

**Self-Objectification, Body Shame and Instagram Use,
And the Moderating Effect of Active
Commitment to Feminism**

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the BA Hons in Psychology at Dublin
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March 2018

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1.Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Lucie Corcoran for providing me with endless support, guidance and encouragement throughout the project and helping to keep me calm even when I thought I'd never get it done.

I would also like to thank my family for all their love and support. My Mam, Mary for putting up with me and providing me with constant reassurance, my housemates – Damo, Laura and Howie for making me laugh even when things were really stressful, my friends; Rachel for always being there to talk me down and Jen, my first (and best) college friend for sharing the burden. And a special shout-out to Val in Australia for chatting to me and making me smile at 3am while I was trying to finish this project

2.Abstract

The current study examined the relationship between self-objectification, body shame and Instagram intensity among a group of 101 Women aged between 20 and 69 from Ireland. Furthermore, this study examined whether these relationships were moderated by an active commitment to feminism. The study also examined whether there was a statistically significant difference in self-objectification or body shame depending on the participants primary motivation for Instagram use. The study employed a between both a between subjects and a correlational design. This research used four quantitative self-report scales questionnaires to gather the data, The Instagram Intensity Scale, The Self-Objectification Questionnaire, the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale and the Feminist Identity Composite. Contrary to previous research, the results demonstrated a negative directional relationship between self-objectification and body shame and between Instagram intensity and body shame which was not hypothesised. Results of the study are interpreted and measured against previous literature, strengths and limitations for the current research are acknowledged and there are suggestions for further research put forward, considering the novel results achieved from the data analysis carried out.

3. Introduction

There still exists in our society today, a distinct focus on women's bodies. A woman's worth is often evaluated on how she looks rather than what she can do. Through the lens of the patriarchy and from the male gaze, women have long been seen as bodies or objects to be viewed instead of as people, with autonomy (Stanford, 2002). This objectification of women and the fact that this objectification has become somewhat of a norm (Stanford, 2002) has led to women internalising this outsider perspective and engaging in something which is known as self-objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Previous research has found that engaging in high levels of self-objectification can lead to increased body shame which is something that has been proven to increase the risk of women engaging in disordered eating symptomology (Harper & Tigemann, 2008). Much previous research has indicated that exposure to the media has also been found to have a negative effect on women and how they view their bodies (cite) with perhaps the most insidious way in which the media emphasize physical attractiveness is by turning bodies into objects, i.e. objectifying them (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Of media types, social media is the newest and fastest growing type of media in the Western world (cite) and of all social media sites, the photo sharing platform, Instagram, is the fastest growing. Because the function of Instagram is to share photographs, there is a risk that women will experience increased levels of self-objectification and body shame as a result of increasing use of Instagram (Fardouly et. al, 2017). While self-objectification and body shame are both issues faced by women today, there is a hope that engaging in and internalising feminist beliefs, should go some way to serving as a protective factor when faced with a society which prizes youth, beauty and the male perspective and allows women to be seen merely as objects to be looked at.

The aim of this study is to look at the relationship between self-objectification and body shame, the relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame, the moderating

effect of having an active commitment to feminism has on these relationships and also to look at whether a person's primary motivation for Instagram use influences levels of self-objectification and body shame.

3.1 Objectification and Self-Objectification:

Objectification is a notion central to feminist theory. In a feminist context, it has been broadly defined as “the seeing or treating of a person (usually a woman) as an object” (“Feminist Perspectives on Objectification, 2015). Objectification is a denial of autonomy and subjectivity. Objectification, and sexual objectification in particular, are terms particularly associated with feminist writers Andrea Dworkin (1981) and Catherine McKinnon (1989) who saw objectification as a direct result of men consuming pornography and a symptom of patriarchal / rape culture in society (McKinnon, 1989, Dworkin, 1981). Objectification positions women as “other” and therefore subordinate to men. Theorists such as McKinnon and Dworkin view objectification in singularly negative terms, as morally objectionable (Papadaki, 2010) whereas others such as Martha Nussbaum have identified both positive and negative aspects of objectification including some benign aspects (Nussbaum, 1995). Still, in Nussbaum's writing, the negative aspects of objectification, outweigh the positives. What Nussbaum identifies as the most problematic aspect of objectification is the dehumanising of a person through objectification - objectification involves ignoring or not fully acknowledging a person's humanity (Papadaki, 2010). Nussbaum (1995) identified seven ways in which objectification occurs. She argues that if one or more of these qualities are applied to a person then they are objectified. These seven qualities are; instrumentality, denial of autonomy, inertness, fungibility, violability, ownership and denial of subjectivity (Nussbaum, 1995). Instrumentality referring to the treatment of a person as a tool for another's purposes, denial of autonomy referring to the treatment of a person as lacking in autonomy and self-determination, inertness referring to

the treatment a person as lacking in agency and/or activity, fungibility the treatment of a person as being interchangeable with an object, violability the treatment of a person as lacking in boundary integrity – as something that it is permissible to smash, break up / into, ownership referring to the treatment of a person as something to be owned by another – something that can be bought or sold etc and denial of subjectivity referring to the treatment of a person as something whose experiences and feelings do not need to be taken into account (Nussbaum, 1995). Rae Langton (2009), proposed an additional three qualities which are involved in objectification, these are a reduction to body – i.e. the treatment of a person as identified with their body, or body parts, a reduction to appearance – i.e. the treatment of a person primarily in terms of how they look, or how they appear to the senses and silencing, i.e. the treatment of a person as if they are silent and lacking the capacity to speak. This research project is particularly interested in the first two of Langton’s identifications – the reduction of body and the reduction to appearance. Both reduction to body and reduction to appearance relate directly to the variables being tested in the current study.

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) put forward objectification theory as “a framework for understanding the experiential consequences of being female in a culture that sexually objectifies the female body.” In this text, they examine the lived experiences and mental health risks associated with existing in a society where women and girls are reduced to the sum of their body parts. Objectification theory posits that women and girl are culturally programmed to internalise an outsider observer’s perspective as a primary view of their physical selves, this is what is known as the phenomenon of ‘self-objectification’.

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) identified this self-objectification as one of the primary psychological consequences to emerge in women and girls as a result of existing in a world where they are subjected to sexual objectification in their day-to day lives (Calogero, 2012). Self-objectification has been associated with many negative psychological outcomes such as

decreased levels of self-esteem, depression, anxiety, negative body image and ultimately eating disorders (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Moradi & Huang, 2008). Self-objectification occurs when an individual treats themselves as objects to be viewed and evaluated based on appearance (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2017). Individuals, and in particular, women begin to internalise societal norms and outsider opinions which leads to increased levels of self-objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The experience of being treated as body (or collection of body parts), valued predominantly for its use to (or consumption by) others (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) is an act which leads to a variety of negative psychological outcomes for girls and women, particularly in relation to the body –body surveillance, body shame, negative body esteem etc. (McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Harper & Tigemann, 2008; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998).

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), have acknowledged that in much of research, the body has been the primary basis for drawing a distinction between the sexes with particular focus on the biological body without socio-cultural context. They argue, along with the vast majority of feminist theorists, including Dworkin (1981, Butler, (1993) McKinnon (1989) that the body (and therefore sex differences) should be viewed through a cultural, environmental and socio-cultural lens alongside a biological one (Cash, 2006). Objectification of women's bodies occurs in a myriad of ways – including the objectifying gaze and visual inspection of the body and unsolicited sexually evaluative comments (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997; Syzmanski, 2011). It is through the internalisation of these events and standards that self-objectification occurs. According to Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997, one of the most insidious ways in which the sexualised gaze effects women and girls is through encounters with visual media that depict interpersonal and social encounters but which also “spotlight bodies and body-parts and seamlessly align viewers with an implicit sexualising gaze (Mulvey (1975) from Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Social media is the

most modern and prolific of all media in our society. For this reason, the current study will also focus on the social networking site, Instagram and its links to self-objectification and body shame in women, this will be discussed further later in this section.

3.2 Female Bodies

In today's society, it is seen as increasingly normal to spend a lot of time and energy focusing on the achievement of the 'ideal body' (Stanford, 2002)). We are bombarded with images of 'perfect' bodies from all forms of the media (Poorani, 2012) – print, television, the internet and in a more focused and targeted way, through social networking sites, particularly Instagram (Deane, 2017). Oftentimes, this thin beauty ideal is unattainable and the proliferation of this 'ideal' skews what is considered to be a normal and healthy body (Mask & Blanchard, 2011). There have been numerous studies that have linked media consumption and in particular, consumption of media portraying idealised bodies, to a negative perception of a person's body image (Ashikali & Dittmar, 2012; Ata, Thompson & Small, 2013; Hausenblas and Fallon, 2006). Sociocultural theory purports that mass media influences an individual's perceptions of what the ideal body is, and bodies that do not match this ideal are therefore thought to be unattractive (Morrison et al., 2003 cited in Brennan, Lalonde, Bain, 2010). This type of engagement with and internalization of beauty standards have a direct link with self-objectification as described by Fredrickson and Roberts, (1997) and many other theorists. Research has shown that women are more likely to exhibit negative body image than men (Brennan et al., 2010). It has also been shown that how others perceive a person's attractiveness appears to be less important for body image than how the individual perceives him- or herself (Noles, Cash, & Winstead, 1985) which ties in with Willinge et al. (2006) who found that it is body dissatisfied women's own perception towards media images, and

not the exposure itself that delivers this negative outcome. Willinge et al., 2006, have also suggested that women's negative body esteem is tied to their own, internalised values/social norms rather than their exposure to idealised media images that causes negative body esteem – this ties in with their participation in self-objectification and the effect that this has on body shame. The high standards to which women are held have a direct effect on their psychological wellbeing (Perloff, 2014). Body image is central to both self-esteem and self-concept which both have a direct influence on psychological functioning and unhealthy body shaping behaviours (Dittmar, 2009). The current study's focus on self-objectification and body shame will attempt to examine the manifestation of the internalisation of cultural and societal beauty standards. This research is pertinent, as exhibiting high levels of self-objectification and body shame have both been proven to induce negative psychological outcomes (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) (Harper & Tiggemann, 2008), (Noll and Fredrickson, 1998).

3.3 Body Shame

The adoption of an outsider's perspective of one's body is known as objectified body consciousness. Objectified Body Consciousness (OBC) consists of three separate but interrelated components body surveillance, body shame and control beliefs (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). Objectified Body Consciousness has been associated with a multitude of negative outcomes in relation to body image including negative body esteem (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) and body dissatisfaction (Harper & Tiggemann, 2008) which in turn can lead to disordered eating (Noll and Fredrickson, 1998). The continual striving for attainment of or conformity to the unrealistic 'thin ideal' espoused by Western society (cite) can create a discrepancy between a person's perception of their real self-versus an ideal self. This

disparity can lead to body shame, particularly in women (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). Body shame arises from feelings of failure and it extends from simply having a negative attitude to one's body but into being negative feelings about one's self (McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). This current study will focus on this body shame subscale of Objectified Body Consciousness. Body shame can be defined as the perceived failure to meet internalised, cultural body ideals (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). As previously stated, body shame has been being linked to body image concerns for women (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998, Tiggemann and Kuring 2004). Research has found heightened levels of body shame to be a predictor of negative psychological outcomes in women (Calogero, 2012; Bailey et al. 2016). While there has been some research into body shame and it's associated with self-objectification and body image concerns, the majority of previous research has focused on the surveillance subscale of the OBCS and its relationship with self-objectification and body image concerns. These are two of the reasons why the current study will focus on the body shame subscale and its relationship with self-objectification.

3.4 Feminist Beliefs

While it is very important to study the predictors of self-objectification and body image disturbance and potential factors which moderate the relationship between these variables and Instagram use, it is also important to look at potential protective factors which may affect these relationships. Feminism is defined as “the theory of the political, economic and, and social equality of the sexes” and also as “organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests” (Merriam Webster, 2018). It is a belief system and political movement based on the notion that women should possess the same political, economic, and social power as men. Feminism challenges oppressive systems that keep women subjugated.

Feminist theory also posits that women's lack of power might impact their emotional well-being and other lived experiences. (Henley et al. 1998; Hyde 2002, in Feldman & Szymanski, 2017). Feminism rejects cultural beauty standards and the way in which these are foisted upon women, it also criticizes objectification and objectifying cultural practices as discussed above. (Feldman & Szymanski). As a result of this rejection of cultural beauty standards and criticism of objectification, it can be theorised that holding feminist beliefs, should act as a protective measure against the internalization of beauty standards and should also strengthen a woman's ability to reject these standards and also reject objectification by maintain a focus on inner personal experience rather than understanding themselves through how others view them physically. It is proposed that a consolidated feminist identity that likely exists among those who proclaim themselves to be feminists, and who have had a significant amount of experience with their feminist identity, helps protect against extreme dissatisfaction with the body that can result when one internalizes unrealistic cultural ideals (as in the case of body shame) (Feldman & Szymanski, 2017). Feminist theories have also provided interesting and varied perspectives on the development and maintenance of body image (Myers & Crowther, 2007). Some research has suggested that, because feminist theory criticizes and rejects the thin-ideal and women's need to conform to it (Myers & Crowther, 2007; Tiggemann & Stevens, 1999), that women who hold some form of feminist beliefs should be more resilient when it comes to body concerns are therefore should have a more body positive self-image (Tigemann & Stevens, 1999). Previous research has also found that holding feminist beliefs may act as a moderator between sociocultural influences pressures to meet the thin-ideal (Myers and Crowther, 2007). In order to measure feminist beliefs, the current study will focus on the Active Commitment subscale of the Feminist Identity Composite Scale (Fisher, Good & Hill, 2000). Women who score highly in this scale show a deep commitment to social change. They hold a belief that men are equal to but not the same as women. Also

show an egalitarian worldview. The active commitment subscale shows an active commitment to feminism yet it is a variable to which little research has been focused. The current study will attempt to add to the existing body of research by focusing on this variable and whether it has a moderating effect on self-objectification, body shame and intensity of Instagram use.

3.5 Instagram

Social media sites have become an integral part of many people's daily lives. Instagram is a social networking platform with focus on photo and video sharing. Since its launch in 2010, Instagram has become one of the most popular social media network sites second only to Facebook (DeMers, 2017). In order to better understand the pervasiveness of Instagram in today's society the following statistics are important – the total number of active monthly users is 800m, the total number of active daily users is 500m. 40 billion photos have been shared. In 2017 there were 90 million photos uploaded per day, an increase of 15 million from 2016 and most interesting to this research is that 68% of Instagram users are female (Aslam, 2018).

While there has been much psychological research focused on Facebook and its effect on people's psychological well-being (Meier & Gray, 2014; Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2016), Instagram is still a relatively new area of research with limited psychological theory devoted to it although this is on the increase. Instagram differs from Facebook in that it is primarily designed for sharing photos and videos. As noted in previous research (Allen et al., 2014; O'Keeffe et al., 2011), there are both positives and negatives associated with the use of social networking sites. Social networking sites can be beneficial in terms of community engagement, online activism, identity development and social connectedness. The mix of

everyday people, celebrities and companies allows for the creation of diverse and heterogenous networks (), it allows people to connect with other people who they do not know and who are outside of their “world” (...). This connectedness can allow people to feel like they are part of a wider community which is beneficial but still, findings are mixed and suggest that people are likely to experience both positive and negative psychological outcomes from use of social networking sites. (Allen et al, 2014) with risks of cyber bullying (O’Keeffe et al., 2011), depression and anxiety (Zagorski, 2017), social rejection and upward social comparison (Vogel, et al 2014) all linked with the use of social networking sites. Despite the relative newness of Instagram as a social networking platform, there has been a variety of psychological research into its effects. One area which has been addressed is the relationship between Instagram use, self-objectification and the body surveillance subscale of Objectified Body Consciousness. While the current study is still interested in the relationship between Instagram intensity and self-objectification, the researcher has chosen the body shame subscale as a variable to study as currently, there is very little research focusing on this variable in relation to self-objectification and Instagram intensity.

The current study also aims to show the difference effect that primary motivation for Instagram use has on levels of self-objectification and body shame. Previous research has indicated that different motives for Instagram use and different types of Instagram use result in a variety of different psychological outcomes. Fardouly, Willburger and Vartanian, 2017, studied the relationship between overall Instagram use and body image concerns and self-objectification in a sample of women aged between 18 and 25. They not only looked at overall Instagram use but also on specifically viewing fitspiration images. The results found that the women who more frequently viewed these fitspiration images, exhibited greater body image concerns. Wagner, Aguirre and Sumner, (2016) studied the relationships between body size, body dissatisfaction and selfies – both those taken and those posted on Instagram. The

results of this study found that the frequency of selfies taken was a greater predictor of body dissatisfaction than the number of selfies uploaded to Instagram by the participants. While most of the previous research into Instagram motivation has focused on fitspiration and selfie-taking behaviour, the current study has employed some additional motivations for Instagram use to be measured against self-objectification and body shame with the intention of coming up with some novel findings.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, there is a large body of research exploring the relationships between self-objectification, objectified body consciousness and Instagram (McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Noll and Fredrickson, 1998). Existing research has focused on the negative effects which self-objectification has on women (Noll and Fredrickson, 1998), how engaging in self-objectification can lead to body image disturbance and objectified body consciousness (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) and how Instagram use can pose a threat to women's wellbeing, particularly relating to self-objectification, body image disturbance and objectified body consciousness. Links have been found between these variables and negative psychological outcomes, including, but not limited to depression, anxiety and disordered eating (McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Noll and Fredrickson, 1998). While most previous research has investigated the links between the body surveillance subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, the current study will focus on the body shame subscale. The relationship between self-objectification and body shame will be measured which should provide interesting results to add to current literature in this area.

The purpose of the current study is to explore the relationship between self-objectification, body shame and Instagram intensity. It also aims to look at whether the

primary motivation for Instagram use influences levels of self-objectification and body shame. It utilises self-objectification theory (Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) and objectified body consciousness (Fredrickson & Noll, 1996) as frameworks for understanding body image experiences of a selection of women in Ireland. It aims to investigate relationship between the self-objectification and body shame. Both Instagram and non-Instagram users were sought for participation. Active Commitment to Feminism was also tested as a potential moderator between intensity of Instagram use, body shame and self-objectification. As Instagram is a relatively new social media site, (Aslam, 2018) there is not yet a large body of literature available which deals with its effects on individuals and society as a whole. However, due to its growing popularity, it is an area which greatly warrants further research. This study aims to add to the existing literature and to propose areas for further research.

3.7 Hypotheses

The research hypothesis for the current study are as follows;

Hypothesis 1:

There will be a positive relationship between self-objectification and body shame

Hypothesis 2:

There will be positive relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame

Hypothesis 3:

An active commitment to feminism will act as a moderator between Instagram intensity and body shame

Hypothesis 4:

An active commitment to feminism will act as a moderator between self-objectification and body shame

Hypothesis 5:

There will be a significant difference in self-objectification levels depending on the primary motivation for Instagram use

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant different in body shame levels depending on the primary motivation for Instagram use

4. Methodology:

4.1 Participants:

The target population for this study was females over 18. Participants were accessed online with a self-report questionnaire being shared on Facebook and Whatsapp. The questionnaire was sent via email. Snowball sampling was employed to access participants. Participants ranged in age from 20 – 69. Participation in the study was completely anonymous and voluntary with no incentives being offered for participation. Participants were given the opportunity to consent to take part prior to beginning the questionnaire. A total of 102 participants took part in the research, 101 of these completed the questionnaire, only these were included in the analysis.

4.2 Design

This study employed a non-experimental, correlational design to assess the relationship between the variables and a between groups design to assess differences between Instagram users and non-Instagram users in relation to self-objectification and body shame. The survey was originally shared on the researcher's Facebook page with Facebook friends being encouraged to share the survey from their own pages. Descriptive statistics were used to

Peason correlations were run to determine whether there were relationships between several variables; 1) the relationship between self-objectification (independent) and body shame (dependent); 2) the relationship between Instagram intensity (dependent) and body shame (independent)

Partial correlations were then run to determine whether 1) active commitment to feminism acted as a moderator between Instagram intensity and body shame and 2) active commitment acted as a moderator between self-objectification and body shame.

Two, Anovas were run to determine whether 1) there will be a statistically significant difference in self-objectification levels between groups depending on primary motivation for Instagram use and 2) there will be a statistically significant difference in body shame levels between groups depending on primary motivation for Instagram use

4.3 Materials

The data was collecting using a questionnaire created on Google Forms. The data retrieved using Google Forms was downloaded onto an Excel file and imported onto the statistical software programme SPSS version 24. SPSS version 24 was used to analyse the data obtained from the research study. The materials used for this study consisted of an 85-item questionnaire. The first page contained an introduction which advised participants that participation was voluntary, right to withdraw and anonymity. On this page, participants were also asked to confirm that they were female and over 18 before they could begin the survey.

Demographic questions were asked to ascertain participants age and whether they had an Instagram account. There were additional questions to ascertain primary methods for Instagram use, number of Instagram followers and no of people followed on Instagram. The following research backed questionnaires were used to measure the variables; Facebook Intensity Scale (modified for use with Instagram) (Ellison et al, 2007) (see Appendix C), The Revised Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, (Quinn & Lewis, 2005). (see Appendix D),

Self-Objectification Scale (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998) (see Appendix E) and the Feminist Identity Composite (Fischer et al, 2000). (see Appendix F)

4.3.1 Measures

Facebook Intensity Scale (modified for use with Instagram) (Ellison et al, 2007)

This questionnaire has been adapted for use with Instagram. It measures Instagram usage beyond simply measuring duration / frequency of use, it measures emotional connectedness to the site and how individuals have integrated Instagram into their daily activities. The questionnaire consists of 8 items to examine Instagram use and feeling towards Instagram. These items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree (1)* to *strongly agree (5)*. One question was left out of this scale, “I feel I am part of the Facebook community” however this did not affect the reliability of the scale as it still reported a Cronbach’s Alpha of .88 as per Table 1.

The Revised Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, (Quinn & Lewis, 2005).

This scale is a revision of The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (OBCS) (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). The revised The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (Quinn & Lewis) uses a 5-point Likert scale as opposed to a 7-point Likert scale used with The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (OBCS) (McKinley & Hyde, 1996).

This scale was developed to measure Objectified Body Consciousness in young women (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). This questionnaire consists of 24 items and contains three subscales, (a) surveillance (viewing the body as an outside observer), (b) body shame (feeling shame when the body does not conform), and (c) appearance control beliefs. For the purpose of this study only the Body Shame Subscale will be discussed

(b) *Body Shame* – The body shame subscale quantifies “feeling shame when the body does not conform to cultural standards (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). It contains 8 items (e.g. “I would be ashamed for people to know what I really weigh”) which are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5), with higher scores indicating higher levels of body shame and feelings of being a bad person if one does not conform to cultural expectations of one’s body. McKinley and Hyde (1996) reported a coefficient alpha of .75 for this subscale.

The Self-Objectification Questionnaire (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998).

This questionnaire consists of ten rank-ordered items. It was developed to measure self-objectification. The questionnaire original consisted of 12 items but for the purpose of this study the researcher has amended this to 10 items, removing one attribute from each subscale (stamina (from the competence subscale) and colouring (from the appearance subscale). Each item identifies a different body attribute and participants must rank them from 0 (*least important*) to 9 (*most important*) with respect to the physical self-concept. Five of the attributes are appearance based (weight, sex-appeal, physical attractiveness, firm/sculpted muscles and body measurements) and five are competence based (strength, physical coordination, energy level, health and physical fitness). Scores are summed for the 5 appearance items and the 5 competence items. The two totals are compared and the difference from -25 to +25 is the final score - higher difference scores indicate greater emphasis on appearance (this is interpreted as greater self-objectification). Cronbach Alpha was not reported for this scale as this is a ranking system as opposed to the other scales used and so it is not suited to a Cronbach’s Alpha Analysis. This measure has been utilised in much previous research.

Feminist Identity Composite (FIC), Fischer et al. (2000)

This questionnaire is a composite of two previously existing measures of Feminist Identity Development, the Feminist Identity Scale (FIS) (Rickard, 1987) and the Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS) (Bargard and Hyde, 1991). It consists of 34 items, 20 from the FIS and 14 from the FIDS and is divided into 5 subscales; Passive Acceptance (PA), Revelation (REV), Embeddedness-Emanation (EE), Synthesis (SYN), Active Commitment (AC). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from Strongly Agree (1) to Strongly Disagree (5). Certain items are reversed scored e.g. "If I were to paint a picture or write a poem, it would probably be about women or women's issues". The mean score is calculated for each of the 5 factors. Lower scores indicate more agreement with those feminist concepts. Higher mean scores for each subscale indicate greater agreement with the corresponding feminist identity stage. Fischer et al. reported alphas of .75, .80, .84, .68, and .77 for PA, R, EE, S, and AC, respectively. For the purpose of this study we will only be using the AC Subscale.

(5) Active Commitment (AC) – this subscale shows a deep commitment to social change. They hold a belief that men are equal to but not the same as women. Also show an egalitarian worldview.

One of the questions from the FIC has been adapted to reflect the population being surveyed (Irish, European). Original question – “If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another **state**, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career.” For the purpose of this study “state” has been changed to “country”.

The final page of the questionnaire thanked the participants, listed contact details of the researcher and supervisor and also contact details for BodyWhys (The Eating Disorder Association of Ireland) and The Samaritans should any issues have arisen for participants while completing the questionnaire.

4.4 Procedure

The research project received ethical approval from by the DBS Ethics Committee. The questionnaire was created using Google Forms. Participants were presented with an information page which provided some information on the study and included consent to participate. Following completion and submission of the survey, participants were thanked for their assistance and there were links to various support services on the final page should the survey have caused any distress to the participants. The full name and email of the researcher were also included should participants wish to contact with any queries about the research. The researcher shared the questionnaire on their personal Facebook page, and asked their friends to share it also. The questionnaire was also sent to the researchers Whatsapp groups and via email. Following completion of the questionnaires by the required number of participants, the questionnaire was closed and the data was downloaded onto an excel file. The data from this excel file was then uploaded onto SPSS Version 24. Variables were computed to scale in order to run statistical tests.

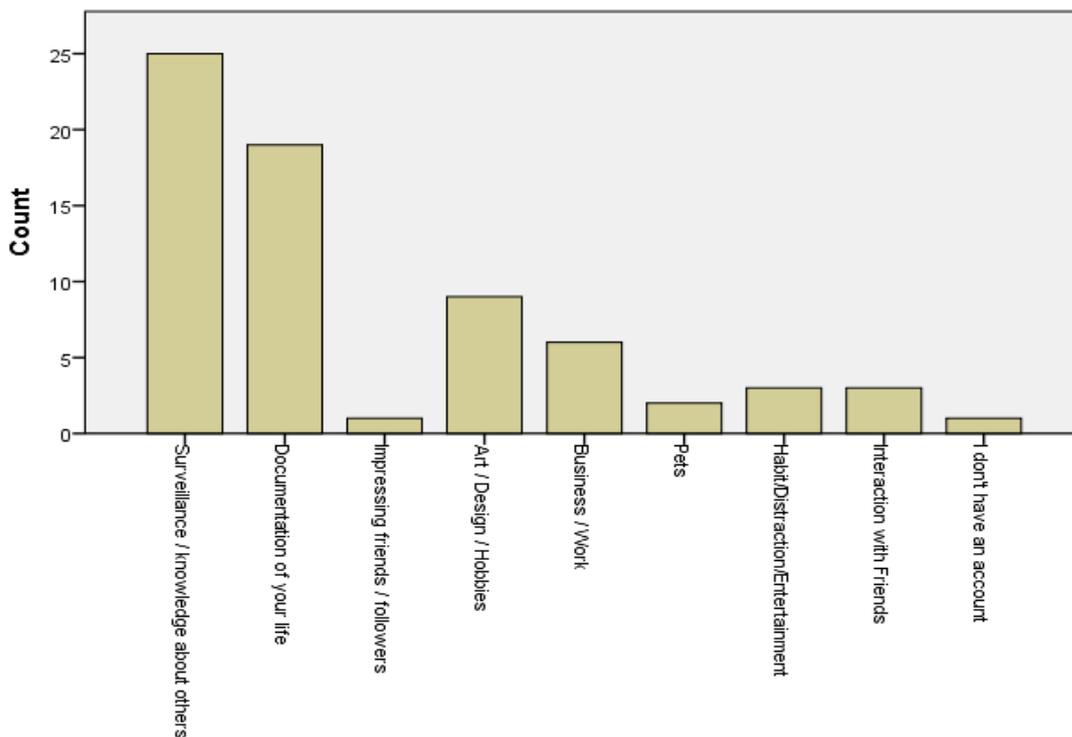
5.Results

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between self-objectification, body shame and Instagram intensity in Irish women. Results were calculated using SPSS, version 24 Research questions were examined through use of Pearson's Correlations and Partial Correlations.

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1:*Descriptive Statistics for Variables for Hypotheses 1 - 4*

| Variables | No | Mean | SD | Cronbach's Alpha |
|----------------------------|-----|-------|-------|------------------|
| Self-Objectification | 101 | -1.02 | 12.29 | N/A |
| Body Shame | 101 | 27.53 | 6.30 | .63 |
| Instagram Intensity | 75 | 3.09 | 1.04 | .88 |
| Active Commitment Feminism | 101 | 3.8 | .68 | .837 |



11. Which of the following most accurately describes the primary motives fo...

Figure 1 – Breakdown of Primary Motives for Instagram Use

Instagram:

Of 101 people who completed the survey, 67.3% of participants were Instagram users. Figure 1 above provides a breakdown of the primary motivation for Instagram use for participants. The first pie chart below (Figure 3) displays the number of followers’ participants’ have and the second pie chart (Figure 4) displays the number of people who participants follow

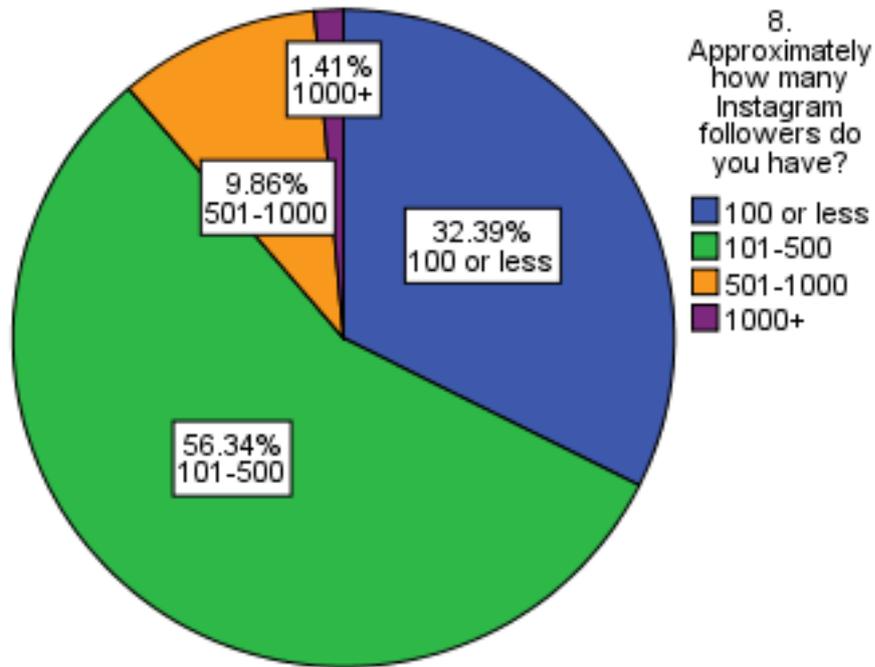


Figure 2: *Percentage breakdown of Instagram followers*

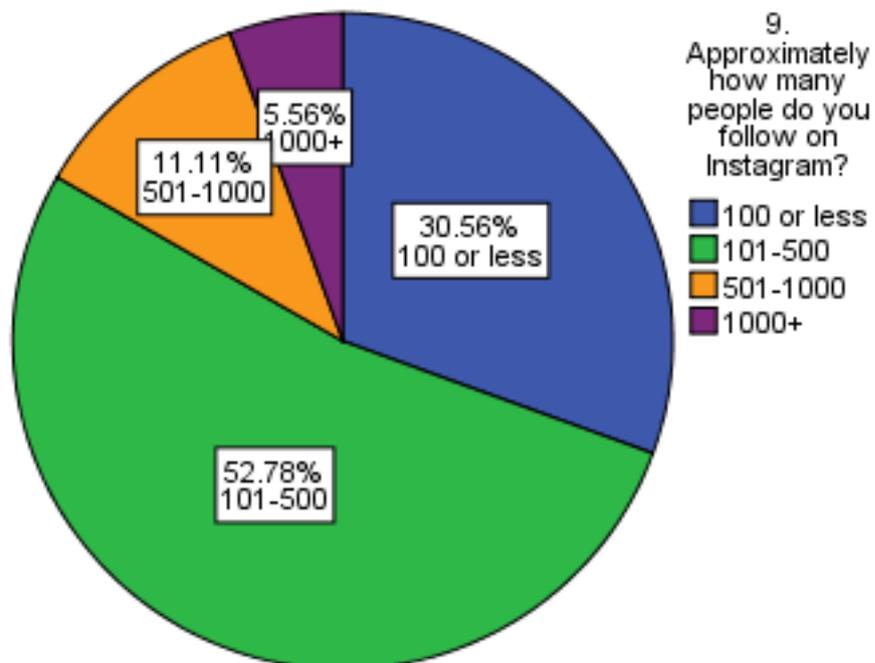


Figure 3: *Percentage breakdown of people followed on Instagram*

5.2 Inferential Statistics

H1 – Self-Objectification and Body Shame

The first hypothesis from the current study looks to prove that there is a positive relationship between self-objectification and body shame as per the body shame subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale.

A Pearson correlation coefficient found that there was a weak negative relationship between self-objectification ($M = -1.02$, $SD = 12.29$) and body shame ($M = 27.53$, $SD = 6.30$) ($r(99) = -.28$, $p = .005$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. This relationship can account for 7.84% of variation of scores.

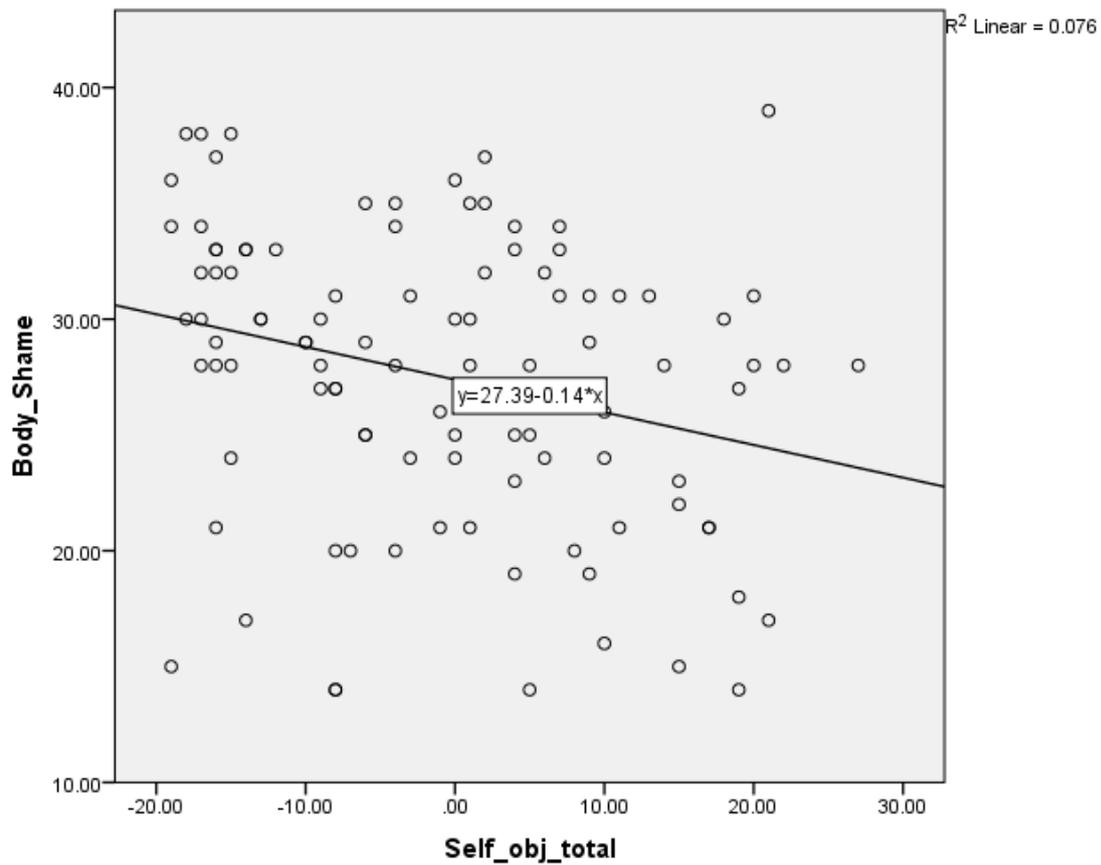


Figure 4 – Scatterplot of relationship between self-objectification and body shame

H 2 Instagram Intensity and Body Shame

The second hypothesis looks to prove that there is a positive relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame.

A Pearson correlation coefficient found that there was a moderate negative relationship between Instagram intensity ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.04$) and body shame ($M = 27.53$, $SD = 6.30$) ($r(99) = -.31$, $p = .007$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. This relationship can account for 9.67% of variation of scores.

As per the results, this hypothesis was not supported as the relationship is in a negative direction.

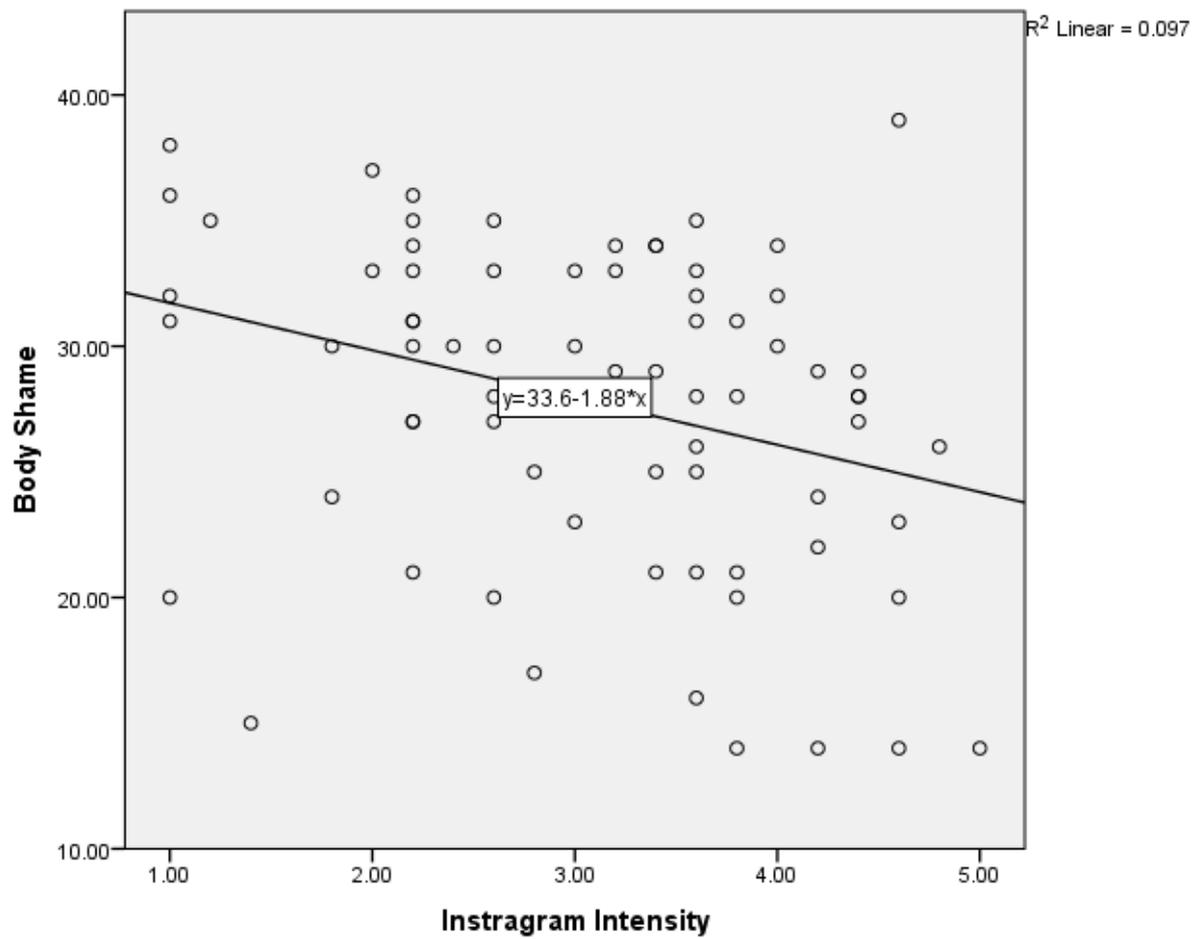


Figure 5 - Scatterplot of relationship between Instagram Intensity and Body Shame

H3 – Instagram intensity and body shame moderated by an active commitment to feminism

The third hypothesis aims to examine whether having an active commitment to feminism will act as a moderator between self-objectification and body shame

A partial correlation using a pearson correlation coefficient found that whilst controlling the role of active commitment to feminism, there was a moderate negative significant relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame ($r(71) = -.311, p = .004$). Prior to controlling for active commitment to feminism, a moderate negative significant relationship was found between Instagram intensity and body shame, $r(71) = .311, n=73, p = .007$, this suggests that active commitment to feminism has very little influence on the relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted

H4 – Self-objectification and body shame moderated by an active commitment to feminism

The fourth hypothesis aims to prove that having an active commitment to feminism will act as a moderator between self-objectification and body shame.

A partial correlation using a pearson correlation coefficient found that whilst controlling the role of active commitment to feminism, there was a weak negative significant relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame ($r(99) = -.274, p = .005$). Prior to controlling for active commitment to feminism, a moderate negative significant relationship was found between Instagram intensity and body shame, $r(99) = -.275, n=101, p = .006$, this suggests

that active commitment to feminism has very little influence on the relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted.

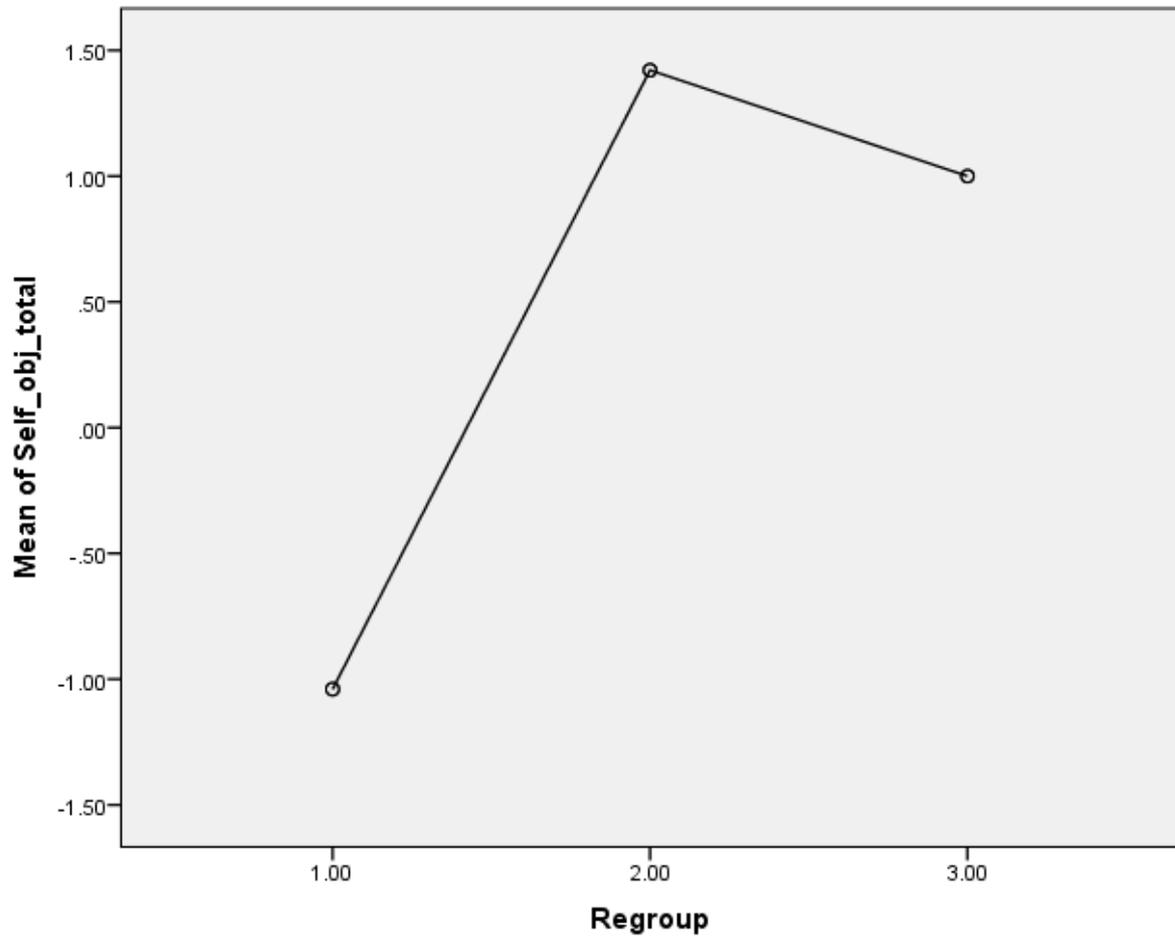


Figure 5 – Chart of mean values of self-objectification relating to Motivations for Instagram Use. 1.00 =Surveillance/Knowledge 2.00 = Documentation of Life, 3=Impressing Friends/Family

H5 – Self-objectification and Instagram Motivation

The fifth hypothesis aims to prove that there will be a difference in self-objectification levels between groups depending on primary motivation for Instagram use.

A one-way analysis of variance showed that there was no statistically significant difference in self-objectification levels between groups showing different motivations for Instagram use. ($F(2,66) = .26, p = .768$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted

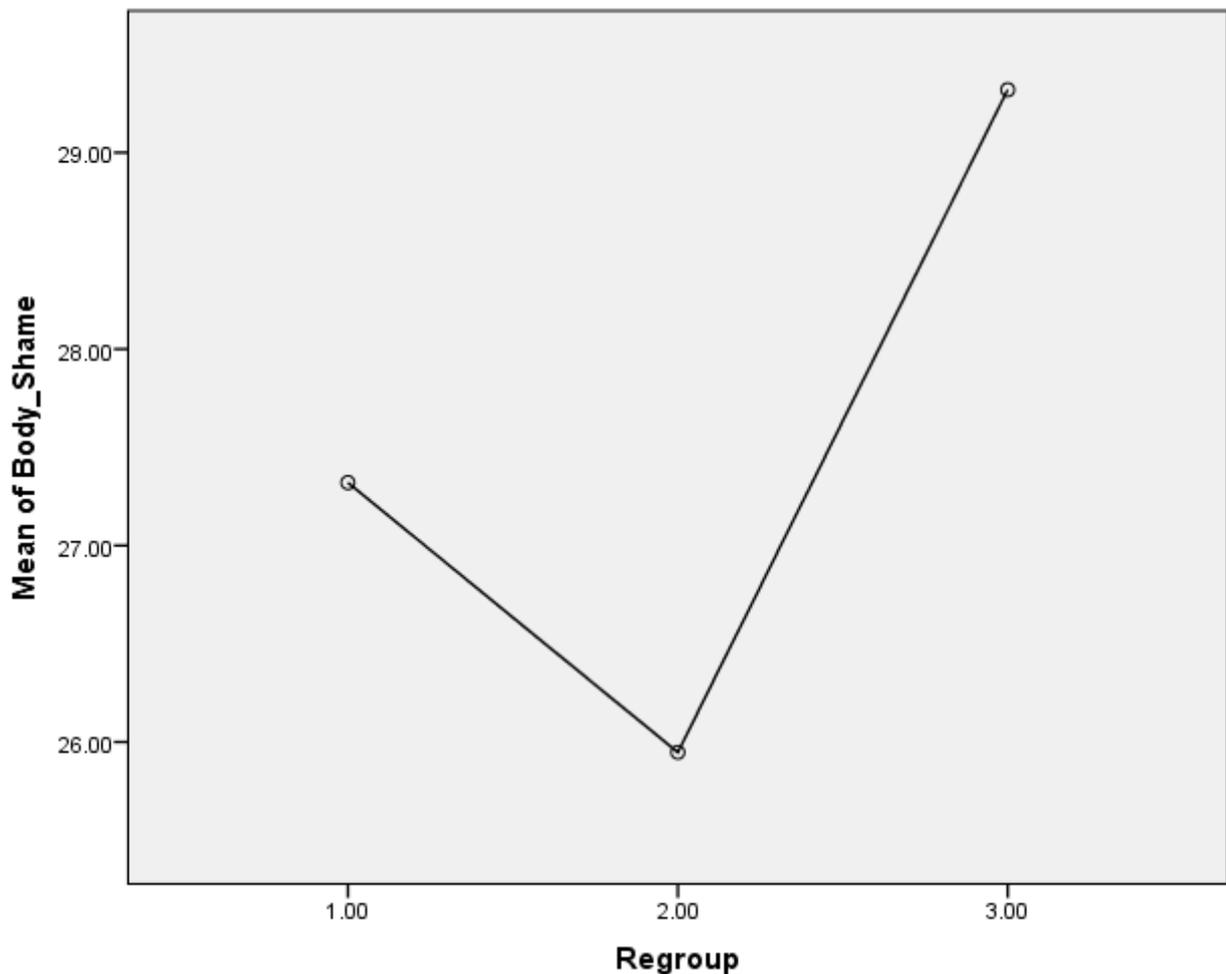


Figure 6 – Chart of mean values of body image relating to Motivations for Instagram Use.

1.00 = Surveillance/Knowledge 2.00 = Documentation of Life, 3 = Impressing Friends/Family

H6 – Body Shame and Instagram Motivation

The sixth hypothesis aims to prove that there will be a difference in body image levels between groups depending on primary motivation for Instagram use.

A one-way analysis of variance showed that there was no statistically significant difference in body shame levels between groups showing different motivations for Instagram use. ($F(2,66) = 1.78, p = .177$). Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted

6. Discussion:

The aim of the current study was to explore the relationship between self-objectification, body shame and Instagram intensity and to investigate whether an active commitment to feminism would act as a moderator between in the relationships between the variables. It also aimed to show a difference in levels of self-objectification and body shame exhibited by participants depending on their primary motivation for using Instagram. Overall, none of the six hypotheses were supported with the null hypothesis being accepted in each case, however some interesting results came from the inferential statistical tests which will be discussed below.

In relation to the first two hypothesis, instead of a positive relationship between the variables being proven by the pearson correlation, there was a statistically significant negative relationship shown in both cases. While this did not support our hypotheses, the results for both tests were statistically significant. These results indicate novel findings which have not previously been proven in research.

For hypothesis 1, while levels of self-objectification increase, body shame decreases. This goes against previous research including Bailey et al. (2016) who using a bivariate correlation, found that body shame was positively related to self-objectification where the current study indicated a significant negative relationship between the variables.

The results from the correlation carried out for hypothesis 2 show that as levels of Instagram intensity increases, body shame decreases. While this is not what the researcher expected from the analysis of the data, it does point to Instagram intensity having a less negative effect on individual's levels of body shame than hypothesised from an analysis of previous research.

Neither hypothesis 3 or 4 showed any significant difference in the relationship between the two variables, Instagram intensity and body shame for hypothesis 3 and between self-objectification and body shame, for hypothesis 4 when controlling for an active commitment to feminism. These results are contradictory to previous research, in terms of hypothesis 4 (Feltman & Szymanski, 2017) who found that holding feminist beliefs moderated the effect of Instagram use on body surveillance and with the findings of hypothesis 4 contradicting the results of Pidgeon and McNeil, (2012) in a study on interpersonal factors that protect women against developing body image dissatisfaction found that feminist identity was one of the factors associated with lower levels of body dissatisfaction in these women, among other studies which has indicated that having feminist beliefs, can act as a protective factor against women developing a multitude of negative psychological outcomes.

The two final hypotheses were concerned with the way in which primary motivation for Instagram use would affect self-objectification and body shame levels in the participant. As previously stated, the null hypothesis was accepted in both cases but if we look at the graphs for both, there is a difference in mean levels of both variables (self-objectification) (see figure 5) and body shame (see figure 6) depending on the primary motivator for Instagram use. In relation to self-objectification, the motivation for Instagram use which scored the highest mean is “Documentation of Life” whereas for body image is “Impressing Friends / Followers. While the result was not statistically significant, it does point to a potential for future research into these findings.

6.1 Strengths:

While none of the research hypotheses in the current study were supported, the research has identified relationships between variables which previous research has not explored. Due to the unprecedented results obtained from the research, this current study may be viewed as an important exploratory study due to the results obtained. Both hypothesis one and hypothesis two indicated a statistically significant relationship between variables. The statistically significant results of hypothesis one and 2, while not supporting either hypotheses, do indicate a relationship between self-objectification and body shame and Instagram intensity and body shame. As previously stated, these results are at odds with previous research which identifies a gap which warrants further research. The current study utilised psychologically validated research tools. The research survey was easy to understand and answer.

6.2 Limitations:

There were some notable limitations in the current study. It is worth noting that the majority of the research sample comprised of Instagram users $n=68$, compared with non-Instagram users, $n=33$. This has meant that the data was skewed in favour of Instagram users which may have affected the results garnered in relation to several of the hypotheses. The current study employed self-report measures, this fact may have had an effect on the respondents due to the Hawthorne effect. Snowball sampling was employed in the current study, this may have proven to be a limitation due to respondent age. The majority of respondents were in the younger demographics; 20-29, $n=36$, 30 and 39, $n=44$ with much smaller numbers in their 40's, $n=8$ 50's, $n=3$ and 60's, $n= 10$. (Total, 101). This clustering in age of respondents may

have had an effect on the results of the study. The current study could also have benefitted from further demographic questions which may have enabled the researcher to make inferences depending on a range of additional variables including educational level, sexual orientation, education levels and nationality. A larger sample size could also have been of benefit to the study.

6.3 Future Research:

A number of factors have emerged from the results of the current study which should be considered in terms of future research direction. The current study should be replicated with a larger sample size in order to test whether the same results will be obtained and so can generalised to a larger population. Another direction for future research would be to explore Instagram use and its implications for the tested variables, longitudinally. This could be achieved by replicating the current study at selected time points in the future and comparing the results from each time point.

Given the novel findings resulting from the correlations from the first to hypotheses, the current study could be utilised as a foundation for further research into the relationship between self-objectification and body shame and the relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame. To expand on this study, the researcher recommends further investigation of the relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame.

6.4 Conclusion:

While the current study did not support previous research into self-objectification, body shame and Instagram use or differences in relationships when controlling for active

commitment to feminism, it did demonstrate interesting and novel conclusions regarding the relationship between self-objectification, body shame and Instagram intensity. As previously stated, Instagram is the fastest growing social networking site and judging for the results of the current study, it has potential to be used as a protective factor regarding body shame. The current study is one of the first to identify a negative relationship between Instagram intensity and body shame which could be further studied and utilised to develop strategies to combat body shame in women.

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Appendix A: Information Sheet

My name is Maeve Burns and I am conducting this research towards the completion of a BA (Hons) in Psychology in Dublin Business School. The aim of this study is to explore the links between objectification, feelings about one's body, Instagram use and attitudes to feminism specifically in women. This research is being submitted as part of my studies and will be submitted for examination.

You are invited to fill out an anonymous questionnaire. While the survey contains some questions, which may cause some minor, negative feelings, the questionnaires have been widely used in research. If any of the questions do raise difficult feelings for you there is contact information for support services included on the final page of the survey and you can withdraw at any time up until you submit the questionnaire.

Participation is completely voluntary and so you are not obliged to take part. Participation is anonymous and confidential so responses cannot be attributed to any single participant. For this reason, it will not be possible to withdraw from participation following submission of the questionnaire.

All questionnaires will be securely stored on a password protected computer and retained for 12 months.

It is important that you understand that by completing and submitting the questionnaire that you are consenting to participating in the study.

Should you require a further information about the research, please contact Maeve Burns via email xxxxxxxx@mydbs.ie

My Supervisor can be reached at xxxxxxxxxxxx@dbs.ie

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey

Appendix B: Debrief Sheet

****PLEASE REMEMBER TO CLICK THE SUBMIT BUTTON AT THE BOTTOM OF THIS PAGE IN ORDER FOR YOUR RESPONSES TO BE RECORDED****

Thank you for participating in this study. This form provides background about our research to help you learn more about why we are doing this study. Please feel free to ask any questions or to comment on any aspect of the study.

The study which you have completed was designed to investigate the relationship between Self-objectification, body esteem and Instagram and whether feminist beliefs affects these relationships. The study is part of my final year project for completion of the BA in Psychology in Dublin Business School.

As you know, your participation in this study is voluntary and anonymous however, as detailed in the information sheet provided before the questionnaire, you cannot withdraw from the study once your questionnaire has been submitted.

Please be aware that all data collected will be stored securely for up to one year and will be destroyed by shredding for paper data and by secure file deletion for online data

We understand that some of the questions in the survey may have resulted in some negative feelings. Please see below list of organisations which you can contact should this be the case;

BodyWhys (The Eating Disorders Association of Ireland)

Samaritans

Ph:116 123

Email: jo@samaritans.org

If you have questions now about the research, please ask. If you have questions later, please e-mail me at 10125743@mydbs.ie.

****PLEASE CLICK THE SUBMIT BUTTON BELOW IN ORDER FOR YOUR RESPONSES TO BE RECORDED****

Appendix C - Instagram Intensity Scale

| | | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither Agree/ Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|--|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Instagram is part of my everyday activity | | | | | |
| 2 | I am proud to tell people I'm on Instagram | | | | | |
| 3 | Instagram has become part of my daily routine | | | | | |
| 4 | I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Instagram for a while | | | | | |
| 5 | I feel I am part of the Instagram community | | | | | |
| 6 | I would be sorry if Instagram shut down | | | | | |

Approximately how many TOTAL Instagram followers do you have? _____

In the past week, on average, approximately how much time PER DAY have you spent actively using Instagram _____

Appendix D - Objectified Body Consciousness Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: Please read each statement below select the answer that best describes how much you agree or disagree with each one:

1 = strongly agree

2 = agree

3 = neither agree nor disagree

4 = disagree

5 = strongly disagree

1. I think it is more important that my clothes are comfortable than whether they look good on me
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
2. I think a person can look pretty much how they want to if they are willing to work at it
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
3. I rarely think about how I look
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
4. A large part of being in shape is having that kind of body in the first place
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
5. I really don't think I have much control over how my body looks
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
6. It doesn't matter how hard I try to change my weight it's probably always going to be about the same
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
7. When I can't control my weight, I feel like something must be wrong with me
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
8. I think a person is pretty much stuck with the looks they are born with
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
9. I never worry that something is wrong with me when I am not exercising as much as I should
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
10. I often worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
11. I would be ashamed for people to know what I really weigh
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
12. I rarely compare how I look with how other people look
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
13. I think a person's weight is mostly determined by the genes they are born with
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
14. When I'm not exercising enough, I question whether I am a good enough person
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
15. I feel ashamed of myself when I haven't made the effort to look my best
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
16. I think more about how my body feels than how my body looks
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree

17. I feel like I must be a bad person when I don't look as good as I could
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
18. I rarely worry about how I look to other people
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
19. I am more concerned with what my body can do than how it looks
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
20. Even when I can't control my weight, I think I'm an okay person
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
21. I can weigh what I'm supposed to when I try hard enough
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
22. The shape you are in depends mostly on your genes
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
23. When I'm not the size I think I should be, I feel ashamed
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree
24. During the day, I think about how I look many times
strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree

Appendix E: Self-objectification Scale

The questions below identify 10 different body attributes. I would like you to rank order these body attributes from that which has the greatest impact on your physical

self-concept (rank this a "9"), to that which has the least impact on your physical self-concept (rank this a "0").

Note: It does not matter how you describe yourself in terms of each attribute. For example, fitness level can have a great impact on your physical self-concept regardless of whether you consider yourself to be physically fit, not physically fit, or any level in between. Please first consider all attributes simultaneously. Then, record your rank ordering by clicking the box under the relevant number. Every number will be used ONCE.

IMPORTANT: DO NOT ASSIGN THE SAME RANK TO MORE THAN ONE ATTRIBUTE AND SCROLL RIGHT TO SEE ALL NUMBERS

When considering your physical self-concept, what rank order do you assign...

1. Physical co-ordination ___
2. Health ___
3. Weight ___
4. Strength ___
5. Sex Appeal ___
6. Physical Attractiveness ___
7. Energy Level ___
8. Firm/Sculpted Muscles ___
9. Physical fitness level ___
10. Measurement (e.g. chest, weight) ___

Appendix F: Feminist Identity Composite

On this page are listed a number of statements which people might use to describe themselves. Please read each item and indicate how you feel about each statement using the following scale;

1= Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

1. I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
2. I want to work to improve women's status.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
3. I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
4. It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
5. I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
6. I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
7. I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
8. On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
9. I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
10. I feel like I have blended my female attributes with my unique personal qualities
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
11. I am proud to be a competent woman.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
12. I have incorporated what is female and feminine into my own unique personality.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
13. I enjoy the pride and self-assurance that comes from being a strong female.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree

14. As I have grown in my beliefs I have realized that it is more important to value women as individuals than as members of a larger group of women.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
15. If I were to paint a picture or write a poem, it would probably be about women or women's issues
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
16. Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
17. I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
18. Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against equality for women
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
19. I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in society
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
20. I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
21. My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
22. In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
23. Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
24. I am very interested in women writers.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
25. I am very interested in women musicians.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
26. I am very interested in women artists.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
27. I am very interested in women's studies.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
28. I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
29. One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat on a crowded bus or open doors for me because I am a woman.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
30. I like being a traditional female.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
31. I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree

32. If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another country, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
33. I think that most women will feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree
34. I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or race car driving.
Strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree