

High Heels Increase Women's Attractiveness

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Abstract Research has found that the appearance of women's apparel helps increase their attractiveness as rated by men and that men care more about physical features in potential opposite-sex mates. However, the effect of sartorial appearance has received little interest from scientists. In a series of studies, the length of women's shoe heels was examined. A woman confederate wearing black shoes with 0, 5, or 9 cm heels asked men for help in various circumstances. In Study 1, she asked men to respond to a short survey on gender equality. In Study 2, the confederate asked men and women to participate in a survey on local food habit consumption. In Study 3, men and women in the street were observed while walking in back of the female confederate who dropped a glove apparently unaware of her loss. It was found that men's helping behavior increased as soon as heel length increased. However, heel length had no effect on women's helping behavior. It was also found that men spontaneously approached women more quickly when they wore high-heeled shoes (Study 4). Change in gait, foot-size judgment, and misattribution of sexiness and sexual intent were used as possible explanations.

Keywords Women · Attractiveness · Sartorial appearance

Introduction

Research has found that across all cultures men care more about physical features in potential opposite-sex mates while women care more about resource features (Buss, 1989; Kenrick, Groth,

Trost, & Sadalla, 1993; Shackelford, Schmitt, & Buss, 2005). In sex differences in human mate preferences conducted in 37 cultures, Buss (1989) reported that males value physical attractiveness in potential mates more than females do in 34 cultures (mean Cohen's $d = 0.59$). Women's physical attractiveness is important and men can therefore be influenced by various aspects of their appearance.

Women's Physical Appearance and Men's Behavior

Prior studies have indicated that different morphological features of women are associated with varied levels of attractiveness in the eyes of men. Furnham, Lavancy, and McClelland (2001), Henss (2000), Singh (1993), and Singh and Luis (1995) reported that a lower waist-to-hip ratio of women was associated with greater physical attractiveness when evaluated by men. Another important morphological factor associated with female attractiveness is breast size. Beck, Ward-Hull, and McLear (1976) found that males from the United States rated a female figure with larger than average-sized breasts more favorably than others. Wildman and Wildman (1976) found that the bust was the most sexually stimulating female body part for males and that those men preferred busts larger than what women possess on average. In a field study, Guéguen (2007a) reported that men but not women drivers were more likely to stop to offer a ride to a female hitchhiker as soon as her breast size increased. In Western cultures, several studies have reported that women's hair color influenced male behavior and judgments. Men were more likely to approach women with blond hair for a date. Swami and Barrett (2011) and Guéguen (2012a) reported that the same female confederate was approached more frequently in a bar or nightclub setting as a blond than as a redhead or brunette. Lynn (2009) observed in a survey that higher waitressing tips from men were associated with having blond hair.

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It has also been found that men are sensitive to other female physical cues not related to morphological appearance. Sometimes slight modifications in women's physical appearance are associated with variation in men's reactions. Some studies have reported that women with apparent tattoos are perceived to be more sexually promiscuous by men (Swami & Furnham, 2007). Guéguen (2013) reported that a female confederate with a temporary tattoo placed on her lower back was more favorably approached by men and perceived as more probable to have sex on the first date.

Research has shown that men's behavior and evaluation are also affected by women's cosmetics. Graham and Jouhar (1981) reported that photographs of female targets wearing make-up compared with the same photographs of female targets with no make-up were rated by men as being tidier, more feminine, and physically attractive, as well as being more secure, sociable, interesting, poised, confident, organized, and popular. Cox and Glick (1986) examined how average-looking women were perceived after a professional make-over compared to being cosmetics free and found that cosmetics were positively associated with femininity and sexiness. Workman and Johnson (1991) instructed participants to view one of three colored photographs of a professional model wearing either heavy, moderate, or no cosmetics. They found that cosmetics significantly enhanced the impression of attractiveness and femininity. Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, and Galumbeck (1989) conducted an experiment in which American college students were photographed while wearing their typical facial cosmetics and again following the removal of their makeup. Participants rated the physical attractiveness of the women. It was found that male judgments were more favorable when the women were photographed with cosmetics than when they were without cosmetics. Female judgments, on the other hand, were not affected by the presence versus absence of make-up.

Women's Clothing Appearance and Men's Behavior

Research has also found that men react differently toward women based on their clothing appearance. Abbey (1987) found that males were more likely than females to interpret a low-cut top, shorts, tight jeans, or no bra as an indication of sexual receptiveness. Abbey, Cozzarelli, McLaughlin, and Harnish (1987) found that female targets who wore revealing clothing were rated by men as sexier and more seductive than those wearing non-revealing clothing. This effect was confirmed in a study by Koukounas and Letch (2001) who found that an actress wearing revealing clothing was more often perceived by male than by female observers as having greater sexual intent.

Research has also reported that the color of women's clothing was associated with variation in men's behavior. In a study by Niesta Kayser, Elliot, and Feltman (2010), men who viewed an ostensible conversation partner in a red as opposed

to a green shirt chose to ask her more intimate questions (Experiment 1) or sit closer to a woman with a red shirt than with a blue shirt (Experiment 2). Guéguen (2012b) observed that women hitchhikers wearing red solicited a higher response in the number of male drivers who stopped to offer a ride. However, no color effect was found when considering the behavior of female drivers. Men's judgments were also reported to be influenced by women's clothing color. Pazda, Elliot, and Greitemeyer (2012) found that women wearing red were perceived as more sexually receptive by men.

Overall, the studies reported above show that men's behavior and judgment of women are affected by a large range of cues related to physical appearance, including morphology, cosmetics, and clothing. Our objective was to evaluate an aspect of clothing appearance that has received less attention in the literature: shoes and more specifically heel height. Popular magazines and ads frequently associate high-heeled shoes with female sex-appeal and attractiveness. Magazines and adult films also use a host of models wearing high-heeled shoes, thus suggesting a relation between high heels and sexiness. To our knowledge, only one study has examined the effect of women's shoe heels on men's judgment. Morris, White, Morrison, and Fischer (2012) recorded women walking in flat shoes and high heels, but their participants viewed only point-light videos of the women walking. Morris et al. found that participants judged the targets in the high-heel condition as significantly more attractive than those in the flat-heel condition. Morris et al. also analyzed the biomechanical changes produced by the heels and found that heels altered the women's gait, reducing stride length and increasing pelvis tilt and hip rotation. It was stated that women probably use high heels to artificially increase the femininity of their gait and thus to become more attractive for men. If walking with high heels increases the femininity of women's gait, it could be hypothesized that high heels probably increase women's attractiveness for men and could influence the latter's behavior positively. Four studies conducted in field settings were performed to evaluate the relation between women heels, and their effect on attractiveness for men. It was hypothesized that high heels would increase women's attractiveness as perceived by men.

Study 1

Method

Participants

The participants were 90 men between the ages of 25 and 50 years chosen at random while they were walking alone in the pedestrian areas of a town (around 60–70,000 inhabitants) situated on the south coast of Brittany in France.

Procedure

A 19-year-old female confederate acted as an interviewer in this study. Her clothing appearance was identical in the three experimental conditions: a black straight skirt, a white long-sleeved shirt, and a black suit jacket. New, black leather shoes were used: one with flat heels (flat heels condition), a second with 5-cm heels (medium heels condition) and a third with 9-cm heels (high heels condition). They were in fashion and considered to be dress pumps that enveloped the sides of the foot, the heel, and the toes, leaving the ankles and the instep visible. The shoes had neither straps nor laces. In the two conditions with heels, except for the length, precaution was taken to use the same form of heels: the top of the heel was $4.5 \times 5 \text{ cm}^2$ and tapered to $1.5 \times 1.5 \text{ cm}^2$ at the bottom.

The confederate stationed herself in front of a store and chose a passer-by walking in her direction. If a child, an adolescent, an older person, or a group of people passed, the confederate waited until a person corresponding to the profile (a man of roughly 25–50 years of age walking alone) walked by. The confederate made contact by saying: “Excuse me, sir. We are currently conducting a survey on gender equality. Would you agree to answer our questionnaire? It will take 3–4 minutes.” Participants who refused were thanked. Those who complied then immediately responded to the questionnaire and were thanked at the end. The confederate was instructed to change her shoes after soliciting 10 participants. The order of the shoe model worn was randomly determined.

Results

The number of men who complied with the confederate’s survey request was the dependent variable measured in this study and the data are shown in Table 1.

With the number of participants who complied with the survey request, a 3 (experimental condition) \times 2 (compliance) Chi square test was performed and revealed a significant relationship, $\chi^2(2, N = 90) = 8.83, p = .012, \phi = .30$. Further comparison revealed that the flat heels condition was not significantly different from the medium heels condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 60) = 1.68, p = .19, \phi = .17$, but was significantly different from the high heels condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 60) = 8.86, p = .003, \phi = .36$. The difference between the medium heels condition and the high heels condition approached significance, $\chi^2(1, N = 60) = 3.07, p = .08, \phi = .22$.

Table 1 Frequency and percentage of participants who complied with the survey request according to experimental condition

Flat heels	Medium heels	High heels
46.7 % (14/30)	63.3 % (19/30)	83.3 % (25/30)

Discussion

The results found in this first study provided evidence that the length of the shoe heels worn by the confederate influenced participants’ behavior. Men responded more favorably to the confederate survey request as soon as the length of her heels increased. Such results suggested that high heels increased the attractiveness of the women confederate for men which, in turn, increased their compliance with the survey request. However, this exploratory study had several limitations. First, only one woman confederate being used precludes the generalization of the shoe heel effect to all women. Second, the sample sizes were low ($N = 30$ in each condition) and so generalization or a greater sample size appeared necessary. Third, and most importantly, only male participants were solicited in this study. Thus, the question remains whether the shoe heel length effect found in this study could be explained by the effect of interaction between the men and the shoes worn by the female confederate or if the effect was only explained by the shoes per se. If this effect is only explained by shoe heel length, then we could expect to find a similar effect with female participants. If the effect occurs only with men, then we expect to find this positive effect of shoe heel length only with male participants. The objective of the second study was to replicate our first study using more female confederates, larger sample sizes, and to test participants of both genders.

Study 2

Method

Participants

The participants were 180 men and 180 women (approximately between the ages of 25 and 50) chosen at random while they were walking alone in pedestrian areas of two towns (around 60–70,000 inhabitants) situated on the south coast of Brittany in France.

Procedure

Four young women ($M = 19.1$ years, $SD = 0.4$) served as confederates in this study. All had the same foot size and nearly the same height (167–168 cm) and weight (54–57 kg). Their clothing appearance was nearly identical as in Study 1: a dark straight skirt, a white long-sleeved shirt, and a dark suit jacket. The same three types of smart black shoes as those used in Study 1 were worn by the confederates.

The procedure was strictly the same as in Study 1 but the topic of the survey was related to local food consumption habits. To prevent possible multiple solicitations of the same pedestrian, the study was conducted at the same time in each

Table 2 Frequency and percentage of participants who complied with the survey request according to experimental condition and the pedestrians' gender

Group	Flat heels	Medium heels	High heels
Male pedestrians	41.7 % (25/60)	60.0 % (36/60)	81.7 % (49/60)
Female pedestrians	31.7 % (19/60)	36.7 % (22/60)	30.0 % (18/60)

town by the different confederates, and there was a minimum distance of 1 km between each confederate. Each confederate was instructed to solicit 90 passersby (45 males and 45 females). The confederate was instructed to change her shoes after soliciting 15 participants. The order of the shoe model worn was randomly determined.

Results

The number of men who complied with the confederates' survey request was the dependent variable measured in this study and the data are shown in Table 2.

A 2 (participant gender) \times 3 (experimental condition) log-linear analysis using the frequency of participants who complied with the survey request as the dependent variable was used. The interaction effect between participant gender and experimental condition was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 11.92, p = .003, \phi = .18$. Additional analysis revealed that the difference in the three experimental conditions was not statistically different with female participants, $\chi^2(1) < 1, \phi = .06$. However the difference with the male participants was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 20.24, p < .001, \phi = .33$. Further comparison with this sub-group revealed that the flat heels condition was significantly different from the medium heel condition, $\chi^2(1) = 4.03, p = .045, \phi = .21$, and the high heels condition, $\chi^2(1) = 20.31, p < .001, \phi = .48$, while the difference between the medium heel condition and the high heels condition, was also significant, $\chi^2(1) = 6.81, p < .009, \phi = .28$.

Discussion

The results found in this second study confirmed and extended those found in Study 1. Our results again provided evidence that the length of the shoe heels worn by the confederate influenced the participants' behavior. However, we observed that this effect occurred only with male participants while the height of the confederate's heels appeared to have no effect on women's receptivity to the survey request addressed by the confederate. Thus, it seems that the effect observed in the first study was not explained by the length of heels per se but by the fact that female confederates exhibited high heels shoes in front of men. Such research suggests that women's heels

probably increased their attractiveness for males which, in turn, increased the probability that men comply with their request. It could be argued that the men in our study accepted the survey request more favorably when the women interviewer wore shoes with high heels because they probably wanted to interact with the interviewer.

The objective of the third study was to evaluate if more desire to interact with a woman confederate could explain men's behavior. Thus, in this study, we examined the effect of women's heels on spontaneous helping behavior. It has previously been found that spontaneous helping behavior is a way for men to easily initiate social interaction contact with a potential opposite-gender mate (Guéguen, 2007b, 2010).

Study 3

Method

Participants

The participants were 180 men and 180 women (approximately between the ages of 20 and 45) chosen at random while they were walking alone in pedestrian areas of two towns (60–70,000 inhabitants) situated on the south coast of Brittany in France.

Procedure

The same confederates as those used in Study 2 acted as confederates in this study. Their clothing appearance was identical as in Study 2. The same three types of smart black shoes as those used in the two previous studies were worn by the confederates.

The confederate selected a participant walking in her direction while apparently looking for something in her bag as she walked. The confederate was carefully instructed to approach men or women walking alone, aged roughly between 20 and 45. The confederate was also instructed to avoid men or women who stopped near a store. Once a participant was identified, the confederate began walking in the same direction as the participant about three meters away. The confederate held a handbag and accidentally dropped a glove. The confederate continued walking, apparently unaware of her loss. Responses were recorded as help if the participant warned the confederate within 10 s after losing the object. If not, the confederate acted as if she was searching for something in her handbag, looked around in surprise, and returned to pick up the glove without looking at the participant. The confederate was instructed to change her shoes after testing 10 men and 10 women. The order of the shoe model worn was randomly determined.

Table 3 Frequency and percentage of participants who helped the confederate according to experimental condition and the pedestrians' gender

Group	Flat heels	Medium heels	High heels
Male pedestrians	61.7 % (37/60)	78.3 % (47/60)	93.3 % (56/60)
Female pedestrians	43.3 % (26/60)	50.0 % (30/60)	51.6 % (31/60)

Results

The number of times help was offered was the dependent variable measured in this study, and the data are shown in Table 3.

A 2 (participant gender) \times 3 (experimental condition) log-linear analysis using the frequency of participants who complied with the survey request as the dependent variable was used. The interaction effect between participant gender and experimental condition was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 8.11, p = .017, \phi = .15$. Additional analysis revealed that the difference in the three experimental conditions was not statistically different with female participants $\chi^2(1) < 1, \phi = .07$, while it was with the male participants, $\chi^2(2) = 17.42, p < .001, \phi = .31$. Further comparison with only male participants revealed that the flat heels condition was significantly different from the medium heels condition, $\chi^2(1) = 3.97, p = .046, \phi = .21$, and the high heels condition, $\chi^2(1) = 17.42, p < .001, \phi = .43$. The difference between the medium heels condition and the high heels condition was also significant, $\chi^2(1) = 5.51, p = .018, \phi = .24$.

Discussion

Our results showed, that, in general, spontaneous help was offered more easily to women as soon as the length of their shoe heels increased. However, we reported again that the effect of shoe heels was observed only with male participants. These new findings confirm those found in our two previous studies and suggest that women with high-heeled shoes increase their attractiveness for men. In this study and in the two previous studies it could be argued that men helped the women more favorably in the high heels condition because their wish to interact with the confederate was probably higher. Previous research has reported that spontaneous male helping behavior toward women is a good method to evaluate their motivation to interact with the target and is related to the target's attractiveness (Guéguen, 2007b, 2010). The objective of the fourth study was to evaluate the effect of women's shoe heels directly on courtship approach given the fact that spontaneous helping behavior is perhaps a platonic way for men to interact with a woman perceived as more attractive but without any ulterior motive.

Study 4

Method

Participants

The participants were 36 young men aged approximately between 20 and 28 years. They were tested while they were present in one of the three bars where the study was conducted. The bars were located in the center of Vannes, a medium-sized resort town (70,000 inhabitants) on the Atlantic coast in France.

Procedure

The study was conducted between 8:30 p.m. and midnight for six Wednesday and six Saturday nights. Three half-hour sessions were done each night: 9:30–10:00 p.m., 10:30–11:00 p.m., and 11:30–12:00 p.m. One day, the first session began in one bar while the second began in the second bar, and the last session in the third bar. The reverse order was used the next day. As a result, 36 observational periods were obtained (2 days a week \times 6 weeks \times 3 sessions daily = 36). Two male observers (20 years old) were seated in the bar where the study took place. The woman confederate used in Study 1 acted as a target in this study. While the study was conducted, the woman confederate wore a skirt and an off the shoulder tight fitting top.

With the exception of their shoes, the woman confederate did not change her appearance in terms of make-up, hairstyle, and so on. The same three types of smart black shoes as those used in the three previous studies were worn by the confederate. The confederate was instructed to try to sit at a free table near the bar where single men usually stand. She was also instructed to cross her legs on one side so that people around could clearly view her shoes. The two young male observers took their places in the bar 2 min before the woman confederate entered. They were instructed to find a spot from which they could observe the bar and the tables but to not choose a table near the bar. The female confederate was instructed to sit down without exhibiting interest toward the other people present in her environment. When the woman confederate was seated, one of the observers turned on a chronometer (an Oregon Scientific chronometer, model C510) and stopped it when the woman confederate crossed her arms to signal that a man had made contact. A man's behavior was considered to be a contact if he expressed verbal behavior toward the female confederate (sentences such as "Hello," "Hello, I've never seen you here before," "Hello, who are you waiting for?" and so on). We decided not to consider the men's nonverbal behavior such as a fixed gaze or a smile, although it has been

Table 4 Mean of time elapsed before the first man's contact and depending on the three experimental conditions (in minutes)

Flat heels	Medium heels	High heels
$M = 13.54$	$M = 11.46$	$M = 7.49$
$SD = 4.87$	$SD = 3.67$	$SD = 2.18$

found that such behaviors are expressed in courtship interaction (Grammer, Kruck, Juette, & Fink, 2000; Moore, 1985; Moore & Butler, 1989), because these behaviors are difficult to interpret, numerous, and difficult to count. Furthermore, our woman confederate was instructed not to look around her and was not able to observe such behaviors. When verbal contact was made by a man, the woman confederate was instructed to say "Hello, I am waiting for someone who will probably arrive in one or two minutes." At this time, the second observer got up and came to the confederate's table and said "Hello Lucie, sorry for the delay" and then sat down. It was found that this stopped further interaction and the man left the woman confederate and her "friend" alone. If there was no male contact after 30 min, the female confederate was instructed to leave the bar.

Results

The lapse of time before a man made a contact with the confederate was the dependent variable measured. Data are shown in Table 4.

A one-way between group ANOVA analysis was performed with the time lapse as the dependent variable. A main effect of experimental condition was found, $F(2, 33) = 7.18$, $p = .003$, with post hoc tests revealing that the flat heels condition was not significantly different from the medium heels condition, LSD test, $p = .26$, but was significantly different from the high heels condition, LSD test, $p = .001$, whereas the difference between the high heels condition and the medium heels condition was significantly different, LSD test, $p = .015$.

Discussion

Using a behavioral measure in a field setting, we found that women wearing high-heeled shoes received quicker interest from surrounding males. Thus, from a strictly behavioral point of view, we found that our woman confederate with high heels was considered "more interesting" for a courtship approach since surrounding men decided to approach her more quickly. Studies conducted in France (Guéguen, 2011a, 2013) have reported that the latency of a man's approach was a good way to interpret his interest in a young woman target in a bar and that this dependent variable was clearly correlated with the level of attractiveness attributed by men to the woman target. Thus, in our study, the female confederate with high heels was probably

more attractive for the men in the bar, leading them to make contact with her more rapidly.

General Discussion

In four experimental studies conducted in several field settings, we reported that the length of shoe heels worn by women exerted an effect on men's behavior. Four times we observed that men more easily displayed social interaction with a woman wearing high heels. In Studies 1 and 2, it was found that men but not women accepted a survey request more often as soon as the heels of the female interviewer increased while in Study 3 we reported that men but not women spontaneously helped a female confederate more often as soon as her shoe heel length increased. In Study 4, we reported that men in a bar more favorably initiated contact with a female confederate who wore shoes with high heels. Overall, it could be stated that women's shoe heel size exerted a powerful effect on men's behavior. To our knowledge, this is the first time that an effect of women's shoe heels has been found on men's behavior. Previous studies have reported that women's clothing appearance exerted an effect on men's judgment and behavior toward them (Abbey, 1987; Abbey et al., 1987; Guéguen, 2011b, 2012b; Koukounas & Letch, 2001; Niesta-Kayser et al., 2010; Shotland & Craig, 1988). However, none of these studies have examined the effect of shoes and more specifically the effect of shoe heels.

The question that remains is how to explain why shoes with high heels worn by women influence men's behavior? One possible argument is that the foot size of the female confederate was perceived to be smaller as soon as her heels increased in length. In a study by Fessler et al. (2005), women presented in line drawings varying only with regard to foot size were perceived as more attractive with a small foot size. This effect was reported in nine cultures suggesting that men possess an involved preference for small feet in females. As children's feet are smaller than those of adults, a small foot on a woman may be perceived as a sign of youthfulness. Research has found that men prefer women who exhibit morphological traits associated with youthfulness (Buss, 1994; Symons, 1995). Thus, in our studies, the heels could have created a difference in the participant's perception of the female confederate foot length which, in turn, led them to perceive the female confederate as more attractive and youthful. While this explanation appears interesting and could be examined in further studies, it probably could not be used as the only theoretical explanation in our study. Indeed, in the third study, the participants did not see the women's feet from the front because they were walking behind the female confederate. In this way, it was difficult for the participant to evaluate the foot size of the female target.

Is it possible that men were attracted and more positively reactive to the confederate with high heels because she became taller than the average in this condition. Again, while this explanation could be examined in further studies by comparing different height women wearing different height heels, it probably could not be used as the only theoretical explanation in our studies. In the fourth study, we reported that men were positively influenced by high heels even when the female confederate was seated. Secondly, several studies have reported that if women preferred taller men, it has also been found that men prefer shorter women (Swami et al., 2008). It has also been reported when examining response to lonely hearts advertisements that tall men received more responses for women but that the woman's height had no influence on men's responses (Pawlowski & Koziel, 2002).

It could also be stated that the female confederate's gait changed according to the length of her shoes heels, influencing her attractiveness for men. Previous research examining female nonverbal behavior reported that subtle variations, including gait, were associated with variations in men attractiveness judgment and behavior (Guéguen, 2007b, 2010; Johnson & Tassinari, 2005; Moore, 1985; Perper, 1985; Walsh & Hewitt, 1985). In the only published study examining the effect of women heels, Morris et al. (2012) reported that women wearing heels were perceived as more feminine, but in their study, Morris et al. recorded the targets while they were walking and their participants viewed only point-light videos of the walking women. Nevertheless, Morris et al. reported a perceived difference in the femininity of the targets' gait. Thus, in our studies, high heels could have influenced women's gait or posture which, in turn, influenced their attractiveness for men. Again, while this statement seems to be a good one for explaining the results found in Studies 1–2 and particular in Study 3, it was less relevant at explaining the effect of high heels found in Study 4 where the female confederate was seated in a bar. Again, this theoretical hypothesis is insufficient to explain the positive effect of high heels on men's behavior found in our four studies.

A last, a third explanation could be put forward. Perhaps, high heels increased women's attractiveness for men because of the association of high heels with sexual content displayed in the media. Previous research reported that some female physical characteristics are overrepresented in the media. Rich and Cash (1993) found that the proportion of blondes in three popular U.S. magazines surpassed the base rate of blonds in the population. They also found that in *Playboy*, a magazine with erotic content and directed at a male audience, this proportion of blondes was higher than in magazines for American woman such as *Vogue* or *Ladies Home Journal*. It was also found that this overrepresentation increased with time. It was concluded that the distortion of blondes seen in the media may be sending men a message that associated blondness with sexuality. Several recent studies reported that men approached women with blond hair more

readily than their brunette counterparts (Guéguen, 2012a; Swami & Barrett, 2011). Thus, it could be argued that high-heeled shoes exert the same effect on men's judgment because highly sexy female models frequently appear in the media wearing high-heeled shoes. Adult magazines and pornography also display models with high-heeled shoes. Research has found that men generally overestimate female sexual interest, especially when examining their clothing appearance (Abbey, 1987; Abbey et al., 1987; Guéguen, 2011b; Koukounas & Letch, 2001; Shotland & Craig, 1988). Thus, the over-association of high heels with women's sexiness and sexual content could lead men to misinterpret the sexual intent of women with high heels. Given that men were more eager for sexual intercourse than women (Clark, 1990; Clark & Hatfield, 1989; Hatfield, 1983), they were probably more eager to approach a woman wearing high-heeled shoes. This misinterpretation of sexual intent associated with shoe appearance could explain why men were more ready to accept their survey request (Studies 1 and 2), to help them spontaneously (Study 3) or to approach them in a bar (Study 4).

Of course, these various explanations proposed are still speculative and other experiments are now necessary to try to point out the processes activated by women's shoe heels on men. Perhaps, the theoretical explanation is multifactorial and implies several processes. It will be interesting in further studies to examine the effect of shoe heels on the attractiveness of the target and sexual intent. However, judgment of their foot size or their gait will also be an interesting question to examine.

Again, the results of these studies revealed how men focus on women's physical attributes when judging and interacting with them. Previous research has shown that men value physical appearance in the long-term (Buss, 1989; Kenrick et al., 1993; Shackelford, et al., 2005) and in short-term mating (Buunk, Dijkstra, Fetchenhauer, & Kenrick, 2002; Li, Bailey, Kenrick, & Linsenmeier, 2002; Li & Kenrick, 2006; Sprecher & Regan, 2002). Research has also shown that multiple aspects of women's physical appearance are used to evaluate their mating value. Morphological factors are not the only factors associated with this judgment. Clothing appearance (Abbey, 1987; Abbey et al., 1987; Guéguen, 2011b; Koukounas & Letch, 2001; Shotland & Craig, 1988) or color (Guéguen, 2012b; Niesta-Kayser et al., 2010), cosmetics (Cash et al., 1989; Jacob, Guéguen, Boulbry, & Ardicioni, 2009), or hair color (Guéguen & Lamy, 2009; Swami & Barrett, 2011) were associated with variation in men's approach to and judgment of women. Congruent with these studies, it seems that shoes and particularly shoe heels also act as a cue that influence men's approach.

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