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The Eye of the Beholder: Appearance Discrimination in the Workplace

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by

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The word “discrimination” has arguably become one of the most powerful words in the English language. History classes all over the world teach how biased and discriminatory civilizations once were. United States history alone contains arguably some of the world’s most deeply rooted discriminatory practices toward various groups of people. From the treatment of Native Americans, to the slavery of African Americans, to the subset of rights afforded to women for so many years, the history of the United States is filled with discrimination, bias, and unfair treatment. Perhaps it is because of this past, that the country as a whole has a heightened awareness of discrimination.

Discrimination and civil rights discussions have seeped into our everyday lives. The various “isms” litter our newspapers, magazines, and day-to-day conversations. Racism, discrimination based on color, race, national origin, or religion, is one of the most often mentioned, but there’s also sexism, the discrimination against a person based on their gender, and ageism, the discrimination against someone based on their advanced age. However, thanks to important legislation, there are protections from such discrimination in the workplace.

The United States first took action to prevent discriminatory business practices in the 1960s under President John F. Kennedy, who submitted an all-encompassing civil rights bill to the legislature. Though Kennedy would be assassinated before the legislation passed, his successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, took up the civil rights battle. The result was the passing of arguably the most important piece of civil rights and antidiscrimination law in the history of the United States, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specifically Title VII, it would no longer be permissible to discriminate against someone on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, or religion. Title VII was intended to prevent such discriminatory practices from interfering with an individual's ability to achieve and retain employment, vote, and conduct everyday business in public accommodations (such as restaurants). The legislation also created a new governmental panel called the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to oversee the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This five-person panel was given the charge of investigating violations of Title VII and recommending legal recourse should a clear violation be found. A finding of civil rights violations from the EEOC also opened up employers to civil lawsuits from those affected.

Since its inception, the EEOC has continued to make large strides in creating discrimination-free workplaces. Along with enforcing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the EEOC is also responsible for enforcing:

- The Equal Pay Act of 1963, which “protects men and women who perform substantially equal work in the same establishment from sex-based wage discrimination” (EEOC, 2002).
- The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, which protects employees older than 40 from discriminatory practices.
- Sections 501 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibits discrimination toward those with disabilities in the federal government.
- Title I and Title V of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, which “prohibit[s] employment discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities” (EEOC, 2002).

- The Civil Rights Act of 1991, which provides monetary awards for victims of intentional discriminatory practices by an employer.

Partly because of the EEOC influence, businesses today must be more diligent than ever to seek out and eliminate any hint of discrimination in their practices, whether it is related to hiring, promotion, or termination of employees. Failure to do so opens up the company to potentially large monetary damages through civil lawsuits. It is interesting that, despite such awareness, a new form of discrimination has managed to not only appear, but also seriously affect the ability of people to work.

One won't hear or see the term "lookism" in very many places, but there is a substantial base of research covering the topic. Lookism, often defined as "beauty prejudice" (Etcoff, 1999, p. 25) or the discrimination of someone based on their appearance, is one that doesn't arouse the extreme emotions associated with its sibling terms "racism" and "sexism," yet it has become an important topic in the professional world.

Traditionally, discrimination was based on race, gender, or even age, and moreover, the victim and the practitioner were typically somewhat aware of what transpired. In contrast, lookism is considered a silent form of discrimination, where someone rarely thinks "he has been offered a lower salary because he is short" (Etcoff, 1999, p. 83). Likewise, the discriminator may not even realize that he or she is treating someone differently because of the way they look, making any claims of discrimination nearly impossible for the victim to prove.

Despite a lack of government attention or publicity, it has been proven that individuals deemed "attractive" are generally able to make more money (up to 12 percent more for the same job); have many more opportunities to date, marry, and have children; and are attributed with positive qualities such as intelligence based solely on their appearance (Jeffes, 1998). In addition,

those individuals considered to be below average in appearance are more likely to be abused as children, are assumed to be less intelligent, and are often excluded from being hired into certain positions or professions (Jeffes, 1998). Appearance discrimination, however, is not limited to just physical attractiveness.

A study conducted by Forsythe, et al (1985) revealed that a job applicant's style of dress, coupled with physical attractiveness, contributed to the outcome of interviews. The research showed that when physical attractiveness is equal, interview outcomes were more positive for those dressed in a traditional manner than those who dressed trendily, casually, or poorly. The results of this study indicate that perhaps there is a domino effect where those who are physically attractive make more money and so can afford to buy nicer clothes, thus performing even better in interviews while those deemed unattractive make less money and perhaps cannot afford the nicer clothes, hurting their interview scores. This vicious cycle adds to the disadvantage for unattractive workers.

The topic even made it into the mainstream media in 2004 when the ABC news show *20/20* did an investigation into lookism. The show hired four people, two women and two men. Each gender was represented by a very attractive person as well as an average-looking person to test the effects of attractiveness in an interview setting. The representatives from each gender were given identical credentials and trained to act in the same manner, leaving only their looks as the differentiating factor. For both genders, the attractive candidate was not only offered the job, but treated nicer as well (Stossel, 2004).

Looks certainly can make an impression on people. As evidence of this, many point to the presidential debates between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. It was widely said that those who listened to the debate on the radio believed that Nixon won; those who watched on TV

felt that Kennedy had won (Stossel, 2004). On television, Kennedy appeared to be strong and energetic while Nixon seemed tired and disheveled, and so viewers tended to favor the younger, more charismatic Kennedy. But why do looks have such a stronghold on people's imaginations and belief systems?

In a joint study conducted by Itzhak Aharon, Nancy Etcoff, Dan Ariely, Christopher F. Chabris, Ethan O'Connor, and Hans C. Breiter (2001), it was discovered that viewing an attractive person has a unique effect on brain chemistry and activity. The study, a joint effort of Massachusetts General Hospital, Harvard Medical School, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, involved taking MRI brain scans of heterosexual male participants as they viewed photos of men and women of varying degrees of attractiveness. It was found that viewing a photo of an attractive woman actually activated what is termed the reward circuitry of the brain: the area of the brain that functions in response to pleasing results. Reward circuitry had previously been linked to rewards of drugs and money, but this was the first study to identify the same result as it relates to looks. As put by ABC News reporter John Stossel, "essentially, beauty and addiction trigger the same areas of the brain" (2004).

Even if the effect of a nice smile or pretty face is more neurological than intentional, it is still discrimination. Despite the existence of studies such as these, among numerous others, there is little or no public recognition of appearance discrimination. None of the United States antidiscrimination laws apply to appearance discrimination, nor are there any plans to update the laws for this purpose.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

There are many volumes of studies dedicated to studying the impact of beauty (or lack thereof) on various aspects of life, including social interaction, romance, addiction, and

employment. All of these studies ended with the same conclusion: a person's appearance has definite positive and negative impacts on the areas of life in which the study took place. There is, therefore, no reason to offer another study trying to determine what the effects of beauty are. However, an investigation into the perception and attitudes surrounding appearance discrimination by employees can shed further light on this topic.

The U.S. government has passed many laws regarding unfair hiring and compensation practices for groups of people based on age, sex, gender, disability, religion, race, color, and national origin, as these are known factors in discrimination. However, the problem with lookism is that it is largely unconscious by both the discriminator and the victim.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This research, unlike other studies in this field, seeks not to determine if appearance discrimination exists or how it affects employment, but rather how this knowledge affects the mindset of working individuals. It has already been determined by numerous studies that lookism affects the professional lives of people, but none of the studies took these results back to employers and employees to ask for their reactions. I seek to determine if working individuals are aware of appearance discrimination, and if so, to what extent.

The research is biased in that people from a relatively small area of the country, the North Shore of Massachusetts, were questioned. The sample was not diverse, yielding responses mostly from Caucasians, due to the demographic makeup of the area.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research will explore the following questions:

- Are people aware of appearance discrimination as a legitimate problem?

- Is there a belief that steps should be taken to assure that lookism isn't a negative factor in employment?
- How often have people experienced appearance discrimination?
- Do people take into account the appearance of others without realizing it?

SUMMARY

While not at the forefront of the public's concerns, lookism is quietly becoming one of the most researched forms of discrimination. Researchers from major universities and organizations have studied appearance discrimination and its various repercussions throughout people's professional lives. It is clear that lookism exists and is a major force in the lives of many, warranting further research as to how people deal with such discrimination in the workplace.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

In this review, I will explore the effect that appearance discrimination has traditionally had in the business world. Issues such as appearance-based hiring, compensation, and promotion will be discussed. This literature review seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What advantages are attractive people given?
2. Is appearance discrimination gender-specific?
3. How are unattractive people hurt by appearance discrimination?

STANDARDS OF BEAUTY

In studying the effect of appearance on employment, one must first come to a solid definition of the word “beauty.” This is a difficult task because, as it has been said, beauty is in the eye of the beholder. What one person, or indeed, one country considers to be beautiful may not hold true elsewhere. Distended lower lips in females are considered attractive by Ubangi males; small feet were considered attractive for females in the Manchu dynasty, leading to the binding of feet (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994).

Further complicating the matter is the fact that standards of beauty change over time. The ideal model for the artist Rubens would not be looked upon favorably today. Likewise, the ideal of Western males today (tall, slender, with muscle definition) would have been shunned in both labor and marriage (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994). Before any studies related to attractiveness could begin, it had to be determined that standards of beauty at one location over a specific amount of time changed slowly enough to allow for an accurate measure of attractiveness. Fortunately, there is evidence indicating that standards of beauty change slowly.

In a study conducted by Hatfield and Sprecher (1986), it was found that the ranking of attractiveness of several photographs remained consistent among respondents ranging in age

from 7 to 50 years old. Even more interesting, rankings of people photographed at different points in their lives yielded the same relative ranking throughout the age progression. A survey of Canadian data by Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) found that the attractiveness ratings of individuals over a three-year period remained the same 93 percent of the time over two years, with only one rating level difference in the third year.

Given that standards of beauty change slowly enough to be studied, it is then necessary to devise a model for ranking the attractiveness of people. Most studies involved outside raters whose rankings were averaged to determine a beauty value for each participant. Naturally, these rankings are largely subjective as they are assigned based on people's opinions, not on any sort of quantitative data. Various studies have used different methods of achieving a baseline of beauty for research.

A study of law school graduates (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998) primarily used a book of incoming student photos published by the law school for the years 1969 through 1974 and 1979 through 1984. Each photograph was copied and placed, by itself, on a sheet of paper in order to isolate each student from the others. A panel of four different people then rated the photographs from each year; this panel (which was different for each year) consisted of a male under 35, a female under 35, a male 35 or older, and a female 35 or older. The raters were asked to keep in mind style and fashion trends during the time period from which the photos were taken in order to account for some rating differential based on hair or clothes. Each photograph was then given an average rating based on the four ratings received from the panel. Using this method, the researchers rated 4,400 students and found that the ratings among the four different members of each panel varied only slightly, proving that they had established a good base from which to continue their research.

Another study (Harper, 2000) relied on data collected from a longitudinal study of people living in Britain who were born during the week of March 3, 1958. Individuals were contacted five times after that initial point, at ages 7, 11, 16, 23, and 33. During the first two of these follow-ups (ages 7 and 11), teachers were asked to complete a questionnaire about the subject, including the child's behavior, attitude, character, and other social characteristics. Additionally, teachers were asked to rate the child's physical appearance on a five-stage scale with the following categories: attractive, not as attractive as most, looks very underfed, has some abnormal feature, and nothing noticeable. From ages 7 to 11, there was a high correlation between the attractiveness ratings of the children, once again proving to be a base sufficient for further research.

A study designed to determine the effect of attractiveness on bargaining (Solnick & Schweitzer, 1999) took photographs of 70 students participating in their study. These photographs were then rated on a scale of +5 (for most attractive) to -5 (for least attractive) by a panel of 20 raters from a different university. The order of photographs was changed for each panel member in order to achieve unbiased ratings. Once again, the ratings for the photographs were largely consistent across the raters.

As indicated by these studies, it is, indeed, possible to formulate at least a basic understanding of who is and who is not attractive for the purpose of study. While these standards may not translate directly into real-world opinions and situations, there is enough consistency to allow for studies concerning the attractiveness of individuals to be considered valid.

ECONOMIC BEAUTY ADVANTAGE

Few will argue over the perceived advantage of being attractive and the seemingly endless perks that come along with a nice body and beautiful face. Models and actors are often

held up as the fundamental beauty ideal, with their photographs adorning magazines that greet shoppers as they approach the cashier. However, there's more to beauty than press and prestige. More and more, research (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Hamermesh, Meng, & Zhuang, 2001; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998) has pointed to an increasing gap between the salaries of attractive workers in certain industries when compared to their less attractive co-workers. While one would expect looks to play a major role in careers such as acting and modeling, the evidence indicates that many other occupations face the same sort of visual scrutiny, often resulting in higher salaries and more rapid promotion for those endowed with above-average looks.

Irene Frieze and her colleagues (1991) tracked the salaries of MBA graduates over 10 years. Frieze found that after 10 years, all of the attractive graduates were making higher salaries than those rated as average or unattractive. This included a higher starting salary for males and higher subsequent salaries for all attractive graduates regardless of gender.

Solnick and Schweitzer (1999) set up a study involving ultimatum game decisions, otherwise known as bargaining. In this study, Solnick and Schweitzer used attractive, average, and unattractive players to determine if there was any preferential treatment based on appearance. They found that, as in other studies, there was a clear "beauty advantage," as attractive players tended to be offered more from the start and in turn ended up with more in the end. Though these results are typical, researchers have found it difficult to quantify the exact beauty premium when it comes to pay.

Hamermesh and Biddle (1994), in a study of Canadian citizens, found that attractive workers earned between one and 13 percent more than their average or unattractive co-workers. Another study focused on the careers of lawyers (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998) found that, "in the year 5 earnings...for men...a 2 SD increase in attractiveness is associated with a 10 percent

increase in earnings” (p. 185). A related study (Hamermesh et al, 2001) found that attractive women earned 10 percent more than their average or unattractive co-workers. While the percentage gains for being attractive have a wide range, the gains are always present.

Many studies (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998) have dealt with the problem of identifying attractive people versus average and unattractive people by creating a committee to assign “beauty values” to photographs. Most of the time, respondents are asked to rate photographs of people’s faces. One of the problems with this method of evaluation is the focus on facial attractiveness as opposed to the overall attractiveness of the individual (Phau, 2000). This point is well taken as other studies (such as Harper, 2000) have found distinct differences in the way people are treated based on their height.

Harper (2000) determined that height could be an asset for individuals when compared to shorter co-workers. He found, “ an unadjusted pay gap between tall and short individuals employed in professional occupations of 17.4 percent for males and 12.4 percent for females” (p. 779). The pay differential here is analogous to the pay differential for studies based solely on facial features, suggesting that overall appearance should be taken into account when studying the effects of beauty on earnings.

With all of the evidence indicating that attractive workers are afforded better salaries, several studies (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998) have tried to determine whether the attractiveness of the individual is responsible for such gains or if it is some other quality that attractive people possess. It has been questioned whether attractive people possess higher self-esteem, which in turn leads them to be more dynamic and successful at their chosen profession than unattractive people, who may have lower self-esteem and may therefore be less likely to be productive in the workforce. Some (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994)

have suggested that unattractive workers lack self-esteem before entering the workforce, and that low self-esteem leads to lower work efficiency, lower wages, and fewer opportunities. However, there is evidence indicating that it is the actual physical attractiveness of a person that positively affects their pay.

In Biddle and Hamermesh's (1998) study of the careers of lawyers after graduating from law school, it was observed that the same pay irregularities based on appearance were present. Looking further into their research, Biddle and Hamermesh determined that "better-looking midcareer attorneys were billing at higher rates, not just billing more hours" (p. 186). This seems to indicate that attractive attorneys were not working more or working harder than their average or unattractive peers, but rather, were being paid more for doing the same amount of work. Indeed, Biddle and Hamermesh concluded, "the evidence strongly suggests that beauty is not merely correlated with but actually causes differences in earnings" (p. 197).

With the belief that Biddle and Hamermesh's (1998) findings were correct, another study was undertaken, this time investigating female workers in Shanghai, China (Hamermesh et al, 2001). The purpose of this study was to determine if spending on beauty products (those purchases intended to increase one's attractiveness) had any effect on a person's income. If beauty does indeed lead to higher salaries, the researchers hypothesized, then an artificial increase in attractiveness should also show an increase in pay. The hypothesis proved to be correct as the research indicated that salaries increased as the amount of money spent on beauty products increased, lending further credence to the belief that attractiveness alone can account for differences in salary between attractive, average, and unattractive workers.

Further research has found that the beauty premium for pay continues throughout a worker's career. An earlier study (Quinn, 1978) asked interviewers to rate the attractiveness of

employees that they had interviewed and were later hired; in all cases, salaries were higher for men and women deemed to be attractive. A later study that took place in Canada (Roszell, Kennedy, & Grab, 1989) found that not only did better-looking employees start off with higher salaries, but also their rates of salary increase were much faster.

The economic advantages of beauty aren't limited simply to personal gains. Harper (2000) found evidence that "the partners of tall men appear to earn around 15 percent more [than those of shorter men]" (p. 795). It is worth noting that in this study, height was considered to be an attractive trait for men, so taller men were deemed to be more attractive than shorter men. Keeping this in mind, Harper's research seems to indicate that synergistic rewards may exist for couples where both partners are good-looking and may also support another finding of this study: that less attractive men are less likely to be married.

Beauty affords rewards not only to individual people, but also to one's employer. In a study of Dutch advertising firms, it was found that having attractive executives actually increased revenues. As described in the study:

...those [firms] with better-looking executives have higher revenues. Impacts on revenue far exceed the likely effects on the executives' earnings. This suggests that beauty creates firm-specific investments with the returns shared by the firm and the executives (Pfann, Biddle, Hamermesh, & Bosman, 2000, p. 1).

That firms with better-looking executives reap rewards far greater than those with average or unattractive executives raises questions as to whether attractive executives seek out successful firms and vice versa, though it is the position of Pfann and his colleagues that this cannot be proven (2000).

Other types of companies also benefit from attractive workers. Advertisers have long understood the impact of attractive workers. Many visual advertisements, those in print and on television, feature attractive people using or endorsing a certain product. Similar to the Dutch

advertising firms, many products perceive some benefit from having attractive endorsers. A study on the effectiveness of attractive endorsers (Phau, 2000) found that "...higher purchase responses were recorded for attractive endorsers versus unattractive endorsers" (p. 41). In this case, the positive effects of an attractive worker (the endorser) are derived by the company whose product is being endorsed. With studies such as Phau's (2000) finding that attractive endorsers positively affect purchase intention, it is no wonder that advertisements are regularly filled with attractive people.

All of the data collected in various studies seems to indicate that the relationship between appearance and income is highly elastic, with beauty premiums exceeding 1 percent with each change in the attractiveness of workers. Again, the measurement of attractiveness is based highly on human preference and is therefore subject to errors as the qualitative data is translated into quantitative data, making it impossible to come up with a true value for the elasticity of income with respect to appearance. However, as each study has shown a reward of greater than 1 percent for attractive people, it can be surmised that the relationship between appearance and income is elastic.

JOB SELECTION

Job interviews are the means by which companies hire new employees, and as such, it is absolutely critical for the applicant to make a good impression. Anyone just entering the public workforce is typically told to dress professionally for all job interviews; men are encouraged to wear a suit and tie, women a blazer and dress. It appears that this is good advice as studies (Forsythe et al, 1985) have shown that appearance has a significant effect on the outcome of interviews.

Forsythe et al (1985) found that those job applicants who were both physically attractive and dressed professionally were given more favorable interview scores than those with similar attractiveness but dressed in a trendy or casual manner. The study further found that physically attractive interviewees who were dressed poorly were given lower scores than those physically attractive interviewees who were dressed casually, concluding that clothing does, in fact, make a difference in the perception of a person.

The judging of an applicant based on physical attractiveness, perceived similar personality, or perceived intelligence is said to be applying the “Halo effect” (Fatt, 2000). This phenomenon occurs when the interviewer overlooks the applicant’s education, experience, and abilities in favor of visual cues. The Halo effect assigns qualifications to an individual based on their appearance, often resulting in the hiring of someone who may not be qualified for the position. Baron and Byrne (1981) further state that once an interviewer has made up his or her mind based on the applicant’s appearance, it is likely that the interviewer may interpret any further information in a manner that supports the original evaluation.

Fatt (2000) also points out that studies have shown physically attractive job applicants to have a much less rigorous interview process than less attractive applicants. The more attractive interviewees are often given shorter interviews, asked fewer questions, and aren’t asked to prove their credentials nearly as often as unattractive interviewees:

...physically attractive job applicants are likely to have shorter interview time-frames in contrast to less-attractive counterparts who are more likely to be asked more questions, some of which can be more probing and critical (Fatt, 2000, p. 11).

Another study (Dipboye et al, 1984) found another advantage for attractive interviewees. His research found that physical attractiveness could lead to better recall of interview information by the interviewer. The other aspects of an interviewee that were found to cause

better recall were perceived level of intelligence and positive attitude, two seemingly more important characteristics for job placement. Dipboye's findings were partially supported by a later study conducted by Rynes and Gerhart (1990), who found that corporate recruiters used interviewee appearance to determine if he or she would "fit" within the company.

Though a large amount of research has concluded that appearance is very important in the interview process, it appears that this is more of a subconscious phenomenon than a conscious one. In a study designed to determine the perceived importance of various interviewee characteristics relating to job selection between Caucasians and African Americans, Peppas (2002) found that neither group listed appearance in either the top six or bottom six characteristics. Such aspects as motivation, enthusiasm, communication, experience, and self-confidence were listed as the top characteristics for job selection, with no mention of appearance (which was presumed by Peppas to fall in the mid-range of importance).

OTHER BEAUTY ADVANTAGES

Though there are specific monetary gains for attractive people in the workforce, these are not the only advantages of being good looking in today's world. Arguably, attractive people have more opportunities to date, marry, and have children as well as being presupposed to possess greater intelligence and capabilities (Jeffes, 1998). The past few decades have led to major studies trying to quantify what so many people already believe to be true.

A 1974 study (Horai, Naccari, & Fatoullah) into how appearance affects social interaction found that the opinions of attractive people are more likely to be agreed with (arguably explaining why attractive endorsers are more effective than average or unattractive ones). This finding was corroborated by Joseph (1982), who found that attractive communicators

(those who must explain situations, tasks, etc.) are more often liked and perceived in more “favorable terms.”

A later study (Golightly, Huffman, & Byrne, 1986) researched the loan application process with respect to the appearance of loan applicants. It was found that attractive loan applicants were more likely to receive the requested loan amount than their less attractive counterparts. In this instance, the researchers were able to separate appearance from other factors relating to loan approval by using applicants with similar credit ratings, incomes, and sources of collateral for the study. The study concluded that, given these constants, the only remaining factor to account for the approval discrepancies was appearance.

In order to provide another measure of the perceived advantage of attractive people, Hamermesh and Parker (2004) studied student perceptions of university professors. In the study, students rated photographs of professors as being attractive, average, or unattractive. The professor appearance ratings were then compared against the student course evaluations for the teachers’ classes. It was found that the more attractive professors consistently received higher scores on student evaluations. Additionally, it was found that professors who dressed professionally, with men wearing neckties and women wearing jackets and blouses, also were rated higher on the student evaluations.

While Hamermesh and Parker (2004) found these striking differences in student ratings of attractive versus unattractive teachers, there is always room to debate whether students consciously or subconsciously believe the teachers are better because of their appearance, or if an attractive façade eases communication with students. Naturally, schools use the evaluations to determine if a nontenured teacher will be invited back, or more significantly, will be offered

tenure. Because of this simple fact, the advantage that attractive teachers possess cannot simply be dismissed if they, on average, receive better student evaluations.

UGLINESS PENALTY

It can be argued that the world has become much more discriminating when it comes to looks thanks to the visual nature of media, including television and the Internet, and the constant barrage of attractive endorsers encountered on a daily basis. While this may explain the premium placed on beauty in terms of monetary gain, it doesn't explain the existence of an interesting phenomenon: the disadvantage of being deemed below average in terms of looks.

While numerous studies have found advantages for those with above-average looks, many have also noted the occurrence of what some have termed the "ugliness penalty" (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994). The ugliness penalty, generally speaking, is the price people of below-average appearance pay in everyday life. This penalty can take the form of familiar social problems, such as being taunted at school, but recent research has found many more troublesome penalties for being unattractive. In fact, it has been found that unattractive people are disproportionately abused as children and often assumed to be less intelligent, capable, and hard-working than attractive peers (Jeffes, 1998). Additionally, research has found that those of below-average looks actually suffer financially in the workplace.

A 1994 study (Hamermesh & Biddle) of data from the United States and Canada found some shocking numbers with regards to the ugliness penalty. They found an average decrease of 7-9 percent in earnings for men and women deemed to be in the lowest percentile of workers based on looks. Compared with a five percent premium paid for those considered the most attractive, it appears that the penalty on earnings for being unattractive is greater than the reward for being attractive by 2-4 percent. In subgroups of the study, it was found that salary penalties

for workers with below-average looks could reach as high as 15 percent. Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) concluded “other things equal, wages of people with below-average looks are lower than those of average-looking workers; and there is a premium in wages for good-looking people that is slightly smaller than this penalty” (p. 1192).

All of the research reviewed for this study indicated that looks did, in fact, affect a person’s pay; however, not all studies found rewards for good-looking people. One in particular (Harper, 2000) found no rewards, financial or otherwise, for being attractive. The most notable outcome of this study was the prominence of the ugliness penalty. Harper describes, “it is those who are assessed as unattractive, not attractive, who experience differential rewards in our sample” (p. 785). Perhaps the difference between this study and others investigating the same topic is the means by which attractiveness was measured.

In Harper’s study, he considered the person’s entire appearance, including face, height, and weight, believing that the full-body appearance of a person is a much better indicator than facial appearance alone. From this, he was able to glean specific attributes that led to a person being deemed attractive or unattractive. These attributes weren’t always a measure of facial beauty, oftentimes pointing to desirable attributes in a man or a woman. As such, taller men were considered more attractive than shorter men, shorter women were considered more attractive than taller women, and overweight men and women were considered less attractive than their normal-weight counterparts. Using this set of criteria, Harper made some interesting observations.

First, he found that the probability of an unattractive man being married is lower than that of an attractive man. This includes short men, who were seven percent less likely to be married

than taller men. Likewise, taller women were five percent less likely to be married (Harper, 2000).

The ugliness penalty hasn't been more prominent than in Biddle and Hamermesh's 1998 study of lawyers. Following lawyers throughout their first 15 years in practice, the study found a severe ugliness penalty with respect to yearly earnings:

...an attorney whose appearance in a photograph taken on an average of 20 years earlier placed him 1 SD below the mean of looks, was earning around 12% less per annum than one whose looks at that time put him 1 SD above the mean (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998, p. 187).

Clearly, a 12 percent penalty for below-average looks is a steep price to pay for anyone trying to make a living, but this is further evidence that the ugliness penalty not only exists, but also can be very large.

A lack of beauty can also affect a person's earning potential in other ways. Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) noted that even though below-average-looking women already earned less than average or attractive women, they had another hurdle to overcome. It was noted that those women rated as unattractive were less likely to work outside the home as well as being less likely to marry a higher-wage earner.

OBESITY

Harper (2000) roughly defined attractive people as those possessing desirable attributes for a mate while unattractive people possess undesirable attributes for a mate. It can be argued that many people find obesity to be one of the top undesirable attributes for a mate. Weight-based discrimination has received considerable attention from the United States government. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 both deal with the discrimination against those with disabilities; obesity can be considered a disability under these acts if the cause is physiological or systemic (Chuang & Kleiner, 1999).

Research reveals that obese individuals are often viewed as incompetent, lazy, and insecure; others attribute overweight people with being overly reliant on others and unable to complete work individually. These characteristics “are hardly associated with job success, ability and competence” (Bellizzi & Hasty, 2000, p. 386). Bellizzi and Hasty (2000) found that when the hiring process is underway, interviewers and other employer agents tend to assume obese individuals cannot perform the tasks necessary for the position. They reasoned, “salient characteristics such as...body weight evoke stereotypical information leading to impressions which become the basis for judgments regardless of their pertinence to the decision at hand” (Bellizzi & Hasty, 2000, p. 386).

Bellizzi and Hasty (2000) even found that obese people with experience and a sales award weren't given more challenging tasks or more important jobs than their non-obese colleagues because of the stereotypical view of obese people.

Harper (2000) found similar indicators of weight-based discrimination. In his study, it was found that 23-year-old obese women experienced a pay penalty of roughly five percent over their non-obese peers. This penalty was found not only in the top 10 percent of overweight women, but also into the twentieth percentile.

The research reviewed for this paper indicates that there is still a large amount of weight-based discrimination in the workforce. Though the ADA and other United States laws seek to protect those with a verifiable obesity-causing medical condition, countless others are forced to accept unfair stereotypes about their personality and capabilities.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES

When auditioning for a part in a play, a photo is expected along with an acting resume so that the casting director can choose the correct person for the role. Many colleges striving for a

diverse student body ask that the students specify their ethnicity. Certain sports look for a particular size and shape of athlete, indicating characteristics that the coach believes will enable the team to succeed. Many people experience discrimination based on appearance without even realizing it, and it is, arguably, an accepted part of acting, building a diverse community, and choosing athletes for a sports team, so it should come as no surprise that there are major occupational differences related to appearance discrimination.

Many studies (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Harper, 2000; Pfann et al, 2000) have found that those jobs requiring employees to work with clients or consumers directly are more likely to discriminate based on appearance. Jeffes (1998) notes that “the more an organization or position deals with the public, the greater likelihood that an attractive person will be hired, promoted, and receive greater compensation than the less attractive person” (p. 35). These positions include many outward-facing jobs such as sales and human resources. Jeffes believes that when the primary goal of a particular job is getting someone’s attention, appearance discrimination is far more prominent and accepted. These types of jobs, such as actors, politicians, and CEOs, place a much higher emphasis on appearance and presentation than such jobs as farmers and janitors, where one is far less likely to base a judgment on appearance (1998).

Biddle and Hamermesh (1998) found that lawyers were also affected by appearance discrimination. Their study revealed not only compensation and hiring discrimination, but also an interesting segregation effect. In this study, it was found that the more attractive lawyers often tended to end up in the private sector after five years of employment whereas the less attractive lawyers tended to move toward practicing in the public sector. It was reasoned that private practice requires more selling of oneself and the law firm to the client making an attractive

lawyer into an effective salesperson. Within the public sector, there is no need for this form of “advertising” for clients, as they are assigned to the individual or firm. Salaries in these two sectors differ accordingly as Biddle and Hamermesh noted that the rewards for attractive lawyers are greater in the private sector than in the public sector, stating, “...by year 15 a 1 SD increase in average beauty is worth \$3,200 to the average public-sector attorney, but \$10,200 to the average private-sector attorney” (p. 193).

The study found that even when attractive lawyers started out in the public sector and unattractive lawyers started out in the private sector, by their fifth year working in law they had sorted themselves so that the attractive lawyers were in the private sector and the unattractive ones were in the public sector. This phenomenon is another indicator of how the labor market forces workers into particular sectors based on their appearance. Once again it is found that attractive workers will gravitate toward occupations and sectors where their appearance will be rewarded highly while unattractive workers move toward occupations and sectors where their other attributes will be rewarded.

Another section of Biddle and Hamermesh’s 1998 study focused on the role of older attorneys who often are partners or senior partners in law firms. One of the beliefs coming out of this study is that attractive older attorneys work as public relations agents, and their good looks may have a positive effect on the firm’s relationships with clients (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998).

Biddle and Hamermesh (1998) concluded that appearance isn’t simply correlated with wage discrepancies, but that it actually causes the discrepancies. They found that the effect of beauty on the lawyers’ careers led to significant gains in the private sector for attractive lawyers and significant, if not lesser, gains for unattractive lawyers in the public sector. Biddle and Hamermesh suggest that this difference has less to do with employer discrimination and more to

do with clients, who generally prefer to deal with better-looking lawyers. As such, attractive attorneys are rewarded with higher pay and earlier partnership opportunities, as they are able to bring in and keep clients.

The findings of the 1998 study support the findings of an earlier study by Hamermesh and Biddle (1994). In this study, it was determined that “there is...some evidence that the labor market sorts the best-looking people into occupations where their looks are productive” (p. 1192). Therefore, attractive workers often find themselves in occupations where they will be rewarded for their looks while unattractive workers end up in occupations where their skills will be rewarded. Further, Hamermesh and Biddle state:

...in at least some occupations attractive workers are more productive than unattractive ones. This advantage could arise from consumer discrimination, with customers preferring to deal with better-looking individuals; or there may be occupations in which physical attractiveness enhances the worker's ability to engage in productive interactions with co-workers. (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994, p. 1177)

Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) found that occupations requiring interaction with salespeople and customers are more likely to discriminate based on looks than others.

A British study conducted by Barry Harper (2000) confirmed the sorting phenomenon when he found that unattractive men are better rewarded for their work in some sort of manual labor, such as auto repair, where social interaction is kept at a minimum. Interestingly, Harper found a penalty for being attractive in professional and craft occupations as opposed to those occupations requiring more interpersonal contact, which leads to Hamermesh and Biddle's 1994 assertion that workers are sorted into appropriate occupations:

Our results indicate that physical appearance causes significant differences in the probability of being employed in an occupation...we expect individuals to sort into occupations that reward a particular attribute and away from occupations where penalties exist. (Harper, 2000, p. 793)

Harper (2000) also found that attractive workers are more likely to end up in customer-oriented occupations where the selling of goods or services requires extensive customer contact. This effect also reaches into the occupation of administrative assistants, which is dominated by attractive females.

The end result of Harper's 2000 study concluded that although pay differential can occur due to employer discrimination, there was enough evidence to suggest that there are occupation-specific effects on pay which, "may be attributed to either occupation-specific discrimination or productivity effects" (p. 789).

Another study (Pfann et al, 2000) also noted occupational differences relating to appearance discrimination. In this case, it was argued that those in a managerial role might be better rewarded for attractiveness than those in nonmanagerial positions. The argument made by the researchers is that "beautiful managers may find it easier to develop [good professional relationships with workers], generating higher earnings for themselves and higher [returns] for their employers" (p. 2). More effective management can lead to better returns for the company, and this study happened to find that, generally speaking, those companies with more attractive executives had higher margins than those without.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Arguably, men and women experience the same degree of discrimination with respect to their appearance. Every day, workers of both genders dress a certain way for work and encounter the same types of people. Indeed, it has been found that "good-looking men, like good-looking women, are more likely to be hired and receive higher salaries" (Etcoff, 1999, p. 83).

Biddle and Hamermesh's 1998 study of the careers of lawyers determined that both attractive males and attractive females made 10-12 percent more than their less attractive

counterparts. Further, studies conducted by Irene Frieze at the University of Pittsburgh found that women and men who were above-average height had a larger job interview success rate and were more likely to be hired (Frieze et al, 1991). However, numerous studies have also found significant differences regarding appearance discrimination across genders.

Biddle and Hamermesh's 1998 study, which noted similarities between male and female lawyers, also found some discrepancies. While attractive males and females each earned more than their less attractive colleagues, the research showed that attractive males had an increased chance of attaining early partnership with their law firm compared to attractive females. In fact, Biddle and Hamermesh found that "great attractiveness among women lowers their chance of early partnership" (1998, p. 195). The research did not indicate why this discrepancy occurred, though they also noted "men's looks may have slightly larger effects on their earnings than do women's" (1998).

While it's not clear what accounted for the differences between male and female attorneys in the study, Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) made an interesting observation related to gender. They found that the average attractiveness of males in their study was well below that of the females. Barring the possibility that the females actually were, as a group, more attractive than the males, Biddle and Hamermesh believe from their research that a woman's beauty is treated differently in the labor market than a man's beauty (1998). This was partially explained by an earlier study.

Hatfield and Sprecher (1986) also noted gender differences relating to appearance discrimination, stating that women's appearances tend to evoke stronger reactions than men's. This could explain Hamermesh and Biddle's 1994 study where the females were rated as better looking than the males as a whole. Hatfield and Sprecher (1986) found that attractiveness in

males tended to increase their opportunity of being selected for a clerical, professional, or managerial role; in the case of females, beauty helped only in the case of clerical positions.

Another study by Gilmore et al (1986) found that while physically attractive job applicants were more likely to receive favorable job interview outcomes, the perception of females differed slightly from males. It was observed that attractive females were given superior marks except when applying for managerial positions. In fact, attractive females were often rated less favorably than unattractive applicants when applying for such positions.

Etcoff (1999) also found that women are at more of a disadvantage when they are unattractive, stating “it is homely women who are truly disadvantaged economically – they are less likely to get hired or to earn competitive salaries at work” (p. 85).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

INTRODUCTION

While numerous studies have shown that there is a significant advantage to being attractive, there has yet to be a study researching how aware workers are of appearance discrimination and what their perspective is on the subject. This study focused on individuals working in a variety of different fields, including education, finance, human resources, sales, marketing, and entrepreneurs, with an intention to provide answers to the following questions:

- Are people aware of appearance discrimination as a legitimate problem?
- Is there a belief that steps should be taken to assure that lookism isn't involved in employment?
- How often have people experienced appearance discrimination?
- Do people take into account the appearance of others without realizing it?
- Is lookism more prominent in certain fields?

RESEARCH METHODS

This research used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, using a combination of interviews and surveys.

Six requests for interviews were sent out to human resources professionals. From those requests, I received two responses from people agreeing to be interviewed for this study. Unfortunately, one of the two cancelled a couple of days prior due to a family emergency and was unable to reschedule in time for inclusion in the study. As a result, only one interview was conducted for this study.

It was felt that those in human resources would be better equipped to discuss trends in hiring and employment. Using human resources professionals also provided more insight into how the hiring and management of employees has changed over time, calling upon their

experience in the field and at the many different companies for which they have worked. It is also the human resources departments that are in charge of assuring discrimination does not occur in the workplace.

The interviewee used in this study was first presented with a brief description of the nature of the research and asked to sign a human participant agreement, indicating her voluntary participation in the study and providing her with contact information for both my research adviser and me. It was explained that the research did not require the use of her name or place of employment, and that her responses would be kept in the strictest confidentiality.

During the interviews, participants were asked to call upon their experience in human resources and dealing with issues of discrimination to present their opinion on lookism and its effects on the workplace. The first few questions were designed to gather the interviewees' level of experience dealing with appearance-related issues. These questions involved consideration of the interview process and appearance's effect, if any, on it, as well as asking the interviewees about their familiarity with discrimination issues.

The second set of questions related to the legality of appearance discrimination in employment practices. Though there is no specific legal protection against such discrimination, these questions were designed to elicit opinions of whether or not certain common hiring practices could be deemed illegal if defined in the scope of lookism.

For all questions, participants were asked to explain their answers as thoroughly as possible. Each question was presented in such a way as to allow further discussion on any topic, including predefined follow-up questions as well as general discussion should the conversation lead in that direction.

In discussing the results of these interviews, the anonymity of the participants is maintained by using pseudonyms. The pseudonyms reflect the gender of those interviewed though not necessarily their ethnicity or country of origin. Each interviewee's place of business is not named, once again, to protect their anonymity. Instead, these companies are identified only by their particular market segment.

In addition to these interviews, surveys (see Appendix B) were distributed to professionals in various lines of work. Volunteers handed out the surveys at several different businesses in order to reach the largest number of participants in the shortest amount of time. These businesses included a software company, a financial services company, a doctor's office, an advertising agency, a school, and several self-employed individuals. Since prior research (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Harper, 2000; Pfann et al, 2000) has determined that there are occupational differences related to appearance discrimination, gathering responses from different segments of the working population allowed deeper investigation to determine if such results could be reproduced.

This survey, which fit on a single page of paper, was made up of two sections. The first section collected census information from the respondents, asking them to provide information about their gender, age, ethnicity, education, job type, and job level (manager, director, etc.). This information was gathered in order to see if attitudes toward appearance discrimination differ among certain demographic groups (as found in previous studies).

The second part of the survey consisted of a 10-statement Likert Scale. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each statement by circling a number. There were five levels of agreement, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree); a response of 3 was considered neutral, neither agree nor disagree.

Statements on the Likert Scale section of the survey were designed to determine the level of awareness about appearance discrimination as well as to determine if the respondent had participated in such discriminatory practices. Questions probed into respondents' beliefs about discrimination, asking them to determine if they had been discriminated against due to their appearance as well as how concerned they were about lookism as compared to other forms of discrimination.

I received 108 surveys back from the volunteers who administered them. Of those 108, I disqualified nine for being incomplete (failing to answer two or more questions), leaving 99 completed surveys from which I could gather data and tabulate the results.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Appearance: the combination of a person's physical attributes and dress.

Attractive: possessing attributes that one seeks in a mate.

Casual dress: lowest level of business attire; includes collared shirts, dresses, and slacks.

Outward-facing jobs: jobs in which employees deal directly with customers.

Physical attributes: those features a person is born with such as height, eye color, and skin tone.

Poor dress: nonbusiness attire such as jeans, t-shirts, and sneakers.

Professional dress: highest level of business attire; comprised of suits for men and women.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Due to time constraints related to my full-time and part-time work, the sample size for interviews and surveys is small and may not be entirely representative of people in a particular industry or region. My inability to take much time off from work to visit possible participants during normal business hours severely limited the number of interviews conducted for this study, relying on those in close proximity to my workplace and my home.

Some may also argue the validity of a mostly quantitative approach (surveys) to a seemingly qualitative area of study. Though more interviews would have been preferable to solidify the research, it was not possible to set up interviews with more than the two mentioned previously.

Also due to time constraints related to my work, I was forced to rely on volunteers to administer the surveys at various locations. It can't be clear how these volunteers approached others to participate in this study nor is it clear if the surveys returned reflect a representative sample from each location.

SUMMARY

The research for this study was gathered using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Interviews with two human resources professionals with varying levels of experience were conducted to gather perspective on appearance discrimination from an employer's point of view. The selection of people working in human resources was made because they regularly deal with employment issues such as hiring, promotion, and termination.

Surveys were also used, consisting of census information to gather demographics and a set of Likert Scale statements. These surveys were distributed through a network of volunteers throughout various workplaces, including a software company, finance company, doctor's office, and a school.

There are some limitations to the study, as the sample size for both interviews and surveys is small.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will explore the results of the surveys and interviews. The Likert Scale results are enumerated in frequency tables that show the breakdown of responses to the 10 questions. I will also explore these results in relation to the responses received from the interviews conducted.

DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

Responses to the Likert Scale statements were weighted according to the following table:

Table 1

Response	Weight
Strongly agree	5
Agree	4
Neutral	3
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	1

Using these weights, those responses with a mean closer to 5 have respondents mostly agreeing with the statement; for those means closer to 1, most respondents disagreed with the statement.

Table 2
Frequency of Response “Outward-facing jobs (i.e., Sales) should consider appearance when hiring.”
n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	42	42.4%
Agree	30	30.3%
Neutral	17	17.2%
Disagree	4	4.0%
Strongly disagree	6	6.1%
Total	99	100%

The responses for this statement have a mean of 3.99 (SD = 1.15). The mode for this response is 5. This question was designed to test the results of prior research (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Jeffes, 1998) indicating that those positions involving close interaction with customers or clients are more likely to experience appearance discrimination. Results from this question indicate that there is a belief among workers that appearance should be taken into account when hiring for outward-facing jobs, with over 70 percent of the respondents indicating agreement (either 4 or 5).

More interesting than those who indicated they agreed with the statement was the makeup of those who indicated disagreement. Of the six respondents who strongly disagreed with this statement, four of them had only a high school education. This caused me to form the initial conclusion that perhaps those with more work experience realize the value of appearance more than those who had just graduated from high school. However, upon further review, three of these four respondents were over 40 years old, disproving this conclusion. The four respondents also made up only 33 percent of those with only a high school education, the rest of which responded neutral, agree, or strongly agree.

Also interesting to note is that three of six respondents who indicated strong disagreement with this statement identified themselves as working in sales. This runs counter to my original belief that salespeople would identify appearance as being important more so than those in other occupations. Indeed, the three salespeople who strongly disagreed with this statement outweighed the two other salespeople who indicated agreement (one agreed, one strongly agreed). While there aren't enough salespeople in the sample to form a conclusion regarding the response, the wide range of answers leads me to believe that perhaps the job type of "Sales" on the survey was too broad a description. It is possible that some respondents identifying themselves as being in sales could have been car salespeople, door-to-door salespeople, or other types of salespeople. It can be argued that these types of jobs are vastly different and may attract different types of people, which would then alter the outcome of the survey.

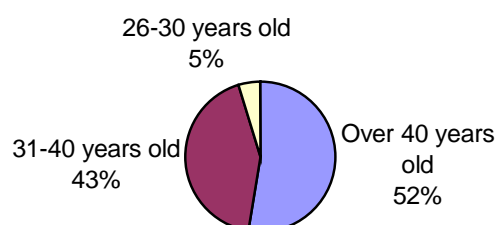
Table 3
**Frequency of Response “A person's qualifications are the most important determinant
when filling a position.”**

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	35	35.4%
Agree	35	35.4%
Neutral	21	21.2%
Disagree	8	8.1%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0%
Total	99	100%

Responses for this statement have a mean of 3.98 (SD = 0.95) with a mode of 4. As with the first question, this one had over a 70 percent agreement rate (those who indicated agree or strongly agree). It was expected that there would be strong agreement on this question given the atmosphere relating to discrimination in the workplace in today's world. It was also expected that no one would strongly disagree with this statement for the same reason. What wasn't expected was the rather large amount of neutral answers and the amount, though small, of disagree answers.

Figure 1: Age of “Neutral” Respondents



The neutral respondents indicated their ages as being over 31 (either in the 31-40 age group or the over 40 age group), with the exception of one, who indicated an age group of 26-30. Though similar in age, there were varying responses for job types, split roughly in half between non-titled employees and those in management positions (manager, directors, and senior management). Also varied was the amount of education for these respondents, of which two were high school graduates, one had an associate's degree, seven had bachelor's degrees, nine had master's degrees, and two had doctoral degrees.

Table 4
**Frequency of Response “Attractive people are given unfair advantages in interviews and
the workplace in general.”**

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	14	14.1%
Agree	33	33.3%
Neutral	36	36.4%
Disagree	13	13.1%
Strongly disagree	3	3.0%
Total	99	100%

The responses for this statement have a mean of 3.42 (SD = 0.99) and a mode of 3. This was the first statement intended to elicit an emotional reaction from the respondents. The phrase “unfair advantages” was chosen intentionally in order to achieve this end, since it can be argued that everyone has experienced a time when someone seemed to have an unfair advantage over them, whether that be in tryouts for a sport, auditions for a play, or promotions at work.

Due to the number of responses agreeing with this statement (over 45 percent), it appears that there is a significant belief that attractive individuals receive certain advantages over their less attractive counterparts in the workplace. The relatively large amount of neutral responses isn’t surprising due to the directness of the statement. I expected any of the statements that were more direct to lean heavily toward a mean of three (neutral), as this one did.

If it were possible, it would have been interesting to acquire photographs or some other measure of the beauty of the respondents to see if their own level of attractiveness affected their response to this statement. I have assumed that, among all questions, those who are attractive would be more likely to disagree with a statement such as this, perhaps being unable to see the advantages they have been afforded due to their looks. Accordingly, it also seems likely that

those who are unattractive would be more aware of the advantages that others have received due to their beauty. Unfortunately, such measures of the beauty of these respondents are not available.

Table 5
Frequency of Response “Steps should be taken to assure that unattractive people are not discriminated against in the workforce.”

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	20	20.2%
Agree	18	18.2%
Neutral	37	37.4%
Disagree	15	15.2%
Strongly disagree	9	9.1%
Total	99	100%

The responses to this statement had a mean of 3.25 (SD = 1.21) and a mode of 3, making it the second statement in a row with responses indicating an overall neutral feeling. I had expected the mean for this question to be lower than neutral, believing that there would be little support for unattractive workers in the professional world. However, almost as many respondents indicated they agreed with the statement (either agree or strongly agree, roughly 38 percent) as those who were neutral (37.4 percent).

Those who strongly agreed with this statement identified themselves as either being age 31-40 or over 40 years old. Perhaps this indicates that those with more experience in the workforce have perceived some sort of appearance discrimination and therefore would be more likely to suggest something be done to handle such practices.

Also interesting is that 14 of the 20 respondents who strongly agreed with this statement possessed either a master’s or doctoral degree, which is by far the largest percentage of respondents with postgraduate degrees for a particular response to this statement. This provides evidence that the more educated a worker is, the more likely they are to recognize discrimination and believe that steps should be taken to eliminate it.

Table 6
Frequency of Response “I have been discriminated against because of my appearance
(attire and/or physical features).”

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	8	8.1%
Agree	11	11.1%
Neutral	13	13.1%
Disagree	20	20.2%
Strongly disagree	47	47.5%
Total	99	100%

The responses for this statement have a mean of 2.12 (SD = 1.33) and a mode of 1. The results of this statement were not surprising. I expected the mean to be well below neutral because, as stated earlier, oftentimes neither the discriminator nor the victim is aware that such discrimination has occurred.

Of the eight who strongly agreed with this statement, seven respondents were female. Further, out of the 19 who responded with either four (agree) or five (strongly agree), 14 were women. This was also expected as prior research (Hatfield & Sprecher, 1986) indicates that women’s looks elicit a stronger reaction than men’s, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that women would be more likely to experience appearance discrimination.

Other research (Tiggemann & McGill, 2004) has found that women are under more pressure than men regarding their appearance and how they measure up to models and other figures in the public. This pressure, according Tiggemann and McGill, causes women to be more aware of their appearance and can lead to eating disorders and other psychological problems as they attempt to alter their appearance.

The study further indicates that women are more aware of their own appearance and others' reactions to it. This may explain why women in this study represent the majority of those who feel they have experienced appearance discrimination.

Table 7
**Frequency of Response “I am more concerned about discrimination based on my age,
gender, or race than my looks.”**

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	32	32.3%
Agree	25	25.3%
Neutral	31	31.3%
Disagree	3	3.0%
Strongly disagree	8	8.1%
Total	99	100%

The responses for this question have a mean of 3.71 (SD=1.19) and a mode of 5, with the majority of respondents (over 55 percent) either agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement. This was expected, as discrimination based on looks doesn't get nearly as much press as other forms of discrimination.

The amount of neutral responses (31.3 percent) was surprising. I had expected the mean for this question to be closer to, or above, 4, as it seemed logical to assume that people would be more concerned about those forms of discrimination that they have been dealing with and hearing about throughout their careers. Racism, sexism, and age discrimination are all issues that human resources departments are constantly discussing. In some companies, sensitivity training or cultural awareness programs are in place specifically to bring such issues into the forefront and educate employees. It would be reasonable to assume that, due to this presumed education in the workforce, most people would be more concerned about those forms of discrimination. Yet in this study, those respondents indicating strong disagreement outnumbered those who were neutral by only one.

To explore the high amount of neutral responses, I went back to look over responses to other statements on the survey. My initial reaction, that the results couldn't be correct, led me to believe that perhaps the statement was worded in an ambiguous or unclear manner. However, the high number of respondents indicating they agreed or strongly agreed with the statement seems to indicate that the wording wasn't the problem. Further, there is no discernable demographic pattern for those who answered neutral. The neutral respondents didn't favor one gender, one job function, one level of education, or one age group. The dispersion of responses across various demographics leads me to conclude that the wording of the statement was not the problem and that the results must be valid, though I have no theory as to why this statement evoked such a large number of neutral responses.

Most of those who either disagreed or strongly disagreed (11 percent) were non-titled employees, with only two respondents identifying themselves as managers. No clear conclusion can be made from this, however, as the number of respondents who disagreed (either strongly or not) is so small.

Table 8
Frequency of Response “If I were to interview for a job, I would dress up.”

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	79	79.8%
Agree	14	14.1%
Neutral	2	2.0%
Disagree	2	2.0%
Strongly disagree	2	2.0%
Total	99	100%

Responses for this statement have a mean of 4.68 ($SD = 0.79$) and a mode of 5. The result of this statement is directly in line with my theory that most people believe they should dress more professionally than their everyday attire (“dress up”) for job interviews.

Neutral responses to this question were expected, as they were expected on all other questions, as sometimes people are unsure of their level of agreement with a statement. Even the couple of respondents who disagreed were expected, but the two who strongly disagreed were not expected. While it is hard to draw any sort of conclusion from two responses, it should be noted that both respondents were over 40 and were Caucasian. Those who disagreed (response of 2) were also Caucasian, though neither was over 40. Of the four who indicated some level of disagreement, two had only completed high school and the other two had completed a bachelor’s degree. All respondents with a postgraduate degree indicated some level of agreement (either agree or strongly agree) with this statement.

Table 9
Frequency of Response “I feel most comfortable conversing with people who look and dress like me.”
n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	7	7.1%
Agree	13	13.1%
Neutral	44	44.4%
Disagree	22	22.2%
Strongly disagree	13	13.1%
Total	99	100%

Responses for this statement had a mean of 2.79 (SD = 1.06) and a mode of 3. The purpose of this statement was to reproduce the results of earlier studies (such as Peppas, 2002) that indicated people are more comfortable dealing with others who they deem to be similar to them. Such preference can often lead to groupings of people based on common characteristics, which may explain the formation of “cliques” in schools and may also lead to people sorting themselves into certain jobs (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998). However, the responses for this statement do not reproduce the findings of these earlier studies.

When the largest number of responses to a statement is neutral, this may indicate that the statement was worded incorrectly. In this case, though, I believe that the statement was worded correctly. Reviewing earlier literature (Etkoff, 1999), I was reminded that appearance discrimination is often a subconscious occurrence. Since surveys ask respondents to logically think about their responses, this may not have been the correct way to reproduce the results from previous studies. Asking someone to consciously rate a subconscious reaction could be too difficult for respondents as such behavior can be more accurately measured through observation.

Further, respondents may have believed the phrase “like me” is an indication of discrimination. It can be argued that few people, when asked directly, will admit to being bigoted or biased toward others due to societal values that frown on such beliefs. Though anonymous surveys offer a measure of protection against retaliation for such unaccepted beliefs, it may still be difficult for someone to admit.

My conclusion is that this statement did not yield a valid result, as it is an inappropriate instrument for its intended purpose.

Table 10
**Frequency of Response “When meeting new co-workers, I look upon them more favorably
when they are dressed in a professional manner.”**

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	15	15.2%
Agree	34	34.3%
Neutral	33	33.3%
Disagree	10	10.1%
Strongly disagree	7	7.1%
Total	99	100%

Responses for this statement have a mean of 3.40 (SD = 1.09) and a mode of 4. The intent of this statement was to determine if people would admit to appearance discrimination if the situation seemed appropriate. For most people, their initial reaction to meeting someone new is based on the person’s appearance. Arguably, this reaction could be stronger in the workplace when meeting new co-workers as the possibility of working together for an extended period of time makes that first impression even more important.

It was expected that this statement would yield a large number of responses indicating agreement (either agree or strongly agree), and indeed nearly half (49 percent) of respondents agreed with the statement. I had expected a larger percentage of agreement, but I perhaps underestimated the effect of the type of workplace on the response.

One can reasonably assume that those working in professional occupations would look favorably upon new co-workers who also dressed professionally, whereas those who work in trade occupations (such as mechanics, plumbers, etc.) may not be as affected. Previous studies (Harper, 2000) have shown that, in some cases, having an attractive appearance can actually hurt

those seeking work in trade occupations. Given the variety of workplaces and occupations identified by the respondents, it is possible that this sort of stigma may have affected the results.

I assumed that those with more education would be more likely to work in a professional environment (it is not possible using the demographic information collected to confirm this as the job categories were general). Of the seven respondents who strongly disagreed, four had only completed high school; the three other respondents consisted of one person who had completed a bachelor's degree and two who had completed a master's. If there had been more respondents who only graduated high school and perhaps one or two with bachelor's degrees, it may have been possible to argue the effect education has on profession. However, with the addition of two people with master's degrees, it appears that this assumption is false.

It's possible that job level (non-titled, manager, etc.) affected the results for this statement as only one respondent who strongly disagreed identified herself as a manager; all others identified themselves as non-titled. Further, taking into account those who disagreed (a response of 2), only five of the 17 dissenting respondents were managers. This seems to indicate that those who are not in a position to hire don't appreciate professional attire so much as those who can hire.

As with the previous statement on the survey, there was a large number (33 percent) of neutral responses. Since this statement is also very direct, it may have also caused respondents to over think their answers to avoid any appearance of being biased. The wording of this statement may also have led to the large number of neutral responses, as those who were not in professional occupations may have believed that this statement didn't apply to them. I realize that the statement could have been worded in such a way as to be occupation-neutral, and in doing so, perhaps result in different responses.

Table 11
**Frequency of Response “If I had a choice, I would prefer my workplace have more people
 who I find attractive.”**

n=99

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	9	9.1%
Agree	13	13.1%
Neutral	34	34.3%
Disagree	15	15.2%
Strongly disagree	28	28.3%
Total	99	100%

Responses for this statement have a mean of 2.60 (SD = 1.28) and a mode of 3. The purpose of this statement was to give respondents an opportunity to discriminate. The previous two statements asked respondents about their attitudes toward discrimination, but this one specifically asked them to make a choice regarding who they would like to work with based on their appearance.

I expected very few respondents to agree with the statement and a large amount to disagree, and this was accurately reflected in the results with only 22 out of the 99 responses indicating some level of agreement (either agree or strongly agree). In addition, I had expected there to be a fairly large number of respondents who disagreed (either disagree or strongly disagree) with the statement, as this would indicate some admission of discriminatory beliefs. Once again, the results matched, with roughly 43 percent of respondents disagreeing with the statement. I had not, however, expected such a large amount of neutral responses.

The wording of this statement was designed to evoke some emotions, as respondents thought about their current work environment and the people in it. It can be argued that a person’s satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their job can taint their opinion of their co-workers, but that would most likely lead to agreement or disagreement with the statement, not a neutral

response. Perhaps someone who was content with his or her job and workplace would be more inclined to respond neutrally as a way of saying, “I wouldn’t change anything,” as opposed to thinking clearly about the appearances of co-workers.

As with the previous two statements on the survey, results to this statement seem to indicate that there is far less appearance discrimination in the workplace than has already been uncovered in prior studies. It has become clear, taking all three statements together, that surveys may not be an accurate way to measure discriminatory practices in individuals.

Notes on Interviews

The interviewee, Mary Robinson, is a human resources manager for a software company. She has been at the company for three years and is the main liaison for the engineering department. Due to the frequent use of foreign workers in high-tech jobs, Robinson is intimately familiar with issues of discrimination in the workplace and was anxious to share her experience for this study.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Responses from the surveys, coupled with information provided by Robinson in an interview, revealed some significant areas of interest regarding appearance discrimination.

Outward-Facing Jobs

Throughout my research, a common point of note was the different standard that outward-facing jobs have in regards to appearance. The surveys indicated an overwhelming level of agreement (70 percent indicated either agree or strongly agree) when asked specifically if outward-facing jobs should consider appearance when hiring.

This sentiment was echoed by Robinson, who believed that appearance is very important for those employees who will be customer-facing and are considered the “first face of the

company.” Salespeople, she believed, must be more professional in their appearance in order to give the company confidence that they are being represented appropriately to the world. On the other hand, Robinson believed that for positions not involving customer contact, appearance wouldn’t be as big of a consideration. She cited as an example that for an engineer who sits at a desk all day writing code, appearance isn’t nearly as important as his or her ability to problem solve.

First Impressions

The age-old saying, “you never get a second chance to make a first impression,” seems to be a common theme with all parties involved in this study. Nearly all survey respondents (over 90 percent) either agreed or strongly agreed that they would dress up for interviews. Arguably, this can be traced to people wanting to make a good first impression in front of unfamiliar people.

College guidance counselors and professional career counselors alike routinely recommend that interviewees dress professionally for job interviews regardless of the position. Whether due to this influence or one’s own personal beliefs about making first impressions, respondents to this survey statement indicate that they would dress up for job interviews.

Robinson repeatedly mentioned “first impressions” in conjunction with the appearance of interviewees. As an example, she relayed the story of a gentleman who applied for a sales position at the company. This man showed up to his interview in a Hawaiian shirt and shorts carrying a “7-11 Big Gulp.” The first impression he made immediately disqualified him from further consideration for the position. As the position was customer-facing, his appearance was considered a negative. Robinson stated that, “the way he looked was representative of the way he spoke and the way he behaved.” Upon further questioning, Robinson revealed that the

candidate's skills and experience would have eventually disqualified him from the position, though it would have been far later in the hiring process.

Despite this, roughly 70 percent of respondents to the survey stated that a person's qualifications should be the most important determinant in job selection. This is expected, as we are all supposed to believe that jobs go to those who are the most experienced and have the best qualifications. This may, however, undermine the value of a good first impression. Robinson stated that if the man in the Hawaiian shirt had come to the interview in a suit, they would have taken him more seriously and listened to what he had to say. Obviously, qualifications are important, but my research seems to indicate that if the first impression you make is a poor one, qualifications may not be enough to earn the job.

Another statement on the survey revealed that 49 percent of respondents would look upon new co-workers more favorably when they are dressed professionally. Once again, this indicates the importance of first impressions. Though this first impression is outside of the interview setting, it can be equally important for establishing trust and respect among colleagues.

Legality

As mentioned previously, there are no legal protections in place for victims of appearance discrimination. The survey identified 38 percent of respondents who believed (those who either agreed or strongly agreed) steps should be taken to protect unattractive people in the workforce. This result was just one percent higher than those who were neutral on the topic, indicating that people are unsure of what to do about appearance discrimination, if anything is to be done at all.

Robinson believed that it could be considered legal to consider a person's appearance when filling an outward-facing job, such as sales (once again, citing the "first face of the company" being a very important role). She also believed it legal to consider appearance in the

entertainment industry as a certain look could be considered a “basis of job qualification” for a particular role.

On the other hand, Robinson believed that there should be some legal protection for the unattractive. She stated that anything a person is born with should not disqualify him or her from gaining employment in a particular position unless that feature is relevant to the job. In this sentiment, Robinson is comparing appearance to other factors one has no control over, such as race and disabilities, both protected classes under United States law.

When asked if the advantages afforded to attractive people (and the penalties received by unattractive people) could be considered a form of discrimination under United States law, Robinson gave a stern “no.” Since there are no laws regarding such discrimination, it can’t legally be considered discrimination. Robinson said it would be different if a person had a physical deformity that didn’t interfere with the job, because he or she may have some sort of recourse under the Americans with Disabilities Act.

I followed up by asking Robinson if it would be legal for such advantages and disadvantages to be assigned to other types of people, for instance, if males always received higher salary and faster promotions while women were penalized. She said this situation would absolutely be considered discrimination. I found it interesting that changing the parameters of the question slightly would yield such a different response, as I believed that the apparent injustice faced by unattractive people would evoke an emotional reaction when presented in this way. However, Robinson stuck clearly to the letter of the law in her responses.

About 57 percent of respondents indicated that they were more concerned with being discriminated against based on their age, gender, or race than on their appearance, indicating that appearance discrimination is not of primary concern to most. Undoubtedly, both employees and

human resources are constantly on the lookout for the more apparent forms of discrimination, and appearance discrimination may never be as prominent. But what would happen if a claim of discrimination based on appearance was brought to an employer?

Robinson stated that while there are no laws regarding appearance discrimination, human resources would be required to open an investigation if a claim was brought to them. She said that any claim of discrimination, regardless of the basis, would require action on their part as it affects the work environment. Human resources would then see the issue through to a resolution before closing the investigation, as with any other claims they receive.

If the matter went to court, Robinson believes that it would be difficult for anyone to prove appearance discrimination at the workplace. She stated that generally it is the responsibility of the accuser to prove that the discrimination actually occurred, which can be very difficult unless they have witnesses to discriminatory statements that were made or documents showing some sort of discriminatory action. In the case of appearance discrimination, she continued, it would be even more difficult to prove than claims of race, age, or gender discrimination.

Robinson didn't think providing unattractive people with legal protection would necessarily change the number of discrimination lawsuits brought against companies. In her opinion, it is difficult enough to prove discrimination, as companies are typically very careful to keep a "paper trail" of information leading up to the dismissal of an employee. Human resources as well as managers are responsible for documenting all matters relating to an employee's performance and possible grounds for dismissal long before the termination occurs. Because of this, Robinson believes that there may be a small number of new cases filed on the basis of appearance discrimination, but not a lot as it would be very difficult to prove.

SUMMARY

Research for this study was conducted using a Likert Scale survey and an interview. The results of the survey were tabulated and investigated separately to determine the respondents' level of understanding of, and attitudes toward, appearance discrimination.

It is very clear, from both the surveys and the interview, that people generally believe it is acceptable to take appearance into account when hiring for outward-facing jobs. As Robinson stated, those who are the "first face of the company" must have a certain appearance that reflects positively upon the company as a whole. With over 70 percent of respondents agreeing that appearance is important in such jobs, it appears that appearance discrimination is not only prominent but also accepted for outward-facing positions. This is interesting because roughly 70 percent of respondents believe that qualifications are the most important determinant when filling a job.

The research also shows that people are unclear as to the effect of appearance on their employment and what steps, if any, should be taken to address the issue. People somewhat believe that attractive people are given unfair advantages, but those who believed so accounted for 47 percent while those who were unsure either way (neutral) accounted for 36 percent of responses. There is further indecisiveness related to whether or not steps should be taken to protect the unattractive from discriminatory practices with 38 percent believing that something should be done and 37 percent unsure either way. This may be due to the fact that most people (57 percent of respondents) were more concerned with being discriminated against because of their age, race, or gender.

There is also evidence that some appearance discrimination does occur in the workplace outside the scope of outward-facing positions. While most people (67 percent of respondents)

said that they have never experienced appearance discrimination, that stills leaves a fairly large amount of people who have experienced it or are unsure if they have. Further, 49 percent of respondents indicated that they looked upon new co-workers more favorably when they are dressed in a professional manner, indicating some level of appearance discrimination. While it can be argued this “first impression” of new co-workers can have little negative effect on the person’s employment, it could lead toward problems socializing with others at work, which could affect their overall job performance. And while 43 percent of respondents said that they wouldn’t choose to work in a place with more attractive people, 20 percent said that they would, and 34 percent were unsure. This result also indicates a level of appearance discrimination in the workplace.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was not to determine if appearance discrimination exists, as its existence has been well documented in several previous studies (such as Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998 and Hamermesh, Meng, & Zhuang, 2001). Instead, this study focused on determining the attitudes toward appearance discrimination among the working population. All previous studies were focused on measuring the effect of beauty on wages, promotion, and other quantitative categories; I was not able to find another study gauging people's reactions when confronted with the issue nor their awareness of such discrimination taking place around them.

Through examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, I have come to some conclusions about people's attitudes toward, and awareness of, appearance discrimination in the workforce. I will discuss these findings in this final chapter, as well as provide guidance for usage of my findings in future research.

CONCLUSIONS

Occupational Differences Exist

One of the important themes reviewed in previous literature was the occurrence of occupational differences relating to appearance discrimination. Studies such as those conducted by Hamermesh and Biddle (1994), Biddle and Hamermesh (1998), Harper (2000), and Pfann et al (2000) all found evidence that appearance can have a different effect on one's career depending on the occupation. It was noted that attractive workers generally end up in careers where their appearance will be rewarded, either in increased productivity or by consumer discrimination (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994).

In my research, I found that there did indeed seem to be a different set of rules for those in outward-facing occupations. An overwhelming majority (72 percent) of survey respondents agreed (indicating agree or strongly agree) that appearance should be a consideration when hiring for outward-facing positions such as sales. Robinson, who stated that anyone representing the “first face of the company” to clients or customers should have an appearance that the company is comfortable with, supported this position. She even went so far as to say that it was legal to consider appearance as a condition of employment for such positions as their appearance reflects directly on the company as a whole.

These results confirm the findings of earlier studies that there are occupational differences relating to appearance discrimination and that those who deal directly with customers are more likely to experience such discrimination (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994). My research take this one step further, as I found that not only does appearance discrimination occur more in outward-facing jobs, but most people believe it appropriate under such circumstances.

Lack of Lookism Awareness

Only 47 percent of survey respondents believed (either agreed or strongly agreed) that attractive workers are given unfair advantages in the workplace. This surprised me after the large number (72 percent) of respondents who believed appearance should be taken into consideration for outward-facing jobs. It is curious that those who would afford attractive salespeople better job placement opportunities would then not realize that this constituted an advantage in the workplace. My only explanation for this is that perhaps respondents didn't consider the first scenario (considering appearance when hiring for an outward-facing position) as appearance discrimination.

Regardless of the apparent inconsistency between these sets of responses, the data clearly shows that a large amount of the population is unaware of the advantages attractive workers receive in the workplace. These advantages have been well documented in previous studies, which have shown pay premiums for attractive workers in the range of 10-13 percent (Hamermesh and Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Solnick & Schweitzer, 1999). This information notwithstanding, research has also shown a pay penalty for unattractive workers of anywhere from one percent to 15 percent (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994). I conclude from my research that the majority of people are not aware that such advantages exist for attractive workers. I also surmise that the majority of people are not aware of the disadvantages faced by unattractive workers.

This lack of awareness isn't surprising since 67 percent of respondents indicated that they have not experienced appearance discrimination (disagree or strongly disagree). Of the 19 percent (agree or strongly agree) that had experienced discrimination based on their appearance, most also agreed (agree or strongly agree) that attractive workers are given unfair advantages, though there were some neutrals and disagrees. This is interesting, as I had assumed it far more likely that those who experienced such discrimination would believe that advantages exist for attractive workers. For the most part, this was the case. I had not expected any disagreement as to the advantages that attractive workers have from the group that had experienced appearance discrimination. My only explanation is that there continues to be a lack of awareness regarding the nature of appearance discrimination in the workplace and the various forms it takes.

No Protection Necessary

It was not surprising that only 38 percent of respondents believed (indicating agree or strongly agree) that steps should be taken to protect unattractive workers from discrimination. I

assume that if people don't perceive appearance discrimination as a problem, then they won't believe any change in policy should occur. This seems to be the case here.

Despite respondents believing that protection isn't necessary for unattractive workers, and despite a formal legal definition of appearance discrimination, Robinson indicated that a claim of such discrimination would have to be investigated by human resources and that the issue would have to come to some sort of resolution.

Although most respondents didn't see the need for protecting unattractive workers from discrimination, Robinson disagreed. She believed that any feature someone is born with (something they can't prevent) should not be used to judge his or her fit for a particular job, promotion, or pay so long as the feature doesn't prevent the successful execution of the position in question.

I found it interesting that when I asked Robinson the sixth question in the protocol, regarding how well-dressed and attractive people tend to find jobs easier, receive promotions faster, and start at higher salaries, she declared that this was not discrimination as currently understood by law. I had thought phrasing the question in this way would make the impact of lookism clear and get her to say that it was discrimination. When I followed up by asking if this same set of information applied to just men, Robinson then said it was discrimination under current United States law.

Robinson also believed that, despite a legal definition of appearance discrimination, there was some recourse for those who believe themselves to be victims. She was unsure, however, how an employee could prove such discrimination took place. It would be difficult, Robinson stated, because there is no legal definition of appearance discrimination.

The differences in opinion over protections for unattractive workers lead me to believe that there is a general lack of information surrounding the issue. While discrimination against certain races, ethnicities, genders, ages, religions, and sexual orientations are in the news frequently, appearance discrimination has never gained this level of notoriety. Indeed, 57 percent of respondents (those who agree or strongly agree) are more concerned with being discriminated against based on their race, age, or gender than their appearance. This certainly isn't surprising given the more obvious nature of these forms of discrimination, but it could also indicate a lack of knowledge as to the prevalence of lookism.

Dress Up for Interviews

Even though responses to several of the statements indicate a general lack of understanding regarding appearance discrimination, an overwhelming major of respondents, 93 percent, indicated (either agree or strongly agree) that they would dress up for a job interview. Robinson stated repeatedly that the value of dressing up for an interview is in the first impression you make. Her example of the gentleman who interviewed for a sales position wearing a Hawaiian shirt and shorts accents how important first impressions can be in job placement.

This result was interesting as 70 percent of respondents also indicated (either agree or strongly agree) that qualifications are the most important factor in hiring. While it can't be argued that qualifications *should be* the most important factor in hiring, this isn't always the case. As Robinson stated, you cannot overlook the value of your first impression to an employer.

Robinson's sentiment is backed up by earlier research conducted by Dipboye, et al (1984). In this study of interviews, it was found that physical attractiveness was one of the three characteristics that triggered better recall of interview information (the other two being perceived level of intelligence and a positive personality). Attractive job applicants caused the interviewers

to recall their information quicker as well as in more detail. Forsythe, et al (1985) made similar observations regarding the beauty of job applicants, but went a step further describing how traditional professional dress also increases interviewee ratings.

I can only conclude that there is a belief among workers that dressing up for an interview is appropriate and accepted. This seems to imply that respondents are aware of some form of appearance discrimination relating to the job application process, but perhaps are unable to explain the occurrence in terms of discrimination. It's entirely possible that respondents see the value of first impressions being, as Robinson suggested, an important part of interviews but don't make the connection with appearance discrimination.

Improper Research Instrument

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the last three statements on the Likert Scale survey seemed to confuse respondents, as indicated by the large number of neutral responses. This also led to different results than those found in previous studies.

The first of these three statements tried to reproduce results found in previous studies (such as Schuler, Beutell, & Youngblood, 1989) describing positive attributes assigned to those who have a perceived similar personality. In my research, 44 percent of respondents specified a neutral response with only 20 percent agreeing (either agree or strongly agree). This clearly runs contrary to findings in earlier studies and indicates to me that perhaps this statement could not be answered appropriately due to its wording and subject matter.

The formation of cliques, or exclusive groups of friends, has long been witnessed in schools around the world. These are typically formed by children with something in common. A study by Batiuk, Boland, and Wilcox (2004) identified cliques in a middle school environment in order to help break down the barriers between children. These cliques were often formed around

a common bond: those who played sports, cheerleaders, those of specific ethnicities, the smart ones, and so on. Research like this has concluded many times over that people prefer to converse and interact with others who are similar. That my research should come out completely different indicates a problem.

Since previous studies used observation and experimentation as a means of determining how people interact with others, I can only conclude that a Likert Scale statement was an inappropriate way to recreate these findings. Since appearance discrimination is often not conscious (Etcoff, 1999), and people may not even realize what draws them to another person, it is possible that the logical mind of respondents doesn't believe that they discriminate in such a manner.

The second of the three statements was to determine if people looked upon new co-workers more favorably when dressed in a professional manner. While 49 percent agreed (either agree or strongly agree), I had expected a larger positive response since previous studies (Dipboye et al, 1984; Forsythe et al, 1985) have shown how dramatic a difference dress can make in perception. I believe that the problem is in the wording of the statement, since not all occupations require professional attire to be worn. In manual occupations, for example, it may be considered unprofessional to show up to work in a suit and tie whereas showing up to work as a salesperson in a Hawaiian shirt and shorts (as in Robinson's example) is considered completely inappropriate.

By falsely assuming that everyone would look upon a professionally attired co-worker as a positive thing, I made this statement too narrow, which I believe affected the results. I'm not sure that this statement could have been reworded to accurately to take into account all of the

possible occupations. As such, I believe that the results of this statement are of little relevance to the research as a whole.

The third of these three statements tried to determine if respondents would rather have more attractive people in their workplace. Once again, I expected a large amount of agreement with this statement, thinking that most people prefer to be around attractive men and women. I was surprised that 43 percent of respondents disagreed with the statement (either disagree or strongly disagree) and 34 percent were neutral. I believe that this statement was perhaps too personal, and that respondents' level of enjoyment at their current workplace may have biased their responses to this statement.

It also occurred to me that the point of this statement, to determine if people preferred working in an environment with more attractive co-workers, would be better investigated by setting up an experiment rather than asking for a logical choice directly.

I conclude that a Likert Scale survey was an improper research instrument to gather the information in these three statements. I believe that asking people to make logical decisions about subconscious behavior was an ineffective tool for this study.

IMPLICATIONS

Prior research has already determined the extent to which appearance affects employment; this study shows that people seem to lack a basic understanding of these effects. While some argue that they are more worried about other forms of discrimination, most would dress up for interviews, seemingly acknowledging a basic type of appearance discrimination in the workplace relating to first impressions. Given the large amount of time and resources that businesses dedicate toward discrimination and related issues (such as diversity and sensitivity

training), the results of this study should prove useful to human resources professionals in a variety of work environments.

As with most studies, there are opportunities for future research to build upon the findings presented here. While the Likert Scale survey was helpful in determining some basic trends regarding appearance discrimination, it was noted that three of the statements did not elicit the types of responses found in previous studies. I believe that this is due to the fact that it is difficult to logically think about and express something that is largely subconscious in nature. Future researchers should look more to experimentation in order to more appropriately investigate the issue.

For instance, asking whether someone would prefer to work in a place with more attractive people may not hit home as strongly as if the person experienced being in such an environment. Future research could involve setting up a scenario where interviewees are offered the same job in two different offices, one staffed with attractive workers, and the other staffed with average-looking workers. Observing the interviewees in different types of situations would allow the subjects' subconscious minds to work as they would normally and provide more reliable data than that obtained from the survey used in this study.

Future research should also measure the attractiveness of all respondents in some way. Whether this is a self-assessment or a rating assigned by a panel of judges, an attractiveness rating would give greater insight into data collected using surveys. I believe that one of the oversights of the survey used in this study was not collecting this data, as it could be used to glean more useful information from many of the statements on the Likert Scale.

As an example, respondents were asked if they had experienced appearance discrimination. It would have been interesting to see if those who had rated themselves as being

attractive, average, or unattractive were disproportionately represented as agreeing or disagreeing with this statement. The same could be said for the statements relating to the belief that attractive workers are given unfair advantages due to their looks and whether or not steps should be taken to protect unattractive workers from discrimination.

It is recommended that future researchers also use a larger sample size than the one used in this study, which was limited by time and geographic restraints. A larger sample including more than one state and various parts of the country may reveal different findings relating to appearance discrimination. It may be entirely possible that there is a greater awareness for such discrimination in California, where actors and models are constantly looking for jobs, than there is in other parts of the country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

My findings indicate a lack of awareness regarding appearance discrimination in the workplace. Since discrimination is a very important topic in both the public and private sectors, it is important to address lookism before it becomes a problem or a protected class.

To begin, sensitivity training for employees, including managers, should introduce the topic of appearance discrimination. It should be made clear that while not technically illegal, any sort of discrimination is considered a dangerous practice in the workplace. This study has shown that people generally don't feel like steps need to be taken to protect unattractive workers from discrimination even though some have indicated that such discrimination has occurred. These two seemingly contradictory findings indicate that the level of awareness about appearance discrimination needs to be elevated.

It can be argued that any type of discrimination can lead to more disruptive behavior in the future. During her interview, Robinson stated that she believed sexual harassment began with

gender discrimination in that men would not act in such a way toward other men. In the same way, companies need to be aware that appearance discrimination may lead to other types of problems among employees. Discussing the topic is most important, as it encourages logical thought about a subconscious behavior.

Those who are in a position to interview and/or hire job candidates need to be the most careful about their behavior. This study found that most people still dress up for interviews, but the interviewers themselves should make a concerted effort to avoid appearance discrimination in this setting. Most companies have guidelines about what can and cannot be asked during interviews to protect the company from litigation. For instance, questions regarding one's religion, age, or ethnicity could open up a company to potential discrimination lawsuits should the person not receive the job. While it's hard to argue about the value of first impressions, interviewers should be trained to separate a candidate's presentation from their level of attractiveness.

Given the previous research showing the widespread effect of appearance discrimination, it would be wise for companies to train their interviewers and make them aware of the occurrence as a way to prevent it from happening in the future. Interviewers should be encouraged to take notes about job candidates instead of relying on their memory, which tends to favor attractive interviewees (Dipboye, et al, 1984).

Human resources departments would also be wise to begin training all of their personnel regarding the practice of appearance discrimination. Generating formalized procedures for investigation of lookism claims could go a long way in preparing human resources professionals for any possible issues that may arise in the future. Robinson stated that the company would always investigate any claim of discrimination, regardless of the basis, in order to come to an

appropriate resolution. Knowing that there is a general lack of awareness surrounding this particular type of discrimination should empower human resources departments to seek out ways to deal with the problem before it occurs. While certainly not a sure thing, it only takes one successful appearance discrimination lawsuit to set a legal precedent and open up all workplaces to liability. As with other forms of discrimination, training human resources professionals to deal with the problem is the best option for companies.

On the other hand, since there is a general lack of awareness regarding appearance discrimination, job applicants could use this knowledge to their advantage. It appears that most already do, with such a large amount indicating that they dress up for job interviews. But they could take this a step further by making sure to look as attractive as possible when applying for jobs. It may be worth job applicants' time and money to ensure a professional appearance, from a nice suit to a clean haircut, when interviewing.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to determine the level of awareness of appearance discrimination in the workforce. From my research, it appears that there is a general lack of awareness regarding lookism. Part of this stems from the subconscious nature of this form of discrimination, as it appears some people don't associate certain behaviors as appearance discrimination.

Most respondents believe, for instance, that it's appropriate to consider a job applicant's appearance when they are applying for an outward-facing job. This belief was also held by Mary Robinson, a human resources professional, who said that anyone representing the "first face of the company" should be judged partly on their appearance. Despite this obvious discrimination, respondents only somewhat believe that attractive workers are given unfair advantages in the

workplace. Further, most don't believe steps are necessary to ensure that unattractive workers aren't discriminated against.

The research also showed that even without a belief that attractive workers are given advantages, almost everyone dresses up for job interviews. Robinson indicated that "first impressions" are very important in the interview process. Arguably, "first impressions" are always based on appearance and can therefore be considered lookism.

Future researchers should use a larger sample size, as the sample used in this research was limited by time and geographic constraints. Additionally, experiments and observations should be used in future research in order to more accurately capture and measure discriminatory practices as a survey was not practical for this purpose.

The lack of awareness regarding appearance discrimination in the workplace should be a matter of concern for human resources professionals. Those who are in charge of interviewing job applicants and investigating claims of discrimination should be trained in this important issue to protect companies from possible liability.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Have you ever known anyone who was either not hired or fired basely solely on their appearance?
 - If yes, what were the circumstances?

2. How would you rank the importance of appearance when interviewing for a job?
 - Studies have shown that, all other things equal, those who dress professionally are consistently given better interview rankings. Does that surprise you?

3. Have you ever dealt with employee or interviewee claims of appearance discrimination?
 - What are the most common types of discrimination claims you have encountered?

4. How legal is it to consider, as one of many factors for a job, a person's appearance?
 - Attire or physical appearance?
 - In outward-facing jobs?
 - In the entertainment industry?

5. In your opinion, is there any legal recourse for someone who believes he or she has been discriminated against based on appearance?

6. Research has found that attractive people, both those who dress well and physically attractive people, often have an easier time finding jobs, receive promotions faster, and are often started at higher salaries. Does this constitute discrimination under current employment law?

7. There are some who believe unattractive people should be a protected class, having the same legal protections as homosexuals, ethnic and religious groups, and those with disabilities. How would you respond to this?
 - In your opinion, how would enacting such a change affect wrongful dismissal lawsuits?

 - Would people be more likely to file such lawsuits knowing that it's difficult for the employer to prove that they weren't fired/not hired due to appearance?

APPENDIX B: LIKERT SCALE SURVEY

Census Information

Please circle one (1) answer for each of the following.

Gender:

Male Female

Age:

18-21 22-25 26-30 31-40 over 40

Race:

Caucasian Black Hispanic Asian
Indian Native American Other Prefer Not to Answer

Job Level:

Contractor Non-titled Manager Director Senior Management

Job Type:

Support Staff Development Sales HR Accounting
Marketing Education Other (specify): _____

Level of Education:

High School Associate's Bachelor's Master's Doctoral

Likert Scale

Please circle the number corresponding to your level of agreement with each statement below. The numbers range from **1 for Strongly Disagree** to **5 for Strongly Agree** (3 is Neutral).

1. Outward-facing jobs (i.e., Sales) should consider appearance when hiring.	1	2	3	4	5
2. A person's qualifications are the most important determinant when filling a position.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Attractive people are given unfair advantages in interviews and the workplace in general.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Steps should be taken to assure that unattractive people are not discriminated against in the workforce.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have been discriminated against because of my appearance (attire and/or physical features).	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am more concerned about discrimination based on my age, gender, or race than my looks.	1	2	3	4	5
7. If I were to interview for a job, I would dress up.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I feel most comfortable conversing with people who look and dress like me.	1	2	3	4	5
9. When meeting new co-workers, I look upon them more favorably when they are dressed in a professional manner.	1	2	3	4	5
10. If I had a choice, I would prefer my workplace have more people who I find attractive.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C: SURVEY RESPONSES

#	Gender	Age	Race	Job Level	Job Type	Education	Responses									
							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Master's	2	5	2	2	2	5	5	4	3	2
2	Male	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	4	4	3	3	1	1	5	4	4	4
3	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	5	3	3	3	1	1	5	3	3	3
4	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Bachelor's	5	3	5	1	3	5	5	3	3	3
5	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	4	4	3	3	1	4	5	3	4	1
6	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Associate Auditor	Bachelor's	5	4	2	3	1	3	5	1	4	1
7	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	5	4	4	4	2	3	5	5	4	4
8	Male	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Bachelor's	3	4	5	4	1	3	5	1	4	1
9	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	4	4	3	4	1	3	5	2	4	1
10	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Senior Management	Accounting	Bachelor's	4	4	4	3	3	4	5	2	4	1
11	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	5	4	3	3	1	5	5	2	5	2
12	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Accounting	Master's	5	4	4	1	1	5	5	1	5	1
13	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Marketing	Bachelor's	2	5	2	2	4	5	5	3	3	2
14	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Other: Producer	Bachelor's	5	5	3	1	3	5	5	3	4	3
15	Male	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	Bachelor's	4	4	3	4	2	3	5	3	2	3
16	Female	31-40	Black	Non-titled	Other: Advertising	Bachelor's	3	3	3	3	5	3	5	3	5	3
17	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	Bachelor's	3	5	2	2	1	5	5	3	3	1
18	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Marketing	Bachelor's	4	4	4	3	3	5	5	2	3	3
19	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Marketing	Bachelor's	4	5	4	4	2	2	5	2	3	3
20	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	High School	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	1	3	1
21	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Other: Advertising	Bachelor's	5	5	3	5	1	4	5	5	4	3
22	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	Bachelor's	5	3	3	3	4	4	5	2	2	1
23	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	Bachelor's	3	5	4	2	1	4	5	1	2	2
24	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Development	Master's	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	3	3
25	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	5	4	3	3	1	1	5	2	2	3
26	Male	Over 40	Asian	Director	Development	Master's	4	3	3	5	1	5	4	2	3	3
27	Male	Over 40	Prefer Not to Answer	Manager	Development	Doctoral	2	5	4	2	2	4	4	2	3	1
28	Male	31-40	Asian	Manager	Development	Master's	4	3	4	4	2	2	5	3	4	4
29	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	High School	5	2	4	2	5	4	5	2	3	4
30	?	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	5	4	3	1	3	4	4	1	4	5
31	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Director	Development	Bachelor's	5	3	4	3	2	3	5	3	4	3
32	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Master's	4	3	4	4	1	4	5	2	3	2
33	Female	Over 40	Indian	Manager	Development	Master's	5	2	2	5	1	3	4	2	1	1

34	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Director	Human Resources	Master's	5	4	3	5	1	3	5	3	4	1
35	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	High School	1	2	2	3	1	3	5	1	1	1
36	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Support Staff	Bachelor's	4	5	3	4	1	5	5	3	3	1
37	Male	26-30	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Bachelor's	4	5	4	3	2	5	5	4	3	2
38	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Sales	Bachelor's	1	2	1	4	3	3	1	5	4	5
39	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Director	Accounting	Bachelor's	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	3	4	3
40	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Bachelor's	5	3	5	3	1	3	5	3	5	5
41	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Master's	5	4	4	3	2	4	5	4	4	3
42	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Other: Tax	Master's	4	4	3	5	1	5	4	2	2	1
43	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Senior Management	Other: Finance	Master's	5	5	4	3	2	5	5	4	5	3
44	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Contractor	Development	Bachelor's	4	4	3	1	4	3	4	4	3	4
45	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Marketing	Bachelor's	4	5	5	3	1	3	5	3	3	1
46	Female	18-21	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Food Service	High School	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	2	2	1
47	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	5	5	4	3	1	4	5	3	4	4
48	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Master's	4	5	4	4	1	5	5	5	3	5
49	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Support Staff	Bachelor's	4	5	4	3	1	4	5	3	4	4
50	Male	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	5	4	3	2	1	3	5	3	4	2
51	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Support Engineer	Bachelor's	3	5	5	3	3	3	5	3	1	1
52	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	4	2	3	4	1	4	5	4	4	4
53	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Development	Bachelor's	3	4	3	2	1	4	3	3	2	2
54?		Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Accounting	Master's	5	5	3	1	1	3	5	3	5	3
55	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Accounting	Bachelor's	5	4	3	2	1	4	5	2	3	1
56	Male	26-30	Black	Non-titled	Other: Professional Services	Master's	3	5	3	3	3	4	5	1	1	3
57	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Owner	Other: Video Production	Master's	5	4	5	3	4	3	5	3	4	5
58	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Legal	Doctoral	3	3	3	5	4	3	5	1	4	1
59	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Medical	Doctoral	3	3	3	5	4	5	5	1	3	1
60	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Senior Management	Other: Business Owner	Master's	5	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	2
61	Female	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Funeral Director	Bachelor's	5	4	3	3	4	5	5	4	5	5
62	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	3	3	3	2	2	5	3	5	4
63	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	4	5	3	4	1	5	5	4	5	3
64	Female	22-25	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Doctoral	3	5	2	3	1	4	5	3	3	2
65	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Sales	Master's	4	4	4	4	1	4	5	2	4	3
66	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Support Staff	High School	5	3	3	2	1	5	5	3	3	1
67	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Accounting	Associate's	5	4	5	3	1	5	5	5	5	2
68	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	4	4	5	5	2	5	5	3	4	2
69	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Support Staff	High School	4	5	4	5	1	4	4	1	1	1

70	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Support Staff	High School	1	2	2	2	5	3	1	3	2	3
71	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Healthcare Provider	Bachelor's	2	3	3	3	5	4	2	3	2	4
72	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Support Staff	Associate's	5	3	4	5	1	1	5	3	4	4
73	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Customer Service	Associate's	5	2	4	3	1	5	5	3	3	1
74	Male	18-21	Prefer Not to Answer	Non-titled	Sales	High School	1	4	5	3	2	4	2	3	1	3
75	Female	26-30	Asian	Director	Human Resources	Bachelor's	4	4	2	2	2	5	5	2	4	3
76	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Contractor	Support Staff	High School	3	5	3	3	2	3	4	3	3	3
77	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	4	3
78	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Development	Bachelor's	4	5	4	4	1	4	5	3	3	3
79	Female	18-21	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Bachelor's	3	5	4	4	2	5	5	2	2	1
80	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Other: Delivery	High School	3	5	3	3	1	3	5	5	5	3
81	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Support Staff	High School	3	4	2	1	1	3	5	4	4	3
82	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Sales	High School	1	3	1	5	3	3	3	3	1	5
83	Female	22-25	Prefer Not to Answer	Non-titled	Sales	Associate's	5	5	3	3	1	5	5	3	3	5
84	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Director	Education	Master's	5	4	4	3	1	3	5	3	4	4
85	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
86	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	5	3	5	5	2	5	5	1	3	1
87	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	3	5	1	1	5	2	3	2
88	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	3	5	1
89	Female	31-40	Native American	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	4	5	1	1	1	5	1	5	3
90	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	4	5	2	4	2	3	5	4	3	3
91	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Manager	Education	Master's	5	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	4	1
92	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	1	5	4	5	2	5	5	2	4	2
93	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	3	3
94	Male	31-40	Prefer Not to Answer	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	4	3	3	3	4	2	3	3
95	Male	26-30	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	4	3	3	5	5	4	3	3
96	Female	31-40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	4	5	2	2	1	4	5	2	5	5
97	Male	Over 40	Caucasian	Non-titled	Education	Master's	5	5	3	2	1	1	5	3	4	3
98	Male	31-40	Caucasian	Manager	Other: Public Safety	Master's	4	3	5	5	1	1	5	3	4	3
99	Female	Over 40	Caucasian	Senior Management	Other: Proprietor	Bachelor's	3	4	4	4	5	3	5	3	3	2