Parental Perceptions of Children's Body Shapes

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Summary

The aim was to determine the differences in parents' perceptions of boys' and girls' body shapes and the explanations for the emphasis on body shape care of children. Subjects were low-income parents (n=158) of preschoolers attending preschools in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Parental perceptions of children's body shapes were assessed based on their rankings (scale of 1 to 7) of four attributes (ideal, healthy, fat and thin) for boy and girl figures. Parental responses to five questions on the importance of body shape were also obtained. Parental rankings of ideal and healthy body shapes were significantly lower for girls than boys (p<0.001). However, mothers' and fathers' rankings of boys' and girls' body shapes were not significantly different. For both boys and girls, parental ratings for ideal body shape were significantly lower than for healthy body shape (p<0.001). The majority of parents indicated that children's body shape is important for their future health, self enhancement, social interaction and career. With the increasing prevalence of body dissatisfaction among Malaysian children, these findings contribute to the understanding of parental roles in the development of body image and perhaps, in the etiology of body dissatisfaction among children

Key Words: Body image, Parental perception, Eating disorder, Preschooler

Introduction

Body image has been defined as one's perception of his or her body and this includes feelings, attitudes and perceptions towards weight, size, shape and satisfaction of various body parts. Various factors such as culture, gender, peers, mass media, parents and maturation stage have been shown to contribute to the development of body image^{1,2}. For example, in a culture that emphasizes thinness as the standard of beauty for women, the emphasis may have a negative effect on body image. Disturbances in the perception of body image may consequently lead to poor self-esteem, body dysmorphic disorders, eating disorders and compulsive exercise. In fact, dieting behaviour observed in many countries has been reported to be attributed to body dissatisfaction or distortion³.

With the rising prevalence of obesity and obesity-related diseases, body image concerns or dissatisfactions and

dieting behaviour among children, it has become increasingly important to examine parental roles in the development of these problems. Studies have shown that parents, especially mothers may be influential towards food preferences, intake patterns, body image and physical activity of their children ^{4.5,6,7}. Parents may pressure their children especially girls to be concerned of becoming fat. These direct or indirect pressures may consequently encourage their children to adopt unhealthy dieting behaviour or dietary restraint and may contribute to the development of body concerns or body image disturbances of their children, particularly among girls.

It has been suggested that investigation of mothers' attitudes towards their children's body shapes is important ⁸ - first, mothers may put their children at risk of eating disorders when they communicate their preferred or 'ideal' body shapes to their children through verbal remarks and dietary restraint of mothers and

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

children ^{9, 10}. Second, their attitudes towards their children's body shape may be influenced by their beliefs about and understanding of growth and development of children. For example, a fat baby is perceived as healthy whereas an ideal body shape for a female adolescent is thin. Finally, certain cultural health beliefs on children's body shapes and growth may eventually lead to healthseeking actions by the mothers.

On the premise that parents may transmit sociocultural messages regarding the ideal body shapes or images and even dieting behaviour to their children ¹¹, this study was conducted to investigate both fathers' and mothers' perceptions of children's body shapes and the relationship between culture and body image concerns of the parents.

Materials and Methods

The subjects of this study were parents of preschool children attending the Taman Sang Kancil under the NADI program. The NADI program (City Hall's Squatter Upgrading Program) was initiated by the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur with the objective of improving the quality of life of the urban poor in low-income areas of Kuala Lumpur by improving family health, welfare services and environmental conditions and developing community and family life. The Sang Kancil program was established to provide preschool education for children (Taman Sang Kancil) and health services for mothers and children (Sang Kancil clinic). The activities of Sang Kancil clinic include immunization for children. prenatal care, health and nutrition education for mothers and family planning 12. Currently, there are ten locations of Taman Sang Kancil in the vicinity of Wilayah Persekutuan, however, only nine were in operation during the data collection.

All of the preschoolers (n=217) were from low-income households based on the household income criterion (< RM1000 a month) set by the NADI program. However, for households with incomes exceeding this amount, other factors would be considered such as household size, employment status of parents, health status of the parents and children and accessibility to other preschoolers were Malays (n=189) followed by Indians (n=26) and Chinese (n=2). However, only 192 parents of the preschoolers gave their consent to participate in the study. As this study was part of a larger research project, 192 questionnaires (which consisted of both questions pertinent to this study and the larger project) were distributed to the parents. One hundred and eighty one (181) questionnaires were returned with 86.2% (n=156) from Malay, 12.7% (n=23) Indian and 1.1% (n=2) Chinese households. However, only the data of 158 households were included and analyzed as some households had more than one child attending the Taman Sang Kancil. Children with health problems (Down syndrome), female headed households and children who lived with their relatives were also excluded. All of these households had both parents and the children were in the age range of 4-6 years old.

A structured questionnaire was developed by the researchers to obtain the demographic and socioeconomic data and responses to questions related to body image perceptions and concerns of the parents. The parental perceptions of children's body shapes were assessed by asking them to rank four attributes (ideal. healthy, fat and thin) on a scale of 1 to 7 from pictures of male and female children adapted from Collins 13. Parents were also asked to answer five questions on the importance of body shapes in relation to culture for their children. The body image concerns were developed based on focus group discussions (n=27) with mothers attending three Sang Kancil clinics in Kuala Lumpur. The structured questionnaire was then pre-tested with another group of mothers (n=19) from the other six Sang Kancil clinics prior to the data collection. The pre-test was to assess the readability of the questionnaire and the appropriateness of both the schematic figures and body image concerns of the parents.

The research was conducted in September - November 1999 and the study protocol was approved by the NADI Urusetia, City Hall of Kuala Lumpur. Upon the distribution of questionnaires (n=192) to the households, house visits were conducted by researchers with the help of teachers from each Taman Sang Kancil. The purpose of the house visit was to establish rapport with the respondents and to assist them in the completion of the questionnaires. For questions on body image perceptions and concerns, both parents were asked separately at different times so as to avoid any bias or duplication in responses. If the returned questionnaires were not completed or filled accordingly, other scheduled house visits were arranged with the respondents.

All data were first analyzed using descriptive statistics. Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test was utilized to analyze the rank data of mothers' and fathers' perceptions of children's various body shapes. Parental responses towards the importance of children's body shapes were reported as frequency data. All of the analyses were done using SPSS 10.0. Significance level was set at p < 0.05.

Results

The majority of parents in this study were below 40 and the mean age of mothers and fathers were 33.4 ± 5.7 and 37.1 ± 6.3 years, respectively. The mean years of schooling for both mothers (9.6 ± 2.7) and fathers (9.9 ± 2.2) were equivalent to lower - upper secondary levels of education. Taking RM2162 as the average monthly household income for the urban Malays¹⁴, approximately 90% of the households had incomes in the range of RM1 - 2162. Using RM150 as the poverty level income per capita in Kuala Lumpur, 30% of the households could be considered as living in poverty (Table I).

Mothers' perceptions of ideal and healthy body shapes were significantly different (Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test, p < 0.001) between boys and girls (Table II). Median scores for both body shapes were lower for girls (ideal = 4 (range 3 - 5.5); healthy = 4.5 [3 - 6.5]) than for boys (ideal = 4.5 [3 - 5.5); healthy = 5 [4 -7]). Similarly, fathers' perceptions of boys and girls body shapes differed significantly for ideal and healthy shapes (Table III) with fathers' ratings for girls being lower than that for boys (Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test, p < 0.001). There was no significant difference between mothers' and fathers' perceptions of various body shapes for boys and girls (Table IV). It is worthwhile to note that for thin and fat body shapes for boys and girls, both mothers and fathers were more likely to report the extreme body shapes. The majority of the parents (79-83%) perceived figures 1 and 7 as thin and fat body shapes for boys and girls, respectively.

Table V and VI present mothers' and fathers' different perceptions of ideal and healthy body shapes of boys and girls. For both boys and girls, parental ratings for ideal body shapes were significantly lower than for healthy body shapes (Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test, p < 0.001). In general, parental perception of ideal body shape is slimmer than that of healthy body shape.

This study found that parents did advice their children on the care of body shape and this advice is being given as early as during the preschool years (Table VII). Despite the disagreement of half of the parents on the negative impact of children unattractive body shape on parents' self portrayal, it was interesting to observe that the majority of the parents agreed that body shape is important for their children's self confidence, self portrayal, health, physical attractiveness, ability to mix with people and career.

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Variable		1 n	%		
Age (Years)		Mo	<u>ther</u>	Fa	ther
		n	%	n	%
	- 20 - 29	45	28.5	14	8.9
	- 30 - 39	91	57.6	. 98	62.0
	- 40 - 49	21	13.3	- 38	24.0
	- > 50	1	0.6	. 8	5.1
Education Level	- Primary School	31	19.6	23	14.6
	- Lower Secondary	42	26.6	45	28.5
	- Upper Secondary	78	49.4	82	51.9
	- Diploma / Degree	7	4.4	8	5.0
Household Income (RM) °	- 1 - 2162	142	89.6		
	- > 2162	16	10.4		
Household Size	- 2 - 5	74	46.8		
	- 6 - 9	78	49.4		
	- > 10	6	3.8		
Income Per capita (RM) °	- 1 - 150	47	29.9		
• • •	- 151 - 300	73	46.1		
	- > 301	38	24.0		
Gender of Child	- Male	72	45.6		
	- Female	86	54.4		

Table I: Demographic and Socioeconomic Information of Respondents (n=158)

RM 3.8 = USD 1

Iur	ole II: Mothers' Perceptio	n or boys and onis	body sindpes	<u>n=150)</u>
Body Shape	Boys Median (Range)	Girls Median (Range)	Za	р
deal	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	-3.72	0.00 ***
Healthy	5.0 (4.0 - 7.0)	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	-4.79	0.00 ***
Fat	7.0 (5.0 - 7.0)	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	-2.88	0.77
Thin	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	-1.37	0.17

Table II: Mothers' Perception of Boys' and Girls' Body Shapes (n=158)

^a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

*** p < 0.001

Table III: Fathers' Perception of Boys' and Girls' Body Shapes (n=158)

Body Shape	Boys Median (Range)	Girls Median (Range)	Z°	р
Ideal	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	-3.21	0.00 ***
Healthy	5.0 (3.0 - 6.5)	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	-3.97	0.00 ***
Fat	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	-0.66	0.51
Thin	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	1.0 (1.0 - 3.5)	-0.29	0.77

^a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

**** p < 0.001

Table IV: Mothers' and Fathers' Perceptions of Boys' and Girls' Body Shapes (n=158)

Body Shape	Boy Median	-	Za		irls an (Range)	Za
	Mother	Father		Mother	Father	
Ideal	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	-0.351	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	-0.283
Healthy	5.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	5.0 (3.0 - 6.5)	-0.423	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	-0.484
Fat	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	-0.356	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	7.0 (3.0 - 7.0)	-0.979
<u>Thin</u>	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	-0.069	1.0 (1.0 - 4.0)	1.0 (1.0 - 3.5)	-1.351

° Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

Table V: Mothers' Perception of Children's Body Shape as Ideal and Healthy (n=158)

Gender	Body	Shape		
	Ideal	Healthy	zα	р
Boys Median (Range)	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	5.0 (4.0 - 7.0)	-6.561	0.00 ***
Girls Median (Range)	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	-6.001	0.00 ***

^a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

*** p < 0.001

Table VI: Fathers' Perception of Children's Body Shape as Ideal and Healthy (n=158)

Gender	Body	Shape		
	Ideal	Healthy	zα	р
Boys Median (Range)	4.5 (3.0 - 5.5)	5.0 (3.0 - 6.5)	-6.561	0.00 ***
Girls Median (Range)	4.0 (3.0 - 5.5)	4.5 (3.0 - 6.5)	-6.001	0.00 ***

° Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

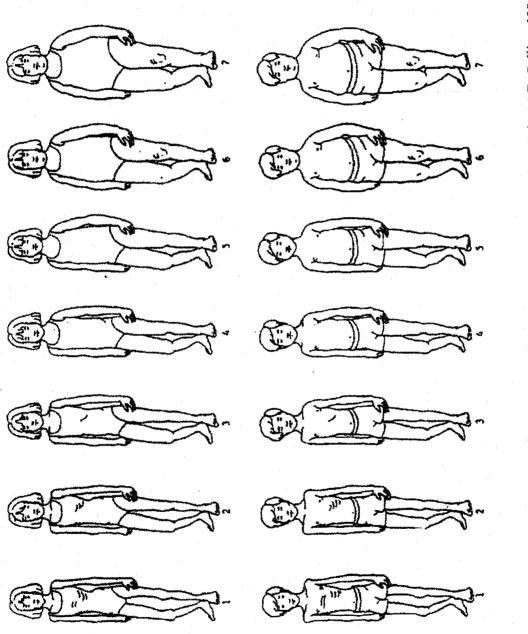
*** p < 0.001

ltem	Mother 11(%)	Father n(%)	ltem	Mother n(%)	Fathcr n(%)	
 Children's body shape should be given attention to by: 	be given attention to by		b. Self confidence			
a. Mother b. Father	5 (3.2) 0 (0.0)	7(4.4) 0(0.0)	Agree Disagree Maybe	104 (65.8) 54 (34.2) 0 (0.0)	101 (64.0) 26 (16.4) 31 (19.6)	
c. Both parents c. Others	150 (94.9) 3 (1.9)	145 (91.8) 6 (3.8)	c. Self portrayal	05 (60 1)	110 120 22	
 As parents, do you advise your child (ren) on how to take care of their body shape? 	r child (ren) on how to t	ake	Disagree Maybe	27 (17.1)	28 (17.7) 20 (12.7) 20 (12.7)	
a. Ycs b. No	155 (98.1) 3 (1.9)	152 (96.2) 6 (3.8)	d. Health Agree Disagree Machee	149 (94.3) 9 (5.7) 0 (0 0)	146 (92.4) 12 (7.6)	
3. If yes, when did you first advise your child (ren)?	se your child (ren)?		mayue	(www) a	(n.u) u	
a. Preschool – primary years (5 – 12 years old) 123 b. Lower to upper secondary years (13 – 17 secondary years	years 123 (79.3) andary years 26.16.83	119 (78.3) 30/10 83	e. Physical attractiveness Agree Disagree Maybe	83 (52.5) 75 (47.5) 0 (0.0)	85 (53.8) 49 (31.0) 24 (15.2)	
c. Early adulthood (18 - 25 years old)	6 (3.9)	(0.01) 00 3 (1.9)	f. Ability to mingle with people Agree	82 (51.9) 57 (35.9)	86 (54.4) 20 (45 0)	
4. 4. Unattractive body shape wi	will affect the parents' self portrayal	f portrayal	Maybe	20 (12.7)	0.00)0	
a. Agree b. Disagree c. Maybo	52 (32.9) 83 (52.5) 23 (14.6)	53 (33.5) 80 (50.7) 25 (15.8)	g. Catter Agree Disagree Marko	91 (57.6) 25 (15.8)	126 (79.7) 32 (20.3)	
5. Care of your child's body shape is important for his/her:	pc is important for his/h	her:	20 APA	42 (0.02) 24	(0.0) U	
a Ability to find marriago partner Agree 60 Disagree 98 Maybe 01(e partner 60 (38.0) 98 (62.0) 0 (0.0)	61 (38.6) 97 (61.4) 0 (0.0)				

Table VII: Mothers' and Fathers' Responses Towards the Importance of Children's Body Shapes (n=158)

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747



International Journal of Eating Disorders, 10, pp. 199-208. Copyright [©] 1991 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Source: From "Body Figure Perception and Preferences Among Preadolescent Children", by M.E. Collins, 1991,

Discussion

Two main findings from this study are that both mothers and fathers perceived that girls should be slimmer than boys for ideal and healthy body shapes and parental perception of ideal body shape is somewhat slimmer than that of healthy body shape. Hodes et al. 8 reported that mothers from the UK, South Asia, Caribbean and Africa did not find slimmer body shapes in girls as more attractive, healthy or unhealthy than boys. On the other hand, Mediterranean mothers indicated that healthy girl figures were slimmer than boy figures. It was also found that mothers evaluated their children differently for being attractive and healthy. For both boys and girls, mothers indicated that attractive body shape constitutes a slimmer figure than a healthy body. As risk factors for body dissatisfaction are dependent on cultural factors, the urban low-income parents in this study may have adopted similar western values common to countries that are currently undergoing the process of westernization³. Perhaps the process of modernization and urbanization may have exposed these individuals to the environment which emphasizes thinness as the cultural ideal beauty.

In some cultures, while wealth is related to health and fatness is perceived as healthy and attractive, the current concern on health risks of obesity may contribute to the different ratings of healthy, attractive and ideal. In a study by Furnham and Baguma¹⁵, while Ugandan subjects rated heavy obese figures as attractive and healthy, the British subjects considered the heavier figures as ugly and unhealthy. However, for all subjects (particularly the Ugandans), the ratings of 'attractive' were not necessarily similar to 'healthy' especially for the fatter figures which are considered more unattractive than healthy. In other words even though the obese figures were less attractive, they symbolize the equation of health to wealth.

Cultural connotations of healthy, attractive or ideal may also depend on age, for example, chubbiness is equated as healthy or ideal in infants or toddlers. However, as the child progresses into adolescence or young adulthood, fatness is no longer healthy or desirable. These connotations may also differ for males and females in relation to thinness and muscular firmness. In this study, the parental perception that girls should be slimmer than boys is consistent with the findings that ideal female body image is typified by thinness while that of male body image is muscularity ^{16,17,18}. In this study, a majority of the parents chose extreme body shapes (figures 1 and 7) in response to thin and fat body shapes for boys and girls. It is surprising that the parents chose thinnest and fattest figures although the questions merely asked for their perceptions on thin and fat body shapes (figure 4 is normal while figures 1-3 and 5-7 reflected the degree of thinness and fatness). The implication of this finding is that incorrect perceptions of children's body shapes and growth may delay parental health-seeking actions8 e.g. an overweight (figure 6) or underweight (figure 2) child may not be brought for medical attention until late (figure 7 or 1).

Various studies have shown that parental feedback on the physical appearance of their children may influence body image dissatisfaction among children. For example, Schwartz et al. ¹⁹ reported that weight teasing by both parents is a predictor of daughter's body image and that parents conveyed significantly more appearance-related messages to their daughters than sons. Similarly other studies with younger children, adolescents and young adults have also suggested that parents', especially mother' s perception of body image and verbal criticism or concern of weight and physical appearances are significant predictors of their children's body image ^{10, 20, 21, 22}.

While many studies supported the influence of mothers in body dissatisfaction among adolescent females, only few studies have shown similar influence of fathers. Moreno and Thelen23 reported that both parents were similar in giving dieting encouragement to their daughters. Similarly, Schwartz et al.19 indicated that fathers provided significantly more appearance-related feedback to their daughters. Our findings that both mothers and fathers did not differ significantly in their perceptions of children's body image should further be explored as to whether both may transmit similar body image and appearance-related messages to their children. As it is, the majority of these parents did advise their children on the care of body shape as early as during the preschool years as preparation for their future health, self enhancement, social interactions and career development.

Food preferences developed during preschool period are influenced primarily by parents and eventually these preferences may be the basis for the children's food preferences and intakes during adulthood ^{5, 24, 25}. For example, parents' preferences and intakes of fruits and vegetables or the availability of these food in their homes will determine their children's actual intakes of

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

fruits and vegetables. Similarly, parental attitudes towards body shapes and weights of their children may consequently be transmitted to their children or transformed into child feeding behaviour that would have negative impacts on the physical, psychological and social development of the children ^{4,7,26}.

This study has limitations that should be addressed in future studies. First, the study involved only urban Malay low-income parents and thus, the study findings cannot be generalized to other ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Second, the use of the schematic figures to assess the four attributes (ideal, healthy, thin and fat) may produce errors in parental ratings of the figures. For example, parents may find it difficult to differentiate normal from thin or fat as the figures look similar in size. Further validation of the schematic figures may be necessary so that the instrument can be used in future studies on body image perceptions of parents and also children. Finally, parental concerns and perceptions of body shapes of children can also be influenced by their own experiences e.g. mothers themselves have body image distortion, dissatisfaction or eating disorders. However, the present study did not attempt to assess these experiences among the parents.

To date, no published study is available on Malaysian parents' perception of their children's body image. With the rising prevalence of obesity, body dissatisfaction and dieting among Malaysian children, it is imperative that further research is conducted to investigate the role of parents in the development of children's body image and acceptance and to explore this relationship within the cultural context. Also, the different body shape preferences and perceptions of healthy, attractive and ideal may need to be understood in relation to parental health-seeking behaviors for their children. The knowledge will then contribute to the awareness among health professionals working with children and parents in promoting healthy culture-specific eating patterns and physical health and consequently to the effectiveness of child health intervention.

Conclusion

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Parental Perceptions of Children's Body Shapes

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