Self-objectification, cultural orientation, and implicit attitude toward sexualized females[*]

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Two studies investigated whether individual differences in cultural orientation (valuing equality vs. authority) relate to the extent of self-objectification and implicit dehumanization of other sexualized women. Study 1 employed a survey methodology to examine the relationships between cultural orientation, the trait of gender specific system-justification, and the trait of self-objectification. Results showed that participants with greater vertical collectivism (accepting inequality) exhibited stronger system-justification and self-objectification. In contrast, the higher tendency of horizontal collectivism (valuing equality) was negatively associated with system justification and self-objectification. Study 2 tested whether the higher tendency towards horizontal vs. vertical collectivism was related to implicit dehumanization of other sexualized males and females. To examine the dehumanizing perceptions of objectified men and women, an implicit association test (IAT) was introduced which compared objectified male and female targets in eliciting associations with humans and animals. According to the results, female participants with greater horizontal collectivism reported lower levels of implicit dehumanization toward other sexualized women. These findings suggest that individual differences in cultural orientation might be associated with the trait of self-objectification, the extent of rationalizing the gender status and implicit dehumanization toward other objectified females.

Key words : cultural orientation, self-objectification, dehumanization, system-justification, implicit attitude

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Sexual objectification is defined as treating humans as sexual objects for utilization (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Greater exposure to sexual objectification experiences may contribute to perceiving themselves as objects and to the internalization of the observer's perspective, which is known as self-objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Johnston-Robledo & Fred, 2008; Nussbaum, 1999). Self-objectification is a primary psychological consequence of the sexual objectification of women. The present work examined the psychological mechanisms of self-objectification in the interpersonal context.

Self-objectification

Self-objectification involves adopting an appearance-focused third-person perspective of the self as opposed to personal thoughts and feelings. Previous research demonstrated that self-objectification led to negative intrapersonal consequences for women. For example, self-objectification is negatively related to self-esteem (Strelan, Mehaffey, & Tiggemann, 2003), women's self-perception of competence (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009), intellectual performance (Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998; Gay & Castano, 2010), and subjective wellbeing (Breines, Crocker, & Garcia, 2008; Mercurio & Landry, 2008).

Although previous research reported negative psychological outcomes of sexual- and self-objectification, just a few studies have examined the psychological mechanisms of self-objectification. Recently, authors have begun to address the potential antecedents for the development of self-objectification. For example, Rollero and De Piccoli (2017) highlighted the role of personal values in self-objectification. Specifically, self-enhancement values (i.e., achievement, power) are positively related to self-objectification (i.e., body shame and body surveillance). Stronger preferences for conservatism values (i.e., tradition, authority) were also related to higher levels of females' self-objectification, whereas openness to change (i.e., self-direction, stimulation) acted as a buffer against the self-objectification of women. These results implicated that various personal values significantly impact self-objectification.

Taken together, previous research has focused on mental health outcomes of self-objectification and appearance-related intrapersonal psychological mechanisms. However additional mechanisms of self-objectification in the interpersonal context are relatively understudied. For example, self-objectification might lead to dehumanizing other sexually objectified females in the same way. Dehumanization is defined as attributing humans less mind and moral agency (Loughnan et al., 2010). According to Puvia and Vaes (2013), Italian women with higher levels of self-objectification (i.e., higher motivation to look attractive to men or to internalize the sociocultural beauty standards) tended more strongly to dehumanize sexually objectified

female targets.

Further, culturally focused values such as higher levels of vertical collectivism (i.e., to accept inequality, to comply with authority) might motivate people to exhibit greater self-objectification. For example, Wollast et al. (2020) revealed that women's cultural orientation was related to body surveillance and body shame of self-objectification. In addition, self-objectification may have negative consequences in social contexts. For example, higher scores in self-objectification predicted lower scores in the engagement in social activism among women (Calogero, 2013). However it remains unclear why self-objectifying females are motivated to maintain their disadvantaged status. Therefore the present research aims to broaden the scope of prior work on psychological mechanisms in the interpersonal context such as women's cultural orientation, system justification and dehumanization of other sexual objectified women to gain a better understanding of why this happens.

There are two important reasons for this work. Firstly, previous cultural studies have mostly concentrated on the ethnicity of women living in Western individualistic societies (i.e., European, Asian American). However, women within a specific cultural group do not necessarily share sociocultural beauty standards (Kim, Seo, & Baek, 2017). Therefore this work aims to test individual differences in specific indicators such as cultural orientation and system justification within a cultural group, because there may exist differences among women who share nationalities and ethnicity.

Secondly, sexual objectification is usually regarded as something that men do to women. Previous research reported that men objectify women in a sexualized manner because they often hold higher power and status in contemporary society (Civile & Obhi, 2013). Recently, however, not a few studies have suggested that women objectify also other females (Kellie, Blake, & Brooks, 2019; Puvia & Vaes, 2015). For example, Strelan and Hargreaves (2005) reported that both Australian women and men objectified the female body more than they objectified the male body. They demonstrated that women who self-objectify tend to dehumanized other women more strongly. Further, evidence also suggested that women who perceive sexualized women as less human view these women as part of a subcategory from which they wish to distance themselves (Kellie et al., 2019; Puvia & Vaes, 2013, 2015). To extend previous research, this study is not limited to self-report methods. It measures implicit prejudice to investigate whether self-objectifying women are more likely to treat other females as objects and dehumanize other objectified females (versus other objectified males).

Self-objectification, system justification, and

cultural orientation

Previous research showed that the trait of self-objectification was related to gender-specific system justification. For example, Calogero (2013) demonstrated that women with the tendency of stronger self-objectification (i.e., sex appeal is more important for their physical self-concept than fitness) were more likely to accept gender-specific inequality. In addition, female students with experimentally induced self-objectification were more likely to rationalize gender-specific inequality than in the control condition. Thus, both traits and state of self-objectification appear related with the degree of system justification.

According to system justification theory (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002), people tend to internalize and perpetuate systemic forms of inequality, even when doing so is against their own self-interest. As women are more disadvantaged than men, they are more like to rationalize their disadvantaged status and see themselves through the dominant cultural lens. In this context, women are complicit in their own subordination (Jost & Kay, 2005). They not only accept their status, but they actually provide stronger support for the system than men do. But why do some people accept and support systemic inequality? Are there any individual differences associated with self-objectification and system justification?

Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand (1995) postulated theoretical distinctions between horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism regarding cultural orientational patterns. Horizontal collectivism (HC) (valuing interdependence and equality) is a cultural pattern in which the individual sees the self as an aspect of an in-group. Herein, the self is same as the self of others. Conversely, vertical collectivism (VC) (valuing authority and accepting inequality) is defined as a cultural pattern in which the self is interdependent and individuals see each other differently in a hierarchy. Horizontal individualism (HI) (emphasizing autonomy and uniqueness) is a cultural pattern which is valuing the autonomous self. In this case, individuals are perceived as more or less the same in status. On the contrary, vertical individualism (emphasizing competition and inequality) is a cultural pattern in which the self is perceived as independent and different from the self of others.

According to Singelis et al. (1995), these constructs can be used for predicting individual behaviors (i.e., a person with higher scores in individualism is more likely to make a decision for a personal goal than for an in-group goal). In addition, these can contribute to understanding social phenomenon (i.e., people with higher levels of vertical collectivism are more likely to accept inequality and comply with authority compared to horizontal collectivism). Recent studies demonstrated the usefulness of the theoretical refinement of individualism and collectivism on horizontal and

vertical dimensions. For example, Gervais, Bernard and Riener (2015) demonstrated that vertical individualism (emphasizing competition and inequality) was related to the higher tendency of sexual objectification (i.e., body evaluation) than horizontal individualism (emphasizing autonomy and uniqueness). In addition, Wollast, Riemer, Gervais et al. (2021) revealed that greater adherence to vertical individualism and vertical collectivism were related to increased body surveillance and body shame. In contrast, greater endorsement of horizontal individualism and horizontal collectivism were related to less body surveillance. Therefore the distinction between cultural orientations on vertical and horizontal dimensions appear more useful for understanding cultural values and self-objectification than the differentiation between individualism and collectivism. It can be expected that people with the increasing tendency of vertical collectivism are more likely to justify inequality, whereas those with higher levels of horizontal collectivism tend to view themselves the same with others in status.

In integrating system-justification and cultural orientation, this article broadens the scope of prior work on women's self-objectification and interpersonal consequences. The present study extends previous research on the interpersonal consequences of self-objectification in three ways. Firstly, it examines the psychological mechanisms of Korean women for self-objectification based on

horizontal and vertical dimensions of cultural orientation (i.e., horizontal vs. vertical collectivism). Secondly, it investigates the relation of cultural orientation for self-objectification and dehumanization toward sexual objectified females. Previous research (Wang, Chen, & Shi et al., 2021) demonstrated that cultural tightness (i.e., strengths of social norms) predicted dehumanization (i.e., perceiving target less human, describing coworkers as having no depth). Therefore it is expected that vertical collectivism, valuing authority and accepting inequality, might be related to viewing themselves as objects and dehumanization. Finally, this study is not limited to self-report methods, but introduces experimental methods in laboratory settings for better quality control. It measures implicit dehumanization against other objectified males and females through an implicit association test (IAT: Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) to assess unconscious reactions and to remove unexpected effects such as creating a social positive image. Previous research (i.e., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Karpinski & Steinman, 2006) demonstrated that the IAT is sensitive to measure implicit prejudice against out-group members, which cannot be assessed by self-report questionnaires.

The present work investigates psychological mechanisms of self-objectification in the interpersonal context. Study 1 investigates whether there are relationships between self-objectification and the tendency of system

justification while assessing individual differences in cultural orientation (i.e., vertical vs. horizontal collectivism). Study 2 introduces the implicit association test to examine the relationships between cultural orientation, self-objectification and implicit attitudes toward other objectified females.

Study 1

Study 1 aimed to examine the relationship between traits of self-objectification, cultural orientation (vertical vs. horizontal collectivism), and system-justification. It was expected that the higher scores of vertical collectivism might correlate positively with the higher tendency of self-objectification and system-justification. This is due to respondents with higher levels of vertical collectivism are more likely to accept inequality and internalize sociocultural standards. Conversely, it was expected that higher scores of horizontal collectivism (valuing equality) might be associated with the lower tendency of self-objectification and system justification. In addition, it was expected that higher levels of vertical and horizontal individualism might not be related to the tendency of self-objectification and system-justification.

Method

Participants

One hundred twenty-two students (70 female, 52 male; Mage = 21.2, age range: 19-27 years) enrolled in introductory psychology courses voluntarily participated in this study. The body mass index (BMI)[1] of participants ranged from 17 to 31 (M = 22.48, SD = 3.58).

Procedure and Materials

Initially, participants completed the self-objectification questionnaire (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998) to measure the trait of self-objectification. Ten attributes regarding physical self-concept were presented and participants had to rank each item according to its contribution to their physical self-concept from 0 (least impact) to 9 (greatest impact). The same rank could not be assigned to more than one attribute. These attributes consisted of 5 appearance-based attributes (i.e., physical attractiveness, weight, sex appeal, body measurements, firm/sculpted muscles) and 5 physical competence-based attributes (i.e., health, strength, energy level, physical coordination, physical fitness). Scores were calculated separately

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1) Body mass index (BMI) is a person's weight in kilograms divided by the sqare of height in meters. According to the International Obesity Task Force (IOTF) BMI cutoffs (Cole & Lobstein, 2012), a normal body mass index falls within 18.5 to 24.9. The participants in Study 1 and Study 2 were classified as normal weight.

by summing the rankings that participants assigned to the appearance-based and competence-based attributes and then subtracting the competence-based scores from the appearance-based scores. Higher scores indicated greater self-objectification. The possible range of scores were -25 to 25. In Study 1, the scores of self-objectification ranged from -11 to 25.

Subsequently, participants completed a thirty-two item survey employing a Korean version (Kim, 1997) of the individualism collectivism scale (Singelis et al., 1995) using 7-point Likert scales (1: I never feel this way; 7: I often feel this way). The survey consisted of four subsets: Horizontal collectivism (HC), Vertical collectivism (VC), Horizontal individualism (HI) and Vertical individualism (VI). Each subset includes eight items. According to Singelis et al. (1995), horizontal collectivism is a cultural pattern in which the individual sees the self as one of member of the in-group in an egalitarian context, all of whom are similar (i.e., the wellbeing of my coworkers is important to me). Vertical collectivism (i.e., "It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.") focuses on complying with authority and enhancing in-group goals even when that entails sacrificing one's personal goals. In contrast, HI values uniqueness and people with higher tendency of HI want to be distinct from groups (i.e., "I often do my own things"). VI emphasizes competition with others and acquiring status (i.e., "When another person does better

than I do, I get tense and aroused."). The four subscale scores (based on 8 items each) can be computed by summing the 8 items that make up each component. Cronbach alphas for the HI, VI, HC, and VC subscales were previously reported as .67, .74, .74, and .68, respectively (Singelis et al., 1995). Cronbach alphas for the current study were .72, .73, .75, and .76, respectively.

In addition, participants completed the gender-specific system-justification questionnaire developed by Jost and Kay (2005) (α = .71; i.e., "In general, relations between men and women are fair"; "Everyone (male or female) has a fair shot at wealth and happiness") to assess the trait of gender-specific system justification. The questionnaire consisted of eight statements regarding the current state of gender inequality and sex role division. Participants indicated the strength of agreement or disagreement with each of these items on a 9-point scale. An overall index was calculated by taking the mean of responses for all eight items. Higher scores indicated stronger trait system-justification regarding gender relations. In Study 1, the scale ranged from 1 to 9 (M = 4.15, SD = 1.78) and Cronbach's α was .78. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for participation.

Results and Discussion

Firstly, the average ratings of

Table 1. Means and correlations between self-objectification, system-justification and cultural orientation[2)]

	Female	Male	2	3	4	5	6
1. Self-objectification	12.03 (8.37)	10.19 (8.01)	.23**	-.16	-.12	-.13	.33**
2. System-justification	3.63 (1.60)	4.53 (1.81)		-.16	.36**	-.34**	.22*
3. Horizontal individualism	4.95 (.88)	5.07 (1.07)			.24**	.28**	.17
4. Vertical individualism	3.73 (.70)	4.14 (.98)				-.31**	.23**
5. Horizontal collectivism	4.98 (.10)	5.21 (.79)					.31**
6. Vertical collectivism	4.41 (.79)	4.87 (.87)					

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

self-objectification (See Table 1) were significantly correlated to the average ratings of system justification ($r = .23$, $p < .01$). In addition, the average ratings of self-objectification significantly correlated with the average ratings of vertical collectivism (r = .33, $p < .05$). Importantly, the system justification scores were negatively correlated to the scores of horizontal collectivism, ($r = -.34$, $p < .01$), but positively associated with vertical individualism, ($r = .36$, $p < .01$), and vertical collectivism, ($r = .22$, $p < .05$).

Consistent with the predictions, Study 1 demonstrated that the extent of self-objectification was positively correlated with

the tendency of vertical collectivism and trait system-justification. In addition, the tendency of horizontal collectivism was negatively correlated with the average ratings of system-justification. Thus, the internalization of sociocultural standards and accepting inequality appeared to be critical for the self-objectification. Inconsistent with the hypothesis, higher levels of vertical individualism were associated positively with the tendency of system-justification, whereas higher levels of horizontal individualism were not related to the tendency of system-justification. Because the vertical dimension is marked by an emphasis on hierarchy and competition, individuals high in vertical cultural orientations seemed to have the desire for order and stability and to bolster the societal status, even if they were in a disadvantaged position.

In line with previous work (Calogero, 2013) which showed positive correlations between self-objectification and system-justification, Study

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2) There were no significant differences in self-objectification between male and female participants, $t(120) = -1.221$, $p = .223$. However, there were significant gender differences regarding system-justification, $t(120) = 4.981$, $p < .001$, vertical collectivism, $t(120) = 3.017$, $p < .01$, and vertical individualism, $t(120) = 2.536$, $p < .05$. Men expressed higher levels of system-justification, vertical collectivism, and vertical individualism than women.

1 revealed positive relationships between self-objectification and system-justification. Therefore people who view themselves as objects for use are more likely to rationalize the current state of gender inequality and sex role division. These results support the system-justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Study 1 investigated the relationships between self-objectification, system-justification and cultural orientation. To clarify the relationships between self-objectification and dehumanization toward other objectified females, a single category implicit association test (SC-IAT) was employed in Study 2. It tested whether specific cultural orientation is related to an increasing (vs. decreasing) tendency of self-objectification and dehumanization against other objectified males and females.

Study 2

Study 2 examined the relationships between self-objectification, individual differences in cultural orientation and the implicit dehumanization toward other objectified males and females. It was expected that higher scores of vertical collectivism might positively correlate with an increasing tendency of self-objectification, system-justification and dehumanization if participants accept the dominant sociocultural standards to view themselves and other objectified females. Conversely, it was expected

that higher levels of horizontal collectivism might be related to lower levels of self-objectification, system-justification and dehumanization, if individuals are unwilling to accept the sociocultural standards for the appraisal of themselves and other objectified males and females.

Method

Participants

Fifty-four female students (Mage = 19.9, age range: 18-27 years)[3] enrolled in introductory psychology courses voluntarily participated in this study. The body mass index (BMI) of participants ranged from 18 to 32 (M = 23.08, SD = 3.51).

Procedure and Materials

First of all, participants completed the self-objectification questionnaire (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998) to measure the trait of self-objectification. The questionnaire was the same used in Study 1. In Study 2, the scores of

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3) There is limited research on relationships between self-objectification of women and dehumanization toward other sexually-objectified females. Study 2 recruited only female students to be focused on the psychological mechanisms of self-objectification in the interpersonal context.

self-objectification ranged from -14 to 25. Subsequently, participants completed a thirty-two item survey employing the individualism collectivism scale (Singelis et al., 1995) using the identical survey used in Study 1. Cronbach alphas for the HI, VI, HC, and VC in Study 2 were .68, .73, .72, and .70, respectively. In addition, participants completed the system-justification questionnaire to assess the trait of system-justification, which was the same questionnaire used in Study 1. In Study 2, the scale ranged from 1 to 9 (M = 4.15, SD = 1.78). Cronbach alpha was .75.

Participants were then administered a Single Category Implicit Association Test (SC-IAT; Puvia & Vaes, 2013), by way of a computerized experimental matching task using E-prime software (Version 2.1) (Schneider, Eschmann, &

Zuccolotto, 2002). The SC-IAT represents a modification of the Implicit Association Test (Karpinski & Steinman, 2006). Unlike the standard IAT, the SC-IAT measures the strength of evaluative associations with a single object without any alternative category. The SC-IAT required participants to form associations between two kinds of categories (human and animal) and a given word (i.e., culture, nature). For example, the category of human might be related to "culture", and the category of animal might be associated with "nature". Five human-related words (culture, values, moral, tradition, rational) and five animal-related words (nature, instinct, pet, hibernation, wild) were used. These words were selected from the pervious research (Vaes et al., 2013; Haslam et al., 2006). In addition, the five female objectified-pictures and the five male
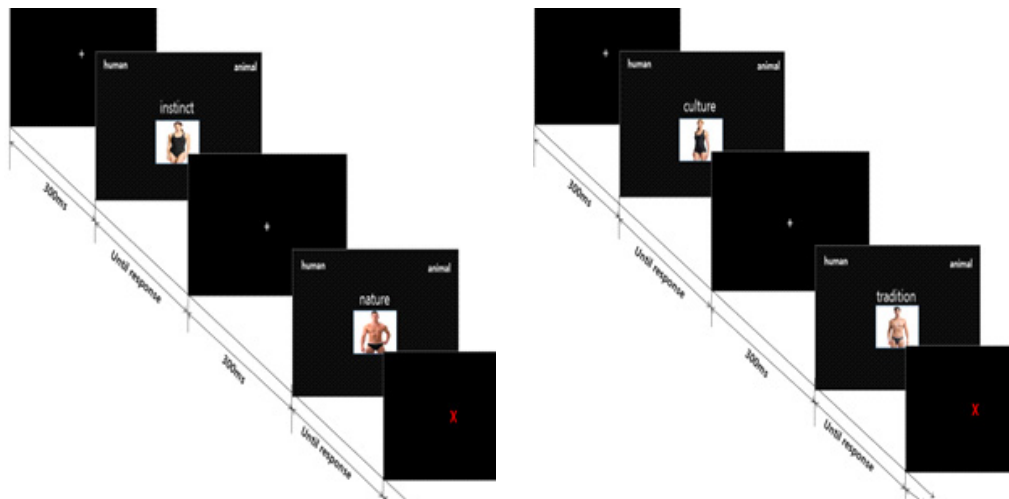

Figure 1. Congruent trials (left: objectified pictures + animal-related attributes) and incongruent trials (right: objectified pictures + human-related attributes) in Study 2.

objectified-pictures used in the task were taken from advertisements for swim suits (See Figure 1). Eight Participants from a pilot study judged a total of eighteen pictures on the extent to which the female or the male was objectified (1= not at all to 7 = totally). Their ratings were used to select these ten resulting objectified pictures.

For Study 2, eighty-eight pairs in total (sixteen pairs for practice trials at the beginning and seventy-two pairs for main trials) were used. The ratio in both matching (objectified pictures + animal-related words) and mismatching trials (objectified pictures + human-related words) was 1:1. The stimuli were displayed in white in the center of a 14-inch monitor screen against a black background. The order of the pairs differed across participants. The order of congruent and incongruent blocks was counterbalanced across participants. Therefore, half of participants had to first categorize objectified targets with animal-related attributes, while the other participants started with objectified targets and human-related attributes. At the beginning of each trial, a fixation cross was presented in the middle of the screen for 300 ms. A picture-word pair followed and participants had to determine whether the presented pair matched or mismatched as quickly as possible by using a different computer key. The stimuli remained on the screen until an answer was given. Next, feedback was given for 500 ms in the case of incorrect responses, and

the next trial followed. When participants make a categorization error, they are required to correct it. The task duration took approximately 5 minutes. After completing the SC-IAT task, participants were debriefed and thanked for participation.

Results and Discussion

cultural orientation and Dehumanization toward other objectified female targets

First of all, to assess the tendency of dehumanization, data was treated using an IAT D-score algorithm based on previous research (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 1998; Vaes, Paladino, & Puvia, 2011). An IAT effect is defined as the difference in mean latency between compatible trial blocks (objectified targets + animal-related attributes) and incompatible trial blocks (objectified targets + human-related attributes). D-scores were calculated by subtracting the mean of standardized reaction times (RTs) of compatible trial blocks (objectified pictures + animal-related attributes) from the mean of standardized RTs of incompatible trial blocks (objectified pictures + human-related attributes). A D-score is calculated as the difference between the average response latencies of the contrasted conditions divided by the standard deviation of response latencies

across the conditions, after the outliers are removed. Higher D-scores of the SC-IAT indicated stronger dehumanization toward objectified males and females with increased preferences to attribute objectified male/female targets with animal-related words.

To test IAT effects for male and female targets among female participants[4], a 2 (trials: compatible vs. incompatible) × 2 (target: male vs. female) ANOVA with trials and target as within-subjects factors was run. It revealed that the main effect of trials was significant, F (1, 52) = 4.843, $p < .05$, $\eta 2 = .17.2$. The SC-IAT D-scores were calculated for male and female targets separately. The SC-IAT D-scores for females targets were obtained by subtracting the standardized RTs of compatible trials (objectified female pictures + animal-related attributes) from those of incompatibles trials (objectified female pictures + human-related attributes). The SC-IAT D-scores for male targets were also calculated in the same way. The main effects of target were not significant, $F < 1$[5]. The interaction effect was not also

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4) The error rate was 2.37%. In Study 2, the RTs of error trials were included. According to Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003), D-scores are more sensitive to measure implicit responses when error latencies are included than when they are discarded. When participants make a categorization error, they must correct it, before moving on to the next trial. The delayed latency of error trials provides useful information about association strengths.

5) Previous research (i.e., Vaes et al., 2011; Puvia &

significant, $F < 1$. These results suggest that both objectified male and female targets were dehumanized by women participants.

Further, to examine relationships between self-objectification, cultural orientation and dehumanization among female participants, correlation analyses were conducted (See Table 2). The average ratings of self-objectification were significantly correlated to the average ratings of system justification ($r = .47$, $p < .01$). In addition, higher levels of system justification were correlated to an increased proportion of vertical collectivism, ($r = .47$, $p < .01$). Importantly, the increasing SC-IAT D-scores for objectified female targets (higher levels of dehumanization toward female targets) were negatively associated with the tendency of horizontal collectivism, ($r = -.42$, $p < .01$). These results suggested that horizontal collectivism (to emphasize harmony and to view themselves same to others in status) might buffer the tendency of dehumanization toward other objectified female targets.

Consistent with the hypotheses, Study 2 demonstrated that the extent of self-objectification was positively correlated to the tendency of implicit dehumanization toward other objectified females among women participants. In

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Vaes, 2013; Bernard & Wollast, 2019) used mostly female targets to test dehumanization. Study 2 investigated whether sexualized male targets were also dehumanized. The results revealed that objectified targets were dehumanized irrespective of gender.

Table 2. Means and correlations between IAT D-scores for objectified male and female targets (implicit dehumanization), self-objectification, system-justification and cultural orientations in Study 2

	Mean (SD)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Self-objectification	13.88 (7.35)	-.07	.47*	.04	-.15	-.13	.11	.25
2. Implicit dehumanization of other objectified males	.05 (1.32)		.23	-.14	-.18	.12	.17	.14
3. Implicit dehumanization of other objectified females	.12 (1.03)			.14	.01	.16	-.42*	.22
4. System-justification	3.46 (.98)				-.28	.15	-.24	.47*
5. Horizontal individualism	5.04 (.79)					.14	-.32	-.42*
6. Vertical individualism	3.72 (.79)						.05	.13
7. Horizontal collectivism	4.96 (.78)							.15
8. Vertical collectivism	4.11 (.94)							

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

addition, higher scores in implicit dehumanization were associated with lower scores in horizontal collectivism of females. These results imply that the internalization of sociocultural standards through the self-objectification of women was critical for implicit prejudice against other females. To value equality within a collective by adopting horizontal collectivism appears to reduce negative implicit attitude toward other objectified females among women.

General Discussion

The present article was designed to investigate whether cultural orientation could relate to self-objectification and implicit dehumanization toward other sexually objectified females. Study 1 tested whether specific cultural orientation is associated with increasing self-objectification and system justification. In support of the prediction, participants with higher scores in vertical collectivism were more likely to be concerned about physical appearance (higher self-objectification) and to rationalize their disadvantaged status (higher system-justification) than the other participants. In addition, higher levels of horizontal collectivism were associated with lower levels of self-objectification and system-justification. In Study 2, there were significant negative relationships between horizontal collectivism and dehumanization toward objectified female targets. In addition, higher levels of dehumanization toward other

objectified females were associated with the stronger tendency of self-objectification among female participants. These results imply that women with higher levels of horizontal collectivism, who view themselves as similar to others in social status, were less likely to self-objectify and dehumanize others. Thus, the egalitarian perspective, to value equality within a collective, might be related to the reduction of negative psychological intra- and interpersonal consequences.

There are some limitations to the present research. Firstly, there was a positive significant correlation between vertical collectivism and self-objectification in Study 1, but not in Study 2 (a weak correlation, $r = .25$). It remains unexplained whether it is due to the problems of measurement or due to small sample size in Study 2. It is however unsurprising because the underlying mechanism of self-objectification and cultural orientation is complex. Additional work on appropriate procedures for addressing the relationships between self-objectification, cultural orientation and dehumanization is essential. Secondly, the present research aimed to show why sexually objectified women are dehumanized by some females. The results demonstrated that self-objectification and horizontal collectivism of Korean women play a role in dehumanization toward other sexually objectified females. However, vertical collectivism and horizontal collectivism were positively related in Study 2. Thus, the present study could not explain why

some women with higher levels of vertical collectivism are not less likely to self-objectify and dehumanize other objectified women. Future study should answer the question whether there are different mechanisms for horizontal and vertical collectivism regarding self-objectification and dehumanization. Thirdly, there was a meaningful relationship between vertical individualism and system justification in Study 1. According to Lalwani, Shavitt and Johnson (2006), people with a orientation of vertical individualism are motivated to view the self as having high power and status relative to others. In addition, Wollast et al. (2020) demonstrated that vertical individualism was related to self-enhancement values. Therefore people with a vertical individualism orientation are more likely to accept their current state of gender inequality to strive to be distinct in the hierarchy. In contrast, people with a vertical collectivism appear to accept gender inequality to fulfill their obligations to others. Future studies are needed to examine the horizontal and vertical distinction to enrich our understanding of cultural orientation, self objectification and system justification.

Finally, the present research did not manipulate state variables (i.e., state self-objectification, state horizontal collectivism) for the experimental condition. Therefore, it could not show causal relationships between self-objectification, cultural orientation and dehumanization. There is limited research

about causal relationships between state self-objectification and dehumanization toward objectified females (Kahalon, Shnabel, & Becker, 2018). Future study should identify psychological processes in women with the emphasis on experimentally induced state self-objectification and social cognition toward other objectified females.

Several feminist theorists have argued that Western culture promotes sexual objectification of the female body for the use and pleasure of others (e.g., De Beauvoir, 1952; Nussbaum, 1999). The present research showed that Korean women confronted with sexual objectification in Asian culture tended to view themselves as sexual objects through internalization of sociocultural beauty standards and dehumanize other objectified females. Adopting horizontal collectivism might contribute to develop effective psychological interventions to buffer the detrimental effects of self-objectification

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문화성향, 자기대상화와
성적 객체화된 여성에 대한 암묵적 태도

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본 논문에서는 2개의 연구를 통해 문화성향(평등성 추구 vs. 권위 추구)이 자기대상화 및 성적 객체화된 여성에 대한 암묵적 태도와 연관되는지를 분석하였다. 연구 1에서는 자기보고식 질문지를 토대로 문화성향, 성 특정적 체제정당화 및 자기대상화 성향과의 관계를 분석하였다. 그 결과 수직적 집단주의성향이 높을수록 체제정당화경향과 자기대상화경향이 높게 나타났다. 반면 수평적 집단주의경향은 체제정당화 및 자기대상화경향과 부적 상관관계에 있었다. 연구 2에서는 수평적 또는 수직적 집단주의성향이 성적 객체화된 여성에 대한 암묵적 태도와 관계가 있는지를 분석하기 위해 암묵적 연합검사를 토대로 성적 객체화된 남성 자극 또는 여성 자극이 동물의 속성과 더 수월하게 연관되는 비인간화의 경향이 나타나는지를 비교하였다. 그 결과 연구참가자의 수평적 집단주의성향이 높을수록 성적 객체화된 여성에 대한 암묵적 비인간화가 감소되는 경향이 나타났다. 이 결과는 문화성향이 자기대상화, 체제정당화 및 성적 객체화된 여성에 대한 암묵적 태도와 연관될 가능성을 시사한다.

주요어 : 문화성향, 자기대상화, 비인간화, 체제정당화, 암묵적 태도