

**Body Image Dissatisfaction Among Late Adolescent Females: An Examination of
Cultural and Developmental Factors**

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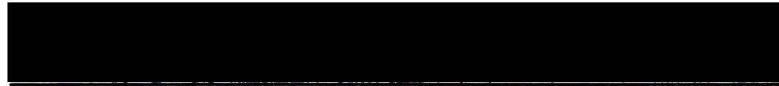
**A Thesis in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS**

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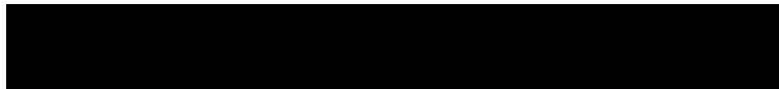
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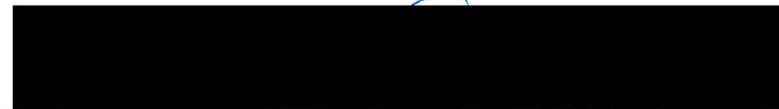
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the potential that specific cultural and developmental factors held in explaining body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. One hundred and eleven university and college students between ages 18 and 22 participated in the research by volunteering to complete a questionnaire assessing their attitudes and behaviors pertaining to a number of factors, including body image.

Two hypotheses were tested. The first inquired into the relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction. The second inquired into the unique contribution of media exposure to the thin ideal, the feminine sex role orientation, a lack of individuation, autonomy deficits, and sex role identity development on body image dissatisfaction. A Pearson product moment correlation yielded a nonsignificant relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction. Further Pearson correlations between all variables revealed weak significant relationships between most of the variables in the set. A hierarchical regression analysis indicated that when considered together, the independent variables explained 5.9 percent of the variance in body image dissatisfaction. However, when each of the variables were considered for their unique contributions to body image dissatisfaction, none

Overall, the late adolescent female sample reported low levels of media exposure to the thin ideal and only minimal to moderate levels of body image dissatisfaction. Although body image dissatisfaction was only weakly associated with the cultural and developmental variables included in the study, results support investigation of body image dissatisfaction from a multidimensional perspective. Findings also generate questions pertaining to the realities of today's late adolescent females.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

A recent widespread American survey found that over half of women are dissatisfied with their body image (Garner, 1997). Late adolescent females face many social and developmental challenges which may make them particularly susceptible to developing body image dissatisfaction. Mintz and Betz (1988), for example, reported that two-thirds of late adolescent college females are chronic dieters which is a symptom of body image dissatisfaction (Cash, Winstead, & Janda, 1986).

Some researchers have implicated cultural definitions of femininity to explain body image dissatisfaction (Cash & Henry, 1995; Rodin, Silberstein, & Streigel-Moore, 1985; Wooley & Wooley, 1980), while others blame values associated with the feminine sex role orientation for their relationship with the problem (Martz, Handley & Eisler, 1995; Steiner-Adair, 1990).

Developmental issues prevalent during late adolescence may also be associated with body image dissatisfaction. As identity issues surface, adolescents typically contemplate exploring alternatives to parentally prescribed definitions of themselves. The decision to forego exploration of alternatives to the sex role identity obtained during childhood has been associated with ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation (Marcia et al., 1993), which may be a risk factor in developing body image dissatisfaction.

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Cash, 1995), which suggests that factors associated with eating disorders may also be associated with body image dissatisfaction. Accordingly, Frank and Jackson's (1996) finding that eating disordered attitudes and behavior among late adolescent females are associated with individuation difficulties and a lack of autonomy may imply that these developmental issues are related to body image dissatisfaction.

The complexity of body image dissatisfaction suggests that the problem is best investigated from a multidimensional perspective. Thus, the present study represented an endeavour to determine how the aforementioned cultural and developmental factors are related to body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. The cultural factors which were considered for their potential association with body image dissatisfaction were both media exposure to the thin female ideal and ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation. The developmental factors which were evaluated for their potential links with the problem were individuation, autonomy and sex role identity development.

Providing evidence of how body image dissatisfaction is associated with risk factors present at multiple levels of influence could provide important information to parents. While cultural messages of femininity may be slow to change, messages within the family environment have significant power in shaping the self-perceptions of females even into late adolescence (Frank & Jackson, 1996; Harter, 1990). Parents have the ability to act as a filter through which cultural messages are interpreted. They can also provide a supportive environment for their adolescent daughters to grow into psychologically healthy, independent women.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Adolescence is a time of major personal adjustments and changes in self-image. Social life grows increasingly oriented around gender (Durkin, 1985), sex role attitudes intensify (Galambos, Almeida & Petersen, 1990), individuation and autonomy issues surface (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991) and the process of identity development is magnified (Marcia et al., 1993). Adolescence is also a time during which body image issues surface (White, 1992) and a substantial amount of time is spent engaged with the mass media (Fine, Mortimer & Roberts, 1990).

The following chapter will begin by reviewing literature on body image dissatisfaction. A review of literature on media influences, sex role orientation, individuation, autonomy, and sex role identity development will follow, in an effort to establish how these cultural and developmental factors may contribute to the problem of body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females.

Body Image Dissatisfaction

Body image may be defined as a multifaceted construct which consists of thoughts, feelings and behaviors about the appearance of one's own body (Cash & Henry, 1995) and is a crucial aspect of self-concept. There is growing recognition that female body image dissatisfaction is an extremely complex issue (Frank & Jackson, 1996; Garner, 1997; Polivy, Garner & Garfinkel, 1986). Body image dissatisfaction is so common among females in Western society that some

researchers have suggested it is a normative female experience (Cash & Henry, 1995; Garner, 1997; Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1985; Steiner-Adair, 1990) and others have suggested that it has reached epidemic proportions (Rosen, Cado, Silberg, Srebnik & Wendt, 1990). However, Cash and Brown (1989) report that although body image dissatisfaction is prevalent, women do not feel as bad about their bodies as we have come to believe. They state that society may have accepted the stereotype of women which exaggerates the degree of body image dissatisfaction present among average women. This stereotype generalizes the severity of body image dissatisfaction present among eating disordered females to normal females. This does not imply that we should disregard the problem of body image dissatisfaction. A recent Psychology Today survey revealed that 89 percent of the 3,500 female respondents between ages 13 and 80 want to lose weight (Garner, 1997) which suggests dissatisfaction with body image (Koenig & Wasserman, 1995). The importance ascribed to losing weight was demonstrated by survey responses indicating that 24 percent of these body image dissatisfied females would sacrifice more than three years of their life to achieve their weight loss goals. Body image dissatisfaction has been associated with many risks such as eating disorders and other psychosocial difficulties (Grant & Cash, 1995; Koenig & Wasserman, 1995; Rosen, Cado, Silberg, Srebnik & Wendt, 1990).

The proportion of women reporting overall dissatisfaction with their appearance (Garner, 1997) and a preoccupation with being or becoming overweight (Cash & Henry, 1995) has grown consistently worse over the past two

decades (Cash and Henry, 1995; Cash, Winstead & Janda, 1986; Garner, 1997). Some researchers contend that body image dissatisfaction may be particularly prevalent during adolescence (Cash, Winstead & Janda, 1986; Hesse-Biber, 1989; Stice & Shaw, 1994) and has been found to be present among females as young as 12 (Wardle & Beales, 1986). Hesse-Biber (1989) discusses the importance of physical attractiveness for females in attracting the opposite sex, and both Hesse-Biber and Stice and Shaw (1994) document the prevalence of the thin ideal in fashion magazines in their studies. Reading fashion magazines, as well as being preoccupied with one's looks and in attracting the opposite sex are common adolescent activities and preoccupations. Such activities and preoccupations are offered by Hesse-Biber and Stice and Shaw as partial explanations for the prevalence of body image dissatisfaction among adolescent females.

The prevalence of body image dissatisfaction during adolescence may be understandable given the physiological changes of puberty. McCarthy (1990) reports that the increase in fat that occurs during puberty creates a distance between the female adolescent's body and the female cultural ideal. According to this researcher, it is this actual-ideal discrepancy that creates body image dissatisfaction. Hesse-Biber (1989) found that 67 percent of her late adolescent female college sample followed a "cultural" model as a guideline for their weight, while only 22 percent followed a "medical model". The cultural model is endorsed by diet centers and women's magazines and advocates desirable weights that are 20 pounds lighter than that of the medical model. The medical

model was derived from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and endorses weights that are associated with the lowest rate of mortality (Hesse-Biber, 1989). In support of this notion, Mintz and Betz (1988) report that although their female college sample were within the normal weight range, 66 percent were chronic dieters. Similarly, two thirds of Koenig and Wasserman's (1995) female college sample reported at least some dissatisfaction with their bodies. Interestingly, a survey conducted in 1983 found that late adolescent females reported the highest level of body image dissatisfaction of all respondents (Cash, Winstead & Janda, 1986) while in 1993 late adolescents reported the lowest level of body image dissatisfaction (Cash & Henry, 1995). Cash and colleagues (1986) report that 40 percent of the adolescent female respondents in the 1983 survey evaluated their appearance negatively. Forty eight percent of these adolescents binged and 11 percent purged in a self-defeating struggle with their body image dissatisfaction. One decade later, Cash and Henry (1995) found that the adolescent female respondents surveyed reported feeling neutral in terms of body image, while those from older cohorts reported body image dissatisfaction. The most recent representative body image survey conducted by Garner (1997) found that the 13 to 19 year old female respondents were both the thinnest and the most satisfied with their appearance, followed by the 20 to 29 year old respondents. Although complaints of body image dissatisfaction among these two youngest groups were comparatively lower than the older groups, 54 percent of the 13 to 19 year old females and 57 percent of the 20 to 29 year old females reported dissatisfaction

with their body image.

Although recent findings indicate that the majority of adolescents experience body image dissatisfaction, they may be less dissatisfied than previous generations. There may be a shift in the proportion of body image dissatisfaction present among younger and older age groups, suggesting that self-perceptions of adolescent females are improving.

The overall increase in body image dissatisfaction among females over the past two decades has coincided with a slimming of female role models present in the visual media (Polivy, Garner & Garfinkel, 1986). The outcome of both Cash and Henry (1995) and Garner's (1997) surveys lead to questions about the impact that the visual media has in transmitting this cultural message of thinness to late adolescent females.

Media Influence

One of the primary functions of media is to transmit culture (Black & Bryant, 1992). One of the strongest messengers of the sociocultural pressures towards thinness for women may be the mass media (Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw, & Stein, 1994). Media depictions of femininity reflect the thinnest ideal in history (Hesse-Biber, 1989) which is an ideal that has grown increasingly difficult for the average woman to emulate. Representative of the contemporary female ideal, the average fashion model is stated to weigh 23 percent less than the average woman (Wolf, 1991). Commenting on her observations of the stereotyped views held by adolescent females, Peirce (1993) suggests that the

internalization of media messages of the female ideal predisposes females to experience body image dissatisfaction. This theory is supported by Stice and colleagues (1994) who found a positive correlation between an internalization of the thin ideal stereotype as portrayed by the media and body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females.

Adolescent females may make more use of media materials in their socialization than they would at younger or older ages as it is during this time when identity issues surface (Arnett, 1995). Peirce (1993) contends that as adolescents begin to view themselves independently from their family, they grow increasingly dependent on media for information about their lives (Peirce, 1993). Peirce bases her argument on media dependency theory (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982) which states that an individual's need for information, one's ability to obtain it elsewhere and one's interest in the subject, moderates the effect that a media message has on altering attitudes and behavior. Adolescent females are still learning about and being socialized into the ways of the world. Not yet secure in their social realities, they may be particularly vulnerable to messages about femininity which stress the importance of thinness. Teen magazines are the only medium targeted specifically to adolescent females (Peirce, 1993). The popularity of such magazines suggests that they are meeting adolescent female needs for information about their lives as they begin consider their status as women. Lacking experience living as an adult, adolescent females may grow dependent on the visual media and be particularly receptive to information about

being a successful woman.

McRobbie (1991) states that the chief concern of teen magazines is to promote a feminine culture for their readers. They define and shape the female's world (McRobbie, 1991) in subtle ways. Messages supportive of the feminine sex role orientation abound in contemporary teen magazines, reinforcing feminine attributes of dependence and passivity (Peirce, 1993).

Macdonald (1995) asserts that advertising directed towards women sends ambivalent messages which allude to a new freedom from the constraints of traditional definitions of femininity while simultaneously reminding them that worrying about appearance and trying to disguise flaws is the normal condition of femininity. Lazier-Smith (1989) states that advertising has vast power in the shaping of popular standards and in exercising social control. She concludes that contemporary advertising reflects the confusion in our culture over defining appropriate roles for women by stating that it is easier for advertisers to agree on how women should look than to determine what women should do. Thus, regardless of the context in which they are portrayed, media images of the successful woman are young, attractive, and uncommonly thin.

The influence that cultural messages have on adolescent females may be particularly great considering that they spend roughly eight hours per day with some form of media either as a central focus or as background for other activities (Fine, Mortimer, & Roberts, 1990). Fine and colleagues report that such media exposure includes television viewing, movie attendance, video viewing, listening

to music, reading the newspaper and magazines, and reading non-academic books. According to Larson (1995) adolescents spend more time with media when alone than with their peers.

Although media use declines during late adolescence, (Fine et al., 1990), magazine viewing remains as a common late adolescent female activity. Cosmopolitan magazine has been touted as the most popular women's magazine (McCracken, 1993), a finding which was reinforced by MacDonald's (1995) female college sample, who unanimously reported reading the magazine on a regular basis. McCracken (1993) reports that many Cosmopolitan readers use the visual images as incentive to lose weight, which may support Martin and Kennedy's (1994) theory that females compare themselves with advertising models for the purposes of self-evaluation and self-improvement. Researchers have found that exposure to images of the thin ideal in fashion magazines results in an overestimation of one's own body size among females (Hamilton & Waller, 1993; Myers & Biocca 1992; Shaw & Waller, 1994).

Although most studies report a negative effect of media exposure to the thin ideal on self- and body image of females (Martin & Kennedy; Newman & Dodd, 1995; Richins, 1991; Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw & Stein, 1994; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Waller, Shaw, Hamilton, Baldwin, Harding & Summer, 1994) one recent study obtained unanticipated results. Myers and Biocca (1992) exposed their late adolescent college sample to approximately one half hour of television containing varying degrees of the thin female ideal. Although all of the

participants overestimated their body size before the television viewing, those who viewed a high degree of advertisements portraying the thin female ideal reported feeling thinner, not heavier than they normally do. This finding may imply that viewers experience an initial identification with thin female characters and that body image dissatisfaction is a delayed result of such exposure.

Television viewing among females decreases during adolescence (Fine, Mortimer, & Roberts, 1990) to an average of 21 hours per week (Black & Bryant, 1992). However, the effect of the combined visual and auditory stimuli accrued over a lifetime may make it an extremely powerful socializer, resulting in subconscious associations of media reality with life experience (Steele & Brown, 1995). A recent American Psychological Association task force report on the effects of television on attitudes and behavior of young people stated "children learn from watching television and what they learn depends on what they watch" (Strouse, Buerkel-Rothfuss, & Long, 1995). Young girls spend an average of 28 hours per week watching television (Black & Bryant, 1992). If the amount of exposure affects the degree of influence, then messages stressing the importance of thinness for females may be particularly powerful for young female television viewers.

Steiner-Adair (1990) reports that by age five girls can articulate their hatred of obesity and Gilday (1990) asserts that many girls have been on their first diet by age eight. Wardle and Beales (1986) found that the majority of the 12 year old girls in their sample expressed a preference for a lower weight even when

their actual weight fell within the normal or thin range, and that 15 percent were currently on a diet. These attitudes and behaviors suggests that cultural messages of the thin ideal as portrayed by television and other sources are internalized during childhood.

Music videos are geared toward the adolescent viewer. Tiggeman and Pickering (1996) found an association between viewing music videos and a preoccupation with being overweight among their adolescent female sample. Specifically, the more time their high school female participants viewed music videos, the greater their attention to dieting, preoccupation with weight, and fear of weight gain.

Music video exposure may be particularly powerful in its socializing influence for the simple reason that a combined visual and audio presentation enhances learning and has a greater impact on attitudes and behavior than audio alone (Rubin, Rubin, Perse, Armstrong, McHugh, & Faix, 1986). Abt (1987) found that females report a high level of personal involvement and participation in music imagery, and tend to recall the images of the videos when listening to a song on the radio (Abt, 1987). Music videos may provide the opportunity for explicit comparison with others (Tiggeman & Pickering, 1996). Engagement in such social comparison may contribute to body image dissatisfaction (Striegel-Moore, McAvay & Rodin, 1986).

In a critical discussion about contemporary music video portrayals of women, Jhally (1995) notes that most videos display images of women as sexual

objects whose worlds revolve around attracting the attention of men. Video depictions of women typically emphasize young, provocatively clothed, thin females. These observations reveal the visual media's tendency to perpetuate a stereotype of femininity which is consistent with values related to the traditional feminine sex role orientation. Such values include the importance of physical attractiveness, dependency and the seeking of approval from others (Martz, Handley & Eisler, 1995).

Popular writer Susan Douglas (1994) states that our culture has been indelibly imprinted by the mass media. Representative of the most popular visual media, television and magazines present a stereotype of femininity which glorifies thinness as the ideal. Repeated exposure to this stereotype may play a major role in the presence of body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. Furthermore, identifying with cultural definitions of femininity as they are portrayed by the visual media may also play a role in the body image experiences of late adolescent females.

Sex Role Orientation

All cultures ascribe differential roles and values to the sexes (Costa, 1994) and thus, sex role orientation refers to one's adoption of personality traits deemed appropriate for a male or female within one's culture. Within Western culture, the masculine sex role orientation includes instrumental traits such as assertiveness, independence and dominance; the feminine sex role orientation includes expressive traits such as dependence, passivity, and nurturance. The androgynous

sex role orientation includes high levels of both the masculine and feminine sex role orientations (Adams & Gullotta, 1989).

Johnson and Petrie (1995) found that many females feel conflicted about society's incompatible demands to be more 'masculine' and to achieve ideal femininity. Sixty five percent of the college females in their study reported discrepancies between their real and ideal possession of masculine and feminine traits. The females who reported such discrepancies also expressed greater concern about the size and shape of their bodies than those who reported no discrepancies. Sixty percent of the discrepancy reporting females desired to be more masculine, 12 percent desired to be more feminine and 24 percent desired to be more masculine and more feminine. Similarly, Steiner-Adair (1990) argues that women who perceive a discrepancy between the degree to which they possess masculine characteristics and to which they would like to possess such characteristics are often highly critical of their bodies. In an attempt to assert control over their lives, many resort to pathological weight management methods in order to attain society's 'ideal' body shape. A study by Martz, Handley, and Eisler (1995) found that females who are committed to fulfilling imperatives of the feminine sex role orientation such as the focus on one's physical attractiveness and a need for approval by others, are susceptible to developing body image dissatisfaction.

A differentiation and intensification of sex role attitudes occurs during adolescence (Galambos, Almeida & Petersen, 1990), but cultural norms about sex

roles are likely to have been internalized earlier, during childhood. Block (1973) proposes that children move increasingly toward role differentiation as they mature, and internalize stereotyped messages about sex roles. During adolescence they begin to examine the sex role orientations that they have internalized and differentiate their own views of masculinity and femininity from the cultural stereotypes. Block (1973) views androgyny as a higher level of sex role orientation development than sex role polarity, a conclusion supported by Bem (1974). Similarly, Marcia and colleagues (1993) report that androgynous attitudes and behavior among females are associated with positive mental health and high self esteem.

A unique study by Gettleman and Thompson (1993) suggests that body image dissatisfaction may be due to values and attitudes which are consistent with the feminine sex role orientation. They found that concerns with appearance, weight and dieting were present among those who had ascribed to the feminine sex role orientation. This was true for both heterosexual females and homosexual males who reported body image dissatisfaction.

Thus, results of previous research on sex role orientation and body image dissatisfaction may imply that the possession of personality traits consistent with the feminine sex role orientation and a discrepancy between the actual and ideal possession of traits consistent with the masculine sex role orientation are related to body image dissatisfaction.

The intensification of sex role attitudes that occurs during adolescence

coincides with the emergence of developmental processes such as individuation, autonomy and sex role identity formation. The prevalence of body image dissatisfaction among females during adolescence may imply that issues pertinent to adolescence are linked with the development of this problem. In the following section, developmental issues of adolescence, which include individuation, autonomy and sex role orientation will be discussed and considered for their association with body image dissatisfaction among adolescent females.

Individuation

Josselson (1980) states that there is an interdependent sequence of individuation, autonomy and identity formation. As aspects of the self become individuated and autonomous, they become incorporated into identity. Progress in identity formation leads to further individuation. The contemporary view is that the process of individuation occurs within the context of a continued social integration (Adams & Marshall, 1996) and is a healthy, normative event of adolescence (Marcia et al., 1993).

Individuation may be conceptualized as an enhanced sense of one's distinctness from others which includes a heightened sense of boundaries and feelings of selfhood and will (Josselson, 1980). Although the individuation process continues through the life span, it takes on unique characteristics during each life phase. During adolescence, individuation involves the relinquishment of infantile objects, such as separating from previous childhood physical and emotional dependencies on one's parents. Individuated adolescents have

internalized and assimilated adequate resources to feel that their choices and their lives are their own (Josselson, 1980; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991).

Controversy exists regarding terminology relevant to the experience of individuation during adolescence. Schafer (1973) for example, recommends use of the term detachment to describe individuation during adolescence. Schafer contends that detachment may be exemplified by the characteristic adolescent struggle to eliminate parental influence. This description of individuation implies an untying of all connections with parents and is more consistent with the outdated storm and stress view of adolescence which is not supported by current research. In reality, most adolescents retain positive, warm relationships with their parents and engage in only a minimal amount of rebellion (Steinberg, 1990). More recently, Ryan and Lynch (1989) contend that individuation may tap feelings of detachment, alienation and insecurity, while other researchers argue that individuation creates opportunities as well as risks for late adolescents (Frank, Pirsch & Wright, 1990). Frank and colleagues state that individuation promotes identity development on the one hand, while for some individuals it is associated with more deviant behavior.

The current conceptualization of individuation supports the theory that developing a distinct sense of self is beneficial to late adolescents. Healthy individuation involves both separation and continued connection, and builds a foundation upon which future tasks of adulthood such as work, marriage and family formation may be mastered (Stutman & Lich, 1985). Although

individuation involves both separation and connection, the latter is emphasized by Josselson (1988) as being important for women.

Theorists have emphasized the role of individuation experiences in the development of eating disorders (Frank & Jackson, 1996). Recently, in their study of eating disordered attitudes and behaviors among college females, Frank and Jackson (1996) found that higher levels of individuation were associated with lower levels of eating disordered attitudes and behavior. Frank and Jackson's study supports the notion that family interactions influence the psychosocial maturity and healthy functioning of late adolescent females. These researchers state that a reluctance on the part of parents to support the individuation of their daughters may result in the development of eating disordered attitudes and behaviors by late adolescence.

A study of eating disordered symptoms among a clinical sample of young adult females suggests that perceptions of excessive cohesiveness in the family are likely to be experienced by the daughter as difficulty establishing control over individuation (Waller, 1994). The anorexic females in Waller's study expressed difficulties individuating from their families.

As body image dissatisfaction has been established to be a core feature of eating disorders (Rosen, Cado, Silberg, Srebnik & Wendt, 1990), and eating disorders have been associated with individuation difficulties, it is possible that individuation difficulties are also associated with body image dissatisfaction. Additionally, the relationship between individuation and autonomy may also

imply that autonomy is related to body image.

Autonomy

One of the major challenges of adolescence is for individuals to develop a sense of autonomy, or subjective feelings of self-reliance and self-governance (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). During this time individuals gradually relinquish idealized notions of their parents from childhood and begin to recognize that their parents hold separate statuses from their 'parental' roles (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Although many researchers consider autonomy to be a healthy outcome of adolescence (Blos, 1979; Frank, Pirsch & Wright, 1990; Kenny & Hart, 1992), it may be one of the most difficult psychological tasks adolescents face. Some researchers state that individuals report continued reliance on and closeness to their parents well into the postadolescent years (Frank, Pirsch & Wright; 1990; Hill & Holmbeck, 1986) which may suggest that the development of autonomy is a lengthy process. The deidealization of one's parents may lead to intrapsychic conflicts (Frank et al., 1990) and a subsequent reluctance to achieve autonomy. Recognition that the move towards autonomy during adolescence is a lengthy process coincides with the recognition that 'adolescence' is a life phase which is lengthening in response to sociocultural shifts. An example of such a shift is the prolonged number of years individuals spend as students, which may extend well into the second decade of life (Marcia et al., 1991). Neopsychoanalytic researchers contend that genuine autonomous functioning does not develop until late adolescence when identity resolution is most prevalent (Blos, 1962) and has

been previously conceptualized as the outcome of individuation (Blos, 1979).

Deci and Ryan (1995) state that the desire for autonomy is a core psychological need critical for self-development and provides a fundamental foundation for true self-esteem. Frederick and Grow (1996) found that the effects of autonomy on eating disordered attitudes and behaviors are mediated by self-esteem. They argue that the present cultural preoccupation with physical appearance may motivate late adolescent females who have unfulfilled needs for autonomy to focus on body-related issues. As self-esteem is connected to feeling pretty and slim for females (Herman, Zanna & Higgins, 1986), those with low self-esteem may seek approval through attaining the thin ideal. This thin ideal is so elusive that many women go to extreme measures to achieve it. Body image dissatisfaction leads some women to resort to chronic dieting, excessive exercise and even vomiting to control their weight (Cash et al., 1986; Mintz & Betz, 1988). Frederick and Grow (1996) postulate that control over eating behaviors is a compensation for low self-esteem, underlying which is a lack of autonomy. Similarly, Kenny and Hart (1992) indicate that eating disordered tendencies among college women may have developmental underpinnings in parent-child relationships. This was evidenced by their finding that a lack of parental support for autonomy among late adolescent daughters was associated with eating disordered attitudes and behaviors.

The heightened self-consciousness which occurs during adolescence may motivate females to search for ideal images of femininity as models to emulate.

Conforming to rigid ideals of femininity which emphasize the importance of thinness may restrict the achievement of genuine autonomy. Autonomy's connection with identity development may mean that such body related issues are also relevant to sex role identity development during adolescence.

Sex Role Identity Development

Identity development has been referred to as the major event of adolescence (Josselson, 1980) and is viewed by many researchers to be a major event in the development of personality (Marcia et al., 1993). Although identity formation begins during infancy and continues into old age, a progression of identity achievement is exhibited during late adolescence (Marcia et al., 1993). Between the ages of 18 and 22 advances in physical, cognitive, and social development converge, allowing individuals to sort through and synthesize childhood identities and identifications in a move toward adult maturity (Santrock, 1993).

Marcia's conceptualization of the resolution of the identity crisis of adolescence is based on Erikson's theory of identity development in which the crisis adolescents face is in finding out who they are, what they are all about and where they are going. The psychosocial issue of identity may be categorized into a number of domains which may be defined as occupational, ideological and interpersonal. The interpersonal domain is theorized to be of particular relevance to females (Marcia et al., 1993) within which sex role issues are important during adolescence.

Marcia utilizes four identity statuses to describe the degree to which an adolescent has explored alternatives to parental values and has made an eventual commitment to their own sex role identity. The diffused status describes individuals who have neither explored meaningful alternatives nor made firm commitments towards their sex role identity. The foreclosed status describes individuals who have not undergone the exploration of alternatives but maintain a commitment to existing values accrued during childhood, usually from one's parents. The moratorium status describes individuals who are in the process of exploring alternatives, but whose commitments are either absent or are yet to be well defined. Finally, the achieved status describes individuals who have undergone an exploration of alternatives to family sex role values and have made a commitment based on prior exploration.

Individuals may be described as being either high or low in terms of sex role identity achievement. Those who display high levels of sex role identity achievement fall in the moratorium and achieved statuses, among which the highest level is denoted by the achieved status. Individuals displaying low levels of sex role identity achievement fall in the diffused and foreclosed statuses, among which the lowest level is denoted by the diffused status (Adams, 1994; Marcia et al., 1993).

Earlier research found that college women with the highest level of sex role identity achievement displayed the highest levels of self-esteem of any of the identity statuses (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). Interestingly, the same study found

that those women who demonstrated a foreclosed sex role identity status also exhibited relatively high self-esteem. The researchers explained this finding by indicating that it may be the commitment present in both statuses which provides the psychological stability necessary for self-esteem. It is uncertain what implications the presence of commitment in both the achieved and foreclosed statuses would hold for body image satisfaction, as a component of self-esteem.

An early study of the relationship between identity development and autonomy revealed that college women who had attained sex role identity achievement demonstrated a level of personal autonomy that was not present in the other statuses (Josselson, 1973). Josselson reported that those students who had attained the highest level of sex role identity development demonstrated a concern with their own goals and who they might be rather than by whom they might be loved.

Prior research on identity formation has revealed an association between the identity development process and sex role orientation (Marcia et al., 1993). Late adolescent females who ignore the opportunity to explore alternatives to sex role orientations previously internalized from childhood typically display a foreclosed identity status and ascribe to the feminine sex role orientation (Marcia et al., 1993). Individuals who ascribe to the feminine sex role orientation have been found to exhibit socially stereotypical thinking, and discount any unhappiness or discontent that they feel as part of a woman's role (Marcia et al., 1993). Conversely, those females who have engaged in the exploratory process of

identity development typically exhibit a move away from the feminine sex role orientation. These females do not exhibit socially stereotypical thinking, and demonstrate an internal locus of control and independence. They do not display vulnerability to external pressures towards conformity, and will risk social disapproval. Such late adolescent females display the achieved identity status and are considered to ascribe to a more androgynous sex role orientation (Marcia et al., 1993).

Research suggesting links between the achieved sex role identity status and the androgynous sex role orientation, and that which suggests links between values and attitudes associated with the feminine sex role orientation and body image dissatisfaction may imply that a relationship exists between sex role identity development and body image. Specifically, it may be possible that late adolescent females who display low levels of sex role identity achievement experience body image dissatisfaction, while those who display the highest sex role identity achievement do not experience this problem.

Summary

Developing adolescents are simultaneously influenced by a multitude of interacting contexts. The prevalence of body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females may be best understood through a consideration of both cultural and developmental factors. The stereotyped messages of femininity which abound in the media, the imperatives of ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation and the interrelationships among individuation, autonomy and sex role

identity development may all play a role in shaping the body image experience of late adolescent females. The maintenance of body image satisfaction throughout adolescence is an essential aspect of self-esteem and is thus crucial to healthy development as females move toward the many challenges of adulthood.

Hypotheses

Related to the purpose of the study described in Chapter I, the following two hypotheses were formulated:

1. There is a positive relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females.
2. The relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction is moderated by a) ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation b) individuation from one's parents c) autonomy and d) sex role identity development.

CHAPTER III

Method

Participants

Research participants were 111 late adolescent females between the ages of 18 and 22 ($M = 20.23$, $SD = 1.28$) who were enrolled in courses at the University of Victoria and Camosun College in Victoria, British Columbia. Participants were drawn from a wide range of courses which included Psychology, Geography, History, Economics, Education, Business Administration, Nursing and Dental Assisting during January of 1997.

Materials

Participants completed one 10-page questionnaire which contained measures assessing perceptions of body image, media exposure to the thin ideal, sex role orientation, experiences of individuation and autonomy, and sex role identity development. Instrument items were arranged in a randomly ordered sequence which was identical for all participants. Each of the measures included in the study is presented in Appendix A.

Body Image

The Body Shape Questionnaire (BSQ; Cooper, Taylor, Cooper & Fairburn, 1987) is a self-report measure which consists of 34 items designed to measure concerns about body shape, particularly with regards to the experience of "feeling fat." An sample item is "I have been so worried about my shape that I have been feeling that I should diet." The items were responded to on a scale of 1

(strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Prior research using late adolescent females yielded high internal consistency (coefficient alpha = .97) (Koenig & Wasserman, 1995). The present study also obtained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .97. Concurrent evidence of validity was established on a sample of both eating disordered and non-eating disordered females whose mean age was 22. The sample was comprised of a college student population, a non-college student population and an eating disordered population in a clinic setting. The BSQ was moderately correlated with the Eating Attitudes Test (Garner & Garfinkel, 1979) and with the Body Dissatisfaction subscale of the Eating Disorder Inventory (Garner, Olmstead & Polivy, 1983). Cooper and colleagues also reported satisfactory discriminant validity in the scale's ability to identify individuals with and without body dissatisfaction as well as eating disordered attitudes and behavior (Cooper et al., 1987). Scoring reversed this weighting so that high scores revealed body dissatisfaction. The sum of these scores provided the index of body image dissatisfaction.

Individuation

Individuation was measured with the Autonomy subscale of the Parental Relationship Inventory (PRI; Stutman & Lich, 1985). The 15 items assess an individual's ability to maintain a separate sense of self and to function in a self-directed manner (Stutman & Lich, 1985). A sample item is "Many times when something happens to my parents, I feel like it's happening to me". The Autonomy subscale measures autonomy associated with individuation (Frank &

Jackson, 1996). Although Stutman and Lich developed the PRI scale on a sample of post-college adults, it has been used successfully with late adolescent college students (Frank & Jackson, 1996; Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). Stutman and Lich (1985) reported a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .79, which demonstrated acceptable internal reliability. More recently, Frank and colleagues (1990) reported a comparable alpha level of .78. The present study obtained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .74. Items were responded to on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) in which high scores indicated individuation. Responses to these items were summed to yield a total score of individuation.

Autonomy

The five-item Deidealization subscale from Steinberg and Silverberg's Emotional Autonomy Scale was used as a measure of emotional autonomy. The subscale taps the adolescent's relinquishing of parental omnipotence rather than the adoption of negative attitudes towards parents (EAS; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). A sample item is "I try to have the same opinion as my parents." Although the scale was developed for use with early to middle adolescents, the Deidealization subscale has been used successfully with late adolescents (Frank & Jackson, 1996; Frank, Pirsch & Wright, 1990). Frank and colleagues (1990) reported an internal reliability coefficient of .62 which was almost identical to Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) earlier report of .63. The present study obtained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .61. Items were responded to on a scale

of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) in which high scores revealed autonomy. Each of the items were summed to yield a total score of autonomy.

Sex Role Identity Development

The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-2 (EOM-EIS2; Bennion, Adams & Huh, 1989) was used as an alternative to the traditional identity status interview format. It is the most highly developed and validated group-administered questionnaire form assessing identity status (Marcia et al., 1993) which holds three distinct advantages over the interview method. The EOM-EIS2 is easily administered in a group situation, it eliminates interscorer reliability problems and provides continuous scores for each participant for the identity statuses (Marcia et al., 1993). Accordingly, sex role identity development was measured with the eight-item Sex Role subscale of the EOM-EIS-2. Items assess level of sex role identity development in which Identity Achievement describes individuals who have explored alternatives to parentally prescribed identities and have committed to a self-defined sex role identity. Identity achieved individuals are considered to have the most advanced sex role identity development of any of the four statuses. Moratorium describes those who are currently exploring alternatives to sex role identities previously prescribed to them by their parents but have yet to commit to one which is self-defined. Foreclosure individuals are committed to a sex role identity but have not explored alternatives to one which was prescribed to them by their parents, and Diffusion individuals have not engaged in the exploration process, nor have they committed

to a sex role identity. These individuals are considered to have the least advanced sex role identity development of any of the four statuses. The present study evaluated the degree to which individuals had obtained identity achievement thus, only scores of the two identity achievement items were considered for analyses. A sample item is "I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me." The measure has been used extensively in research on late adolescent college students for which concurrent, predictive, and construct validity have been established (Bennion, Adams & Huh, 1989). The present study obtained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .79. A measure of advanced identity development was achieved by summing scores of the two Identity Achievement items. Items were responded to on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) in which high scores revealed high sex role identity development.

Sex Role Orientation

The short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory was used as a measure of sex role orientation (BSRI; Bem, 1979). The 20 items assess identification with stereotypic feminine and stereotypic masculine personality traits. The short form of the BSRI is recommended as a superior instrument to the original in that it has been demonstrated to be a psychometrically superior, factorially more pure index of expressive (feminine) and instrumental (masculine) traits (Mitchell, 1985). A sample item is "I am gentle". Bem (1981) reported internal reliability coefficients of .78 for femininity and .86 for masculinity. The present study obtained

Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .76 for femininity and .76 for masculinity. Presently, the BSRI remains as the most commonly employed and well cited sex role instrument in spite of recent criticisms about the contention that femininity and masculinity are orthogonal constructs (Wong, McCreary & Duffy, 1990). Items were responded to on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Scoring of items was reversed so that high scores on the 10 feminine items signify high femininity and high scores on the 10 masculine items signify high masculinity. A measure of femininity was obtained by adding the 10 feminine items.

Media Exposure

The six-item Media Exposure scale created by Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw and Stein (1994) was used as a measure of exposure to media which display a high proportion of ideal body images. Three items inquire about the number of hours of comedy, drama and game shows watched per week, and three items inquire about the number of times that entertainment and arts, health and fitness, and beauty and fashion magazines are read or looked at per month. For the purposes of the present study, three extra items were added which inquired into respondents' television viewing of comedy, drama and game shows during their mid-teens, and three were added which inquired respondents' viewing of entertainment and arts, health and fitness and beauty and fashion magazines during their mid-teens. These six items were added in light of the possibility that university and college students may engage in relatively low levels of media

exposure, and that higher media exposure during one's mid-teens may have contributed to present body image attitudes and behaviors. A sample item is "How many times per month do you read or look through fashion or beauty magazines?" Stice and colleagues (1994) consider the scale to have improved on previous media exposure scales by using multiple items, and reported a test-retest reliability coefficient of .76 over a three week period. The present study obtained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .62. Each of the 12 items were responded to in an open-ended format. Responses for present television exposure, past television exposure, present magazine exposure and past magazine exposure were summed and subsequently standardized for comparison with scores from other measures.

Procedure

The present study was a cross-sectional survey of the attitudes and behaviors of a single group of late adolescent female university and college students. Recruitment of participants occurred during January of 1997 after gaining approval to conduct the present study by the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Committee. Fifteen classes from the University of Victoria and Camosun College were approached prior to their lecture periods. Students were provided with a brief description of the study which emphasized the prevalence of body image dissatisfaction among females and stated that the study would be inquiring into the potential that the media and other factors that occur within the family environment have on shaping body image.

Prospective participants were assured that their participation was voluntary

and that their anonymity would be protected. Additionally, they were informed that their participation would not be reflected in their course grade. Students interested in the study were invited to complete the questionnaire at home and to return it to class the following day which would indicate their informed consent to participate in the research. Incentive was provided by informing them that there would be a draw for a night for two at the movies. A copy of the participant recruitment speech is located in Appendix B.

One hundred and thirty female students filled out the questionnaires. The response rate was difficult to determine, due to the wide age range and mixed gender of students in each class. Fourteen questionnaires were discarded due to incomplete responses, four were discarded because the respondents reported ages over 22 and one was eliminated because of media exposure scores which were over three standard deviations higher than those obtained by the rest of the respondents. The final sample size was 111, which included 86 students from the University of Victoria and 25 from Camosun College.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Results of the study are divided into two sections. The first reports the results of preliminary analyses which includes demographic analyses, descriptive and correlational statistics for all variables, as well as scale reliabilities. The second reports the results of primary analyses, which includes hierarchical regression analyses, and of a test of interaction.

The first hypothesis tested the strength of the relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. The second hypothesis was originally stated to test the moderating potential that ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation, a lack of individuation from one's parents, a lack of autonomy, and low levels of sex role identity development have on the relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction. Upon further reflection, it seemed inappropriate to test the originally stated second hypothesis. The present study was considered to be of an exploratory nature, designed to identify relationships between each of the independent variables and body image dissatisfaction. Establishing such relationships could facilitate theory building. Testing the moderating potential that subsets of the independent variables have on explaining body image dissatisfaction would be more appropriate, and more meaningful once a sound theory has been developed. As a result a modified, yet related hypothesis was

tested. Thus, the second hypothesis inquired into the unique contribution that each of the following developmental and cultural factors held in explaining body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females: media exposure to the thin ideal, ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation, a lack of both individuation and autonomy, and low levels of sex role identity development.

Preliminary Analyses

To determine whether there was any difference between scores achieved by the university and college students, an Hotelling's T^2 ANOVA was computed for the independent measure (University of Victoria students and Camosun College students) and all dependent measures (body image dissatisfaction, media exposure to the thin ideal, the feminine sex role orientation, individuation, autonomy, and sex role identity development). Results indicated that there were no differences between scores obtained by the two student groups $F(6, 104) = 2.06, p > .05$. A one-way ANOVA comparing the mean chronological age of the college and university samples ($M=20.01, 20.23, SD=1.25, 1.28$) was also nonsignificant $F(2, 104) = .12, p > .05$.

Means and standard deviations for feminine sex role orientation, autonomy, individuation, sex role identity development and body image dissatisfaction are presented in Table 1 for both groups combined. Participants obtained relatively high scores in terms of possessing a feminine sex role orientation ($M = 39.58$). Possible scores for femininity range between 10 and 50. Interestingly, participants also reported holding nearly equal levels of traits

consistent with a masculine sex role orientation ($M = 38.87$). Considered together, the relatively high levels of both femininity and masculinity were suggestive of an androgynous sex role orientation. However, the moderately high Pearson correlation coefficient obtained between femininity and masculinity ($r = .73$) may invite scepticism about the validity of androgyny theory. Overall, participants reported moderate levels of autonomy ($M = 18.02$), and individuation ($M = 47.24$) and reported a moderate degree of sex role identity development ($M = 6.74$).

Participants reported relatively low levels of media exposure to the thin ideal. A summary of the descriptive statistics for media exposure are presented in Table 2. Raw scores indicated that participants watched just under one and one-half hours of televised comedy, drama and game shows per week ($M = 10.1$) and viewed entertainment and arts, health and fitness, and fashion and beauty magazines an average of 9 times per month ($M = 9.0$). As anticipated, past media exposure scores for television ($M = 13.1$) and magazine viewing ($M = 10.6$) were higher than present media exposure scores for television ($M = 7.1$) and magazine viewing ($M = 7.36$) among the sample. Finally, the females in the present study reported only minimal to moderate levels of body image dissatisfaction ($M = 90.87$) relative to a possible range of scores between 34 and 170.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Sex RoleIdentity Development and Body Image Dissatisfaction

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Feminine Sex Role Orientation	39.58	3.97
Autonomy	18.02	2.52
Individuation	47.24	6.64
Sex Role Identity Development	6.74	1.71
Body Image Dissatisfaction	90.87	27.15

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Past and Present Media Exposure

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Past Media Exposure		
Television Viewing ¹	13.08	9.54
Magazine Viewing ²	10.57	11.26
Present Media Exposure		
Television Viewing	7.11	5.40
Magazine Viewing	7.36	8.02

Note: ¹ - duration of exposure per week

² - frequency of exposure per week

Pearson correlations were computed between all six variables, which are presented in Table 3. Results indicated that there was a weak, negative correlation between the feminine sex role orientation and sex role identity development $r = -.23$, ($p < .05$) as well as autonomy $r = -.18$, ($p < .05$). Autonomy was also correlated with individuation $r = .38$, ($p < .001$) and sex role identity development $r = .34$, ($p < .001$). This indicates that participants who ascribed to the feminine sex role orientation displayed a tendency toward low sex role identity development and perceived a lack of autonomy. It also reveals that those who reported a lack of autonomy or individuation from their parents tended to display low levels of sex role identity development. Additionally, body image dissatisfaction was negatively correlated with individuation ($p < .05$) which indicates that participants reporting dissatisfaction with their body image were not entirely individuated from their parents.

Although reports of both past and present media exposure were obtained, they were considered together. Pearson correlations revealed that past and present media exposure were moderately correlated $r = .55$. Additionally, when past media exposure was correlated with body image and present media exposure was correlated with body image, both tests produced nonsignificant results $p > .05$.

Table 3

<u>Pearson Correlation Coefficients of Independent and Dependent Variables</u>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Feminine Sex Role Orientation	---	-.18*	-.06	-.23*	.09	-.05
2. Autonomy		---	.38**	.34**	.10	-.13
3. Individuation			---	-.05	.08	-.19*
4. Sex Role Identity Development				---	-.15	-.12
5. Media Exposure to the Thin Ideal					---	-.05
6. Body Image Dissatisfaction						---

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

Primary Analyses

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to determine the unique contribution that each of the independent variables makes to body image. Thus, in accordance with an hypothesized order of influence, media exposure to the thin ideal, the feminine sex role orientation, autonomy, individuation and sex role identity development were entered into the equation, to account for their unique contributions to body image. A summary of the hierarchical regression analyses is presented in Table 4.

Taken together, media exposure to the thin ideal, the feminine sex role orientation, autonomy, individuation and sex role identity development accounted for 5.9% of the variance in body image. When each of the independent variables

(feminine sex role orientation, autonomy, individuation, sex role identity development and media exposure to the thin ideal) was considered for its unique effects on body image, after controlling for the other four variables, there were no significant effects on body image ($p > .05$).

The unique contribution that both past and present media exposure to the thin ideal made was also considered through hierarchical regression analyses to determine whether either accounted for a significant additional portion of explained variance in body image. Results indicated that neither past nor present media exposure to the thin ideal accounted for an additional reliable influence on body image ($p > .05$). A summary of these additional analyses is presented in Table 5.

An interaction effect between sex role orientation and media exposure was tested to ascertain whether participants who reported high levels of media exposure to the thin ideal and rated high in terms of the feminine sex role orientation reported notably higher levels of body image dissatisfaction. Results of this test indicated a nonsignificant conditional relationship $F(2, 106) = .34$, $p > .05$. Thus, higher levels of body image dissatisfaction were not contingent on high levels of both media exposure to the thin ideal and the feminine sex role orientation. A summary of the test of interaction is presented in Table 6.

Table 4

 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Criterion	Step	Predictor	β	R	R ²	R ² change	F	p
Body Image	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development		.238	.056	.056	5.800	.009
	2	Media Exposure	-.040	.242	.059	.003	.210	.656
	1	Autonomy, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development, Media Exposure		.233	.054	.054	5.570	.010
	2	Feminine Sex Role Orientation	-.063	.242	.059	.005	.430	.520
	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development, Media Exposure		.242	.058	.058	6.050	.008
	2	Autonomy	-.033	.242	.059	.001	.020	.883
	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Sex Role Identity Development, Media Exposure		.178	.032	.032	3.170	.038
	2	Individuation	-.170	.242	.059	.027	2.700	.110
	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Media Exposure		.207	.043	.043	9.000	.002
	2	Sex Role Identity Development	-.099	.242	.059	.016	1.600	.215

Table 5

<u>Summary of Supplementary Hierarchical Regression Analysis</u>								
Criterion	Step	Predictor	β	R	R ²	R ² change	F	p
Body Image	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development		.238	.056	.056	5.800	.009
	2	Past Media Exposure	-.034	.239	.057	.001	.040	.839
	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development		.238	.056	.056	5.800	.009
	2	Present Media Exposure	-.067	.246	.061	.004	.405	.526

Table 6

<u>Summary of An Interaction Effect Between Media Exposure and Feminine Sex Role Orientation</u>								
Criterion	Step	Predictor	β	R	R ²	R ² change	F	p
Body Image	1	Feminine Sex Role Orientation, Autonomy, Individuation, Sex Role Identity Development, Media Exposure		.285	.081	.081	9.600	.001
	2	Media Exposure X Feminine Sex Role Orientation	-.050	.291	.084	.003	.340	.562

Summary

Analyses revealed several interesting findings. First, participants engaged in low levels of media exposure to the thin ideal and reported only minimal to

moderate levels of body image dissatisfaction. In light of these findings, the absence of a relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction was not surprising. Secondly, although participants reported moderately high levels of femininity, they also reported moderately high levels of masculinity, which was suggestive of an androgynous sex role orientation. Third, considered together, the feminine sex role orientation, autonomy, individuation, sex role identity development and media exposure to the thin ideal accounted for a small amount of change in body image. When considered for their unique association with body image, none of the variables asserted an additional change beyond that which was accounted for by the set. Additionally, intercorrelations between the variables attests to the multidimensional nature of body image dissatisfaction, which includes both cultural and developmental factors. Finally, findings of the present study suggest that there are other factors which are yet to be identified which contribute to the problem of late adolescent female body image dissatisfaction.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusion

Two hypotheses were investigated in the study. The first concerned the possible relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. The second revised hypothesis concerned the unique contribution that several factors hold in explaining body image dissatisfaction. These include media exposure to the thin ideal, ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation, a lack of individuation, a lack of autonomy and low levels of sex role identity development. A discussion of the results of both hypotheses will be presented in turn.

Hypothesis One

The present study failed to demonstrate a relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females, which contradicts the results of a substantial body of prior research (Richins, 1991; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Stice & Shaw, 1994; Waller, Shaw, Hamilton, Baldwin, Harding & Summer, 1994). Participant reports of media exposure to the thin ideal were relatively low which truncated the range of scores. This may have impeded the ability to provide a fair test of whether media exposure to the thin ideal is associated with body image dissatisfaction.

Participants in the present study reported relatively low levels of both present and past media exposure to the thin ideal. The low present media exposure

scores were understandable in light of the busy schedules of many college and university students. Participant reports of media exposure during their mid-teens were only slightly higher however, which was more surprising. This difference was not enough to assert a reliable influence on body image. Prior literature on adolescent media exposure has indicated higher levels of both television viewing and magazine reading, but such estimates were not limited to late adolescent samples, nor were they reliant upon retrospective data for information about media exposure during middle adolescence (Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs & Roberts, 1978; Lyle & Hoffman, 1972; Medrich, 1979; Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996). Retrospective data obtained from college and university students may be susceptible to inaccuracies and information obtained from such a sample may not be representative of the entire middle adolescent population. Additionally, the sophistication of the university and college sample may have been underestimated. Martin and Kennedy (1994) theorize that by college individuals may realize that advertising images are unrealistic and they are thus unlikely to incorporate the information into notions of themselves.

The media exposure instrument may not have been thorough enough in its sampling of visual media to ascertain whether media exposure to the thin ideal asserts a reliable influence on body image. For example, a recent study by Tiggemann and Pickering (1996) found that viewing soap operas and movies predicts body image dissatisfaction, and that viewing music videos predicts drive for thinness among middle adolescent females (Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996).

Additionally, internal reliability obtained for the media exposure scale in the present study was relatively low ($\alpha = .62$), which may account for some of the findings.

Participants reported only minimal to moderate levels of body image dissatisfaction. This finding is intriguing in light of claims that body image dissatisfaction is a normative female experience (Rodin, Silberstein & Streigel-Moore, 1984) which has increased among the female population over the past two decades (Cash, Winstead & Janda, 1986; Cash & Henry, 1995; Garner, 1997). Embedded within this literature however, is the finding that body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females has actually decreased. Additionally, Cash and Brown (1989) state that society has erroneously accepted a stereotype about women which corresponds with body images of eating disordered women. This is suggestive of the power that cultural messages hold in shaping our perceptions of reality, and may also imply that today's late adolescent females experience a different reality from previous generations.

There were methodological differences between the present study and many others which demonstrated a relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image dissatisfaction among females. Some studies obtained their results through experiments (Richins, 1991; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Waller et al, 1994) or through interview data (Richins, 1991). Stice and colleagues (1994) utilized a survey format but selected a different measure of body image, and were only able to demonstrate an indirect effect of media exposure on body image.

Today's late adolescent college and university students may watch less television and read fewer magazines than previous generations, or they may be reluctant to admit to higher levels of media exposure. If the low levels of media exposure obtained by the present sample are accurate, the finding may suggest that they are less influenced by media messages of the thin ideal than previous generations, and thus, experience less body image dissatisfaction. They may also be more critical of the media than previous generations were. Additionally, late adolescent female students are likely to have been educated about the dangers of dieting, eating disorders and cosmetic surgery and may be less likely to accept stereotypes about the importance of thinness in achieving success and happiness.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis inquired into the unique contribution that certain developmental and cultural factors have in explaining body image dissatisfaction. Specifically, ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation, a lack of individuation from one's parents, a lack of autonomy, low levels of sex role identity development and media exposure to the thin ideal were each considered in turn to determine their potential to account for any increase in body image dissatisfaction beyond that which could be explained by the others considered together. The study revealed that some of the variables were intercorrelated, and that as a set, they were associated with body image dissatisfaction. The intercorrelations between subsets of these variables may suggest the existence of a underlying common construct. For example, it may be that an inability to individuate from

one's parents stifles autonomy, which in turn may inhibit exploration and eventual commitment to a self-chosen sex role identity. This would support Josselson's (1980) theory that individuation, autonomy and identity development are discrete, yet indivisible constructs. Retaining a parentally prescribed sex role identity during late adolescence may perpetuate sex-typed values of childhood which are consistent with the feminine sex role orientation. This is supported by Block's (1973) assertion that girls are socialized to be nurturant, docile and submissive rather than assertive and independent, which renders the process of individuation particularly challenging in later years.

The absence of an association between sex role orientation and body image deserves comment. Prior research has shown that ascribing to the feminine sex role orientation predicts body image dissatisfaction (Martz, Handley & Eisler, 1995; Stice et al., 1994). Similarly, Johnson and Petrie (1995) report that females who desire more masculine characteristics than they currently hold report greater body image dissatisfaction than those who do not. The present study did not evaluate whether participants perceived deficits in terms of possessing masculine characteristics. Females in the present study did score moderately high in terms of femininity but they also held moderately high masculinity scores, which would classify them as androgynous in terms of sex role orientation. Thus, the present sample displayed characteristics which support prior research indicating high levels of psychological adjustment among androgynous individuals (Marcia et al., 1993). The maintenance of body image

satisfaction is an important aspect of psychological adjustment (Rosen et al., 1990). The lack of a relationship between sex role orientation and body image may also be due to scoring procedures used for BSRI. Isolating femininity scores provides an incomplete view of the sex role orientation of participants. High scores of femininity may evidence a feminine sex role orientation or one of androgyny, while low scores of femininity may evidence an undifferentiated sex role orientation or one of masculinity which are likely to be associated with different levels of body image dissatisfaction. Finally, it may be the attitudes associated with the feminine sex role orientation and not those particular to the orientation itself that are associated with body image dissatisfaction among females. It is possible that concerns with appearance and weight among females are more relevant to body image dissatisfaction than nurturance and sensitivity. This would be consistent with Stice and colleagues' (1994) finding that an internalization of the ideal-body stereotype, which includes a preoccupation with appearance and thinness, predicts body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females.

It was anticipated that the feminine sex role orientation would interact with media exposure to the thin ideal to explain higher levels of body image dissatisfaction. This notion was not supported, which may once again be explained by characteristics of the sample itself, who reported very little media exposure to the thin ideal, an androgynous sex role orientation and relatively low levels of body image dissatisfaction. Alternatively, this result may be due to the

aspects of each orientation. This may lead participants to respond favorably to the items, thus falsely inflating the occurrence of androgyny. Additionally, The BSRI was developed three decades ago when sex roles were more rigid and divergent than they are today. We may have reached an era previously envisioned by Bem (1974) in which rigid sex-role differentiation has outlived its utility and in which androgyny has become a more human standard of psychological health.

The accuracy of self-report data is always suspect, but may be particularly dubious when items inquire into information of a sensitive nature. The measure of body image inquires into attitudes and behavior about which participants may be reluctant to admit to. For instance, individuals may be reluctant to respond affirmatively to statements like “I have taken laxatives in order to feel thinner” and “I have felt ashamed of my body” even if they have experienced such situations. This may result in an underestimation of body image dissatisfaction.

Generalizability of the results is limited by the fact that participants were volunteers. During participant recruiting sessions, the researcher referred to the prevalence of body image dissatisfaction among females and that the media has been implicated for its role in creating the problem. It is possible that students who were particularly media literate, assertive and concerned about body image issues were predisposed to want to express their views through participating in the study. In contrast, students who have internalized the stereotype of the thin ideal as promoted by the media, who were also less assertive and highly dissatisfied with their body image may have been reluctant to volunteer in such a study.

Generalizability would also have been improved if a randomly selected community sample was employed.

Finally, the correlational nature of the present study precludes any conclusions of causality between variables. Although it is possible that cultural and developmental factors may cause body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females it is also possible that late adolescent females reporting dissatisfaction with their body image seek out media messages of femininity consistent with their own values about the importance of thinness, and that they assert influence on the outcome of developmental issues. Alternatively, there may be other factors which influence both cultural and developmental factors as well as body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females. Only a longitudinal study could begin to disentangle any causal relationships with confidence.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research investigating the potential role that media plays in shaping the body image experience of females could include a more extensive media exposure measure to attain a more complete and accurate understanding of late adolescent female media exposure habits. Additionally, it may be prudent to utilize alternative measures of autonomy, sex role identity development and sex role orientation to rule out the possibility that unique relationships between such factors and body image were undetected due to weak instruments.

More information may be gleaned into a potential direct or indirect relationship between media exposure to the thin ideal and body image by

incorporating both experimental and interview data into a research program. Such a program would be further enhanced by attending to any changes which occur over time through longitudinal data.

Findings of the present study may be used as a springboard for future studies to investigate how other aspects of the home environment may impact the body image experiences of late adolescent females, and to gain more information about late adolescent female interactions with the media. Finally, future researchers may benefit from utilizing a sample which is not comprised of volunteers, and one which is more representative of the entire late adolescent population.

The results of the present study indicate that investigating female body image dissatisfaction from a multi-dimensional perspective provides a promising direction for future research. Further examination of both cultural and developmental variables for their role in body image dissatisfaction among late adolescent females could generate important information for parents, educators and therapists. Most importantly, such information could serve the goal of providing both cultural and developmental environments which are conducive to the maintenance of the psychological and physical health of adolescent females.

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APPENDIX A

Body Shape Questionnaire (BSQ)
(from Cooper, Taylor, Cooper & Fairburn, 1987)

1. Feeling bored has made me brood about my body shape.
2. I have been so worried about my shape that I have been feeling that I should diet.
3. I have thought that my thighs, hips or behind are too large for the rest of me.
4. I have been afraid that I might become fat (or fatter).
5. I have worried about my body not being firm enough.
6. Feeling full (e.g., after eating a large meal) has made me feel fat.
7. I have felt so bad about my shape that I have cried.
8. I have avoided running because my body might jiggle.
9. Being with thin women has made me feel self-conscious about my shape.
10. I have worried about my thighs spreading out when sitting down.
11. Eating even a small amount of food has made me feel fat.
12. I have noticed the shape of other women and felt that my own shape compared unfavorably.
13. Thinking about my shape has interfered with my ability to concentrate (e.g. while watching television, reading, listening to conversations).
14. Being naked, such as when taking a bath has made me feel fat.
15. I have avoided wearing clothes which make me particularly aware of the shape of my body.
16. I have imagined cutting off fleshy areas of my body.
17. Eating sweets, cakes, or other high calorie food has made me feel fat.
18. I have not gone out to social occasions (e.g., parties) because I have felt bad about my shape.

19. I have felt excessively large and rounded.
20. I have felt ashamed of my body.
21. Worrying about my shape has made me diet.
22. I have felt happiest about my shape when my stomach has been empty (e.g., in the morning).
23. I have thought that I am the shape I am because I lack self-control.
24. I have worried about other people seeing rolls of flesh around my waist or stomach.
25. I have felt that it is not fair that other women are thinner than me.
26. I have vomited in order to feel thinner.
27. When in company I have worried about taking up too much room (e.g., sitting on a sofa or a bus seat).
28. I have worried about my skin being dimply.
29. Seeing my reflection (e.g. in a mirror or shop window) has made me feel bad about my shape.
30. I have pinched areas of my body to see how much fat there is.
31. I have avoided situations where people could see my body (e.g. communal changing rooms or swimming pools).
32. I have taken laxatives in order to feel thinner.
33. I have been particularly self conscious about my shape when in the company of other people.
34. Worrying about my shape has made me feel that I should exercise.

Media Exposure Scale (from Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw & Stein, 1994)

For the following questions please report your television viewing and magazine reading habits:

TELEVISION

1. How many hours of COMEDY TV shows, such as 'Friends' or 'Seinfeld' do you watch in an average week?
2. How many hours of similar programs did you watch when you were in your mid-teens?
3. How many hours of TV GAME SHOWS such as 'Jeopardy' do you watch in an average week?
4. How many hours of similar programs did you watch when you were in your mid-teens?
5. How many hours of Drama, such as 'ER' or 'Melrose Place' do you watch in an average week?
6. How many hours of similar programs did you watch when you were in your mid-teens?

MAGAZINES

7. How many times per month do you read or look through ENTERTAINMENT or ARTS magazines?
8. How many times per month did you read or look through such magazines when you were in your mid-teens?
9. How many times per month do you read or look through HEALTH or FITNESS magazines?
10. How many times per month did you read or look through such magazines when you were in your mid-teens?
11. How many times per month do you read or look through FASHION or BEAUTY magazines?
12. How many times per month did you read or look through such magazines when you were in your mid-teens?

Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI, Short Version)
(from Bem, 1979)

1. I defend my own beliefs.
2. I am affectionate.
3. I am independent.
4. I am sympathetic.
5. I am assertive.
6. I have a strong personality
7. I am understanding.
8. I am forceful.
9. I am compassionate.
10. I have leadership abilities.
11. I am eager to soothe hurt feelings.
12. I am willing to take risks.
13. I am warm.
14. I am dominant.
15. I am tender.
16. I am willing to take a stand.
17. I love children.
18. I am aggressive.
19. I am gentle.
20. I am sensitive to the needs of others.

Parental Relationship Inventory (PRI, Autonomy Subscale)
(Stutman & Lich, 1985)

1. I can still feel good about myself, even when my parents are upset with me.
2. Many times when something is happening to my parents, I feel like it's happening to me.
3. I generally consult my parents before making important decisions.
4. When I'm having trouble making a decision, it really helps to have my parents provide direction for me.
5. I am able to put my own needs before those of my parents.
6. I don't feel it's my job to make my parents happy.
7. I run my own life without needing my parents' direction.
8. I often don't do things my way because it would upset my parents.
9. It is important to me that my parents approve of the way I am handling my life.

Emotional Autonomy Scale (EAS, Deidealization Subscale)
(from Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986)

1. My parents and I agree on everything.
2. Even when my parents and I disagree, my parents are always right.
3. I try to have the same opinions as my parents.
4. When I become a parent, I am going to treat my children in exactly the same way that my parents have treated me.
5. My parents hardly ever make mistakes.

The Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-2
(OM-EIS2, Sex Role Subscale)
(Bennion, Adams & Huh, 1989)

1. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me.
2. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me.

APPENDIX B

Participant Recruitment Speech

Hello! My name is Kim MacLean. I am a graduate student here on campus, and I'm here to tell you a bit about a study I am doing with the hopes that you might be interested in participating.

A Glamour magazine survey of 35,000 American females found that women would rather lose weight than achieve any other goal! Sounds incredible, doesn't it? How can this be?

Plenty of research has implicated the media for creating the problem, but perhaps it's a bit more complicated than that. It is likely that our self perceptions are influenced by a number of factors, many of which begin within our family environment. I am going to be looking at the potential that a number of factors have in shaping self-perceptions of females, and I'm inviting women between 18 and 22 to participate in the study by filling out a questionnaire that takes between 15 and 20 minutes to complete. Your participation is voluntary. Some of the questions may be sensitive, in that they ask how you feel about yourself, but you will remain anonymous should you decide to participate. Also, your grade in this course will not be affected in any way regardless of whether you decide to participate or not.

I have the questionnaires here with me now, so if you are interested, you may pick one up and complete it at home. Then bring the completed questionnaires back to class next time, we'll place them all in an envelope, and you will have an opportunity to enter your name into a draw box to win an

evening for two at the movies!!

I hope that this study is of interest to you. Thank you for your time!

VITA

Surname: **MacLean**

Given Names: **Kimberly Anne**

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1995 to 1997
University of Alberta	1979 to 1995

Degrees Awarded:

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Papers:

'Promoting Self-Regulated Learning In the Middle School Classroom'
Co-authors: Dr. John Walsh and Dr. Dawn-Howard Rose Pending

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Title of Thesis

Body Image Dissatisfaction Among Late Adolescent Females: An Examination of Cultural and Developmental Factors


Author:

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