

The Effects of Body Build and Clothing on the Perception
of Female Figures

by

Maureen E. Kummen

A thesis
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in
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this exploratory study was to determine the effects of two cues, body build and clothing, on selected aspects of the perception of female figures. These cues have been discussed separately in the literature. However, little research has been done on their interactive effects.

Response was measured to three body build types, thin, average, and fat. Each was drawn attired in fashionable and unfashionable dress. The instrument employed to measure response was based on one originally developed by Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) to determine the existence and extent of a stereotype for physical attractiveness. Modifications of the instrument suggested by Dermer and Thiel (1975) and Neilsen and Kernaleguen (1976) were incorporated, as well as items designed to determine perceived educational level and social class. The six stimulus figures, along with the instrument, Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale, and a personal data sheet were randomly distributed among students enrolled in three undergraduate courses at the University of Manitoba. Of 201 questionnaires distributed, 170 were used in the analysis of data.

Nonparametric statistical tests were employed to determine whether differences in response to the stimulus figures were statistically significant.

Results indicated that fashionableness of dress had a greater influence on perceptions of the thin and average figures than it did on perceptions of the fat figure. Perceptions of the fashionably dressed thin and average figures were found to be more favorable than perceptions of their unfashionable counterparts.

Of the fashionable figures, the average and thin figures were generally perceived more favorably than the fat figure. However, the fat figure was perceived to be a more competent parent than the thin and average figures in both dress conditions. She was also perceived to be more socially desirable and a more understanding spouse than the other two body types in the unfashionable dress condition.

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INTRODUCTION

Growing interest in more fashionable clothing for fat women suggests that it is timely to consider what consequences, if any, the wearing of such attire may have for a group of people who seem to have been ignored by the fashion industry in the past. Fat women have invariably had difficulty in obtaining stylish clothing; however, this is not surprising considering the cultural preoccupation with female thinness evident in present-day North America (Garner, Garfinkel, Schwartz, & Thompson, 1980; Hankins & Bailey, 1979; Jourard & Secord, 1955). Aldebaran (1975) has stated that

most people who worry about their weight are women, and fat is a woman's problem. The current standards of beauty are set so thin that there is hardly any woman who does not consider herself "overweight". (p. 6)

Although "plump" women have been appreciated historically (Beller, 1977), during the twentieth century they have come to be looked upon with some disfavor by almost everyone, including themselves (Wooley, Wooley & Dyrenforth, 1979). As a group they have been found to exhibit personality characteristics similar to those of oppressed minority members: passivity, withdrawal, a sense of isolation, an acceptance of the dominant group's beliefs

and values regarding themselves, and a heightened sensitivity to and preoccupation with status (Monello & Mayer, 1963). Like many minority groups however, fat women have made attempts to combat prevailing negative attitudes about their body size. "Fat", for example, has become a feminist issue. Aldebaran (1975) contends that

fat women feel guilty, and that guilt comes from the belief that we are deliberately making ourselves unattractive to men. We are accused of satisfying ourselves--by eating--rather than sacrificing our comfort to men. (p. 6)

Lobby groups have also been formed. Millman (1980), in her book Such a Pretty Face--Being Fat in America, has described the objectives of the National Association to Aid Fat Americans (NAAFA):

to call attention to the exclusion, exploitation and psychological oppression of fat people and to press for changes in the ways fat people are regarded and treated. Its central message is that it's all right to be fat. (p. 4)

In Canada, a similar organization, "Large as Life", was created initially as a response to "clothing manufacturers who [refused] to design plunging necklines and sexy slits for the large woman" (Rabkin, 1982, p. 50). This group hoped to attain goals similar to those of the NAAFA: "to promote increased self-acceptance and to educate the public about obesity in order to decrease the 'social stigma placed on fatness'" (Rabkin, 1982, p. 50).

The concept that women can be "big and beautiful" ("Big is in," 1981) has not gone unnoticed by some

marketers. At least two fashion magazines for fat women began publication in the early 1980's: Big Beautiful Woman and It's Me--The Large Lifestyle Magazine. The editor of one has encouraged her readers to "stop feeling guilty about being large size and concentrate on being the attractive person that you are" (Shaw, 1981, p. 4). Another magazine has professed to help meet the fashion and emotional needs of fat women with articles such as "Accepting Yourself and Improving Your Self Image" (Feinburg, 1981). Several books aimed at building the confidence of fat women have also been published, with titles such as Fat Can Be Beautiful--Stop Dieting, Start Living, Making It Big, Great Big Beautiful Doll, and Fat Power: Whatever You Weigh is Right.

Clothing manufacturers and retailers have also realized that fat women seem to be becoming more self-accepting and more fashion and image conscious. A writer in a trade journal stated: "No longer is the consumer hesitant to 'put a lot of money on her back'" ("Upscale designers," 1981). The fashion industry has apparently recognized the financial possibilities of this new target market. It has begun to capitalize on the potential of "large-size" business ("Large-size dresses," 1980) with large-sized designer collections, improved and expanded "women's world" departments, and specialty clothing stores for fat women ("Upscale designers," 1981). In Canada, the major chain of stores specializing in the merchandising of

women's and young women's large-sized apparel has enjoyed unprecedented growth and the purchase of its stock has been recommended by at least two investment firms (Soganich, 1981a). Another clothing chain has opened several new stores with high-fashion clothing for fat women and these too appear to be enjoying some success (Soganich, 1981b).

Fat women have thus apparently begun to indulge the interest they have always had in clothing (Mucha, 1980) by purchasing higher quality, more fashionable, and more expensive clothing than they have in the past. Thus, it may be of interest for them to learn whether dress is a valuable tool in countering negative attitudes held about them, whether dress will help them become as socially acceptable as their thinner sisters, or whether a return to the age-old regimen of diet and exercise is warranted.

Purpose and Justification

The purpose of this investigation was to determine the effects of two cues, body build and clothing, on selected aspects of person perception. These cues and the impact each has on an individual's perception of others have been discussed separately in the literature. However, little research has been done on their interactive effects.

Objectives

The objectives of this investigation were:

1. To determine whether there are differences in the way fashionably and unfashionably dressed female stimulus figures of three different body builds--thin, average, and fat--are perceived.
2. To determine if response will differ to the body build and dress of the stimulus figures according to certain respondent characteristics.

Hypotheses

The following research hypotheses were tested:

1. There are differences between the perceptions of fashionably dressed thin, average, and fat female stimulus figures and perceptions of their unfashionably dressed counterparts with respect to the following:
 - a) Social Desirability Index
 - b) Social and Professional Happiness Index
 - c) Likelihood of Marriage
 - d) Marital Happiness Index
 - e) Marital Disaster Index
 - f) Parental Competence Index
 - g) Social Class
 - h) Educational Level
 - i) Occupational Status
2. There are differences in subjects' perceptions of fashionably dressed thin, average, and fat female figures and in their perceptions of unfashionably dressed thin, average, and fat female figures with respect to the indices listed above.
3. Subjects differ in their responses to female body build and dress according to certain characteristics.

- a) Subjects differ in their responses to female body build and dress according to their sex, background (urban versus rural), socioeconomic status, and university faculty.
- b) Subjects differ in their response to female body build according to their own body build and ethnic background.
- c) High and low self-esteem subjects differ in their responses to attractive female figures.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were used in this investigation:

1. Person perception - involves both the judgments made about people as objects (e.g., attractive, well-dressed) and the impression formed of people in terms of personality characteristics, intentions, needs, habits, values (Warr & Knapper, 1968).
2. Attitude - represents a person's evaluation of an entity (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977).
3. Stigma - refers to an attribute that is deeply discrediting (Goffman, 1963). Goffman listed three types of stigma: abominations of the body; blemishes of individual character; and tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion.
4. Stereotype - is defined as a generalized impression of a group, "acquired by individuals from a number of sources, including sometimes direct experience with members of the stereotyped group" (Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969, p. 1). Karlins et al. further define a social stereotype as a collection of traits assigned members of a category by a given population of judges.
5. Somatyping - a method developed by Sheldon (1940) that quantifies three primary components of human physical structure:
 - a) Endomorphy - the first component rates softness and roundness. When endomorphy predominates, there is a general softness and roundness in all regions of the body, a large abdomen mass, and relatively small hands and feet.

- b) Mesomorphy - the second component rates a combination of bone and muscle development. When mesomorphy predominates, a massive and muscular chest dominates over the abdomen, with strong muscular relief and prominent body joints.
- c) Ectomorphy - the third component rates linearity and fragility. When ectomorphy predominates, slenderness, lankiness, and thinness prevail, with delicate bone structure and stringy muscles (Seltzer & Mayer, 1964).

According to Sheldon's method of somatyping, the number 1 is assigned to represent the least degree of a component and the number 7 the greatest degree. An individual is therefore designated by three numerals: the extreme endomorph by 711, the extreme mesomorph by 171, and the extreme ectomorph by 117. Sheldon felt that the commonest college male somatypes fell between the 353 or balanced mesomorphy and the 344 or balanced midrange mesomorphic ectomorphy. On the other hand, Sheldon considered women to be much more endomorphic than men and felt that the commonest college female somatype was a 533, or balanced endomorph.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of literature related to the investigation is presented under the headings of (a) person perception, (b) body build as a cue in person perception, (c) clothing as a cue in person perception, and (d) person-clothing interaction.

Person Perception

The important and apparently universal tendency of people to form extensive impressions of others on the basis of very limited information about them (Freedman, Carlsmith & Sears, 1970) has often been noted in the literature. According to Allport (1937), a

perceiver first observes an object identifiable as a person, then as a person to whom certain properties are attributable. The properties are inferred from the cues presented by the object person which the perceiver notices. (p. 500-501)

Goffman (1959) stated that

if unacquainted with the individual, observers can glean cues from his conduct and appearance which allow them to apply their previous experience with individuals roughly similar to the one before them. (p. 1)

Under many circumstances, and especially in limited contact situations, people are willing to make judgments about a large number of another person's characteristics

based on very brief exposure to that individual (Freedman et al., 1970). Judgments made under these conditions are particularly noteworthy in that they are often shared and accepted by those in a given social world. Social worlds are described by Lindesmith, Straus and Denzin (1975) as groupings of people "bound together through networks of communication--whether the members are geographically proximate or not--and because they share important symbols" (p. 96). Shared symbols thus allow people to make similar estimations of character based on the cues that a target person presents. For example, under brief exposure, subjects have judged spectacled people as having higher IQ's than nonspectacled people (Argyle & McHenry, 1971). Similarly, subjects have attributed greater financial and occupational status to tall men than to short men, as well as perceiving them to be more attractive (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Lerner & Moore, 1974).¹ Cues such as spectacles and height may therefore function as symbols of such characteristics as intelligence, status, and attractiveness.

Physical attractiveness has often been studied as a cue in person perception, although there has been "a lack of clear data on the parameters which define physical beauty" (Horvath, 1979, p. 145). Rather, "the 'truth by consensus

¹ Height has not been found to have the same effect on the perceived status and attractiveness of women, however (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Lerner & Moore, 1974).

method' has been used to obtain 'objective' categories of target attractiveness" (Lucker, Beane & Guire, 1981, p. 57). Investigations into the phenomenon of physical attractiveness generally involve the prerating, by peers of intended subjects, of head and shoulders photographs. The photographs are rated as high, moderate, or low in physical attractiveness and are then shown to subjects who are asked to make judgments of certain of the target person's characteristics (Lucker et al., 1981). Results of these investigations usually show that persons rated as unattractive are associated with the negative or undesirable pole of trait scales, that is, with words such as insensitive, unsure, and sad. Highly attractive persons, on the other hand, are judged significantly more positively. That is, they are associated with words such as perceptive, confident, and happy (Miller, 1970). Physically attractive individuals are also seen as having more socially desirable personalities, possessing traits such as warmth, kindness, and sincerity, and are perceived as leading happier and more successful lives than physically unattractive individuals (Dermer & Thiel, 1975; Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972).

While the results of inquiries such as those mentioned above show consistency in the way stimulus cues are perceived and interpreted, it must be noted that in the majority of cases subjects have viewed target persons only indirectly, that is, through photographs or slides. Warr

and Knapper (1968) caution that a cue that is singled out as important in the indirect perception of an individual may be less significant among the inputs and cues available in direct person perception.

Body Build as a Cue in Person Perception

Sheldon's Somatypes

For centuries people have assumed body build to be an accurate indicator of an individual's character (McCandless, 1966; Sheldon, 1940). Indeed, by the early part of the twentieth century, according to Sheldon (1940), correlations had been established "between preponderance of vertical measurements and mental ability, and also a low negative relation between lateral or horizontal preponderance and mental ability" (p. 14).

In light of the results of these early studies, Sheldon (1940) embarked upon an investigation into the relationship between human physical structure and temperament. By studying the photographs of 4,000 college-age men, he and his colleagues were able to isolate three extreme components of human physique. These he labelled as "endomorphie", "mesomorphie", and "ectomorphie" (see Chapter 1, Definition of Terms). By subsequently interviewing and observing a group of white male college students and academics, Sheldon tried to determine "what primary components or elemental factors [were] present in

human temperament" (Sheldon, 1942, p. 14). He succeeded in building up "clusters of traits [which] showed consistently positive intercorrelations among themselves . . . [and it] . . . became evident that three distinct nuclei of this sort were present" (Sheldon, 1942, p. 14). These nuclei he called viscerotonia, somatotonia, and cerebrotonia, and some of the characteristics Sheldon associated with each "dynamic component of temperament" are listed in Table 1.

After further research again involving mainly white male college students and graduates, he concluded that definite correlations existed between endomorphism and viscerotonia, mesomorphism and somatotonia, and between ectomorphism and cerebrotonia. Sheldon (1949) later contended that a biological link existed between human physical structure and behavior based on the genetic makeup of individuals. However, McCandless (1966) has stated that

even linkages between body build and personality . . . should be found, it is not necessary to go to genetics to account for them. If a certain type of body build or quality arouses characteristic and consistent negative or positive reactions, then, according to social learning theory, predictable and differential types of personality development will occur. (p. 303)

Although Sheldon's work has been strongly and tellingly criticized (McCandless, 1966, p. 303), his classification system has served as the basis for many further investigations into the use of body build as a perceptual cue in the ascription of characteristics to individuals. Some researchers, such as Strongman and Hart

Table 1

Some Characteristics Associated by Sheldon with
the Three "Dynamic Components of Temperament"

Cerebrotonia (associated with ectomorphism)	- love of privacy - mental overintensity - sociophobia - unpredictability of attitude - apprehensiveness - secretiveness of feeling - emotional restraint - need of solitude when troubled - orientation toward the later periods of life
Somatotonia (associated with mesomorphism)	- love of physical adventure - need for and enjoyment of exercise - love of dominating, lust for power - love of risk and chance - competitive aggressiveness - ruthlessness - need for action when troubled - orientation toward the goals and activities of youth
Viscerotonia (associated with endomorphism)	- love of polite ceremony - indiscriminate amiability - love of physical comfort - greed for affection and approval - orientation to people - tolerance - complacency - need of people when troubled - orientation toward childhood and family relationships

Note. From The Varieties of Temperament (p. 26) by
W. H. Sheldon, 1940, New York: Harper & Row.

(1968), have used Sheldon's list of traits to determine the extent of body build stereotypes. To ascertain whether a relationship was perceived to exist between body type and personality, the latter formed Sheldon's characteristics into questions that would elicit quantifiable answers. Others have also used Sheldon's lists of characteristics or modified versions of them in related research (e.g., Cortes & Gatti, 1965; Dibiase & Hjelle, 1968; Yates & Taylor, 1978). Some of the stimulus figures employed in these investigations have also been based on Sheldon's photographed and hand-drawn representations of the various body build types. Stimuli have been in the form of male and/or female silhouettes (e.g., Brodsky, 1954; Caskey & Felker, 1971; Dibiase & Hjelle, 1968; Kirkpatrick & Sanders, 1978; Wells & Siegel, 1961), line drawings (e.g., Iwawaki & Lerner, 1976; Iwawaki & Chihara, 1976; Lerner, Karabenick, & Meisels, 1975; Lerner & Pool, 1972; Lerner & Schroeder, 1971b; Staffieri, 1972, 1967; Yates & Taylor, 1978), or photographs (e.g., Iwawaki & Lerner, 1974; Lerner, 1969a, 1969b; Lerner & Gellert, 1969).

It should be noted at this point that throughout this review of the literature, the words used to indicate fat, average, and thin persons or stimulus figures will be those used by the original researchers. This follows the example of Wooley et al. (1979), who state that the words endomorphism, mesomorphism, and ectomorphism are often used

by researchers as descriptive terms, as synonyms of "fat", "average", and "thin", respectively (e.g., Staffieri, 1967). They state further that these terms often correspond only roughly to Sheldon's somatypes.

Perceptions of Body Build Held by Children

Many investigations involving the use of children as subjects have focused on discovering the age at which the latter begin to consistently use physique as a cue in person perception. Staffieri (1967) had 6 to 10-year-old boys indicate which adjectives of a 39-word list would best describe male adult and child silhouettes of the three body build types. He found that

all the significant adjectives assigned to the mesomorphic image were favorable [e.g., strong, best friend, clean, lots of friends, healthy, honest, brave, smart] . . . ; the adjectives assigned the endomorph were unfavorable (socially) and primarily socially aggressive [e.g., cheats, argues, gets teased, lazy, lies, mean, ugly, dirty, stupid]; the adjectives assigned to the ectomorph were primarily unfavorable personally and of a generally socially submissive type [e.g., quiet, worries, sneaky, afraid, sad, weak]. . . .
(p. 103)

Staffieri did not find the assignment of adjectives to be related to the body build of the subject who assigned them, and most of the subjects clearly preferred to look like the mesomorphic image.

The age at which body build stereotypes begin to manifest themselves was investigated further by Lerner and his colleagues. Lerner and Gellert (1969) asked male and female kindergarten children:

1. Which photographs of a series depicting peers of chubby, thin, or average builds looked most like themselves.
2. Which they would and would not want to look like.
3. To identify a classmate who looked like each photograph.

A significant number of the children tested "had the capacity to discriminate some differences in the body builds of same-sexed age mates" (p. 40), and significant proportions of the subjects not only distinguished chubby peers from others, but displayed an overwhelming aversion to resembling the chubby figures. Lerner and Gellert concluded that "negative attitudes toward fatness . . . were already developed among kindergarten children" but stated that there was "no evidence for a corresponding dislike for thinness or of a preference for medium builds" (p. 461), as Staffieri (1967) had found.

Studies were later conducted by Lerner and Schroeder (1971a, 1971b) using other kindergarten groups. Modifications of the method described above were used, and the children's active vocabularies about body build were assessed. Results indicated an awareness of body build attitudes by the subjects and "a physique preference consistent with their society's favorable orientation toward average body builds" (Lerner & Schroeder, 1971b, p. 538). The previously mentioned aversion toward fat peers was also confirmed.

Using the concept of personal space, Lerner, Karabenick, and Meisels (1975) later verified children's antipathy toward the endomorphic figure. In an earlier study, Lerner (1973) had defined personal space as "the area immediately surrounding the individual in which the majority of his interactions with others take place" (p. 230) and had determined that the distance placed between members of dyads decreased as the degree of attributed liking increased. Children from kindergarten through the third grade (5 to 8-year-olds) were therefore asked to indicate how close they would want to come to side-view drawings of same-age ectomorphs, mesomorphs, and endomorphs by moving a sex-appropriate picture of an average-build child toward the stimulus. Significantly greater distances were maintained toward the endomorphic figure than toward the other two body build types, and there was a grade-associated increase in space used toward this stimuli.

Lerner (1969a) and Lerner and Korn (1972) also showed that consistent perceptions of body build types existed in boys of greater-than-kindergarten age. In the earlier study, 10 to 20-year-old male respondents were asked to match 30 descriptors of various personality traits and social behaviors with Sheldon's (1942) photographs of endomorphic, mesomorphic, and ectomorphic men who the respondents believed best fit the descriptions. No significant differences were found in the attribution of

descriptions to physiques between age levels. However, as Staffieri (1967) had found, mesomorphs were generally associated with socially positive characteristics such as having many friends, making the best athlete, and being the most wanted as a friend, whereas endomorphs and ectomorphs were associated with socially negative characteristics. For the endomorph, stereotypic characteristics included being the poorest athlete, drinking and eating the most, eating the oftenest, making the worst soldier, and being the least likely to be chosen as leader; for the ectomorph these characteristics included making a poor father, enduring pain the least, and being the most likely to have a nervous breakdown.

Lerner and Korn (1972) obtained similar results to Staffieri (1967) using a sample of 5 to 20-year-old males who had been rated by the experimenter and the subjects' teachers as being either of average or chubby build. Subjects were asked to complete several tasks. These included:

1. Choosing one of a series of side-view figure drawings of same-age ectomorphic, mesomorphic, or endomorphic males that would best match each of 56 physical, social, and personal attributes.
2. Describing the attributes as "good" or "bad", with good being defined as "'something you would want other people to say about you or think is nice to say about someone else,' and with 'bad' being defined oppositely" (Lerner & Korn, 1972, p. 912).
3. Making a body build identification and preference response.

Lerner and Korn found that the attribution of bad items to the endomorph and good items to the mesomorph was increasingly associated with age, but there were no significant differences obtained as a function of the subject's body build. In addition, almost none of the subjects, regardless of age, preferred to look like the endomorph. Rather, the majority, especially the 15 to 20-year-olds, preferred to look like the mesomorph.

Some sex differences have been found to exist in the stereotyping of body builds by children. Caskey and Felker (1971) used Staffieri's (1967) list of adjectives with female body type silhouettes to determine if girls in Grades 2 to 5 associated specific characteristics with body build in the same manner as boys did. They found that the ectomorphic silhouette was assigned socially favorable characteristics significantly more often than the other body builds (e.g., best friend, lots of friends, kind, neat, happy, pretty, smart), while the mesomorphic silhouette was assigned only physically favorable adjectives (e.g., strong, healthy, brave). The ectomorph was assigned physically unfavorable characteristics like sick and weak significantly more often. Similar to the boy subjects mentioned previously, girl subjects did not attribute a greater number of favorable characteristics to the silhouette resembling their own body build type. Rather, girls of all three body types consistently perceived the endomorphic silhouette

negatively, associating it with such characteristics as tattles, worries, gets teased, afraid, dirty, lonely, lazy, sloppy, mean and ugly.

Staffieri (1972) found a similar tendency to assign characteristics with unfavorable connotations to a female endomorphic full-body silhouette in his group of 7 to 11-year-old female subjects. However, with this group, the mesomorph rather than the ectomorph was assigned more favorable characteristics (e.g., best friend, happy, helps others, polite, brave, good looking for the mesomorph versus quiet and clean for the ectomorph). The majority of the girls showed a preference for looking like the mesomorphic figure, a preference which did not vary with age.

Mathes's (1972) research involving male and female school children in the first, third, and sixth grades has confirmed Staffieri's (1967, 1972) research described above. All subjects, regardless of their own body build and sex, preferred to look like a person with a mesomorphic body build. This preference increased with age and was particularly evident with the boys. On the other hand, none of the subjects wanted to resemble an endomorph, regardless of their sex, age, or personal body build. A tendency to assign favorable characteristics to a mesomorphic silhouette and unfavorable characteristics to an endomorphic silhouette was also evident with Mathes's subjects, however, the girls assigned more favorable characteristics to the ectomorph than the boys did.

Not only are obese children the most negatively perceived when compared to mesomorphic and ectomorphic peers, but they are also so perceived when compared to peers with physical disabilities. Richardson, Goodman, Hastorf, and Dornbusch (1961) and Goodman, Dornbusch, Richardson, and Hastorf (1963) asked children to rank six line drawings depicting children of their own sex with various handicaps according to whom they liked best. Subject groups included (a) 10 to 11-year-old urban handicapped and nonhandicapped children of low socioeconomic status and of various races and religions, (b) rural nonhandicapped children, (c) urban nonhandicapped children of middle and high socioeconomic status, (d) children of low socioeconomic status and various races and religions who were residents of a psychiatric institution, and (e) institutionalized and noninstitutionalized mentally retarded children from upper and lower income families. The investigators found that the drawings were, with some exceptions, ranked as follows:

1. A child with no physical handicap.
2. A child with crutches and a brace on the left leg.
3. A child sitting in a wheelchair with a blanket covering both legs.
4. A child with the left hand missing.
5. A child with a facial disfigurement on the left side of the mouth.
6. An obese child.

The only subjects other than the mentally disturbed and retarded children who varied the ranking order shown above were Jewish boys and girls of low socioeconomic status. The Jewish respondents ranked the facially disfigured and obese stimuli second and fourth respectively. As well, the concordance measure for this group was higher than for the other groups. Goodman et al. (1963) attributed the more positive predisposition of the Jewish subjects toward the obese figure to the belief that "the well-fed stockily built Jewish child is often viewed by other Jews as one who is both healthy and loved" (p. 434). The finding that the concordance measure for these subjects was higher than those of the other groups Goodman et al. attributed to the fact that Jews have been found to be "more homogenous in the expression of certain values than many other religious or ethnic groups" (p. 434). The rank order of the drawings of the retarded and mentally disturbed subjects was accounted for by their inability to learn the different values accorded to physical appearance by the dominant culture.

DeJong (1980), using high school girls as subjects, found that unless an obese adolescent target offered a plausible reason for her condition, in this case a thyroid problem, or showed some evidence of recent weight loss, her character was derogated. He found that an obese target who indicated that she had a thyroid problem was perceived as more self-disciplined and less self-indulgent than an obese

target who presented no reason for her body size. Similarly, an obese target who claimed a substantial weight loss was perceived as having greater self-control than a target who did not make this claim, although the former was still viewed more negatively than the obese target with the thyroid problem. DeJong thus concluded that

the extremely negative attitudes expressed toward the obese seem to arise from the belief that obesity is caused by self-indulgence, gluttony, or laziness. (p. 77) . . . It is not the mere fact that obese people are physically deviant which causes them to be derogated, but that they are assumed to be responsible for their deviant status. (p. 85)

Perceptions of body build held by children of other cultures. Although the studies described up to this point have employed American children as subjects, there is some evidence that the body build stereotypes discussed above are shared to a degree by children of other countries. It should be noted however, that this is not a universal phenomenon. Hunt (1972), for example, stated that female obesity is much admired among urbanized Zulus in South Africa. Nonetheless, North American stereotypes are evident to some extent in Mexico and Japan and are certainly evident in Britain.

Richardson (1971) repeated the studies of Richardson et al. (1961) and Goodman et al. (1963) described above using a wider spectrum of handicapping conditions (e.g., double arm amputation, leg amputation), as well as drawings of children of normal and skinny builds. Subjects were 10

to 11-year-old males and females living in London, England, and, like the subjects of Richardson et al. and Goodman et al., they were asked to indicate which of the children shown in the drawings they liked best. Of the 21 stimuli, the obese child was ranked fourteenth when male and female rankings were considered together. Girls ranked the obese girl fifteenth; boys ranked the obese boy twelfth. Although the stimuli with normal and skinny builds were tied for first position when male and female rankings were considered together, when taken separately, boys ranked the boy with the normal build first while the girls ranked the girl with the skinny build first.

Lerner and Pool (1972), using the materials and procedure employed by Lerner and Korn (1972), found that fourth, fifth and sixth grade Mexican children attributed negative characteristics to male endomorphic and ectomorphic figures, but positive characteristics to male mesomorphic figures. There was some evidence of cultural differences--the mesomorphic figure was "less often attributed positive traits in Mexican as opposed to American culture; similarly, negative traits were less often attributed to the endomorph" (p. 53).

In a similar vein, Lerner and Iwawaki (1975), again using Lerner and Korn's (1972) methods and procedure, found that 14 to 15-year-old Japanese males and females evaluated the male mesomorphic body build in positive terms. However,

they also evaluated the endomorph and ectomorph equally negatively, unlike their North American counterparts in Lerner and Korn's (1972) study. As mentioned above, the American subjects perceived the endomorph more negatively than they did the ectomorph.

Lerner, Iwawaki, and Chihara (1976), using Lerner, Karabenick, and Meisel's (1975) methodology, found that kindergarten, first, second, and third grade Japanese children exhibited the same aversion toward male and female endomorphic figures as did their American peers in terms of preferred distance from side-view drawings of male and female endomorphs, mesomorphs and ectomorphs.

Perceptions of Body Build Held by College Students

Research with college-age subjects indicates that they share the body build stereotypes held by children. Brodsky (1954), for example, asked a group of male college students which of five male body build silhouettes (endomorph, endo-mesomorph, mesomorph, ecto-mesomorph, ectomorph) would possess the least and most of a list of 25 characteristics. He summarized his findings by stating that regardless of the body build of the subjects, the endomorph was perceived as

an essentially undesirable individual, suited for nothing except the consuming of large quantities of food. The mesomorph . . . [emerged] as all things positive and good. . . . The ectomorph . . . [was] visualized as a friendless bundle of collapsing nerves. (p. 11)

Similarly, female college students were found by Lerner (1969b) to associate negative behavioral descriptions with male endomorphs and ectomorphs while generally attributing socially positive characteristics to male mesomorphs. Using the methodology and materials of his earlier (1969a) investigation Lerner found a high significant correspondence between the judgments made of body build by his female respondents and those made by the 10 to 20-year-old males involved in his previous research. The endomorph was again described as the most frequent and largest eater and drinker, the poorest athlete, the worst soldier, and the least preferred as a personal friend. The ectomorph was described as smoking three packs of cigarettes a day, being the least aggressive, and again, as being the most likely to have a nervous breakdown. The mesomorph was attributed with such characteristics as having many friends, making the best athlete and soldier, being elected leader, being the most wanted as a friend, never having a nervous breakdown, and as being the most aggressive.

Another sample of male undergraduates judged the mesomorphic silhouette as the one they would most prefer to resemble, and described it as being more active, energetic, and dominant than endomorphic or ectomorphic silhouettes. Brodsky's (1954) stereotype of the ectomorph as a "bundle of nerves" was reaffirmed:

The ectomorphic silhouette was seen by all subjects as more anxious than the remaining two silhouettes. . . . The endomorphic and

ectomorphic silhouettes were both rated as more withdrawn, shy and dependent than the mesomorphic silhouette. (Dibiase & Hjelle, 1968, p. 1145)

Yates and Taylor (1978) also found that the mesomorphic physique was most preferred by college students. Subjects were shown line drawings traced from Sheldon's (1954) three major somatypes and asked to rank them from "most preferred" to "least preferred". Eighty percent of the respondents ranked the mesomorph first; 70 percent ranked the mesomorph as the most preferred followed by the ectomorph and endomorph, respectively.

Using 60 of the characteristics associated with Sheldon's three major personality types, Yates and Taylor (1978) asked a second group of male and female college students to assign each characteristic to a drawing of one of the three basic physiques as described above. Sixty-two percent of the assignments were in agreement with Sheldon's system and subjects were most accurate in assigning somatotonic (mesomorphic) characteristics. They were least accurate in assigning viscerotonic (endomorph) characteristics. Since for 43 of the 60 items the physique assigned most often was the one assigned by Sheldon, Yates and Taylor concluded that generally, Sheldon's theory corresponded to cultural stereotypes.

Strongman and Hart (1968) formed Sheldon's somatotonic characteristics into questions that would elicit quantifiable answers and found that their subjects, male and

female college students, associated the three body build types with several characteristics at significant levels. Subjects were asked to consider one of three written physical descriptions of either an endomorph, mesomorph, or ectomorph and to answer questions according to a 5-point scale, for example:

Is his voice unrestrained?

- 2 A lot less than other people in general
- 1 A little less than other people in general
- 0 The same as other people in general
- +1 A little more than other people in general
- +2 A lot more than other people in general.

(Strongman & Hart, 1968)

Endomorphs were linked with such characteristics as a greed for affection and approval, an orientation toward people, an orientation toward childhood and family relationships, and complacency. Mesomorphs were seen as having a love of physical adventure and an orientation toward youth, as being competitive and aggressive, and as having a love for domination and power. Ectomorphs on the other hand, were perceived as being apprehensive, inhibited socially, secretive, and emotionally restrained.

Hiller (1981) used a projective technique in an exploratory study to determine the degree to which overweight operated as a "master status"--that is, the extent to which body image overwhelmed other attributes.

Male and female college students were asked to write a story about a male or female overweight or normal weight character as well as to describe the personality of their characters using 20 semantic differential scale items. Stimuli were presented either as written descriptions or as drawings. Hiller found that overweight stimuli were more often associated with negative stories and unpleasant personalities than were normal weight stimuli and that this association was much stronger for female targets than for male targets. Additionally, female subjects were more likely to stigmatize the overweight stimuli than were male subjects.

Since Hiller (1981) found pictures to be more effective than written descriptions in calling forth the associations found in the study described above, only drawings were used as stimuli in a later replication. Hiller (1982) also asked subjects, again male and female college students, to "rate 10 types of people having physical handicaps or statuses typically stigmatized [e.g., Ku Klux Klan member, Communist, ex-convict, lesbian], including both the obese and overweight, on a 7-point social distance scale" (p. 109). Again, overweight stimuli were associated with negative stories and unpleasant personality characteristics. However, overweight male targets were described more negatively than female targets on semantic differential scale items. In terms of the social distance

scale, overweight or obese persons were more stigmatized than physically handicapped persons, but were less stigmatized than those persons associated with disapproved behaviors or ideologies. Hiller (1982) concluded that

evidence provided in both studies indicated that overweight or obesity may indeed operate as a master status which causes others to make unfounded assumptions about personality characteristics hence hindering the ability to see the overweight person's unique qualifications as an individual. (p. 112)

Perceptions of body build held by college students of other cultures. Australian university students were found by Harris, Harris, and Bochner (1982) to hold some of the same perceptions of obese stimuli as their North American counterparts. Subjects were provided with a written description of a target person whose weight and sex were manipulated (average versus overweight, male versus female). In addition, the target was either described as wearing glasses, or no mention of glasses was made. Subjects were asked to rate the targets on twelve 7-point semantic differential scales. Harris et al. found that, regardless of the sex of subjects, male and female obese targets were characterized as significantly less active, attractive, and athletic than were targets of normal weight. There was also a nonsignificant tendency for obese targets to be described as less intelligent, hardworking, popular, successful, and appropriately sex-typed. Since the sex of the targets did not interact with the effect of obesity,

Harris et al. stated that "apparently the public view of obesity is so negative that it is not differentially sensitive to further manipulations of a person's status (p. 511).

Iwawaki and Lerner (1974, 1976) attempted to verify the existence of North American body build stereotypes in an Eastern cultural setting by using Japanese college students as subjects. In the earlier study Iwawaki and Lerner employed Lerner's (1969a, 1969b) stimuli and verbal descriptions and found that, as with Lerner's (1969a, 1969b) subjects, the mesomorph was perceived positively overall. However, Japanese subjects made the greatest number of negative attributions toward the ectomorph rather than toward the endomorph as the Americans had done. Iwawaki and Lerner speculated that the implications of chubbiness may have been different in Japanese culture.

Those possessing an endomorphic body type are colloquially described as having a "manager's style" body build, a term implying occupation in a successful career. . . . Ectomorphy may imply poverty, sickness, and thus the possession of a body type representative of unsuccessful career occupation. (p. 81)

Iwawaki and Lerner's later (1976) investigation of body attitudes of Japanese college students was conducted using Lerner and Korn's (1972) methodology and materials. Findings were similar to those described above. Both males and females held an overwhelmingly positive stereotype of the mesomorph but an overwhelmingly negative stereotype of

the ectomorph. When Iwawaki and Lerner (1976) compared their results to those of Lerner and Iwawaki (1975) and Lerner and Korn (1972), they concluded that

all assessed Japanese and American groups attach common cognitive/affective "meanings" to stimulus figures representing male Endomorph, Mesomorph, and Ectomorph body types. Males and females in both cultures, ranging in age from the adolescent through the adult years, maintain negative appraisals of Endomorph and Ectomorph physique types, and a positive set of expectations for the Mesomorph body build. (p. 74-75)

Perceptions of Body Build Held by Other Groups

Investigations involving more heterogeneous groups of subjects than school children and college students tend to confirm the perceptions of the various body builds noted above, with some qualifications. Goodman et al. (1963) for example, included a subsample of male and female adults involved in the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped (e.g., nurses, therapists, physicians, social workers, psychologists) in their study of the preference ranking of handicapped and obese children described previously. The preferences expressed by these subjects were identical to those produced by most of the children employed in this study and that of Richardson et al. (1961). That is, again the obese child was ranked last. Najman, Klein, and Munro (1982) found a similar negative reaction to obesity by medical professionals. When asked to list in rank order the medical conditions and social or personal characteristics of

patients which they found produced negative feelings, a sample of American and Australian doctors ranked obesity fifth and sixth respectively out of ten. The authors also found that the youngest doctors, those 39 years or younger, were two to three times as likely as the oldest doctors to report negative feelings about obese patients.

Maddox, Back, and Liederman (1968) used a more varied adult sample than did Goodman et al. (1963) and expanded their methodology somewhat to discover the extent to which the stigmatization of fat individuals was evident among various socioeconomic groups. Subjects were patients at a public out-patient clinic of a medical center. These people were predominantly from the lower-middle class and a sampling procedure was adopted to include equal numbers of males and females, blacks and whites, and normal and overweight people. Maddox et al. also selected four special subsamples consisting of (a) white small-town and rural 60-year-old males, (b) white 40 to 60-year-old college educated females, (c) black 20 to 40-year-old college educated males, and (d) black urban females. Subjects were asked to rank the pictures used by Richardson et al. (1961) and Goodman et al (1963) according to which stimulus figure they liked the best. Subjects from the special subsamples were also asked to assess how responsible certain individuals were for particular personal characteristics. These individuals were described to subjects as (a) a man

with a flabby body, (b) a woman needing a girdle, (c) a woman nibbling, (d) a healthy man, (e) a crippled woman, and (f) a blind person.

The overweight child was ranked last again, although there were some exceptions. These exceptions were: (a) physically disabled males from the clinic, (b) males from the clinic who associated the picture of the overweight child with a specific person, (c) black females, and (d) lean individuals who indicated that they wanted to be heavier than they were. In addition, individual responsibility was highly imputed to the first three target persons listed above, that is, to the targets associated with obesity. The healthy man was thought to be moderately responsible for his condition and the handicapped persons not at all responsible for their predicament. Maddox et al. concluded that

in five samples . . . of adults selected from populations reasonably expected to have different attitudes toward fatness, indications of a negative stereotype were consistently found. . . . In the case of the overweight person, his social deviancy, for which he is imputed to be responsible, tends to be socially disabling. (p. 297)

Other studies have been conducted wherein adults' judgments of children have again revealed body build stereotypes similar to those mentioned previously. Walker (1962) had three judges rate the photographs of 2 to 4-year-old nursery school children for the three components of body build as described by Sheldon (1940). The

photographs were then evaluated on 63 behavior rating items by four or five teachers. Items associated with boys indentified as endomorphs pointed to assertive aggressiveness (e.g., self-assertive, revengeful, easily angered, inconsiderate, quarrelsome), energetic behavior (ambitious, daring, noisy, boyish), extraversion (does not daydream, social in play), and low sensitivity (insensitive to pain, feelings not easily hurt, few nervous habits). Items associated with endomorphic girls showed a perception by the teachers of good personal-social adjustment (recovers quickly from upsets, not tense, does not daydream, direct in solving social problems, social in play). In contrast to the endomorphic children, both male and female ectomorphs were described as not attacking others, not social in play, daydreamers, indirect in solving problems, and emotionally restrained. More items were associated with ectomorphy in boys than in girls, and these generally showed a perception of the boys as cautious, quiet, not self-assertive or energetic, hesitant to give offense, looking to adults rather than children for approval, sensitive, and slow to recover from upsets. Ectomorphic girls were perceived as unfriendly, tense, not gay or cheerful, and irritable. Boys and girls classified as mesomorphs were associated with characteristics such as dominating assertiveness (leader in play, competitive, self-assertive, easily angered, attacks others), high energy output, openness of expression, and

fearlessness. Mesomorphic girls also tended to be associated with socialness, cheerfulness, and warmth, whereas boys were characterized by hostility (quarrelsome, revengeful, inconsiderate) and impulsiveness (daring, noisy, quick, accident prone, self-confident). While Walker noted that terms associated with the body builds of the children were similar "to those described by Sheldon for college-age men, . . . the strength of association [was] not as strong as he [reported]" (p. 79).

Hendry and Gillies (1978) also asked physical education teachers to rate characteristics of their 15 to 16-year-old pupils, who had been classified by the authors as either overweight, average, or underweight. Teachers rated the pupils on 5-point scales as to their physical ability, enthusiasm for sport, friendliness, popularity, social anxiety, competitiveness, reliability, and attractiveness of appearance. According to Hendry and Gillies, there was a clearer distinction in teachers' perceptions of girls' characteristics than of boys', although pupils of average build were perceived as having significantly greater physical ability than the others, and underweight pupils were rated as more socially anxious. Girls of average weight were seen as more attractive and enthusiastic about sports than were overweight girls, while underweight girls were rated as less competitive than were average weight girls. Hendry and Gillies also found that

teachers' perceptions of overweight pupils were no different than their perception of those of average weight in terms of friendliness, popularity, and reliability.

Wells and Siegel (1961), employing adult male and female subjects from middle, lower-middle, and upper-lower classes, found that different temperaments were believed by this group to be associated with the three different male body builds. Results of this study showed that an endomorphic silhouette was rated as

fatter, older, shorter (even though the silhouettes were all the same height), more old-fashioned, lazier, less strong (physically), less good looking, more talkative, more warm-hearted and sympathetic, more good-natured and agreeable, more dependent on others, and more trusting of others. (p. 78)

On the other hand,

the mesomorph was rated stronger, more masculine, better looking, more adventurous, younger, taller, more mature (in behavior) and more self reliant. And the ectomorph was rated thinner, more suspicious of others, more tense and nervous, less masculine, more stubborn and inclined to be difficult, more pessimistic and quieter. (p. 78)

In a more extensive study involving 500 males and females from 6 to 60 years of age, the age of subjects was found to determine the attributions made of the various body builds. Using Staffieri's (1967) methodology, Kirkpatrick and Sanders (1978) found that subjects aged 6 to 25 rated the endomorph more negatively than the ectomorph, subjects aged 26 to 40 rated the endomorph and ectomorph equally, and subjects aged 41 and older viewed the ectomorph more

negatively than the endomorph. While 6 to 25-year-old subjects matched the majority of the positive traits to the mesomorph, as age increased, the mesomorph became more negatively rated. However, the endomorph became less negatively regarded as age increased and ectomorph became more negatively regarded.

Other evidence exists that confirms the increasingly benevolent attitude taken toward the endomorph or obese person with an increase in age of subjects. M. Spigelman (lecture, April 8, 1981) found that middle-aged subjects rated male and female endomorphic figures less negatively than younger people rated them. Subjects' own body weight (as judged by the experimenter) had no effect on response, leading Spigelman to conclude that overweight people shared the attitudes of the majority toward their body size.

Additional evidence has also been provided by Harris and Smith (1982) who found that adult subjects were significantly less likely to say that obesity was a person's own fault than were nursery school, first grade, or fifth grade subjects. Adults were also more likely to cite reasons other than eating habits for the obese person's condition, for example, physical/medical, emotional and psychological reasons. As subject age decreased, however, greater percentages of subjects cited eating habits as the reason why people get fat. Harris and Smith noted that although adults did not always assign blame to an

individual, this did not necessarily mean that they would refuse to stigmatize him or her.

The Social Implications of Body Build

The research cited provides evidence that body build is used as a cue in person perception. Persons of certain physical types are believed by others to have personal characteristics which are peculiar to their physiques. Unpleasant characteristics are usually associated with the endomorph; more people also show a desire to keep their distance from a person of that body build and do not want to see that component in themselves (Bailey & Hankins, 1979; Jourard & Secord, 1955; Tucker, 1983). It may be concluded that, especially in North America, endomorphy or obesity is regarded as particularly unattractive.² On the other hand, there seems to be some question as to whether the classical hourglass female figure or the less curved, pillar shaped ectomorphic female figure is currently considered more attractive. Gitter, Lomranz, Saxe, and Bar-Tal (1983), for example, found that male and female college students considered front and side-view line drawings of hourglass female figures more attractive than drawings of pillar shaped female figures. However, Horvath (1979) found

² Endomorphic women have not always been considered unattractive. Beller (1977) states that until early in the twentieth century "Venus was almost always drawn in the guise of an endomorph: moon-faced, pearshaped and well fleshed out" (p.35).

slenderness in female stimuli to be "a powerful predictor of attractiveness. . . . Curvedness, contrary to intuition, did not correlate with mean attractiveness" (p. 148). In addition, data collected on the height, weight, bust, waist, and hip measurements of Playboy centerfolds of the past 20 years has indicated that the Venus of the twentieth century may be becoming progressively thinner and more pillar shaped. Garner et al. (1980) found that from 1959 to 1979, Playboy centerfolds' mean bust and hip measurements decreased while mean waist measurements increased in the same period. Similarly, Garner et al. found that when the absolute weights of Miss America Pageant contestants were converted to percent of average weight for age, height, and sex (based on population means reported by the 1959 Society of Actuaries), there was a high negative correlation between year and percent of average weight for contestants for the period from 1959 through 1978. In addition, after 1970, Pageant winners were found to weigh significantly less than contestants. Garner et al. were therefore moved to describe the ideal female body form as becoming more "tubular" and speculated that "the current symbols of 'sexual attractiveness' may be gravitating toward a weight which is in biological opposition to normal reproductive activity" (p. 490).

Thinness seems also to be linked to socioeconomic status, particularly for females. Goldblatt, Moore, and

Stunkard (1965) found that with increasing socioeconomic status, smaller proportions of women were discovered to be obese. Specifically, "with increasing status, women moved from the 'obese' to the 'thin' category, whereas men moved from the 'obese' to the 'normal'" (p. 1042). Goldblatt et al. hypothesized that the increasing incidence of thinness in women as they proceeded up the social ladder may have been due to a selection process in status-conferring situations for women (e.g., promotion, marriage to a higher status mate), whereby thinner women were preferentially selected. Alternatively, they suggested that an acculturation process might be in effect. Women who had managed to attain upper socioeconomic status for a reason other than thinness would come to observe that more importance was being attached to being slim than was the case in their previous social milieu. Therefore, to become more socially accepted, they would be more inclined to make the effort to lose weight.

North Americans, especially North American females, are thus under tremendous societal pressure to be thin. Not only are the vast majority of popular role models free of inordinate amounts of subcutaneous fatty tissue, but an entire industry is geared to providing a means of emulating them. Diet plans; reducing aids in the form of gadgets, pills, and calorie-reduced foods; exercise devices, and even surgical techniques are utilized as weapons in the "battle

of the bulge". Those who do not make use of one or more of these methods in order to conform to what society considers to be the most desirable body shape often pay the social and financial costs of being labelled as deviant (Cahnman, 1968; Kalisch, 1972; Maddox et al., 1968; Tobias & Gordon, 1980). Moreover, the person who possesses a physique that is covered with more than an acceptable amount of adipose tissue is considered to be somewhat immoral (Keys, 1955; Louderback, 1970). Keys (1955) stated that

it is widely believed that obesity is the bodily evidence of self-indulgence, hence at least faintly immoral and inviting retribution. Conversely, the reduction of obesity and the avoidance of the temptation of gluttony implies self-denial which brings rewards, appropriately including good health. (p. 457)

Louderback (1970) cites other rewards that may be reaped by those who maintain a slim physique: social acceptance and upward mobility. He contends that

just as the Puritans once scrutinized their children as well as themselves for signs of damnation by a predestining God, so their descendents anxiously look for incipient folds of flesh that will condemn them, not to Hell, but to a drop in the status hierarchy. (p. 25)

According to Cahnman (1968), the self-indulgence and lack of self-control the obese are perceived to exhibit are "not conducive to acquiring the habits which lead to economic success and upper-class status. . . . The outcome is social disgrace" (p. 287).

Further social costs of obesity. Obese people, both male and female, have been found to be stigmatized because of their body type, and, according to researchers, often encounter the same types of prejudice with which racial and ethnic minorities are confronted. For example, Larkin and Pines (1979) asked subjects to view a videotape of a target (either average or overweight, male or female) performing a test for mental ability and a perceptual-motor task. Subjects were told that the target was a job applicant taking the tests at an employment agency and were asked whether they would recommend hiring the target for a job requiring skills as measured by the tests. Larkin and Pines found that overweight applicants were significantly less highly recommended for hiring than the average weight targets regardless of the sex of the target, subject, or type of test. Further, when asked to assess the target's work-related characteristics, subjects rated overweight applicants as significantly less neat, active, productive, energetic, ambitious, attractive, and healthy and as significantly less likely to take the initiative than their average weight counterparts. Additionally, overweight targets were perceived as significantly more likely to need prompting, to lack self-discipline, and to give up easily. Larkin and Pines speculated that an employer might justify not hiring an overweight person on the grounds that employing him or her would be "bad for business since

potential clients or customers either find the overweight person distasteful or associate the overweight condition with deficient performance" (p. 325).

Anecdotal evidence also suggests that such reasoning may prevail. An American appeals court held that the abnormal weight of a job applicant was a legitimate reason for a company not to hire a 5-foot-8-inch woman weighing 341 pounds. Although the State Human Rights Commission had originally upheld the woman's discrimination claim against the company, ruling that her obesity was a handicap, the appeals court asserted that obesity was not a legal handicap. It held that an employer could discriminate among applicants to eliminate those it felt might have a potential for absenteeism or low productivity ("Newslines," 1982).

Further evidence that body build has implications beyond the laboratory has been provided by several investigators. Benson, Severs, Tatgenhorst, and Loddengaard (1980), for example, devised a field experiment to test whether the negative perceptions about obese persons found in laboratory settings (e.g., Larkin & Pines, 1979) could be generalized to a field setting. Seventy male public health administrators were mailed a cover letter, resume, and questionnaire from a female undergraduate confederate in the public health field. Subjects were asked both to assess whether the target had a good chance of getting into a related graduate program and to estimate the chances she had

of getting a good job in the area of public health. Letters either had no accompanying photograph, or one of two front view photographs of the target shot from the waist up. In one photo, the target was photographed in her normal state; in the other, with considerable padding under her shirt. Benson et al. found that firstly, return rates for the normal target and no picture conditions were significantly higher than for the obese target condition. Secondly, it was found that the obese target received significantly more negative responses to the questionnaire than did the normal and unphotographed targets. Benson et al. explained the differences in the assistance given the targets by suggesting that since helping has been found to be positively related to degree of liking, and those with obese body builds are not liked very much, "liking may mediate the body-build and helping relationship" (p. 94). They also noted that it has been found that

persons whose dependency is perceived to be related to internal factors (moral weakness, lack of motivation, etc.) receive relatively less aid possibly because they are viewed as undeserving.
(p. 95)

Since evidence exists that the obese are in fact seen as responsible for their condition, "the withholding of help to the obese could reflect an assumption that they, in fact, do not merit aid" (p. 95).

Body build has been an important variable in "real world" situations other than the search for employment.

Karris (1977) found that 5 of 11 landlords would not rent an apartment to an obese male confederate while all 11 agreed to rent one to a similarly dressed confederate of normal weight. Both targets asked for the same information regarding amount of rent, security deposit, etc.; however, when confronted with the obese confederate, three of the non-renting landlords increased the rent and two stated that the apartment was rented to another student. In the same vein, Canning and Mayer (1967) found that an obese body build was a disadvantage to college applicants. Obese applicants, especially if they were female, were rejected at a much higher rate by college interviewers than were nonobese applicants, regardless of high school grade performance or IQ test scores.

Thus, there is evidence that body build is used often and consistently as a cue in making judgments of others in situations involving both direct and indirect person perception. People are attributed with specific characteristics because of their physiques and seem also to have different actions taken towards them as a result.

Clothing as a Cue in Person Perception

Clothing, like body build, has been viewed as an important cue in the process of making judgments of others, especially in first contact situations. Flugel (1930) considered a person's attire to be of primary importance in the formation of first impressions:

Apart from the face and hands . . . what we actually see and react to are, not the bodies, but the clothes of those around us. It is from these clothes that we form a first impression of our fellow creatures. (p. 15)

Ryan (1966) felt that because a person's clothing influences the initial impression made on others, clothing could also dictate whether or not further social contact would take place:

First impressions play a very important part in the later social interaction between individuals. . . . Clothing, because it is one of the clues used by people in these first reactions, may therefore play a part in the actual selection of our friends and acquaintances. (pp. 8, 9)

The importance of clothing as a perceptual cue has become evident in the limited contact situations that abound in modern life, according to Roach and Eicher (1973):

Few people of the many contacted daily are known intimately. Therefore reactions to others depend a great deal upon appraisals of the cues that dress provides. People react to those they do not know according to how they interpret their appearance. (p. 183)

Shared symbols of a given social world allow members to appraise and interpret another person's dress similarly, thus expediting social intercourse.

For the purposes of this review, research concerning the ways in which clothing cues are interpreted are discussed under two headings: the effects of clothing on the perception of personal attributes and the effects of clothing on behavior.

The Effects of Clothing on the Perception of Personal Attributes

Paper and pencil tests have been the most common method of determining if and how clothing affects the perception of another person's personal attributes. In the studies described in this section, stimulus figures or clothing styles were selected by the investigators (except in one case, described later) and were presented to subjects, generally university students, with instruments such as semantic differential scales. Results of such tests have often indicated that people, sharing common symbols, form stereotypes of others on the basis of their attire. In fact, pieces of clothing have been found to have "meaning" in and of themselves. Gibbins and Coney (1981), for example, found that university students made consistent ratings of skirts and tops drawn in various styles. Short skirts were perceived as more youthful and outgoing than were knee-length, mid-calf, and floor-length skirts, but the longest skirts were seen as the most sophisticated. Narrow skirts were perceived as more sophisticated and arrogant yet less friendly than wide ones. A tank top was seen as more youthful, outgoing, friendly, open-minded, and sexy than a T-shirt.

Judgements of sexual attitudes, too, have been made on the basis of various pieces of clothing. Mathes and Kempher (1976) asked male and female college students to indicate how often they wore various items and styles of

clothing, their sexual attitudes and behavior, and the frequencies with which they believed sexually liberal and conservative students wore various items and styles of clothing. Results of this study showed that while subjects did believe that certain styles of clothing were indicative of liberal sexual attitudes and behavior (e.g., open or net shirts, going shirtless for men; hip-hugger and hot pants, tops exposing the midriff, halter tops, going braless for women), only a few clothing items and styles actually were indicative of reported liberal attitudes and behavior of women (e.g., cutoffs, tops exposing the midriff, going braless, work shirts) but not of men. Mathes and Kempfer concluded that "it appears that people readily accept beliefs (sometimes invalid beliefs) concerning relationships between appearance and personality traits" (p. 498).

Various characteristics have been attributed to clothed female figures on the basis of attire. Gibbins (1969), for example, found that his subjects, 15 to 16-year-old grammar school girls, were prepared to make judgments about the kind of person who would wear certain clothes. They agreed to a very large extent both on the characteristics of the wearer of a particular outfit and upon the differences between wearers of various outfits "even for variables not thought to be obvious from one's clothes" (p. 306). These subjects distinguished among photographs of women (whose heads had been blocked out) in

terms of age, occupational level, personality, dating patterns, sexual morals, smoking and drinking habits, and to a lesser extent, educational levels. Hamid (1968) also found consistent perceptions of photographed female stimulus figures based on the style of dress worn. Both male and female college students, for example, judged figures with makeup, brightly colored dresses and high hemlines as being sophisticated, immoral, and physically attractive.

The perceived sociability of a female college student was found by Johnson, Nagasawa, and Peters (1977) to vary according to whether she was photographed wearing an in-fashion clothing style (pants outfit or mini-skirted dress) or an out-of-fashion ensemble (coat and dress ensemble or shift). Sociability was defined in this study as the summed response to three 7-point scales: warm-cool, sociable-unsociable and friendly-unfriendly. Male and female college students gave significantly higher sociability ratings to the model when she wore the more fashionable styles and there were no differences in the response of male and female subjects to the stimulus person.

For Neilsen and Kernaleguen's (1976) female college students, the attractiveness of the face and head of female stimulus figures was a significant factor in their perception of the physical attractiveness of the entire person as well as perceived social desirability and expectations of social and professional happiness. The

attractiveness of the clothed bodies of the stimulus figures on the other hand, influenced only perceptions of bourgeois orientation (unlikely to sympathize with oppressed people, belief in money and wealth as primary ingredients for a happy life, likely to be snobbish and a social status seeker). Three facial pictures and three clothed body pictures were pretested separately for attractiveness by college students and each represented one of three attractiveness conditions: high, low, and medium attractiveness. Each head was combined with each body for the study, and it was found that regardless of the attractiveness of the clothed body, the high facial attractiveness condition was considered the most socially desirable, and the low facial attractiveness condition was rated the least desirable. Expectations of social and professional happiness increased with facial attractiveness for the highly attractive body only, and all three types of facial attractiveness had the highest bourgeois orientation ratings when attached to the body of medium attractiveness. Ryan's statement that "clothing definitely is a factor in the perception of personality traits although it may not be as important a factor as the individual's features or facial expression" (p. 21) may thus be accurate.

In recent years, some investigators have turned their attention to the formal/casual dimension of dress. "Formal" daytime dress has been, in most cases, synonymous

with "professional" attire. For Harris et al. (1983), for example, formal daytime wear consisted of a suit, dress, pantsuit, or jacket, blouse and skirt, worn with hose and heels, "suitable for professional wear, not faddish or trendy; . . . what a woman would be expected to wear to an important job interview or to give a lecture to a large group" (p. 91). Kerr and Dell (1976) also described similar costumes (attractive dress or tailored pants suit, with hose and dress shoes) as "professional". Casual dress on the other hand, was defined by Harris et al. as a skirt or pants (not jeans), and shirt, blouse or sweater worn with sandals or casual shoes (not sneakers); "not a clearly matching 'outfit', but not clashing; something a woman might wear around the house or to run errands" (p. 21). Kerr and Dell's casual attire, however, did include jeans, as well as a "casual" shirt, walking shoes, and bright socks.

Results of the formal/casual manipulation of dress on the perception of personal attributes have been diverse. Harris et al. (1983) found that adult subjects approached in a shopping mall varied in their response to a woman photographed in five different clothing styles. These were: Formal Skirt, Formal Pants, Casual Skirt, Casual Pants (all as described above), and Jeans (jeans, T-shirt or sweatshirt, sneakers or sandals; described as sloppy rather than revealing or sexy). Regardless of sex, subjects responded to the Formal Skirt ensemble more favorably than

they did to the Jeans style on several measures. The model was perceived as significantly happier, more successful, feminine, interesting, attractive, and intelligent when attired in the Formal Skirt outfit than when dressed in the Jeans outfit. The model was also perceived as significantly more interesting and more wanted as a friend when she wore the Formal Skirt outfit than when she wore the Formal Pants outfit. Response to the Formal Skirt ensemble was also significantly more favorable than to the Casual Skirt and Casual Pants style on several measures: happy-sad, successful-unsuccessful, attractive-unattractive.

In Kerr and Dell's (1976) study of the effects of counselor behavior, attire, and interview setting on perceived expertness and attractiveness, attire was manipulated as described above. Male and female undergraduate students were interviewed by a female interviewer who was dressed either professionally or casually and who acted out either an expert role (logical order of questioning revealing psychological expertise, structured interview, minimal responsiveness to the student) or an attractive role (high degree of responsiveness, greater concern with student feelings about factual events than with events themselves, less structured interview with positive self disclosures). Interviews were conducted in either an office or a lounge, and after they had taken place, subjects were asked to rate interviewer expertness

and attractiveness. Attire did not effect perceived attractiveness either singly or in combination with setting or interviewer role, however, dress did interact with interviewer role to affect perceived expertness. Kerr and Dell concluded that behavior in an interpersonal situation may be more important than other variables such as dress or setting.

Littrell, Littrell, and Kuznik (1981) also investigated the relationship of counselors' dress to clients' evaluations of them using the formal/casual dimension. They exposed Caucasian and Indian high school students to slides of male and female high school counselors wearing clothing which had been previously selected and categorized by other students. Six clothing styles were presented. Subjects were asked to indicate whether they would agree to talk to a given counselor about personal and school problems and their post-graduation plans. The counselor wearing the formal, conservative, out-of-date costume was the least preferred by both groups of students. However, whereas the Indian students preferred male and female counselors wearing fashionable, coordinated, up-to-date attire (three piece blue pin-striped suits), Caucasian students preferred counselors dressed in young, casual attire (sweaters and slacks). Littrell et al. concluded that the formal/casual dress dimension could not be used solely to explain students' preferences for

counselors. They suggested that the up-to-date/out-of-date and new/old qualities of clothing would be worthy of study, perhaps in combination with the dimension of formality.

As was noted above, response to attributes of male as well as to female stimulus figures has been found to vary according to dress. Laswell and Parshall (1961) for example, found that college students were able to make consistent judgments of the social class of 25 to 65-year-old men whose photographs they viewed. This was true whether subjects were presented with complete pictures of these men or with pictures of them from the neck down. Rankings of the men's heads only, however, did not lead to such uniform results. Subjects reported that the men's clothing and accessories affected their judgments of social class, although posture and hands were also mentioned in one-quarter of the cases.

Male college students responding to a male model attired in four different outfits also showed a tendency to stereotype according to clothing, although the social community of subjects was found to influence their perceptions. Noesjirwan and Crawford (1982) exposed their respondents to photographs of a male dressed in either slacks and a sports shirt; shorts, T-shirt and thongs; business suit with tie; or faded patched jeans, Indian shirt, beads, and leather sandals (hippie attire). Subjects were education, agriculture, business, and behavioral

science students, and they were asked to respond both to the stimulus person himself and to his form of dress. Overall, subjects rated the business suit and slacks outfit as more usual, polite, conservative and different from what the respondent himself would wear, but perceived the slacks differently from the business suit, rating the slacks as safer, sharper, and more "in". The hippie costume was rated as more false, weak, unusual, noticeable, and radical than the shorts and thongs costume. While the business students perceived the slacks and especially the suit as indicating a conscientious, hard working attitude toward work and study, social science students perceived these costumes as reflecting an acceptance of the status quo and conformity to conservative social and political attitudes. The agriculture students perceived the hippie costume as indicating a careless person with no personal pride or respect for society whereas the social science students thought the same attire reflected a humanistic orientation and liberal attitudes. The shorts and thongs ensemble was favorably perceived by all types of students, although the education and business students preferred a tidier appearance. Noesjirwan and Crawford concluded that "the meanings attached to a particular form of dress derive partly from the nature of the dress, but partly from the framework of interpretation adopted by a particular social group" (p. 162).

Miller (1982) attempted to determine whether the clothing of male actors with a visible physical impairment affected the perception of whether they would be desired as friends. Actors were videotaped conversing with another actor and wore either patterned clothing (brown striped suit, checkered shirt, broad striped tie) or a solid brown suit and tie. In each dress condition they appeared with or without a hearing aid. Ratings by female college students indicated that actors without hearing aids and actors wearing solid colored clothing were more desired as friends than were their counterparts. The patterned clothing also significantly reduced the friendship ratings given the hearing impaired actors, and targets with a hearing aid and patterned clothing were perceived to be less desirable as friends than were actors in the other dress/impairment conditions. Miller suggested that his results indicated clothing could lessen the impact of some types of physical impairment on some aspects of impression formation but the range of impairments as well as the types of attributions had yet to be determined.

The Effects of Clothing Cues on Behavior

Field experiments have generally been employed to determine how people behave when confronted with different clothing cues. Researchers have used such behaviors as petition signing and survey participation to gauge subject

response to manipulations of dress cues. Reactions to variations of several dimensions of clothing have been studied: for example, high and low status clothing, conventional and hippie attire, neat and untidy dress, and formal and casual dress. Only 4 of the 15 studies described in this section (Bickman, 1971; Bouska & Beatty, 1979; Bryant, 1975; Giles & Farrar, 1979) included any pretesting of the dimensions of the clothing alternatives investigated. In all other cases, experimenters themselves have determined what constituted high or low status attire, neat or sloppy dress, or straight or hippie dress. In the case of Kroll and Moren (1977), although the experimenters themselves chose the costumes to be tested, "comments from family members and associated supported the contention that the experimenters' attire was perceived as unconventional" (p. 129)

High and low status clothing. Several authors (Lefkowitz, Blake & Mouton, 1955; Bickman, 1971; Bouska & Beatty, 1978) have attempted to discover the effects wearers of high and low status clothing had on several behaviors. Lefkowitz et al. (1955) used a male confederate dressed in either high status (suit, shined shoes, white shirt, tie, and straw hat) or low status attire (worn shoes, soiled and patched trousers, and an unpressed denim shirt) to determine whether subjects would violate a prohibition by following the example provided by the confederate. In this case, the

prohibition violation was defined as crossing a street against a do-not-walk signal. Lefkowitz et al. found that significantly more pedestrians crossed against the signal after the high status model was seen doing so than when the low status model performed the same action.

Using both male and female confederates, Bickman (1961) found that a person's honesty was dependent upon the perceived social status of the target with whom he or she was reacting. In this experiment, high status male confederates wore suits and ties while high status female confederates wore neat dresses and dress coats. When simulating low status persons, the males wore work clothes and carried a flashlight, lunch pail, or six-foot rule, while the females wore skirts and blouses and were generally unkempt in appearance. When asked by the confederates to return dimes that they had left in phone booths, only 38 percent of the subjects complied with targets in low status attire. Seventy-eight percent of the subjects returned the dime in the high status condition, however, neither the sex of the confederates or of the subjects affected the tendency of subjects to return dimes, nor did the race, age, or status of the subjects.

In Bouska and Beatty's (1978) study of the effects of status, presence of conversation, and interaction distance on the permeability of group boundaries, a businessman's standard attire of suit and tie, and a

Catholic priest's black suit and white collar were used as high status clothing. A college student's ensemble of blue jeans and T-shirt was used as low status attire. In this experiment, a casually dressed confederate conversed, near the entrance of a large store, with another confederate dressed in one of the costumes described above. Shoppers were watched to see if they would walk around or between the confederates positioned 54 inches (137 cm.) from each other--a distance beyond the standard 42 inches (107 cm.) cited as the personal zone boundary. When one member of the dyad was dressed either as a priest or businessman, pedestrians were reluctant to pass between the two. The conversing student dyad on the other hand, detoured significantly fewer pedestrians. Bouska and Beatty speculated that the student dyad was seen to be less deserving of privacy and courtesy than were the participants in the higher status conditions.

Hippies and straights. The hippie/straight dress dichotomy has been employed by several investigators to determine the effect of clothing cues on different types of behavior. Suedfeld, Bochner, and Matas (1971), for example, found that peace march participants, most of whom were young and unconventionally dressed, reacted differently to female anti-war petitioners according to the attire of the latter. The petitioner dressed as a hippie (long, loose hair, denim jacket and slacks, sandals) was able to gather more

signatures in this setting than was her counterpart wearing "straight" dress (dress, coat, white shoes with medium heels, white handbag). More people signed the petition of the "hippie" without reading the text, and she was also able to attract significantly greater numbers of unsolicited signatures. The "straight" petitioner, on the other hand, received a significantly higher proportion of reasoned refusals. Suedfeld et al. speculated that the peace marchers felt more obliged to explain their non-compliance to someone who appeared, according to her attire, to be an outsider, rather than to someone who appeared to be a member of the in-group.

A petition signing situation was also used by Keasey and Tomlinson-Keasey (1973) to determine the influence of hippie and straight attire on the behavior of others. The confederates in this study were a young adult male and female who presented an anti-war petition to adult males and females in a shopping center. When dressed in straight clothing, the confederates obtained more than the average percentage of signatures from males while the female hippie obtained less than the average percentage of signatures from female subjects. Furthermore, both hippie petitioners received significantly fewer polite or reasoned refusals than did the straight petitioners and received more evasive verbal responses than the straight confederates did.

Bryant (1975), using a similar methodology to Suedfeld et al. (1971), and including both "hip" and "straight" subjects, found that subjects were influenced by dress when the petition to be signed was neutral in tone. Three petitions, classified as either neutral, left-wing, or right-wing, were presented to young male passersby outside a university building. The petitioner was either a hip (long hair, beard, sneakers, jeans, T-shirt, open vest and creased jacket) or straight (short, tidy hair; clean shaven; black polished shoes; dark suit; white shirt and tie) male. Subjects were classified as either hip or straight by the investigator who sat nearby. The dress of the petitioner had no effect on the number of subjects who signed the two politically stronger petitions, but both confederates received significantly more signatures from similarly dressed subjects than from differently attired subjects when the neutral petition was presented. Bryant suggested that appearance is only a minor cue in petition signing situations and that experimenter's dress would only affect the behavior of subjects when they had little belief in the petition. He suggested further that this was probably true of the results of Suedfeld et al. (1971)--the petition they used had little meaning to the subjects.

Darley and Cooper (1972) found that shoppers in a suburban, middle-class shopping center were more likely to accept campaign leaflets and less likely to throw them away

unread when they were distributed by conventionally dressed male students (conventional sports clothing, short hair) rather than by students dressed in hippie attire (dungarees, old army jackets, long hair, beards). Darley and Cooper also found that shoppers rated fictitious candidates as more conservative or more liberal than themselves depending on the dress of their conventionally or deviantly dressed supporters. They were thus led to conclude that

even if all a potential voter knows concerning the candidates is conveyed by the appearance of their supporters, the voter will often make inferences about the position of the candidates on specific political issues and general orientation. (p. 32)

The influence of hippie and straight dress on helping behavior has also been studied by several investigators. In a series of experiments, Raymond and Unger's (1972) two young adult male confederates asked subjects leaving shopping centers for change for a dime. One confederate was black and the other white; they wore conventional dress (business suit, tie, short, neat hair, and black rimmed glasses) or deviant dress (an embroidered shirt, bell-bottom pants, beads and sandals, a shoulder-length wig of uncombed hair and headband and sunglasses for the white confederate and a colorful dashiki, bell-bottoms, sneakers, medallion, one earring, Afro wig and sunglassed for the black confederate). White subjects in this investigation were affected by the dress of both confederates; they cooperated significantly less with both

deviants than with their conventional counterparts. Black subjects, on the other hand, treated the black deviant and his conventional counterpart alike but helped the white deviant significantly less often than his conventional counterpart. Raymond and Unger explained the differences in behavior of the subjects in terms of belief congruency. White subjects may have perceived the deviants, regardless of race, as possessing beliefs and values different from their own, while the conventional confederates, regardless of race, may have been perceived as having similar values to their own. The black subjects, while believing that both conventional confederates had similar values to theirs, may also have inferred that the black deviant also held beliefs not very divergent from their own.

Schiavo, Sherlock, and Wicklund (1974) found that middle-aged white women were less likely to help a college-age confederate dressed in hippie attire (oversize T-shirt, army jacket, jeans, sneakers, ungroomed hair) than a female confederate dressed in conventional attire (skirt, blouse, heels, handbag, groomed hair). In this study the helping behavior was defined as giving walking directions to a well-known restaurant. Subjects also gave more detailed directions to the conventionally dressed confederate. Schiavo et al. suggested that their results, as well as those of Raymond and Unger (1972), indicated that clothing influenced perceptions of similarity and thus mediated helping behavior.

The studies described above have indicated that their clothing affected the degree of cooperation which confederates received in petition signing, leaflet distribution, and obtaining change and directions. Kroll and Moren (1977), however, found that requests for help in a library by a college-age female were treated similarly whether she was dressed as a deviant (navy leotard, cut-off jeans, red hosiery and lipstick, high heels, gaudy jewelry, fur jacket) or as a student (jeans, plain shirt, jacket, no makeup or jewelry). Female librarians were found to be equally friendly and helpful to the confederate in both circumstances. Kroll and Moren speculated that the differences in attire may not have been great enough to produce discrepancies in behavior. They noted further that the librarians' role may not have allowed them to discriminate among requests for help.

Smartness and tidiness of dress. Dimensions of clothing other than the deviant/conventional and high/low status dichotomies described above have been of interest to investigators. A female experimenter (Lambert, 1972), outfitted in "untidy and dirty" clothes and again in "respectable, conventional" clothes attempted to determine if smartness or untidiness of dress influenced the willingness of subjects to answer market research questions. The experimenter, posing as a market research investigator, approached lone adult males and females as they left a

subway station. Overall, subjects were more willing to talk to the experimenter when she was dressed smartly rather than when she was untidily dressed, with this difference being significant for older males and females. Significantly fewer younger women than older refused the requests of the untidy experimenter.

Lambert's (1972) experiment was repeated by Judd, Bull, and Gahagan (1975) using a male confederate in a similar setting. While the smartness or untidiness of the confederate's dress did not affect the willingness of male subjects to participate in an alleged survey, it did significantly affect the reactions of female subjects. Older males refused to participate and younger men agreed regardless of dress. On the other hand, older and younger women were significantly more inclined to cooperate with the smartly dressed confederate than with his untidy counterpart.

In yet another field experiment, neither the sex of the experimenter or of the subject was found to be related to helping behavior. Harris and Baudin (1973) found that well dressed male (coats, dress shirts, ties and slacks) and female (pantsuits, stockings, heels, makeup) confederates were significantly more likely to receive change for a dime at a fair than were their sloppily dressed counterparts (jeans, old shirts, sandals or tennis shoes, no makeup for female confederates). Kleinke (1977) also found that male

and female subjects, approached at an airport by a neatly dressed (skirts and nylons) female confederate for the loan of a dime, were significantly more likely to give her dimes than her sloppily dressed (jeans) counterpart. Kleinke speculated that whereas the neatly dressed confederate may have been perceived as having a legitimate need for a dime, the sloppy confederate was more likely to be perceived as a panhandler.

Formal and casual dress. As noted previously, investigations of the effects of the formal/casual dimension of dress on the perception of personal attributes have yielded less than conclusive results. This seems also to be true of this dimension's effect on behavior. Harris et al. (1983), for example, failed to find differences in the response of subjects toward formally and casually dressed confederates. Female confederates, wearing either the Formal, Casual or Jeans ensembles described previously, approached shoppers in a mall, asking them to fill in a questionnaire. Although confederates wearing the Formal Skirt ensemble had the highest rate of compliance, differences among the clothing styles were not significant. The findings of the field study portion of this experiment therefore contradicted the results of the paper and pencil portion noted earlier. Harris et al. suggested that

dress may not be as important a factor in a real-life situation, where other information about the individual is available, as in a situation in which the only information available about a woman is provided by her dress. (p. 95)

In the studies described above, subjects have generally made ready use of clothing cues to help organize action that was ultimately taken toward stimulus persons, whether the latter were perceived directly or indirectly, through photographs, drawings, or slides. Behavior toward and attributions made of the stimulus persons also tended not to be haphazard--certain subgroups reacted to the same stimulus figures in the same manner, indicating that the meanings of various clothing cues were shared in a given social world.

Person/Clothing Interaction

The interactive effects of person and clothing have not received much attention in the literature. Flugel (1930) thought that people were more apt to perceive and react to the face, hands, and clothing of others rather than to their bodies. Conner, Peters, and Nagasawa (1975), however, were not as convinced as Flugel about the superior influence of clothing over person as a perceptual cue. In their study, "person" was defined as the part of physical appearance not projected by clothing. Three college-age female models were chosen, through pretesting, as ideal types of athletic, social, and intellectual persons. Each model was asked to choose one outfit from her wardrobe that best represented her "type", and ratings were made by other female college students of photographs of each stimulus

person dressed in each costume. Results of this study indicated that the athletic person gave the strongest athletic impression (robust, rugged, athletic), regardless of the costume she wore. However, each model was rated as the most social (warm, sociable, friendly) when she wore the costume congruent with her typing. Neither person or costume had any influence on intellectual impression (intelligent, theoretical, deep). Conner et al. concluded that while costume changed the strength of the initial impression of a person, "the degree of influence which person and costume exerted on the formation of first impressions differed with the nature of the impression variable" (p. 40). Their findings tend to confirm Ryan's statement that "it is highly probable that the importance of clothing in the perception of another person varies with the personality characteristics being judged" (p. 21).

Summary

This review of the literature has shown that people make consistent judgments of others based on the cues of body build and clothing. Body build and clothing cues have been shown to affect both the attributions made of an individual and the behavior that is directed to him or her as a result.

Most of the research done on body build in terms of person perception has been based on Sheldon's classification

of three general somatypes. The stereotypes that have emerged of these physiques indicated that the mesomorph is viewed the most favorably, although in some cases female subjects have been partial to the ectomorphic body build. The stereotypes of both the ectomorph and endomorph have negative elements; however, more evidence has been found for correspondingly negative actions to be taken against the endomorph.

Stereotypes have also emerged of people based on various dimensions of their clothing, especially in first impression situations. Various subgroups, too, have demonstrated that they take action based on their perceptions of these dimensions.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The hypotheses formulated for this investigation were tested by conducting a three (thin versus average versus fat body build) by two (fashionable versus unfashionable dress) factorial experiment. The effects of the two independent variables, body build and fashionableness of dress, were tested of several dependent variables.

Instrument

The instrument used in this study was based on one originally developed by Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) to determine the existence and extent of a stereotype for physical attractiveness in males and females. It consisted of 27 characteristics arranged with their polar opposites on 6-point scales, as well as several indices: a Social Desirability Index, Marital Happiness Index, Parental Happiness Index, and Social and Professional Happiness Index.

The Social Desirability Index consisted of 14 items taken from the list of 27 characteristics. Dion et al. (1972) found that in a preliminary study, two-thirds of an unspecified number of male and female subjects agreed that

these 14 items were characteristic of a socially desirable female or male. These items were: independent, sociable, exciting, kind, sexually warm, strong, sensitive, warm, genuine, self-assertive, poised, interesting, and sincere.

The other indices were designed, according to Dion et al. (1972), "to assess whether or not attractive persons [could be] expected to lead happier and more successful lives than unattractive persons" (p. 287). An Occupational Status Index was also included and scores were determined by having subjects indicate the likelihood of the target engaging in thirty occupations "chosen such that three status levels of ten different general occupations were presented" (Dion et al., 1972, p. 287).

The instrument created by Dion et al. (1972) has since been used by other researchers. Dermer and Thiel (1975) used the list of 27 characteristics as well as the Social Desirability Index "to delimit the beauty implies goodness stereotype" (p. 1169). They revised the Social Desirability Index slightly by eliminating the modest-vain item, as it was negatively correlated to the other index items. Dermer and Thiel also included items designed to estimate the bourgeois orientation of stimulus persons and modified the Marital and Parental Happiness and Occupational Status indices somewhat.

In the area of clothing research, Neilsen and Kernaleguen (1976) used the instrument to investigate the

influence of the physical attractiveness of the face, head, and clothed body on the perception of the aforementioned variables, adopting Dermer and Thiel's modifications. They also included several other items in the Social Desirability index: enthusiastic-unenthusiastic, trustworthy-untrustworthy, friendly-unfriendly, and added one other item: physically unattractive-physically attractive.

The Dion et al. instrument appears to be valid in that it taps several dimensions relevant to the physical attractiveness stereotype, for example, whether physically attractive persons are perceived to have more socially desirable personal characteristics and whether they lead "better" lives than less attractive persons (Dion et al., 1972). Those researchers who have made use of the instrument have in general found that it conforms with Moser and Kalton's definition of validity, that is, it measures "what it sets out to measure, so that differences between individuals' scores can be taken as representing true differences in the characteristics under study" (p. 355). The physical attractiveness stereotype has been confirmed in that as the attractiveness of stimulus persons increases, they are perceived to be more socially desirable and to lead happier lives (Dion et al., 1972; Dermer & Thiel, 1975; Nielsen & Kernaleguen, 1976).

No information on the reliability of the instrument has been reported in the literature.

The instrument used in the current investigation was derived from those described above. The list of 27 characteristics devised by Dion et al. (1972) was used, with each item arranged on a 6-point continuum. One change was made as a result of the first pretest: the trait "altruistic" was changed to "unselfish" since 5 of the 12 pretest subjects did not know what "altruistic" meant. Four additional items from another section of the Dion et al. instrument were added to the list of 27 characteristics: friendly-unfriendly, enthusiastic-unenthusiastic, physically attractive-physically unattractive, and trustworthy-untrustworthy. This modification was made by Nielsen and Kernaleguen (1976). Left-right and page positions for items were randomized.

The Social Desirability Index consisted of 13 of the 14 items described previously. Following Dermer and Thiel's (1975) recommendation, the modest-vain item was eliminated from the calculation of Social Desirability. To calculate a subject's score for the Index, responses to the items were summed. The maximum score possible for this Index, therefore, was 78.

The Occupational Status Index was constructed with items appropriate to the stimulus figures. As with the Occupational Status Index devised by Dion et al., the items used in the current investigation were chosen so that three status levels of a general occupational type were

represented. Eight general occupations were included in the instrument, and to make the Index relevant to Canadian subjects, the specific occupations were chosen from Pineo and Porter (1967) according to their prestige scores (see Appendix A). To obtain a score for this Index, scores of 3, 2, and 1 were assigned to high, medium, and low status jobs respectively, and the responses were summed. The maximum score possible for the Occupational Status Index was 24.

The Social and Professional Happiness, Parental Competence, Marital Happiness, and Marital Disaster Indices were derived from Dermer and Thiel (1975). Social and professional happiness was measured by three items. Subjects were asked to indicate how likely the stimulus person was to lead an exciting life, experience personal fulfillment, and to be successful in her chosen career. The Parental Competence, Marital Happiness, and Marital Disaster Indices were comprised of two items each. Subjects were asked to assume that the stimulus person would get married some day. They were then asked to make estimations of the likelihood of the stimulus person's (a) being a good parent and raising her children well (Parental Competence), (b) being a responsive sexual partner and an understanding spouse (Marital Happiness), and (c) subsequently requesting a divorce and having an extramarital affair (Marital Disaster). Six categories of likelihood were presented for each item: extremely unlikely, very unlikely, somewhat

unlikely, somewhat likely, very likely, and extremely likely. These categories were scored from from 1 to 6 respectively and the responses summed to obtain a score for each index.

Additional items were included in the instrument. Subjects were asked to indicate which of five social classes (upper, upper-middle, middle, lower-middle, lower) the stimulus figure was likely to belong to and to indicate what educational level they believed the stimulus person had likely attained (some high school, high school graduate, some university, university graduate). Subjects were also asked to assess how likely the stimulus person was to get married according to the six likelihood categories described above.

A personal data sheet was attached to the instrument requesting the subject's sex, age, height, weight, level of education, university faculty, size of home town, ethnic background, and father's occupation. A subject's height and weight was used to calculate his or her Ponderal Index, a measure of obesity. This calculation was made by dividing the subject's height in inches by the cube root of his or her weight in pounds (Stuart & Davies, 1972). Respondents were then classified according to somatype. A Ponderal Index score of over 13.000 indicated an ectomorphic body build, while an Index score of 12.500 to 12.999 indicated mesomorphy. A score of less than 12.499 indicated an endomorphic body build (Caskey & Felker, 1971).

Fathers' occupations were used to determine the socioeconomic status of subjects. Occupations cited were each placed into one of the 16 socioeconomic categories outlined by Pineo, Porter, and McRoberts (1977). These categories were then combined into three general classes for analysis. The upper-middle class included self-employed professionals, employed professionals, high-level management, technicians, and middle management. The middle class included semiprofessionals, supervisors, foremen, skilled clerical-sales-services, skilled crafts and trades, and farmers. The lower-middle class consisted of semiskilled clerical-sales-services, semiskilled manual, unskilled clerical-sales-services, unskilled clerical-sales-services, unskilled manual, and farm laborers.

The final part of the instrument was Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale. This scale included six items designed to measure individual self-esteem. No positive responses indicated a high level of self-esteem, while four to six positive responses indicated a low level of self-esteem. There is some evidence in the literature to indicate that individuals with low self-esteem tend to denigrate attractive others more than individuals with high self-esteem do (Graham & Perry, 1976), and Rosenberg's scale was included to test this.

Selection of Stimulus Figures, Presentation Medium, and
Clothing Styles

Three types of body build were chosen for the stimuli used in the current study: thin, average, and fat. Proportions of the fat and thin stimulus figures were derived from sketches of female endomorphs and ectomorphs found in Sheldon's (1940) book The Varieties of Human Physique. The average stimulus figure was drawn according to the proportions of the Greek ideal of the female form (Creekmore & Pedersen, 1979).

Stimulus figures were presented as drawings rather than as photographs. It was felt that individuals approached to serve as models for particular body build types, especially for the fat body type, would likely be offended by such a request. In any case, differences in the perception of clothing cues between drawings and photographs have been found to be negligible providing the illustrations are clear and not highly stylized (Whisney, Winakor, & Wolins, 1979).

Pretests were conducted to determine clothing styles appropriate to the purposes of the investigation. Preliminary to the first pretest, a panel of 12 persons consisting of male and female university students and other adults was asked to rank seven photographs of dresses on a continuum from most attractive to least attractive. The dresses had been selected from pattern catalogues current at the time of the pretest according to the following criteria:

all were of a solid color, were short-sleeved with a V-neck, and were available in small to large sizes. Dresses ranked as most attractive and least attractive were then sketched on the three body build types.

For the first pretest, one sketch and a copy of the test instrument were presented to each of the 12 subjects. Results indicated that all three unattractively dressed figure types received higher scores than their attractively dressed counterparts with the unattractively dressed fat figure receiving the highest scores of all. It was thus concluded that a clothing style considered to be unattractive on a body of average proportions was not necessarily perceived as such on a body of larger proportions.

Dresses chosen for the second pretest were selected on the basis of their fashionableness. Since Robinson (1963) contended that fashion is marked by active aversion to past modes, it was felt that there would be an element of the unattractive in the unfashionable. Indeed, Laver (1937) has stated that a style considered to be smart when currently popular is perceived as dowdy one year later and hideous ten years after that. Clothing advertisements were therefore culled from 5 to 12-year-old magazines, and a high-neck, A-line dress made of a large geometric print was chosen as the unfashionable dress (see Appendix B). A high-neck, long-sleeve dress was chosen from a pattern

catalogue current at the time of the pretest as the fashionable clothing style (see Appendix B). Results of the second pretest indicated that all fashionably dressed body types were generally perceived more favorably than their unfashionable counterparts. The sketches used in the second pretest were therefore used as stimuli in the investigation and were presented on 6 1/4 by 9 1/2 in (16 by 24 cm) sheets of paper.

Subjects

The non-random sample consisted of students enrolled in three undergraduate courses (two second-year psychology classes and a first-year Human Ecology class) at the University of Manitoba during the spring term of the 1982-83 Regular Day Session. Subjects were asked to participate in the study on a voluntary basis and were given class time to complete the questionnaire.

Procedure

All testing sessions were conducted in the subjects' regular lecture rooms during class time. The researcher introduced herself as a graduate student who was conducting research in the area of person perception. The materials, consisting of a cover letter, test instrument, and envelope containing one of the six randomly chosen stimulus figures were distributed among the subjects (see Appendix A). Each

subject was asked to read the cover letter, sign the attached consent form, and remove the drawing from the envelope in order to answer the questionnaire. Upon completion, the subject was asked to return all testing materials to the researcher. No time limit was given to complete the questionnaire, however, most respondents completed it within 15 minutes.

Statistical Analysis

Nonparametric statistical tests were employed to discover whether differences in the index and item scores assigned the various stimuli were statistically significant. The data collected for this investigation were determined to have been measured on ordinal scales, thus precluding the use of parametric procedures.

To test whether scores obtained for a particular figure or subject group differed from those of other figures or groups, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks (H) was used. The Statistical Analysis System (SAS) procedure NPAR1WAY was employed to perform this test. Mean scores were also provided by this procedure.

A second nonparametric test, the Jonkheere-Terpstra test for ordered alternatives, was employed to determine whether certain scores obtained for similarly dressed body builds were in a particular order. The order specified for Social Desirability, Social and Professional Happiness,

Marital Happiness, and Occupational Status index scores as well as for likelihood of marriage, social class, educational level, and physically unattractive-physically attractive item scores was:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores.

The order specified for Parental Competence Index scores was:

fat scores \geq average scores \geq thin scores.

A FORTRAN program was written for this test by Marianne Gossen, Statistical Advisory Service, University of Manitoba. Both tests were run on the Amdahl 5850 mainframe computer at the University of Manitoba.

The level of significance chosen for this investigation was $p \leq .05$.

RESULTS

This chapter includes a description of the sample, an evaluation of the significance of response to the indices and items, and an evaluation of the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this investigation.

Description of the Sample

Two hundred and one questionnaires were completed. Of these, 170 were considered useable. The remaining 31 were not used because of missing data. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of respondents by faculty or school of enrollment.

In the sample as whole, 76.5 percent of the subjects were female. Ninety-eight percent of the participants from Human Ecology were female, while the male/female ratio in the psychology classes was more evenly balanced (45.6 percent male, 54.4 percent female).

Because the sample was drawn from undergraduate courses, the majority of subjects (74.1 percent) fell into the 18 to 21 year age bracket. Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of subjects by age.

Less than one-quarter of the respondents (23.6 percent) indicated that they came from a rural background,

Table 2

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Faculty or School of Enrollment

Faculty	
Human Ecology	53.5%
Arts	35.9
Administrative Studies	2.9
Science	2.9
Education	2.4
Interior Design	0.6
Fine Arts	0.6
Social Work	0.6
Physical Education	0.6

Total	100.0%

Table 3

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Age

Age	
18 - 21	74.1%
22 - 25	16.5
26 - 30	4.1
31 - 40	4.7
41 - 59	0.6

Total	100.0%

that is, from a hometown with fewer than 10,000 people. The majority of respondents (76.4 percent) cited an urban background (city or metropolitan area; see Table 4).

The Ponderal Index, a measure of obesity, was calculated for each of the 165 subjects who reported their height and weight. Each was then classified as either an endomorph, mesomorph, or ectomorph. Of the subjects for whom this classification could be made, 58.8 percent were classified as ectomorphs, 24.2 percent as mesomorphs, and 17.0 percent as endomorphs.

A substantial proportion of participants traced their forebears to the British Isles, while a number of respondents either described themselves as Canadian or as belonging to two or more ethnic groups. Table 5 shows the percentage distribution of subjects by ethnic background.

All 170 subjects completed the Self-esteem Scale. Thirty-seven percent of the total sample were classified as having high self-esteem (no positive responses), while very few (5.3 percent) were classified as having low self-esteem (four to six positive responses).

Table 6 shows the percentage distribution of subjects by fathers' occupations. Table 7 shows the number of subjects who responded to each stimulus figure.

Table 4
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Size of Hometown

Size of Hometown	
Rural area (population under 1,000)	11.8%
Town (population 1,000 - 10,000)	11.8
City (population 10,000 - 50,000)	25.9
Metropolitan area (population over 50,000)	50.5
Total	100.0%

Table 5
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Ethnic Background Cited

Ethnic Background	
British Isles	23.5%
Canadian	14.7
Two or more ethnic backgrounds	13.5
Slavic	10.0
Chinese	8.8
German	8.8
Jewish	5.9
French	5.3
Scandinavian	2.9
Italian	1.8
Dutch	1.2
Greek	1.2
West Indian	1.2
Hungarian	0.6
Native Canadian	0.6
Total	100.0%

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Fathers' Occupations

Fathers' Occupations	
Self-employed professional	4.1%
Employed professional	17.1
High-level management	4.7
Technician	2.9
Middle management	12.9
Supervisor	1.8
Foreman	1.8
Skilled clerical-sales-service	7.7
Skilled crafts and trades	11.2
Farmer	8.8
Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service	2.9
Semi-skilled manual	5.3
Unskilled manual	2.9
No response	15.9
Total	100.0%

Table 7

Number of Subjects Responding to
Each Stimulus Figure

Body Build	Style of Dress	
	Fashionable	Unfashionable
Thin	32	26
Average	31	25
Fat	23	33
Total	86	84

Evaluation of Responses to Indices and Items

Social Desirability

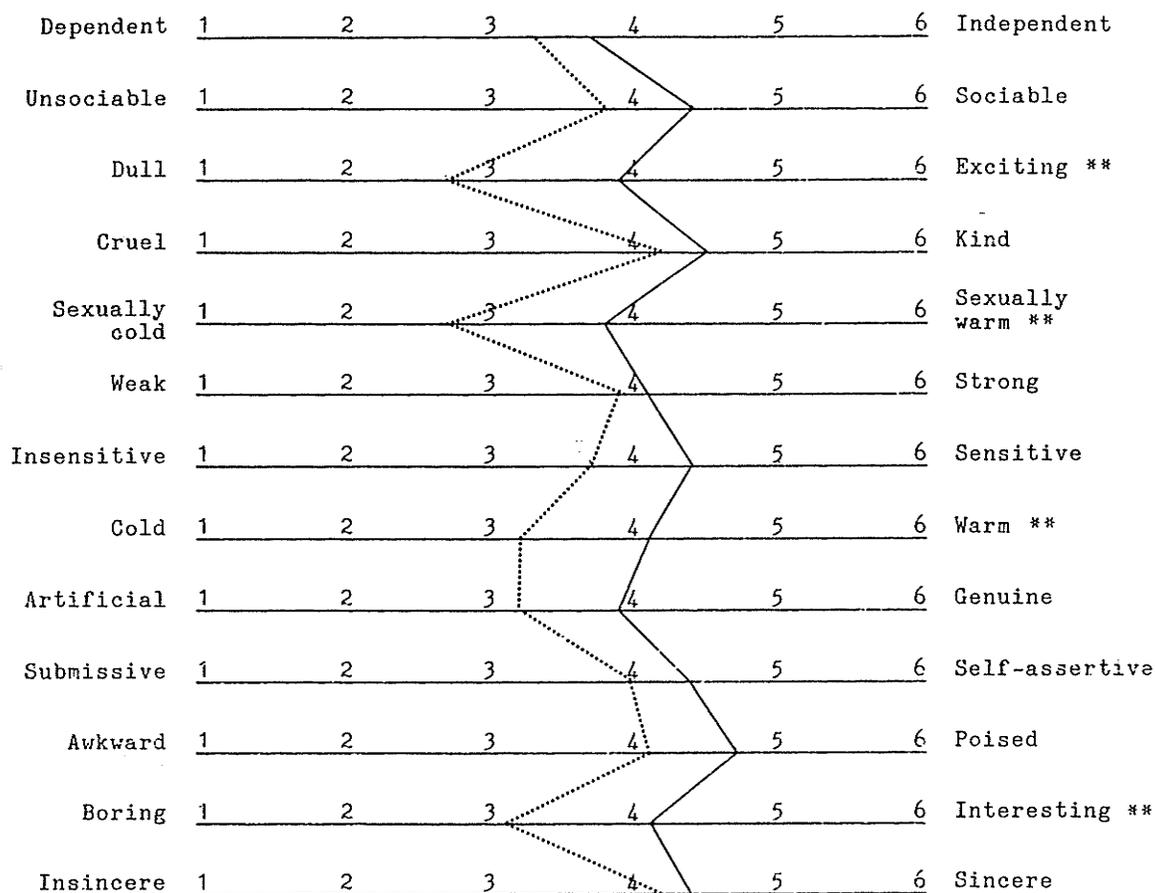
The Social Desirability Index consisted of 13 pairs of adjectives, each arranged on a 6-point continuum. These terms had been judged by male and female respondents to be characteristic of a socially desirable person of either sex (Dion et al., 1972). To calculate a subject's score for the Index, responses to the items were summed. The possible range of scores was from 13 to 78, with a mid-point of 45.5.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show comparative score profiles for fashionable versus unfashionable figures for thin, average, and fat targets respectively. Mean Social Desirability Index scores and all item scores calculated for the fashionable average and thin figures were higher than those for their unfashionable counterparts (Table 8, Figures 1 and 2), indicating a more favorable perception of the former than of the latter.

There was considerable divergence between the fashionable and unfashionable thin figures (Figure 1). This was particularly noticeable for the items:

dull - exciting
sexually cold - sexually warm
boring - interesting.

These findings were also true for the comparison of the average targets (Figure 2), although the differences were not as great for the items noted above.

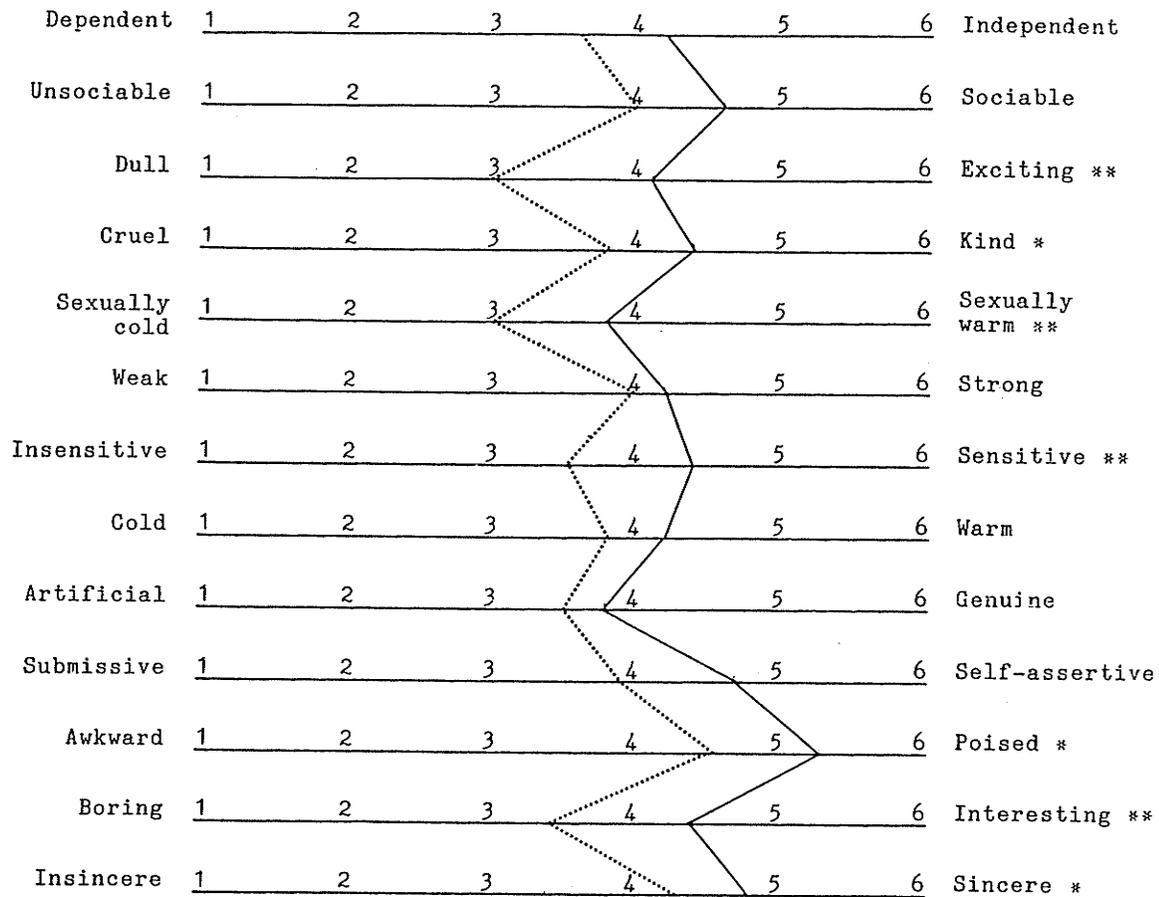


Fashionable thin figure _____
 Unfashionable thin figure

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

Figure 1

Profiles of Means of Response to Social Desirability
 Index Items for Thin Figures

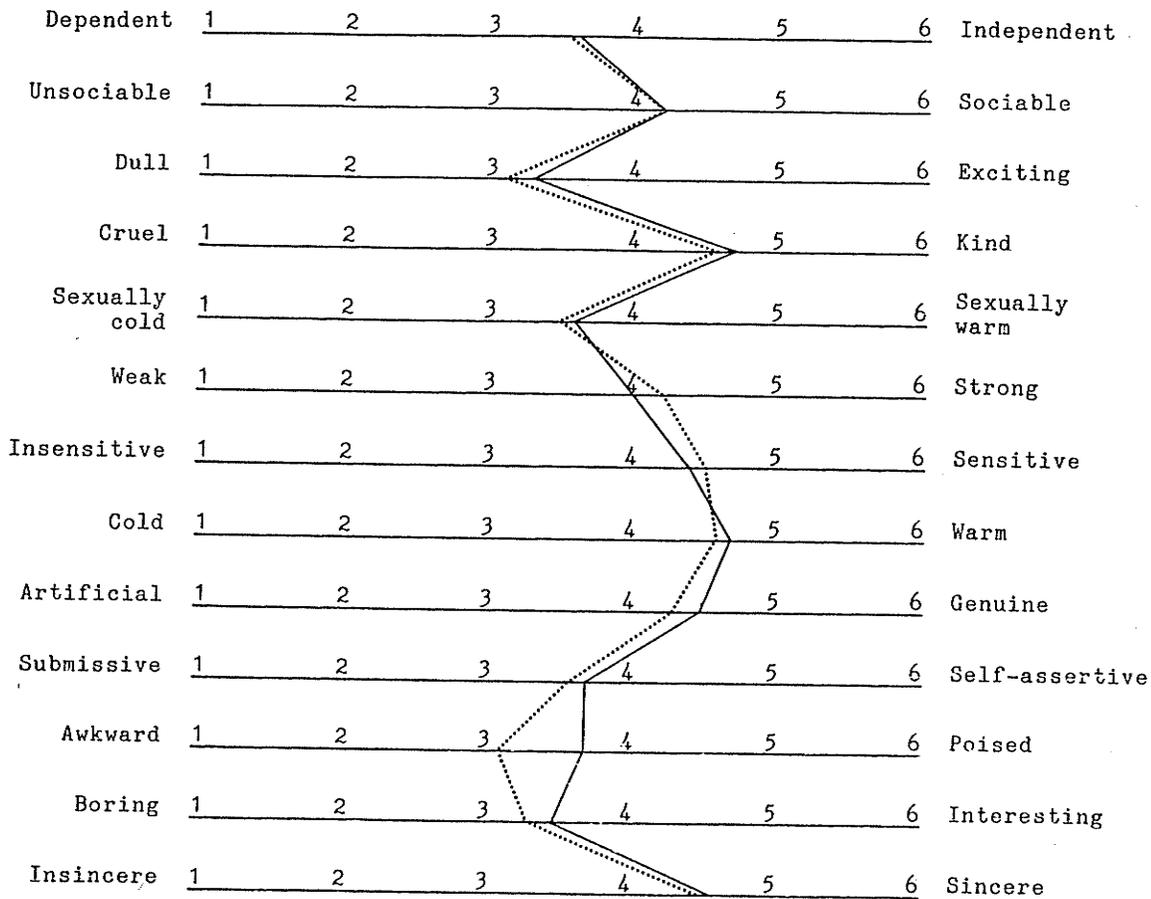


Fashionable average figure _____
 Unfashionable average figure

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

Figure 2

Profiles of Means of Response to Social Desirability
 Index Items for Average Figures



Fashionable fat figure _____
 Unfashionable fat figure

Figure 3

Profiles of Means of Response to Social Desirability
 Index Items for Fat Figures

Table 8
Mean Index Scores for All Stimulus Figures

Index	Fashionable			Unfashionable		
	Thin	Average	Fat	Thin	Average	Fat
Social Desirability ^a	54.7	56.8	52.4	45.9	48.4	50.9
Social and Professional Happiness ^b	13.4	14.0	12.3	11.7	12.5	11.7
Likelihood of Marriage ^c	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.0	4.4	4.3
Marital Happiness ^d	8.7	8.9	8.7	7.6	7.7	8.7
Marital Disaster ^d	6.4	6.5	4.7	5.9	5.8	5.0
Parental Competence ^d	9.0	9.2	10.0	8.6	8.3	9.8
Social Class ^e	3.5	3.7	3.2	3.2	3.5	2.8
Educational Level ^f	3.4	3.7	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.5
Occupational Status ^g	18.1	18.6	16.5	16.8	16.6	15.1

Note. The larger the mean, the more socially desirable the personality, the more likely the target is perceived to experience social and professional happiness, etc.

^aMaximum score = 78.

^bMaximum score = 18.

^cMaximum score = 6.

^dMaximum score = 12.

^eMaximum score = 5.

^fMaximum score = 4.

^gMaximum score = 24.

A comparison of the fat figures (Figure 3) showed little difference between the two score profiles. For two items however, the unfashionable figure had slightly higher mean scores:

weak - strong
insensitive - sensitive.

The significance of these differences was tested using the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks (H). Significant differences were found between fashionable and unfashionable figures for both the thin ($H = 14.41$, $df = 1$, $N = 58$, $p \leq .01$) and average targets ($H = 10.78$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$, $p \leq .01$) for the index as a whole.

Individual index items were also tested and significant differences found for several items for both the thin and average figure comparisons, as shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2 (see Appendix C for values of H).

There were no statistically significant differences between scores assigned the fat figures for either the index as a whole ($H = 1.44$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$) or for any of the index items (Figure 3).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. Of the fashionable figures, the average figure had the highest mean Social Desirability Index score. That is, she was perceived to be the most socially desirable of the three fashionably dressed body build types. The fat figure had the lowest index score (Table 8). The Kruskal-Wallis test statistic

indicated that differences among scores for the fashionable figures were not significant ($H = 4.66$, $df = 2$, $N = 86$). However, the Jonkheere-Terpstra test statistic (z) showed that the scores assigned were in the order:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores

($z = 2.10$, $p \leq .05$).

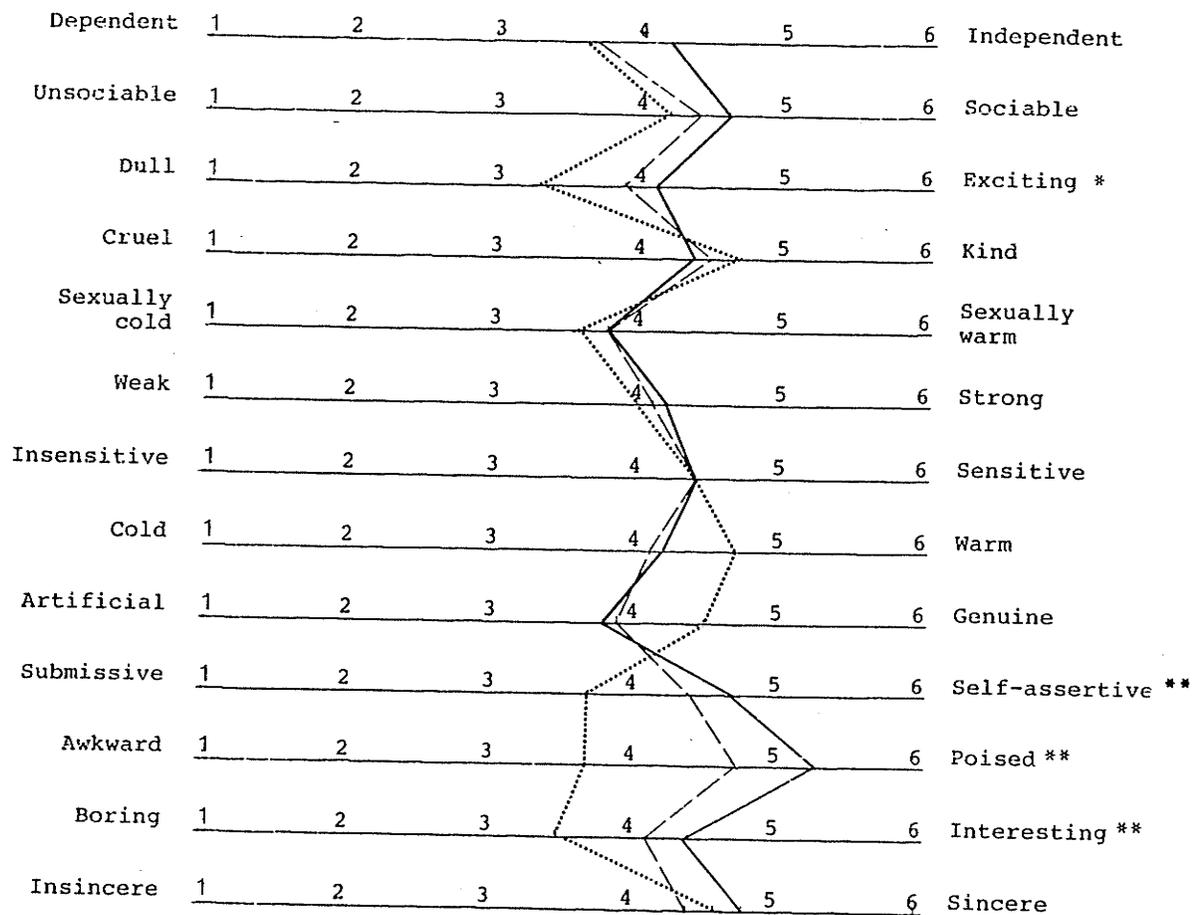
Figure 4 shows differences in scores among the fashionably dressed figures for Social Desirability Index items. Differences among scores were statistically significant for four items (Figures 4, see Appendix D for values of H).

The fat figure had the highest mean Index score of the three unfashionably dressed figures while the thin figure had the lowest (Table 8). Differences in scores were found to be significant ($H = 6.84$, $df = 2$, $N = 84$, $p \leq .05$). It was concluded from the Jonkheere-Terpstra test statistic that the order of scores was not as noted above ($z = -1.07$). Rather, the order was found to be:

fat scores \geq average scores \geq thin scores

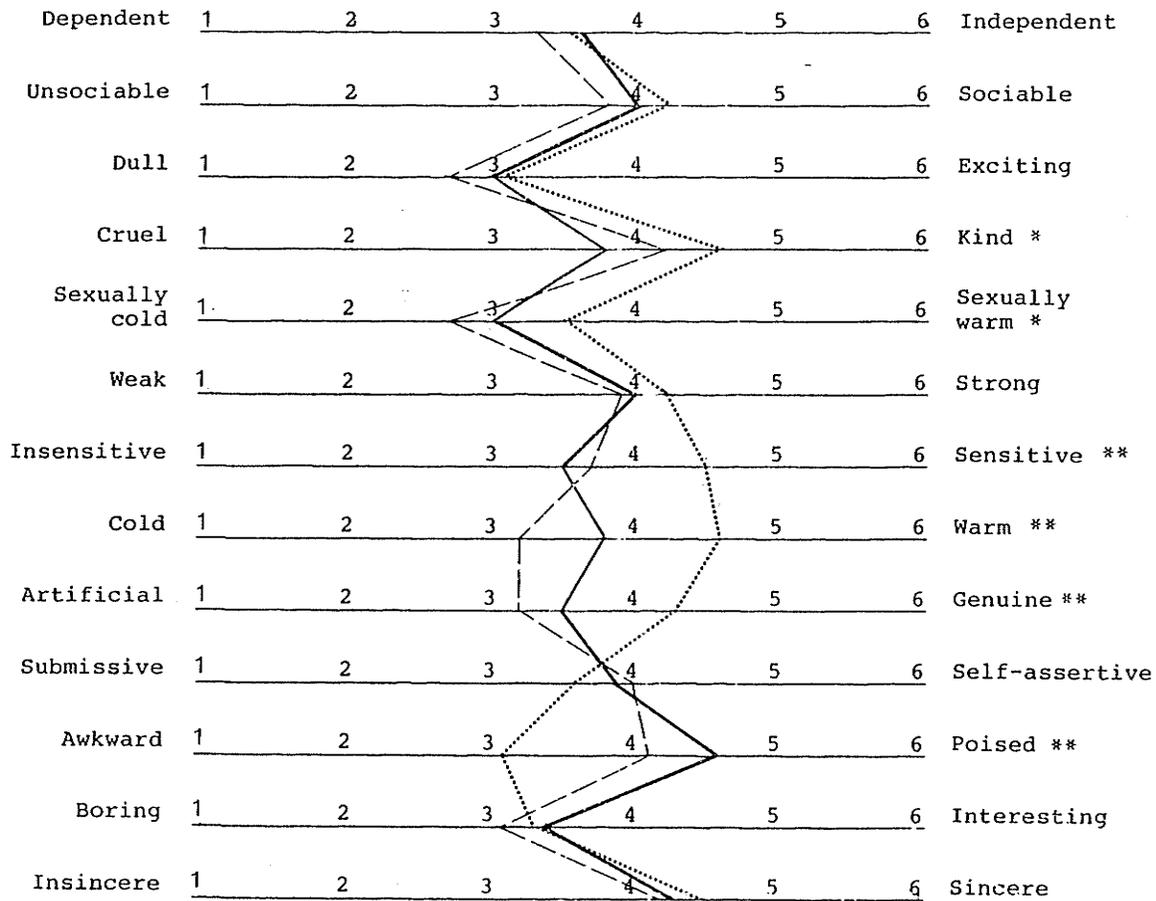
($z = 2.40$, $p \leq .01$).

Figure 5 shows differences in scores among the unfashionably dressed figures for Social Desirability Index items. Differences among scores were statistically significant for six items.



Fashionable thin figure - - - - -
 Fashionable average figure _____
 Fashionable fat figure
 *p<.05. **p<.01.

Figure 4
 Profiles of Means of Response to Social Desirability Index Items
 for Fashionable Figures



Unfashionable thin figure - - - - -
 Unfashionable average figure _____
 Unfashionable fat figure
 *p<.05. **p<.01.

Figure 5

Profiles of Means of Response to Social Desirability Index Items
 for Unfashionable Figures

Social and Professional Happiness

The Social and Professional Happiness Index consisted of three items. Respondents were asked to estimate the likelihood, on 6-point scales, of the stimulus figure leading an exciting life, experiencing personal fulfillment, and being successful in her chosen career. Again, each subject's index score was calculated by summing his or her response to the items. The possible range of scores for this index was from 3 to 18 with a mid-point of 10.5.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Mean Social and Professional Happiness Index and item scores calculated for each of the three fashionable figures were higher than those obtained for each of their unfashionable counterparts (Table 8 and Table 9). Thus, the fashionable figures were perceived more likely to lead exciting lives, experience personal fulfillment, and be successful in their chosen careers than their unfashionable counterparts.

Differences between the mean item scores of the fashionable and unfashionable fat figures were not as great as the differences in mean scores of the other two body build types.

Significant differences were found between the index scores calculated for the thin and average figures but not between those calculated for the fat figures (Table 10).

Table 9

Mean Social and Professional Happiness, Marital Happiness, Marital Disaster,
and Parental Competence Item Scores for All Figures

Item	Fashionable			Unfashionable		
	Thin	Average	Fat	Thin	Average	Fat
Social and Professional Happiness						
How likely is this person to lead an exciting life?	4.0	4.3	3.7	3.4	3.6	3.5
How likely is this person to experience personal fulfillment?	4.6	4.7	4.2	4.1	4.1	4.1
How likely is this person to be successful in her chosen career?	4.8	5.0	4.4	4.2	4.8	4.2
Marital Happiness						
How likely is this person to be a responsive sexual partner?	4.4	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.6	3.8
How likely is this person to be an understanding spouse?	4.2	4.5	4.7	4.0	4.1	4.9
Marital Disaster						
How likely is this person to request a divorce?	3.4	3.4	2.6	3.2	3.0	2.8
How likely is this person to have an extramarital affair?	3.0	3.1	2.1	2.6	2.8	2.2
Parental Competence						
How likely is this person to be a good parent?	4.5	4.6	5.0	4.3	4.0	4.9
How likely is this person to raise her children well?	4.5	4.7	5.0	4.3	4.3	4.9

Note. Maximum score = 6. The higher the mean, the greater the perceived likelihood of the target leading an exciting life, experiencing personal fulfillment, etc.

Differences between the scores assigned the fashionably dressed and unfashionably dressed figures were statistically significant for all three index items with respect to the thin targets and for one item with respect to the average targets (Table 10).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. Of the fashionably dressed figures, the average figure had the highest mean Social and Professional Happiness Index and item scores. The fat figure had the lowest mean scores (Table 8 and Table 9). Differences among index scores calculated for these figures were found to be statistically significant (Table 11).

Scores were found to be in the order:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores

($z = 2.70$, $p \leq .01$). There were also significant differences found among the scores assigned the fashionable figures for one index item (Table 11).

The average figure had the highest mean index and item scores of the unfashionable figures while the thin and fat figures had equivalent mean scores for the index and two of the three items (Tables 8 and 9). Differences among index and item scores assigned the unfashionable figures were not significant (Table 11), and the Jonkheere-Terpstra test statistic did not indicate that the scores were in the order noted above ($z = 1.33$).

Table 10

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Three
Body Build Types for the Social and Professional
Happiness Index and Items

Index/Item	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Index	8.35**	5.10**	0.23
Lead an exciting life	6.30*	4.29*	0.66
Experience personal fulfillment	4.86*	2.72	0.04
Be successful in her career	4.23*	1.66	0.41

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

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

Table 11

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Two
Dress Conditions for the Social and Professional
Happiness Index and Items

Index/Item	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Index	7.68*	3.21
Lead an exciting life	3.90	1.01
Experience personal fulfillment	4.03	0.43
Be successful in her career	10.03**	4.23

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

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

Likelihood of Marriage

Subjects were asked to indicate how likely a stimulus figure was to marry, again on a 6-point scale.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. The mean item scores of all three fashionably dressed figures were higher than those of their unfashionably dressed counterparts, that is, the fashionable figures were perceived to be more likely to marry than their unfashionable counterparts (Table 8). Significant differences were found between scores assigned the fashionable and unfashionable thin figures ($H = 9.41$, $df = 1$, $N = 58$, $p < .01$) but not between scores assigned the average or fat figures ($H = 0.57$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$; $H = 1.91$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$, respectively).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. There were no statistically significant differences among either fashionable ($H = 0.48$, $df = 2$, $N = 86$; $z = -0.54$) or unfashionable ($H = 1.93$, $df = 2$, $N = 84$; $z = 0.38$) figures with respect to scores assigned for the likelihood of marriage variable.

Marital Happiness

The Marital Happiness Index consisted of two items. Subjects were asked to estimate the likelihood of the stimulus figures being responsive sexual partners and understanding spouses on 6-point scales. Responses to the

items were summed to obtain the index score. The range of possible scores was from 2 to 12 with a mid-point of 6.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Mean Marital Happiness Index and item scores were higher for the fashionable average and thin figures than for their unfashionable counterparts (Tables 8 and 9). The fashionable average and thin figures were thus both perceived more likely to be responsive sexual partners and understanding spouses than the unfashionable average and thin figures were.

Differences between the index scores calculated for the fashionably and unfashionably dressed thin and average figures were found to be significant (Table 12). Significant differences were also found between scores assigned to fashionable and unfashionable thin and average figures for the "responsive partner" item (Table 12).

No statistically significant differences were found between the Marital Happiness index scores of the fashionably and unfashionably dressed fat figures or between item scores assigned to them (Table 12).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. There were no statistically significant differences among index scores calculated for the fashionable figures (Table 13; $z = 0.39$). Neither were there significant differences among item scores for the fashionable figures (Table 13). There were, however, statistically significant differences among the

Table 12

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Three
Body Build Types for the Marital Happiness
Index and Items

Index/Item	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Index	7.92**	4.45*	0.01
Be a responsive sexual partner	9.81**	5.31*	0.01
Be an understanding spouse	0.43	1.71	1.13

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

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

Table 13

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Two
Dress Conditions for the Marital Happiness
Index and Items

Index/Item	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Index	0.15	6.04*
Be a responsive sexual partner	3.05	0.82
Be an understanding spouse	3.10	10.63**

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

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

index scores calculated for the unfashionable figures and among scores assigned the "understanding spouse" item (Table 13). While the Kruskal-Wallis test statistic did indicate significant differences among index scores for unfashionable figures, the Jonkheere-Terpstra test statistic ($z = -1.71$) indicated that the order of these scores was not:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores.

The order was found to be, rather:

fat scores \geq average scores \geq thin scores

($z = 2.31$, $p \leq .05$).

Marital Disaster

The likelihood of a stimulus figure being involved in a disastrous marriage was determined by asking respondents whether they believed the various figures would likely request divorces or have extramarital affairs. Likelihood estimates were again made on 6-point scales, and responses to the items were summed to obtain the index score. The mid-point and possible range of scores were identical to those of the Marital Happiness Index.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Mean Marital Disaster Index and item scores were higher for the fashionably dressed thin and average figures than for their unfashionable counterparts (Tables 8 and 9). The fashionable thin and average figures were therefore perceived more likely to be headed for marital disaster than

their unfashionable counterparts were. Specifically, they were perceived to be more likely to request divorces and to have extramarital affairs than the latter were. Mean index and item scores for the fashionable fat target on the other hand, were slightly lower than those of her unfashionable counterpart, indicating less perceived likelihood of marital disaster for the fashionable fat figure. None of these differences in index or item scores were found to be significant for any body build type, however (Table 14).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. The fat targets had the lowest mean Marital Disaster Index and item scores of both the fashionably and unfashionably dressed figures. Thin and average targets had similar mean index and item scores for both dress types (Table 8 and 9). No significant differences were found among index or item scores for unfashionable figures (Table 15).

On the other hand, there were statistically significant differences among index and item scores for the fashionable figures (Table 15). Marital Disaster Index scores for the fashionable figures were also found to be in the order:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores

($z = 3.49, p \leq .01$).

Table 14

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Three
Body Build Types for the Marital Disaster Index
and Items

Index/Item	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Index	1.06	1.14	0.14
Request a divorce	0.17	1.63	0.45
Have an extramarital affair	2.14	1.12	0.05

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

Table 15

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Two
Dress Conditions for the Marital Disaster
Index and Items

Index/Item	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Index	16.49**	2.38
Request a divorce	9.33**	1.36
Have an extramarital affair	15.68**	2.34

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

**p < .01.

Parental Competence

To determine the perceived parental competence of stimulus figures, subjects were asked to estimate the likelihood of the figures being good parents and raising their children well, again on 6-point scales. Parental Competence Index scores were determined by summing responses to the items.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Mean index and item scores calculated for each fashionable figure were higher than those calculated for her unfashionable counterpart (Tables 8 and 9), although all differences but one were found to be nonsignificant (Table 16). Differences in scores assigned to the average figures for the "good parent" item were found to be statistically significant (Table 16).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. The two fat figures obtained the highest Parental Competence Index and item scores for both fashionable and unfashionable dress conditions (Tables 8 and 9). The fat figures, whether fashionably or unfashionably dressed, were therefore perceived more likely than the others to raise their children well and to be good parents. Differences among index scores were found to be statistically significant for both fashionably and unfashionably dressed figure types, as were differences in item scores (Table 17).

Table 16

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Three
Body Build Types for the Parental Competence
Index and Items

Index/Item	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Index	0.21	3.77	0.27
Be a good parent	0.59	4.21*	0.22
Raise her children well	0.13	0.98	0.18

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

*p < .05.

Table 17

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H) for Two
Dress Conditions for the Parental Competence
Index and Items

Index/Item	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Index	9.75**	11.05**
Be a good parent	9.45**	10.80**
Raise her children well	7.40*	6.63*

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

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

Parental Competence Index scores were found to be in the order:

fat scores \geq average scores \geq thin scores
for both fashionable ($z = 2.61, p < .01$) and unfashionable
figures ($z = 2.66, p < .01$).

Social Class

The perceived social class of each stimulus figure was determined by asking respondents which of five social classes they thought the target was likely to belong to.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. All fashionably dressed figures had higher mean scores for the Social Class item than their unfashionable counterparts did (Table 8), indicating that the former were perceived to be of a higher social class than the latter were. Differences in scores assigned for this variable were found to be significant for the fat targets ($H = 3.88, df = 1, p < .05$) but not for the thin ($H = 1.63, df = 1, N = 58$) or average ($H = 1.53, df = 1, N = 56$) figures.

Thin versus average versus fat figures. The lowest mean Social Class scores were calculated for the fat figures in both dress conditions (Table 8). Differences in scores assigned the three body types were found to be significant for both fashionably ($H = 6.52, df = 2, N = 56, p < .05$) and unfashionably dressed ($H = 6.48, df = 2, N = 84, p < .05$) figures. Scores for both the fashionable and unfashionable dress conditions were found to be in the order:

average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores
($z = 2.25, p \leq .01$; $z = 2.35, p \leq .01$, respectively).

Educational Level

Subjects were asked to indicate which of four educational levels they believed a given stimulus figure had likely attained.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. All three fashionable figures had higher mean Educational Level scores than their unfashionable counterparts (Table 8). Each fashionable figure was thus perceived to have attained a higher level of education than her unfashionable counterpart had. Differences between the scores assigned to the fashionably and unfashionably dressed figures were statistically significant for both the average ($H = 8.68, df = 1, N = 56, p \leq .01$) and fat pairs ($H = 6.36, df = 1, N = 56, p \leq .05$) but not for the thin pair ($H = 3.18, df = 1, N = 58$).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. The average figure had the highest mean Educational Level score and the fat figure had the lowest for both dress conditions (Table 8). In both cases differences in scores were found to be significant ($H = 12.43, df = 2, N = 86, p \leq .01$; $H = 10.61, df = 2, N = 84, p \leq .01$, respectively). Scores for both fashionably and unfashionably dressed targets were found to be in the order:

average scores \geq thin scores $>$ fat scores

($z = 3.19$, $p \leq .01$; $z = 3.15$, $p \leq .01$, respectively).

Occupational Status

To determine Occupational Status, respondents were asked to select one of three occupations from a given occupational category they felt the target was likely to be engaged in. The three occupations represented relatively high, medium, and low prestige positions within each category. Eight such categories were presented. Responses to the eight items were summed to determine the overall index score for each subject. The range of possible scores was from 8 to 24 with a mid-point of 16.

Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Mean Occupational Status Index scores were higher for all fashionably dressed figures than for their unfashionable counterparts (Table 8), indicating that overall, each fashionable figure was perceived more likely to be engaged in more prestigious occupations than her unfashionable counterpart was. Differences between scores assigned fashionable and unfashionable pairs were significant for the average figures ($H = 5.84$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$, $p \leq .05$) but not for the thin ($H = 3.14$, $df = 1$, $N = 58$) or fat pairs ($H = 2.94$, $df = 1$, $N = 56$).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. Of the fashionable figures, the average target had the highest mean Occupational Status Index score while the fat figure had the

lowest score. Mean index scores calculated for the unfashionable thin and average targets were higher than the mean score of the unfashionable fat figure (Table 8).

Differences in index scores were found to be significant for the fashionable figures ($H = 8.92$, $df = 2$, $N = 86$, $p \leq .05$) but not for the unfashionably dressed figures ($H = 4.47$, $df = 2$, $N = 84$). The Jonkheere-Terpstra test statistic calculated for both fashionably and unfashionably dressed figures indicated that scores followed the order:

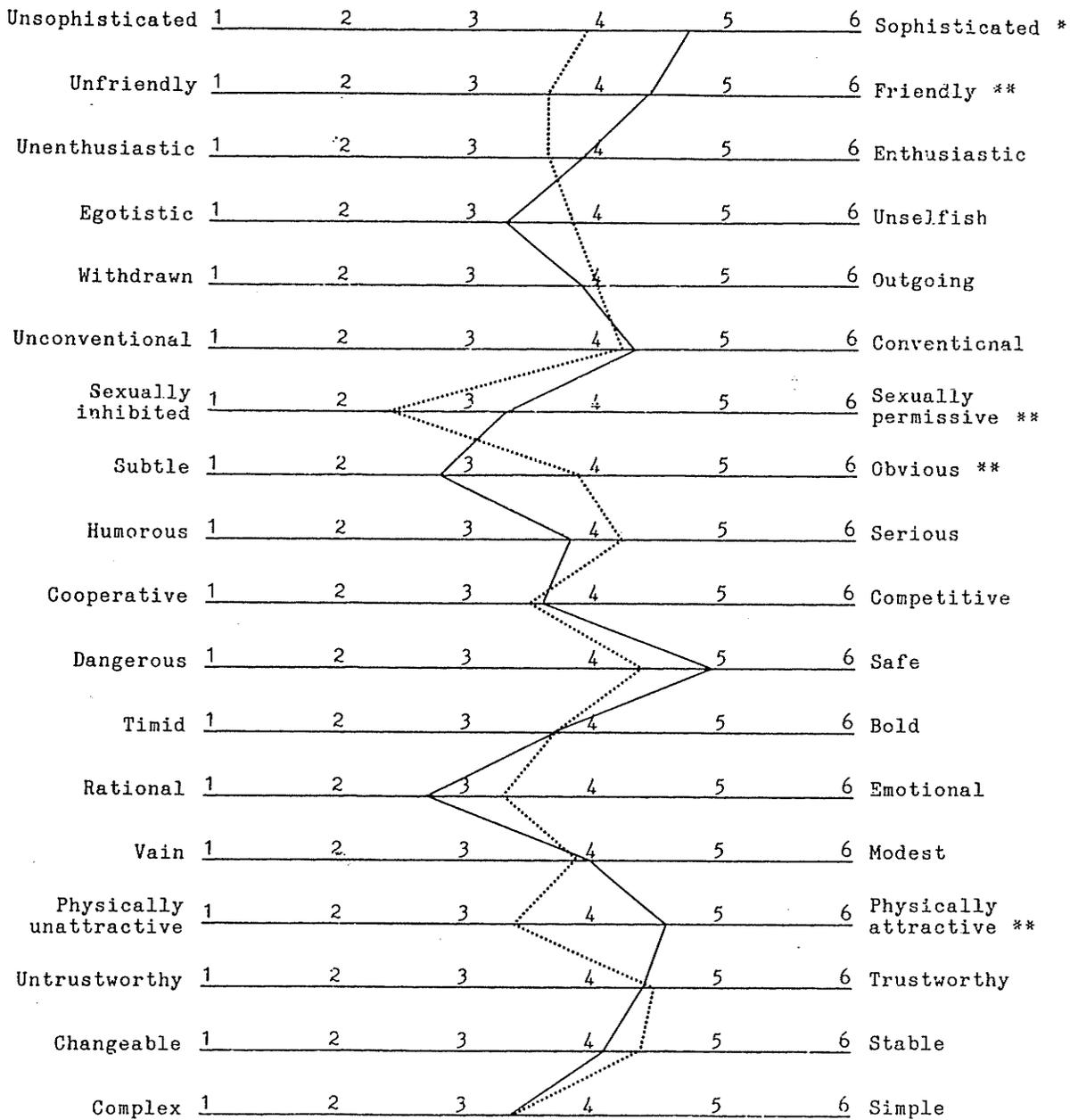
average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores
($z = 2.92$, $p \leq .01$; $z = 1.98$, $p \leq .05$, respectively).

Other Word Pairs

The items which comprised the Social Desirability Index were interspersed with 18 other word pairs.

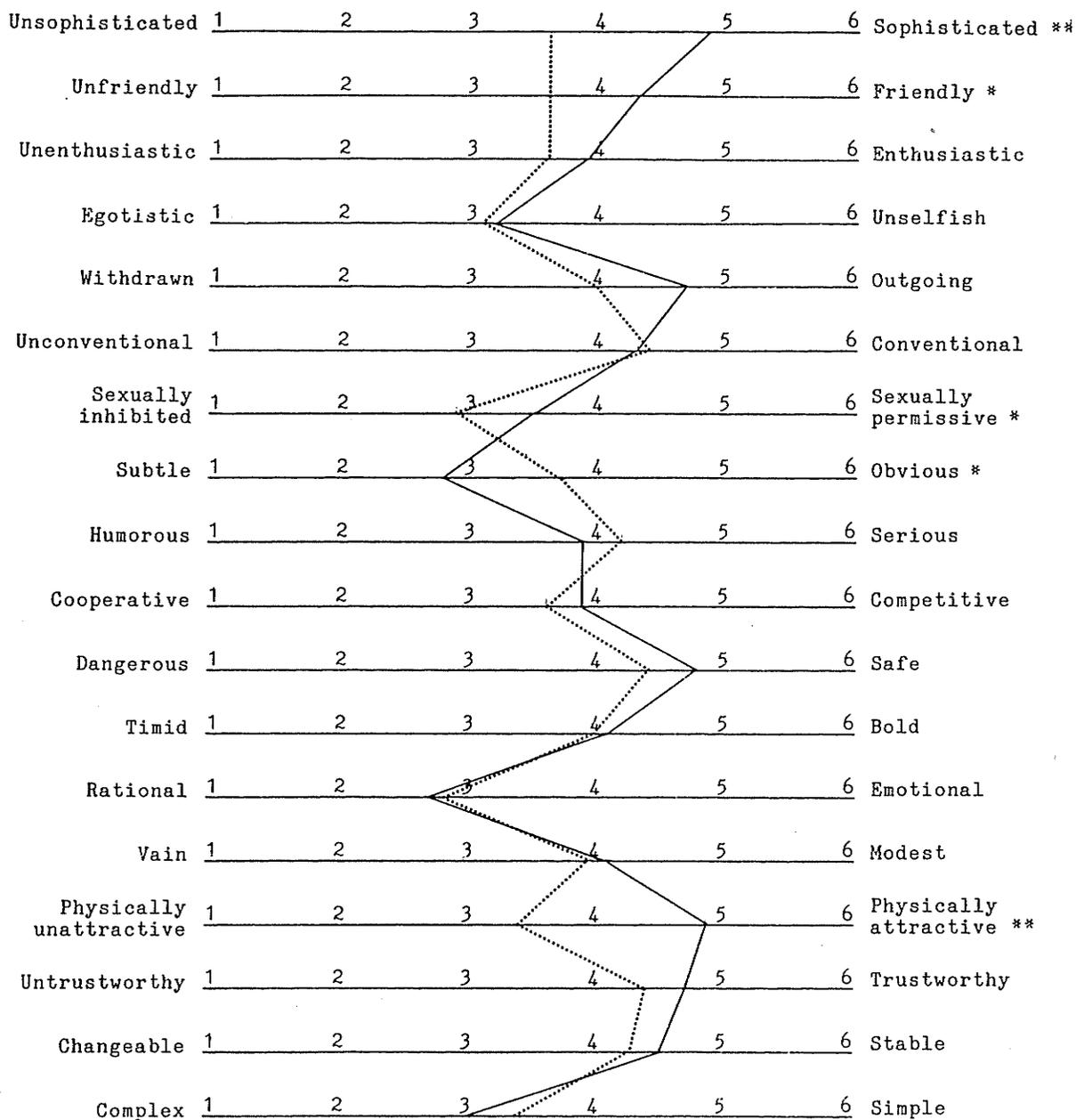
Fashionably dressed versus unfashionably dressed figures. Figures 6, 7, and 8 show comparative score profiles for fashionable versus unfashionable figures for thin, average, and fat figures, respectively. Again, considerable divergence was found between fashionable and unfashionable thin and average targets and less between fashionable and unfashionable fat figures for many word pairs. Significant differences were found between fashionable and unfashionable pairs of all three body types for the word pairs:

unsophisticated - sophisticated
physically unattractive - physically attractive



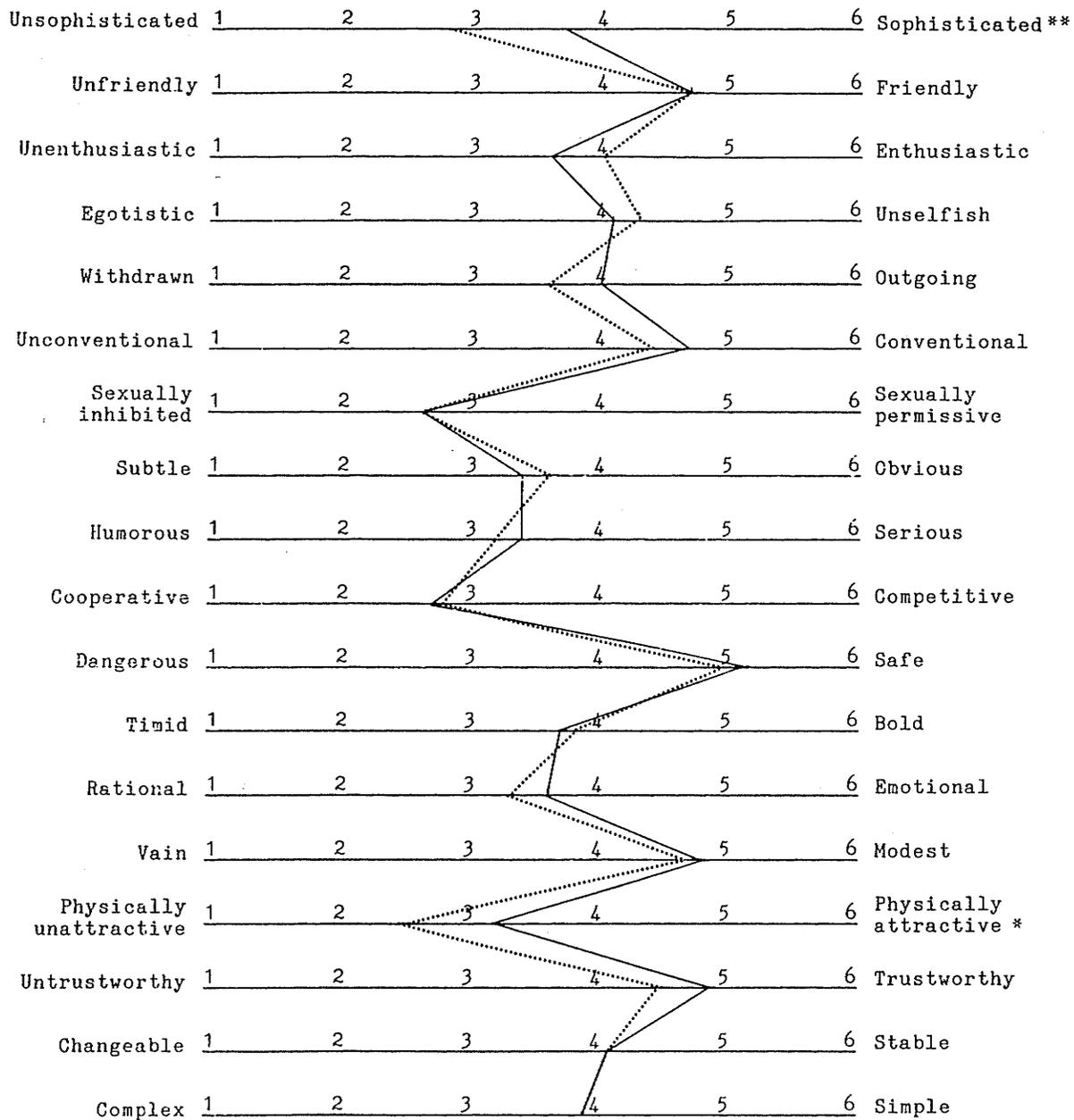
Fashionable thin figure _____
 Unfashionable thin figure
 *p<.05. **p<.01.

Figure 6
 Profiles of Means of Response to Other Word Pairs
 for Thin Figures



Fashionable average figure —————
 Unfashionable average figure
 *p<.05. **p<.01.

Figure 7
 Profiles of Means of Response to Other Word Pairs
 for Average Figures



Fashionable fat figure _____
 Unfashionable fat figure

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

Figure 8

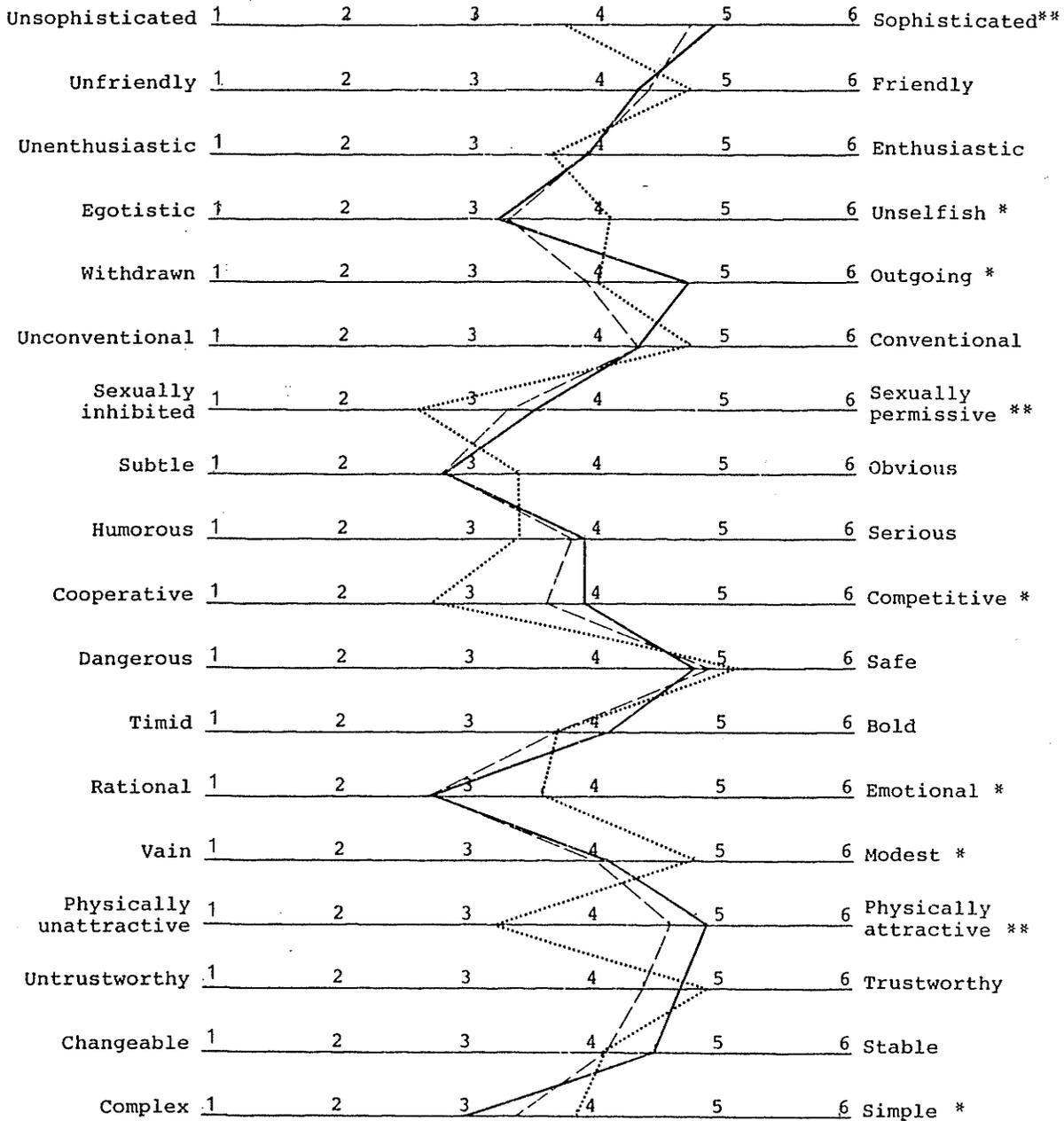
Profiles of Means of Response to Other Word Pairs
 for Fat Figures

(see Appendix E for values of H). There were also statistically significant differences found between fashionable and unfashionable thin and average targets for three other word pairs (Tables 6 and 7).

Thin versus average versus fat figures. Figures 9 and 10 show differences in scores among the fashionably and unfashionably dressed figures respectively. Statistically significant differences were found among fashionable figures for nine word pairs and among unfashionable figures for five word pairs (Figures 9 and 10; see Appendix F for values of H).

Scores for the word pair physically unattractive-physically attractive were tested for order. Values of the test statistic indicated that scores followed the order:

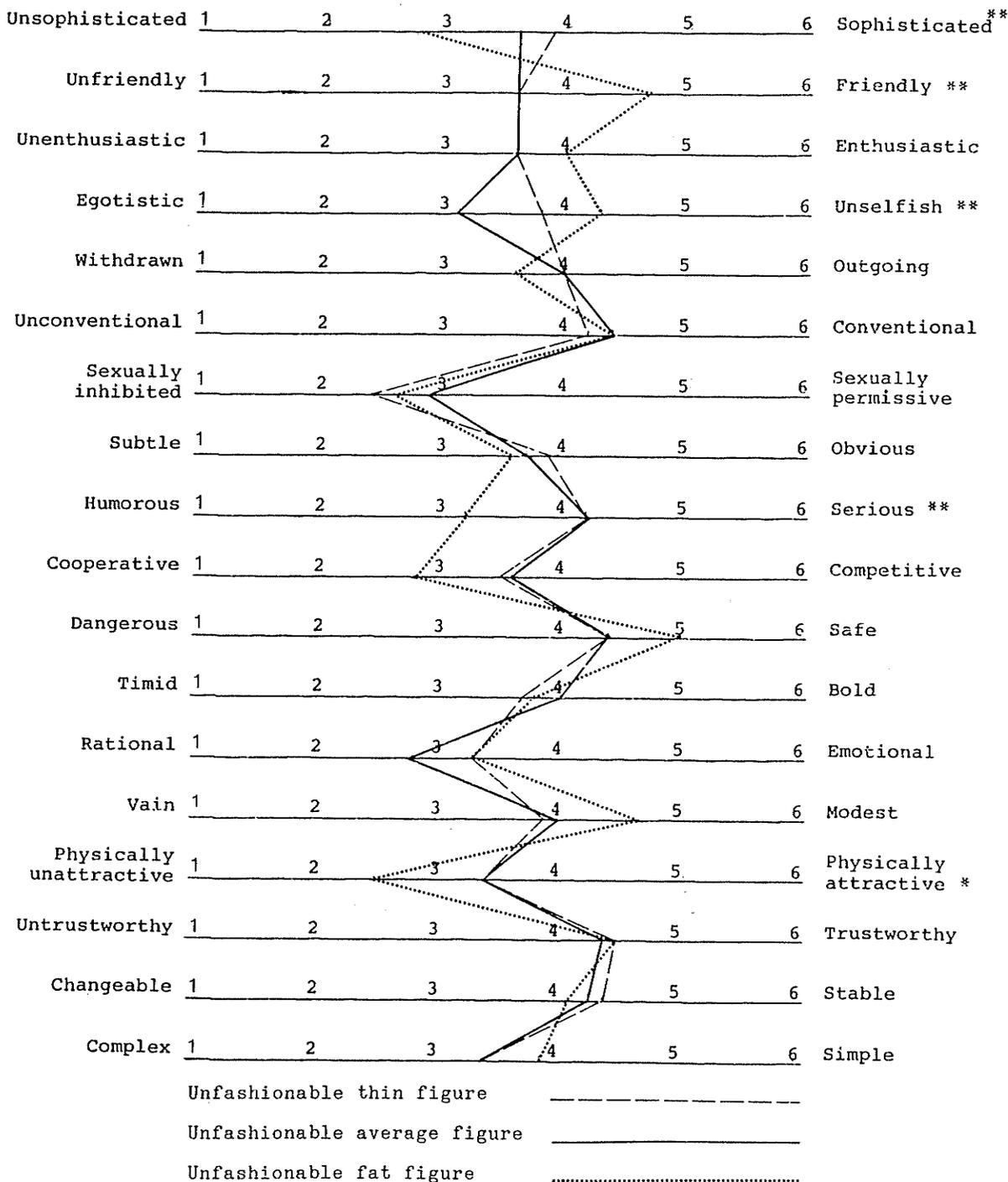
average scores \geq thin scores \geq fat scores
for both fashionably and unfashionably dressed figures ($z = 4.47, p \leq .01$; $z = 2.49, p \leq .01$, respectively).



Fashionable thin figure -----
 Fashionable average figure _____
 Fashionable fat figure
 *p<.05. **p<.01.

Figure 9

Profiles of Means of Response to Other Word Pairs
 for Fashionable Figures



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

Figure 10

Profiles of Means of Response to Other Word Pairs
for Unfashionable Figures

Evaluation of Response According to Subject Characteristics

Responses to the variables of body build and dress were evaluated according to subjects' sex, background (rural versus urban), socioeconomic status, and faculty. Response to the body build variable was also evaluated according to subject body build or somatype and ethnicity. The responses of subjects with high self-esteem were compared to the responses of those with low self-esteem with respect to the most attractive stimulus figure. Remarks are limited to those indices and items showing statistically significant differences in responses among the various subject categories.

Sex

There were fewer statistically significant differences between male and female respondents' perceptions of thin and fat figures than of average figures (Table 18).

There were no significant differences in the perception of fashionable figures according to subjects' sex. Significant differences were found in the perception of unfashionable figures for only two items (Table 18).

Table 18

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H
Values for Body Build and Dress
According to Sex of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores		
	Male	Female	H
Body Build			
Thin ^a			
Awkward-poised	3.7	4.6	4.45
Boring-interesting	3.0	3.9	4.42
Unsophisticated-sophisticated	3.7	4.5	3.97
Egotistic-unselfish	4.2	3.4	5.30
Average ^b			
Submissive-self-assertive	3.9	4.6	5.63
Insincere-sincere	4.1	4.8	9.05
Dangerous-safe	4.0	4.9	7.69
Changeable-stable	3.9	4.6	5.55
Be an understanding spouse	3.9	4.5	8.39
Parental Competence Index	8.1	9.1	5.60
Be a good parent	3.9	4.5	5.10
Raise her children well	4.2	4.6	4.14
Fat ^c			
Sexually inhibited-sexually permissive	3.4	2.4	5.87
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	3.9	4.8	5.53
Educational Level	2.1	2.9	9.67
Dress			
Unfashionable ^d			
Insensitive-sensitive	3.4	4.2	4.64
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	3.8	4.8	4.93

Note. The higher the mean, the greater the perceived poise, sophistication, etc. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 1).

^aN = 12 males, 46 females.

^cN = 11 males, 45 females.

^bN = 17 males, 39 females.

^dN = 23 males, 61 females.

Rural or Urban Background

The number of items showing statistically significant differences between urban (over 10,000 population) and rural (under 10,000 population) subjects suggested that rural and urban background had more effect on the perception of thin figures than on the perception of average figures and had no significant effect at all on the perception of fat figures (Table 19).

Some significant differences were found between urban and rural subjects for fashionable and unfashionable dress (Table 19).

Table 19

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H Values for Body Build and Dress According to Background (Rural versus Urban) of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores		H
	Rural Background	Urban Background	
Body Build			
Thin ^a			
Unsociable-sociable	4.0	4.9	4.53
Cruel-kind	5.1	4.1	5.09
Insensitive-sensitive	5.2	3.8	11.62
Cold-warm	4.3	3.5	4.23
Insincere-sincere	4.9	4.2	4.26
Vain-modest	4.7	3.8	5.52
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	5.1	4.3	4.72
Average ^b			
Sexually cold-sexually warm	4.2	3.2	5.05
Dress			
Fashionable ^c			
Sexually cold-sexually warm	4.4	3.6	10.75
Insensitive-sensitive	4.8	4.2	5.67
Changeable-stable	3.8	4.4	4.20
Be a responsive sexual partner	4.6	4.2	3.98
Unfashionable ^d			
Egotistic-unselfish	4.4	3.6	5.51
Subtle-obvious	3.1	3.9	4.37
Cooperative-competitive	2.6	3.4	5.53
Be an understanding spouse	4.9	4.2	6.16

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 1).

^aN = 10 rural, 48 urban.

^cN = 21 rural, 65 urban.

^bN = 13 rural, 43 urban.

^dN = 19 rural, 65 urban.

Socioeconomic Status

The social class of subjects was determined by their fathers' occupations. These occupations were classified into the 16 socioeconomic categories outlined by Pineo et al. (1977). The categories were then combined into three general classes for analysis.

The socioeconomic status of subjects had a greater effect on perception of the thin figures than of the average and fat figures. Significant differences were found among scores assigned by upper-middle, middle, and lower-middle class subjects for eight items for the thin figure and for only one item each for the average and fat figures (Table 20).

Significant differences among the various socioeconomic groups were also found with respect to both fashionable and unfashionable dress (Table 21).

Table 20

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H
Values for Body Build According to Socioeconomic
Status of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores			H
	Upper- middle Class	Middle Class	Lower- middle Class	
Thin^a				
Cruel-kind	3.9	4.9	4.6	6.88
Artificial-genuine	3.1	4.0	4.6	8.22
Unconventional-conventional	3.7	5.0	4.7	10.19
Dangerous-safe	4.2	5.0	5.6	10.74
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	4.1	4.8	5.0	6.26
Changeable-stable	4.1	4.9	3.7	7.04
Parental Competence Index	8.4	9.8	8.9	7.88
Be a good parent	4.1	4.9	4.4	9.35
Have an extramarital affair	3.3	2.0	2.6	11.46
Average^b				
Cold-warm	3.5	4.4	4.4	8.81
Fat^c				
Awkward-poised	3.0	3.7	4.3	7.41

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 2).

^aN = 30 upper-middle class, 13 middle class, 7 lower-middle class subjects.

^bN = 15 upper-middle class, 20 middle class, 9 lower-middle class subjects.

^cN = 26 upper-middle class, 20 middle class, 3 lower-middle class subjects.

Table 21

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H
Values for Dress According to Socioeconomic
Status of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores			H
	Upper- middle Class	Middle Class	Lower- middle Class	
Fashionable^a				
Cruel-kind	4.3	5.0	4.3	9.03
Sexually cold-sexually warm	3.5	4.2	4.2	7.40
Insensitive-sensitive	4.2	4.8	4.5	6.24
Cold-warm	4.0	4.8	4.6	10.37
Artificial-genuine	3.8	4.4	4.6	8.42
Unfriendly-friendly	4.3	4.9	4.4	11.20
Marital Happiness Index	8.3	9.3	9.1	9.29
Be an understanding spouse	4.1	4.8	4.8	14.82
Parental Competence Index	9.0	9.9	9.4	8.96
Be a good parent	4.5	4.9	4.7	6.17
Raise her children well	4.5	5.0	4.8	7.87
Unfashionable^b				
Unsociable-sociable	3.7	4.4	3.3	6.57
Awkward-poised	3.2	4.3	4.6	11.89
Boring-interesting	3.1	3.6	2.6	6.14
Unsophisticated-sophisticated	2.9	3.7	4.4	8.64
Parental Competence Index	8.9	9.4	7.6	7.21
Good parent	4.4	4.7	3.7	8.53

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 2).

^aN = 36 upper-middle class, 25 middle class, 12 lower-middle class subjects.

^bN = 35 upper-middle class, 28 middle class, 7 lower-middle class subjects.

Faculty

The responses of Human Ecology students were compared to those of students from other faculties and schools. There were no statistically significant differences between the two groups of students for thin and average figures, but several items showed significant differences in scores assigned to the fat figures (Table 22).

There were no statistically significant differences between students from other faculties and Human Ecology students with respect to the fashionable figures. Only one item showed a significant difference between the two groups with respect to the unfashionable figures (Table 22).

Table 22

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H
Values for Body Build and Dress According to
Faculty of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores		H
	Human Ecology	Other Faculties	
Body Build			
Fat ^a			
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	5.0	4.3	5.32
Parental Competence Index	10.3	9.0	5.43
Be a good parent	5.2	4.7	6.39
Be an understanding spouse	5.0	4.5	4.38
Dress			
Unfashionable ^b			
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	4.9	4.1	4.80

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 1).

^aN = 29 Human Ecology, 27 subjects from other faculties.

^bN = 44 Human Ecology, 40 subjects from other faculties.

Ethnic Background

The response of the three largest ethnic groups represented in the sample, as well as those subjects who described themselves as Canadian, were analyzed with respect to the body build of the stimulus figures. Subjects citing British, Chinese, and Northern European (Slavic, German, Jewish, and Dutch) backgrounds were included in the analysis.

Significant differences were found among scores assigned for several items in terms of the thin and average figures and for only one item with respect to the fat figures (Table 23).

Table 23

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H Values for
Body Build According to Ethnicity of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores				H
	British Isles	Canadian	Chinese	Northern European	
Thin^a					
Insensitive-sensitive	3.9	4.5	4.7	3.2	9.41
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	4.8	4.7	4.6	3.6	7.99
Be an understanding spouse	3.5	5.0	4.3	3.6	8.97
Average^b					
Awkward-poised	5.3	4.8	3.0	4.0	8.18
Be successful in her career	5.2	4.8	5.0	4.0	7.82
Social and Professional Happiness Index	14.6	12.8	12.5	10.8	11.57
Social Status	3.7	3.4	3.0	2.4	10.01
Fat^c					
Social Status	2.5	3.1	3.3	3.2	8.36

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 3).

^aN = 13 British, 6 Canadian, 10 Chinese, 13 Northern European respondents.

^bN = 16 British, 5 Canadian, 2 Chinese, 18 Northern European respondents.

^cN = 11 British, 14 Canadian, 3 Chinese, 13 Northern European respondents.

Body Build

The body build of subjects was determined by calculating each subject's Ponderal Index and classifying him or her as either ectomorphic, mesomorphic, or endomorphic. Differences in the scores assigned some items were found to be statistically significant for each body build type (Table 24).

Table 24

Indices and Items Yielding Statistically Significant H Values for
Body Build According to Body Build of Subjects

Index/Item	Mean Scores			H
	Ectomorphs	Mesomorphs	Endomorphs	
Thin^a				
Weak-strong	4.3	3.7	3.3	6.93
Submissive-self-assertive	4.7	3.6	3.6	12.40
Egotistic-unselfish	3.1	4.2	4.0	8.30
Average^b				
Unfriendly-friendly	4.4	3.8	3.0	7.07
Cooperative-competitive	3.3	4.4	4.0	7.16
Be a good parent	4.4	3.9	5.1	7.82
Fat^c				
Insensitive-sensitive	4.3	5.1	3.9	9.38
Cold-warm	4.6	5.3	4.4	7.34
Raise her children well	4.7	5.2	5.4	6.82

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df =2).

^aN = 33 ectomorphic, 12 mesomorphic, 13 endomorphic subjects.

^bN = 29 ectomorphic, 17 mesomorphic, 7 endomorphic subjects.

^cN = 35 ectomorphic, 10 mesomorphic, 8 endomorphic subjects.

Self-esteem

Only two of the subjects who responded to the stimulus figure with the highest mean physical attractiveness score, the fashionable average figure, were classified as having low self-esteem. Twelve subjects exposed to this figure were classified as having high self-esteem. Statistically significant differences were found between high self-esteem and low self-esteem subjects for four items with respect to the fashionable average figure (Table 25).

Table 25

Items Yielding Statistically Significant H
Values According to Self-esteem of Subjects
for the Fashionable Average Figure

Item	Mean Scores		
	High Self-esteem ^a	Low Self-esteem ^b	H
Cruel-kind	4.6	3.0	4.52
Insensitive-sensitive	4.6	2.5	4.63
Subtle-obvious	2.6	5.5	5.09
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	5.0	3.0	5.01

Note. All values of H are significant at least at the .05 level (df = 1).

^aN = 12 high self-esteem subjects.

^bN = 2 low self-esteem subjects.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

1. There are differences between the perceptions of fashionably dressed thin, average, and fat female stimulus figures and perceptions of their unfashionably dressed counterparts with respect to the various indices and items.

Hypothesis 1 was accepted for all body build types on the basis of the statistically significant results yielded by the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks (Table 26).

Statistically significant differences were also found between the fashionable and unfashionable thin and average figures for five other word pairs (Figures 6 and 7) and between the fashionable and unfashionable fat figures for two other word pairs (Figure 8).

It was concluded that dress had a greater influence on the perception of the thin and average figures than it did on the perception of the fat figures.

2. There are differences in subjects' perceptions of fashionably dressed thin, average, and fat female figures and in their perceptions of unfashionably dressed thin, average, and fat figures with respect to the various indices and items.

Hypothesis 2 was accepted for both fashionable and unfashionable figures (Table 27).

Differences in scores assigned to the fashionably dressed figures were also found to be statistically significant for nine other word pairs (Figure 9).

Scores for fashionable figures were found to be in the orders specified for the Jonkheere-Terpstra test for the

Table 26

Summary of Significant Response to Dress

Index/Item	Body Build		
	Thin	Average	Fat
Social Desirability Index	**	**	--
Dull-exciting	**	**	--
Cruel-kind	--	*	--
Sexually cold-sexually warm	**	**	--
Insensitive-sensitive	--	**	--
Cold-warm	**	--	--
Awkward-poised	--	*	--
Boring-interesting	**	**	--
Insincere-sincere	--	*	--
Social and Professional Happiness Index	**	*	--
Lead an exciting life	*	*	--
Experience personal fulfillment	*	--	--
Be successful in her career	*	--	--
Likelihood of Marriage	**	--	--
Marital Happiness Index	**	*	--
Be a responsive sexual partner	**	*	--
Be an understanding spouse	--	--	--
Marital Disaster Index	--	--	--
Request a divorce	--	--	--
Have an extramarital affair	--	--	--
Parental Competence Index	--	--	--
Be a good parent	--	*	--
Raise her children well	--	--	--
Social Class	--	--	*
Educational Level	--	**	*
Occupational Status Index	--	*	--

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$.

Table 27

Summary of Significant Response to Body Build

Index/Item	Dress	
	Fashionable	Unfashionable
Social Desirability Index	--	*
Dull-exciting	*	--
Cruel-kind	--	*
Sexually cold-sexually warm	--	*
Insensitive-sensitive	--	**
Cold-warm	--	**
Artificial-genuine	--	**
Submissive-self-assertive	**	--
Awkward-poised	**	**
Boring-interesting	**	--
Social and Professional Happiness Index	*	--
Lead and exciting life	--	--
Experience personal fulfillment	--	--
Be successful in her career	**	--
Likelihood of Marriage	--	--
Marital Happiness Index	--	*
Be a responsive sexual partner	--	--
Be an understanding spouse	--	*
Marital Disaster Index	**	--
Request a divorce	**	--
Have an extramarital affair	**	--
Parental Competence Index	**	**
Be a good parent	**	**
Raise her children well	*	*
Social Class	*	*
Educational Level	**	**
Occupational Status	*	--

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

Social Desirability Index, the Social and Professional Happiness Index, the Marital Disaster Index, the Parental Competence Index, the Occupational Status Index, the Social Class and Educational Level items, and the word pair physically unattractive-physically attractive.

Differences in scores assigned to the unfashionably dressed figures were statistically significant for five other word pairs (Figure 10). Scores for unfashionably dressed figures were determined to be in the original orders specified for the Jonkheere-Terpstra test for the Parental Competence Index, the Occupational Status Index, and the Social Class and Educational Level items, and the word pair physically unattractive-physically attractive. They were not found to be in the original orders specified for the Social Desirability or Marital Happiness indices.

It was concluded that, in the current investigation, body build had a greater influence on the perception of some attributes than it did on others and that this also depended upon whether figures were dressed in fashionable or unfashionable attire.

3. Subjects differ in their response to female body build and dress according to certain characteristics:
 - a) Subjects differ in their response to female body build and dress according to their sex, background (rural versus urban), socioeconomic status, and university faculty.

Hypothesis 3a was rejected for male and female response to fashionable dress but was accepted for two

attributes with respect to unfashionable dress. This hypothesis was also accepted with respect to all three body build types for several attributes each.

Hypothesis 3a was rejected for urban and rural subject response to the fat body build. It was accepted for several attributes with respect to the thin body build and both dress conditions, as well as for one item with respect to the average body build.

The hypothesis of differences in response of upper-middle, middle, and lower-middle class subjects was accepted for all three body types and both dress conditions. However, only two items showed statistically significant differences among socioeconomic groups for the average and fat figures.

Hypothesis 3a was rejected in terms of faculty response to fashionable dress and the thin and average body types. This hypothesis was accepted for one index and two attributes with respect to the fat body build and for one attribute with respect to unfashionable dress.

- b) Subjects differ in their response to female body build according to their own body build and ethnic background.

Hypothesis 3b was accepted in terms of the response of four ethnic groups to all three body builds. However, only one item showed statistically significant differences with respect to the fat figure type.

Hypothesis 3b was also accepted to a limited extent in terms of ectomorphic, mesomorphic, and endomorphic subject response to all three figure types.

- c) High and low self-esteem subjects differ in their response to attractive female figures.

Hypothesis 3c was accepted to a limited extent, that is, for four word pairs.

It was concluded that response to dress differed mainly with the socioeconomic status and rural and urban background of subjects, as did response to the thin body build type. It was also concluded that response to the average body build differed more with the sex of subjects than with any other characteristic and that response to the fat somatype was fairly uniform regardless of subjects' characteristics.

DISCUSSION

This chapter includes a discussion of the results described in Chapter 4. The results of the current investigation are compared to those reported in the literature.

The Effect of Dress on the Perception of Stimulus Figures

Gibbins (1969) and Littrell et al. (1981) have suggested that how a person is perceived may be in no small part due to the fashionableness of his or her clothing. In the current investigation, fashionableness of dress had a uniform effect on the perceived sophistication and physical attractiveness of all three body build types. Dress also tended to affect perceptions of the poise, educational level, and occupational prestige of all three somatypes although this was not statistically significant for the thin and fat figures. Mean scores indicated that, regardless of body build, the more fashionably attired figures were perceived as being more sophisticated, poised, and physically attractive than the less fashionably dressed figures were. As well, more education and greater occupational prestige were ascribed to the fashionable figures.

However, fashionableness of dress exerted much more influence on perception of the thin and average figures than it did on perceptions of the fat figures. Perceptions of how companionable or socially desirable the thin and average figures appeared to be, for example, varied with the fashionableness of their dress, as did the perceived sociability of the in-fashion and out-of-fashion models in the investigation of Johnson et al. (1970). Three dimensions defined sociability in their investigation: cool-warm, unsociable-sociable, and unfriendly-friendly. In the current study, the unfriendly-friendly item showed significant differences between both fashionable and unfashionable average and thin figures, the cold-warm item showed a significant difference between the thin figures only, and the unsociable-sociable item showed differences between fashionable and unfashionable thin and average figures, although these differences were not statistically significant. In all three cases, mean scores indicated that it was the fashionably dressed figure who was perceived as the friendlier, warmer, and more sociable of the thin and average pairs.

A measure somewhat related to the Social Desirability Index used in the current investigation has also indicated differences in the way differently dressed targets are perceived. The more formally attired female model used by Harris et al. (1983) was more likely to be

wanted as a friend than a casually dressed model was, and Miller (1982) found that male target actors wearing solid colored clothing were desired more as friends than were actors in patterned (striped and checkered) clothing. In the current investigation, the lower mean Social Desirability Index scores calculated for the unfashionably dressed thin and average figures thus may have been affected by the geometric pattern or print of the unfashionable dress used. Alternatively, the greater perceived social desirability of the fashionable figures may have reflected a favorable perception of the formality, as opposed to the casualness, of their dress.

Response to the boring-interesting item varied significantly with fashionableness of dress in the current investigation and with formality of dress in the study of Harris et al. (1983). Furthermore, in the current study subjects distinguished between fashionable and unfashionable thin and average figures on two items related to the boring-interesting item, specifically, the word pair dull-exciting and the Social and Professional Happiness Index item "How likely is this person to lead an exciting life?" This suggests that a greater liveliness of character and lifestyle was associated with the more fashionable thin and average figures than with their less fashionable counterparts.

Subjects in the current investigation also consistently differentiated between the fashionable and unfashionable thin and average figures on the basis of perceived sexual attitudes, attributing greater sexual responsiveness to the fashionable figures than to their unfashionable counterparts. This was demonstrated by the significant differences in response to the word pairs sexually cold-sexually warm and sexually inhibited-sexually permissive and the Marital Happiness Index item "How likely is this person to be a responsive sexual partner?". Gibbins (1969) and Mathes and Kempher (1976) found a corresponding willingness on the part of their respondents to assess the sexual attitudes and behavior of others on the basis of their clothing.

The fat figures in the current study were perceived to be very similar, regardless of dress. The fact that they could neither be distinguished on the basis of social desirability or by most of the other dimensions included in the current study provides some evidence that their body build operated as a "master status" (Hiller, 1981), overwhelming the effect of dress. However, the body build of the fat figures seemed to have less effect than dress on their perceived sophistication, physical attractiveness, educational level, social class, and to a lesser extent, poise and occupational status. In these cases, the social stigma of obesity seemed to be replaced by the individual

stigma (the possession of a personal rather than group-related discrediting attribute, Ferree & Smith, 1979) of wearing unfashionable clothing. Ferree and Smith's (1979) contention that social and individual stigma may be perceived as disqualifiers in very different situations thus seems to be supported by the results obtained for fat figures in the current investigation.

It should be noted at this point that the fat figures used in the current study were shorter than either the thin or the average figures. While subjects responded to the stimulus figures on an individual basis and could not compare their relative heights, they, like the respondents in Wells and Siegel's (1961) study, may have in fact perceived the fat figures to be shorter than they actually were. The male endomorphic silhouettes in Wells and Siegel's investigation were judged to be shorter than the mesomorphic and ectomorphic silhouettes, although all three stimulus figures were the same size. It is difficult to determine whether the height of the fat figures in the current investigation contributed to the less favorable response they received on some dependent variables than their thin and average counterparts. Research on the effect of height on person perception has indicated that this variable is a more important cue in the perception of males than of females (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Lerner & Moore, 1974). For the most part, subjects seemed to respond to the

fat figures as fat beings and minimized or neglected other qualities of the figures (Allon, 1976), in this case, their clothing, and perhaps, their height.

Clothing and Body Build Stereotypes

The results of the current investigation throw some doubt on Dibiase and Hjelle's (1968) statement that body-image stereotypes are more clear-cut for mesomorphs (average figures) than for endomorphs (fat figures) and ectomorphs (thin figures). The image of the average figure in the current investigation was more clear-cut and consistent with the mesomorphic stereotype described in the literature when she was fashionably dressed than when she was unfashionably dressed. Fashionably dressed, the average figure was perceived, according to mean scores, as the most independent, sociable, exciting, self-assertive, poised, interesting, sincere, sophisticated, outgoing, serious, competitive, bold, physically attractive, stable, and complex of the three figures. Unfashionably dressed, the average figure was either perceived as being similar to the thin and fat figures with respect to these and other characteristics or was judged less favorably than the others, especially in terms of perceived unkindness, insensitivity, and egotism. The dynamic and aggressive image of the mesomorph described by various investigators (e.g., Brodsky, 1954; Dibiase & Hjelle, 1968) was thus

similar to the image projected by the average figure in the current investigation only when the latter was fashionably attired.

The image ascribed to the thin figure in the current study was more favorable when she was fashionably dressed. The fashionable thin figure was perceived more positively than the fashionable fat figure and as either similar to or somewhat less positively than the fashionable average figure. However, the thin figure did not compare favorably with the other body build types when unfashionably attired. Other than being perceived as the most sophisticated of the three, the thin target was seen as the most dependent, unsociable, dull, weak, artificial, boring, sexually inhibited, and timid of the figures as well as the least sincere, coldest, and sexually coldest. The image conveyed by the unfashionably dressed thin target was thus even more negative than the dependent, tense, and nervous stereotype described by Dibiase and Hjelle (1968) and Wells and Siegel (1961).

The image of the fat figure which emerged, regardless of her dress, was consistent with that found by Wells and Siegel (1961). In the current investigation, this body build was seen as the kindest, warmest, friendliest, simplest, and safest of the three body types as well as the least self-assertive and physically attractive, most genuine, unselfish, modest, humorous, and awkward of the

body types. Expectations of the character of the fat figure in the current investigation were thus similar to those described by Hall and Havassy (1981) for women in general: passive, nurturant, socially sensitive, and non-assertive.

The ratings of several attributes of the fat figures varied with dress when these figures were compared to similarly dressed thin and average figures. On the one hand, the fat figure was perceived as being the sexually warmest, strongest, and most sociable and enthusiastic figure when unfashionably dressed. On the other hand, when fashionably dressed, the fat figure was seen as possessing these characteristics to a lesser degree than either of the other two figures. The statement of Harris et al. (1982) that the stereotype for fat people includes being reserved rather than outgoing thus seems open to question. Results of the current investigation show that whether or not the fat figure was perceived as reserved depended upon her dress. When unfashionably dressed, she was seen as the least outgoing yet most friendly and sociable of the figures. When fashionably dressed, she was perceived as the most friendly but least sociable of the three body builds; she was also perceived as more outgoing than the thin figure but less so than the average figure.

One other statement of Harris et al. (1982) is also open to question: "The public view of obesity is so negative that it is not differentially sensitive to further

manipulations of a person's status". The results of the current study show that, for this group of respondents at least, the view of the fat female was not that unfavorable and could be manipulated through changes in dress, thus leading to attributions of higher social, educational, and occupational status.

A final point should be made with respect to the differences between the body build stereotypes found in the literature and those found in the current investigation. Many, if not most investigators have used males stimulus figures in their research. This likely accounts, along with the dress cues, for some of the differences in stereotyping.

Clothing, Body Build, and the "What is Beautiful is Good" Stereotype

The "what is beautiful is good" stereotype defined by Dion et al. (1972) is appropriate to the literature on body build. The mesomorph has been consistently described as the best looking or most attractive of the three body build types (e.g., Hendry & Gillies, 1978; Kirkpatrick & Sanders, 1978; Larkin & Pines, 1979) and has also been described as all things positive and good (Brodsky, 1954). The stereotype of the mesomorph has included such attributes as being the most preferred as a friend and being perceived as making the best soldier, doctor, professor, and father (e.g., Brodsky, 1954; Lerner, 1969a, 1969b). The mesomorph has also been described as having a dynamic personality

(e.g., Dibiase & Hjelle, 1968). On the other hand, the endomorph has consistently been described in the same studies as the least attractive of the body build types and has been perceived as either friendly and passive (e.g., Wells & Siegel, 1961) or as lazy and self-serving (Brotsky, 1954; Larkin & Pines, 1979). The endomorph has also consistently been the least preferred as a friend and has been perceived as the least likely to make a good doctor, soldier, or university president (e.g., Lerner, 1969a, 1969b). Ectomorphic figures have been uniformly judged as making the worst fathers (e.g., Brotsky, 1954; Kirkpatrick & Sanders, 1978). While the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype has been pervasive throughout the body build literature, Dermer and Thiel (1975) have suggested that certain liabilities are associated with perceived attractiveness, for example, a lack of parental competence and a tendency toward marital disaster. This observation was supported by the results obtained in the current study, and there was evidence that the stereotype associated with beauty could be manipulated through dress.

A visual inspection of mean scores for physical attractiveness revealed a less than clear distinction between thin and average figures for this attribute, especially in the unfashionable dress condition. In both cases the fat figures were clearly perceived as the least attractive of the body build types. The "what is beautiful

is good" stereotype led to the prediction that greater perceived social desirability would be ascribed to the thin and average figures whether they were fashionably or unfashionably dressed. However, this did not occur. Although the average target was perceived as the most socially desirable of the fashionable figures, the fat figure was judged as the most socially desirable of the unfashionable targets. For this variable, the dress of the average figure clearly had an effect on the perception of overall character, overwhelming the positive image generally ascribed to this body build type. The stereotype of the average figure was similarly affected by dress with respect to expected social and professional happiness. Whereas the fashionable thin and average figures were perceived to be more likely to attain social and professional happiness when fashionably dressed, no significant distinctions were made among the unfashionably dressed figures with regard to this variable. The effect of dress obliterated any favorable judgments that may otherwise have been made of the thin and average targets.

The "what is beautiful is good" stereotype also led to a prediction of greater marital happiness for the more attractive targets. There was no evidence to support this hypothesis for the fashionable targets, but again the least attractive of the unfashionable figures was more favorably perceived with respect to this index. It is important to

note however, that only one of the two items showed significant differences for this index. Mean scores for the "understanding spouse" item showed that the unfashionably dressed fat figure was far more likely to be perceived as an understanding spouse than were the other two figures, likely a reflection of the nurturant and sensitive image of the fat figure which also emerged in the current study.

Expectations of marital disaster hypothesized by Dermer and Thiel (1975) to be associated with attractive targets were evident only for the fashionably dressed figures. However, the fat figures were clearly perceived in both dress conditions to be the most competent parents of the three body build types. Dermer and Thiel (1975) and Dion et al. (1972) found a similar reluctance on the part of their respondents to ascribe parental competence to attractive male and female targets, although this was not consistent with the body build literature. Results regarding the perception of parental ability in the body-image literature have been based on the use of male stimulus figures, and it seems reasonable to assume that there is a difference in the way males and females are perceived with respect to this attribute.

The status indicators used in this study, social class, educational level, and occupational status, showed consistent perceptions of the three body build types regardless of dress. According to the mean scores obtained

for all three measures, there was less difference between the average and thin stimulus figures than between the thin and fat figures. The low prestige accorded the fat figures may reflect the fact that obesity has been documented as being more predominant in the lower classes (Bruch, 1976; Goldblatt, Moore, & Stunkard, 1965; Hendry & Gillies, 1978) and that there are fewer obese persons in the upper classes than in the rest of the population (Dwyer, Feldman, & Mayer, 1970). The tendency for overweight girls to have lower academic ability than average or underweight girls has also been documented (Hendry & Gillies, 1978). In any case, Canning and Mayer (1967) have found that obese female college applicants were rejected at a much higher rate, regardless of high school grades or IQ, than nonobese applicants. Larkin and Pines (1979) and Benson et al. (1980) have also provided evidence of the stigma that the obese body build carries in employment situations.

Response to Dress According to Subject Characteristics

Response to dress varied mainly with the socioeconomic status and rural and urban background of subjects. The sex and faculty of subjects had a minimal effect on response to dress. Other investigators (e.g., Harris et al., 1983; Johnson et al., 1977) have noted that males and females respond to clothing cues similarly on paper and pencil tests.

Middle class subjects responded the most favorably to the fashionable costume while upper-middle class subjects perceived the fashionable costume the least favorably. Response to unfashionable costume was mixed for all socioeconomic classes. On the one hand, for example, lower-middle class subjects perceived unfashionably dressed figures as somewhat incompetent parents and as not very interesting or sociable, yet on the other hand they perceived the same targets as poised and sophisticated. The results of the current investigation are not conclusive enough to justify explanations of perceptual differences of fashionable and unfashionable dress on the basis of socioeconomic status. Further research on the perception of dress by the various socioeconomic classes is therefore recommended.

Subjects from rural backgrounds responded more favorably to both types of dress than their urban counterparts did. Rural respondents may have been more favorably disposed than urban respondents were to the print or pattern of the unfashionable dress. Certainly, scores for the subtle-obvious item indicated a significant difference between these two groups in the perception of the unfashionable costume, with rural subjects judging the latter as more subtle than urban subjects did. Further research could explore perceptions of pattern or print in clothing by rural and urban respondents.

Response to Body Build According to Subject Characteristics

The body build, ethnicity, and faculty of subjects had a limited effect on their response to the three body build types. The conclusion of other researchers (e.g., Caskey & Felker, 1971; Mathes, 1972) that subjects do not favor targets of their own body build was supported by the results of the current investigation. There was however, a tendency on the part of ectomorphic subjects to perceive the thin figures to be more aggressive, that is, stronger, more egotistic, and more self-assertive than mesomorphic and endomorphic subjects perceived them to be.

There was little evidence of any difference in the perception of the fat figures by members of the various ethnic groups included in the analysis of the data. This was consistent with findings of other investigators (e.g., Gitter et al., 1983; Harris & Smith, 1982; Iwawaki & Lerner, 1976). Where differences were found to be significant for thin and average figures, British subjects had a uniformly favorable perception of the average figures while Northern European subjects had a consistently unfavorable view of the thin figures. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the effect of ethnicity on the perception of body build from the current investigation given the limited number of respondents belonging to some of the ethnic groups. However, the lack of significant differences in response to the different body builds among the various

ethnic groups may indicate an acceptance of North American standards and stereotypes with respect to the shape of the female body, especially with respect to fat women.

Perceptions of average and fat figures were not found to vary significantly with the rural and urban background of subjects. On the other hand, there were several significant differences between these two groups in the perception of thin figures. Rural subjects in the current investigation perceived thin figures more positively than urban subjects did. While there is evidence (e.g., Richardson et al., 1961) of similarities in the perception of obese stimulus figures by rural and urban subjects, it is not clear why rural and urban respondents should differ in their judgments of thin figures.

The division of subjects into socioeconomic classes yielded the same lack of differentiation in the perception of fat and average figures as noted above with the rural/urban dichotomy. There were however, several differences in the perception of thin figures in terms of the social class of respondents. Upper-middle class subjects had a less than favorable view of the thin figures while middle class and lower-middle class subjects perceived the latter more favorably along the same dimensions. Given the fact that "excessive pressure toward thinness is an upper-class phenomenon" (Bruch, 1976), it was surprising that upper-middle class subjects had such a negative view of the

thin figures. As Bailey and Hankins (1979) have reported, mesomorphy has become more important in the perception of both the ideal female and ideal male body builds. They added further that a shared mesomorphic ideal may be emerging with respect to body build. If this is true, the preference for a mesomorphic body build may still take some time to "trickle down" to the middle and lower-middle classes. There was however, no evidence of an upper-middle class preference for the average body build in the current investigation.

There was no clear indication from the data that either male or female respondents had definite preferences for any body build type. Rather, male subjects had less favorable perceptions of all three body build types than females did. A slightly greater number of items yielded significant differences in the perception of the average figure by males and females, thus refuting Bailey and Hankins's (1979) hypothesis of a growing preference for mesomorphy by both sexes. Neither was there evidence for conjectures by Bailey and Chorosevic (1980) and Staffieri (1972) among others of a female preference for slender models and a male preference for more fleshy models.

Given the limited number of low self-esteem subjects in the sample, it was difficult to either confirm or reject Graham and Perry's (1978) contention that low self-esteem subjects would denigrate an attractive stimulus person more

than high self-esteem subjects would. There was some evidence that low self-esteem subjects perceived the most attractive figure, the fashionable average target, less favorably than high self-esteem subjects did. Low self-esteem subjects judged the attractive target as less kind, sensitive, and trustworthy than high self-esteem subjects did. Further research should be carried out focusing on this dimension of person perception.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Respondents in this investigation showed a willingness, by means of a paper and pencil test, to make judgments of drawings of thin, average, and fat female figures attired in both fashionable and unfashionable clothing. Furthermore, respondents more often than not were consistent in their judgments of these stimulus figures. Shared stereotypes therefore seemed to underlie their responses.

Overall, the results of this study support the statement of Conner et al. (1975) concerning the roles that person (that part of physical appearance not projected by clothing) and clothing play in person perception. They maintained that the degree to which these cues influence a person's perception of others differs with the nature of the impression variable. In the current investigation, clear distinctions were drawn between fashionably and unfashionably dressed thin and average figures on the basis of their perceived social desirability as well as on the basis of how happy their social and professional and married lives were expected to be. The thin figures were further distinguished by the perception of how likely each was to get married and the average figures by their perceived

educational level and occupational status. There were differences between the thin figures for the latter item and index, but these differences were not statistically significant. There was also a difference between the average figures for the Parental Competence but again, this difference was not significant. On the other hand, except for the two status indicators of social class and educational level (and to a lesser extent, occupational status) and two attributes, no such distinctions were made between fashionably and unfashionably dressed fat figures. On the whole, it may be concluded that fashionableness of dress had a greater influence on the perception of thin and average figures than it did on the perception of fat figures.

Body build influenced the perception of a number of the attributes of fashionable and unfashionable figures. Figures in both dress conditions were distinguished by perceived parental competence, social class, and educational level as well as by their poise, sophistication, unselfishness, and physical attractiveness. Fashionable figures were further distinguished by perceived social and professional happiness, likelihood of marital disaster, and several other attributes. Distinctions were drawn among the unfashionable figures with respect to their perceived social desirability and marital happiness, although not in the order expected, as well as on the basis of some traits.

The fat figures were perceived to be the most competent parents regardless of dress style, but they were also perceived as having the least education and as belonging to a lower social class than the average or thin targets. On the other hand, while the fat target was clearly perceived to be the most socially desirable of the unfashionable figures and the most likely to attain marital happiness, there were no statistically significant distinctions made among the fashionable figures on the basis of social desirability or marital happiness. Similarly, the fashionable figures were distinguished by perceived expectations of social and professional happiness, marital disaster, and occupational prestige, while the unfashionable figures were not. In neither case were figures distinguished by the perceived likelihood of their getting married. Thus, body build clearly had a greater influence on the perception of some attributes than it did on others. This influence also depended on the dress of the figures.

The stereotypes associated with body build and beauty in the current investigation were found in part to be somewhat different than those described in the literature. The fact that the stimulus figures in this investigation were clothed female figures rather than male silhouettes most likely accounted for this difference.

Perceptions of fashionable and unfashionable dress differed mainly with the socioeconomic status of subjects

and to a lesser extent, with rural or urban background. These two characteristics, rather than sex, body build, or ethnic background also accounted for much of the variation in response to the thin body build type. However, response to the average body build varied more with the sex of subjects rather than with any other characteristic. Response to the fat figures varied little with any subject characteristic.

The results of this investigation were limited by the methodology and sample used. While there was some evidence of social stereotyping on the basis of dress and body build cues, it is difficult to extrapolate the results of questionnaire to actual behavior. Since other investigators (e.g., Bickman, 1971; Harris et al., 1983) have noted disparities between the results of paper and pencil tests and field studies, it is recommended that further research include study of real-life situations to determine if social stereotyping has behavioral consequences with respect to the combined cues of body build and dress.

Only three types of body build were considered in the current investigation. Other intermediate types of female body build should be used in future research since actual female somatypes are not limited to those used in this study. It is also recommended that other styles of dress be used in combination with various body build types to determine the extent of stereotyping, whether in paper

and pencil tests or in field studies. For example, a skirted suit could be used to discover if there is any change in the perceived assertiveness and aggressiveness of the three somatypes, especially with respect to the fat body build type. In any event, more effort should be made in the future to combine the cues of body build and dress in person perception studies rather than studying each in isolation. The results of this investigation show that dress does appear to affect body-image stereotypes, especially of thin and average figures.

Care should also be taken to standardize the height of the stimulus figures used in future investigations. A measure of shortness or tallness could then be included to determine the perceived height of the various types of female body build and to determine if perceived height influences perceptions of other attributes.

Since the respondents in the current investigation were university students, it is recommended that the response of other groups to the combined cues of dress and body build be studied. Variables such as age and occupation may very well influence the perception of these cues when they are combined with each other. The influence of subject socioeconomic status, background (rural versus urban), and level of self-esteem on perceptions of dress and body build cues should also be investigated further.

Appendix A
QUESTIONNAIRE



UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HUMAN ECOLOGY
Department of Clothing and TextilesWinnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2

(204) 474-8137

I am conducting a study on person perception as part of the requirements for completing an M.Sc. degree. I am interested in your judgments of the person whose picture is contained in the envelope before you. You are asked to be completely honest in your judgments of this person - there are no right or wrong answers.

This questionnaire is to be completed anonymously. Please DO NOT put any identifying marks, for example, your name or student number, on any of the sheets. Your replies will be combined with those of other respondents and analyzed as group data.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating. Your assistance however, is greatly appreciated.

Please keep the nature of this study confidential. Information regarding the results will be made available upon request to Maureen Kummen, Room 303 Home Economics Building, ph. 474-8137.

Thank you for taking the time to make this project a success.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Maureen E. Kummen'.

Maureen E. Kummen

Statement of Consent

Title of Project: Cues in person perception

Investigator: Maureen E. Kummen

All participation is entirely voluntary.

No one is obliged to answer any question he/she does not wish to.

Participants may withdraw from this research at any time.

No names are needed on the questionnaires, thus all answers are completely anonymous.

With these conditions in mind, I consent to participate in this research and receive the questionnaire.

x _____

1	2	3	4	5	6
SOPHISTICATED			UNSOPHISTICATED		
1	2	3	4	5	6
FRIENDLY			UNFRIENDLY		
1	2	3	4	5	6
UNENTHUSIASTIC			ENTHUSIASTIC		
1	2	3	4	5	6
EGOTISTIC			UNSELFISH		
1	2	3	4	5	6
DEPENDENT			INDEPENDENT		
1	2	3	4	5	6
WITHDRAWN			OUTGOING		
1	2	3	4	5	6
CONVENTIONAL			UNCONVENTIONAL		
1	2	3	4	5	6
SEXUALLY PERMISSIVE			SEXUALLY INHIBITED		
1	2	3	4	5	6
SOCIABLE			UNSOCIABLE		
1	2	3	4	5	6
EXCITING			DULL		
1	2	3	4	5	6
SUBTLE			OBVIOUS		
1	2	3	4	5	6
HUMOROUS			SERIOUS		

1	2	3	4	5	6
CRUEL					KIND
1	2	3	4	5	6
COMPETITIVE					COOPERATIVE
1	2	3	4	5	6
SAFE					DANGEROUS
1	2	3	4	5	6
SEXUALLY COLD					SEXUALLY WARM
1	2	3	4	5	6
BOLD					TIMID
1	2	3	4	5	6
STRONG					WEAK
1	2	3	4	5	6
RATIONAL					EMOTIONAL
1	2	3	4	5	6
SENSITIVE					INSENSITIVE
1	2	3	4	5	6
MODEST					VAIN
1	2	3	4	5	6
WARM					COLD
1	2	3	4	5	6
ARTIFICIAL					GENUINE
1	2	3	4	5	6
SUBMISSIVE					SELF-ASSERTIVE

1	2	3	4	5	6
PHYSICALLY ATTRACTIVE			PHYSICALLY UNATTRACTIVE		

1	2	3	4	5	6
AWKWARD			POISED		

1	2	3	4	5	6
BORING			INTERESTING		

1	2	3	4	5	6
TRUSTWORTHY			UNTRUSTWORTHY		

1	2	3	4	5	6
CHANGEABLE			STABLE		

1	2	3	4	5	6
INSINCERE			SINCERE		

1	2	3	4	5	6
SIMPLE			COMPLEX		

Now please indicate how likely or unlikely you feel this person is to have the following life experiences by circling the number of your answer.

How likely is this person to lead an exciting life?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to experience personal fulfillment?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to be successful in her chosen occupation?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to marry?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY

Assuming this person will get married some day, how likely or unlikely is she to experience the following? Please circle the number of your answer.

How likely is this person to be a good parent?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to raise her children well?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to subsequently request a divorce?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to be a responsive sexual partner?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to have an extramarital affair?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

How likely is this person to be an understanding spouse?

- 1 EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY
- 4 SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 5 VERY LIKELY
- 6 EXTREMELY LIKELY

Listed below are several groups of occupations. For EACH group, please indicate which of the three occupations you believe the person pictured is most likely to be engaged in. In the group below for example, if you thought that the person would most likely be employed as an electrical engineer, you would circle the number 2.

- 1 PRODUCTION WORKER IN THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY
- 2 ELECTRICAL ENGINEER
- 3 ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING TECHNICIAN

- 1 PUBLIC GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER
- 2 PROFESSIONAL BABY SITTER
- 3 PLAYGROUND DIRECTOR

- 1 ADVERTISING COPYWRITER
- 2 ADVERTISING EXECUTIVE
- 3 PUBLIC RELATIONS PERSON

- 1 HOSPITAL ATTENDANT
- 2 PHYSICIAN
- 3 REGISTERED NURSE

- 1 SUPERMARKET CASHIER
- 2 MEAT PACKER
- 3 SUPERMARKET MANAGER

- 1 OFFICE CLERK
- 2 BANK MANAGER
- 3 BANK TELLER

- 1 JOURNALIST
- 2 AUTHOR
- 3 ADVERTISING COPYWRITER

- 1 RECEPTIONIST
- 2 FILE CLERK
- 3 STENOGRAPHER

- 1 UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
- 2 HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
- 3 PUBLIC GRADE SCHOOL TEACHER

Which social class do you believe this person is likely to be a member of? (Circle number of your answer)

- 1 UPPER CLASS
- 2 UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS
- 3 MIDDLE CLASS
- 4 LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS
- 5 LOWER CLASS

What educational level do you believe this person has likely attained?

- 1 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
- 2 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE
- 3 SOME UNIVERSITY
- 4 UNIVERSITY GRADUATE

Please fill in the following biographical information so that group comparisons of data can be made.

Your sex. (Circle number of your answer)

- 1 MALE
- 2 FEMALE

Your age. (Circle number)

- 1 18 - 21
- 2 22 - 25
- 3 26 - 30
- 4 31 - 40
- 5 41 - 59
- 6 60 AND OLDER

Your height. (In feet and inches) _____

Your weight. (In pounds) _____

Your present level of education. (Circle number)

- 1 1ST YEAR UNIVERSITY
- 2 2ND YEAR UNIVERSITY
- 3 3RD YEAR UNIVERSITY
- 4 4TH YEAR UNIVERSITY
- 5 OTHER (Please specify) _____

Your faculty. (Circle number)

- 1 ARTS
- 2 SCIENCE
- 3 EDUCATION
- 4 ENGINEERING
- 5 NURSING
- 6 HUMAN ECOLOGY
- 7 OTHER (Please specify) _____

Size of your home town. (Circle number)

- 1 RURAL AREA (POPULATION UNDER 1,000)
- 2 TOWN (POPULATION 1,000 - 10,000)
- 3 CITY (POPULATION 10,000 - 50,000)
- 4 METROPOLITAN AREA (POPULATION OVER 50,000)

What do you consider to be your ethnic background? (Ex., German, Chinese, Italian, etc.)

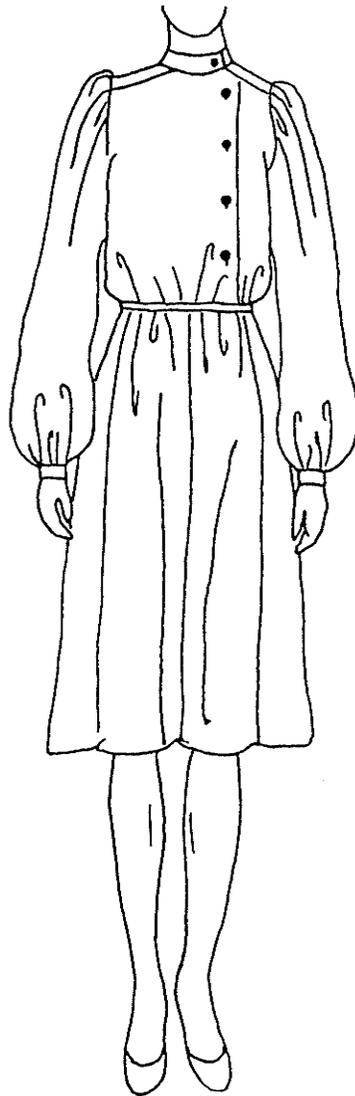
What is your father's occupation?

Finally, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements below. Circle "SA" if you STRONGLY AGREE with the statement, "A" if you AGREE with the statement, "D" if you DISAGREE with the statement, and "SD" if you STRONGLY DISAGREE with the statement.

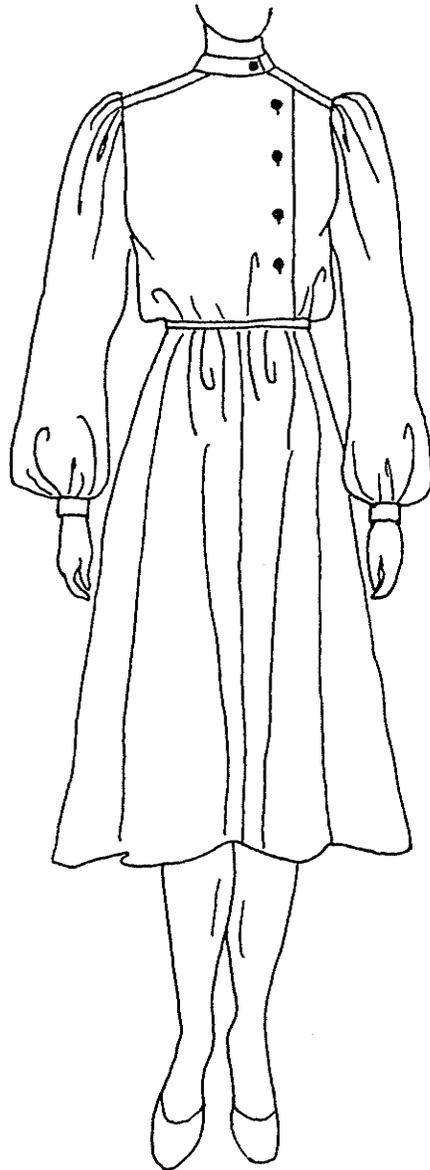
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	SA	A	D	SD
At times I think I am no good at all.	SA	A	D	SD
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	SA	A	D	SD
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	SA	A	D	SD
I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.	SA	A	D	SD
I certainly feel useless at times.	SA	A	D	SD
I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	SA	A	D	SD
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	SA	A	D	SD
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	SA	A	D	SD
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	SA	A	D	SD

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

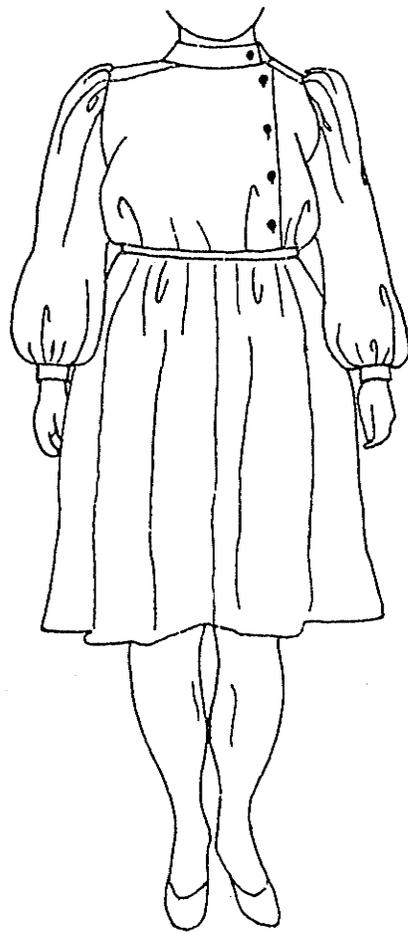
Appendix B
STIMULUS FIGURES



Fashionable Thin Figure



Fashionable Average Figure



Fashionable Fat Figure



Unfashionable Thin Figure



Unfashionable Average Figure



Unfashionable Fat Figure

Appendix C

VALUES OF THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST STATISTIC (H)
FOR THREE BODY BUILD TYPES FOR SOCIAL
DESIRABILITY INDEX ITEMS

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H)
for Three Body Build Types for Social
Desirability Index Items

Item	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Dependent-independent	0.79	1.83	0.28
Unsociable-sociable	3.17	2.75	0.01
Dull-exciting	11.23**	8.36**	0.65
Cruel-kind	0.63	4.03	0.16
Sexually cold-sexually warm	10.82**	6.96**	0.33
Weak-strong	0.34	0.31	0.46
Insensitive-sensitive	2.89	6.89**	0.17
Cold-warm	6.80**	1.91	0.01
Artificial-genuine	3.07	1.31	0.21
Submissive-self-assertive	1.71	3.83	0.00
Awkward-poised	3.07	6.21*	3.37
Boring-interesting	11.67**	9.58**	0.55
Insincere-sincere	0.59	4.71*	0.15

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

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

Appendix D

VALUES OF THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST STATISTIC (H)
FOR TWO DRESS CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL DESIRABILITY
INDEX ITEMS

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H)
for Two Dress Conditions for Social
Desirability Index Items

Item	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Dependent-independent	2.80	0.81
Unsociable-sociable	1.00	1.06
Dull-exciting	6.81*	1.38
Cruel-kind	0.98	6.20*
Sexually cold-sexually warm	0.55	6.41*
Weak-strong	0.94	0.74
Insensitive-sensitive	0.30	9.72**
Cold-warm	5.62	17.56**
Artificial-genuine	5.76	9.21**
Submissive-self-assertive	10.75**	2.13
Awkward-poised	28.26**	17.68**
Boring-interesting	10.82**	1.50
Insincere-sincere	3.22	1.05

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

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

Appendix E

VALUES OF THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST STATISTIC (H)
FOR THREE BODY BUILD TYPES FOR OTHER WORD PAIRS

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H)
for Two Dress Conditions for
Other Word Pairs

Word Pair	Dress	
	Fashionable ^a	Unfashionable ^b
Unsophisticated-sophisticated	18.88**	10.06**
Unfriendly-friendly	2.01	16.61**
Unenthusiastic-enthusiastic	1.60	2.06
Egotistic-unselfish	8.34	12.57**
Withdrawn-outgoing	7.03*	2.94
Unconventional-conventional	2.16	0.07
Sexually inhibited-sexually permissive	12.17**	3.75
Subtle-obvious	4.38	0.20
Humorous-serious	3.00	10.77**
Cooperative-competitive	8.62*	5.90
Dangerous-safe	1.02	3.04
Timid-bold	2.29	1.18
Rational-emotional	8.45*	3.23
Vain-modest	8.19*	5.36
Physically unattractive-physically attractive	25.43**	8.77*
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	2.81	0.12
Changeable-stable	2.21	0.66
Complex-simple	7.41*	2.11

Note. df = 2.

^aN = 86. ^bN = 84.

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

Appendix F

VALUES OF THE KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST STATISTIC (H)
FOR TWO DRESS CONDITIONS FOR OTHER WORD PAIRS

Values of the Kruskal-Wallis Test Statistic (H)
for Three Body Build Types for
Other Word Pairs

Word Pair	Body Build		
	Thin ^a	Average ^b	Fat ^c
Unsophisticated-sophisticated	5.60*	13.73**	8.79**
Unfriendly-friendly	6.65**	4.54*	0.06
Unenthusiastic-enthusiastic	1.31	1.11	1.63
Egotistic-unselfish	2.54	0.10	0.66
Withdrawn-outgoing	0.20	2.92	2.39
Unconventional-conventional	0.03	0.31	0.52
Sexually inhibited-sexually permissive	8.61**	4.50*	0.35
Subtle-obvious	8.81**	5.10*	0.82
Humorous-serious	1.37	1.52	0.04
Cooperative-competitive	0.15	0.60	0.22
Dangerous-safe	1.42	0.42	0.07
Timid-bold	0.04	0.00	0.22
Rational-emotional	3.02	0.02	0.95
Vain-modest	0.02	0.04	0.27
Physically unattractive-physically attractive	11.92**	15.12**	6.26*
Untrustworthy-trustworthy	0.14	0.83	1.51
Changeable-stable	0.66	0.04	0.04
Complex-simple	0.03	1.16	0.03

Note. df = 1.

^aN = 58. ^bN = 56. ^cN = 56.

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

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