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Embodied limitation

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EMBODIED LIMITATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Amanda Michiko Shigihara

December 2007

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ABSTRACT

EMBODIED LIMITATION

by Amanda Michiko Shigihara

This thesis investigates relationships between exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media and body concerns among a sample of 103 gay men. The sample is from the California Bay Area, with three participants from out-of-state. This study supports objectification theory, the minority stress model, and the theory of hegemonic masculinity. Findings suggest no significant relationship between media portraying gay men and body dissatisfaction among gay men. However, findings show age, race, relationship status, and body weight do play a role in body satisfaction. Results suggest older gay men have more body satisfaction, and are less concerned with others' views than younger gay men; white men have more body dissatisfaction than non-white men; Asians are less worried about their body weight, but feel less physically attractive than non-Asians; and gay men in relationships worry less about their body weight than those not in relationships. Implications are also discussed.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore whether contemporary images of gay men in the media affect the body satisfaction of gay men in the California Bay Area, and three out-of-state cities (see Appendix B). Body dissatisfaction, or the state of being displeased with one's physical appearance, is not an unexplored topic by any means. That is to say, several researchers have examined the relationships between body dissatisfaction and mass media (Ogden and Munday 1996; Dittmar and Howard 2004; Cahill and Mussap 2007). However, body dissatisfaction studies are dominantly limited to girls, women, and heterosexuals (Brown and Dittmar 2005; Engeln-Maddox 2005; Dohnt and Tiggemann 2006). More importantly, past studies on men lack the examination of images of gay men in the media in relation to gay men and their body satisfaction (Harvey and Robinson 2003; Gil 2007). In addition, most studies on body dissatisfaction have been dominated by the field of psychology, where negative implications for individuals, rather than social implications have been the focus.

This study is premised with the understanding that the internalized thin-ideal body type presented in the media is connected to unattainable, unrealistic cultural standards (Thompson and Stice 2001). In addition, findings indicate that the internalization of societal standards of attractiveness brings those who cannot attain the ideal body type to feel body image dissatisfaction (Blowers et al. 2003). While most research is on women and heterosexuals, research has shown that the frequency of exposure to unrealistic body

standards portrayed in mass media actually contributes to body dissatisfaction (Tiggemann and Pickering 1996; Field 2000).

Given that past research suggests more girls and women are at risk for body image concerns than heterosexual men (Green and Pritchard 2003), the inclusion of gay men in media is important because other research does report that gay men have more appearance motives to change their bodies than heterosexual men (Grogan, Conner and Smithson 2006). Furthermore, past studies claim that gay men report greater body dissatisfaction and body concerns than heterosexual men (Russell and Keel 2002; Yelland and Tiggemann 2003; Kaminski et al. 2005).

Although studies currently indicate that heterosexual and homosexual men have body image issues because of heterosexual media images in fitness magazines, pornography, and overall portrayals of the muscular men in the media (Harvey and Robinson 2003; Duggan and McCreary 2004), this study focuses on homosexual men and portrayals of gay men in the media. The reason for this study became evident with the literature that suggests gay men have an increased risk to develop body dissatisfaction because of factors such as the investment in physical appearance (Heffernan 1994), affiliation with the gay community (Beren et al. 1996), societal homophobia (Williamson 1999), and even a history of child abuse (Feldman and Meyer 2007).

While contemporary studies indicate that a relationship exists between media exposure and bodily dissatisfaction for both men and women, there has been minimal, if any, direct link between the exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media and body dissatisfaction among the gay male population. Therefore, this research intends to fill a

gap in the area of body dissatisfaction literature by investigating whether the frequency of exposure to contemporary portrayals of gay men in the media contributes to gay male body dissatisfaction.

To elaborate on the structure of this thesis, Chapter II explains the theoretical background; Chapter III is a review of past literature and provides the hypotheses; Chapter IV explains the methodology, variables, demographic characteristics, and method of analysis; Chapter V presents the initial findings and explains the results; Chapter VI provides the exploratory analysis, implications of the results, limitations to the study, and suggestions for future research; and Chapter VII concludes the thesis with final thoughts.

CHAPTER II

Theoretical Background

In an attempt to examine whether the amount of exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media affects gay men's body satisfaction, this study is rooted in three theoretical perspectives that shed some light on how body dissatisfaction studies have been framed. Objectification theory, the minority stress model, and the theory of hegemonic masculinity independently and simultaneously may explain how gay men as objects, gay men as minorities, and gay men's masculinities all play a role in body image analysis.

Objectification Theory

Rooted within the social constructionist and symbolic interactionist perspectives, paradigms which suggest that social processes are constructed (McKinley & Hyde 1996), Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) offer the framework for "objectification theory," which posits how the self internalizes outside influences as the primary vision of how the self should physically be. Typically, objectification theory suggests that in a culture where girls and women are reduced to sexual objects, when a girl or woman cannot attain societal standards, problems such as depression and disturbed eating practices occur (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997). Objectification theory has been tested in past studies,

and results suggest self-objectification is linked to the drive for thinness for both women and men (Tiggemann and Kuring 2004; Calogero, Davis and Thompson 2005).

Objectification studies on body image show a consistent process that leads to body dissatisfaction (Calogero et al. 2005). First, an individual must become aware of what others and dominant society think body norms are. Second, that individual will internalize and submit to normative physical appearance as a personal belief system. Third, when the individual cannot attain societal expectations, he or she may experience body shame, anxiety, and depression. Because of this body shame, the person self-monitors to become like the object. Finally, since powerlessness and loss of control have been considered causes of eating disorders, body dissatisfaction may lead to dysfunctional and disrupted eating (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997). In terms of where body norms come from, media has proven to be a major contributor of self-perceived body dissatisfaction and eating disorders (Calogero et al. 2005). When the media presents people as mere bodies or objects, viewers may choose to self-monitor to fit the ideal image or object presented in the media. Although some may choose a healthy route to attain the images presented in the media, many suffer from the inability to choose the healthy path.

McKinley and Hyde (1996) provide the platform to create the "Objectified Body Consciousness" (OBC) scale for women. The study measures how undergraduate college students perceive their body (as viewed by others), feel body shame, and then self-monitor their body weight and overall appearance. McKinley and Hyde (1996) suggest that unmet internalized cultural standards lead to the process of body shame, then body

dissatisfaction, and then body monitoring. While most studies have reviewed “objectification theory” in terms of girls and women, objectification can also be related to men who are reflected as objects. In fact, through an analysis of appearance-related exercise and esteem levels, Strelan’s (2005) study presents the understanding of how male bodies are also objectified; that is, results indicate that men’s negative feelings about their bodies leads them to exercise in an attempt to alter their physical appearance. The current study proposes to examine objectification theory and the relationship it has between gay men and body dissatisfaction.

Minority Stress Model

A theoretical framework that may prove to be useful in terms of the gay male population is the “minority stress model.” In this model, Meyer (1995) explains that the “concept of minority stress is based on the premise that gay people in a heterosexist society are subjected to chronic stress,” simply because of the stigma of being gay, which is similar to the stress other minority groups face in society (38). Furthermore, when gay men are subjected to repetitive stress, discrimination, rejection, and verbal and physical abuse, because of their sexual orientation, they may become insecure, vulnerable, and suffer internalized distress (Meyer 1995; Kimmel and Mahalik 2005). In terms of portrayals of gay men in the media, since the gay male population is a currently stigmatized group, not meeting the idealized cultural expectations may create even more body dissatisfaction than for heterosexual men.

As Meyer (1995) suggests that minority groups have stress from the stigmatization of being rejected and discriminated against, Pope, Phillips, and Olivardia (2000) suggest gay men who were teased in early childhood have more body dissatisfaction in later life than those who were not teased. In more recent studies, results indicate that teasing and verbal victimization from family and peers, due to being a child over or underweight, negatively affect body image and causes body dissatisfaction (Benas and Gibb 2007; Kostanski and Gullone 2007; Chen, Gao and Jackson 2007).

Examining race is important for studying gay men and body dissatisfaction. As gay men are considered a sexual minority, racial minorities who are gay may have a double minority status. For instance, research suggests that gay Australian Asian men are marginalized and stigmatized because they are confronted by their cultural heritage and parents, while trying to fit into a community of gay white men (Drummond 2005b). Conversely, Ricciardelli et al. (2007) suggest that the African American minority men are more satisfied with their body image than white men. In addition, while written about girls, minority girls tend not to identify with media images because of the lack of minority representations in the media, rather, the media is dominated by portrayals of white people (Milkie 1999). Milkie (1999) suggests that if minority girls do not have many dominant images to socially compare themselves to, they are less likely to have negative feelings about themselves. The same might go for African American men and African American gay men. In short, being gay and a racial minority may or may not positively correlate with negative body image concerns, and this study hopes to examine these conflicting findings.

Another factor that may fit the minority stress model is age. According to Jones and Pugh (2005), older gay men become marginal within the gay community. Namely, marginalization occurs because “gay spaces” in the public arena are often exclusive places for the younger gay generations, which indicates that as gay men get older, they are excluded from the gay community (Jones & Pugh 2005: 258). In addition, Jones and Pugh (2005) find that the gay community believes that being an older gay man equates with unattractiveness, which may exclude them from gay public spaces. All of these factors may be explanations for why minority stress contributes to body dissatisfaction.

The Theory of Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of “doing gender” (West and Zimmerman 1987) provides a strong basis to assert that there are dominant normative societal ways in which to perform gender or correctly act like a man or a woman. That is to say, although there is a varied continuum of masculinities and femininities, there are prevailing cultural standards of how to ‘do’ gender in order to adhere to cultural norms surrounding masculinity and femininity. Drawing from this framework, a final theoretical approach in this thesis is Connell’s (1987) theory of “hegemonic masculinity.” According to Connell (2005),

Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. This is not to say that the most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are always the most powerful people. They may be exemplars, such as film actors, or even fantasy figures, such as film characters (77).

In addition, Taywaditep (2001) explains hegemonic masculinity ideology as “the degree to which one subscribes to the value system in which masculinity is an asset, and men and masculinity are considered superior to women and femininity” (2).

As women are often characterized as being petite, quiet, and beautiful, men are dominantly characterized as strong, aggressive, rugged, and emotionally withdrawn. According to the theory of hegemonic masculinity, there exists a gender hierarchy where masculinity is viewed as dominant over femininity, and some forms of masculinity are privileged over others (Connell 1987). As a result, gay men may be stigmatized because of the assumption that gay men are not ‘doing’ hegemonic masculinity. In addition, Taywaditep’s (2001) study reveals that some gay men may have contempt for effeminacy and effeminate gay men because of stigmatization of their effeminacy in early life, thereby rejecting effeminacy and thus performing hegemonic masculinity in later life.

Within the gay population itself, some men may submit to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, and some may not. It may be that the gay men who currently fit the mainstream hegemonic masculinity are the ones who submit, and it may be those who do not fit the mainstream mold who are considered the “twinks”—a subcultural term for effeminate gay men (Steward 1995: 259; Reuter 2006: 215). In other words, it might be more difficult for twinkies to conform to dominant standards, so they may choose an unconventional masculinity. To speculate, those who fit the mainstream look may be more satisfied with their bodies than those who are trying to fit and sustain an alternative state of masculinity. Therefore, gay men who are not hegemonically masculine may be more susceptible to body dissatisfaction than hegemonically masculine gay men.

Furthermore, as portrayals of gay men in the media increasingly shape the “twink” mold, non-hegemonically masculine gay men may become more unsatisfied with their body image if they cannot attain the media idealized twink body.

The three theoretical frameworks presented in this chapter will help to explore the identities of gay men in relation to contemporary portrayals of gay men in the media. Given that the media objectifies gay men, this study tests whether those media images affect gay men’s perceptions of themselves. As gay men are currently a sexual minority, this study attempts to test whether or not gay men of minority races and ages have more body dissatisfaction than non-minority gay men. Finally, the theory of hegemonic masculinity serves as a template to suggest those who are currently satisfied with their body may currently fit a hegemonic masculine mold.

CHAPTER III

Literature Review

While there have been numerous media studies on body image, self-esteem, eating disorders, and body satisfaction in relation to girls, women, and heterosexuals, the following literature review suggests that there is a lack in media studies about gay men and body dissatisfaction. Specifically, there is a lack of studies which examine the effect of contemporary portrayals of gay men in the media on gay men's body dissatisfaction, worry about body weight, feelings of physical attractiveness, and concerns of how other people view them. In addition, there are conflicting views of whether the media is the primary cause of body dissatisfaction, or if there are other more pertinent factors involved. Because of the lack of studies and inconsistent findings in past research, this literature review indicates a need for further inquiries about body dissatisfaction.

The Process of Body Dissatisfaction

Several studies provide support for the relationship between media images and body dissatisfaction (Blowers et al. 2003; Sinton and Birch 2006; Bessenoff and Priore 2007). Additional, studies show the relationship between media and body dissatisfaction is often linked to the frequency of media exposure, where higher exposure to popular media and idealized body images is partially responsible for body dissatisfaction (Tiggemann and Pickering 1996; Field 2000). Other studies suggest that socio-cultural pressures and norms coupled with low self-esteem predict lowered body satisfaction

(Griffiths and McCabe 2000; Holt and Ricciardelli 2002; Trottier et al. 2007; Shea and Pritchard 2007; Hallman et al. 2007; Benas and Gibb 2007). Research also suggests that women with high self-esteem are less likely to be affected by exposure to media (Jones and Buckingham 2005), yet, Steele, Corsini, and Wade (2007) argue that having high self-esteem is not sufficient enough to prevent against body dissatisfaction.

While there seems to be several contributors of body dissatisfaction, such as media images, cultural pressures, and low self-esteem, media studies have described a distinct process as to how media is linked to body dissatisfaction. Before people have body dissatisfaction, they must actually internalize the ideal body images within the media. To operationalize the concept of internalization, Thompson and Stice (2001) define the term, “thin-ideal internalization” as “the extent to which an individual cognitively ‘buys into’ socially defined ideals of attractiveness and engages in behavior designed to produce an approximation of these ideals” (181). In other words, the process of body dissatisfaction begins with ideal media images, but body dissatisfaction occurs when people actually have a significant enough level of attention to the media images, in order to internalize, mentally invest in, and perpetuate the media images (Thompson and Stice 2001).

To give a baseline for media exposure, the Census Bureau’s 1997 Statistical Abstract shows that the average American watches approximately 4.4 hours of television each day (Quill 1998). Past studies have depicted the investment of television by measuring the number of hours participants spent watching television shows with dominant body-shape ideals, listed in nationwide research databases (Blowers et al. 2003;

Gentles and Harrison 2006), and measuring the number of shows participants watch with ideal body images (Clark and Tiggemann 2006; Tiggemann 2006).

Studies report that the internalization of media ideals is encouraged by social agents, such as peers, starting from young ages, to manipulate their size and shape (Shroff and Thompson 2006). More research suggests that the “thin-ideal internalization” concept positively correlates to body dissatisfaction and self-judgment because the ideal body is usually unattainable for the majority of the population (Thompson and Stice 2001; Wedell, Santoyo, and Pettibone 2005). In other studies, findings suggest that the actual viewing of thin-idealized images, such as advertisements, creates negative reactions and an immediate increase in body dissatisfaction (Groesz, Levine and Murnen 2001; Engeln-Maddox 2005).

Internalization of media ideals also occurs when women come to accept that having the ideal body will grant them happiness because of the unconscious association that the thin-ideal body is a precursor to positive life-success, money, and other commodities (Evans 2003; Engeln-Maddox 2006). This type of conditioning relates to “objectification theory” because girls and women become mere self-objects—as though their only assets are their physical features, rather than their intellect or personality. When so much emphasis is placed on physical beauty by commercial society, one internalizes the belief that one will not succeed unless one is also beautiful. Excessive focus on the body as an object increases shame and anxiety when the thin ideal is unattainable (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997).

Gender studies indicate that men and women have different reasons for being dissatisfied with their bodies; research shows that some women tend to exercise because of weight loss concerns, whereas some men tend to exercise to become more muscular and gain more mass (McDonald and Thompson 1992; Furnham and Calnan 1998). In other studies on body dissatisfaction and dieting behavior, findings suggest that unhealthy dieting occurs when men are actually overweight, whereas women diet unhealthily because of unrealistic societal thin-idealized body images (Markey and Markey 2005); however, this may not be true for gay men.

Research also shows that men and women react and cope differently to body dissatisfaction. After testing both women and men on attitudes about fat, Aruguete, Yates, and Edman (2006) suggest that women internalize societal values to be thin by restricting their food intake, whereas, men externalized thin societal values by showing a dislike for “fat people” (183). Aruguete et al. (2006) suggest that the reason men may express a dislike for larger people is because of the motivation to make judgments for potential partners. Comparatively, in an attempt to examine how heterosexual couples evaluate their own bodies, Ogden and Taylor (2000) conclude that both men and women were more unsatisfied with the female’s body within the couple. In addition, body image studies suggest, at least in part, that men strive to gain more muscle mass when they feel threatened by women who achieve accomplishments in traditionally male spaces (Pope et al. 2000; Mills and D’alfonso 2007).

While women have been a major focus of media studies, there is a current need to research the change in the way men are thinking about their bodies. According to Harvey

and Robinson (2003), the media increasingly portray men with muscular bodies and six-pack stomachs. Because of these portrayals, men feel persuaded to achieve the ideal body and sometimes end up suffering from muscle dysmorphia—the condition where people obsess over being too small, regardless of the fact that they have a substantial amount of muscle (Harvey & Robinson 2003). Studies suggest that when men view muscular media images, even for a brief time, they feel body dissatisfaction—possibly due to their inability to replicate the images portrayed in the media (Leit, Gray, and Pope 2002; Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004).

Research on the consumption of mass media suggests that viewing muscle building, fitness, and pornography magazines positively correlates with body dissatisfaction for both gay and heterosexual men (Duggan and McCreary 2004). However, Duggan and McCreary (2004) claim gay men have a larger exposure to pornography than heterosexual men, which may indicate that pornography is more accepted among the gay community, and may possibly be the reason why studies (Russell and Keel 2002; Yelland and Tiggemann 2003) have shown gay men have more body dissatisfaction than heterosexual men .

Additional research suggests that exposure to male models in the media causes body dissatisfaction (Baird and Grieve 2006). Moreover, findings show body dissatisfaction is a result of hyper-masculinizing men in the media, such as in televised professional wrestling (Soulliere and Blair 2006), which might be suggestive of the body dissatisfaction among men who do not have hegemonic masculine characteristics. Studies also suggest possible negative outcomes from the exposure to idealized images,

such as steroid use, disturbed eating practices, and muscle dysmorphia (Baird and Grieve 2006; Soulliere and Blair 2006). Given a relationship between heterosexual images of men in the media and men's body dissatisfaction, found in past studies, the present study attempts to explore whether the portrayals of gay men in the media create a similar or larger amount of body dissatisfaction among gay men.

Critiques of Media Effects

While media images seem to be dominant contributors of body dissatisfaction, some studies suggest there is too much emphasis or blame placed on media images. That is to say, albeit repetition of media viewing has been attributed to the internalization of media images and thus body dissatisfaction (Thompson and Stice 2001), there remains variation in the extent to which people value ideal images (Polivy and Herman 2004). Polivy and Herman (2004) specifically question if the majority of women view media, why then do not all women have body dissatisfaction? And for both men and women, do some people internalize media images more than others? Furthermore, Polivy and Herman (2004) question whether the chicken or the egg came first; that is, does the media merely provide visuals for what people want, or is it the media that create what people, then, think they want?

In addition, studies indicate that negative impacts to media exposure are not universal (Cusumano and Thompson 1997). Research also shows that negative impacts from viewing media images may only occur under certain circumstances and, at times,

may even produce positive adulations to aspire to (Polivy and Herman 2004). Specific inconsistent circumstances include things involving level of self-esteem; that is, some studies show high self-esteem may prevent body dissatisfaction (Jones and Buckingham 2005), but other studies show that having high self-esteem is not sufficient in order to prevent body dissatisfaction (Steele, Corsini, and Wade 2007).

Because of the inconsistent understandings of the causal effects of body dissatisfaction, theories of third-person perception (David and Johnson 1998) and pluralistic ignorance (Miller and McFarland 1987) provide an alternative understanding of body dissatisfaction to what past media studies have provided. According to David and Johnson (1998), third-person perception states that people believe other people are more vulnerable to the effects of media than they are. Additionally, pluralistic ignorance is characterized by people's misperceptions of other people's beliefs about social issues (Miller and McFarland 1987).

To exemplify these theories, Park et al. (2007) found that body dissatisfaction is not necessarily caused by media influence, but people's own misinterpretation of what other people want. For example, when people believe others equate attractiveness with thinness, this compels them to conform to those norms as well. More importantly, even if people refuse to change their norms to fit media ideals, they may still change their dieting and eating patterns because of third-person perceptions and pluralistic ignorance (Park et al. 2007). Finally, Part et al. (2007) conclude that both men and women overestimate what others of the same-sex and opposite-sex prefer. Therefore, this creates the notion that body dissatisfaction may occur when people place an emphasis on what others think,

even when the self does not directly choose to internalize media images. As a result of the inconsistent findings, the present study attempts to resolve these issues by testing for media exposure, as well as the participant's concern for what other people think.

Gay Men and Body Dissatisfaction

It has been found that approximately 3-5% of the men in the general population are gay, and 20% of these gay men have eating disorders (Anderson 1999), and within the United States alone, an estimated 80,000 gay men suffer from eating disorders (Nguyen 2006). Even with knowledge of these statistics, there have been few studies that explore homosexual men and body dissatisfaction. Moreover, while some studies have shown heterosexual men are less likely to be dissatisfied with their bodies than women (Furnman & Calnan 1998), there is a growing interest for researchers to study homosexual men who are more dissatisfied with their bodies than heterosexual men (Russell and Keel 2002; Yelland and Tiggemann 2003; Kaminski et al. 2005).

Empirically, body dissatisfaction studies have focused on heterosexual men and women; however, more recent studies have begun to include the relationship between body dissatisfaction and eating disorders among homosexual men. Throughout European and American studies on eating disorders, while only a minority of people with eating disorders are men, Williamson (1999) speculates that nearly one in every three men with an eating disorder is a gay man. In addition, Williamson (1999) suggests that internalized societal homophobia contributes to the feelings of inferiority, thereby plausibly leading to

maladaptive eating patterns. This viewpoint is similar to Meyer's (1985) minority stress model, where repetitive discrimination because of a person's sexual orientation may lead to insecurity, vulnerability, and lowered body satisfaction.

In relation to "objectification theory," gay men, like heterosexual women, are just as likely to be sexually objectified by their potential partners and mass media (Williamson 1999). Williamson and Hartley (1998) even posit that gay men typically identify with the eating disordered woman. In other words, in the same way women often have eating disorders to gain control over their lives—and their physical appearances—the gay man, as a minority within the male community, may also gain control through eating disorders "in terms of his disempowered position in society and/or anxiety about his maturing gay sexuality" (Williamson and Hartley 1998: 162).

Other studies suggest that dominant norms and slim images of heterosexual males (similar to the thin-idealized heterosexual woman), promoted by homosexual peers in gay subculture, may lead to body weight concerns (Williamson and Hartley 1998). Similarly, Harvey and Robinson (2003) suggest that the gay male community places higher emphasis on thinness than the heterosexual community does. In other words, gay men place higher expectations on the ideal self as well as the ideal partner's appearance (Harvey and Robinson 2003). In sum, pressures of thinness like this could be the reason why gay men are often focused on physically self-monitoring, as well as promoting the gay community to self-monitor.

Further research on gay men and body dissatisfaction exemplifies how gay men have more disordered eating, more drive for muscularity, and lower self-esteem when

their ideals are unmet than heterosexual men. This research suggests that the gay community places higher importance on the appearance of others, on body weight, and on muscle gain (Yelland and Tiggemann 2003). On another note, Shernoff (2002) found that to the contemporary gay community, the gym and a “worked-out body” have iconic overtones (89). As a result, gay men often have a distorted image of themselves and report never being able to achieve “bodily perfection” (Shernoff 2002: 91).

Research on the gay community indicates that, in comparison with heterosexual men, gay men report more body dissatisfaction (Beren et al. 1996). Moreover, Beren’s et al. (1996) study suggests that gay community affiliation is a significant predictor of body dissatisfaction because of the pressure to diet; indicating that the gay community may actually increase a homosexual man’s vulnerability to body dissatisfaction. Conversely, the study found that gay women affiliated with the lesbian community did not have body dissatisfaction (Beren et al. 1996); and another study indicates that lesbians are less concerned with their body image and weight than heterosexual women or gay men (Wagenbach 2003).

Sociocultural pressures in choosing a partner drive gay men to achieve an ideal thinness and muscularity (Siever 1996). According to Siever (1996), gay men, like heterosexual women, are dissatisfied with their bodies when trying to attract and please other men. Research findings suggest that gay men are socialized like heterosexual men, but objectified like heterosexual women by potential partners and mass media; to clarify, men are socialized to give a higher priority to appearance than women, but like heterosexual women, gay men are trying to attract other men (Siever 1996). That is, the

gay community reinforces the proclivity to become an object to others, and, at the same time, objectify potential partners.

Qualitative research suggests that several aspects of Western culture, as well as gay culture, promote body image concerns for gay men (Drummond 2005a). Beginning with the recognition that there are multiple masculinities (Connell 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987), Drummond (2005a) makes the argument that muscles are symbolic for three major reasons. First, while muscles symbolize power and dominance for heterosexual men, muscles signify status in the gay community. The hierarchical ranking in the gay community determines whether the gay man can “pick up” other men, or be picked up (Drummond 2005a: 279). For instance, according to Drummond (2005a), at a nightclub, with hardly any talk, if a gay man wants to go home with someone, appearance is everything. Second, muscles indicate emotional strength and control (Drummond 2005a). That is to say, if a gay man can preserve his muscular physique, he has strength of mind and strength of character. Finally, in the midst of HIV/AIDS, muscles represent health and vitality, which protects a gay man from looking sickly (Drummond 2005a).

Drummond’s (2005a) qualitative work also suggests that media images of men set gay men up for failure. In other words, gay men not only feel they need to look like the images in the media, they also feel like failures if they cannot “pick-up” other men who look like the images in the media. Drummond’s (2005a) interviews also indicate that gay men feel they cannot escape the media because the images are advertised all around, and at the same time, feel insecure and inadequate because they cannot replicate the images. In one specific example, Drummond (2005a) mentions the drama *Queer as Folk*, as

depicting gay men with ideal physiques often participating in physical sex acts. In a final note about body image, Drummond (2005a) discusses the way “clothes maketh the gay man” (284). Gay men also disclose having to dress appropriately for specific occasions; either trying to “blend in,” or wear clothes to “suit the environment,” such as in a club, business, or gym (Drummond 2005a: 285). Drummond’s (2005a) final thought is that within the past decade, “men’s bodies have been placed under greater scrutiny than ever before” (286).

Studies indicate that body dissatisfaction and disturbed eating habits may be rooted within the media because media images of the male body have progressively become more unrealistic (Kaminski et al. 2005). Furthermore, findings suggest that if gay men internalize heterosexual body ideal types in the media, they may be more apt to have body dissatisfaction (Fawcner and McMurray 2002; Kaminski et al. 2005). Other research suggests that there is an increasing pressure from the gay community to meet the male ideal figure, where greater peer pressure is placed on physical attractiveness, which eventually leads to low self-esteem and body dissatisfaction (Hospers and Jansen 2005).

While past studies have indicated a relationship between exposure to media and body dissatisfaction, and both men and women have body dissatisfaction that consequently may lead to disordered eating practices, there is a lack of research on the representation of gay men in the media. However, at the same time, there is an ever-growing market for media that portrays gay men: Internet, music, television and movies (Drummond 2005a; Hopkins 2006). Now that contemporary media are progressively inclusive of portrayals of gay men, is it plausible to suggest that there is an even greater

pressure for the attainment of normative physical attractiveness for gay men? That is to say, does the representation of gay men in movies, television, magazines and other media have an effect on body dissatisfaction in the gay male population? Drawing on objectification theory, the minority stress model, and the theory of hegemonic masculinity, this study examines the relationship between the exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media and body dissatisfaction among the gay male population. From the assessment of the empirical data collected from the questionnaire, the present study sheds some light on the underlying causes of body dissatisfaction and body concerns among gay men.

Hypotheses

All of the four following hypotheses are based on the premise that the frequency of exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media is related to body image concerns of gay men.

Hypothesis 1: The more gay men are exposed to media portraying gay men, the more body dissatisfaction they will have.

Hypothesis 2: The more gay men are exposed to media portraying gay men, the more worries they will have about their body weight.

Hypothesis 3: The more gay men are exposed to media portraying gay men, the less physically attractive they will feel.

Hypothesis 4: The more gay men are exposed to media portraying gay men, the more they will be concerned with how other people view them.

CHAPTER IV

Methodology

Data Collection

The method of data collection was approved by the San Jose State University Institutional Review Board. To investigate body dissatisfaction and body image concerns among gay men, a questionnaire was distributed between March 9, 2007 and June 9, 2007. The sample consists of 103 gay men, four of whom indicate a bisexual orientation, 18 years old or older (see Appendix B). The sample came from the California Bay Area, and three out-of-state cities (see Appendix B). Each participant was given a questionnaire with a letter describing the study, and a consent form that did not need to be signed (see Appendix A). The sample was recruited through a nonprobability snowball approach through friends, acquaintances, gay bars, and gay clubs. This group was a no-cost, convenience sample. Permission to approach this sample was gained through informal contacts within the gay community.

The data collection instrument consisted of four open-ended questions and 16 close-ended questions (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was pre-tested on five homosexual men in San Jose, California for clarification and appropriateness. The delivery method included in-person drop off and return, mailed and mailed returns, and emailed and emailed returns. It is difficult to determine the response rate for this study since it was a snowball sample. However, of the gay men I approached, mailed, and emailed, I had an approximate return rate of four out of five questionnaires.

Operationalization of Variables

The dependent variables are “level of body dissatisfaction,” “level of worry about body weight,” “degree of physical attractiveness,” and “level of concern of others.”

These variables are measured by the questions, “How often are you satisfied with your body image?” “How often are you unsatisfied with your body image?” “How strongly do you agree with the statement: ‘I worry about my body weight’?” “To what degree do you feel physically attractive?” And “How concerned are you with how other people view you?” Both satisfaction questions are coded as 1 for “never,” 2 for “rarely,” 3 for “occasionally,” 4 for “often,” and 5 for “always.” Worry of body weight is coded as 1 for “strongly disagree,” 2 for “disagree,” 3 for “agree,” and 4 for “strongly agree.” Physical attractiveness is coded as 1 for “not at all,” 2 for “a little,” 3 for “somewhat,” and 4 for “greatly.” Concern of others is coded as 1 for “never,” 2 for “yearly,” 3 for “monthly,” 4 for “weekly,” 5 for “daily,” and 6 for “more than once a day.”

The independent variables specifically test the exposure to television and film media, which all have portrayals of gay men in them, as opposed to general mainstream media. Since past studies have measured media exposure with the number of shows people watch, selected from nationwide databases (Clark and Tiggemann 2006; Gentles and Harrison 2006), this study includes a selection of 26 television shows and 27 movies (see Questionnaire in Appendix A for titles), which include dominant cultural images of gay men. These shows and films were selected from the online Queer TV Database, personal choices from experience, and suggestions from gay friends. Although these

shows may not present a completely uniform representation of gay men, for the most part, the representations in these television shows and movies are dominant in pop culture.

The independent variables are measured by the questions: “How often have you watched the following television shows in the last five years?” “In the following movies, please write the number of times you have seen each movie?” Television exposure was initially coded on a scale of 0 to 10 (0 being never and 10 being all the time). Movies exposure was initially coded as number of times watched, 0 through 10 is obvious and “11” was for more than 10 times. Both television exposure and movies exposure were individually computed with two methods to show (i) the cumulative viewing exposure and (ii) the variety of viewing exposure. The cumulative viewing for television was computed by adding all of the scores on each of the 26 television shows for each participant, and cumulative viewing for movies was computed by adding all of the scores on each of the 27 movies. The variety of viewing for television shows was computed by adding the number of shows the participants had reported watching, and the variety of viewing for movies was computed by adding the number of movies the participants had reported watching.

This study controls for several factors: age, education, race, current relationship status, and hours of television watched per week. These variables are measured by the questions, “What is your age?” “What is your highest level of education?” “What is your race?” “What is your relationship status?” and “How many hours of television do you watch a week?” Age is coded as 18 for “18 years old,” 19 for “19 years old,” and all the

way up to 68 for “68 years old.” Highest level of education is coded as 1 for “less than 12 years, 2 for “high school graduate or GED,” 3 for “vocational training,” 4 for “some college,” 5 for “two-year college graduate,” 6 for “four-year college graduate” 7 for “some post-graduate education,” 8 for “Masters,” 9 and for “PhD.” Respondents indicated their race as “white,” “Irish,” “black,” “Mexican,” “Latino,” “Japanese,” “Chinese,” “Filipino,” “Korean,” “Vietnamese,” “Pacific Islander,” “Asian American,” “Laotian,” “European,” or “Native American.” Race is recoded into the dummy variables: 0 for “non-white” and 1 for “white,” 0 for “non-Asian” and 1 for “Asian.” Relationship status was reported as “single,” “dating,” “in a committed relationship,” or “domestic partnership,” and these were later recoded into a dummy variable with 0 for “no relationship” (single and dating) and 1 for “in a relationship” (committed and domestic). Lastly, hours of television per week is coded as 0 for “0,” 1 for “1 to 5,” 2 for “6 to 10,” 3 for “11 to 20,” and 4 for “more than 20.”

Finally, body altering methods are used to examine if the current data are consistent with past studies, and are measured by the questions, “Which of the following appearance altering methods have you used in the last five years?” “How frequently do you exercise in the gym?” and “How often are you physically active outside of a gym (e.g. taking walks or runs)?” For appearance altering methods, each individual “check”, is coded as 0 for “no,” and 1 for “yes”. Exercise is coded as 0 for “never,” 1 for “less than once a month,” 2 for “1 to 3 times a month,” 3 for “once a week,” 4 for “2 to 6 times a week,” and 5 for “daily.”

Demographic Characteristics

The following five Tables represent the demographic characteristics of the 103 respondents. Table 1 indicates the age of the respondents. Of the 103 participants, 25 (24.3%) were 18 to 24 years old, 30 (29.1%) were 25 to 34 years old, 25 (24.3%) were 35 to 44 years old, 14 (13.6%) were 45 to 54 years old, 7 (6.8%) were 55 to 64 years old, and 2 (1.9%) were 65 years old and over.

Table 1: Age of Respondent

Age in Years	N	%
18 - 24	25	24.3
25 - 34	30	29.1
35 - 44	25	24.3
45 - 54	14	13.6
55 - 64	7	6.8
65 and over	2	1.9
Total	103	100.0

Table 2 represents the race of the respondents. Although the table indicates five categories of races, before recoding, there were fourteen categories. The category “white” includes forty-nine responses of “white,” two responses of “European,” and one response of “Irish.” The category “Asian” includes two responses of “Japanese,” ten responses of “Chinese,” seven responses of “Filipino,” four responses of “Vietnamese,” two responses of “Pacific Islander,” one response of “Asian Indian,” and one response of “Laotian.” After recoding into five race categories, Table 2 indicates of the 103

respondents, 52 (50.5%) were white, 4 (3.9%) were black, 17 (16.5%) were Mexican or Latino, 27 (26.2%) were Asian, and 3 (2.9%) were Native American.

Table 2: Race of Respondent

Race	N	%
White	52	50.5
Black	4	3.9
Mexican/Latino	17	16.5
Asian	27	26.2
Native American	3	2.9
Total	103	100.0

Table 3 presents the relationship status of the respondents. Among the 103 participants, 41 (39.8%) were single, 15 (14.6%) were dating, 31 (30.1%) were in a committed relationship, and 16 (15.5) were in a domestic partnership.

Table 3: Relationship Status of Respondent

Relationship Status	N	%
Single	41	39.8
Dating	15	14.6
Committed Relationship	31	30.1
Domestic partnership	16	15.5
Total	103	100.0

Table 4 indicates the highest degree of the respondents. Of the 103 respondents, while only 1 (1%) had under 12 years of education, and only 1 (1%) had a PhD, most of

the respondents had some higher education or training, with 27 (26.2%) with some college, 33 (32%) with a four-year degree, and 12 (11.7%) with a Masters degree.

Table 4: Highest Level of Education of Respondent

Highest Education Level	N	%
Less than 12 years	1	1.0
High school or GED	9	8.7
Vocational training	6	5.8
Some college	27	26.2
Two-year college	8	7.8
Four-year college	33	32.0
Some post-graduate	6	5.8
Masters degree	12	11.7
PhD	1	1.0
Total	103	100.0

Finally, Table 5 shows hours of television the respondents watched each week. Since this study is specifically testing whether or not media portraying gay men affect gay men's body satisfaction, the hours of television the respondents watched each week will provide a comparison between the effect of media in general and the effect of media with portrayals of gay men. Here, 38 (36.9%) of the participants watched 1 to 5 hours per week, 40 (38.8%) watched 6 to 10 hours per week, 19 (18.4%) watched 11 to 20 hours per week, and 6 (5.8%) watched more than 20 hours per week.

Since Chapter III shows that the average American watches approximately 4.4 hours of television a day, Table 5 also shows that this sample is representative of most Americans. However, because past studies lack the specificity of what a high frequency

of exposure is, this study cannot determine if this sample was more or less exposed to television than any other group of people.

Table 5: Hours of Television Respondents Watch

Hours	N	%
1 to 5	38	36.9
6 to 10	40	38.8
11 to 20	19	18.4
More than 20	6	5.8
Total	103	100.0

Method of Analysis

Data analysis was quantitatively conducted via statistical tests on the program SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for Windows, Version 15.0. The sets of statistical tests used in this study to explore the four hypotheses are correlation and multiple regression analyses. A correlation test determines the strength and direction of association among one interval-ratio/dichotomous independent variable and one or more interval-ratio dependent variables (Vogt 1999). A multiple regression test determines if two or more interval-ratio/dichotomous independent variables correlate with one interval-ratio dependent variable (Vogt 1999). In this study, multiple regression tests were conducted to see if the relationship presented in the correlation tests remained when controlling for the variables age, education, race, relationship status, and hours of

television watched per week, or if the correlation between media exposure and body dissatisfaction was merely a spurious correlation.

CHAPTER V

Findings

Initial Findings

Findings from the surveys are presented in Tables 6 through Table 13. Table 6 and Table 7 present the results for the variables that indicate television shows and movies media exposure. Table 6 indicates the number of television shows and the number of movies each respondent had watched, or the variety of media viewing. As Table 6 indicates, while 2 (1.9%) participants do not watch any of the 26 television shows, 33 (32%) watched 1 to 7 of the television shows, 51 (49.5%) watched 8 to 14 of the television shows, with 17 (16.5%) who watched 15 to 21 of the television shows. While only 1 (1%) participant has never watched any of the 27 movies, 41 (39.8%) have seen 1 to 7 of the movies, 31 (30.1%) have seen 8 to 14 of the movies, 24 (23.3%) have seen 15 to 21 of the movies, and 6 (5.8%) have seen more than 21 of the movies.

Table 6: Number of Television Shows and Movies Respondents Watch

Frequency	Television Shows		Movies	
	N	%	N	%
0	2	1.9	1	1.0
1 to 7	33	32.0	41	39.8
8 to 14	51	49.5	31	30.1
15 to 21	17	16.5	24	23.3
More than 21	0	0.0	6	5.8
Total	103	103	100.0	100.0

Table 7 shows the respondents' cumulative viewing of the 26 television shows and 27 movies. As described in Chapter IV, the cumulative viewing is the sum of all of the respondents' responses for each television show and movie. For example, if a respondent reported seeing 5 television shows at a level of 10 (10 being all the time) on each, he would have a cumulative score of 50. In terms of movies, if a respondent reported seeing 10 movies 7 times each, he would have a score of 70. Table 7 shows an average cumulative television viewing of 48.3, with a standard deviation of 31.1, and an average cumulative movies viewing of 27.0, with a standard deviation of 25.1.

Chapter III indicates that past studies analyze media exposure by adding up the number of hours participants are exposed to ideal images, yet do not specify what is considered high exposure. Since research also lacks the inclusion of the examination of portrayals of gay men in the media, this study cannot determine if this sample had a low or high exposure to media portraying gay men.

Table 7: Cumulative Viewing of Television Shows and Movies

Frequency	Television Shows		Movies	
	N	%	N	%
0	2	1.9	1	1.0
1 to 20	18	17.5	56	54.4
21 to 40	27	26.2	29	28.2
41 to 60	21	20.4	8	7.8
61 to 80	17	16.5	3	2.9
81 to 100	6	5.8	3	2.9
More than 100	12	11.7	3	2.9
Mean	48.3		27.0	
Standard Deviation	31.1		25.1	
Total	103	100.0	103	100.0

Table 8 and Table 9 present the measurements of body dissatisfaction and body satisfaction. These findings are interesting because if a man reported always having body dissatisfaction, it did not mean he also reported never being satisfied. As Table 8 shows, while 11 (10.7%) participants reported always having body dissatisfaction, Table 9 shows that only 6 (5.8%) reported never being satisfied with their body. Likewise, although 31 (30.1%) reported being often dissatisfied with their body, only 18 (17.5%) reported being rarely satisfied with their body. Therefore, it is possible to be both dissatisfied and satisfied with one's body.

Table 8: Frequency of Body Dissatisfaction

Rate of Dissatisfaction	N	%
Never	8	7.8
Rarely	15	14.6
Occasionally	38	36.9
Often	31	30.1
Always	11	10.7
Total	103	100.0

Table 9: Frequency of Body Satisfaction

Rate of Satisfaction	N	%
Never	6	5.8
Rarely	18	17.5
Occasionally	43	41.7
Often	26	25.2
Always	10	9.7
Total	103	100.0

Table 10 and Table 11 show the respondents' concerns of body weight and self-feelings of physical attractiveness. On one hand, Table 10 suggests that over 70% of the 103 respondents either agree (39.8%), or strongly agree (34%) that they worry about their body weight. On the other hand, Table 11 indicates that just because the gay men worry about their body weight does not necessarily mean they felt unattractive. That is, over 70% of the 103 gay men felt either somewhat attractive (49.5%), or greatly attractive (24.3%).

Table 10: Frequency of Body Weight Worry

Body Weight Worry	N	%
Strongly disagree	10	9.7
Disagree	17	16.5
Agree	41	39.8
Strongly agree	35	34.0
Total	103	100.0

Table 11: Self-feelings of Physical Attractiveness

Attractiveness	N	%
Not at all	1	1.0
A little	26	25.2
Somewhat	51	49.5
Greatly	25	24.3
Total	103	100.0

Table 12 represents the respondents' amount of concern with how other people view them. Over 70% of the respondents were either concerned with how other people view them weekly (22.3%), daily (31.1%), or more than once a day (18.4%).

Table 12: Frequency of the Concerns of Others' Opinions

Frequency of Concern	N	%
Never	14	13.6
Yearly	4	3.9
Monthly	11	10.7
Weekly	23	22.3
Daily	32	31.1
More than once a day	19	18.4
Total	103	100.0

Body altering methods are used to examine if the data are consistent with past studies. Table 13A shows methods to alter body weight in the last five years: lifting weights, taking protein powder, maintaining a self-diet, taking diet pills, and bingeing and throwing up. While 58 (56.3%) participants have lifted weights, and 30 (29.1%) have taking protein powder, as a means to gain muscle, and as a result, body weight, there are still some participants who maintain self-diets, take diet pills, and binge and throw up, to lose weight.

Table 13B represents the respondents' frequency of exercise. About 50% of the respondents exercise at least 2 to 6 times per week; however, as seen in Table 13B, most exercise outside of the gym since 40 (38.8%) people never exercise in a gym. Thus, these descriptives support findings that suggest gay men focus on muscle gain (Yelland and Tiggemann 2003) and maintaining a low body weight for a toned body (Shernoff 2002).

Table 13A: Methods to Increase or Decrease Body Weight in the Last Five Years

	Weight Lifting		Protein Powder		Self-Diets		Diet Pills		Binge and Throw up	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	45	43.7	73	70.9	55	53.4	87	84.5	92	89.3
Yes	58	56.3	30	29.1	48	46.6	16	15.5	11	10.7
Total	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0

Table 13B: Frequency of Exercise

Variable	Gym Exercise		Outside Gym Exercise	
	N	%	N	%
Never	40	38.8	5	4.9
Less than once a month	9	8.7	10	9.7
1 to 3 times a month	6	5.8	14	13.6
Once a week	10	9.7	19	18.4
2 to 6 times a week	32	31.1	34	33.0
Daily	6	5.8	21	20.4
Total	103	100.0	103	100.0

Additionally, Table 13C presents the methods to alter outer appearance in the last five years; the methods include hair treatments, hair removal, facials, manicures, pedicures, and wearing make-up. Although over half of the respondents do not alter their outer appearance, 22 (21.4%) get hair treatments, 29 (28.2%) have their hair removed, 35 (34%) get facials, 35 (34%) get manicures and pedicures, and 19 (18.4%) wear make-up, which shows gay men care about muscles and body weight, and other outer appearances.

Table 13C Methods to Alter Appearances in the Last Five Years

	Hair Treatments		Hair Removal		Facials		Nail Treatments		Make-up	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	81	78.6	74	71.8	68	66.0	68	66.0	84	81.6
Yes	22	21.4	29	28.2	35	34.0	35	34.0	19	18.4
Total	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0

Correlation and Regression Analysis

In order to determine if there are any significant relationships between media exposure and body dissatisfaction among the 103 gay men, the first statistical procedure conducted was a correlation test to determine the strength and direction of association between the independent and dependent variables. Table 14 presents the correlations between the media exposure variables (television shows, movies, and hours of television respondents watch each week) and the dependent variables: body dissatisfaction, body satisfaction, worry about body weight, self-feelings of physical attractiveness, and the respondent's concerns of how other people view them.

As Table 14 indicates, there is a significant relationship between television cumulative exposure and body weight worry ($p = .03$), as well as concern of others' views ($p = .03$). In other words, as the respondent's cumulative television exposure increases, the more body weight worry he has, and the more concerned he is of how other people view him. There is a significant relationship between movie cumulative exposure and concern of others ($p = .03$), which means as the respondent's cumulative movie exposure increases, he becomes more concerned how other people view him. The same

significant relationships occur with television shows and movie variety of viewing.

However, there are additional significant relationships between variety of media exposure and the dependent variables. That is, it seems the more television shows ($p = .02$) and movies ($p = .01$) the respondents have seen, the more body dissatisfaction they have.

There is a significant negative relationship between movies variety and body satisfaction ($p = .04$), which means the more types of movies the respondents watch, the less satisfied they are with their body. Finally, there is no significant relationship between number of general hours of television the respondents watch a week and the dependent variables.

Table 14: Correlations between Media Exposure Influences and the Dependent Variables

Influences	Body Dissatisfaction	Body Satisfaction	Body Weight Worry	Physical Attractiveness	Concern of Others' Views
Media Influence					
TV Cumulative	.09	.18	.03*	.41	.03*
Movie Cumulative	.40	.38	.14	.36	.03*
TV Variety	.02*	.13	.03*	.53	.001**
Movie Variety	.01*	.04*	.08	.94	.007**
General TV Hours	.44	.39	.65	.63	.46

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

As a next step, multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if the significant relationships between media portraying gay men and the dependent variables remained after controlling for other variables. Each multiple regression only accounts for television variety and movies variety because the analysis for both media variety and

cumulative media resulted in very similar results. Table 15 indicates, when controlling for age, education, race, relationship status, and television hours per week, the significant relationship between media variety exposure and body dissatisfaction disappears, and hypothesis one is unsupported. There are significant relationships between age and body dissatisfaction ($p = .001$) and white race and body dissatisfaction ($p = .003$). These probabilities indicate older gay men are less dissatisfied with their bodies than younger gay men, but white gay men have more body dissatisfaction than non-white gay men.

Table 15: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Body Dissatisfaction Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, and Hours of Television Per Week, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Body Dissatisfaction		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.04 (.01)	-.41	-3.42*
Education	-.11 (.06)	-.02	-.19
White	.82 (.27)	.39	2.99*
Asian	.15 (.29)	.06	.51
Relationship Status	-.16 (.20)	-.08	-.89
Television Variety	.03 (.03)	.11	.93
Movies Variety	.01 (.02)	.06	.51
Television Hours	.07 (.12)	.06	.59
Constant	3.64		
R ²	.21		

* $p < .05$

To further explore the relationship between media variety exposure and body dissatisfaction, Table 16 presents the results of adding three dependent variables as control variables; the significant relationships remain between age and body

dissatisfaction ($p = .002$) and white race and body dissatisfaction ($p = .001$). New significant relationships exist between concern of others ($p = .000$), body weight worry ($p = .01$), and degree of physical attractiveness ($p = .01$) and body dissatisfaction. In other words, as gay men get older, are white, are concerned how other people view them, are worried about their body weight, or do not feel physically attractive, they are likely to have body dissatisfaction.

Table 16: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Body Dissatisfaction, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, Hours of Television Per Week, Concern of Others, Body Weight Worry, and Degree of Physical Attractiveness, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Body Dissatisfaction		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.03 (.01)	-.30	-3.23*
Education	.01 (.04)	.02	.29
White	.69 (.20)	.32	3.40*
Asian	.12 (.21)	.05	.55
Relationship Status	.11 (.15)	.05	.72
Television Variety	-.002 (.02)	-.01	-.09
Movies Variety	.003 (.02)	.02	.23
Hours of Television	.05 (.09)	.04	.54
Concern of others	.14 (.06)	.22	2.57*
Body weight worry	.50 (.09)	.44	5.40*
Physical attractiveness	-.30 (.10)	-.21	-2.82*
Constant	3.64		
R ²	.60		

* $p < .05$

The most interesting finding for body dissatisfaction is the difference between the R² in Table 15 versus the R² in Table 16. After adding the dependent variables as controls, the R² jumps from .21 to .60. In other words, instead of only 21% of the

variation in body dissatisfaction being explained by the independent variables, the additional dependent variables increase the explanation of body dissatisfaction to 60%. This means concern of others, body weight worry, and degree of feeling physically attractive are more important in determining body dissatisfaction than media exposure. Lastly, with a standardized coefficient of .44, the body weight worry variable has the largest effect on body dissatisfaction, which may mean that body weight is a salient factor for gay male body satisfaction.

Similar regression analysis is conducted in Tables 17 through 22. The only significant relationship in Table 17 is between relationship status and body weight worry ($p = .02$). Although hypothesis two is not supported from the multiple regression analysis, Table 17 indicates that gay men in relationships are less worried about their body weight than gay men not in relationships. After adding the dependent variables as independent control variables, Table 18 shows that the second hypothesis is still unsupported; that is, the significant relationship between media portraying gay men and body weight worry disappears from the correlation in Table 14. However, relationship status remains significant ($p = .03$), and concern of others, as well as the degree of physical attractiveness are significant ($p = .000$, $p = .002$). Therefore, if the participants are concerned with how other people view them, and do not feel physically attractive, they worry more about their body weight.

Table 17: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Body Weight Worry, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, and Hours of Television Per Week, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Body Weight Worry		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.01 (.01)	-.11	-.87
Education	-.03 (.06)	-.06	-.59
White	.10 (.26)	.05	.37
Asian	-.22 (.27)	-.10	-.82
Relationship Status	-.47 (.19)	-.25	-2.47*
Television Variety	.03 (.03)	.15	1.15
Movies Variety	.01 (.02)	.07	.61
Hours of Television	.02 (.12)	.02	.18
Constant	3.21		
R ²	.13		

* p < .05

Table 18: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Body Weight Worry, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, Hours of Television Per Week, Concern of Others, and Degree of Physical Attractiveness, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Body Weight Worry		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	.00 (.01)	.01	.07
Education	-.02 (.05)	-.04	-.39
White	-.03 (.23)	-.01	-.11
Asian	-.40 (.24)	-.19	-1.71+
Relationship Status	-.38 (.17)	-.20	-2.27*
Television Variety	.01 (.02)	.06	.55
Movies Variety	.01 (.02)	.06	.57
Hours of Television	-.001 (.10)	-.001	-.02
Concern of others	.23 (.06)	.38	3.70*
Physical attractiveness	-.37 (.11)	-.28	-3.22*
Constant	3.30		
R ²	.35		

* p < .05 + .05 < p < .10

Table 18 also shows when adding the dependent variables as controls, among gay men with the same concerns of others, and the same level of feelings about physical attractiveness, Asians worry less about their body weight than non-Asians (approaching statistical significance with $p = .09$). Finally, when examining the R^2 in Table 17 verses the R^2 in Table 18, it has increased from 13% to 35%, which means more of the variation in the level of body weight worry is explained by the added dependent variables, especially concern of others, with the highest standardized coefficient of .38.

Table 19 shows the result of the regression for the third hypothesis, which examines the relationship between media portraying gay men and degree of feeling physical attractive. There was no relationship between the two. Thus, hypothesis three is unsupported and there are no other significant relationships in this regression.

Table 19: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Degree of Physical Attractiveness, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, and Hours of Television Per Week, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Physical Attractiveness		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.003 (.01)	-.05	-.38
Education	-.02 (.04)	-.05	-.49
White	-.27 (.21)	-.20	-1.31
Asian	-.30 (.22)	-.18	-1.39
Relationship Status	-.03 (.15)	-.02	-.18
Television Variety	-.02 (.02)	-.11	-.88
Movies Variety	.004 (.02)	.03	.25
Hours of Television	.006 (.09)	.01	.07
Constant	3.53		
R^2	.05		

* $p < .05$

Table 20 shows that hypothesis three is still unsupported; there is no statistically significant relationship between media exposure and the degree to which the respondents felt physically attractive. When the dependent variables (concern of others and body weight worry) are introduced, there is a significant relationship between body weight worry and feelings of physical attractiveness ($p = .002$), in that, the more the participants worry about body weight, the less physically attractive they feel. In addition, the added dependent variables suggest that among gay men with the same concerns of others, and the same level of body weight worries, Asians feel less physically attractive than non-Asians (approaching statistical significance with $p = .09$).

Table 20: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Degree of Physical Attractiveness, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, Hours of Television Per Week, Concern of Others, and Body Weight Worry, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Physical Attractiveness		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.01 (.01)	-.13	-1.00
Education	-.04 (.04)	-.09	-.86
White	-.24 (.19)	-.17	-1.25
Asian	-.35 (.21)	-.21	-1.70+
Relationship Status	-.18 (.14)	-.12	-1.22
Television Variety	-.01 (.01)	-.05	-.39
Movies Variety	.01 (.01)	.10	.55
Hours of Television	.02 (.09)	.02	.20
Concern of others	-.05 (.06)	-.11	-.91
Body weight worry	-.27 (.09)	-.36	-3.23*
Constant	4.69		
R ²	.19		

* $p < .05$ + $.05 < p < .10$

Table 19 and Table 20 once again show an increase in the R^2 from 5% to 19%.

The larger percentage means more of the variation in the degree of feeling physically attractive is explained by the added dependent variables as controls. Here, with a standardized coefficient of .36, body weight worry explains the most variation in the dependent variable; it seems as though the level of feeling physical attractive for gay men is dependent upon body weight worries. Table 21 reveals that hypothesis four is not supported; there is no significant relationship between media portraying gay men and the level of the participants' concern of how other people view them. A significant relationship, however, exists between age and concern of others ($p = .003$), where older gay men are less concerned with how other people view them.

Table 21: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Concern of Others, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, and Hours of Television Per Week, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Concern of Others		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.05 (.02)	-.35	-3.05*
Education	-.09 (.08)	-.11	-1.13
White	.09 (.39)	.03	.23
Asian	.32 (.40)	.08	.78
Relationship Status	-.43 (.29)	-.14	-1.51
Television Variety	.05 (.04)	.14	1.20
Movies Variety	.02 (.03)	.06	.55
Hours of Television	.11 (.18)	.06	.63
Constant	5.37		
R^2	.29		

* $p < .05$

Hypothesis four is still not supported in Table 22; no significant relationship exists between media portraying gay men and concern of others. Significant relationships do exist between age and concern of others ($p = .004$), and between body weight worry and concern of others (.000). These probabilities indicate that as gay men get older, they are less concerned with how other people view them, and if gay men worry about their body weight, they are also more likely to be concerned with how other people view them. The R^2 in Table 21 jumps from 29% to 41% in Table 22; this increase suggests that concerns of how other people view the participants largely has to do with feelings about body weight, especially because of the body weight worry standardized coefficient of .34.

Table 22: Multiple Regression Analysis between Media Variety Exposure and Concern of Others, Controlling for Age, Education, Race, Relationship Status, Hours of Television Per Week, Body Weight Worry, and Degree of Physical Attractiveness, with Standard Error in Parentheses

Independent Variables	Concern of Others		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t
Age	-.04 (.01)	-.31	-2.99*
Education	-.08 (.08)	-.09	-1.04
White	-.02 (.36)	-.01	-.04
Asian	.39 (.38)	.11	1.02
Relationship Status	-.17 (.27)	-.05	-.62
Television Variety	.03 (.04)	.08	.74
Movies Variety	.01 (.03)	.04	.37
Hours of Television	.10 (.16)	.06	.62
Body weight worry	.57 (.16)	.34	3.70*
Physical attractiveness	-.18 (.19)	-.08	-.92
Constant	4.15		
R^2	.41		

* $p < .05$

After the correlation and multiple regression analyses in this chapter, none of the four hypotheses are supported; however, the next two chapters will indicate the findings and implications about age, race, and relationship status, and the dependent variables as control variables. In addition, the next chapters will discuss results, limitations to the study, and possible reasons for these conclusions, as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion

Exploratory Analysis

While the present study did not confirm the four stated hypotheses, the results from the present study have implications both for understanding factors discussed under the critiques of media effects in Chapter III, and the importance of the control variables. To review, past media studies outline a distinct process of body dissatisfaction: viewing of media images, level of attention to media images, internalization of media image, social comparisons to media images, and then body dissatisfaction when replication of media images cannot be attained. With that said, the critiques of media studies begin with the notion that some people do not fall into the process of body dissatisfaction because they do not internalize the ideal media images (Polivy and Herman 2004). In addition, negative impacts of media images are not universal or uniform (Cusumano and Thompson 1997). Therefore, it is possible that the 103 gay men in this sample either did not internalize the ideal portrayals of gay men in the media, or uniformly feel the negative effects of the media images.

Additionally, even though a main effect between portrayals of gay men in the media and body dissatisfaction cannot be seen in this study, it may be possible that people are indirectly replicating media ideals through third-person perceptions (David and Johnson 1998) and pluralistic ignorance (Miller and McFarland 1987). In other

words, according to Park et al. (2007), third person perceptions occur when people believe others are more affected by media images than they are, whereby placing them in pluralistic ignorance, or the state of overestimating what others value to be attractive. As a result, people are constantly trying to live up to third person perceptions, even though others really do not have any more of an investment in media ideals than anyone else. Through this understanding, even though the present study cannot confirm that idealized images of gay men in the media promote social comparisons and body dissatisfaction, gay men might still be indirectly replicating media ideals through third-person perceptions and pluralistic ignorance.

Although there was no significant relationship between the exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media and body concerns of gay men, there were interesting implications resulting from the data analysis, including implications about age, race, relationship status, and the dependent variables (body weight worry, concern of others, and degree of physical attractiveness) as controls. Beginning with age, while some researchers suggest that older gay men become marginal within the gay community and are seen as unattractive by other gay men (Jones and Pugh 2005), the present study shows that older gay men are more satisfied with their bodies, and less concerned with how other people view them than younger gay men (Table 15, 16, 21, and 22). Theoretically, on one hand, these findings do not support minority stress theory, because older gay men as a minority in the gay community should feel more body dissatisfaction and be more concerned of how other people view them, but the opposite is true.

On the other hand, the findings about age do support the theory of hegemonic masculinity. Referring back to the theory section, if the older gay men in the sample currently fit the prevailing hegemonic masculine norms of strength, aggressiveness, and ruggedness, they may be more satisfied with their bodies, making an ageing appearance less critical of an issue. To speculate, it may also be that the younger gay men are the ones going out to the gyms, the clubs, and trying to “pick-up” (Drummond 2005a: 279) guys and be picked-up; therefore, the older gay community might be less concerned with attracting partners. Thus, the greater scrutiny placed on men’s bodies that Drummond (2005a) discusses may only be relevant to those who are trying to compete for potential partners (Siever 1996; Ogden and Taylor 2000; Aruguete et al 2006). In this sense, younger gay men might be more vulnerable to the objectifications of gay men in the media, and feel the need to become like the objects written about under the objectification theory section.

In terms of race, according to Ricciardelli et al. (2007), African American men are more satisfied with their body image than white men. While the present study only has four African American men in the sample, and cannot confirm the findings in the Ricciardelli et al. (2007) study, the present study does show that white gay men are more dissatisfied with their bodies than non-white gay men (Table 15 and 16). It is possible that these findings correspond to Milkie’s (1999) research on social comparisons. That is to say, since the media is dominated by portrayals of white gay men, rather than representing minority gay groups, it is possible that white gay men are more apt to socially compare themselves to the ideals in the media and become more dissatisfied,

whereas minorities have less of an exposure to images to compare themselves to. This finding about white gay men does not support minority stress theory, because instead of non-whites having a double minority status, and thus more vulnerability to body dissatisfaction, it is the white gay men who are more dissatisfied with their bodies than non-white gay men.

There are also two findings about Asian gay men that are approaching statistical significance ($p < .10$ but $> .05$); on one hand, Table 17 and Table 18 suggest that Asians seem to be less worried about their body weight than non-Asians. On the other hand, Table 20 suggests that Asians feel less physically attractive than non-Asians. To speculate, this may indicate three implications: (i) the Asians in the sample may currently have a small BMI, (ii) weight may not be a large factor in feelings of physical attractiveness for Asians, or (iii) the minority stress model may be applicable for Asian gay men. While body weight worry is actually a large factor for body dissatisfaction (seen in Table 16), body weight may not be an issue for Asians. More importantly, attractiveness for Asians may have more to do with being a minority than being a certain weight. That is to say, although it is not the case for African Americans, it is possible that Asians make social comparisons with the prevailing white images they see on television, and feel less physically attractive because they do not look like the white images. Likewise, if Asians had more positive images of themselves in the media, and because body weight may not be a contributing factor for feelings of physical attractiveness, Asians might then feel more positive about their appearance.

This study also suggests that relationship status matters for level of body weight worry. Namely, Table 17 and Table 18 indicate that gay men in relationships are less worried about their body weight than gay men not in relationships. To propose an explanation, Forbes, Jobe, and Richardson's (2006) study indicates that women with boyfriends have less body dissatisfaction than those without boyfriends. And since Williamson and Hartley's (1998) findings suggest that gay men identify themselves with heterosexual women, heterosexual women as well as gay men may be less worried about their body weight when they have boyfriends than when they do not. In relation to objectification theory, to speculate, for the same reason that girls are considered popular in the media when they have boyfriends and go to events like the prom with their dates, this objectification of what is idealized in the media, may suggest why having a boyfriend, partner, or significant other would make one feel more satisfied and less worried about their weight.

Finally, there is something to be said about the dependent variables being more significant as independent variables than the exposure to portrayals of gay men in the media variables. From the multiple regression analyses, body concerns seem to have more to do with how much concern gay men have of other people's views, the level of worry gay men have about their own body weight, and the degree to which gay men feel physically attractive. The most salient factor among the three dependent variables as controls was "worry about body weight," which indicates the implication that the way a gay man feels about himself is contingent upon his physical weight.

As past studies have indicated that social agents like peers, families, and institutions strongly influence and promote values in society (Shroff and Thompson 2006), and research suggests that social comparisons perpetuate negative feelings (Milkie 1999; Lin and Kulik 2002), this study suggests that other people's views and opinions are an important indicator of how gay men feel about themselves. And although this study cannot conclude that social agents are mediators for the images in the media, it is not impossible to suggest that the ideals in the media are perpetuated by the views of others. Thus, if gay men value the opinions and criticisms of others, they may have body dissatisfaction and not feel physically attractive when they cannot live up to other's expectations. Moreover, these findings suggest that aspects of body dissatisfaction are more convoluted than body mass index (BMI) and normative media images; body dissatisfaction might be contingent upon the current ideals within the community the gay man is trying to live up to.

Limitations

The present study did not measure the body mass index (BMI) of the participants, however, this study was not testing for thinness comparisons, it was focused on whether media portraying gay men would affect the body concerns of gay men. Nonetheless, although measuring participants BMI would not have significantly altered the results, this variable might have given a measure to determine if those who were unsatisfied with

their bodies were physically overweight or underweight, or presently physically healthy, despite their reported dissatisfaction levels.

Second, this study did not ask the income of the participants; while this variable may not have directly predicted the body dissatisfaction of the participants, income could have been a significant control variable. Third, as Chapter III indicates that gay community affiliation may be a significant predictor of body dissatisfaction (Beren et al. 1996), the present study may have been stronger had it created a way to test gay community affiliation and proceeded to survey the participants on the subject.

Because many of the respondents reported being both satisfied and dissatisfied with their bodies, this study was limited in the appropriate measures of what creates gay male body satisfaction. And since it is difficult to measure latent variables like media exposure and body dissatisfaction, this study could have benefited from including more sources of media that portray gay men. Although this study did survey the participants on whether they had seen portrayals of gay men in billboards, magazines, internet, and commercials in the last five years (on a yes/no basis), these variables were excluded because there was no way to measure the exposure rate from the reported responses (see Table 31 in Appendix B). A more extensive study would have included portrayals of gay men in billboards, magazines, internet websites, advertisements, pornography, music videos, and other types of media, with an exposure ratings scale. In addition, since the television shows and movies in this study came from the online Queer TV Database, personal choices, and suggestions from gay friends, this study could have benefited from

expanding the shows and films to a larger database that rated the portrayals of gay men in the media as being dominant thin-ideal images, hegemonic masculine images, or neither.

This study might have also benefited from having a better control variable to make the distinction between mainstream media exposure and media exposure with portrayals of gay men in the media. While this study did test for hours of television watched per week versus specific television shows and movies representing gay men, this may not have been sufficient enough to make this distinction.

Finally, a limitation to this study is that the sample of 103 gay men may not have been representative of the general gay male population. A larger sample might have permitted interactions between ethnicity, geographic location, and media exposure. Finally, admittedly, the sample could have either represented hegemonically masculine gay men or gay men who currently reflect the portrayals of gay men in the media; therefore, this study could have benefited from including a sample that better represented varieties of masculinities.

Future Directions

Since the present study was completely quantitative, and quantitative analysis limits participants to numerical responses, it may have led to the lack of true understanding as to why the results occurred. As such, future qualitative research may serve to explain the relationships that occurred between the control variables and the body concerns of the gay men. Specifically, while this research provided some implicit

implications about age, race, relationship status, body weight worry, concern of other's views, and feelings of physical attractiveness, it failed to provide explicit insight as to why these results occurred. With that said, qualitative interviews, open-ended survey questions, and greater voices of the participants might provide better understandings about gay men and their body satisfaction.

Future research should also include a more representative sample of the gay population; including, but not limited to, a sample with a larger number of racial minorities, a larger variation of geographic location, and a larger spread of gay men with hegemonically masculine and effeminate traits. Another important direction is to create more appropriate measurement instruments to properly test factors which alter the satisfaction of gay men, which include instruments to measure the media portraying gay men, BMI of gay men, gay community affiliation, and even income. Furthermore, pre-tests on gay men to determine the best predictors of physical attractiveness, body satisfaction, and positive body image would be worthwhile to decide the best questions to ask on the surveys and in the interviews.

Since one of the limitations to the study was the measurement of media exposure, future research should include more forms of media with portrayals of gay men, and test for the uniformity of dominant images by ratings each type of media. As a last note, since there remain conflicting views as to whether or not the media is a causal factor of body satisfaction, factors such as third-person perceptions, pluralistic ignorance, and internalization, should continue to be evaluated and controlled for in future studies.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Just as past studies indicate that gay men have body dissatisfaction (Shernoff 2002; Kaminski et al. 2005; Hospers and Jansen 2005), the initial findings in this study also support these claims. However, while past research does suggest media is a contributing factor for body dissatisfaction for both men and women (Green and Pritchard 2003; Blowers et al. 2003), and studies indicate that there is a growing market which present gay men in the media (Drummond 2005a; Hopkins 2006), this study can make no significant conclusion as to how portrayals of gay men in the media affect body dissatisfaction for gay men.

As for the specified hypotheses, it was hypothesized that the more gay men are exposed to media portraying gay men, (i) the more body dissatisfaction they will have, (ii) the more worries they will have about their body weight, (iii) the less physically attractive they will feel, and (iv) the more they will be concerned with how other people view them. After controlling for age, education, race, relationship status, hours of television watched per week, and the dependent variables as independent variables, there were no statistically significant relationships between the exposure to media and the dependent variables.

Even though this study is inconclusive about the relationship between media portraying gay men and body dissatisfaction, this study has led to implications about age, race, relationship status, body weight worry, concern of what other people think, and

feelings about physical attractiveness. Findings suggest that older gay men have more body satisfaction, and feel less concerned with how other people view them than younger gay men; white gay men are more dissatisfied with their bodies than non-white gay men; Asians worry less about their body weight, but feel less physically attractive than non-Asian gay men; and gay men in relationships worry less about their body weight than those not in relationships.

Out of the dependent variables as control variables, worry about body weight was the most constant significant factor in each other multiple regression analyses. That is to say, body image concerns may be contingent upon the gay men's worries about their body weight. In addition, while feelings of physical attractiveness may be a significant independent variable because it is a related factor to body satisfaction, concerns of others as a significant independent variable suggests that the opinions of peers affect how the gay men may feel about their bodies.

Finally, the findings in this study confirm aspects of the three theoretical frameworks: objectification theory, the minority stress model, and the theory of hegemonic masculinity. First, since Asians feel less physically attractive than non-Asians, this supports the minority stress theory, where minorities are more vulnerable to distress and dissatisfaction. Second, since white and younger gay men are more dissatisfied with their bodies, this supports objectification theory because those who are more dominantly objectified in the media are more likely to have body dissatisfaction; this result might be because older gay men and minority gay men are not dominantly represented throughout American media. Finally, while not explicitly supporting the

theory of hegemonic masculinity, the finding implicitly suggest that the sample of 103 gay men may currently fit the hegemonic masculine traits, and do not face the stigma of male effeminacy.

In sum, while the initial intent of this study to prove that contemporary images of gay men in the media affect the body concerns of gay men was not met, the implications from this study open a door for future studies.

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APPENDIX A

Consent Form and Questionnaire

San Jose State University Research on Media and Body Satisfaction

Amanda M. Shigihara (M.A. Student)
Principal Investigator

You have been asked to participate in a research study investigation. The purpose of this study is to measure how the exposure to mass media affects the perceptions of gay men. Your participation will help sociologists understand if there is a relationship between the exposure to mass media and the experiences of body satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

If you are under 18 years old, do not complete the questionnaire.

To participate, you will complete the attached questionnaire which involves answering questions about your behavior and feelings toward yourself. This should not take more than 15 minutes.

The anticipated risk may only be your personal discomfort with some of the questions. No one is going to judge you; the focus will be on people in general.

Please **DO NOT** write your name or any other personal information on the questionnaire. This will keep your responses completely anonymous. After collection, the data will be stored in my locked workspace. Although the results of this study may be published, no identifying information will be included; I and the other members of the research team are the only people who may view the completed questionnaires.

Your consent is being given voluntarily. There are no direct benefits or compensations from filling out this questionnaire from the researcher, however, you are indirectly helping sociologists further their studies. You will lose nothing by choosing not to fill out this questionnaire. You may refuse to participate in the study or choose to withdrawn from the study at any time.

Questions about this research may be addressed to Amanda Shigihara (M.A. student) at amshigi@gmail.com. Complaints about the research may be directed to Yoko Baba, PhD., Sociology Department Chair, at (408) 924-4320. Questions about the research subjects' rights, and research-related injury may be presented to Pamela Stacks, PhD., Associate Vice President, Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2480.

Please tear this cover sheet off and keep it for your records. By agreeing to participate in the study, it is implied that you have read and understand the above information.

BODY SATISFACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

1- What is your age? ____

2- What is your race/ethnicity?

☐ Caucasian/white	☐ African American/black
☐ Native Indian	☐ Asian Indian
☐ Chinese	☐ Filipino
☐ Japanese	☐ Korean
☐ Vietnamese	☐ Native Hawaiian
☐ Pacific Islander	☐ Mexican/Mexican American/Chicano
☐ Central American	☐ South American
☐ Spanish/Latino/Hispanic	☐ African
☐ Russian	☐ Middle Eastern
☐ European	☐ Other _____

3- What county do you live in (E.g. Santa Clara County)? _____

4- What is your highest level of education?

☐ Less than 12 years	☐ Other _____
☐ High school graduate or GED	
☐ Vocational training	
☐ Some college	
☐ Two-year college graduate	
☐ Four-year college graduate	
☐ Some post-graduate education	
☐ Masters	
☐ PhD	

5- What is your religious affiliation? If none, write N/A. _____

6- What is your sexual orientation (E.g. gay, bisexual...)? _____

7- What is your relationship status?

☐ Single	☐ Domestic partnership
☐ Dating	☐ Other _____
☐ In a committed relationship	

8- How many hours of television do you watch a week?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1 - 5
- ☐ 6 - 10
- ☐ 11 - 20
- ☐ More than 20

9- On a scale of 0 – 10 (0 being never and 10 being all the time), how often have you watched the following television shows in the last five years?

☐ Will & Grace	☐ Brothers and sisters	☐ Roseanne
☐ Desperate Housewives	☐ Spin City	☐ The Class
☐ Ugly Betty	☐ Queer as Folk	
☐ Dawson's Creek	☐ Six Feet Under	
☐ The Real World (MTV)	☐ Entourage	
☐ Sex and the City	☐ Oz	
☐ Buffy the Vampire Slayer	☐ Top Design	
☐ Inconceivable	☐ Project Runway	
☐ The L Word	☐ Nip/Tuck	
☐ The Book of Daniel	☐ Jack and Bobby	
☐ One Life to Live	☐ Deglassi: the next generation	
☐ Grey's Anatomy	☐ Queer Eye for the Straight guy	

10- In the following movies please write the number of times you have seen each movie next to the title (if never, write 0).

☐ Sweet November	☐ Brokeback Mountain
☐ The Birdcage (with Robin Williams)	☐ My Best Friend's Wedding
☐ Little Miss Sunshine	☐ Rent
☐ As Good as it Gets	☐ Gods and Monsters
☐ In & Out	☐ Y tu mamá también
☐ Wedding Crashers	☐ The Family Stone
☐ Saved!	☐ Kinsey

☐ De-Lovely	☐ Alexander
☐ Running with Scissors	☐ But I'm a Cheerleader
☐ Center Stage	☐ Cruel Intentions
☐ Another Gay Movie	☐ Kinky Boots
☐ Hedwig and the Angry Inch	☐ Bridget Jones' Diary
☐ The Break Up	☐ Far From Heaven
☐ V for Vendetta	

11- In which of the following ways have you seen gay men portrayed in the last year?
(check all that apply)

☐ Billboards	☐ Commercials
☐ Magazines	☐ Internet
☐ TV	☐ Movies
☐ Other _____	

12- How often are you satisfied with your body image?

- ☐ Never
☐ Rarely
☐ Occasionally
☐ Often
☐ Always

13- How often are you unsatisfied with your body image?

- ☐ Never
☐ Rarely
☐ Occasionally
☐ Often
☐ Always

14- How strongly do you agree with the statement: "I worry about my body weight"?

- ☐ Strongly Agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly Disagree

15- How often are you concerned with how other people view you?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Yearly
- ☐ Monthly
- ☐ Weekly
- ☐ Daily
- ☐ More than once a day

16- To what degree do you feel physically attractive?

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ A little
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Greatly

17- Which of the following appearance altering methods have you used in the last five years? (check all that apply)

☐ Self-maintained diets (E.g. the grapefruit diet, where you only eat grapefruits)	
☐ Professional Diet Program (E.g. Weight Watchers)	
☐ The Atkins Diet (cutting out the carbohydrates)	
☐ Diet pills	
☐ Internet diets	☐ Hair treatments
☐ Calorie Counting	☐ Hair removal
☐ Fasting or "crash dieting"	☐ Manicures or Pedicures
☐ Binging and throwing up	☐ Facials
☐ Plastic Surgery	☐ Make-up
☐ Protein Powder	☐ Weight-lifting
☐ Steroids	☐ Other _____

18- How likely are you to purchase a fashion item (clothing, jewelry, etc.) that you saw in the media?

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Hardly
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Very
- ☐ Definitely

19- How frequently do you exercise in the gym?

☐ Never

☐ Less than once a month

☐ 1-3 times a month

☐ Once a week

☐ 2-6 times a week

☐ Daily

20- How often are you physically active outside of a gym (E.g. taking walks or runs)?

☐ Never

☐ Less than once a month

☐ 1-3 times a month

☐ Once a week

☐ 2-6 times a week

☐ Daily

APPENDIX B**Frequency Tables**

Table 23: Current County of Residence

County	N	%
San Francisco	29	28.2
Santa Clara	54	52.4
Alameda	4	3.9
San Mateo	5	4.9
Monterey	1	1.0
Santa Cruz	2	1.9
Contra Costa	3	2.9
Sacramento	2	1.9
Duval, Florida	1	1.0
Cook County, IL	1	1.0
Norfolk, VA	1	1.0
Total	103	100.0

Table 24: Fourteen Specified Categories of Race

Race	N	%
White	49	47.6
Black	4	3.9
Mexican	7	6.8
Latino	10	9.7
Japanese	2	1.9
Chinese	10	9.7
Filipino	7	6.8
Vietnamese	4	3.9
Pacific Islander	2	1.9
Asian Indian	1	1.0
Laotian	1	1.0
European	2	1.9
Irish	1	1.0
Native American	3	2.9
Total	103	100.0

Table 25: Sexual Orientation

Orientation	N	%
Gay	99	96.1
Bisexual	4	3.9
Total	103	100.0

Table 26: Religion

Religion	N	%
No Religion	42	40.8
Catholic	25	24.3
Christian	11	10.7
Protestant	1	1.0
Buddhist	3	2.9
Baptist	4	3.9
Lutheran	1	1.0
Unitarian	1	1.0
Jewish	2	1.9
Spiritual	6	5.8
Agnostic	4	3.9
Mormon	3	2.9
Total	103	100.0

Table 27: Original Frequencies for Age

Age	N	%
18.00	1	1.0
19.00	5	4.9
20.00	1	1.0
21.00	4	3.9
22.00	3	2.9
23.00	6	5.8
24.00	5	4.9
25.00	8	7.8
26.00	2	1.9
27.00	7	6.8
28.00	2	1.9
29.00	1	1.0
30.00	3	2.9
31.00	1	1.0
32.00	3	2.9
33.00	2	1.9
34.00	1	1.0
35.00	2	1.9
36.00	1	1.0
37.00	6	5.8
38.00	1	1.0
39.00	1	1.0
40.00	3	2.9
41.00	3	2.9
42.00	6	5.8
43.00	1	1.0
44.00	1	1.0
45.00	1	1.0
46.00	2	1.9
47.00	1	1.0
48.00	2	1.9
49.00	2	1.9
50.00	1	1.0
51.00	1	1.0
53.00	1	1.0
54.00	3	2.9
55.00	1	1.0
56.00	2	1.9
57.00	1	1.0
58.00	1	1.0
59.00	1	1.0
64.00	1	1.0
65.00	1	1.0
68.00	1	1.0
Total	103	100.0

Table 28: Control Variable Frequency for White Race

Race	N	%
Not White	51	49.5
White	52	50.5
Total	103	100.0

Table 29: Control Variable Frequency for Asian Race

Race	N	%
Not Asian	76	73.8
Asian	27	26.2
Total	103	100.0

Table 30: Control Variable Frequency for Relationship Status

Relationship Status	N	%
Not in a Relationship (single or dating)	56	54.4
In a Relationship (committed, or domestic partnership)	47	45.6
Total	103	100.0

Table 31: Awareness of Portrayals of Gay Men in Billboards, Magazines, Internet, and Commercials in the Last Five Years

Response	Billboards		Magazines		Internet		Commercials	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	34	33.0	5	4.9	13	12.6	40	38.8
Yes	69	67.0	98	95.1	90	87.4	63	61.2
Total	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0	103	100.0