

SHOPPING AS SYMBOLIC INTERACTION

Race, Class, and Gender
in the Toy Store

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This reading by Christine Williams, a professor of sociology at the University of Texas at Austin, is taken from Williams' 2006 book, *Inside Toyland: Working, Shopping, and Social Inequality*. As part of her research on the social organization of toy stores, Williams worked as an employee in two toy stores, where she examined the social relationships and social interaction between clerks and customers. Thus, this excerpt illustrates well the social interaction found in secondary relationships. *Secondary relationships* tend to be temporal, less intimate, and more formal than primary relationships. Moreover, secondary relationships are often utilitarian in that they serve some function. Williams discovered that these secondary relationships also reflect and reproduce social inequalities based on race, gender, and social class.

Erving Goffman (1967, 1977) claimed that face-to-face public encounters with strangers typically rely on ritualized scripts to make them go smoothly. In service work, this insight has been transformed into a maxim. Visit McDonald's and you are likely to encounter the "six steps of counter service" (Leidner 1993), beginning with the question "May I take your order please?" and until recently ending with "Do you want to super-size that?" Usually, this scripted server-customer interaction comes off without a hitch. When it does not, the result is often conflict. If customers linger too long over their food order or request some special item not on the menu, they will likely face disapproval, mostly from the customers behind them. Workers who refuse to say their lines will likely be fired.

This approach to understanding service work has been enormously popular and fruitful, especially in the gender literature where the "doing gender" approach (West and Zimmerman 1987), which was influenced by Goffman's theory, has become practically hegemonic. I would argue, however, that Goffman's perspective is limited for reasons that Herbert Blumer (1969) identified years ago. The meanings of these rituals are not self-evident. It is only through a process of symbolic interaction among active, creative, knowledgeable participants that the meanings and consequences of these rituals emerge. This [reading] focuses on the rituals of toy shopping. But it also

examines the ongoing innovations, negotiations, and reinterpretations of shopping from the perspective of salesclerks.

I was employed for three months, a total of more than 300 hours, in two large stores that were parts of national chains. One of these stores, which I call Toy Warehouse (all store names have been changed for this [reading]), was a "big box" toy store located in a low-income redevelopment zone. I was one of four white women who worked on the staff of about seventy; most of my coworkers were African American women and men. The other store, which I call Diamond Toys, was in an urban, upscale shopping district that catered to high-income shoppers and tourists. At that store, most of the workers were white; only three African Americans (all women) worked on the staff of about seventy. Latina/os and Asian Americans also worked at these stores, making up about 20 percent of the workforce. This [reading] examines interactions between clerks and customers and discusses the relevance of symbolic interactionism for understanding labor processes.

The [reading] first describes the "rules" governing salesclerks in their interactions with customers at the two toy stores. These "official" rules are formulated by the corporations that own the toy store chains. Second, the [reading] discusses the "ropes," the informal rules that employees devise and follow to ensure order and preserve their self-respect in their interactions with customers. I argue that both the "rules" and the "ropes" take into account the race, gender, and class characteristics of the clerk and the customer. Finally, the [reading] discusses what happens when these formal and informal rules are not followed and interactions break down into conflict. Whether an interaction can be repaired depends on race, class, and gender: because different groups have different resources to draw on to assert their will in the toy store, the resolution of any particular conflict is shaped by social inequality and the creative efforts of the individuals involved.

The Rules: Corporate Culture in Toy Stores

... The corporation that owned the Toy Warehouse wanted its stores to create a fun, family-oriented atmosphere. Sales workers were expected to demonstrate a high degree of spirited enthusiasm. We were required to hand out balloons and stickers to children and sing to them on their birthdays. The name badge I wore proclaimed that I had been "delighting guests since 2001." Like all new employees, I was required on my first morning shift to hula-hoop in front of the staff. All clerks were required to form a gauntlet around the front door when the store opened and applaud the customers as they entered the store, much to their bewilderment.

In giant retail stores, corporate culture is usually communicated to new hires through perfunctory training sessions that last no more than one day. At the Toy Warehouse, our training consisted of watching nine 20-minute videotapes on everything from handling returns to selling the new Game Boy. One videotape showed executives, on stage at a corporate event, leading store directors in group singing and rousing cheers.

Whereas the Toy Warehouse aspired to present an image as an exciting playground for children and their families, Diamond Toys portrayed itself as a high-end specialty store oriented toward meeting the needs of discriminating adult shoppers. The store aimed to flatter the sophisticated tastes of the elite or those who would like to be elite. The very set-up of the store encouraged this aura. Diamond Toys resembled a fancy department store, not a warehouse. A door attendant out front greeted customers. Inside were lavish displays of giant toys with mechanical moving parts. A theme song played in a continuous loop, making me at times feel trapped inside a ride at Disneyland. The store also seemed to have the theme park effect on the many adults and children who stood in awe and marveled at the displays.

We did not have to watch videos during our training at Diamond Toys. Instead, we were issued an employee handbook. The personnel manager, Leslie, took the three new hires to a seminar room and read the entire 30-page document to us. We were invited to interrupt the presentation at any time to ask questions.

Much was said about the dress code. We were required to wear the company-issued maroon polo shirt tucked into belted chino slacks or skirt. Belts had to be black, tan, cordovan, or brown. No outside stitching or pockets were allowed, as this conveyed the look of jeans, which were forbidden. Leslie showed us where the ironing board and iron were kept "just in case" we needed them. We were allowed only two earrings per ear and a single nose stud. No visible tattoos and no unconventional hair color were allowed.

The corporate instruction we received as salesclerks was summed up in the "Five Is of Customer Service." These were: initiate, inquire, inform, include, and into the register. We were told we must initiate contact within thirty seconds with each customer who wandered into our section. . . . After a successful initiation, we were instructed to try to determine the customer's needs with open-ended questions or remarks, such as "Tell me about the kind of party you are planning." At the "inform" stage we were to match the customer's needs with product features . . . , and at the "include" stage we were to recommend accessories to complement the main purchase. . . . Our goal was to sell a minimum of two UPTs (units per transaction). We received a printout three times per shift showing us how we were doing.

Thus, the corporate board of Diamond Toys imagined a sales staff of Jeeves-like butlers. Correspondingly, their ideal customer was a member of the bourgeoisie in need of professional consultation on his or her purchases. Oddly, this customer was never shown in the instructional materials. There were no people in the toy catalogs, either; the focus was always on the "special" merchandise we offered.

The Toy Warehouse, on the other hand, was quite explicit about what its ideal customer looks like: she was a middle-class white mother. Several of the videos featured this woman and demonstrated the ways we were supposed to serve her. She usually knew what she wanted (a Game Boy, for instance), but she might need to be told that it required game cartridges, batteries, and a light worm. She did not like to be kept waiting, so we were supposed to work quickly to accommodate her (no lingering over party

decorations). My manager, Olive, urged me to treat every woman in the store as if she were my mother. Mothers made the purchasing decisions, she said, so they got the special treatment. Olive said that the average child has \$20,000 spent on toys for them before they are eighteen, and the Toy Warehouse wanted to be the place where most of that money was spent.

Advertising displayed in the Toy Warehouse was directed to middle-class families. The store "sponsored" National Day for Children, for example. This was celebrated by posting signs that read "National Day for Children" and putting out a stack of leaflets on a card table that gave "10 reasons to celebrate your child!" Also offered were a college savings plan (which put a small percentage of any purchase in a special account for college tuition), a parenting newsletter, and a summer camp program at which children could be dropped off for a two-hour activity on weekday mornings.

The "child" imagined by the Toy Warehouse's corporate office was thus middle-class and college-bound, from a traditional family where the mother did not work for pay but did all the shopping. Children were expected to have their own ideas about what they want. The store sold "gift cards" to give to children for their birthdays and special occasions. The equivalent of gift certificates, these were little plastic cards that look like credit cards. They were packaged in greeting-card envelopes with a space to write in the child's name and the dollar amount of the gift. At Diamond Toys, in contrast, children were much less central to the marketing agenda. Although they were the intended consumers of most of the merchandise, they were treated more as pampered and coddled pets than as willing and engaged buyers. At Diamond Toys, adults were our primary focus; it was to them that we directed our expert knowledge and solicitous attention. Leslie told us that people came to our store and were willing to pay more because we were "the ultimate toy experts." (In contrast, the Toy Warehouse considered kids to be the ultimate toy experts.) At Diamond Toys, we did not strive to make the shopping experience fun for families; rather, the mood we aspired to set was one of careful and quiet deliberation to assist adults in making a suitable purchase.

How did these corporate expectations play out in practice? In the most obvious sense, they selected for different kinds of customers. Shoppers at the Toy Warehouse represented all levels of the stratification system. I would often marvel at how our "guests" (as we were required to call them) were from every racial-ethnic group and every social class. Rich women with huge diamond rings shopped next to very poor families who were shabbily dressed. Recent immigrants from Africa, India, and Central America were also there, some in traditional clothes. Diamond Toys attracted a more upper-class clientele. It was like a gated community for rich whites. Although the doors opened onto diverse and chaotic urban streets, only the wealthy or the tourist class entered.

But what impact did the corporate rules have on actual interactions between clerks and customers? Retail workers were expected to conform to the corporate culture, but they often developed their own rules for dealing with customers that sometimes clashed with that agenda. I call those rules "the ropes."

The "Ropes": Shop Floor Culture

New hires learned the ropes from observing experienced workers on the shopping floor. One of the first lessons I learned at the Toy Warehouse was that middle-class white women shoppers got whatever they wanted. I suppose that as a middle-class white woman myself, I should have felt empowered by this knowledge. Instead, I have come to understand this preferential treatment as a result of race and class privilege.

Most of the customers at both stores were women. At the Toy Warehouse we were told that women make 90 percent of the purchase decisions, so we were to treat women deferentially. Olive told me that the store abides by the "\$19,800 rule." If a customer wanted to return merchandise and it was questionable whether we should take the return (because it had been broken or worn out by the customer, or because the customer had lost the receipt), we should err on the side of the customer. The company was willing to take a \$200 loss because doing so might please the customer so much that she would return to the store and spend the rest of the \$20,000 on each of her children.

But in my experience, only the white women got this kind of treatment. Not surprisingly, many developed a sense of entitlement and threw fits when they were not accommodated. . . .

Middle-class white women had a reputation at the store of being overly demanding and abusive. Susan, a thirty-five-year-old Latina, agreed with my observation that rich white women were the most demanding customers; she said they always demanded to see the manager and they always got mollified. In contrast, African American and Latina/o customers hardly ever complained. If they did complain, she said, they would not get any satisfaction.

Susan's remarks illustrate some of the elaborate stereotypes that service-desk workers used in the course of their daily transactions. Immediate assumptions were made about customers based on their race, gender, and apparent social class; workers responded to customers using these cues. Middle-class white women were the most privileged customers, so not surprisingly, many developed a sense of entitlement. One of the most eye-opening examples of white women's sense of entitlement that I witnessed in the Toy Warehouse was their refusal to check their bags at the counter. Stealing was a big problem in the store, so customers were required to leave all large bags and backpacks at the service desk. A large sign indicating this policy was posted on the store's entrance. The vast majority of customers carrying bags immediately approached the desk to comply with the rule. The exception was white women, who almost universally ignored the sign. When challenged, they would argue, and we would have to insist so as not to appear to be unfair to the other people. I guiltily recognized myself in their behavior. Since then, I always turn over my bag.

White women developed a sense of entitlement because in most instances they got what they wanted. Members of other groups who wanted to return used merchandise, or who needed special consideration, rarely were accommodated. . . .

It has been well documented that African Americans suffer discrimination in public places, including stores (Feagin and Sikes 1995). They report that they are followed by security personnel, treated harshly by attendants, and flatly refused service. The flip side of this discrimination is the privilege experienced by middle-class whites. This privilege is not recognized precisely because it is so customary. Whites expect first-rate service; when it is not forthcoming, some feel victimized, even discriminated against. This was especially apparent in the Toy Warehouse, where most of the sales people were black. I noticed that when white women customers were subjected to long waits in line or if they received what they perceived as uncaring attention, they would often sigh loudly, roll their eyes, and try to make eye contact with other whites, looking for a sign of recognition that the service they were receiving was inferior and unfair.

Just as white customers are treated with more respect, so are white service workers, especially by white customers. At the Toy Warehouse, where I was one of only four white women workers, I noticed that shoppers frequently assumed that I was in charge. . . .

In addition . . . , customers at both stores frequently assumed that I was an expert on childhood. This is not an altogether irrational assumption. I was working in a toy store, and I suppose that I looked like a mother with personal experience of children's toys. But I did not have children, and I knew virtually nothing about toys or children's popular culture before I took these jobs. And I was not alone in this. It is important to realize that workers being paid \$7.50 an hour do not necessarily have any expertise regarding the merchandise they are selling. We received no training whatsoever. Any advice we gave we literally made up.

At the Toy Warehouse, most customers did not expect elaborate advice from the salesclerks. Anyone who has ever shopped in a big-box store has probably observed workers trying to avoid customers as if they were playing a game of hide-and-seek. Customers have to make a special effort to find a clerk if they need advice. Crossing the floor I would often look down to avoid eye contact with customers either because I was dealing with a previous request or I was trying to make it to the break room for my fifteen-minute rest. Any time we spent interacting with a customer was deducted from our break. . . .

In contrast, avoiding or ignoring customers was taboo at Diamond Toys. Although we complained about customers in the break room, we never expressed our disdain publicly. At Diamond Toys, our job was to cater to customers. It was not unusual to spend fifteen to twenty minutes assisting a single customer. . . .

The culture of the stores also reflected race and class dynamics. Diamond Toys embodied whiteness both physically and symbolically; the Toy Warehouse embodied a more diverse, creative, and flamboyant style. This was reflected in our uniforms. The dress code was strictly enforced at Diamond Toys, much to the chagrin of my younger coworkers, who especially hated the belted and tucked-in look. Some tried to subvert it by wearing their pants low on their hips, but this was a minor alteration. . . .

The dress code at Diamond Toys was not unlike the one that many area school districts had recently imposed on elementary and middle-school children, which probably explains my younger coworkers' disdain for them. But why do customers like them? Edward Morris (2005), who has written about school uniforms in minority schools, has argued that a "tucked in shirt" signifies whiteness, middle-class respectability, and a professional demeanor, especially for the middle-class teachers who enforce the dress code. (To the kids, the uniforms evoked prison garb comparisons.) This analysis matches my experience at Diamond Toys, where our uniforms seemed to reassure customers that we were professionals who knew what we were talking about.

At the Toy Warehouse we wore bright orange vests over matching company-issued camp shirts, giving us the look of warehouse attendants. The bright colors were intended, no doubt, to make us easy to spot on the floor. We were allowed to wear black jeans to work. Most of the young men wore fashionable low riders that hung below their underwear and dragged on the floor. The young women wore super skin-tight hip huggers. Because it was summer, we were also given the option to wear shorts. A coworker named Socorro told me that she was not planning to take advantage of that because people did not need to see the tattoos on her calves. Most of my other coworkers were only too eager to show off their art, as they called it. The younger ones had multiple piercings, including tongue studs. Careful attention was also paid to hairstyles—the more outrageous and intricate the better. Most men and women wore very elaborate and intricate hair designs incorporating dyeing, shaving, sculpting, braiding, and extensions. . . .

Realizing that white customers in particular treated them with disrespect and even disdain, my African American coworkers developed interactional skills to minimize their involvement with them. I noticed at the service desk that the black women who worked there did not smile or act concerned when customers came up for complaints or returns. They did their work well and efficiently, but they did not exude a sense that they really cared. Rather, they looked suspicious, or bored, or resigned, or even a little miffed. Over time I learned that this attitude of ennui or suspicion was cultivated as a way to garner respect for the work. It was saying, "This isn't my problem, it's your problem, but I will see what can be done to fix it." If workers were more enthusiastic and it turned out the problem could not be fixed, they would look incompetent, which was the assumption that too many white customers were willing to make of black women. So those workers made it appear that the problem was insurmountable and when they did resolve it (which was most of the time), they garnered a little bit of respect. But it was at the cost of appearing unfriendly, so the store received negative customer-service evaluations.

With experience, I developed my own set of facial gestures and attitudes to manage customers. At the cash register, I learned to look cheerful, unless there was a void and I had to wait for a manager to respond to a page, in which case I became expressionless and looked off to the distance, like a computer in shut-down mode. If I acted impatient, I learned, the customers would become impatient. At the service desk, where customers returned or

exchanged merchandise, I learned to act like a student. To get a refund, customers had to explain what the problem was. I found that the best technique to do this work effectively was to bow my head a little, but raise my eyebrows and look into the eyes of the customer. No smiling and no frowning. This made me look a little skeptical, but also subservient. It also made me look stupid. I had to listen to the stories but not act as if I cared or was interested and then efficiently process the request. If they requested something that was against store policy, I just had to report that, without sounding apologetic or giving the impression that the rule was wrong. "That's just the rule, it's store policy, no exceptions." If they argued, I would call a manager. This kind of affectless performance kept customers under control and less likely to be insulting or to make a scene.

Manipulating customers through self-presentation constitutes an informal "feeling rule" (Hochschild 1983). These techniques for displaying affect were developed by workers to manage and minimize difficult customer interactions. I call them informal rules because management would have preferred that we always conveyed serious concern and solicitude, but workers at the Toy Warehouse knew that would only spell trouble. Moreover, the informal rules were sensitive to race and gender dynamics in a way that management rules could not be. The fact is that different groups had to use different means to assert themselves and their interests, and the stratification of the jobs at the store meant that we all had different levels of formal and informal power to resolve situations. White men had the most institutionalized power and authority in the stores. The store directors in both places where I worked were white men who could and did trump any decision made by managers or sales associates. Sales associates had severely limited options for resolving disputes, owing in large part to surveillance mechanisms intended to keep us from stealing. But maintaining control was also dependent on the race and gender of both workers and customers.

Interaction Breakdown: Social Control in the Toy Store

It may seem incongruous to talk about power and control in the context of toy shopping. But customers frequently misbehave in stores. In addition to seeing customers throwing fits at the service desk, every day I witnessed customers ripping open packages, hiding garbage, spilling soft drinks, and generally making a mess of the store.

As a middle-aged white woman, I could exercise some control over the extremes of this bad behavior. I could stand nearby, for example, and the customers might notice me and guiltily try to stuff the toy back into the box or replace the dozen toys they had pulled off the shelf. We were not allowed to confront customers, even if we suspected them of stealing or destroying the merchandise, but we were expected to develop subtle ways to control them. I could not do this as well as my male coworkers could, but I was definitely more respected (and feared) than my women coworkers who were African American, Asian American, and Latina.

I did not have too much trouble controlling white women. The customers that I had the hardest time controlling were men. Men were outnumbered by women in both stores. At the Toy Warehouse, I saw them mostly on the weekends, which seemed to be the most popular time for fathers to come in with their children. At Diamond Toys, I observed men tourists shopping with their families, businessmen buying small gifts for their children back home, and during the Christmas season, men buying high-end toys for their wives. In general men seemed to be annoyed to be in the stores, and they sometimes acted annoyed with me, especially when unaccompanied by women. One white man at the Toy Warehouse tossed his shopping list at me when I was working at the service desk. He expected me to assemble the items for him or to get someone else to do it. Some men were just mean. On two occasions, men demanded to use my telephone, against which there were strict rules. I said they were not allowed to use it, and they just reached over the counter and did it anyway. I was terrified that my manager would walk by and yell at me, maybe even fire me. On another occasion at Diamond Toys, a business professor in town for a conference was upset because a Barney sippy cup he wanted to buy was missing its price tag and I could not find it listed in the store inventory. He made me call over the store director and subjected both of us to a critique of store operations, which he threatened to submit for publication to a business journal unless we sold him the sippy cup.

The sense of entitlement I observed in these men customers was different from that which I observed in white women. Perhaps the expectation that shopping was "women's work" made these men feel entitled to make me do their shopping for them or reorganize the store to make it more convenient for them. To assert masculinity while engaging in this otherwise feminine activity seemed to require them to disrupt the routinized clerk-customer relationship.

In an extreme manifestation of this shopping masculinity, on three occasions (all at the Toy Warehouse), men threw things in my direction. Once a male customer threw a toy that struck me on the head. The customer was a young African American, maybe thirty years old. . . . [He] was yelling at Jack [the store manager], using swear words. "Fuck this shit, I don't give a damn!" Jack was trying to calm him down, "Please do not use that language, sir, this is a toy store." The customer was so angry that he threw the toy on the counter, accidentally dislodging the phone, which came flying toward me, hitting me on the left side of my face and neck. I shrieked as I fell to the floor, and I thought I might cry. Jack said to Leticia, "Call the police *now*." The man started to walk toward the exit, but first he said loudly, "If I don't get a cash refund, my kids won't eat tonight," and he left the store (without his toy). . . .

Jack was not the only one who threatened to call the police when black men customers became angry in the store. I noticed that this particular strategy for control was also used by the African American women supervisors and manager at the Toy Warehouse.

African American shoppers sometimes resisted what they apparently perceived as discriminatory treatment, which is in keeping with the long tradition

of black protest against racism in stores (Cohen 2003; Weems 1998). Some black customers were quick to speak out if they felt subjected to unfair or unequal treatment, including one who accused me of racism for not helping another black customer (I was not sure that she accepted my explanation). The rules of shopping are subject to constant negotiation and rewriting.

Conclusion

As a nation of consumers, we spend a great deal of our time in stores interacting with sales workers. In this [reading], I have tried to make a case for paying attention to these interactions as sites for the reproduction of social inequality.

In particular, I have argued that how we shop is shaped by and bolsters race, class, and gender inequalities. I have emphasized three dimensions of this process. First, corporations script the customer-server interaction in ways that are designed to appeal to a particular kind of customer. The fun, child-centered Toy Warehouse was designed to appeal to middle-class white women. The sophisticated and discriminating Diamond Toys was designed to appeal to an upper-class clientele. These rules influenced who entered the stores as customers and also shaped the hiring practices in the two stores. The Toy Warehouse was a dazzling mix of customers catered to by a staff of mostly African American workers, whereas Diamond Toys hired mainly whites to serve a mostly white, well-to-do clientele.

Second, actual interactions between clerks and customers stray from these ideal rituals in ways that take into account the social inequalities of race, class, and gender. Both clerks and customers drew on elaborate stereotypes in crafting their working and shopping practices. White customers received preferential treatment, and many developed a sense of entitlement because of this. Similarly, white workers were treated with more deference and respect, particularly by white shoppers. African American and Latina/o workers developed elaborate strategies to protect their self-respect in the face of this white privilege.

Third, when interactions break down, the ability to repair them depends on how the characteristics of the customer and the worker are interpreted. As a white woman I had a different repertoire of control strategies than my African American women coworkers. They had to reckon with racist as well as sexist assumptions from irate white customers, whereas most of my difficulties were due to customer sexism. White men had more power in the stores, but they seemed to have difficulty managing and controlling black customers, in particular, black men. Control is an achievement that must be negotiated anew with each service interaction.

Herbert Blumer (1969) wrote that people act toward things on the basis of the meanings that they give to them, and further, that those meanings arise in the course of interactions. The meanings of race, class, and gender are not given in the rituals handed down by management, nor are they brought into the store ready-made by the clerks and customers possessing these discrete

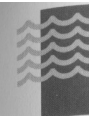
demographic characteristics. Rather, they derive their meaning and significance through interactions that are the creative products of interpretive acts by individuals.

The theory of symbolic interactionism is useful for understanding race, class, and gender on the shopping floor. Moreover, in my view, this is a hopeful approach to analyzing the reproduction of inequalities: there is nothing inevitable about the ways that shopping interactions proceed on a daily basis. Because they are symbolically created, they can be recreated to lessen the social inequalities that they currently reproduce.

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PART V

Deviance, Crime, and Social C

20

ANOREXIA NERVOSA AND BULIMIA The Development of Deviant Identities

PENELOPE A. McLORG • DIANE E. TAUB

Sociologists have a long-standing interest in the study of social deviance, which is explored in the next three readings. *Deviance* is the re- violation of social norms. As norms cover a wide range of human behavior, deviant acts are plentiful in any given society. Moreover, as illustrated in Reading 6 by David Rosenhan on the labeling of mental illness, whether a person is labeled deviant depends on how others perceive, define, and respond to that person's behavior. This reading by Penelope McLorg and Diane Taub further illustrates this process of deviance identification. In this reading, originally published in 1987, McLorg and Taub employ symbolic interaction theory to explain how eating disorders have become defined as deviant behaviors and how some young women acquire deviant identities by changing their self-concepts to conform to the societal labels of a person with an eating disorder. Penelope McLorg is director of the Gerontology Program and Diane Taub is a professor of sociology at Indiana University, Fort Wayne.

Introduction

Current appearance norms stipulate thinness for women and for men; these expectations, like any norms, entail rewards for conformity and negative sanctions for violations. Fear of being overweight and visually deviant—has led to a striving for thinness, especially among women. In the extreme, this avoidance of overweight engenders eating disorders, which themselves constitute deviance. Anorexia nervosa, a self-imposed starvation, embodies visual as well as behavioral deviance. Bulimia, binge-eating followed by vomiting and/or laxative abuse, is behaviorally deviant.

Penelope A. McLorg and Diane E. Taub, "Anorexia Nervosa and Bulimia: The Development of Deviant Identities" from *Deviant Behavior* 8 (1987). Copyright © 1987 by Routledge with the permission of Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, <http://www.taylorandfrancis.com>