashion magazines 32 marketed towards young adult women (Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). Those in the control 33 34 condition were shown images featuring products without people, while those in the two 35 experimental groups were shown images containing thin women with or without attractive men and four images from the control condition. The researchers found that women from the 36 experimental groups had greater state self-objectification, weight related appearance anxiety, 37 38 negative mood states, and body dissatisfaction compared to individuals who viewed the control images. However, no differences were identified across conditions for non-weight-related 39 appearance anxiety. Aubrey and colleagues (2009) similarly investigated the impact of showing 40 images of female models with high skin exposure, women's body parts or models with low skin 41 exposure on self-objectification and criterion variables. They found that participants in the high 42 skin exposure condition used more negative words to describe their appearances and had greater 43 44 state self-objectification relative to the other conditions. To our knowledge there is no study that has assessed the effect of media images on state self-objectification in a culturally diverse 45 sample. Further cross-cultural experimental research in this area is therefore required. 46

Recent studies have incorporated SEM and/or path-analyses in their analyses, enabling 1 2 simultaneous assessment of all of the relationships within the objectification model (Calogero, & 3 Pina, 2011; Dakanelis et al., 2015a,b; Tiggemann, & Williams, 2012; Tylka, & Sabik, 2010). 4 Most of these studies have found support for the pathways within the objectification model. In a comprehensive test of the objectification model using SEM, Tiggemann and Williams (2012), 5 6 found a sufficient fit of the model within a primarily white female population. Significantly, the 7 model accounted for 93% of the variance in predicting eating disorder symptoms, with both body 8 shame and appearance anxiety as major mediators. Additionally, past studies have also used 9 SEM to demonstrate the role of internalization in contributing to body image disturbances and 10 subsequently, eating pathology (Kozee & Tylka, 2006; Moradi et al., 2005; Tylka, & Subich, 2004). However, there appears to be only one study exploring the applicability of the 11 objectification model in an Asian population (Kim et al., 2014) living in their home country. In 12 13 college age Asian-born South Korean women, internalization, body surveillance, and body 14 shame were found to mediate the relationship between media exposure and maladaptive eating (Kim et al., 2014). This provides support for the generalizability of the objectification model to a 15 16 South Korean cohort, and raises the possibility that the model could be extended to other Asian populations as well. However, a limitation of this study was that the sample assessed might have 17 varied considerable as regards to having adapted to the western cultural ideal, which could have 18 19 been accounted for by assessing level of acculturation to western culture.

20

Acculturation has been defined as the process of psychosocial change that transpires as the 21 22 dominant society's cultural values, language, norms, and behaviours such as the western ideal of 23 beauty, are acquired (Alvidrez et al., 1996). It is possible that Asian women experience changes 24 in terms of their body image and eating behaviours when they become more acculturated to the 25 Western cultural norms. Thus far, research on the links of acculturation with body image and 26 eating disorder symptoms has produced mixed findings, with a recent systematic review (Doris 27 et al., 2015) on the topic, outlining that both higher and lower acculturation levels have been identified as risk factors for the development of eating disorders in Asian women (Doris et al., 28 29 2015). The same review also outlined that these inconsistent findings could partially be explained by the different acculturation measures employed in the studies reviewed. Further 30 research on acculturation in relation to the objectification model in cross-cultural studies using 31 32 validated acculturation measures assessing various components of acculturation (e.g. language, identity, friendships, behaviours, generation background and attitudes) are therefore needed 33 34 (Suinn et al., 1992).

35

36 To conclude, existing research examining objectification theory tenets has largely used convenience samples of white, upper middle class, undergraduate women. Thus, there continues 37 38 to be limited experimental research and SEM and/or path analyses studies in ethnically and culturally diverse sample. Research has also highlighted the relationship between internalization 39 and various factors within the objectification model. However, despite this association, the 40 inclusion of internalization in objectification theory research continues to be limited across SEM 41 and/or path-analysis studies. Finally, no study to date has assessed the role of acculturation on 42 the model when assessing individuals from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. However, 43 44 including acculturation into the model is important, as it might explain differences between the objectification theory constructs and/or relationships, further increasing our understanding of the 45

model across cultures. Consequently, it may also allow for more efficacious preventive measures
 and interventions techniques to reduce the risk of eating disorders in other cultures.

2 3

4 The present study aimed to integrate culture into the objectification framework for eating 5 pathology among Caucasian Australians and high and low-acculturated Asians. More 6 specifically, we aimed to partially replicate Harper and Tiggemann's (2008) research by 7 assessing the effect of objectifying images (thin-ideal Caucasian and Asian women), compared 8 to neutral pictures (chairs, tables), on ratings of state-self objectification and to assess what 9 impact acculturation played in both state and trait objectification processes and eating pathology. 10 Hence, our aims were threefold: 1.) to assess differences across trait-level variables (appearance anxiety, body shame, surveillance, trait self-objectification and eating pathology), across three 11 acculturation groups including Caucasians, high-acculturated Asians and low-acculturated 12 13 Asians; 2.) to examine the effect of objectifying images on state self-objectification across these 14 three acculturation groups; and 3.) to undertake multi-group path modelling to explore whether a (revised) objectification model, including thin-ideal internalization, differed across the three 15 16 groups (see Figure 1). Internalization was added to the model since it would further aid us in understanding the objectification model and it would also provide clarification of posited 17 18 acculturation group differences.

- 19
- 20

21

23

MATERIAL AND METHODS

22 Sample

24 The sample included 424 Asian and Caucasian women between the ages of 17 to 48 years, 25 (M=19.72, SD=3.72), who were recruited from a University in Australia (n=345) and a university in Hong Kong (n=79). Study eligibility criteria included being female, and of either 26 27 Asian or Caucasian descent. Of the participants, 38.2% (*n*=162) were Caucasian women with Australian citizenship, 20.8% (n=88) were Asian women with Australian citizenship, 22.4% 28 29 (n=95) were Asian women without Australian citizenship, but were in Australia for educational purposes, and 18.6% (n=79) were Asian women from Hong Kong. The mean body mass index 30 (BMI) of the overall sample was 21.15 kg/m^2 (SD=3.21). 31 32

33 Design

34

An experimental between-subjects design was used to assess the impact of objectifying images on the variables in the objectification theory. Participants were randomly allocated into one of two conditions, one presenting 40 objectifying images of both attractive and thin Asian and Caucasian female models (objectification group), while the other showed 40 neutral images of objects (control group). Half of the total sample (n=204) were in the objectification group while the other half (n=220) were in the control group.

- 41
- 42
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46

1 **Choice of images**

2

3 The images of women were generated with an online search using descriptors related to sexual 4 objectification (e.g. "attractive", "thin", "objectification", "sexy", "Asian"). Each picture chosen 5 portraved a thin-ideal woman, who looked either Asian or Caucasian, in sexualized and/or 6 objectified manners (e.g. postures which emphasized body parts, clothed in revealing garments, 7 poses which portrayed sexual desire or interest). Attempts were made to avoid images of 8 celebrities, which might result in greater attention or other inadvertent biases not present within 9 the other stimulus. The initial pool of images was reduced to 20 Asian women and 20 Caucasian 10 women by a group of female volunteers (N=10). They were asked to rate how attractive the images within each set were using a five-point Likert scale (1=Unattractive; 5=Attractive). 11 Images with the highest ratings were chosen for use in the experiment. The pictures of objects 12 13 were selected using a similar process, changing only the keywords used (e.g. "accessories", 14 "home ware")."

15

16 Measures

17

Demographics: Information on age, country of birth, years lived in Australia, ethnicity, weight,
 and height were obtained. BMI was subsequently calculated as the ratio of weight (kg) to height
 squared (m²).

21

22 State self-objectification: A shortened version of the Twenty Statements Test [TST; 23 (Fredrickson et al., 1998)] was used to assess experimentally heightened changes in self-24 objectification. Participants were asked to describe themselves by completing ten sentences 25 about their identity that begin with the phrase "I am". Reponses were coded by two raters (C.T 26 and T.P.) and categorised into six categories: (a) body shape and size, (b) other physical 27 appearance, (c) physical competence, (d) traits or abilities, (e) states or emotions and (f) uncodable or illegible. Scores were derived by summing up the number of responses from the 28 29 two appearance-related categories (i.e., a and b). Scores ranged from 0 to 10 with higher scores indicative of greater state self-objectification. The second coder (T.P.) coded a random sample of 30 the statements, with a 97.6% agreement to the original ratings as to the responses either being 31 32 appearance-or not appearance-based.

33

34 **Trait self-objectification**: There are two common methods of operationalizing trait self-35 objectification within the literature. One approach is through the Body Surveillance subscale from the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale [OBCS; (McKinley & Hyde, 1996)], which is 36 behavioural in nature as it assesses level of reported habitual body monitoring. The other is via 37 38 the Self Objectification Questionnaire [SOQ; (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998)], which looks at the cognitive component of self-objectification, comparing participants' perceived importance of 39 appearance- versus competence-based body attributes. Currently, it remains unclear if the Body 40 Surveillance subscale and SOQ assess distinct or overlapping or similar construct(s). As such, 41 researchers (Moradi, & Huang, 2008) have argued for the use of both to address the process of 42 self-objectification more comprehensively. 43

- 44
- 45

Body surveillance: The Body Surveillance subscale, taken from the OBCS (McKinley & Hyde, 1 2 1996), evaluates the extent to which individuals monitor their bodies as an observer and think 3 about their bodies in terms of how it looks. There are 8 items (e.g., "I rarely compare how I look 4 with how other people look") on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Scores were averaged, with higher scores illustrating more time expended on 5 6 self-monitoring and greater concern for outward appearances. In previous studies, Cronbach's 7 alphas have ranged from .76 to .89 with a test-retest reliability of .79 (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). 8 The internal consistency in this study was .82.

9

10 Trait self-objectification: The SOQ (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998) assesses the extent to which participants have a primarily appearance-based versus competence-based self-concept. In the 11 current study, participants were asked to rank 10 attributes in order of how important the parts 12 13 were to their self-concept (with 1 being *most important* and 10 being *least important*). Scores 14 were obtained by summation of the ranks within the appearance and competency items, and 15 computing the difference of appearance from competency. Scores ranged from -25 to 25, with 16 higher scores indicative of the greater importance of appearance, which was interpreted as higher 17 trait self-objectification.

18

19 Body shame: The Body Shame subscale from the OBCS (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) assesses the level of guilt an individual experiences for not attaining the cultural standard (e.g., "I feel 20 ashamed of myself when I haven't made the effort to look my best"). It consists of 8 items, with 21 22 ratings based on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). 23 Scores were derived by averaging the responses given, with higher scores indicative of greater body shame. In a previous study, a two-week test-retest reliability of .79 and internal 24 25 consistencies ranging from .70 to .84 were reported (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). Cronbach's 26 alpha in the current sample was .81.

27

28 Appearance anxiety: This was measured using the brief version of the Appearance Anxiety 29 Scale (Dion et al., 1990), which assesses preoccupation with observable aspects of the physical self and body image assessment. Respondents reported the extent to which each of 14 statements 30 (e.g., "I get nervous when others comment on my appearance") were true of them (0 = never; 4 =31 almost *always*). Scores were achieved by summation, with higher scores demonstrating higher 32 anxiety about one's appearance. A previous study reported the internal consistency to be .86, 33 34 with a test-retest reliability of .89 (Dion et al., 1990). In the present study, the scale had an 35 internal consistency of .90.

36

37 Internalization of media ideals: The Internalization subscale from the Sociocultural Attitudes 38 Towards Appearance Scale-3 [SATAO-3 (Thompson et al., 2004)] was administered to assess 39 the internalization and acceptance of societal pressure to be thin and attractive. It consists of 9 items (e.g., "Women who appear in TV shows and movies project the type of appearance that I 40 see as my goal") and participants respond on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) 41 to 5 (completely agree). Scores were obtained by averaging item responses, with higher scores 42 representative of greater internalization. A previous study reported Cronbach's alpha of .92 43 44 (Thompson et al., 2004). Within the current sample, it had an internal consistency of .93.

45

1 Eating Pathology: The Eating Attitudes Test [EAT-26 (Garner et al., 1982)] was used to 2 determine the level of disordered eating attitudes and behaviours in participants. It is a widely 3 used screening tool consisting of 26-items on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from Always to 4 Never. These items were designed to measure level of dieting, bulimia and food preoccupation, as well as oral control. Dieting was measured by 13 items (e.g., "Am preoccupied with a desire 5 6 to be thinner"); bulimia and food preoccupation by 6 items (e.g., "Have gone on eating binges 7 where I feel that I may not be able to stop"); and oral control by 7 items "Display self-control 8 around food". The EAT-26 has excellent psychometric properties with reliability coefficients ranging between .70 and .88 (Garner et al., 1982). Cronbach's alpha for the overall EAT-26 9 10 scores in the current sample was .86.

11

Acculturation: The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn et al., 1992) is a 12 13 21-item scale that assesses different levels of acculturation, including language, identity, 14 friendships, behaviours, generation background and attitudes. A higher composite score reflects greater western identification (i.e., high-acculturation), whereas a lower composite score is 15 16 indicative of greater identification with Asian culture (i.e., low-acculturation). To examine if and how acculturation level in Asian participants impacted the objectification model, Asian 17 respondents were categorized into two groups (high- and low-acculturation), with 133 18 19 participants in the former and 129 in the latter. This was achieved by conducting a median-split on the composite score of the acculturation scale. Reliability of the scale was reported as ranging 20 from .88 to .91. (Suinn et al., 1992). Cronbach's alpha in this study was .97. 21

22

23 **Procedure**

24

25 The study was administered online via Qualtrics. At the start of the study, participants read and signed a consent form informing them of the voluntary nature of the study, before completing the 26 27 demographic questions. Next, participants were briefed that they would be viewing a slideshow 28 of 40 images. Allocation into the condition was randomized by Qualtrics, based on when they 29 began the study and self-selected ethnicity (Asian or Caucasian). The latter was done to ensure roughly equal representation of both groups across the experimental and control conditions. 30 Participants were encouraged to attend to the images, and informed that they would be asked 31 32 about them later in the study. Forty pictures of either objectified women or control were shown, one at a time, for three seconds each. Once the slideshow was completed, a battery of 33 34 questionnaires assessing the variables in the objectification framework, eating pathology and 35 acculturation was administered.

36

37 Statistical Analyses

38

All descriptive and group-difference based analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS 20.0, whereas path-analyses were conducted in Mplus. Between group analyses (using t-test, chisquare, and one-way ANOVAs, as appropriate) of the sociodemographic factors were done to identify differences between women across acculturation levels (Caucasian versus highacculturated Asian vs low-acculturated Asian participants). MANOVA analyses were used to assess the impact of acculturation level on trait self-objectification, internalization, body surveillance, body shame, appearance anxiety, and maladaptive eating behaviours. A 2 x 3 ANOVA was undertaken to evaluate the moderating effect of acculturation levels on the
 relationship between images viewed (objectifying versus control) and state self-objectification.

3

4 Finally, a series of multi-group path-analyses were undertaken to test the model shown in Figure 5 1. As we were interested in the possibility that the Caucasian group differed from the other two 6 groups, separate analyses were undertaken to compare Caucasian vs low-acculturation Asian 7 participants and Caucasian vs high-acculturation Asian participants. In both of these 8 comparisons, model parameters were set to be equal across groups (e.g., the relationship between 9 internalization and appearance anxiety was forced to be of equal magnitude for the Caucasian 10 and low-acculturation groups), and model fit was compared against a saturated model (since the model with parameters freely estimated across groups consumed all degrees of freedom). 11

12

25 26

27

29

13 Standard cut-offs were used to evaluate acceptable model fit for the model in which parameters 14 were constrained to equality: non-significant chi-square value, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) 15 >.95, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) <.06, and Standardized Root Mean 16 Square Residual (SRMR) <.08 (Byrne, 2012; Hu & Bentler, 1999). As the model in which parameters were allowed to vary across groups was saturated (i.e., chi-square = 0, df = 0, CFI = $\frac{1}{2}$ 17 1, RMSEA = 0, and SRMR = 0), fit statistics are not reported for this model. As a consequence, 18 the models were concluded to be different across groups if chi-square for the constrained model 19 was significantly different from zero (Byrne, 2012). Standardized coefficients are reported in-20 text. Studies have identified age and BMI as potential covariates of eating disorder constructs 21 22 (Augustus-Horvath & Tylka, 2009). In order to provide a more stringent test of the hypotheses, 23 age and BMI were therefore added as covariates in the path models. 24

RESULTS

28 Sociodemographics

30 The sociodemographic variables for the overall sample, Caucasian, high-acculturated Asian group, and low-acculturated Asian group are presented in Table 1. Significant group differences 31 32 were observed for BMI (p < .001), but not for age (p = .104). The low-acculturated Asians (p < .001) .001) and the high-acculturated Asians (p = .001) had lower BMI compared to Caucasian 33 34 women. There were no significant differences between the two Asian groups (p = .597) for BMI. 35 Distribution of participants across the education level categories (secondary, tertiary, and 36 postgraduate) differed significantly between the three acculturation groups (p < .001), with both 37 the low- and high-acculturation groups tending to have a higher proportion of participants 38 completing tertiary studies than the Caucasian group, and this proportion was greater for the low-39 acculturation than high-acculturation group.

- 40
- 41

---- Insert table 1 about here ----

- 42 43
- 44
- 45
- 46

1 2

The impact of acculturation on trait measures from the objectification theory

Table 2 provides a breakdown by group of acculturation of means for each of the trait variables 3 4 from the objectification theory. Across most variables, Caucasian participants reported more 5 extreme levels for each of the study variables, followed by the high-acculturation group, and then 6 the low-acculturation group. A MANOVA was conducted to evaluate acculturation-related 7 differences in the trait variables from the objectification theory, and found a significant multivariate effect for acculturation group; F(12, 834) = 4.20, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .057$. As detailed in 8 9 Table 2, significant univariate effects were observed for: (1) trait self-objectification – the low-10 acculturated group had significantly lower levels of objectification than the Caucasian group; (2) body surveillance – the Caucasian group reported higher levels of body surveillance than either 11 of the Asian subgroups, and the high acculturation group had higher levels of body surveillance 12 13 than the low acculturation group; and (3) internalization - the Caucasian group reported higher 14 levels of internalization than either of the Asian subgroups. 15

---- Insert table 2 about here -----

16 17

19

18 The impact of image type and acculturation on state self-objectification

20 A 2 x 3 factorial ANOVA was conducted using image type (objectification, control) and acculturation (Caucasian, high-acculturated Asian, low-acculturated Asian) as the independent 21 22 variables, and state self-objectification as the dependent variable. A significant main effect of image type, F(1, 418) = 10.64, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .025$ was present, with higher state self-23 objectification for images of women (M = 1.01, SD = 1.16) than for objects (M = .65, SD = .99). 24 25 The main effect for acculturation was borderline significant, F(2, 418) = 3.43, p = .051, $\eta_p^2 = .022$. Pairwise comparisons showed that the low acculturation group had significantly 26 27 higher state self-objectification (M = 1.02, SD = 1.11) than the Caucasian group (M = .73, SD = .73) 28 1.03; p = .021), but the high acculturation group (M = .76, SD = 1.11) did not significantly differ 29 from the low acculturation group (p = .060) or the Caucasian group (p = .736). There was no interaction effect, F(2 418) = 1.30, p = .273, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. 30

31

32 Comparing the revised objectification theory model across groups of acculturation 33

Multi-group path analyses showed that the proposed, objectification theory model functioned equivalently across Caucasian and high-acculturation groups [chi square (df = 25) = 27.73, p =.320; CFI = .996, RMSEA = .027, SRMR = .058], but differed for Caucasian and lowacculturation groups [chi square (df = 25) = 64.92, p < .001]. Unsurprisingly, fit for the model in which Caucasian and high-acculturation groups were constrained to equality was acceptable (CFI = .996, RMSEA = .027, SRMR = .058), but poor for the model constraining Caucasian and low-acculturation groups to equality (CFI = .939, RMSEA = .105, SRMR = .148).

- 41
- 42 *Caucasian group*
- 43

As shown in *Figure 2.a.*, for the Caucasian group, eating pathology was significantly predicted by appearance anxiety ($\beta = .30$, p = .012, two-tailed), body shame ($\beta = .44$, p < .001), body

46 surveillance ($\beta = -.34$, p = .008), and internalization ($\beta = .25$, p = .028). Appearance anxiety was

significantly predicted by body surveillance ($\beta = .52, p < .001$) and internalization ($\beta = .19, p = .034$). Body shame was significantly predicted by body surveillance ($\beta = .53, p < .001$). Trait self-objectification and body surveillance were both predicted by internalization ($\beta = .45, p < .001$, and $\beta = .71 p < .001$, respectively). Appearance anxiety co-varied with body shame ($\beta = .46, p < .001$), and trait self-objectification co-varied with body surveillance ($\beta = .29, p < .001$).

6

7 Internalization had several significant indirect effects on eating pathology, body shame, and 8 appearance anxiety: (1) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow eating pathology, $\beta = -.24$, p =.009; (2) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow body shame \rightarrow eating pathology, $\beta = .17$, p =9 .001; (3) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow appearance anxiety \rightarrow eating pathology, $\beta = .16$, 10 p = .017; (4) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow appearance anxiety, $\beta = .37$, p < .001; and 11 (5) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow body shame, $\beta = .38$, p < .001. In total, 37% of the 12 13 variance in eating pathology, 58% of the variance in appearance anxiety, 53% of the variance in 14 body surveillance, 41% of the variance in body shame, and 22% of the variance in trait selfobjectification were accounted for by predictor variables (including the covariates) in the model. 15 16

- 17 High-acculturated Asian group
- 18

19 For the high-acculturation group (see Figure 2.b.), eating pathology was significantly predicted 20 by appearance anxiety ($\beta = .27$, p = .004), body shame ($\beta = .36$, p < .001), and trait selfobjectification ($\beta = .27$, p = .005). Appearance anxiety was significantly predicted by body 21 22 surveillance ($\beta = .29$, p = .005) and internalization ($\beta = .20$, p = .023). Body shame was 23 significantly predicted by body surveillance ($\beta = 37$, p = .002). Trait self-objectification and body surveillance were both predicted by internalization ($\beta = .47$, p < .001, and $\beta = .61$, p < .001, 24 25 respectively). Appearance anxiety co-varied with body shame ($\beta = .47, p < .001$), and trait selfobjectification co-varied with body surveillance ($\beta = .35$, p < .001). 26

27

Internalization had several significant indirect effects on eating pathology, body shame, and 28 29 appearance anxiety: (1) internalization \rightarrow trait self-objectification \rightarrow eating pathology, $\beta = .13$, p 30 = .006; (2) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow body shame \rightarrow eating pathology, β = .08, p = .006; (3) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow appearance anxiety, $\beta = .17$, p = .009; and (4) 31 internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow body shame, $\beta = .22$, p = .009. 35% of the variance in 32 eating pathology, 38% of the variance in appearance anxiety, 38% of the variance in body 33 34 surveillance, 27% of the variance in body shame, and 23% of the variance in trait self-35 objectification were accounted for by predictor variables (including the covariates) in the model.

- 36 37
 - Low-acculturated Asian group
- 38

39 For the low-acculturation group (see Figure 2.c.), eating pathology was significantly predicted by appearance anxiety ($\beta = .21$, p = .040), and internalization ($\beta = .19$, p = .048). Appearance 40 anxiety was significantly predicted by trait self-objectification ($\beta = .17$, p = .012) and body 41 surveillance ($\beta = .34$, p < .001). Body shame was significantly predicted by body surveillance (β 42 = 26, p = .002) and internalization ($\beta = .31$, p < .001). Trait self-objectification and body 43 44 surveillance were both predicted by internalization ($\beta = .38$, p < .001, and $\beta = .48$, p < .001, respectively). Appearance anxiety co-varied with body shame ($\beta = .45$, p < .001), and trait self-45 46 objectification co-varied with body surveillance ($\beta = .25, p = .002$).

Internalization had several significant indirect effects on body shame and appearance anxiety, but not for eating pathology: (1) internalization \rightarrow trait self-objectification \rightarrow appearance

anxiety, $\beta = .07$, p = .029; (2) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow appearance anxiety, $\beta =$

.16, p = .001; and (3) internalization \rightarrow body surveillance \rightarrow body shame, $\beta = .12$, p = .006. In total, 25% of the variance in eating pathology, 34% of the variance in appearance anxiety, 22%

of the variance in body surveillance, 29% of the variance in body shame, and 14% of the

variance in trait self-objectification were accounted for by predictor variables (including the

8

9

covariates) in the model.

1

10

11 12

> 13 14

---- Insert figures 2 a., b. c., about here ----

DISCUSSION

15 16 Our findings revealed significant differences in trait objectification measures across the three acculturation groups, with the Caucasian group presenting with significantly higher 17 internalization and body surveillance scores than either of the two Asian groups and they also 18 19 revealed higher scores on trait-self-objectification than the low-acculturated Asian sample. As regards to the experimental component of the study, we found higher scores in the group that 20 viewed the thin-ideal images of women compared to the control group in all three acculturation 21 22 groups, indicating that our exposure was successful in eliciting state self-objectification, but that this effect generalized across cultural groups. Finally, our revised objectification model, 23 including thin-ideal internalization was equivalent across the Caucasian and the high-24 25 acculturated Asian group, but differed across the Caucasian and the low-acculturated Asian individuals. Each of these findings will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent sections. 26

27

28 Main effect of acculturation on the assessed trait variables

29

Greater trait self-objectification, internalization and body surveillance were demonstrated in
Caucasian women compared to Asian women, particularly the low-acculturated ones. This is in
line with previous findings, which have found that Asian American women had less
internalization, lower trait-objectification levels and lower body surveillance compared to
Caucasian Americans (e.g. Claudat et al., 2012; McKenney & Bigler, 2016).

35

36 A further important finding was that there were no differences in disordered eating scores across the acculturation groups. This finding is consistent with previous findings, in which Asian 37 38 American (Nouri, et al., 2011; Marques et al., 2011), and Australian women (Jennings et al., 2006) demonstrated comparable levels of weight concerns, the use of unhealthy weight control 39 behaviours and eating pathology compared to Caucasian women, but contradicts the findings of 40 other studies, which found higher eating pathology in Asian females (Jennings, et al., 2005) 41 compared to Caucasian Australians. Future studies are therefore required to disentangle these 42 contradictory findings. 43

44

45

46

1

Impact of exposure to media images and acculturation on state-self-objectification

2

3 As regards to the experimental aspect of the current study, we found that state self-objectification 4 was higher in the group viewing objectifying images compared to the control group, suggesting 5 that objectifying images were effective in inducing self-objectification. This finding is consistent 6 with the findings of other studies (Aubrey et al., 2009; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008), which also 7 found greater state self-objectification, weight related appearance anxiety, negative mood states, 8 and body dissatisfaction, in response to viewing objectifying images. However, it should be 9 noted that we were only able to assess state self-objectification in this experimental part of the 10 study, given that the other measures were all trait-based. Future studies should include a range of state-related objectification and disordered eating measures to extend our findings. 11

12

13 Even though an interaction between the exposure group (objectifying versus control) and the 14 acculturation group was not revealed, we found that the low-acculturation Asian group exhibited the highest state self-objectification ratings after exposure to images of women. This finding 15 16 could be attributable to the fact that perhaps the low-acculturated Asian group had fewer opportunities to be exposed to the Western thin ideal, resulting in a more detrimental influence of 17 18 these images in this group.

19

Comparing the revised objectification theory model across groups of acculturation 20

21

22 Despite some differences between the aforementioned variables across acculturation, invariance 23 testing indicated that the objectification model was largely equivalent between Caucasians and 24 high-acculturated Asian women, but differed significantly between the Caucasians and the low-25 acculturated Asian group. Consistent with previous studies (e.g. Calogero, & Pina, 2011; Kim et al., 2014; Tiggemann, & Williams, 2012), this suggests that the objectification model may be 26 27 used to explain and understand maladaptive eating development for highly acculturated Asian women. Furthermore, these results are congruent with the literature, which highlights similar risk 28 29 factors in the development of eating disorders between highly acculturated Asian and Caucasian 30 females (Pike & Dunne, 2015).

31

32 A closer look at the revised model also highlighted several areas of interest that may add to the understanding of the objectification theory in different acculturation groups. First, the variance 33 34 explained in these outcome measures tended to be lower for the low-acculturation group, 35 suggesting that in addition to differences in mean levels for these objectification variables, their associations may also differ across cultures. Second, the indirect effects of internalization on key 36 outcomes (body shame, appearance anxiety, and eating pathology) differed across groups 37 38 (especially for the low acculturation group relative to the other two groups). The key indirect effects can be summarised as follows: 1.) body surveillance mediated the internalization-39 appearance anxiety and internalization-body shame relationships for all three groups; 2.) the 40 internalization-eating pathology relationship was not mediated by any variables for the low 41 acculturation group, but was mediated by several variables for the other two groups (body 42 surveillance and shame for both groups, trait self-objectification for the high acculturation group 43 44 only and appearance anxiety for the Caucasian group only.

45

1 The mediating role of body shame and appearance anxiety in the links between internalization of 2 cultural standards of beauty and body surveillance with eating pathology has been supported with young and adult women (e.g. Calogero et al., 2010; Dakanalis et al., 2015a; Rolnik et al., 3 4 2010). Furthermore, the finding that internalization acts as an antecedent to the objectification 5 model, is congruent with previous research that highlighted both the direct and indirect unique 6 contribution of internalization to the various self-objectification measures and eating pathology 7 (Calogero et al., 2005; Dakanalis et al., 2015b; Moradi et al., 2005; Myers & Crowther, 2007; 8 Sinclair, 2005).

9

10 The main differences between the Caucasian and the high-acculturated Asian group, was that internalization had an effect through trait self-objectification on eating pathology, only in the 11 high-acculturated Asian group. This finding could implicate again that given that the high-12 13 acculturated Asian females had possibly less exposure to objectifying images than the 14 Caucasians, they might have been more affected by these images. Despite the growing body of literature that supports trait self-objectification and body surveillance as being notionally 15 16 different terms, they continue to be broadly regarded as interchangeable in most research (Tiggemann, & Williams, 2012). The current findings therefore provide further grounds for 17 assessing these two objectification variables separately in future studies (Calogero et al., 2005; 18 19 Moradi, & Huang, 2008).

20

Conversely, for the low-acculturated Asian group, few significant pathways were revealed for 21 22 the overall model, with the no significant indirect pathway being found from internalization to 23 eating pathology. It is possible that the low-acculturated Asian group might have had certain protective factors, which prevented them from experiencing the negative psychological 24 25 consequences of self-objectification, for instance, that these women were enculturated to their heritage culture (Pike & Dunne, 2015; Sussman et al., 2007) or they might have adopted an 26 27 integration style of acculturation, accepting the identity of both cultures and therefore experienced less stress and subsequently less exposure to risk factors for eating pathology (Doris 28 29 et al., 2015). Finally, it is also possible that the traditional Asian conceptualization of ideal female beauty emphasizes other body parts (e.g. face) rather than the body. Accordingly Kim 30 and colleagues (2014) found that face size and shape was one of the most important factors in the 31 32 modified objectification model, tested in a South-Korean sample. Furthermore, research has shown that amongst Asians, there is relative homogeneity in terms of BMI variance (Bélanger et 33 34 al., 2010) and therefore it is likely that these women may have developed a stronger preference 35 to differentiate each other through other body parts (e.g. facial features). Further research is required to further assess all of these potential explanations. 36

37

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that in both the Caucasian and the low-acculturated Asian groups, but not the high-acculturated Asian group, thin ideal internalization had a direct effect on eating pathology. This finding is in agreement, with previous findings, outlining that the adoption of cultural standards of beauty (i.e., internalization) has direct detrimental effects on eating pathology (Dakanelis et al., 2013, 2016; Stice, 2002). However, what remains of interest for future studies to explore, is why this direct relationship was not observed in the highacculturated Asian group.

- 45
- 46

1 Limitations

2

3 The present findings should be considered in light of a number of study limitations. A limitation 4 of the current study is the reliance on undergraduate participants, which is a limiting 5 characteristic of most experimental research in this field. The cross-sectional and correlational 6 nature of the data does not allow for strong causal inferences from the study's results. 7 Furthermore, participants filled in the questionnaire-based measures after having seen the 8 objectifying or neutral images to replicate the original experimental studies in this area (Aubrey et al., 2009; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). This ordering of manipulation and measurement could 9 10 have had an effect on the participants' responses. A better design would have entailed a pre-post design, but given the extensive number of measures included in the current study this would have 11 12 been too burdensome for the participants. We did however, carefully consider our measures and 13 made sure that with the exception of state self-objectification, all other measures were trait 14 based. Hence, it seems unlikely that the trait measures might have been impacted by the images previously seen. Another consideration is that our Asian group was used as a homogenous 15 16 sample in this study, despite being made up of various ethnic subgroups from various countries (e.g., Hong Kong, China, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Korea). Although this adds 17 breadth, important group differences might have been overlooked. It should also be considered 18 19 that the group from Hong Kong was not living in Australia, however, given that Hong Kong used to be a British colony we assumed that individuals there would be exposed to a similar Western 20 ideal as in Australia. Finally, it should be noted that the path-analysis approach we used, 21 22 assumed that the constructs included in the assessed model functioned equally across the 23 Caucasian and the two Asian groups. Future studies would benefit from using a multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) framework, to explicitly test such an assumption. 24 Regardless of these limitations, the current study is of great significance as it is the first study of 25 objectification that comprised a large sample of Asian and Caucasian participants and took for 26 27 the first level of acculturation into consideration.

28

29 Implications

30

31 The findings of the current study have substantial implications for future eating disorder prevention and intervention endeavours. Preventive strategies, regardless of the ethnic 32 background and level of acculturation, would benefit from identifying women evidencing high 33 34 thin-ideal internalization and body surveillance and design prevention efforts targeted to these 35 objectification processes. Such programmes might involve psychoeducation of realistic body shapes and sizes, the negative impact of consuming media that objectify women and increasing 36 awareness of the pervasiveness of sexual objectification of women and its implications. 37 38 Interventions would also benefit from emphasizing individuals' internal qualities and to provide 39 embodied experiences. Cognitive dissonance-based prevention programs already do this by including behavioural activities whereby participants speak or write positively about their bodies, 40 including their bodies' physical, emotional, intellectual, and social qualities (Becker et al., 2013). 41 42

- 42
- 43
- 44
- 45

1 Furthermore, our findings indicated that the development of eating pathology might differ within

- 2 the broader context of the objectification model across women of varying acculturation levels.
- 3 For example, for Asian women who are more acculturated to western cultures, overvaluation of
- 4 their appearance is more likely to result in maladaptive eating behaviours and attitudes,
- 5 compared to less acculturated Asian women. Therefore, for the former population, it may be 6 important to focus on distorted cognitions related to the magnified importance of appearances in
- 7 the development of preventative strategies, early interventions or treatment. As such, it may be
- 8 relevant to consider acculturation levels or acculturation-related stressors during assessment.
- 9

10 Conclusions

11

To conclude, our study highlights that objectification theory provides a suitable framework to 12 13 explore the development of eating pathology in Asian women and that acculturation does play a 14 role in influencing both state and trait variables within the model. Overall, our findings showed 15 that the Caucasian and the high-acculturated Asian sample presented with more significant 16 pathways within our revised model than the low-acculturated Asian group. Our findings might therefore indicate that the low-acculturated Asian women might have protective factors, which 17 might prevent them from the negative psychological consequences of self-objectification. Future 18 19 research in culturally diverse samples would benefit from conducting more experimental and longitudinal studies to evaluate changes of our revised objectification theory constructs and to 20 clarify the direction of causality in the posited relations in the objectification framework. 21

22 23

24 CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT25

All authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial orfinancial relationship that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

28 29

31

30 AUTHOR AND CONTRIBUTORS

32 CT, IK, SL, RU and MT drafted the manuscript and conceptualized the aims and hypotheses.
33 MT conducted the analyses. IK, VY, CT, TP set up data collection. All authors provided
34 feedback on different versions of the manuscripts. All authors read and approved the final
35 manuscript and are accountable for all aspects of the work in ensuring that questions related to
36 the accuracy of any part of the work are appropriately investigated.

- 37
- 38 39
- 39 40
- 40 41
- 42
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46

1	REFERENCES
2	Alvidrez, J., Azocar, F., & Miranda, J. (1996). Demystifying the concept of ethnicity for
3	psychotherapy researchers. J Consult Clin Psychol, 64(5), 903-908.
4	Aubrey, J. S., Henson, J. R., Hopper, K. M., & Smith, S. E. (2009). A picture is worth twenty
5	words (about the self): Testing the priming influence of visual sexual objectification on
6	women's self-objectification. Commun Res Rep, 26(4), 271-284.
7	Augustus-Horvath, C. L., & Tylka, T. L. (2009). A test and extension of objectification theory as
8	it predicts disordered eating: Does women's age matter? J Couns Psychol, 56(2), 253-
9	265.
10	Becker, C. B., Hill, K., Greif, R., Han, H., & Stewart, T. (2013). Reducing self-objectification:
11	are dissonance-based methods a possible approach? J Eat Disord, 19(1), 10.
12	Bélanger, D., Lee, H., & Wang, H. (2010). Ethnic diversity and statistics in East Asia: "Foreign
13	brides" surveys in Taiwan and South Korea. <i>Ethn Racial Stud</i> , 33(6), 1108–1130.
14	Byrne, B.M. (2012). Structural equation modeling with Mplus: Basic concepts, applications, and
15	programming. New York, Routledge.
16	Calogero, R. M., & Pina, A. (2011). Body guilt preliminary evidence for a further subjective
17	experience of self-objectification. Psychol Women Quart, 35(3), 428-440.
18	Calogero, R. M., Davis, W. N., & Thompson, J. K. (2005). The role of self-objectification in the
19	experience of women with eating disorders. Sex Roles, 52(1-2), 43-50.
20	Calogero, R. M., Park, L. E., Rahemtulla, Z. K., & Williams, K. C. (2010). Predicting excessive
21	body image concerns among British university students: the unique role of Appearance-
22	based Rejection Sensitivity. <i>Body Image</i> , 7(1), 78-81.
23	Claudat, K., Warren, C. S., & Durette, R. T. (2012). The relationships between body
24	surveillance, body shame, and contextual body concern during sexual activities in whether the during formula at large standards \mathbf{P}_{i} by \mathbf{L}_{i} and \mathbf{L}_{i} an
25	ethnically diverse female college students. <i>Body Image</i> , 9(4), 448-454.
26 27	Dakanelis, A., Di Mattei, V.E., Pagani Bagliacca, E., Prunas, A., Sarno, L., Riva, G., et al. (2012). Disordered eating behaviors among Italian men:objectifying media and sexual
27 28	orientation differences. Eat Disord, 20(5), 356-367.
28 29	Dakanalis, A., Zanetti, M.A., Riva, G., & Clerici, M., (2013). Psychosocial moderators of the
29 30	relationship between body dissatisfaction and symptoms of eating disorders: A look at a
30 31	sample of young Italian women. <i>Eur Rev Appl Psychol, 63, 5</i> , 323–334.
32	Dakanalis, A., Clerici, M., Caslini, M., Favagrossa, L., Prunas, A., Volpato, C., et al. (2014).
33	Internalization of sociocultural standards of beauty and disordered eating behaviours: the
34	role of body surveillance, shame and social anxiety. J Psychopathol, 20, 33-37.
35	Dakanalis, A., Carrà, G., Timko, A., Volpato, C., Pla-Sanjuanelo, J., Zanetti, A., et al. (2015a).
36	Mechnaisms of influence of body checking on binge eating. Int J Clin Health Psychol.
37	<i>15, 2, 93–104.</i>
38	Dakanalis, A., Carrà, G., Calogero, R., Fida, R., Clerici, M., Assunta Zanetti, M., et al. (2015b).
39	The developmental effects of media-ideal internalization and self-objectification
40	processes on adolescents' negative body-feelings, dietary restraint, and binge eating.
41	Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry, 24, 8, 997-1010.
42	Dakanalis, A., Timko, C.A., Serino, S., Riva, G., Clerici, M., & Carrà G. (2016). Prospective
43	Psychosocial Predictors of Onset and Cessation of Eating Pathology amongst College
44	Women, Eur Eat Disord Rev. doi: 10.1002/erv.2433.

- Dion, K. L., Dion, K. K., & Keelan, J. P. (1990). Appearance anxiety as a dimension of social evaluative anxiety: Exploring the ugly duckling syndrome. *Contemp Social*, 14(4), 220 224.
- 4 Doris, E., Shekriladze, I., Avakhishvili, N., Jones, R., Treasure, J., & Tchanturia, K. (2015). Is
 5 cultural change associated with eating disorders? A systematic review of the literature.
 6 *Eat Weight Disord*, 20(2), 149-160.
- 7 Engeln-Maddox, R., Miller, S. A., & Doyle, D. M. (2011). Tests of objectification theory in gay,
 8 lesbian, and heterosexual community samples: Mixed evidence for proposed pathways.
 9 Sex Roles, 65, 518-532.
- Frederick, D. A., Forbes, G. B., Grigorian, K. E., & Jarcho, J. M. (2007). The UCLA body
 project I: Gender and ethnic differences in self-objectification and body satisfaction
 among 2,206 undergraduates. *Sex Roles*, 57(5), 317-327.
- Frederick, D. A., Peplau, L. A., & Lever, J. (2006). The swimsuit issue: Correlates of body
 image in a sample of 52,677 heterosexual adults. *Body Image*, 3(4), 413-419.
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: Towards understanding
 women's lived experience and mental health risks. *Psychol Women Quart*, 21, 173–206.
- Fredrickson, B. L., Roberts, T. A., Noll, S. M., Quinn, D. M., & Twenge, J. M. (1998). That
 swimsuit becomes you: sex differences in self-objectification, restrained eating, and math
 performance. *J Pers Soc Psychol*, 75(1), 269-284.
- Garner, D. M., Olmsted, M. P., Bohr, Y., & Garfinkel, P. E. (1982). The eating attitudes test:
 Psychometric features and clinical correlates. *Psychol Med*, *12*(4), 871-878.
- Greenleaf, C., & McGreer, R. (2006). Disordered eating attitudes and self-objectification among
 physically active and sedentary female college students. *J Psychol*, *140*(3), 187-198.
- Guan, M., Lee, F., & Cole, E. R. (2012). Complexity of culture: The role of identity and context
 in bicultural individuals' body ideals. *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol*, 18(3), 247257.
- Harper, B., & Tiggemann, M. (2008). The effect of thin ideal media images on women's self-objectification, mood, and body image. *Sex Roles*, 58(9-10), 649-657.
- Harrison, K., & Hefner, V. (2006). Media exposure, current and future body ideals, and
 disordered eating among preadolescent girls: A longitudinal panel study. J Youth
 Adolesc, 35(2), 146-156.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P.M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis:
 Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Struct Equ Modeling*, 6, 1-55.
- Jennings, P. S., Forbes, D., McDermott, B., & Hulse, G. (2006). Acculturation and eating
 disorders in Asian and Caucasian Australian university students. *Eating Behav*, 7(3), 214 219.
- Jennings, P.S., Forbes, D., McDermott, B., Junpier, S., & Hulse, G. (2005). Acculturation and
 eating disorders in Asian and Caucasian Australian adolescent girls. Psychiatry Clin
 Neurosci, 59(1), 56-61.
- Kim, S. Y., Seo, Y. S., & Baek, K. Y. (2014). Face consciousness among South Korean women:
 a culture-specific extension of objectification theory. *J Couns Psychol*, 61(1), 24-36.
- 42 Kozee, H. B., & Tylka, T. L. (2006). A test of objectification theory with lesbian women.
 43 Psychol Women Quart, *30(4)*, 348-357.
- Lai, C. M., Mak, K. K., Pang, J. S., Fong, S. S., Ho, R. C., & Guldan, G. S. (2013). The associations of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance with body dissatisfaction and eating behaviors in Hong Kong adolescents. *Eating Behav*, 14(3), 320-324.

- Lau, A. S., Lum, S. K., Chronister, K. M., & Forrest, L. (2006). Asian American college
 women's body image: a pilot study. *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol*, 12(2), 259-274.
- Marques, L., Alegria, M., Becker, A. E., Chen, C. N., Fang, A., Chosak, A., et al. (2011).
 Comparative prevalence, correlates of impairment, and service utilization for eating disorders across US ethnic groups: Implications for reducing ethnic disparities in health care access for eating disorders. *Int J Eat Disorder*, 44(5), 412-420.
- McKenney, S. J., & Bigler, R. S. (2016). Internalized sexualization and its relation to sexualized
 appearance, body surveillance, and body shame among early adolescent girls. *Journal of Early Adolesc*, 36(2), 171-197.
- McKinley, N. M., & Hyde, J. S. (1996). The objectified body consciousness scale development
 and validation. *Psychol Women Quart*, 20(2), 181-215.
- Moradi, B., & Huang, Y. P. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade
 of advances and future directions. *Psychol Women Quart*, *32* (4), 377-398.
- Moradi, B., & Rottenstein, A. (2007). Objectification theory and deaf cultural identity attitudes:
 Roles in deaf women's eating disorder symptomatology. *J Couns Psychol*, 54(2), 178-188.
- Moradi, B., Dirks, D., & Matteson, A. V. (2005). Roles of sexual objectification experiences and
 internalization of standards of beauty in eating disorder symptomatology: A test and
 extension of objectification theory. *J Couns Psychol*, 52(3), 420.
- Myers, T. A., & Crowther, J. H. (2007). Sociocultural pressures, thin-ideal internalization, self-objectification, and body dissatisfaction: could feminist beliefs be a moderating factor?
 Body Image, 4(3), 296-308.
- Noll, S. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). A mediational model linking self-objectification, body
 shame, and disordered eating. *Psychol Women Quart*, 22(4), 623-636.
- Nouri, M., Hill, L. G., & Orrell-Valente, J. K. (2011). Media exposure, internalization of the thin
 ideal, and body dissatisfaction: comparing Asian American and European American
 college females. *Body Image*, 8(4), 366-372.
- Pike, K. M., & Dunne, P. E. (2015). The rise of eating disorders in Asia: A review. *J Eat Disord*, 3, 33.
- Rolnik, A. M., Engeln-Maddox, R., & Miller, S. A. (2010). Here's looking at you: Self-objectification, body image disturbance, and sorority rush. *Sex Roles*, 63(1-2), 6-17.
- Sinclair, S. L. (2005). Object lessons: A theoretical and empirical study of objectified body
 consciousness in women. *J Mental Health Couns*, 28(1), 48-68.
- Slater, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2010). Body image and disordered eating in adolescent girls and
 boys: A test of objectification theory. *Sex Roles*, 63(1-2), 42-49.
- Stice, E. (2002). Risk and maintenance factors for eating pathology: a meta-analytic review.
 Psychological Bulletin, 128(5), 825-848.
- Suinn, R. M., Ahuna, C., & Khoo, G. (1992). The Suinn-Lew Asian self-identity acculturation
 scale: Concurrent and factorial validation. *Educ Psychol Meas*, 52(4), 1041-1046.
- Sussman, N. M., Truong, N., Lim, J. (2007). Who experiences "America the beautiful"?:
 Ethnicity moderating the effect of acculturation on body image and risks for eating disorders among immigrant women. *Int J Intercult Relat*, *31(1)*, 29-49.
- Thompson, J. K., van den Berg, P., Roehrig, M., Guarda, A. S., & Heinberg, L. J. (2004). The
 sociocultural attitudes towards appearance scale-3 (SATAQ-3): development and
 validation. *Int J Eat Disorder*, 35(3), 293-304.

- Tiggemann, M. (2013). Objectification theory: Of relevance for eating disorder researchers and clinicians? *Clinical Psychologist*, 17(2), 35-45.
- Tiggemann, M., & Williams, E. (2012). The role of self-objectification in disordered eating,
 depressed mood, and sexual functioning among women a comprehensive test of
 objectification theory. *Psychol Women Quart*, 36(1), 66-75.
- Tylka, T. L., & Sabik, N. J. (2010). Integrating social comparison theory and self-esteem within
 objectification theory to predict women's disordered eating. *Sex Roles*, 63(1-2), 18-31.
- Tylka, T. L., & Subich, L. M. (2004). Examining a multidimensional model of eating disorder
 symptomatology among college women. *J Couns Psychol*, *51(3)*, 314-328.

Table 1: Sociodemographic details of study participants									
	Total (<i>n</i> =424)	Caucasian (<i>n</i> =162)	More Acculturated (n=133)	Less Acculturated (<i>n</i> =129)					
N (%)									
University student	418 (98.58)	162 (100)	132 (99.25)	124 (96.12)					
Highest completed education:									
Secondary	290 (68.40)	133 (82.10)	97 (72.93)	60 (46.51)					
Tertiary	123 (29.01)	26 (16.05)	34 (25.56)	63 (48.84)					
Postgraduate	11 (2.59)	3 (1.85)	2 (1.50)	6 (4.65)					
Mean (SD)									
Age (years)	19.71 (3.72)	20.06 (4.77)	19.16 (3.02)	19.87 (2.68)					
BMI	21.15 (3.21)	22.06 (3.24)	20.40 (3.25)	20.77 (2.88)					

	Less Acculturated (n=129)	More Acculturated (n=133)	Caucasians (n=162)	<u>F (2, 421)</u>	р	eta ²
Trait self-objectification	-4.12 (12.05) ^c	-1.26 (14.34)	1.10 (12.42) ^a	<mark>5.83</mark>	.003	.027
Body surveillance	4.31 (0.84) ^{b,c}	4.55 (1. <mark>03)^{a,c}</mark>	4.87 (0.96) ^{a,b}	12.70	<.001	.057
Body shame	3.62 (0.88)	3.38 (1.08 <mark>)</mark>	3.58 (1.17)	<mark>2.29</mark>	.130	<mark>.010</mark>
Appearance anxiety	29.93 (6.95)	29.64 (9.47)	31.31 (10.34)	1.43	.241	.007
Internalization	3.01 (0.85) ^c	3.16 (0.94) ^c	3.46 (0.94) ^{a,b}	<mark>9.15</mark>	.000	.042
Eating pathology	9.03 (7.71)	10.95 (9.31)	10.78 (10.98)	1.65	.193	.008

Table 2: Descriptive statistics and group difference tests for trait measures

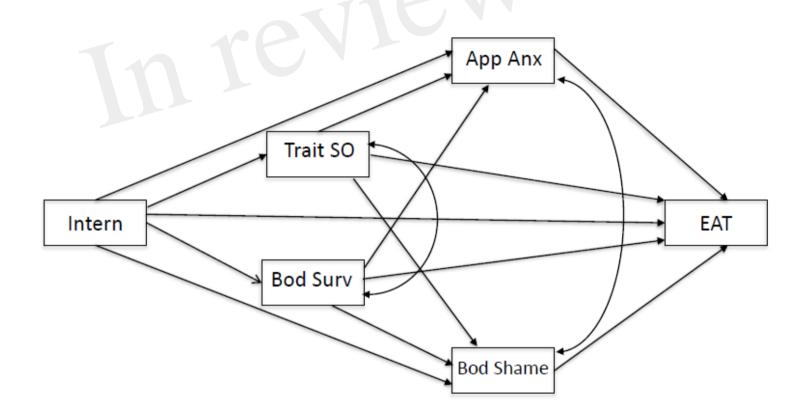
Notes:

^aGroup differed significantly (p < .05, two-tailed) from less acculturated group,

^bGroup differed significantly from more acculturated group,

^cGroup differed significantly from Caucasian group.

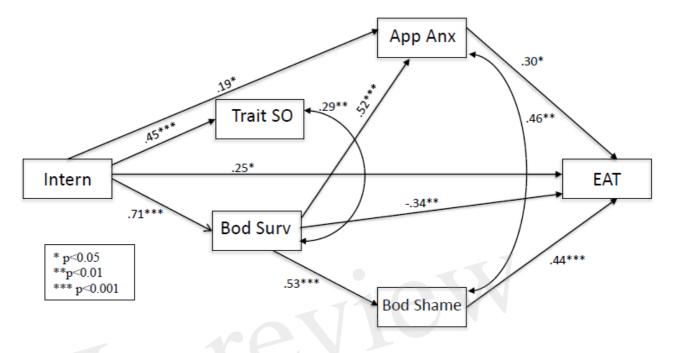
Figure 1: A conceptual model of the revised objectification model including thin-ideal internalization



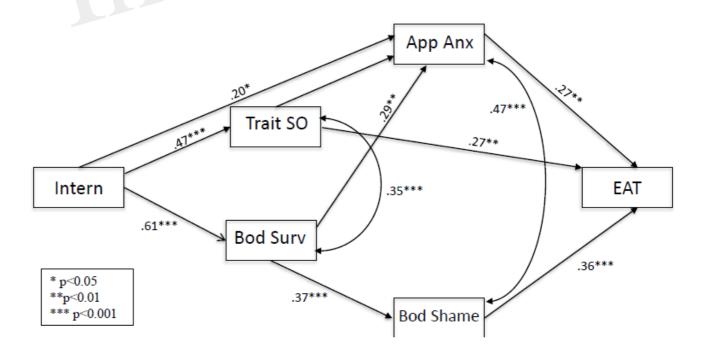
Note: Intern = Internalization; App Anx = Appearance Anxiety; Bod Surv = Body Surveillance; Trait SO = Trait self-objectification; Bod Shame = Body Shame; EAT = Eating pathology

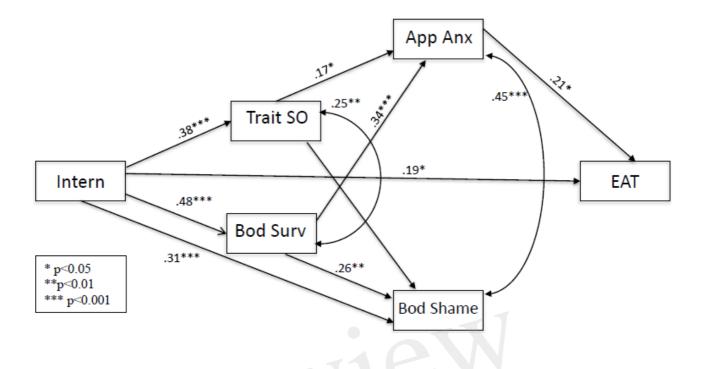
Figure 2: Differences in the revised objectification model across acculturation groups

a.) Significant pathways for the Caucasian group



b.) Significant pathways for the high acculturated Asian group





c.) Significant pathways for the low acculturated Asian group

Note: Covariates (age and BMI) and non-significant pathways are omitted from the figure for clarity of presentation.

Intern = Internalization; App Anx = Appearance Anxiety; Bod Surv = Body Surveillance; Trait SO = Trait self-objectification; Bod Shame = Body Shame; EAT = Eating pathology