# Obesity is not a Behaviour

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### Disclosures

- Faculty: Ali Zentner
- Relationships with commercial interests:
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  - Other: Investor Live Medical and Exercise Clinic

# Meet Dr. Elizabeth Bagshaw



# Did you ever know that you're my hero...



October 19, 1882 – January 5, 1982

### How far we've come....



#### Your Choice - Your Decision

We respect that your decision to have an abortion is a personal one. It may or may not be a difficult decision for you. You may still be in the process of making this decision.

Decision-making counselling is available to women who would like assistance in exploring their options. You may call our clinic to book an appointment for these services free of charge.

A WORD OF CAUTION: There are some anti-abortion websites that have frightening and inaccurate information about abortion. The resources and links page on this website has a list of pro-choice organizations that are good sources of information.

#### Learn More

- > Outreach
- > How You Can Help
- > Your Choice

Why is it so hard to treat obesity?

# All roads lead to.... BIAS

# Bias Against the Disease....

- Obesity is a lifestyle choice
- Obesity is not a disease
- "You are fat because you want to/chose to be"
- There are no treatments
- Treatment does not work
- The results are minimal
- The results are temporary
- Noone gets to goal weight
- "what's the point" medicine

# Bias against the patient....

• Fat people are....

### Nomenclature

- Bias:
  - Intrinsic
  - Extrinsic
- Stigma
- Discrimination

#### **Weight Bias**

refers to negative attitudes toward others because of their weight

#### Weight Stigma

refers to stereotypes and labels we assign to people who have obesity

#### Weight Discrimination

refers to actions against people who have obesity that can cause social exclusion and inequities

### Let's Talk Evidence

- Prevalence of Weight Bias
- Risk associated with it in clinical care

### CLINICAL DATA

- What does the science show us on weight bias in medicine?
- What is the effect of weight bias on patients?
- What is the evidence towards addressing weight bias?

### Here's the effect...

Weight bias and discrimination is rampant in our schools, workplaces, health systems and media.

The problem is widespread.



Elementary school kids with obesity face a 63% higher chance of being bullied



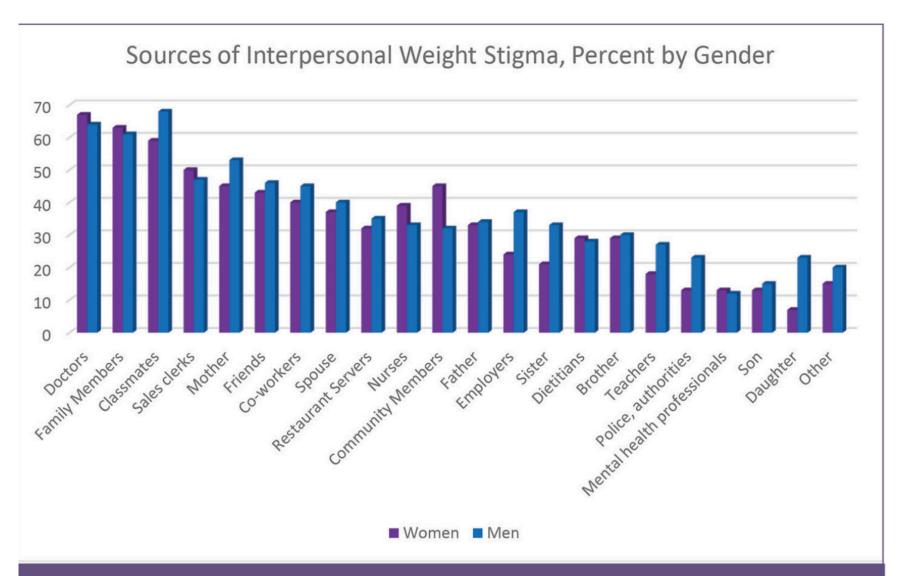
54% of adults with obesity report being stigmatized by coworkers



64% of adults with obesity report experiencing weight bias from a health care professional



72% of images and 77% of videos stigmatized persons with obesity according to recent media studies



**FIGURE 2. Sources of Interpersonal Weight Stigma.** Physicians and family members were the most frequent sources of weight bias reported in a study examining experiences of weight stigmatization, sources of stigma, coping strategies, psychological functioning, and eating behaviors in a sample of 2,671 adults with overweight and obesity,

SOURCE: Puhl RM, Brownell KD. Confronting and coping with weight stigma: an investigation of overweight and obese adults. *Obesity*. 2006;14(10):1802–1815.

# **Project Implicit**

- 4.4 million tests
- Implicit and explicit attitudes
- Internet population
- 13 years
- Sexual orientation, race, skin tone, age, disability, and body weight



www.implicit.harvard.edu/implicit

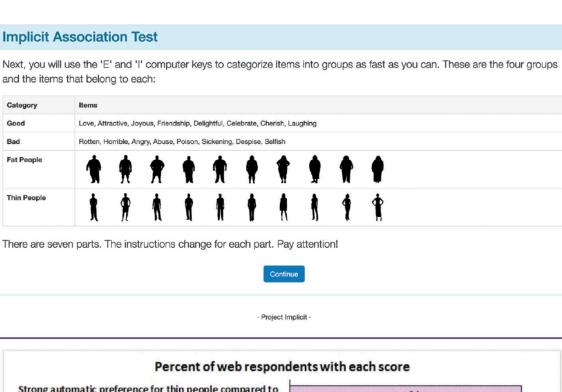
**Table 1.** Categories and associated subordinate stimuli for IAT tasks

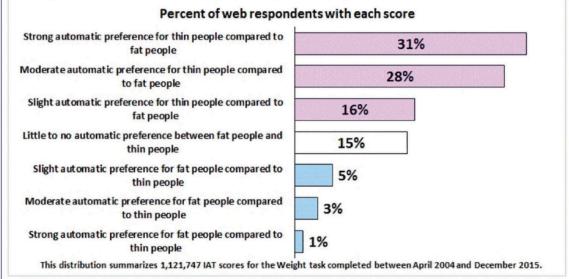
Stimuli to be classified										
Target category labels										
Fat people	Obese	Large								
Thin people	Slim	Thin	Skinny							
Attribute category labels										
Bad	Terrible	Nasty	Horrible							
Good	Wonderful	Joyful	Excellent							
Lazy	Slow	Lazy	Sluggish							
Motivated	Determined	Motivated	Eager							
Smart	Intelligent	Smart	Bright							
Stupid	Dumb	Stupid	Dense							
Valuable	Deserving	Valuable	Important							
Worthless	Insignificant	Worthless	Useless							

Thin People  Motivated		Fat People Lazy
	obese	√
	sluggish	$\sqrt{}$
	slim	
	eager	
	large	$\sqrt{}$
	lazy	
	fat	
	motivated	
	thin	
	determined	
	skinny	

Fat People Motivated		Thin People Lazy
√	obese	
	sluggish	$\sqrt{}$
	slim	
$\checkmark$	eager	
$\sqrt{}$	large	
	lazy	
$\checkmark$	fat	
$\sqrt{}$	motivated	
	thin	√
	determined	
	skinny	

Figure 1: Sample portions of two completed IAT tasks measuring implicit associations of fat and thin people with lazy and motivated descriptors. The page on the left (thin people with motivated and fat people with lazy) would be easier to complete quickly for people who have implicit anti-fat bias, because the pairings match negative automatic associations with overweight. In contrast, the page on the right (fat people with motivated and thin people with lazy) would be more difficult to complete quickly for people who have implicit anti-fat bias.





**FIGURE 1. Project Implicit Weight ('Fat-Thin') Implicit Association Test.** Data collected between April 2004 and December 2015 from Project Implicit's weight implicit association test (IAT) revealed the majority of respondents displayed an automatic preference for "thin" people relative to "fat" people.

SOURCE: Project Implicit. https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/

Published in final edited form as:

Obesity (Silver Spring). 2014 April; 22(4): 1201–1208. doi:10.1002/oby.20687.

# Implicit and Explicit Weight Bias in a National Sample of 4732 Medical Students: The Medical Student CHANGES Study

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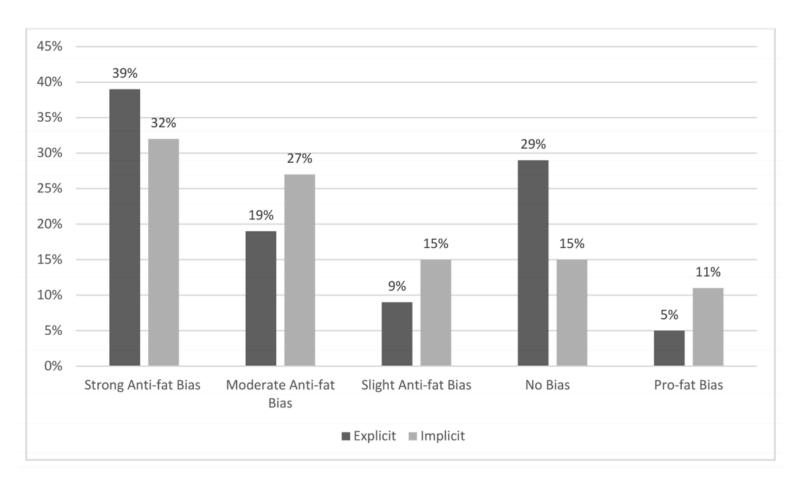


Figure 2. Distribution of explicit and implicit weight bias in a national sample of medical students

An IAT score  $\geq$  .65 was considered strong; a score < .65 and  $\geq$  .35, moderate; and a score < .35 and  $\geq$  .15, slight anti-fat bias. A score > -.15 and < .15 was considered no bias, and a score  $\leq$  -.15 was considered pro-fat bias. For explicit bias, a difference between feeling thermometer scores for Whites and obese people > 15 was considered strong; a difference between 6 and 15, moderate; and difference between 1 and 5, slight anti-fat bias. A difference of 0 was no bias, and a difference < 0 was pro-fat bias.

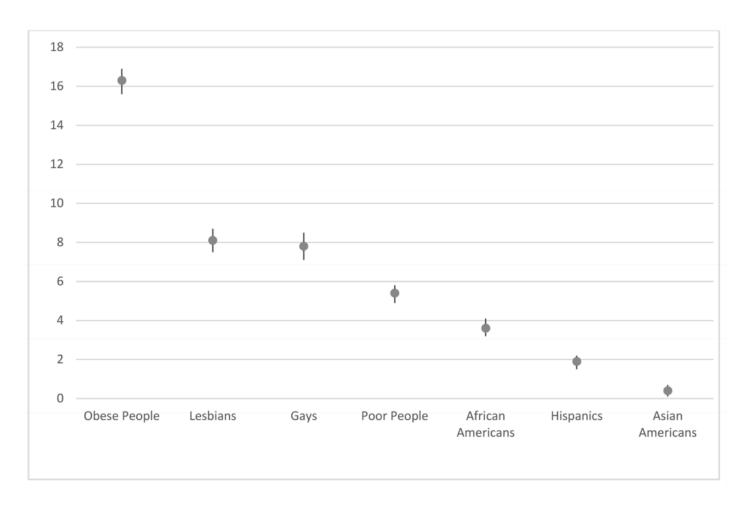


Figure 3. Explicit bias against people who are obese and other stigmatized/minority groups relative to Whites

The dots represent the sample mean of each participant's rating of whites minus their rating of obese people on feeling thermometers. Higher numbers indicate lower warmth toward the group relative to Whites. The bars represent the 95% confidence intervals

# Primary Care Physicians' Attitudes about Obesity and Its Treatment

Gary D. Foster,\* Thomas A. Wadden,\* Angela P. Makris,\* Duncan Davidson,\* Rebecca Swain Sanderson,\* David B. Allison,† and Amy Kessler‡

#### **Abstract**

FOSTER, GARY D., THOMAS A. WADDEN, ANGELA P. MAKRIS, DUNCAN DAVIDSON, REBECCA SWAIN SANDERSON, DAVID B. ALLISON, AND AMY KESSLER. Primary care physicians' attitudes about obesity and its treatment. *Obes Res.* 2003;11:1168-1177.

**Objective:** This study was designed to assess physicians' attitudes toward obese patients and the causes and treatment of obesity.

**Research Methods and Procedures:** A questionnaire assessed attitudes in 2 geographically representative national random samples of 5000 primary care physicians. In one sample (N = 2500), obesity was defined as a BMI of 30 to  $40 \text{ kg/m}^2$ , and in the other (N = 2500), obesity was defined as a BMI > 40.

Results. Six hundred twenty nhysicians responded They

issues if their time was reimbursed appropriately.

**Discussion:** Primary care physicians view obesity as largely a behavioral problem and share our broader society's negative stereotypes about the personal attributes of obese persons. Practitioners are realistic about treatment outcomes but view obesity treatment as less effective than treatment of most other chronic conditions.

#### Introduction

Two-thirds of Americans are either overweight or obese (1), prompting calls from the National Institutes of Health (2), the U.S. Surgeon General (3), and the World Health Organization (4) to treat obesity seriously. Despite these calls, patient surveys indicate that less than one-half of

Table 3. Physicians' attitudes towards obesity treatment

Items	Mean ± SD	1 (Strongly disagree)	2 (Disagree)	3 (Neutral)	4 (Agree)	5 (Strongly agree)	1 and 2	4 and 5
believe it's necessary to educate obese								
patients on the health risks of obesity	$4.5 \pm 0.6$	0.3	0.6	3.9	37.1	57.9	1.0	95.0
Obesity is a chronic disease	$4.5 \pm 0.9$	2.5	2.6	2.9	30.6	61.4	5.1	92.0
make accommodations for obese	= 0.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	50.0	0111	0.1	,2.0
patients <sup>a</sup>	$4.4 \pm 0.7$	1.1	1.6	2.9	40.8	53.5	2.8	94.3
Obesity is associated with serious								
medical conditions	$4.4 \pm 0.8$	0.8	2.3	5.5	38.1	53.3	3.1	91.4
Physicians should be role models by								
maintaining a normal weight	$4.1 \pm 0.8$	0.6	1.6	12.8	52.5	32.4	2.3	84.9
A 10% reduction in body weight is sufficient to significantly improve obesity-related health complications	$3.8 \pm 0.9$	0.5	10.5	13.8	55.4	19.6	11.0	75.0
would spend more time working on								
weight management issues if my								
time was reimbursed appropriately	$3.5 \pm 1.1$	4.5	15.7	25.8	32.0	21.9	20.3	53.9
feel competent in prescribing weight								
loss programs for obese patients	$3.4 \pm 1.0$	3.1	19.2	28.4	38.6	10.7	22.2	49.4
Most obese patients are well aware of								
the health risks of obesity	$3.2 \pm 1.0$	4.7	26.9	19.8	43.0	5.5	31.7	48.5
Medications to treat obesity should be limited to short-term (<3 months) use	3.2 ± 1.2	8.3	24.0	24.3	28.4	15.0	32.3	43.4
Most obese patients could reach a	3.2 = 1.2	0.5	2	25	20	10.0	32.3	
normal weight (for height) if they were motivated to do so	3.1 ± 1.1	6.2	27.4	25.3	32.9	8.3	33.5	41.2
Most obese patients will not lose a								
significant amount of weight	$3.1 \pm 1.0$	6.2	28.6	22.7	39.0	3.6	34.7	42.5
have negative reactions towards the								
appearance of obese patients	$3.0 \pm 1.1$	11.7	22.8	28.1	33.5	3.9	34.5	37.4
f a patient meets the appropriate criteria for obesity surgery, I would recommend an evaluation by a								
surgeon <sup>b</sup>	$2.7 \pm 1.1$	13.2	31.9	31.2	19.2	4.6	45.1	23.8
Medications to treat obesity should be	2.7 = 1.1	13.4	31.7	31.2	17.2	7.0	73.1	23.0
used chronically	$2.6 \pm 1.2$	23.3	29.2	21.4	19.0	7.1	52.5	26.1
am usually successful in helping	2.0 _ 1.2	20.0	27.2	21,7	17.0	7.1	32.3	20.1
obese patients lose weight	$2.6 \pm 0.9$	8.9	42.1	34.7	12.6	1.6	51.1	14.3
For most obese patients, long-term	2.0 = 0.7	3.7	.2.1	2 117	12.0	2.0	J 1.11	11.5
maintenance of weight loss is								
impossible	$2.5 \pm 1.1$	18.2	40.5	19.6	17.5	4.2	58.7	21.7
t is acceptable to use "scare tactics" to								
obtain compliance of the obese								
patient	$2.3 \pm 1.0$	19.0	42.7	24.8	11.9	1.6	61.7	13.5
feel uncomfortable when examining								
an obese patient	$2.1 \pm 1.0$	29.4	45.1	16.4	8.0	1.1	74.5	9.1
t is difficult for me to feel empathy for								
an obese patient	$2.0 \pm 0.9$	32.1	48.1	12.3	6.8	0.6	80.2	7.5

### **Personal Beliefs**

Table 2. Physicians' beliefs about the personal characteristics of obese individuals

•	•									
Adjectives	Mean ± SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1 to 3	5 to 7
Awkward Graceful	$4.8 \pm 1.0$	0.5	0.9	3.1	33.9	37.3	20.3	4.1	4.4	61.7
Unattractive Attractive	$4.7 \pm 1.0$	0.5	1.0	6.3	38.9	31.6	16.9	4.8	7.8	53.2
Ugly Handsome	$4.6 \pm 0.9$	0.5	1.7	1.7	46.6	33.6	12.6	3.2	3.9	49.5
Noncompliant Compliant	$4.6 \pm 1.1$	0.5	2.5	8.1	38.0	28.4	18.5	3.9	11.2	50.8
Weak-Willed Strong-Willed	$4.5 \pm 1.0$	0.7	2.0	5.1	48.0	27.0	14.1	2.9	7.8	44.0
Lazy Industrious	$4.2 \pm 1.0$	1.0	3.6	7.7	58.0	21.2	6.3	2.2	12.3	29.7
Sloppy Neat	$4.2 \pm 1.0$	1.2	4.3	7.7	52.2	25.0	7.1	2.6	13.1	34.7
Unpleasant Pleasant	$3.4 \pm 1.1$	3.9	18.5	22.1	46.4	6.1	2.2	0.7	44.6	9.0
Dishonest Honest	$3.4 \pm 1.0$	6.0	16.2	13.9	60.5	2.0	0.9	0.5	36.1	3.4
	_								J	

All values, other than the mean, represent the percentage of respondents who endorsed each category (1 to 7). The higher the mean score, the more the first adjective of the pair was endorsed by physicians. Adjective pairs are listed in order of mean ratings; adjectives were not displayed in this order on the questionnaire nor were all negative attributes listed first.

### Weight Bias among Health Professionals Specializing in Obesity

Marlene B. Schwartz,\* Heather O'Neal Chambliss,† Kelly D. Brownell,\* Steven N. Blair,† and Charles Billington‡

#### **Abstract**

SCHWARTZ, MARLENE B., HEATHER O'NEAL CHAMBLISS, KELLY D. BROWNELL, STEVEN N. BLAIR, AND CHARLES BILLINGTON. Weight bias among health professionals specializing in obesity. *Obes Res.* 2003;11:1033–1039.

**Purpose:** To determine the level of anti-fat bias in health professionals specializing in obesity and identify personal characteristics that correlate with both implicit and explicit bias.

December 1 Made de la James J. December 1 De

who are obese, and indicating an understanding of the experience of obesity.

**Discussion:** Even professionals whose careers emphasize research or the clinical management of obesity show very strong weight bias, indicating pervasive and powerful stigma. Understanding the extent of anti-fat bias and the personal characteristics associated with it will aid in developing intervention strategies to ameliorate these damaging attitudes.

Key words: stigma, discrimination, implicit attitudes

Table 5. Relative efficacy of obesity treatment compared with that for ten chronic disorders

Obesity treatment		1 (More	2 (Equally	3 (Less
effectiveness	$Mean \pm SD$	effective)	effective)	effective)
Hypertension	$2.9 \pm 0.4$	2.3	6.7	91.0
Asthma	$2.9 \pm 0.3$	1.1	8.3	90.5
Coronary artery disease	$2.8 \pm 0.5$	2.3	14.9	82.8
Hyperlipidemia	$2.8 \pm 0.5$	2.6	16.7	80.6
Diabetes	$2.8 \pm 0.5$	1.6	19.6	78.7
Depression	$2.7 \pm 0.5$	2.5	21.9	75.6
Osteoarthritis	$2.6 \pm 0.6$	6.7	31.7	61.6
Cigarette smoking	$2.2 \pm 0.6$	11.6	56.1	32.2
Alcoholism	$2.1 \pm 0.6$	13.6	63.7	22.7
Drug addiction*	$2.0 \pm 0.7$	19.4	57.4	23.0

### Approach to Mitigating Weight Bias

Manipulating beliefs about causality/controllability

Providing facts about obesity to promote intellectual understanding

Counter-conditioning

Interacting with individuals with lived experience to promote self-awareness

Modifying social consensus and norms

Harnessing the power of influential and trusted leaders in changing perspectives

**Evoking empathy** 

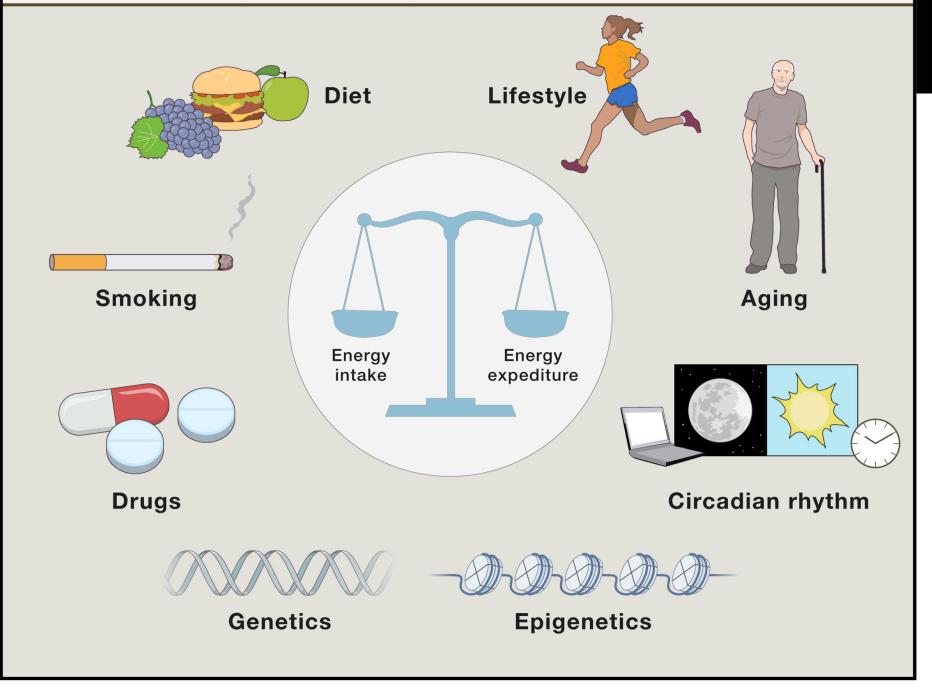
Highlighting lived experiences

Lee et al, 2014; Alberga et al, 2016

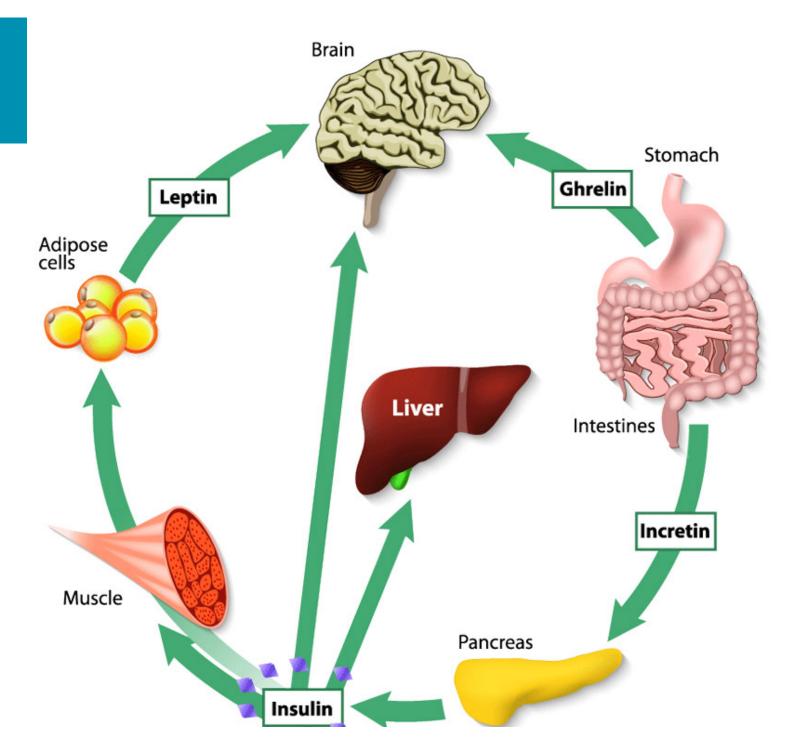
# **Competing Narratives**

- Moral Failure/ Attribution theory
- Toxic Environment
- Addiction
- Medical Condition- Blaming

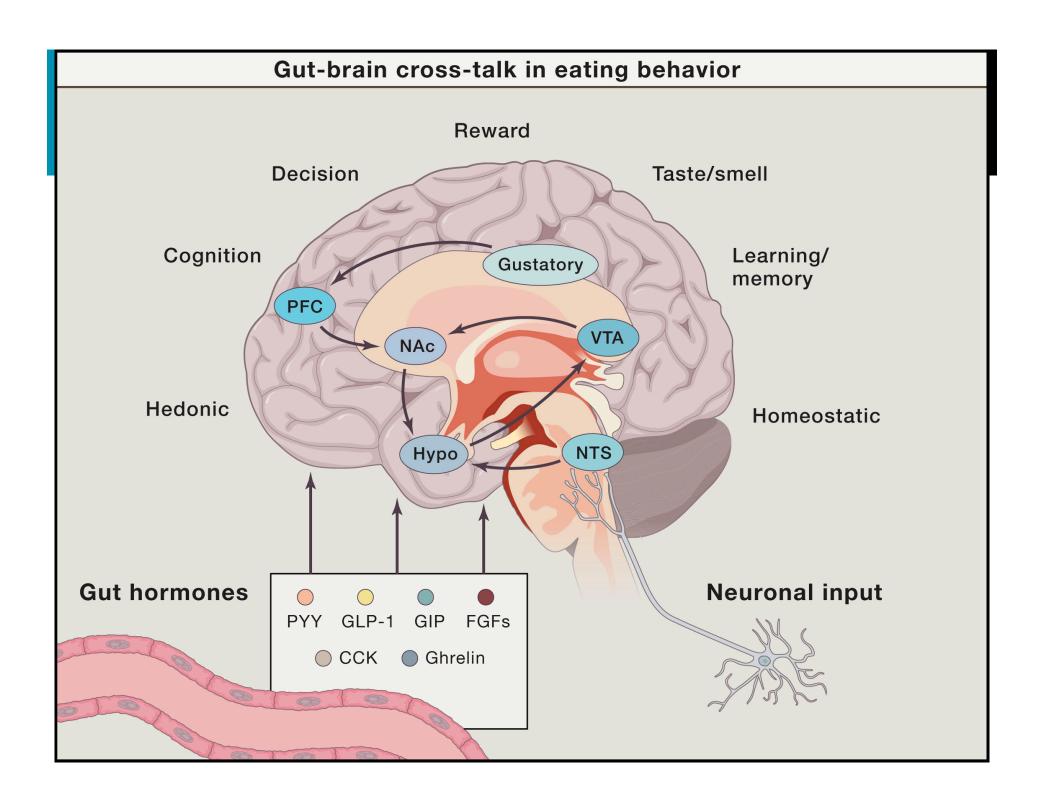
#### Contribution of genetic heritage and modern lifestyle to body weight



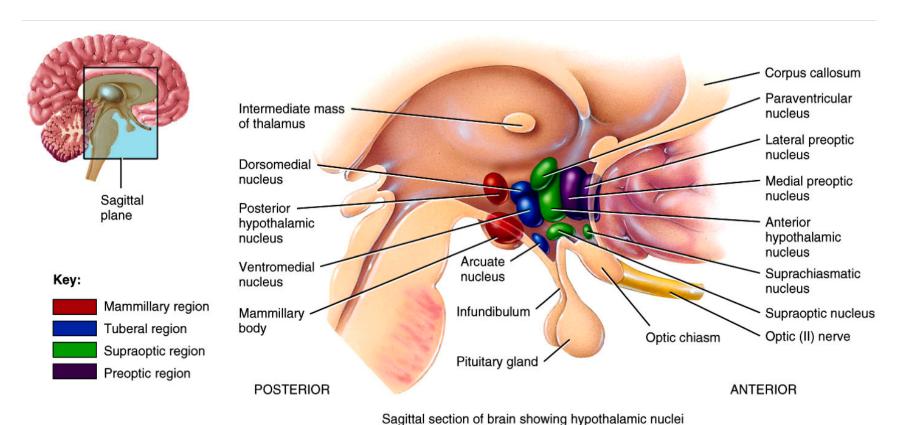
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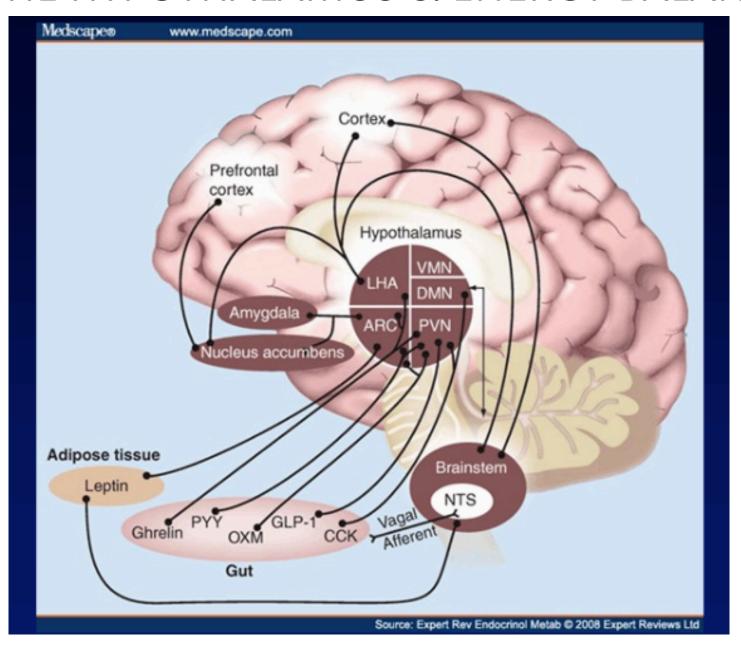
# Nuclei of the Hypothalamus



igure 14.10 Tortora - PAP 12/e

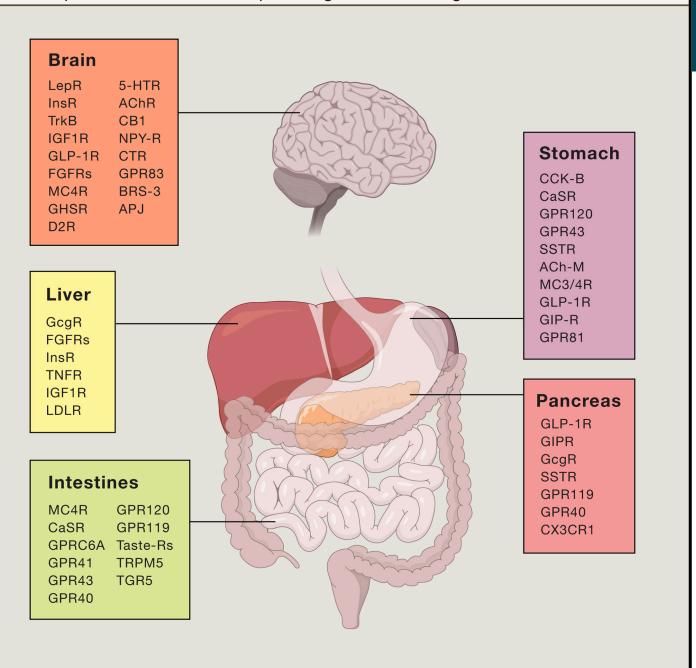
Figure 14.10 Tortora - PAP 12/e Copyright © John Wiley and Sons, Inc. All rights reserved.

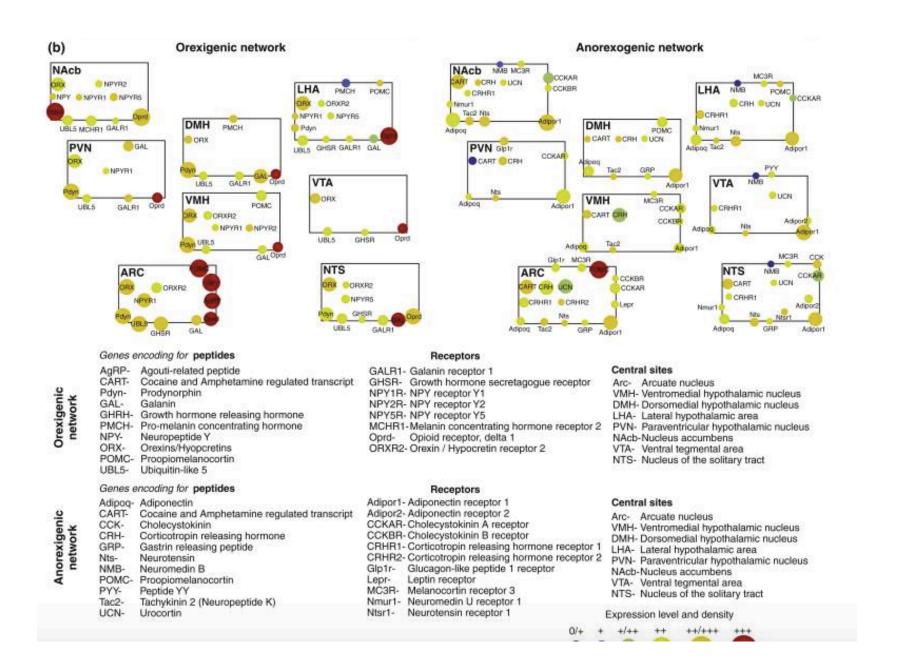
### THE HYPOTHALAMUS & ENERGY BALANCE

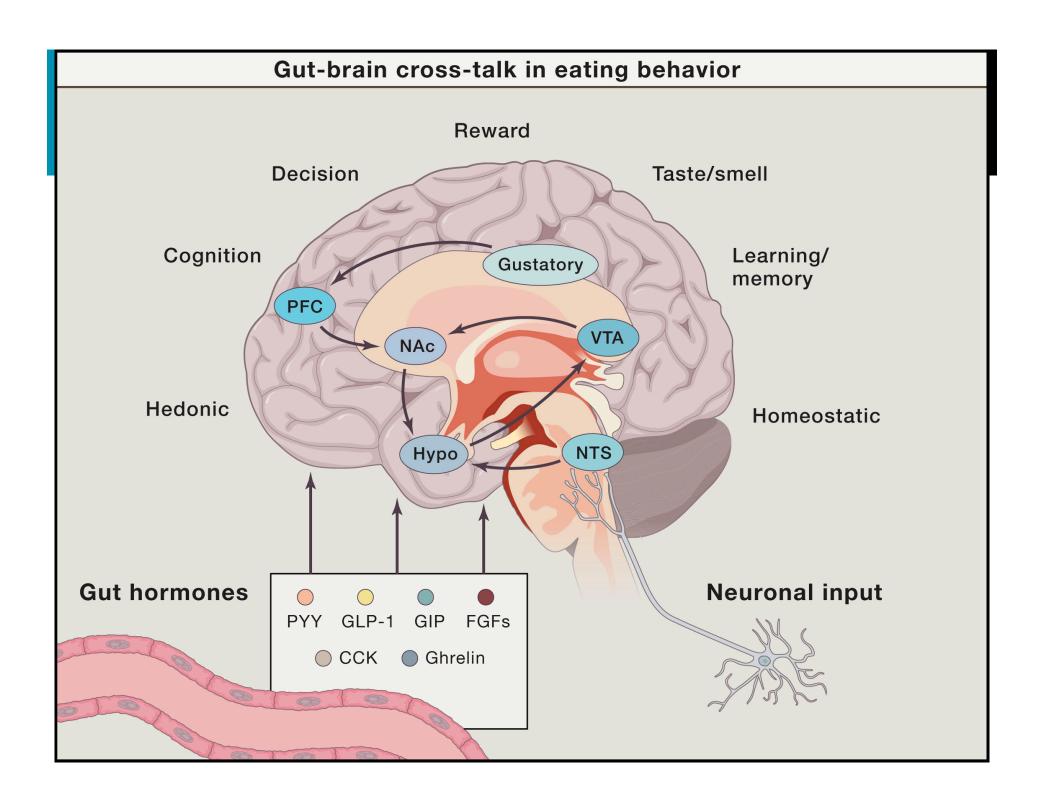


#### Understanding gut-brain cross-talk:

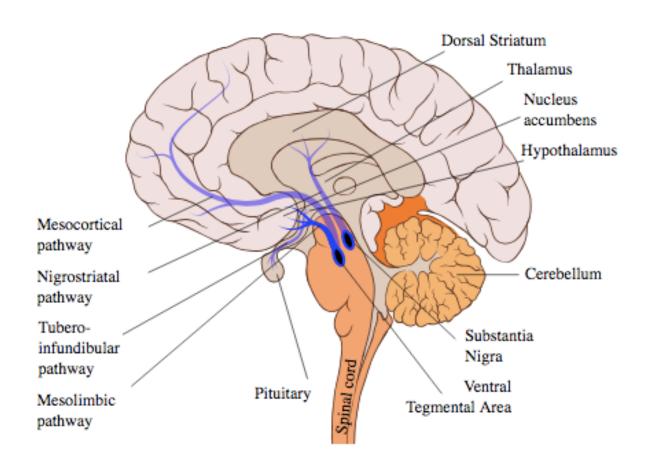
Therapeutic membrane receptor targets for treating metabolic disease



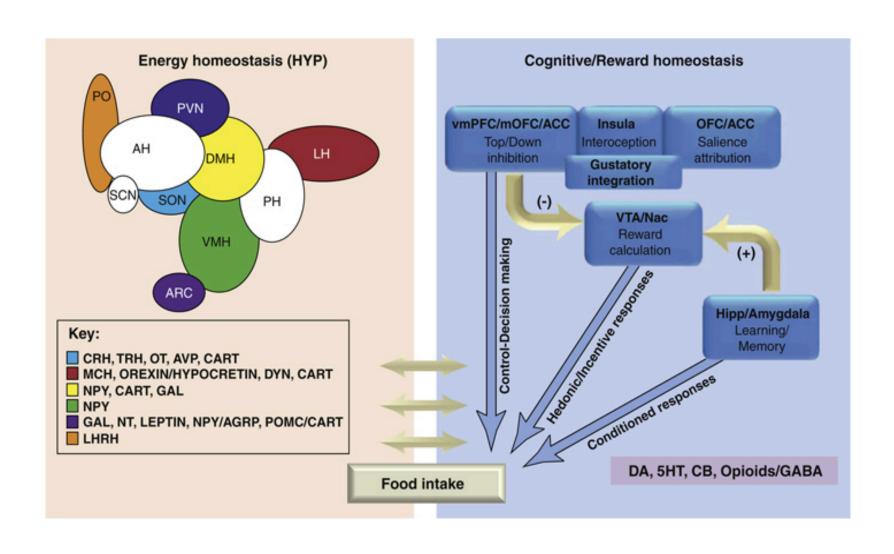




#### **Mesolimbic Pathway**



#### Reward and Homeostasis



#### Approach to Mitigating Weight Bias

Manipulating beliefs about causality/controllability

Providing facts about obesity to promote intellectual understanding

Counter-conditioning

Interacting with individuals with lived experience to promote self-awareness

Modifying social consensus and norms

Harnessing the power of influential and trusted leaders in changing perspectives

**Evoking empathy** 

Highlighting lived experiences

Lee et al, 2014; Alberga et al, 2016

#### The Challenge here....

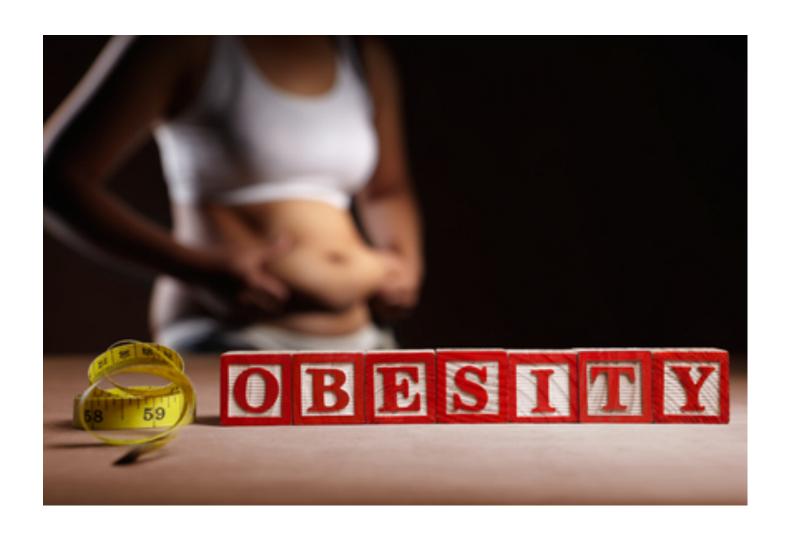
- Medicine Reflects Cultural Norms....
- We need to identify those cultural norms when it comes to obesity in order to address them properly

# Sure Obesity is a disease....

• BUT?

#### **Fattertainment**

- The perpetuation of stereotypes against obesity in the media:
  - Reality TV shows
  - Comedy
  - "FAT JOKES"
  - Reporting....
  - Dramatization of Obesity



## Negative images



#### Approach to Mitigating Weight Bias

Manipulating beliefs about causality/controllability

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**Evoking empathy** 

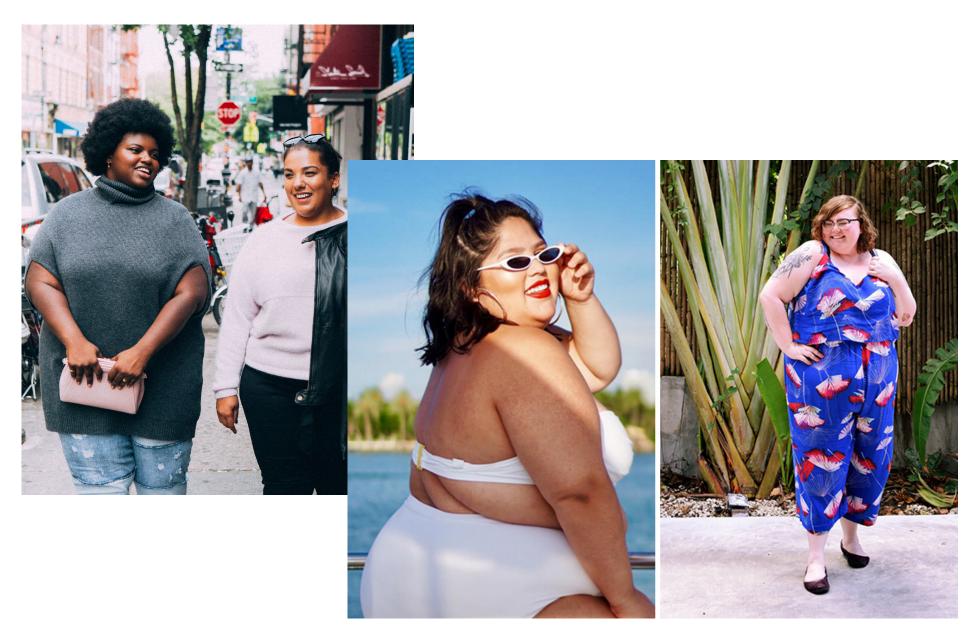
Highlighting lived experiences

Lee et al, 2014; Alberga et al, 2016

### **Effects of Bias**



# Positive images



#### Approach to Mitigating Weight Bias

Manipulating beliefs about Modifying social consensus causality/controllability and norms Providing facts about obesity Harnessing the power of to promote intellectual influential and trusted leaders understanding in changing perspectives Counter-conditioning **Evoking empathy** Interacting with individuals Highlighting lived experiences with lived experience to promote self-awareness Lee et al, 2014; Alberga et al, 2016

# Changes you can make

- Space
- Mind
- Mouth

## In your office

- Improve the patient experience in your clinic for people with obesity
  - Scale
  - Gown
  - Cuff
  - Magazines and messaging
  - Create a safe and empathic space

## In your mind

- recognize that many patients with obesity have tried to lose weight repeatedly;
- consider that patients may have had negative experiences with health professionals.

### In your mouth

- PERSON FIRST LANGUAGE
- Focus on meaningful health gains less weight centred
- Patient partnered approach
- explore all possible causes of a presenting problem and avoid assuming it is a result of an individual's weight status.
- Acknowledge the difficulty of achieving sustainable and significant weight loss.

#### Preference

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Obesity (Silver Spring). 2012 January; 20(1): 147–150. doi:10.1038/oby.2011.217.

#### Patients' Preferred Terms for Describing their Excess Weight: Discussing Obesity in Clinical Practice

Sheri Volger, M.S., R.D.<sup>1</sup>, Marion L. Vetter, M.D., R.D.<sup>1,2</sup>, Megan Dougherty, B.S.<sup>1</sup>, Eva Panigrahi, B.S.<sup>1</sup>, Rebecca Egner, B.S.<sup>1</sup>, Victoria Webb, B.A.<sup>1</sup>, J. Graham Thomas, Ph.D.<sup>3</sup>, David B. Sarwer, Ph.D.<sup>1</sup>, and Thomas A. Wadden, Ph.D<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, Center for Weight and Eating Disorders, Philadelphia, PA

<sup>2</sup>University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, Department of Medicine, Division of Endocrinology, Diabetes, and Metabolism, Philadelphia, PA

<sup>3</sup>Brown Medical School, Department of Psychiatry and Human Behavior, Weight Control and Diabetes Research Center, Providence, RI

#### Abstract

The increasing prevalence of obesity has become one of the most challenging problems facing healthcare providers. Despite recommendations from the U.S. Preventive Services Task Force many health professionals fail to discuss obesity with their patients. This study sought to identify terms that individuals with obesity and being treated in primary care find the most and least acceptable for describing their excess weight. Three-hundred ninety obese adult primary care patients in the Philadelphia area were administered the Weight Preferences Questionnaire from January 2008 through February 2009. Ratings of 11 terms used to describe excess weight were transformed to a five-point scale, ranging from "very desirable" (+2) to neutral (0) to "very undesirable" (-2). The term "fatness" (mean score  $-1.1 \pm 1.3$ ) was rated as significantly more undesirable than all other descriptors (p < 0.001). The terms "excess fat" ( $-0.6 \pm 1.3$ ), "large size"  $(-0.6 \pm 1.3)$ , "obesity"  $(-0.5 \pm 1.4)$ , and "heaviness"  $(-0.4 \pm 1.2)$  were rated as significantly more undesirable then the remaining terms, which included weight problem, body mass index (BMI), and excess weight (p<0.001). In contrast, the term "weight" was viewed as the most desirable term for characterizing excess weight. Patients' preferences for terms were not significantly influenced by gender, race/ethnicity, or a BMI  $\geq 40 \text{ kg/m}^2$ . Practitioners who treat obesity are encouraged to avoid undesirable terms when discussing this condition with their patients. Instead practitioners may want to consider broaching the topic using more patient-friendly term such as "weight," "BMI," "weight problem," or excess weight."

# More stigmatizing

- Heavy
- chubby
- Obese
- Fat
- morbidly

# More Blaming

- Heavy
- Chubby
- Obese
- Fat
- Morbidly obese

### Acceptable

- weight
- Increased weight
- Excess weight
- Weight gain
- BMI

#### Challenges in education: Energy Balance Model

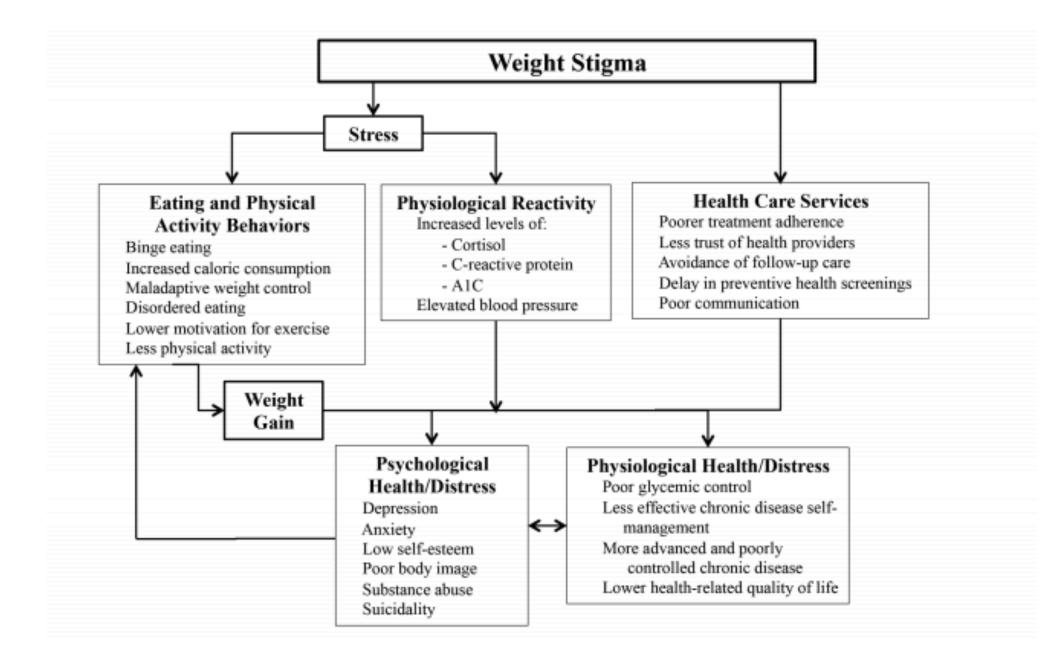
- Many providers support the energy balance model of weight gain and loss almost exclusively
- This can limit the scope of the counselling they give patients and may contribute to beliefs that obesity is simply an issue of personal responsibility.

#### How to address/treat unconscious weight bias

- Acknowledge it exists
- Exposure to counter-stereotypes
- BOOSTING EMPATHY:
  - Shared experience
  - Positive contact bias
  - Patient centred communication
- Empathy focused interventions
- Zero tolerance policy:
  - Person First language

### Effect of Weight Stigma

- Physiological
- Cultural
- Barrier to care



# Studies confirm that doctors approach patients with obesity differently

- Less time with patients
- Less quality of care
- Screen less
- Less discussions
- More ascribing of negative symptoms

# Addressing Weight Bias in Clinical Practice

- Addressing weight bias in clinical practice is challenging
  - Because it is pervasive
  - Because it is more socially acceptable than other types of bias

#### Summary

- Assess you own biases
- Watch your language
- Weight is not a behaviour
- Weight bias harms health and well being
- Physical environments
- Focus on health and quality of life

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# Weight Discrimination and Risk of Mortality





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#### **Abstract**

Discrimination based on weight is a stressful social experience linked to declines in physical and mental health. We examined whether this harmful association extends to risk of mortality. Participants in the Health and Retirement Study (HRS; N = 13,692) and the Midlife in the United States Study (MIDUS; N = 5,079) reported on perceived discriminatory experiences and attributed those experiences to a number of personal characteristics, including weight. Weight discrimination was associated with an increase in mortality risk of nearly 60% in both HRS participants (hazard ratio = 1.57, 95% confidence interval = [1.34, 1.84]) and MIDUS participants (hazard ratio = 1.59, 95% confidence interval = [1.09, 2.31]). This increased risk was not accounted for by common physical and psychological risk factors. The association between mortality and weight discrimination was generally stronger than that between mortality and other attributions for discrimination. In addition to its association with poor health outcomes, weight discrimination may shorten life expectancy.

**Table 2.** Results of the Proportional Hazards Regression Analysis of the Association Between Mortality Risk and Perceived Discrimination in the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) Sample

Predictor	Model 1 $(n = 13,692)$	Model 2 $(n = 13,400)$	Model 3 $(n = 12,307)$
Age	2.36 [2.26, 2.47]**	2.34 [2.23, 2.45]**	2.20 [2.07, 2.33]**
Gender (female)	0.70 [0.64, 0.77]**	0.65 [0.60, 0.72]**	0.66 [0.60, 0.73]**
Race			
Black	1.21 [1.06, 1.37]**	1.22 [1.08, 1.39]**	1.04 [0.90, 1.19]
Other or unknown	0.75 [0.51, 1.11]	0.76 [0.51, 1.11]	0.89 [0.59, 1.35]
Education (years)	0.95 [0.94, 0.96]**	0.95 [0.94, 0.96]**	0.99 [0.98, 1.01]
Body mass index category			
Underweight	_	2.55 [2.03, 3.21]**	2.54 [1.98, 3.21]**
Overweight	_	0.77 [0.69, 0.85]**	0.73 [0.65, 0.82]**
Obese	_	0.84 [0.74, 0.96]**	0.66 [0.57, 0.75]**
Morbidly obese	_	1.63 [1.29, 2.06]**	0.91 [0.71, 1.17]
Poor subjective health	_	_	1.37 [1.29, 1.44]**
Disease burden	_	_	1.18 [1.13, 1.22]**
Depressive symptoms	_	_	1.04 [1.01, 1.06]**
Positive smoking history	_	_	1.41 [1.26, 1.57]**
Moderate physical activity	_	_	0.83 [0.80, 0.86]**
Attribution of perceived discrimination			
Weight	1.57 [1.34, 1.84]**	1.48 [1.25, 1.75]**	1.31 [1.10, 1.57]**
Ancestry	1.26 [1.07, 1.49]**	1.31 [1.11, 1.56]**	1.44 [1.21, 1.72]**
Race	1.06 [0.90, 1.26]	1.08 [0.91, 1.28]	1.11 [0.93, 1.33]
Sex	1.10 [0.94, 1.28]	1.08 [0.92, 1.26]	1.13 [0.96, 1.33]
Age	1.09 [0.99, 1.19]	1.08 [0.98, 1.19]	1.01 [0.92, 1.12]
Physical disability	2.28 [2.01, 2.57]**	2.21 [1.95, 2.50]**	1.50 [1.30, 1.72]**
Appearance	1.31 [1.11, 1.55]**	1.27 [1.08, 1.51]**	1.14 [0.95, 1.37]
Sexual orientation	1.17 [0.85, 1.60]	1.13 [0.81, 1.56]	1.07 [0.76, 1.49]

Note: The table presents hazard ratios, with 95% confidence intervals in brackets. *N*s differ across the models because data were missing for some covariates.

<sup>\*\*</sup>p < .01.