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1 **UK adults' implicit and explicit attitudes towards obesity: a cross-sectional study**

2

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23

1 **Abstract**

2 **Background,** Anti-fat attitudes may lead to stigmatisation of and lowered self-esteem in
3 obese people. Examining anti-fat attitudes is warranted given that there is an association with
4 anti-fat behaviours. Previous studies, mainly outside the UK, have demonstrated that anti-fat
5 attitudes are increasing over time; **Methods,** The study was cross-sectional with a sample of
6 2380 participants (74.2% female; aged 18-65 years). In an online survey participants reported
7 demographic characteristics and completed a range of implicit and explicit measures of
8 obesity related attitudes; **Results,** Perceptions of obesity were more negative than reported in
9 previously. Main effects indicated more negative perceptions in males, younger respondents
10 and more frequent exercisers. Attitudes about obesity differed in relation to weight category,
11 and in general were more positive in obese than non-obese respondents; **Conclusions,** This is
12 the first study to demonstrate anti-fat attitudes across different sections of the UK population.
13 As such, this study provides the first indication of the prevalence of anti-fat attitudes in UK
14 adults. Interventions to modify these attitudes could target specific groups of individuals with
15 more negative perceptions as identified here. Future work would be useful that increases
16 understanding of both implicit and explicit attitudes towards obesity.

17 **Keywords:** *Anti-fat attitudes, implicit and explicit attitudes, obesity*

1 **Introduction**

2 Over the past 20 years the number of people classified as overweight and obese has increased
3 [1]. Alongside the more obvious health and economic implications is a less obvious and
4 potentially significant societal impact: the stigmatisation of obese people and the
5 development of anti-fat attitudes. Indeed stigmatisation and discrimination of obese people
6 has increased in parallel with obesity prevalence [2-3]. As might be expected, those who
7 report anti-fat attitudes have a greater likelihood of stigmatising obese people which may
8 occur in various settings [4-6]. It is suggested, for instance, that obese people are
9 discriminated against in recruitment and promotion at work [5]. The increasing evidence for
10 anti-fat attitudes presents considerable cause for concern as stigmatisation can result in
11 elevated depression, general psychiatric symptoms, body image disturbance and lower self-
12 esteem in obese people [7].

13
14 Research evidence for the prevalence of anti-fat attitudes comes mainly from the US [3]
15 which might be expected as 68.8% of adults are classed as overweight or obese, 35.7% are
16 obese and 6.3% are morbidly obese [8]. However, obesity prevalence in the UK has increased
17 and closely matches that observed in the US. In 2010, 42% of males and 32% of females are
18 overweight and 26% of all adults are classified as obese in England [9]. To date, studies of
19 anti-fat attitudes in the UK have drawn small samples from narrow sections of the population,
20 for instance exercise professionals [6]. Furthermore, the increase in overweight and obesity
21 prevalence may have led to a normalisation process where overweight and obesity are viewed
22 as the norm, resulting in less anti-fat attitudes over time. Alternately, greater exposure to
23 overweight and obese people due to the increased prevalence may have led to greater anti-fat
24 attitudes in the current UK population compared with previous years. Current UK
25 Government policy relating to obesity fails to acknowledge the impact of obesity stigma and

1 discrimination [10], yet research has identified that obesity stigma might hinder efforts to
2 reduce obesity. Thus a more comprehensive investigation of anti-fat attitudes within the UK
3 population that examines the impact of specific demographic factors is both timely and
4 relevant. Research examining anti-fat attitudes in the UK population could provide pivotal
5 information for policy makers and practitioners by directing anti-fat attitude interventions.

6

7 Research has identified that anti-fat attitudes differ in relation to individual characteristics
8 including gender, age, exercise frequency and body mass index (BMI). In adult populations,
9 respondents who are male, younger, exercise frequently and have a lower BMI are likely to
10 report higher anti-fat attitudes [6, 11-13]. Internalisation occurs largely at an implicit level.
11 Thus in addition to employing explicit measures of obesity attitudes, implicit measures may
12 prove informative in this line of research and may negate limitations associated with explicit
13 measures [14-15].

14

15 Contemporary reports in the media depicting anti-fat attitudes, obesity stigmatisation and
16 discrimination in the UK have increased over time; however, there is a paucity of empirical
17 evidence to support these suggestions. This lack of evidence alongside previous research
18 reporting detrimental links between anti-fat attitudes and behaviour with poorer body image
19 and lowered self-esteem [7], suggests that examining obesity attitudes in the UK population
20 is warranted. Thus, the present study aimed to examine anti-fat attitudes in a sample of UK
21 adults (England, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) and to compare attitudes in
22 relation to gender, age, BMI and exercise frequency. UK adults were expected to report both
23 implicit and explicit anti-fat attitudes (hypothesis 1). Higher levels of anti-fat attitudes were
24 expected in males, younger participants, and more frequent exercisers (hypothesis 2).

25

1 **Methods**

2 **Participants**

3 Participants were 2380 volunteers (613 men, 1767 women; 18-65 years, mean age = 27.71,
4 $SD = 1.03$ years) who were UK residents (confirmed in responses from England, Ireland,
5 Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) and predominantly white (93%).

6
7 **Design and Measures**

8 This cross-sectional study was conducted online with data collection carried out over the
9 course of a year. Participants reported their gender, age, height, weight, exercise frequency
10 (hours per week) and perceptions of the words ‘*fat*’ (Q1: How insulting do you believe the
11 word “fat” is?) and ‘*obese*’ (Q2: How insulting do you believe the word “obese” is?). To
12 respond to Q1 and Q2 they used a 0-10 response scale, anchored by 0 = not at all and 10 =
13 extremely insulting. BMI was calculated as weight (kg)/height (m)² and individuals were
14 assigned to the categories underweight (< 18.5), normal weight (18.5-24.9), overweight (25-
15 29.9) and obese (≥ 30 ; see Tables 1 & 2).

16
17 Participants completed online versions of the Attitudes Towards Obese Persons and Beliefs
18 About Obese Persons scales (ATOP, BAOP) [16] that measure both positive and negative
19 attitudes towards obese persons and perceived controllability of obesity, respectively.
20 Previous research [17] has suggested that those who perceive obesity to be controllable are
21 more likely to have anti-fat attitudes. ATOP scores range from 0-120 across 20 items, where
22 low scores represent more negative attitudes. BAOP scores range from 0-48 across 8 items,
23 where low scores represent a stronger belief that obesity is controllable.

24

1 Participants also completed the Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale (AFAS) [18] that measures the
2 magnitude of anti-fat attitudes via 5 items (scores range from 0-25 where higher scores
3 represent stronger anti-fat attitudes), the 14 item F-Scale (Fat Phobia Scale short form) [19]
4 that measures the degree to which individuals associate stereotypical characteristics with
5 being fat (responses range from 0-5 where higher scores represent a perception that
6 characteristics are associated with being fat), and the Implicit Association Test (IAT) [20]
7 which was the only implicit measure used. The stimuli for in this computer-based measure of
8 implicit attitudes towards fatness and thinness was previously used by Vartanian et al. [21].
9 The IAT does not directly measure attitudes but provides an indication of an implicit
10 preference for fatness or thinness. Participants are presented with weight-related words and
11 associate these as quickly as possible with different grouping categories as detailed below. In
12 line with Lane et al. [22] the seven step procedure was employed, where participants respond
13 to each of the following grouping categories: (1) *pleasant* or *unpleasant*; (2) *fat* or *thin*; (3)
14 *fat/pleasant* or *thin/unpleasant*; (4) *fat/pleasant* or *thin/unpleasant* (stage 3 repeated); (5) *thin*
15 *or fat*; (6) *fat/unpleasant* or *thin/pleasant*; and (7) *fat/unpleasant* or *thin/pleasant* (stage 6
16 repeated). Only steps 3, 4, 6 and 7 are used to measure implicit attitudes; the remaining steps
17 were practice stimuli to engage participants with the process. Participants associated the
18 words that appeared in the middle of the screen with either of the grouping category in the
19 top left or top right of the screen using the E or I keys, respectively (e.g. for happy *pleasant* is
20 located in the top left and *unpleasant* in the top right). Response latency to different pairs of
21 grouping categories is measured in milliseconds (msec). Positive scores represent stronger
22 anti-fat or pro-thin bias.

23

24 All measures except the IAT are explicit measures and employ likert-type scales. Higher
25 scores on the AFAS, F-Scale, Q1 and Q2 and lower scores on the ATOP and BAOP represent

1 more negative attitudes. Previous research has used the scales employed in the current study
2 with different adult population groups reporting good reliability and validity (ATOP: [13]; α
3 = .76; BAOP: [13]; α = .82; AFAS: [18]; α = .80; F-Scale: [19]; α = .87).

4

5 **Procedures**

6 Ethical approval was obtained from Aberystwyth University Research Ethics Committee,
7 UK, and potential participants were approached via 3 means of recruitment: (i) letters and
8 emails distributed to UK businesses, councils, universities and higher education institutions
9 (ii) social networking websites and (iii) conferences. Recruitment attempts were strategic to
10 sample participants from as many counties across the UK as possible. Participants were asked
11 to complete an online survey on attitudes and beliefs about obesity (as described above).
12 Prior to completing all measures, participants were provided with information about the study
13 and consented to participate. Measures were presented in counterbalanced order across
14 participants to minimise order effects. No incentive was offered for participating in the study.

15

16 **Analysis**

17 Total or mean scores were calculated for all measures and used in the analyses except the
18 IAT where IAT D scores were calculated representing the difference between total response
19 latency for the pairings *fat/pleasant* and *thin/unpleasant* versus *fat/unpleasant* and
20 *thin/pleasant*. IAT D scores were calculated as recommended by Greenwald et al. [23]: (1)
21 delete responses greater than 10,000 msec; (2) delete participants' data where more than 10%
22 of responses have a response latency less than 300 msec; (3) compute the inclusive standard
23 deviation for all responses in steps 3 and 6 and similarly in 4 and 7; (4) compute the mean
24 latency for responses in steps 3, 4, 6 and 7; (5) compute the main differences (mean step 6 -
25 mean step 3, and, mean step 7 - mean step 4); (6) divide each difference score by its

1 associated inclusive standard deviation; and (7) calculate the D score as the equal weight
2 mean of the two resulting ratios. D-scores range from -1000 to 1000 msec with positive
3 scores indicative of anti-fat attitudes or pro-thin bias.

4

5 Mean scores reported in previous research that have employed the explicit anti-fat attitude
6 measures of this study were used to determine if current data are indicative of anti-fat
7 attitudes, as no criteria exist for interpreting these scores. Thus, the mean scores reported
8 previously that were claimed to demonstrate anti-fat attitudes were used for comparison as
9 follows: 59.7 and 17.9, ATOP and BAOP respectively [16]; 3.03, AFAS [18]; and 3.6, F-
10 Scale [19].

11

12 Study hypotheses were examined by a series of Multivariate Analyses of Variance
13 (MANOVA) conducted on the data for each independent variable (gender, age, BMI,
14 exercise frequency) with all attitude measures as dependent variables (see Tables 1 & 2).
15 gender had two levels; age had four levels as did BMI in line with the World Health
16 Organisation BMI categories [24], exercise frequency had three levels in line with
17 recommended UK physical activity guidelines representing: below recommended (0-3 hours
18 per week), recommended (4-7 hours per week) and above recommended levels (8+ hours per
19 week; see Tables 1 & 2). Follow-up one way ANOVAs for each independent variable were
20 employed with Welch correction to examine multivariate effects (except for gender where an
21 independent t-test was used). Post-hoc tests with Scheffé correction were used to follow-up
22 significant ANOVA effects. One way ANOVAs were used to compare IAT D scores across
23 different levels of independent variables. For all analyses α was set at .05.

24

25 **Results**

1 Tables 1 and 2 present the descriptive statistics for all variables in relation to demographic
2 and behavioural groups. Cronbach's α were satisfactory for all scales: for the ATOP (.8),
3 BAOP (.7), AFAS (.8), and F-Scale (.8). Table 3 reports significant overall univariate effects
4 with results of follow-up tests to explore these discussed below.

5

6

[Insert Tables 1, 2 & 3 here]

7

8 The IAT D score ($D = 147.8$) indicated that, as anticipated, there was an overall anti-fat or
9 pro-thin bias in the sample. Similarly, based on the criteria identified above, mean scores on
10 explicit measures indicate negative attitudes towards obesity (see Table 1).

11

12 The MANOVA demonstrated main effects in relation to gender ($F(6, 2373) = 38.22, P <.01$),
13 age ($F(18, 6707) = 6.59, P <.01$), exercise frequency ($F(12, 407) = 4.19, P < .01$) and BMI
14 ($F(18, 6707) = 11.07, P <.01$). All dependent variables contributed significantly ($P <.05$) to
15 these main effects with the exception of Q2 for exercise frequency and ATOP, Q1 and Q2 for
16 BMI. The results of follow-up ANOVAs are detailed in Table 3, indicating significant age
17 differences for all dependent variables. All variables except Q1 and Q2 differed in relation to
18 exercise frequency, and, significant differences were observed for all variables except ATOP,
19 Q1 and Q2 in relation to BMI. Post hoc test results are discussed below. The follow-up tests
20 on the gender main effect indicated significant differences on all variables (see below).

21

22 **Gender:** Males reported more negative attitudes towards obese people (ATOP), greater anti-
23 fat attitudes (AFAS) and greater fat phobia (F-Scale) than females ($t(985.25) = -5.34, P <.01$;
24 $t(2378) = 8.92, P <.01$; $t(2378) = 3.41, P <.01$, respectively). In contrast, females reported
25 stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable (BAOP: $t(2378) = 2.05, P <.05$) and perceived the

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1 words fat (Q1: $t(1022) = -9.18, P <.01$) and obese (Q2: $t(2378) = -5.10, P <.01$) as more
2 insulting.

3

4 **Age:** 18-25 year olds reported more negative attitudes towards obese people (ATOP; $P <.01$), greater anti-fat attitudes (AFAS; $P <.01$) and greater fat phobia (F-Scale; $P <.01$) than
5 26-50 year olds. 18-25 year olds also reported stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable
6 (BAOP; $P <.01$) than 36-50 year olds, and, perceived the words fat (Q1) and obese (Q2) as
7 more insulting than 26-35 year olds ($P <.01$), 36-50 year olds ($P <.01$) and 51-65 year olds (P
8 $<.01$).

10

11 **Exercise frequency:** Participants who exercise 8 or more hours a week reported more
12 negative attitudes towards obese people (ATOP; $P <.01$) and greater anti-fat attitudes (AFAS;
13 $P <.01$) than those who exercise 0-3 hours a week. They also reported greater anti-fat
14 attitudes (AFAS) than those who exercise 4-7 hours a week ($P <.01$), who in turn reported
15 greater anti-fat attitudes (AFAS; $P <.01$) and fat phobia (F-Scale; $P <.01$) than those who
16 exercise 0-3 hours a week. Overall, the explicit results demonstrate that males, younger
17 respondents and more frequent exercisers reported more negative perceptions of obesity.

18

19 **BMI:** Anti-fat attitudes (AFAS) were greater in underweight and overweight than obese
20 participants ($P <.01$) and in normal weight compared with overweight and obese participants
21 ($P <.01$). Fat phobia (F-Scale) was lower in obese than underweight, normal weight and
22 overweight participants ($P <.01$), and in overweight compared with normal weight
23 participants ($P <.01$). Normal weight participants believed that obesity is more controllable
24 (BAOP) than underweight and obese participants ($P <.01$), as did overweight compared with
25 obese participants ($P <.01$).

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Correlations between explicit measures: A number of correlations were evident between explicit measures (see Table 4). A positive correlation between ATOP and BAOP scores was observed, where more negative attitudes towards obese persons were associated with a stronger belief that obesity is controllable. A positive correlation between AFAS and F-Scale scores was also evident, where more anti-fat attitudes were associated with greater fat phobia. Other positive correlations were evident between BAOP and Q2, Q1 and Q2, and Q2 and F-Scale scores. This suggests that perceptions that the word obese is more insulting were associated with stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable, perceptions that the word fat is more insulting and greater fat phobia.

[Insert Table 4 here]

A negative correlation was evident between ATOP and AFAS scores, where more negative attitudes towards obese persons were associated with higher levels of anti-fat attitudes. A negative correlation also observed between BAOP and AFAS scores, where stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable were associated with more anti-fat attitudes. BAOP and F-Scale scores were negatively correlated indicating that stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable are associated with greater fat phobia. Finally, negative correlations were also found between scores on the ATOP and Q2, ATOP and F-Scale, and BAOP and Q2. This suggests that more negative attitudes towards obese persons are associated with perceptions that the word obese is more insulting and with greater fat phobia, and that stronger beliefs that obesity is controllable are associated with perceptions that the word obese is more insulting.

Discussion

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1 The study examined anti-fat attitudes in a cross-section of UK adults (England, Ireland,
2 Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) and compared attitudes in relation to gender, age,
3 BMI and exercise frequency. Implicit and explicit anti-fat attitudes were evident in our
4 sample of UK adults in line with hypothesis 1. Anti-fat attitudes were higher in males,
5 younger participants and more frequent exercisers, in support of hypothesis 2.

6
7 Our findings illustrate that in UK adults, anti-fat attitudes appear to be widespread. Given the
8 stigmatisation that can result from pervasive anti-fat attitudes, interventions to modify anti-fat
9 attitudes are required. Anti-fat attitudes appear to be robust and have proven difficult to
10 modify [25]; however some promise has been reported in altering beliefs about the causes of
11 obesity [26]. Current study findings suggest that particular groups could be targeted with
12 attitude modification interventions: males, younger individuals, and frequent exercisers.
13 There are plausible explanations for greater anti-fat attitudes in all these groups: males tend to
14 be less empathetic than females [27], a heightened awareness of body appearance in younger
15 individuals, and, the incidence and possible acceptance of weight-related criticism in exercise
16 environments [28-30]. These are all modifiable factors suggesting that interventions targeting
17 these may well be successful. Our descriptive data does not offer support for the explanations
18 we propose. Thus they require confirmation in future work before being used to underpin
19 interventions to address negative perceptions of obesity in these groups. Nevertheless, given
20 that anti-fat attitudes can lead to the stigmatisation of obese people [31]; our findings
21 highlight the need for anti-fat attitude intervention with UK adults.

22
23 Our data reveal some interesting, although possibly contradictory, findings regarding
24 perceptions of the controllability of obesity and of the descriptors fat and obese. Females and
25 younger respondents tended to perceive obesity as more controllable and the labels fat and

1 obese as more insulting than males and older respondents. For younger respondents this
2 appears logical as they reported more anti-fat attitudes, thus they perceive labels associated
3 with the condition as insulting. In addition, correlations from the current study that support
4 previous research [32], suggest that these anti-fat attitudes are likely to derive partially from
5 the belief that obesity is controllable and that obese people are responsible, indeed to blame,
6 for their condition. This interpretation does not explain the same pattern seen in females as
7 they did not report particularly strong anti-fat attitudes. Thus it may be that the participants
8 perception of the labels used to describe obese people are not directly related to, or derived
9 from, their evaluative perceptions of obese people themselves.

10

11 The differences observed in perceived controllability of obesity in relation to BMI are
12 unclear. Obese respondents reported lower perceived controllability than normal and
13 overweight respondents. This may serve as a self-protective mechanism in obese people to
14 maintain self-esteem as they apportion less self-blame for their obesity [17]. Or, it may reflect
15 their lived experience of being obese, as substantial evidence suggests a role for
16 uncontrollable factors such as genetics in becoming obese [33], and, obese people are aware
17 of their own exercise and nutrition habits, unlike external others. Less clear is the finding that
18 perceived controllability was lower in underweight compared with normal weight
19 respondents. Possibly underweight people recognise that weight at both extremes of the
20 continuum is not always within the individual's control if they themselves suffer from an
21 eating disorder or are not underweight through choice. These explanations are of course
22 highly speculative given that our study did not seek to identify explanations for different
23 obesity attitudes. Whilst they intuitively make sense future research is clearly warranted to
24 examine these suggestions.

25

1 Interestingly, despite the differences observed in the explicit measures, as discussed above,
2 there was a null effect in relation to implicit attitudes when compared across the demographic
3 factors. Current study findings demonstrate that UK adults have implicit anti-fat or pro-thin
4 bias, but no differences were observed for almost all of the demographic factors. Previously it
5 has been suggested that implicit measures counter some of the limitations of explicit
6 measures, such as response bias and demand characteristics [14-15]. Thus, differences
7 observed in explicit responses, may have been a result of participants reducing the extent of
8 their anti-fat attitudes, whilst this was not observed via implicit measures. Thus the current
9 study findings highlight the need to examine both implicit and explicit attitudes towards
10 obesity.

11

12 Regardless, our findings do underscore the importance noted previously of recognising the
13 terms used to describe overweight and obesity [34]. Although medical professionals may use
14 the term obese in an objective sense to describe a clinical condition, for our sample and in
15 particular younger, female respondents, this was perceived as an insulting label. This finding
16 reinforces previous suggestions that the term obese should be avoided [35]. Moreover the
17 findings go beyond previous suggestions that have demonstrated that the term 'obese' should
18 be avoided with obese patients, as our study demonstrates that the term is perceived as
19 insulting in participants across BMI categories. Recently, guidelines have been developed for
20 using language more sensitively to avoid objectification of the individual and placing the
21 condition before the person, for instance the term 'diabetic' has been replaced by 'people
22 with diabetes' [36]. Similar adjustments would seem appropriate when discussing obese
23 people. Studies that compare perceptions of obese people when different labels are used to
24 describe them would be simple to conduct but may produce illuminating findings to guide the
25 somewhat complex issue of terminology use.

1

2 Both fat phobia and anti-fat attitudes tended to be lower in overweight and obese respondents
3 in line with previous research [7]. We might therefore suggest that obesity stigmatisation
4 comes from non-obese people, which may serve to further alienate obese people.
5 Interestingly though, regardless of BMI, when measured implicitly, all respondents reported
6 an anti-fat or pro-thin bias. Even if not expressed explicitly, it appears that obese people in
7 our sample have internalised the same anti-fat or pro-thin attitudes as have non-obese people.
8 These findings present less apparent contradiction when we consider that self-reported
9 attitudes are open to manipulation by the respondent, whether consciously or not [15]. In this
10 instance, this manipulation could have occurred because obese people felt uncomfortable
11 publicly denigrating themselves in explicitly reporting their attitudes towards obese people.
12 Similarly, females' implicit attitudes did not differ from males' in their anti-fat or pro-thin
13 bias but they explicitly reported less negative perceptions of obesity. This may reflect the
14 greater social desirability tendency in females [37], or, as suggested above, greater empathy
15 in females. Clearly, future studies are needed that replicate the implicit measure used here to
16 tease out these individuals' 'true' responses.

17

18 Whilst the sampling strategy has limitations, the sample was successful in other ways. For
19 example, the sample included respondents from every country across the UK and is the first
20 study to obtain perceptions from a large group of participants from the UK. This was made
21 possible due to the online sampling method that offers alternative benefits, for example,
22 internet-based studies provide an opportunity to achieve a greater diversity in their samples
23 [38]. These authors also argue that preconceptions about internet-based research are
24 incorrect. For instance that the resultant sample will be younger, but the sample is often
25 similar to that observed in traditional university based samples. They also note that there is no

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1 evidence that results of internet-based research are confounded by false data or repeat
2 responders, nor do internet-based questionnaires diminish the psychological properties
3 reported for pen-and-paper versions, both common preconceptions. Furthermore, whilst the
4 sampling method means the researcher is not present during data collection, some
5 respondents did make contact with the researcher to address queries.

6

7 We do however acknowledge that there are inherent biases to this approach, which may have
8 resulted in the greater proportion of respondents who were white, middle class, more highly
9 educated and of a higher social economic status. The majority of respondents were female
10 (74.2%), aged 18-25 years (57.7%) and were students (47.2%). As we might expect with a
11 volunteer, opportunistic sample, our sample composition does not exactly match that of the
12 UK population [39]. Despite attempts to sample a varied population, a more strategic
13 sampling approach to ensure sub-groups were more equally represented might have
14 strengthened the conclusions drawn from these data. Our sample composition does not match
15 the demographic profile of the UK population [39], which impacts the generalizability of the
16 data. Nevertheless, our findings reflect those obtained with similar population subgroups,
17 such as more anti-fat attitudes in males [10]. Thus it is likely that if a 'representative' sample
18 were examined, findings would be similar to those obtained here.

19

20 The reader should be aware of these limitations when considering our findings but given the
21 paucity of current evidence from UK samples, we offer an initial contribution to stimulate
22 further study. It is also important to highlight that the implicit measure we employed
23 represents both a strength and a limitation of our study. Its strength lies in offering a measure
24 of what some authors have described as 'true' attitudes [15] but given the format of Implicit

1 Association Tests responses can only indicate anti-fat or pro-thin bias and not an absolute
2 level of anti-fat attitude.

3

4 The current study is the first to comprehensively examine obesity attitudes in the UK
5 population, demonstrating that UK adults report both implicit and explicit anti-fat attitudes.
6 To date, obesity stigmatisation and discrimination is not included in UK health policy such as
7 the Department of Health's Obesity and Health Eating policy [10]. Based on the current study
8 findings, we suggest that obesity stigmatisation and discrimination is incorporated into the
9 policy as an action. This appears to be particularly relevant with previous research suggesting
10 that obesity stigmatisation and discrimination may be a barrier to engaging in some of the
11 actions that are already present such as physical activity [28, 40].

12

13 **Conclusions**

14 The current study is the first to examine obesity attitudes across different sections of the UK
15 population and in doing so highlight population groups with higher anti-fat attitudes. The
16 present results extend the growing body of literature indicating that rising levels of obesity
17 present challenges not only at an individual but also at a societal level, as anti-fat attitudes
18 appear pervasive, albeit not to the same degree, across the different groups we sampled. A
19 novel contribution of this study is that this is the first large scale examination of UK adults'
20 perceptions of obesity and how these differ between population groups.

21

22 This study is also the first to demonstrate that perceptions of obesity are similar to those
23 reported in other countries, predominantly the US. Subsequently, the findings of our research
24 call for anti-fat attitude intervention in the UK. Education about the uncontrollable causes of
25 obesity can reduce anti-fat attitudes [25], and given that our study demonstrates strong beliefs

1 that obesity is controllable in UK adults, future research should consider this when designing
2 interventions for certain population groups. Building on present study findings, future
3 research could examine the efficacy of interventions to modify both implicit and explicit anti-
4 fat attitudes and identify explanations for differences in obesity perceptions in subgroups of
5 the population.

6

7 **Competing interests**

8 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

9

10 **Authors' contributions**

11 SF, JH and DL were involved in conception and design of the study. SF conducted the
12 literature review, developed the online versions of the explicit questionnaires and
13 programmed the Implicit Association Test. SF and JH were involved in the analysis and
14 interpretation of data. SF, JH drafted the manuscript. SF, JH and DL were involved in
15 revising the manuscript and finalising the content of the manuscript. All authors read and
16 approved the final manuscript.

17

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RUNNING HEAD: UK ADULTS ANTI-FAT ATTITUDES

Table 1: Explicit attitudes towards obesity for gender, age, BMI and exercise frequency (mean and standard deviation) for 18-65 years in 2009-2010

Measure	Gender		Age (years)					BMI (kg/m ²)		
	Male	Female	18-25	26-35	36-50	51-65	<18.5	18.5-24.9	25-29.9	
<i>n</i>	<i>613</i>	<i>1767</i>	<i>1374</i>	<i>542</i>	<i>329</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>1518</i>	<i>440</i>	
ATOP	64.10 (15.53)	61.10 (16.53)	65.14 (15.03)	63.15 (15.50)	65.39 (15.12)	66.34 (15.68)	63.12 (16.24)	63.33 (16.19)	63.85 (15.40)	64.64 (15.04)
BAOP	14.65 (6.65)	15.12 (6.70)	14.48 (6.62)	14.15 (6.20)	14.96 (6.76)	16.17 (7.77)	14.73 (7.03)	16.08 (7.50)	14.08 (6.27)	14.84 (6.65)
AFAS	15.39 (4.37)	16.73 (4.46)	14.93 (4.24)	15.87 (4.38)	14.78 (4.21)	14.41 (4.34)	15.33 (4.36)	15.27 (4.78)	15.97 (4.21)	14.86 (4.23)
F-Scale	3.74 (0.47)	3.80 (0.50)	3.72 (0.47)	3.77 (0.48)	3.70 (0.45)	3.67 (0.48)	3.76 (0.49)	3.72 (0.48)	3.79 (0.46)	3.71 (0.46)

* ATOP, BAOP: Attitudes About Obese Persons Scale and Beliefs About Obese Persons Scale; AFAS: Anti-Fat Phobia Scale short form

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Table 2: Weight-related terms and implicit attitudes towards obesity for gender, age, BMI and exercise frequency among UK adults aged 18-65 years in 2009-2010

Measure	Gender		Age (years)					BMI (kg/m ²)		
	Male	Female	18-25	26-35	36-50	51-65	<18.5	18.5-24.9	25-29.9	
<i>n</i>	<i>613</i>	<i>1767</i>	<i>1374</i>	<i>542</i>	<i>329</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>1518</i>	<i>440</i>	
Q1:Fat	6.87 (2.16)	6.2 (2.2)	7.1 (2.1)	7.1 (2.0)	6.7 (2.2)	6.4 (2.3)	6.2 (2.5)	6.8 (2.4)	6.9 (2.1)	6.8 (2.2)
Q2:Obese	6.83 (2.57)	6.4 (2.6)	7.0 (2.6)	7.1 (2.5)	6.5 (2.6)	6.6 (2.7)	6.4 (2.7)	6.7 (2.5)	6.8 (2.6)	6.8 (2.6)
<i>n</i>	491	1467	1198	442	231	87	140	1281	352	
IAT D	147.81	161.08	143.37	130.40	107.76	269.88	266.94	178.74	147.57	170.70
Score	(691.65)	(702.51)	(688.16)	(714.80)	(656.51)	(643.07)	(626.36)	(685.82)	(696.66)	(683.66)

* Q1: How insulting do you believe the word “fat” is?; Q2: How insulting do you believe the word “obese” is?;

Table 3: Results of one-way ANOVAs (*F*-statistics) for gender, age, BMI and exercise frequency among UK adults aged 18-65 years in 2009-2010

	Age (years)	BMI (kg/m²)	Exercise Frequency (hours per week)
<i>d.f., total d.f.</i>	(3, 2376)	(3, 2376)	(2, 2377)
ATOP	5.46**	.85	4.01*
BAOP	7.29*** ^a	12.51*** ^c	3.58*
AFAS	14.74**	39.72*** ^d	16.40*** ^f
F-SCALE	5.51**	20.34**	3.93* ^g
Q1:Fat	16.06*** ^b	.28 ^e	2.82 ^h
Q2:Obese	8.39**	1.29	1.36

BMI: body mass index; *d.f.*: degrees of freedom; ATOP, BAOP: Attitudes About Obese

Persons Scale and Beliefs About Obese Persons Scale; AFAS: Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale; F-

Scale: The Fat Phobia Scale short form; Q1: How insulting do you believe the word “fat” is?;

Q2: How insulting do you believe the word “obese” is?; * $P < .05$; ** $P < .01$; *d.f., total d.f.*: ^a

3, 477.5; ^b 3, 476.4; ^c 3, 482.2; ^d 2, 1118; ^e 3, 492.0; ^f 2, 1092; ^g 2, 1096; ^h 3, 493.5

Table 4: Correlations between the explicit measures

	ATOP	BAOP	AFAS	F-SCALE	Q2	Q3
ATOP		.43**	-.59**	-.58**	-.04	-.07**
BAOP			-.47**	-.05*	-.06**	.53**
AFAS				.62**	-.04	.03
F-SCALE					.02	.11**
Q1						.36**
Q2						

ATOP, BAOP: Attitudes About Obese Persons Scale and Beliefs About Obese Persons Scale; AFAS: Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale; F-Scale: The Fat Phobia Scale short form; Q1: How insulting do you believe the word “fat” is?; Q2: How insulting do you believe the word “obese” is?; **Correlation is significant at the .01 level; *Correlation is significant at the .05 level