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Approximating an image: Beauty among female university students

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APPROXIMATING AN IMAGE: BEAUTY
AMONG FEMALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

GAMINE BETH MECKEL

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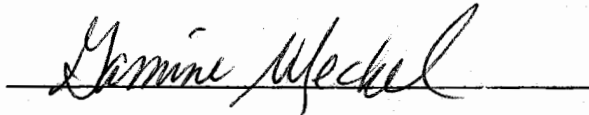
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APPROXIMATING AN IMAGE:

BEAUTY AMONG FEMALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
(TITLE)

BY

GAMINE BETH MECKEL

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

M.A. IN SOCIOLOGY

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1985
YEAR

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APPROXIMATING AN IMAGE:
BEAUTY AMONG FEMALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

BY

GAMINE BETH MECKEL

M.A. in Sociology, Eastern Illinois University, 1985

ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology at the
Graduate School of Eastern Illinois University

CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS
1985

ABSTRACT

A questionnaire is designed and administered to explore activities done on a regular basis by females to enhance their physical attractiveness. Measures are designed to determine whether, and if so to what extent, activities increase self-ratings of attractiveness. Basic questions are asked concerning the importance of attractiveness in women's lives. An extensive review of the physical attractiveness literature is provided. The Social Behaviorism of George Herbert Mead serves as the theoretical framework for the project.

The sample of 172 females is divided on the basis of several variables which are applicable to female university students in order to determine whether significant differences can be found between subgroups. Specifically, sorority membership, class rank, and marital status are used as independent variables. Results are presented and discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before leaving Eastern Illinois University, a professor asked me whether my husband, William Meckel, could tolerate a wife with a graduate degree. We were shocked, in part because the question had never occurred to us. Bill has not only "tolerated" it, he has worked with me to make sure it happened. His fingers have barely left the computer keys despite his own graduate work in another field. It is to him that I owe my greatest thanks, for his support and assistance has shown me much about partnership.

The thesis committee has been very helpful throughout what I am sure all of us would call an ordeal. We prevailed through relocation of Mr. John Wade (original committee chairperson), and my own move, through problems with the data tape and incompatibility of computer programs, long-distance phone bills, draft upon draft, and priority mail sent to Illinois via slow boats to China. Still, we started as friends and remain so.

I thank each committee member for being approachable and for encouraging me to pick a topic of my own interest. I thank Professor Richard Hummel for the time he spent with me talking about physical attractiveness as one of several research areas long before I started thinking of a project topic. I appreciated Professor Gary Foster's excitement and encouragement once one was selected. I am indebted to Professor Robert Whittenbarger for making department

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The social impact of human beauty was largely unexplored when Aronson accused researchers of deliberately avoiding beauty as a variable in sociological research:

It would be difficult to be certain why the effects of physical beauty have not been studied more systematically. It may be that, at some levels, we would hate to find evidence indicating that beautiful women are better liked than homely women--somehow this seems undemocratic. In a democracy we like to feel that with hard work and a good deal of motivation, a person can accomplish almost anything....[Perhaps researchers]...avoid the investigation of its social impact for fear that they might learn otherwise (Aronson, 1969, in Dion et al., 1972:286).

I propose an additional explanation: Academics considered physical attractiveness¹ to be a woman's concern, and like other activities or experiences primarily or exclusively female (e.g., housework and childbirth), activities done to enhance attractiveness was not deemed worthy of academic attention. My research is the first to explore these activities and to ask some basic questions about attractiveness in women's lives.

Statement of the Problem

Stone (1962:101) and Goffman (1967:7,77; 1969:5) assert that people have behavioral expectations and infer personality traits from one's physical appearance. Virtually all of the attractiveness research confirms this assumption. Research demonstrates that there are many benefits to

attractiveness and that the less attractive may suffer negative social sanctions (Athanasidou and Greene, 1973; Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976a; Barocas and Karoly, 1972; Sigall and Landy, 1973; Snyder et al., 1977).

Attractiveness has been shown to be more central in the evaluation of females than males. According to Bar-Tal and Saxe (1976b:131)

While physical attractiveness functions for women as an indicator of their degree of successful role fulfillment, the indicators of successful fulfillment of a man's role do not include physical attractiveness anywhere as frequently and importantly as women's. It is therefore not surprising that our society values a woman's beauty and that the evaluation of a woman depends so much on her physical attractiveness.

As will be discussed in this paper, females are pressured to monitor and maintain or enhance their appearance. Whether done to claim a desirable image or to avoid negative sanctions, many females devote considerable time, effort and money to that end. These costs have potential paybacks in terms of increasing acceptance by desired groups, enhancing one's sexual desirability, and so forth. Yet the question of what females do to themselves to claim or approximate this image is unexplored.

This research takes a radically different approach to attractiveness. It is an indictment of most of the attractiveness research that attractiveness remains undefined, due largely to its idiosyncratic or subjective nature, but researchers continue treating it as an objective variable. Since there are no absolute standards of attractiveness, the "truth by consensus" method is generally

used to obtain "objective" categories of target attractiveness for presentation to subjects. This typically means that a group of graduate students is given a bundle of photos to sort into designated attractiveness categories. Any form of self-rating is rare (Murstein, 1972; Rand and Hall, 1983; Stroebe et al., 1971); any self-rating not verified against "objective" ratings is nonexistent in the literature.

I examine whether and if so, to what extent, females tailor their appearance for situational presentation of self and obtain self-ratings of facial and figure attractiveness. I contrast self-ratings of facial attractiveness without cosmetics against ratings with cosmetics in order to explore whether and how much subjects estimate that their activities increase their attractiveness. Differences between the scores, as shown by median and modal responses, will provide an indication of whether subjects tend to rate themselves differently as natural objects (without cosmetics), or as finished products (with cosmetics). I also explore whether females are more satisfied by their facial attractiveness or their figures, as indicated by self-ratings and answers to requests that subjects list most and least pleasing parts of their appearance. Additionally, no research before the current study asks subjects what they perceive to be advantages and disadvantages to being an attractive female.

The sample is divided on the basis of several variables applicable to female college students in order to determine whether significant differences can be found between subgroups. For example, do sorority members tend to wear

more cosmetics on a regular basis than non-members? Do married females "let themselves go" and use fewer cosmetics than unmarried women? These are among the questions that this research explores.

Notes

1 The term "physical attractiveness" or "attractiveness" will be used instead of "beauty" because of the range of meaning of the latter term. For example, "beauty" may be used in a spiritual context or to express approval as in, "That was a beautiful thing to do." It may also carry class-based connotations such as in a description of jet-setters as "the beautiful people."

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Social Behaviorism of George Herbert Mead holds that humans are fundamentally different from animals because humans are able to see and respond to themselves as objects but animals are restricted to stimulus-response acts. Mead put heavy emphasis on the importance of social experience and activity in the behavior of humans; he even argued that hunger and anger in humans, two seemingly instinctual responses, are instead "impulses" because their perception and expression undergoes extensive modification through social experience (Mead, 1950:337).

Human ability to interject interpretation or meaning between stimulus and response is not inborn but systematically develops during childhood. Mead (1950:35) asks important questions:

How can we take the individual with his peculiarities and bring him over into a more nearly uniform type of response? He has to have the same language as others, and the same units of measurement; and he has to take over a certain definite culture as a background for his own experience. He has to fit himself into certain social structures and make them a part of himself. How is that to be accomplished? We are dealing with separate individuals and yet these individuals have to become a part of the common whole. We want to get the correlation between this world which is common and that which is peculiar to the individual.

The transformation of individuals into functioning members of the community is obviously important for the continuation of society. According to Mead, one must develop a self as well as the ability to understand meaning. All of this differentiates

humans from animals and is firmly rooted in socialization. Mere physical presence as an individual does not constitute having a self; if it did, then animals would have selves. Again, Mead (1950:50) stresses the importance of socialization, "The body is not a self, as such; it becomes a self only when it has developed a mind within the context of social experience." Mind arises through communication, which by definition is the exchange of meaning, and meaning, too, has a social base.

Central to Mead's theory is that the self is that which can be an object to itself (Mead, 1950:136). In order for the self to develop, the individual must be able to "take the role of the other" and act as the other person acts toward the self (Mead, 1950:73). But this is not purely imitative behavior (Mead, 1950:60), nor is it sufficient for development of the self. According to Mead (1950:171), "[One] becomes a self in so far as [one] can take the attitude of another and act toward [oneself] as others act." A big jump in development occurs when an individual no longer takes only the roles of specific others and views oneself as one's relatively small circle of acquaintances does, but is also able to see oneself from the attitude of "the generalized other" which is essentially the attitude of the whole community (Mead, 1950:154). According to Mead (1950:155)

...only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs toward the organized, co-operative social activity or set of such activities in which that group is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has

developed. And on the other hand, the complex co-operative processes and activities and institutional functionings of organized human society are also possible only in so far as every individual involved in them or belonging to that society can take the general attitudes of all other such individuals with reference to these processes and activities and institutional functionings, and to the organized social whole of experiential relations and interactions thereby constituted--and can direct his own behavior accordingly.

It is in the form of the generalized other that the social process influences the behavior of the individuals involved in it and carrying it on, i.e., that the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members; for it is in this form that the social process or community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking.

We can imagine responses of others as we imagine alternative courses of past and future acts. This "trying out" through imagery permits us to anticipate how others would interpret and respond to an act and allows us to adjust our images and behavior accordingly. Consider the example of a female who wears facial cosmetics on a regular basis. Occasionally, perhaps she would prefer not to spend the time applying them, but continues because she imagines negative responses from others if she were to stop. If she imagines that others would consider her bare face to be unattractive, then, in taking the role of the other and reacting to herself as an object, she, too, may see her own bare face as unattractive.

Behavior is not only adjusted to what we perceive to be the demands of others, but also so that it is compatible with our image of ourselves as certain kinds of objects. Using the example given above, the female may consider going

without cosmetics to be inappropriate for herself--not necessarily because she imagines negative responses of others, but because she sees herself as the kind of person who always tries to look her best. What is considered best implies social evaluation. This is essentially a back door way of getting to the same issue: we get our sense of self and of what is appropriate from social experience. Self-regulation is social control, whether or not we recognize its social base.

Even our conversations with ourselves--self-praise, self-criticism, and so forth--are not divorced from social influence. According to Mead (1950:255)

...the general social process of experience and behavior which the group is carrying on is directly presented to him in his own experience, and so that he is thereby able to govern and direct his conduct consciously and critically, with reference to his relations both to the social group as a whole and to its other individual members, in terms of the social process. Thus he becomes not only self-conscious but also self-critical; and thus, through self-criticism, social control over individual behavior or conduct operates by virtue of the social origin and basis of such criticism. That is to say, self-criticism is essentially social criticism, and behavior controlled by self-criticism is essentially social criticism, and behavior controlled by self-criticism is essentially behavior controlled socially.

We learn to appraise ourselves and others on the basis of standards which have social origins. Again, consider the example of the female who uses facial cosmetics. Her facial features pre-existed their meaning to her; it is only through social experience and the ability to view herself as an object and react toward herself as others would that she is

able to evaluate and express satisfaction or dissatisfaction concerning her facial features. As Mead (1950:131) put it

Although external objects are there independent of the experiencing individual, nevertheless they possess certain characteristics by virtue of their relations to his experiencing or to his mind, which they would not possess otherwise or apart from those relations. These characteristics are their meanings for him, or in general, for us. The distinction between physical objects or physical reality and the mental or self-conscious experience or those objects or that reality--the distinction between external and internal experience--lies in the fact that the latter is concerned with or constituted by meanings. Experienced objects have definite meanings for the individuals thinking about them.

We respond to external objects not as they are but as we interpret them to be. Red hair, for example, is not associated with hot tempers outside of a social context any more than blue and pink are naturally appropriate colors for boys and girls. It is not so much what we see as what it means to us that is determined socially.

People respond, for example, to the symbolic meaning of attire and physical appearance as a way of establishing "character" of others (Cuzzort and King, 1980:105). By extension, one can see that physical attractiveness, too, is based in the presentation of symbols and interpretation of meaning. Although Mead stressed that meaning develops in a social context, he was careful to emphasize that people in the same culture need not interpret stimuli identically. We are, for example, able to use "selective attention" to disregard stimuli (Mead, 1950:25) and in doing so, we sensitize ourselves to certain kinds of stimuli (Mead, 1950:26).

Additionally, our perspectives differ:

...the organized structure of every individual self within the human social process of experience and behavior reflects, and is constituted by, the organized relational pattern of that process as a whole; but each individual self-structure reflects, and is constituted by, a different aspect or perspective of this relational pattern, because each reflects this relational pattern from its own unique standpoint; so that the common social origin and constitution of individual selves and their structures does not preclude wide individual differences and variations among them, or contradict the peculiar and more or less distinctive individuality which each of them in fact possesses.

Mead's theory of the social self does not explicitly deal with the importance of physical appearance. Gregory Stone (1962), a symbolic interactionist writing after Mead, advocates supplementing Mead with examination of the impact of appearance on social action and formation of the self (Martindale, 1981:371). Appearance provides cues about exchange value, mood, identity, and attitude that are as revealing as discourse (Stone, 1962:101); perhaps even more so, because, as Veblen commented, we may escape our discursive obligations but not our clothed appearances (Stone, 1962:91). According to Stone (1962:92), one, by virtue of appearing at all, cannot escape "programs" (management of appearance) and reviews (interpretation of programs). Pressures to achieve and maintain high standards of appearance are especially strong for females (Sontag, 1972:34).

I review the physical attractiveness literature in the next chapter. Much of it confirms that attractiveness is an important symbol and that attractiveness is a more salient

factor in the social evaluation of females than of males throughout the life-course.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In a society as visually oriented as ours (see Hall, 1973), admonitions such as "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" and "beauty is only skin deep" seem conciliatory. Does attractiveness have no significant effect on social interaction, or at the other extreme, is one's face one's fortune? Perhaps the tenacity of our admonitions, even in the face of their social challenge, is due to the fact that standards of high physical attractiveness are sufficiently restrictive that most of us, especially without taking account of augmenting qualities such as personality and intelligence, fall short of the mark. That it is difficult to articulate the composition of attractiveness might also be a factor, especially considering the latitude of selective appreciation or eroticism. A male might consider himself an "ass-man," "leg-man," "breast-man," et cetera, and women also admire the spectrum of human variety. Even though each of us may have specific preferences, research indicates that we do have shared standards. "Far from residing in the idiosyncratic eyes of the beholder, judgments of attractiveness typically yield reliability indices of approximately .70, depending on the method and judgmental task" (Cash and Soloway, 1975:579). It seems that idiosyncracies notwithstanding, we can identify attractiveness using a cultural yardstick. This provides

support for Mead's point that preference does not over-ride the ability to use larger community standards ("the generalized other") in evaluation (Mead, 1950:26). There is even evidence that we can place ourselves on an attractiveness continuum with accuracy when asked to rate ourselves as objects (Downs and Wright, 1982; Lucker et al., 1981; Murstein, 1972; Rand and Hall, 1983; Stroebe et al., 1971). Females appear to be more accurate (Rand and Hall, 1983), perhaps because they are encouraged to take stock of their appearance and to monitor how well they measure up when using different products and styles.

Sontag (1975:119) comments that the attractiveness ideal serves as a form of self-oppression. Just as we are seen by others as parts (e.g., "leg-man," and so forth), we see ourselves as parts:

[Women are taught]...to evaluate each part separately. Breasts, feet, hip, waistline, neck, eyes, nose, complexion, hair, and so on--each in its turn is submitted to an anxious, fretful, often disparaging scrutiny. Even if some pass muster, some will always be found wanting. Nothing less than perfection will do.

Sontag (1975) overstates her case. Something less than perfection has to do. Still, research (Tan, 1979) revealed that adolescent females exposed to beauty ads reported that attractiveness was more important in gaining popularity with males and in liking oneself than did females shown neutral ads.

Mass media may be a heavy contributor in homogenizing conceptions of attractiveness (see Featherstone, 1982; Richards, 1980:183). Gornick (in Goffman, 1979:viii)

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comments that advertising "...serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other." Advertising continually associates physical attractiveness with affluence by showing attractive people in resort areas, exotic restaurants, on yachts (Adams and Crossman, 1978:23-24)--even when the product or service touted has no necessary relationship with the attractiveness of the model or setting. Interestingly, this constant association in the media may have influenced Dermer and Thiel's (1975) study in which subjects rated highly attractive females as being materialistic, vain, egotistical, snobbish, and lacking in sympathy for oppressed persons.

Beauty advertisements are an extreme association between physical attractiveness and product. Adams and Crossman (1978:21-22) present a whimsical summary of how attractiveness is portrayed in advertisements:

Masculinity is judged by overall appearance and impression. The commercials on television will suggest the main attributes a man needs to be considered attractive and desirable. "The dry look" is important. "Reaching for the gusto" is absolutely essential. Using Right Guard and smelling of Brut, English Leather, Old Spice, Musk or one of a half dozen other men's colognes are [sic] also necessary. And depending upon the "type," he will drive a certain make and model of car, smoke a certain brand of tobacco, and above all, read Playboy magazine. He doesn't have to have a face like Paul Newman or Robert Redford, or a physique like Adonis, though it won't hurt if he does. Primarily, he must be trim, rugged, but not too rugged, manly, and have a nice smile. Femininity, on the other hand, is characterized by perfection in every detail. Unlike masculinity, femininity cannot be acquired merely by using the right deodorant

and applying a number of external props. A woman must have hair with body and fullness that is marvelously highlighted. Each feature must be an equal contribution to her pretty face. She must have eternally young and blemish-free skin. Her figure must not only be trim, but meet certain "idealized" standards to be considered beautiful. Her hands must be silky soft and not too large. Her nails must be long and perfectly trimmed. Her legs must be shapely, firm, and preferably long. To attain all this, she must "enter the garden of earthly delights" and use "Herbal Essence Shampoo"--hair conditioners scented with lemon, strawberry or apricot, which give marvelous body,...and rinse or dye, which will make her the "girl with the hair." Her skin must be nurtured with moisturizers and emollients so she can look eternally young. Her figure should surpass that of a Greek goddess by being amply bosomed and slim waisted, but rounded in the hips. As for her legs, "gentlemen prefer Hanes." For finishing touches, she should use "sex appeal toothpaste" and put her "money where her mouth is." She should know that "Blondes have more fun" and that Lady Clairol blondes have the most fun of all. For a foundation, she should wear the "cross your heart bra" and never be without her "18-hour girdle." Finally, above all else, her beauty must look natural.

Perusal of advertisements will attest that this portrayal remains current except that control-top pantyhose or tight pants¹ may now substitute for the girdle.

Media pressure is not only directed toward adults. Children are targeted as a market for toys such as plastic heads on which to practice beauty techniques, dolls with hair that "grows" for styling, and special cosmetics. Mothers advise daughters to "pick a model and try to look like her" and tell them that they look ugly when they cry and to stop worrying, reading too much, frowning, squinting, even laughing--because they make "lines" (Sontag, 1975:35)--and lines, whether worry, smile, or frown, are unattractive on females.

Help abounds for female self-improvement. Books and magazines are available for instruction on improving face and figure; so are makeup mirrors that magnify and/or have lighting which simulates outdoor, office, and evening settings. One can wear waterproof cosmetics to ensure presentability, regardless of activity. Saleswomen make housecalls to sell cosmetics, and group demonstration parties are popular. Female shoppers are approached in department stores with free samples or offers of public cosmetic application. Some stores sell only cosmetics. Beauty kits are available through the mail, and each comes with a pamphlet of tips. The assistance of beauty salons and spas can be enlisted. So can color experts who assign color palettes for clothes and cosmetic selection intended to enhance a woman's attractiveness. One can perform face and neck exercises touted as "natural face-lifts" and can even use beauty sleep to further advantage by application of creams or "wings" to restrict facial expression during sleep. Of course, cosmetic surgery is also available.

Reed (1976) questions whether females have a right to fashion and cosmetics or whether utilization is a social compulsion. A 1958 Vogue article provides an answer with a psychological lashing for women daring to be unattractive:

The stubborn ~~tasteless~~, ~~graceless~~, unattractive woman is usually...using an unconscious ~~pseudo-aggressive~~ and defensive attack on the ~~enshrined mother image~~. Often she felt herself ~~unloved~~ as a child. She was probably temperamentally unable to conform easily to the

rules, morals and denials which were forced upon her. If she has not been able to take the easy out (that is accepting the necessary parental force), she persists in getting punished or reprimanded. She becomes then, a masochist, seeking always, below the conscious level to be the "innocent" victim of "tyranny." She provokes censure in every way--even by spoiling or hiding any beauty she might naturally have. But when her masochistic tendencies are removed she almost invariably emerges willingly and happily as a woman anxious to look her best (in Adams and Crossman, 1978:25).

Psychotherapy frequently includes changes in grooming and dress to alter social interaction and self-image. Adams and Crossman (1978:26) question which woman is the masochist: the one socially censured for being outside the "beauty trap," or the one who "takes pain to be beautiful" by handling hot curling irons, suffocating in the fumes of permanent waves, going on starvation diets, and pulling body and facial hair out by the roots in the name of physical attractiveness and femininity.

Sontag (1975:119) explores whether attractiveness is a power source or put-down for women and implies that no woman remains unaffected:

To preen, for a woman, can never be just pleasure. It is also a duty. It is her work. If a woman does real work--and even if she has...a leading position...she is always under pressure to confess that she still works at being attractive. But in so far as she [does]...she brings under suspicion her very capacity to be objective, professional, authoritative, thoughtful. Damned if they do--women are. And damned if they don't.

Females are judged by appearance more frequently and to a greater extent than are males (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976b), a fact reflected in some childhood fairy tales.

Attractiveness and Goodness

Some popular fairy tales associate beauty with goodness, and evil with ugliness. The stories of Rapunzel, Cinderella, Hansel and Gretel (Adams and Crossman, 1978:2) and Sleeping Beauty illustrate the tendency. The tale of Snow White is especially telling--males can be dwarves and ugly but still be good, while ugly females are rotten to the core. The ugly witch became vindictive and cruel after her chant, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the fairest of them all?", was answered truthfully. The tradition of ugly but good males continues in adult literature characters, e.g., Cyraeno De Bergerac and Quasimodo.

Attractiveness research (Dion et al., 1972) has confirmed a stereotype tagged "what is beautiful is good." In line with the lessons of our fairy tales, this relationship is weaker for males than for females (Berscheid et al., 1971; Krebs and Adinolfi, 1975). Subjects assume that attractive individuals possess more socially desirable personalities and have happier and more successful lives than others. The following are offered as a sampling of traits associated with the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype: intelligent, self-confident, friendly, talented, assertive, likeable, exciting, energetic, popular, well-educated, sexy, happy, feminine, and so on (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976a; Jackson and Huston, 1975; Lucker et al., 1981; Miller, 1970; Sigall and Landy, 1973). Some negative traits have been associated with attractiveness. Dion and colleagues (1972) found that

subjects expected parenting skills to suffer with high attractiveness, and Dermer and Thiel (1975:1172) conclude that "...all that glitters may not be good" from their results showing that subjects attributed conceit, adultery, and a bourgeois orientation to attractive target females.

In light of limitations of the stereotype, Gross and Crofton (1977) advanced an alternative: "what is good is beautiful," namely, that the more we like and value an individual, the more physically attractive s/he becomes to us. One would expect a ceiling to this effect, just as for "what is beautiful is good." As mentioned earlier, research confirms our ability to measure attractiveness with a cultural yardstick (see page 13), regardless of personal preference.

Gross and Crofton (1977:88) found that subjects tended to rate female targets with favorable personality descriptions as being higher in attractiveness than the same target with a less favorable description. Sex of subject was an insignificant variable. Further testing of "what is good is beautiful" (Owens and Ford, 1978), using both female and male targets, confirmed Gross and Crofton's (1977) finding that personality descriptions influence attractiveness ratings for females but not for males.

While males are judged on character and attractiveness without significant interaction between the two, females are not. They are considered good if attractive or more attractive if good. The researchers (Gross and Crofton, 1977; Owens and Ford, 1978) present their findings as being

encouraging news for females, while disregarding the more fundamental and "political" finding that attractiveness remains an issue for females when it is not one for males.

So, findings that Gross and Crofton (1977:89) hail as evidence that we are democratic in person perception (see Aronson on page 1), in fact, show the opposite. The bulk of attractiveness literature demonstrates that attractiveness is a significant variable in person perception and social interaction.

Much of the attractiveness research supports the "what is beautiful is good" thesis. Physical appearance is shown to influence expectations of personality and social behavior of females throughout the life-course.

Attractiveness in Infancy and Childhood

Research indicates that "cuter" infants may receive more individual attention and nurturing (Adams, 1982:272; Hildebrandt and Fitzgerald, 1977,1978) than others, as well as being perceived as smarter, more likeable, and better babies who are less likely to cause problems for parents (Stephan and Langlois, 1984).

Research shows that children absorb stereotypes transmitted by adults (directly, through parents, teachers, and media, or through sources such as older siblings and friends) by the time they are preschoolers (Cross and Cross, 1971; Dion, 1973). Differential attractiveness translates into peer preference by preschool age (Dion and Berscheid, 1971; Dion,1973; Zakin, 1983), with attractive children expected to

behave prosocially and to be smarter than other children (Langlois and Stephan, 1977). Physical attractiveness may be even more important than sociability and athletic ability in friendship choice for boys and girls in some school grades (Zakin, 1983).

Additional research (Dion and Berscheid, 1974) reveals that attractiveness is not restricted to first-impression situations; it is of ongoing importance for popularity in peer groups and for behavioral expectation and interpretation among children. This effect has been found among adult samples as well (Mathes, 1975).

Teachers, too, have been shown to react differently to attractive students. They hold higher academic expectations for them (Adams and Cohen, 1974, 1976; Clifford, 1975; Clifford and Walster, 1973; Kehle et al., 1974) and may give them preferential treatment in the classroom (Adams and Cohen, 1974). Although Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) research demonstrated measurable change in scholastic achievement as a function of teacher expectations, evidence of whether such is the case for attractive students remains unclear (Clifford, 1975; Salvia et al., 1977; Sparacino and Hansell, 1979).

Teachers may even make inferences about a child's family just on the basis of the child's attractiveness. Clifford (1975) demonstrated that attractive children are expected to have parents who are more interested in their child's academic and personal-social success. Adams and LaVoie (1975) found that parents expected attractive children to be more

popular, more likely to be class representatives at school, and to have better personal attitudes than unattractive children. Based on these findings, it seems reasonable to predict that parents of an attractive child may not be more pleased if their child achieves personal-social success than parents of a less attractive child, but may well be less pleased if s/he does not. At the same time, however, there is evidence that attractive children committing transgressions may not be evaluated as negatively as unattractive children for identical behavior. Failure to meet obligations and expectations can be considered a transgression, although the research deals with specific physical acts, such as hurting animals and peers.

Punitiveness

Studies have shown that attractive children elicit qualitatively and quantitatively more positive and less negative interaction. A transgression committed by an unattractive child is seen as evidence of enduring anti-social behavior, while an attractive child committing the identical act is seen as merely having an "off day." Interestingly, the transgression itself tends to be evaluated less negatively when committed by an attractive child (Dion, 1974). The parallels between the findings of Chambliss (1973) and Dion (1974) are striking, but whereas Chambliss found social class origins to be a primary influence in evaluation of transgressions of male gang members, Dion documented the effects of differential attractiveness with

children. Dion's (1974) sample of college females also rated attractive children as more honest and pleasant, without any direct evidence of those traits among the targets. Perhaps this partially explains findings that unattractive children receive more intense punishment than their attractive counterparts (Berkowitz and Frodi, 1979; Dion, 1974).

There is evidence that attractiveness may have an impact in the court system as well, lending support to Clarence Darrow's remark that attractiveness has more to do with sentencing than the crime itself (Stewart, 1980:349). Research has shown that mock juries assign less punishment to more attractive defendants (Efran, 1974; Jacobson, 1981; Leventhal and Krate, 1977; Solomon and Schopler, 1978; Storck and Sigall, 1979; Stewart, 1980). Kerr (1978) found that victim attractiveness may confound this effect. Juries may award higher damage fees to attractive plaintiffs (Kulka and Kessler, 1978), not necessarily because attractive plaintiffs are seen as having more to lose, but because what they do lose is considered more valuable. Jacobson's findings (1981) that mock juries give male rapists longer terms if their female victims are attractive leads her to conclude:

The present results suggest that the task of obtaining guilty verdicts will be made even more difficult when the accused is a good-looking man and/or when the alleged victim is a not-so-good-looking woman (Jacobson, 1981:254).

One would err in assuming that defendant attractiveness always has a positive effect on juridic decision. Sigall and Ostrove (1975) showed that mock juries are apt to judge a defendant harshly if the offense is one, such as swindling,

in which the defendant might have exploited his or her attractiveness. Prostitution is another offense in which attractiveness may aid success with clients.

Occupational Experience

Benefits of attractiveness in a work setting are not restricted to illicit careers. Attractive job applicants have been shown to be more likely to receive an employment offer (Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975). As with other situations, there are mitigating variables. If attractive females are stereotyped as being more feminine (Gillen, 1981; Lucker et al., 1981; Major and Deaux, 1981; Touhey, 1979), they may find it more difficult to gain positions in occupations traditionally held by males, especially if a masculine orientation is seen as a prerequisite. This speculation was confirmed (Heilman and Saruwatari, 1979) with findings that while college students considered attractive job applicants to be more qualified overall, attractive targets had an edge in obtaining clerical positions, but were at a disadvantage for managerial slots.² In fact, subjects recommended that unattractive females in managerial slots receive higher starting pay than their attractive competitors. Four primary reasons for these results come to my mind: it could be that subjects did not take attractive women seriously and attributed this, not to their own prejudice, but to the "attitude" of the attractive applicant; that attractive women were seen as potentially disruptive among management; that subjects thought company

assets would be wasted in training an attractive woman because she was probably in demand as a marital partner and might leave her position; perhaps the salary differentials within managerial slots reflected an expectation that attractive females would marry high status males and thus not "need" full salaries.

Jackson (1983a) found attractiveness most beneficial in higher recommended starting salaries when occupations were seen as sex-neutral. Further research (Jackson, 1983b) shows that neutrality of sex role orientation, evidenced in an androgynous personality style, is associated with highest perceived employment potential, followed by masculine and feminine styles, respectively.

The impact of attractiveness on hiring, salary, and promotion has been under-studied. Llewellyn (1981:132) comments that women in occupational settings in general have not received much scholarly attention.

Task Evaluation

Just as attractiveness may be an asset in the job market in certain instances, so, too, may the work of attractive persons be rated more positively. Most studies of task evaluation have entailed judgment of the quality of identical essays attributed to persons of varying attractiveness (Anderson and Nida, 1978; Benassi, 1982; Holahan and Stephan, 1981; Horai et al., 1974; Landy and Sigall, 1974; Maddux and Rogers, 1980; Mills and Harvey, 1972). Physical

attractiveness appears to be a positively prejudicial variable if introduced before judgment of task.

Sex of target and subject may influence work ratings. Anderson and Nida (1978) found that work attributed to targets of high attractiveness received highest evaluations from the opposite sex, while those of medium attractiveness received highest evaluations from subjects of the same sex. Work attributed to individuals of low attractiveness was least favorably evaluated by all subjects. These findings are particularly interesting in the potential implications they hold for women in occupations: for example, if males occupy supervisory positions, judgment of the work of attractive females may be inflated, yet promotion may be blocked by resistance to placing attractive women in positions of authority (see Heilman and Saruwatari, 1979). On the other hand, if females occupy supervisory positions, they may inflate the performance of highly attractive males. Research does not indicate that attractiveness hinders male placement and promotion, as it does for females. Concentration on attractiveness may obscure the fact that sex is the primary issue. Consider that if males inflate ratings of males of medium attractiveness and females of high attractiveness, but advancement of attractive females is blocked, then it is males who benefit. If females inflate ratings of females of medium attractiveness and males of high attractiveness, but advancement of females is blocked due to sex, then again, it is males who benefit.

More recent research (Holahan and Stephan, 1981) introduced another variable into task evaluation--sex-role rigidity of evaluators, as determined by scores on the Attitude Toward Women Scale. "Liberal" and "traditional" males differed significantly in their judgments of quality of essays purportedly written by women of varying attractiveness and competency. Their findings for male subjects are summarized:

While traditionalists rated the attractive-incompetent writer at the same level as her competent counterpart, the liberals rated her much lower. Liberals thus rejected the "beautiful but dumb" females. These data suggest a possible backlash of the physical attractiveness stereotype for liberal males with reference to incompetent females. The attractive writers were liked more than the unattractive writers by traditionalists in both competence conditions, but by liberals only in the high competence condition (Holahan and Stephan, 1981:874).

Female subjects, on the other hand, were affected by the competence of the stimulus female, and by their own sex-role attitudes, but not by the physical attractiveness of the writer. Holahan and Stephan (1981:874-875) show that liberal women believe that competence leads to high levels of liking and personal fulfillment, as well as superior work. Traditional women associated incompetence with high likability and personal fulfillment, although they did acknowledge the higher quality of the well-written essay. It appears that sex of both target and subject and sex-role attitudes can modify direction of the physical attractiveness effect in task evaluation.

Dating and Marriage

A large portion of the attractiveness research deals with dating behavior. Less deals with marriage. There is evidence that attractive females tend to marry at earlier ages (Holmes and Hatch, 1938; Udry and Eckland, 1984). Other research suggests that females may be able to parlay attractiveness into higher social status through marriage (Elder, 1969; Taylor and Glenn, 1976; Udry, 1977). Still, such a correlation is reportedly modest and mediated by social class origins (Taylor and Glenn, 1976) and by race (Udry, 1977). Sorokin overstates the prevalence of the phenomenon:

In the present society in various ways there goes on permanent recruiting of beautiful women into the higher social strata....If such is the case, the beauty and handsomeness of the mother, being transmitted to her children, facilitate an accumulation of comeliness in the higher classes. Throughout this process of social selection--a variety of Darwin's sexual selection--the higher social layers come to be more handsome than the lower ones (Sorokin, 1964:246).

Research on the importance of attractiveness to dating has resulted in three major findings:

1) The "what is beautiful is good" attractiveness stereotype exists in dating behavior and preference and is more salient in the evaluation of females than of males (Berscheid et al., 1971; Brislin and Lewis, 1968; Byrne et al., 1970; Curran, 1973; Curran and Lippold, 1975; Huston, 1973; Murstein, 1972; Shepard and Ellis, 1972; Stroebe et al., 1971; Walster et al., 1966);

2) Persons may treat physically attractive individuals more positively than less attractive individuals (Barocas and Karoly, 1972; Reis et al., 1982; Snyder et al., 1977);

3) Perceived association with an attractive female is positively correlated with higher prestige for males, but the inverse does not hold for females (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976a; Sigall and Landy, 1973).

Research indicates that there is a stronger relationship between dating and attractiveness for females than for males. Krebs and Adinolfi (1975:250) suggest that this may be because in a real-life setting, less attractive males have an option largely closed to females: compensation for rejection by pursuing alternative dates.

Walster and colleagues' (1966) dating study demonstrates the importance of female attractiveness. They hypothesized that the attractiveness of a male would significantly interact with his attempts and desire to date his female partner again. Instead, they found that the only significant determinant was her attractiveness, regardless of his own. Attractive females were pursued and better liked, and attractive males were better liked. Other research (Huston, 1973) revealed that perceived self-attractiveness affected males' estimation of their odds of acceptance as a date by an attractive female, but regardless of how low odds might be, males in the study preferred the attractive female.

Most of the attractiveness research has used initial impression situations, but there is evidence that attractiveness continues to be important in relationships. Mathes

(1975) found that attractiveness was not ignored or discounted over a series of five heterosexual encounters. In fact, studies have shown that relative balance of attractiveness between dating partners is a significant variable in whether a relationship evolves into love (Feingold, 1982; Murstein, 1972; White, 1980).

McKillip and Riedel (1983) confirmed a matching effect among heterosexual couples and found that it extends to opposite-sex friends, as well. Interestingly, this matching effect is less prevalent between females. The most attractive females may be rejected by their female peers (Krebs and Adinolfi, 1975). It may be that peers (in this research, roommates) hold personality and behavioral expectations which are in line with "what is beautiful is good" (see page 19), but find that actual behavior does not fit the stereotype. An alternative explanation is offered:

If physical attractiveness is an attribute primarily employed to enhance relations with the opposite sex, it would not be expected to exert a positive effect on social relations among members of the same sex, who may perceive themselves as in competition with one another....Dormmates may reject them because they may have supplied an unfavorable source of social comparison (Krebs and Adinolfi, 1975:25).

Further research is needed concerning whether males reject males of high attractiveness due to competition or whether this holds only among females. Additional research is needed to investigate whether an attractiveness stigma exists in exclusively or primarily female settings such as camps, boarding schools, and prisons and whether attractiveness is

as important in lesbian relationships as research demonstrates it is for heterosexual interaction.

Graham and Perry (1976) found a "jealously factor" among females which complicates the "what is beautiful is good" thesis. They found that females who scored low on self-esteem measures also perceived themselves to be unattractive and that they attributed more negative qualities to attractive female targets. Females who considered themselves average or attractive were more generous to attractive targets. An alternative to Graham and Perry's (1976) interpretation is offered: that females who consider themselves average or attractive attributed socially desirable qualities to an identity that they felt they could either legitimately claim or approximate, while women who considered themselves unattractive did not.

Graham and Perry (1976) did not speculate about whether social interaction differs with attractiveness and how self-esteem might be affected. There is evidence that attractive females have increased opportunity for positive social interaction (Reis et al., 1980). Not only does social interaction vary quantitatively by attractiveness, but research indicates qualitative differences as well. Barocas and Karoly (1972) show that males deliver more social reinforcement to a female presented as attractive than to the same female presented as less attractive, even if visual and audial stimuli are separate and the latter held constant. This corresponds to findings that males expend greater physical effort to please or impress (Sigall et al., 1971) or

assist (Athanasiou and Greene, 1973) attractive females. Although not discussed in the research, these findings have interesting implications for women.

There is even evidence that college males believe the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype for females and that this has consequences for interaction. One study (Snyder et al., 1977) revealed that males expecting to speak on the telephone with an attractive female anticipated interaction with a sociable, poised, humorous, and socially adept woman; males expecting an unattractive woman forecast speaking with an unsociable, awkward, serious, and socially inept person. Most important, however, was the finding that male expectations triggered confirming behavior. Males believing they were speaking to an attractive female were more animated, self-confident, and interesting, and the female actually behaved in a likeable, friendly, and sociable way. Males who thought they were speaking with an unattractive woman were less jubilant and their conversants responded accordingly. Differences were so marked that outside observers could determine whether females had been addressed as though they were attractive by their tape-recorded voices alone.

One might wonder what an attractive female could offer a male that would encourage him to tailor his behavior positively, even when he knows nothing about her except that she is attractive. One motivation appears to be prestige. Research (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976a; Sigall and Landy, 1973; Waller, 1937) indicates that males have a "prestige stake"

in affiliation with an attractive female--and that males are aware of it.

Sigall and Landy's (1973) research demonstrates that males are judged least favorably by peers if considered affiliated with an unattractive female, and most favorably if with an attractive female. Merely being in the company of an unattractive female carries no stigma as long as he is not seen as her romantic partner. Males, aware of this effect, were able to correctly predict prestige ratings. Sigall and Landy (1973:219) offer a two-fold explanation of the prestige effect:

Since having an attractive romantic partner is assumed to be desirable in our culture, and since beauty is a relatively scarce commodity, when we view someone with a beautiful date we may impute positive characteristics to him to account for the relationship (e.g., "He must have something going for him"). A slightly different view is that on looking first at the attractive date, we may infer that she has a great deal of choice over whom she associates with, and by choosing that particular date, she is testifying to his competence.

Sigall and Landy's (1973) research supports the assertion that male attractiveness is not as salient a factor for male prestige as it is for females.

The prestige effects that affiliation with unattractive males might have for attractive females simply have not been researched. Perhaps this is partly due to the assumption that women do not place as much importance on male attractiveness, which Richards (1980:196) calls "a most extraordinary myth":

[Women]...have not, of course, generally been able to demand it [male attractiveness]. For one thing, women traditionally had to look for economic security in men...and that meant that other things had to come before the luxury of choosing a beautiful partner, whereas a man could often indulge himself in this way. For another thing, the general superiority of power of men over women has meant that...to capture and keep their men women do all they can in the cause of beauty, while "Man demands in his arrogance to be loved as he is," as Germaine Greer said.

If an attractive female is a prestige enhancer for a male, and her affiliation is seen as testimony of his competency, then she is probably not seen as hooking up with a loser and may not be downgraded. Sigall and Landy's (1973) research reveals sexism, even if they do not discuss the sexist implications of their findings: unattractive men seen as romantically associated with attractive women gain prestige, while any man seen as romantically associated with an unattractive woman loses prestige.

Other research (Bar-Tal and Saxe, 1976a) reinforces this and shows that unattractive females do not gain prestige through affiliation with attractive males. In fact, such women were rated most unfavorably, while attractive females paired with unattractive males elevated male ratings to the point that they were rated most favorably of all possible couple combinations studied. Perhaps unattractive women do not benefit from affiliation with attractive men because our culture views the union as "unnatural." It may be that attractive males are considered improperly "demeaned" by lacking self-respect or holding themselves too cheaply in their own eyes (Goffman, 1967:78) when affiliated with an

unattractive female. Bar-Tal and Saxe (1976a:780) skip over the importance of their findings about unattractive females with attractive males. Their analysis is restricted to a length of two sentences:

[Perhaps]...physical attractiveness has functioned as an important external cue indicating the extent to which a female can successfully fulfill her traditional sex role, though for males, physical attractiveness has not served this function. Based on this vestige of traditional sex role stereotyping, attractiveness still appears to serve as a more important cue for the evaluation of females than of males.

Sigall and Landy (1973:221) concluded that their research demonstrated existence of a "generalized halo effect," meaning that "We like beauty; therefore, we like what beauty is near." Bar-Tal and Saxe's (1976) findings restrict the generalizability of Sigall and Landy's (1976a) conclusions.

Age and Attractiveness

Researchers generally find that attractiveness is more salient in the evaluation of females than of males, but little research has been conducted to determine whether this remains true with subjects and targets past "middle age." It may be that attractiveness and aging in females are considered mutually exclusive. Sontag (1972:36) points out that older women who are considered "great beauties" are admired largely because they do not look their age. Mae West, Dietrich, Stella Adler, Delores Del Rio, and the Gabor sisters are examples. Sontag's (1972) principle thesis is that sexual double standards continue into double standards of aging and are particularly disadvantageous for women:

Most of the physical qualities regarded as attractive in women deteriorate much earlier in life than those defined as "male"....The "feminine" is smooth, rounded, hairless, unlined, soft, unmuscled--the look of the very young; characteristics of the weak, of the vulnerable, eunuch traits, as Germaine Greer has pointed out....The great advantage men have is that our culture allows two standards of male beauty: the boy and the man. The beauty of a boy resembles the beauty of a girl. In both sexes it is a fragile kind of beauty and flourishes naturally only in the early part of the life-cycle. Happily, men are able to accept themselves under another standard of good looks--heavier, rougher, more thickly built. A man does not grieve when he loses the smooth, unlined, hairless skin of a boy. For he has only exchanged one form of attractiveness for another: the darker skin of a man's face, roughened by daily shaving, showing the marks of emotion and the normal lines of age. There is no equivalent of this standard for women (Sontag, 1972:35,36).

There is a dearth of research examining the relationship between age and attractiveness. What research that has been conducted suggests a negative relationship. Korthase and Trenholme (1982) found a significant tendency by adults and adolescents to evaluate older faces as less attractive. Other research (Hickey and Kalish, 1968) reveals a monotonic relationship: as age of target increases, children's attitudes become more negative. That ageism includes devaluation of appearance and is learned is supported by findings (Burke, 1982) that older children display more negative attitudes toward the elderly than do younger ones.

Research by Cross and Cross (1971) contradicts an assumption extrapolated from Sontag's (1972) article: that males and females would tend to rate older females as less

attractive than males. Instead, they found that subjects gave opposite-sex targets lower ratings.

The correlation is not as simple as the Cross and Cross (1971) research indicates. Berman and colleagues (1981) confirm that sex of subject affects ratings, but also show that the social situation in which ratings are assigned is significant. Specifically, male and female subjects privately judged middle-aged women to be more attractive than middle-aged men, but when judgments were made in groups, the effect was reversed. Members of all-male groups judged females to be considerably less attractive than the males, while members of all-female groups, and both sexes in mixed-sex groups, judged women as only slightly less attractive than target men.

Further research is needed to determine whether the Berman and colleagues' (1981) findings hold with different age groups of targets and subjects. Additional variables should be recognized; perhaps administration of a scale measuring attitudes toward the aged would reveal main effects in ratings of attractiveness. Aged subjects could be used to evaluate targets of varying ages; indeed, the aged are virtually absent from subject status in attractiveness research and are only slightly more popular as targets.

Conclusion

It should be clear that as the variables examined in physical attractiveness research expand, the generalizability of the "what is good is beautiful" stereotype erodes.

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The impact of attractiveness on expected behavior and personality of targets appears to be more complex than described in the initial research.

The dominant research design has subjects view photographs of a disembodied head or a silhouette and assign personality traits from bipolar adjectives or adjective check-lists. This type of research resembles a Thematic Apperception Test in that subjects essentially construct stories from visual stimuli. Researchers examine attractiveness as though it were isolated from contamination by uncontrolled variables such as age, sex, interpersonal relationships, group membership, and so forth. Such research is more popular than useful, primarily because the range of variables considered is constricted: body size and shape, clothing, grooming, and demeanor are just a few mitigating or augmenting factors; status characteristics, attitudes, reference groups, and social settings are others.

Litman and colleagues (1983:46) point out that attractiveness researchers generally ignore the possibility that ranking procedures cause judges to make distinctions on the basis of cues which they might otherwise ignore or treat as being of roughly equal significance outside of a research setting. This is particularly evident in research purporting to examine physical attractiveness but which includes only facial appearance. The body is largely ignored in research, and if included, the focus is on somatotypes and personality traits perceived to be associated with various silhouettes. If the body is included, the face is excluded, and vice

versa. There is a marked reluctance to examine attractiveness as a gestalt. Even studies including body and face as variables would ignore the reportedly dramatic impact of dress and grooming on presentation of self (Agnew, 1984; Stone, 1962).

Notes

¹ The following illustrates the continuing emphasis on control of women's appearance despite the illusion of liberation from primitive apparatuses. It is from Chernin (1981:97-98).

Tight Denim Jeans

I'd never wear a girdle, she said,
 just medieval throwbacks
 to whale baleen brassieres'n
 laced-up waist confiner corsets.
 We burned em in the sixties,
 girdles, she said walking
 into Bloomingdales, grabbing
 a pair of cigarette-legged
 tight denim jeans off the rack.
 Hoisting them up to her hips,
 how do ya get em on, she said,
 have surgery, take steam baths,
 slimnastic classes'n Dr. Nazi's
 diet clinic fatshots for a month?
 These aren't jeans for going
 to lunch in, she said trying
 to do the snap, these
 aren't even jeans
 for eating an hour
 before ya put em on, just
 for standing up in without
 your hands in the pockets,
 there's not even room
 in here for my underpants.
 One hour later she returns
 to the store for a new zipper,
 front snap, and the side seams
 re-stitched. These're jeans
 for washing in cold water only
 til they dry on yr shape,
 put em in a clothes dryer,
 she said, and you'll get
 all pinch bruised
 round the crotch 'n
 your stomach covered
 with red streak marks
 cross the front.
 We burned em in the sixties,
 girdles, she said.

by Jana Harris

² Note that attractiveness was an asset for placement in clerical positions where it may be largely ornamental. This was mentioned by a respondent to the questionnaire who was employed as a clerical worker in a university setting: "Far

too many times within a professional setting, a woman is judged by her appearance, not her intelligence or abilities. A less attractive female seems more desirable by professional males than attractive females. While attractive females lead in occupations such as secretarial or clerical over unattractive females."

CHAPTER IV
RESEARCH METHODS AND FINDINGS

This research departs from standard attractiveness research design. Both Babbie (1979:86) and Selltiz and colleagues (1964) have noted that exploratory research is especially applicable when breaking new ground. New ground can be conceptualized as old questions asked in new ways or new questions, altogether.

Babbie (1979:85) asserts that exploratory research is typically conducted for any or all of three reasons:

...to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding...to test the feasibility of undertaking a more careful study,...to develop the methods to be explored in a more careful study.

Although exploratory research has been recognized as valuable and as an inevitable step in research (Selltiz et al., 1964:39), some researchers may regard it as less "scientific" than other research because it lacks initial hypotheses (Selltiz et al., 1964:40,52). Tailoring the scope of their research to testing hypotheses may obscure other insights into variable interrelationships. The discovery of ideas and insights is the major emphasis of exploratory research (Selltiz et al., 1964:50).

Generally, exploratory research includes one or more of the following: a review of the literature; a survey of those with experience with the problem to be studied; and, an analysis of "insight stimulating" examples (Selltiz et al., 1964:53). The current research includes an extensive

literature review which revealed no prior research similar to that designed here. A questionnaire was distributed which consisted of questions about behaviors to maintain or enhance attractiveness, attitudes concerning advantages and disadvantages of attractiveness and about their own appearance, and several demographic questions.

Selection of Instrument

I chose to use a questionnaire as my research instrument for several reasons, but primarily because the types of questions in this research virtually demanded it. Clearly, observational methods were out of the question; I obtained usable responses from 172 college females and could not possibly have observed their preparatory activities. Many of the behaviors in the research are of the type perhaps not even witnessed by "safe" people.

Nor was an interview schedule appropriate. The time required to interview 172 subjects was prohibitive. In addition, use of a questionnaire permitted asking more questions, and questions of a "sensitive" nature. During an interview, subjects might have been reluctant to disclose that they engaged in certain beauty behaviors. Consider the removal of pubic hair as an example of a socially sensitive question; subjects might have been reluctant to answer truthfully or fully, had they feared that I would recall what types of products they used or which behaviors they engaged in, or that they would be judged personally from their responses.

I did not use an interview schedule because the settings chosen for administration of the instrument were public and I did not want subjects to be concerned that their responses would be overheard. Since lounge areas and an on-campus fast-food restaurant were selected as settings for data collection, a questionnaire provided some measure of privacy (that, of course, depending upon the subject). Subjects could also eat or drink while responding, but had an interview schedule been used, they might have been reluctant to do so during face-to-face interaction, and felt irritated at the intrusion.

Subjects were explicitly assured of anonymity in the cover letter. They were specifically asked not to sign their names anywhere on the questionnaire. Also, I was careful not to examine completed questionnaires in the sight of actual or potential respondents because I did not want them to fear that they could be personally identified from among the day's completed surveys.

Administration of a questionnaire also reduced the probability that respondents would either be embarrassed or use me as an object of comparison when asked to rate themselves in attractiveness. Additionally, it reduced the chances that subjects would "forget" to mention aspects of their preparation; a very real risk, had an interview been used to collect data. I provided subjects with an extensive list of activities and types of products, as well as space to include other things done or used.

Total Design Method

Dillman (1978) was used as a reference throughout the design and construction of both cover letter and questionnaire. His "Total Design Method" (TDM) calls for control:

The first part [of the TDM] is to identify each aspect of the survey process that may affect either the quality or quantity of response and to shape each of them in such a way that the best possible responses are obtained. The second is to organize the survey efforts so that the design intentions are carried out in complete detail (Dillman, 1978:12).

Although my questionnaire was not to be distributed through the mail, I consulted Dillman (1978) in order to increase response rates by organizing the questionnaire in a manner conducive to completion.

Question Types and Format

Dillman (1978:80-86) divides questions into four general types, depending upon the kind of information sought: attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and attributes. (For an analysis of question types using this typology, see Appendix A.)

Dillman provides guidelines for determining the question structure appropriate for the kinds of information sought. He discusses open-ended questions, close-ended with ordered and unordered response choices, and partially close-ended questions (1978:86-95). (For an analysis of question format using this typology, see Appendix B.)

Dillman's TDM was followed in several additional ways. Close-ended questions with ordered choices were kept consistent where possible to limit subject and coder confusion. Questions requesting negative or affirmative responses were consistently precoded as 1 NO and 2 YES and response categories were typed in upper case, while questions were in lower case. Instructions were printed with virtually every question.

I used his advice about establishing a vertical flow by arranging response numbers in a vertical line on each page. The majority of responses are centered on the page. This not only improves the appearance of the questionnaire, but subjects are less likely to inadvertently omit a response if their vision is not diverted all over the page for responses. Placing response categories one atop the other also precludes errors resulting from subjects placing check marks on the wrong side of answers.

I departed from the TDM by not using a questionnaire booklet format for several reasons. The first three pages of the questionnaire were filled with a chart with three columns that listed beauty products and behaviors. Booklet format would have altered the placement of the chart so that it would have filled more pages--perhaps the appearance of length would have dissuaded respondents; descriptions on the chart would not have fit the pages; and, the chart would have been less easily read. Also, the questionnaire was intended for hand-delivery; costs associated with postage size were not an issue.

Questionnaire Format and Content

The instrument consisted of seven parts, including the cover letter. I will discuss each part in the order in which it was included in the questionnaire.

Cover Letter

(See cover letter in Appendix C.)

The cover letter, especially in mail surveys, is virtually the only opportunity that a researcher has for anticipating and countering respondents' questions (Dillman, 1978:165). Even if hand-delivered to a respondent, a carefully prepared cover letter can impart a positive impression of the project and can help motivate the respondent to examine and complete the questionnaire.

The cover letter was professionally reproduced on buff-colored, departmental letterhead to emphasize that the project had approval and sponsorship. Each cover letter was very clean-looking; in fact, one respondent asked where it had been reproduced and commented that it looked individually typed. Each cover letter was signed by hand in blue ink (as a contrast to the black type) to emphasize individual attention and to convey the impression that every questionnaire was of interest to the researcher (Dillman, 1978:173).

The first paragraph of the cover letter provides an interesting lead; the second stresses the importance of the study, a realistic estimate of the time needed to complete the questionnaire, reassures respondents that the study

applies to them, regardless of self-perceived attractiveness, and emphasizes that their response is important for an understanding of beauty behaviors. The third paragraph stresses anonymity and encourages them to answer fully, and the fourth informs them of when the results will be available and encourages them to come by the Department or to call to discuss the findings. I then thank them for their help, and close. The cover letter did not exceed one page.

I did not identify myself as a graduate student in the cover letter because I did not want subjects to try to "help" me with my research by checking responses they suspected that few others would select. My goal was to have them respond to the questionnaire because of interest, and not out of empathy for me as a student.

Questionnaire Construction

First, information about the appearance of the instrument is in order. It was reproduced on good quality, white typing bond, and each sheet was examined for quality of reproduction before assembly. Questionnaires were printed on only one side: the six-page length allowed it, and the fact that print was observable from the back made it necessary if a clean instrument were to be administered.

Chart

(See instrument in Appendix D.)

In order to get a measure of situational presentation of self in three performance settings, I devised a chart on which subjects were to indicate which things they would do or use in preparation for presentation on a "regular basis," for

a "movie and pizza type date," and for a "formal type date (weddings, spring formals, etc.)." The columns represent types of activities and different performance obligations and expectations. Whereas, for instance, one might "upscale" one's regular beauty routine for a casual date, one might feel that a formal date requires preparation over and above what is done or used on a regular basis or for a casual date. Respondents were to refer to labeled columns (columns A, B, and C) on the chart, and to place a check-mark by the things they would do or use in preparation for the three types of situations. The chart and the instructions were designed to minimize confusion by guiding respondents through one presentation scenario at a time.

The chart and instructions for its completion were on pages 1 through 3 of the questionnaire. A multiple column chart allowed much more efficient use of space than printing one column and the list three separate times. It also permitted less bulk so as not to dissuade potential respondents.

The activities and types of products shown in the chart were selected by referral to beauty/health advertisements and visits to the cosmetic sections of area stores. Additional activities, such as use of tanning salons, for example, were arrived at by pondering what other things females do or use which might not be included by the prior methods. Occasionally, a brand name was included in parentheses as a qualifier to aid understanding of the type of product to which I was referring. For example, "'QT,' etc." was placed

in parentheses next to the category, "automatic tanning products." I was not interested in activities performed for medical reasons, and specified that next to applicable responses such as "douche," "panty liners," and "cosmetic surgery." In short, I was interested in things done or used by choice. Note that although I was not interested in things done or used ~~for~~ medical reasons, respondents were free to specify medical reasons that they ~~refrained~~ from doing or using things later in the questionnaire. Question 32 (Q-32) is an open-ended question: "If you do not use cosmetics, please indicate why you do not." A response citing a medical reason might have read, "I am allergic to them."

The categories in the chart are largely self-explanatory. Things done to or used on hair, feet, and hands were grouped under headings of the same names. "Cosmetics" included what is alternately known as "makeup": mascara, lipstick, and so forth. Another category, labeled "Additional," served as a catch-all for behaviors and products not fitting into other categories. Bleaching or dyeing eyebrows, wearing cologne or perfume, using panty liners, and taking appetite suppressants are examples of what was included in this category. The last category on the chart, "Foundation Garments," consisted of undergarments worn to alter body shape. Clearly, these may significantly alter one's appearance, and as such, may be considered appropriate for self-presentation only in certain types of situations. For example, a female might wear a bra designed to reduce the apparent size of her bustline on a

regular basis and for a casual date, but wear a push-up bra to emphasize her bustline for a formal date.

The chart was placed at the beginning of the questionnaire for three reasons. I wanted to begin with questions concerning what the cover letter specified the research was about--beauty routines of college females. Second, I expected that respondents would find the chart interesting, especially if they had not previously paid much attention to the number of things they did or used, nor thought about how complete their beauty routines were in comparison to an extensive list of potential products and activities. In this respect, the chart resembles a consciousness-raising instrument, a fact confirmed by the verbal responses of several subjects when I collected their completed questionnaires. Two black respondents, on the other hand, commented that the chart was intended for white females because it lacked products or behaviors which were specifically part of black beauty routines. Relaxing and braiding hair and the fact that removal of body and facial hair is not as extensive among black females were cited as differences. My third reason for placing the chart first was because I thought that subjects would be encouraged to complete the questionnaire when they realized that the chart, in resembling an inventory checklist, could be completed quickly.

Self-Ratings

Subjects were asked to give separate attractiveness ratings for their face and figure on a scale from one to ten,

with one being lowest and ten highest (Q-4). An interesting area for exploration is whether there is a relationship between ratings of facial attractiveness and number of cosmetics used on the face on a regular basis.

A companion question (Q-18) asks subjects to rate their facial attractiveness without cosmetics. I am interested in exploring whether there is a relationship between this and the number of cosmetics used on a regular basis. In addition, contrast of the two facial attractiveness ratings will provide an indication of whether and, if so, to what extent respondents thought that their activities altered their attractiveness.

Additional Attractiveness Questions

The next set of questions (Q-5 through 14, inclusive; Q-16 and 17; and Q-19 through 21, inclusive) were additional attractiveness activities not included in the chart because they carried frequency stipulations and were largely two-or-three-part questions. Questions asked concerned the removal of body and facial hair not included in the chart, use of tanning salons, sunbathing, whether ears were pierced, and whether they wore colored contacts for vision correction or simply for the cosmetic effect.

Demographic Questions

Several demographic-type (attribute) questions appropriate to college females were asked (Q-15 through 17, inclusive, and Q-21 through 31, inclusive). Responses to several of these will be used as a basis for separation into subgroups. Question 15 (Q-15), which asked the sexual

preference of respondents, was not placed with the other attribute questions. Care was taken in the original questionnaire to place questions which might be considered "sensitive" at or near the bottom of a page to facilitate rapid turning if desired. I hoped that such placement would increase the chance of obtaining accurate responses. The demographic section consisted of questions about sexual preference, sorority membership, residence during the school year and during summer, student status for summer, class rank, major, employment, age, and marital status. Of these questions, the following will be used as independent variables for data analyses: sorority membership, class rank, employment, age, and marital status.

I did not adhere strictly to Dillman's (1978) Total Design Method in the placement of demographic questions at the end of the questionnaire. Questions 16 and 17 were grouped within the additional beauty behavior categories because they explicitly dealt with that topic. Instead of placing the other group of demographic questions last, they were followed by five open-ended attitude questions, two of which were two-part. Rather than ask respondents to engage in reflection and answer, and then have them flip to the next page to find even more open-ended questions, I placed them last, hoping that respondents would have built up enough investment and commitment to complete them.

Attitude Questions

Attitude questions, with the exception of questions asking for self-ratings of attractiveness (Q-4 and Q-18) and

two questions asking whether respondents considered body and facial hair to be problematic (Q-5 and Q-7), were placed at the end of the survey for additional reasons, besides those previously given. I was concerned that dividing them up or placing them elsewhere, ~~en bloc~~, would have disturbed the flow of response (Dillman, 1978:124) by suddenly shifting from close-ended to open-ended and back to close-ended questions. I was also concerned that respondents working within a time-frame might abandon the questionnaire early if written responses were tucked away throughout the questionnaire. If demographic questions had been placed last, subjects late for class, for example, might have skipped them, leaving me unable to categorize them on the independent variables.

The last four questions (Q-33 through 36, inclusive) were designed to tap attitudes toward female attractiveness in general and personal appearance specifically. In Question 32, respondents were asked to indicate why they do not wear cosmetics, if such were the case. This could be answered with an attitude ("People wearing makeup look cheap") or with a belief ("I do not have the time"). They then were asked to list two advantages and two disadvantages that they saw to being an attractive female. The last two questions asked subjects which part of their appearance they were most and least pleased with, respectively.

Questionnaire Conclusion

The questionnaire was concluded with expression of appreciation, an invitation to use the back of the sheet for

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comments or to list additional behaviors performed or products used, and a reminder of when results were expected to be available and where they could be found.

Pretest

In order to give the research instrument a trial run which might reveal problems with the instrument, e.g., incomprehensible words, unclear instructions, objectionable questions, and so on, the questionnaire was pretested. It was administered to the first fifteen females students who consented to complete it. There were no age or race restrictions for the sample, all of whom were approached in lounge areas of the Martin Luther King Student Union. Distribution of the questionnaire was performed from 8:00 a.m. until all were completed. Sample, setting, and the researcher's appearance were the same for the later administration, and are described in fuller detail in the sections discussing procedures for distributing the corrected questionnaire.

Examination of the responses showed that one female did not understand the difference between the sexual preference categories, so for the final questionnaire, a qualifier was added in parentheses next to the response. For example, the qualifier "(MALES)" was added next to "HETEROSEXUAL" in Question 15. The instructions to the chart were also qualified by addition of the stipulation that subjects were to place a check-mark by things they would do or use in addition to what they checked earlier for situational

presentations of self. In other words, when subjects were completing Column A, they were to mark everything done or used on a regular basis. In Column B, then, they were to place a check mark by any ~~additional~~ things they would do or use in preparation for a movie and pizza type of date, and in Column C, they were to mark things they would do or use in ~~addition~~ to those checked in columns A and B in preparation for a formal type of date (weddings, spring formals, etc.).

Sample

Figures of female enrollment for the last four years of summer school at Eastern Illinois University were obtained to determine adequate sample size (1983 summer enrollment, 2052; 1982 summer enrollment, 1900; 1981 summer enrollment, 1925; 1980 summer enrollment, 1905). An average of the figures, minus 185, gave a sample size of 175 to represent approximately 10 percent of the female enrollment. The figure 185 was subtracted from the average in order to make sample size more adequately reflect enrollment because figures available from the university included workshops and intersession attendance, and my questionnaire was distributed after intersession was finished. All of the 175 questionnaires were completed; 3 were discarded due to inconsistent responses, leaving a total of 172 usable questionnaires. I had no age or race restrictions for subjects. The only attribute restriction was that respondents be females attending EIU or female transfer students enrolled to attend classes in Fall semester 1984.

Because my sample was an "accidental sample" my research findings cannot be extrapolated to the larger population of females.

Setting

Subjects were approached in lounge areas and a fast-food restaurant in the Martin Luther King Student Union buildings. These settings were chosen because they were not affiliated with academic departments on campus where I would get a preponderance of subjects with specific majors. They were also selected because they were high traffic areas and students of widely varying ages could be found there. Lone females and female dyads and triads were approached to complete questionnaires. I was careful not to administer questionnaires to students with whom I was personally acquainted. Nor did I approach any females accompanied by males. I was concerned that male presence might encourage socially desirable responses. Pre-testing revealed that distributing questionnaires only to lone female students lacked feasibility; time constraints precluded it. Since each member of a dyad or triad was likely to complete a questionnaire, concern about "spying" was not as great with females as it might have been with males who might be curious and idle while their companions responded for approximately fifteen minutes. Data were collected in a four-day period, from 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Earlier and later times were found to be largely futile, as traffic in the areas was substantially reduced. I was the only distributor of the questionnaires and used little variation in my verbal

approach to subjects. Due to the topic under investigation, I held my appearance (clothing style and cosmetics) constant on each of the days. I wore casual summer attire, and mascara was my only cosmetic.

Coding and Categorization

Responses within the chart were each given a weight of one if checked, and zero if left blank. Column grand totals were compiled and used separately and combined to provide measures of situational presentation of self. For example, if a subject checked five items in the "feet" section of Column A, and a total of 20 checks throughout all categories of Column A, she would have five as a "feet" section total and 20 as a grand total score for the entire column. It was not feasible to use the number "9" as a code for missing data in this project. If I had used "9" and a respondent had chosen 9 items in the chart, her response would have been incorrectly interpreted as missing data. Additionally, a respondent could assign herself a "9" on any of the self-rating scales and her response would have been read as missing data in the computer. For these reasons and because I wanted cumulative scores on the chart to indicate total number of items used, zero was used to indicate non-response on the chart. The number "99" was used as the missing data code for variables not included in the chart because no combination of scores could reach that high and therefore the number was safe from misinterpretation by the computer. Categories for attitude questions were constructed in accordance with the types of responses received.

Findings

Frequencies

Eleven frequencies are discussed in the following section so that the reader will see the types of responses made to questions. Frequency of responses to all of the items in the instrument are shown in Appendix E. Frequency tables for each variable discussed in the next section are shown following each discussion.

Frequency Table 1

Grand Total Column A (GTA)

This variable was the sum of all check marks made throughout Column A of the chart. Of all respondents, none checked fewer than 6 items throughout Column A, nor more than 40. The median was 20.227. The total number of potential responses was 75, including four spaces to add other things done or used. It was anticipated that no one would check all responses--had they done so, their questionnaire would have been discarded due to discrepancies because several of the items listed are mutually exclusive. For example, one would not bleach, dye, or frost hair and use natural or artificial hair lighteners in the sun or a henna pac without doing damage to the initial color change. Nor would one probably wear a reducing girdle and a padded girdle or a minimizer and a padded or inflatable bra on a regular basis. Such contradictions were the basis for elimination of 3 completed questionnaires from the sample, reducing it from 175 to 172.

Several items in Column A were not checked by respondents: the "other" spaces for feet and cosmetics; bleach or dye pubic hair; use of suntan pills, breast creams, and ankle-length girdles were also left blank. One might think that social desirability of items might have affected responses, yet this may not have been extensive. Consider, for example, that although no respondents indicated that they bleach or dye pubic hair, 30 checked that they remove pubic hair on a regular basis, and although no respondents used breast creams, 5 indicated that they wore padded or inflatable bras on a regular basis.

Note that responses may differ by season. This questionnaire was administered during the summer, and respondents may alter their routines because of summer fashion, heat, and activities. For example, one may wear slacks frequently during winter and shorts or skirts in the summer. One would hardly wear an ankle-length girdle under shorts or summer skirts. Additionally, one may not wear various cosmetics during summer because they "melt" from heat and humidity or because it is difficult to find shades that match suntanned skin (as one subject commented) or because of activities such as sunbathing or swimming, although "waterproof" cosmetics are marketed so that no recreational activity need preclude attractiveness.

FREQUENCY TABLE 1
 GRAND TOTAL COLUMN A
 (GTA)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
6	2	1.2	6,7	= Total number of items used/done on a regular basis
7	2	1.2	9 through 33	
9	1	0.6	37,40	
10	3	1.7		
11	8	4.7		
12	5	2.9		
13	6	3.5		
14	4	2.3	MODE	
15	2	1.2	MEDIAN	
16	6	3.5	= 17.000	
17	18	10.5	= 20.227	
18	11	6.4		
19	10	5.8		
20	11	6.4		
21	6	3.5		
22	10	5.8		
23	13	7.6		
24	7	4.1		
25	6	3.5		
26	8	4.7		
27	6	3.5		
28	2	1.2		
29	10	5.8		
30	3	1.7		
31	5	2.9		
32	1	0.6		
33	4	2.3		
37	1	0.6		
40	1	0.6		
TOTAL	172	100.0		

Frequency Table 2

Total Cosmetics A (Variable 32)

Whereas Frequency Table 1 showed total numbers of items checked throughout Column A of the chart, Frequency Table 2 shows the total responses given for the cosmetic section of the chart. The median was 7.071 and the modal number of items checked in the cosmetics section of Column A was 6, with 27 females or 15.7 percent of the sample. Fifteen items were listed and an additional space was included for respondents to indicate other cosmetics they used, for a potential total score of 16. No respondent listed any cosmetic in the additional space. Only one respondent left all of the items blank. No respondent used more than 13 items. The percentages of females who indicated usage of items in the cosmetic section of Column A can be found in Appendix E. Blusher and mascara were the two cosmetics checked most frequently (88.9 percent and 86.6 percent, respectively, used them on a regular basis).

FREQUENCY TABLE 2
 TOTAL COSMETICS A
 (V32)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
0	1	0.6	0 through 13 =	Total number of cosmetics used on a regular basis
1	4	2.3		
2	3	1.7		
3	8	4.7		
4	10	5.8		
5	21	12.2		
6	27	15.7	MODE =	6.000
7	21	12.2	MEDIAN =	7.071
8	24	14.0		
9	23	13.4		
10	15	8.7		
11	8	4.7		
12	5	2.9		
13	2	1.2		
TOTAL	----- 172	----- 100.0		

Frequency Table 3

Rate Face (Variable 244)

The ability to view oneself as an object is a prerequisite to rating one's face in attractiveness. The lowest self-rating of facial attractiveness was a "3" given by two females (1.2 percent of the total sample). On the high end of the scale, only one assigned herself a "10" (0.6 percent of the total sample). Three females did not provide a rating (1.7 percent of the total sample). The median self-rating was 7.167, while the modal self-rating was "8" (57 responses, or 33.1 percent of the total sample), followed by "7," with 39 responses or 22.7 percent. If the scale of potential responses of 1 to 10 is divided in half with categories of 1 through 5, inclusive, and 6 through 10, inclusive, we find a 20 and 78 percent relative frequency, respectively. If categories were based only on actual responses, the percentages change but the picture remains similar: ratings 3 through 6, inclusive, and 7 through 10, inclusive, yield percentages of 35 and 63, respectively. Respondents were more apt to rate themselves as belonging in the upper half of the distribution than in the lower half. I did not anticipate these responses. I expected subjects to rate themselves closer to the center score ("5") because the center score can be interpreted as more of a non-committal response. A rating of "5" could mean that the subject views herself as "not ugly and not beautiful, but average."

FREQUENCY TABLE 3
RATE FACE
(V244)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	0	0.0		
2	0	0.0		
3	2	1.2	1 through 10	= Respondents' self-ratings (1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive)
4	4	2.3		
5	29	16.9		
6	25	14.5		
7	39	22.7		
8	57	33.1		
9	12	7.0		
10	1	.6		
99	3	1.7	99	= Missing Data
TOTAL	172	100.0	MODE	= 8.000
			MEDIAN	= 7.167

Frequency Table 4

Rate Face No Cosmetics (Variable 259)

This frequency provides an interesting contrast to Frequency Table 3 (Rate Face). When asked to rate their face without cosmetics, the median was 5.316 and the mode was "5" (28.5 percent of the total sample) rather than the median of 7.167 and mode of "8" that 33.1 percent assigned themselves when asked to rate their face without a stipulation about cosmetic use. Rate Face No Cosmetics was included for two major reasons: to see whether subjects responding to Rate Face (Variable 244) were giving a rating of their face as a finished product rather than as a natural object; and, to discover if the two ratings would differ. The latter would give indication of how cosmetic use may affect facial attractiveness self-ratings.

Note that the lowest self-rating for Rate Face (Variable 244) was "3," while the lowest for Rate Face No Cosmetics (Variable 259) was "2." Additionally, no one gave themselves a "10" without cosmetics. There seems to be a down-shift in self-perception of attractiveness without cosmetics. Based upon categories from 1 to 5 and 6 to 10, inclusive, we find that 20.4 percent rated themselves in the lower category with cosmetics, while without cosmetics, 55.2 percent did. With cosmetics, 77.9 percent rated themselves in the upper category, while without cosmetics, 43.1 percent did. In other words, when asked to rate their face, the majority gave scores which placed them in the upper half of the distribution, but when rating their face without cosmetics, the majority placed themselves in the lower half.

FREQUENCY TABLE 4
RATE FACE NO COSMETICS
(V259)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	0	0.0	1 through 10 = Respondents' self-ratings (1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive)	
2	8	4.7		
3	19	11.0		
4	19	11.0		
5	49	28.5		
6	31	18.0		
7	24	14.0		
8	17	9.9		
9	2	1.2		
10	0	0.0		
99	3	1.7	99 = Missing Data	
TOTAL	172	100.0	MODE = 5.000	
			MEDIAN = 5.316	

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Frequency Table 5

Rate Figure (Variable 245)

This frequency table is interesting for several reasons. The distribution is bimodal, with equal numbers of respondents giving themselves "5s" and "7s" (42 respondents for each, for a total of 48.8 percent of the sample) and the median is 5.967. If I divide the scale of potential responses of 1 to 10 in half with categories 1 to 5 and 6 to 10, inclusive, 72 subjects (41.9 percent) fall in the lower half and 97 subjects (56.4 percent) in the upper half. The remaining 1.7 percent represents 3 nonrespondents.

Although the majority of respondents rated their figure in the upper half of the distribution, as they did when asked to rate their faces (Variable 244), the percentage spreads are quite divergent. For example, 20.4 and 77.9 percent rated their faces in the lower and upper categories, respectively, yet 41.9 and 56.4 percent rated their figures that way. When one examines the split of responses for Rate Face No Cosmetics (Variable 259), one finds 55.2 and 43.1 percent rated themselves in the lower and higher categories, respectively. This is not to suggest that facial and figure self-ratings are really comparable--different standards play into ratings for parts of the body. It is interesting that although self-ratings started lowest on the scale for figure ratings ("1" for Rate Figure, "3" for Rate Face, and "2" for Rate Face No Cosmetics), and although more respondents rated their figure less highly than their face, overall, more rated their figure higher than their face without cosmetics. I did

not anticipate these results, for the simple reason that there is more, in terms of proportion of appearance, to dislike about one's figure. The findings are surprising in the light of the next two frequencies which show that subjects gave a preponderance of head/face responses as the part of their appearance they considered to be most pleasing and were much more likely to list parts of their figure as being least pleasing.

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FREQUENCY TABLE 5
RATE FIGURE
(V245)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	3	1.7	1 through 10	= Respondents' self-ratings (1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive)
2	2	1.2		
3	9	5.2		
4	16	9.3		
5	42	24.4		
6	30	17.4		
7	42	24.4		
8	20	11.6	99	= Missing Data
9	4	2.3		
10	1	.6		
99	3	1.7		
TOTAL	172	100.0	MODE	= 5.000 and 7.000
			MEDIAN	= 5.967

Frequency Table 6

Appearance Most Pleasing (Variable 278)

Subjects were asked, "Which part of your appearance are you MOST pleased with?" and categories were made from responses received. For example, the category "head/face" includes eyes, hair, lips, teeth, and so forth. The category "skin" includes nonspecific skin. For example, "complexion" would be classified as a "head/face" response, while "smooth skin" would be included in "skin."

The majority of single responses mentioned parts of the head or face (96 single responses, or 55.8 percent of the sample). Social preference for blonde hair seems to be reflected in responses. No respondents specified dark hair as most pleasing, but a few mentioned blonde hair specifically. Two clarified that they not only had blonde hair, but that it was naturally that color. One commented, for example, that she was most pleased with her hair, "...because it is very blonde and it's natural."

Although I expected only one answer from each subject, several (30 or 17.4 percent of the total sample) provided two responses. The most frequent double response listed two parts from the head or face area (17 or 9.9 percent of the total sample provided double responses; of these, 56.7 percent listed two parts from the head or face). All of the remaining double responses, but one, consisted of listing a head or face item first (12 of 13 or 92.3 percent of remaining double responses show a head or face item listed first). More subjects provided double responses than left the question blank (30 and 21 subjects, respectively).

FREQUENCY TABLE 6
 APPEARANCE MOST PLEASING
 (V278)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	96	55.8	1	= Head/Face
2	2	1.2	2	= Torso
3	3	1.7	3	= Hips/Legs
4	2	1.2	4	= Hands/Feet
5	1	.6	5	= Skin (color, texture, etc.)
6	9	5.2	6	= Overall appearance
7	4	2.3	7	= Weight, over/under
8	1	.6	8	= All of it
9	2	1.2	9	= None of it
11	17	9.9	11 through 66 = Double digit codes (with the exception of 89 and 99) indicate that subjects listed two responses, e.g. 12 = categories 1 and 2.	
12	3	1.7		
13	1	.6		
14	3	1.7		
15	3	1.7		
16	1	.6		
17	1	.6		
66	1	.6		
89	1	.6	89	= Misunderstood question
99	21	12.2		
<hr/>		<hr/>		
TOTAL	172	100.0	99	= Missing Data
			MODE	= 1.000

Frequency Table 7

Appearance Least Pleasing (Variable 279)

Responses to the question, "Which part of your appearance are you LEAST pleased with, if any?" provide interesting counterpoints to the question, "Which part of your appearance are you MOST pleased with?" (Variable 278).

Respondents were more likely to show displeasure with body parts than with parts of their head or face. Note that the modal response was "overall appearance" (37 subjects or 21.5 percent of the total sample), followed by "hips/legs" (32 subjects or 18.6 percent of the total sample), and by "weight, over/under" (25 subjects or 14.5 percent of the total sample). In contrast, only 9 subjects (5.2 percent of the total sample) listed "overall appearance" as most pleasing, only 3 subjects (1.7 percent of the total sample) considered their "hips/legs" to be most pleasing, and only 4 subjects (2.3 percent of the total sample) claimed that they were most pleased with their weight. Respondents' comments ranged from "thin hair" to "fat feet" and about everything in between, including "hippo thighs!" (emphasis in original), and braces on teeth.

Thirteen subjects (7.6 percent of the total sample) did not provide a response--this was fewer than the 21 (12.2 percent of the sample) who failed to list a part they were most pleased with, although the dislike question was asked after the like question and one might expect higher attrition on later questions. It may be that more respondents were able to indicate dislike than like for

parts of their appearance. The fact that subjects provided material for a greater number of categories when asked what they found least pleasing compared to most pleasing lends additional credibility to this inference.

More respondents provided double responses to the like question (Variable 278) than left it blank. The same holds for the dislike question (Variable 279); Seventeen subjects (9.9 percent of the total sample) gave double responses, and 13 (7.6 percent of the total sample) left the dislike question blank.

Whereas all but one subject listed a "head/face" item first for the like question (Variable 278), only 4 did so for the dislike question (4 of 17, or 23.5 percent of double responses); indeed, only 7 respondents (41.2 percent) of the double responses even included "head/face" parts as least pleasing. Contrast this with the 29 of 30 double responses (96.7 percent) mentioning "head/face" parts as most pleasing (Variable 278).

FREQUENCY TABLE 7
 APPEARANCE LEAST PLEASING
 (V279)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	21	12.2	1	= Head/Face
2	13	7.6	2	= Torso
3	32	18.6	3	= Hips/Legs
4	7	4.1	4	= Hands/Feet
5	6	3.5	5	= Skin (color, texture, etc.)
6	37	21.5	6	= Overall appearance
7	25	14.5	7	= Weight, over/under
9	1	.6	9	= None of it
13	2	1.2	13 through 66 = Double digit codes (with the exception of 99) indicate that subjects listed two responses, e.g. 13 = categories one and three.	
16	2	1.2		
23	2	1.2		
32	1	.6		
33	2	1.2		
35	1	.6		
46	1	.6		
51	1	.6		
61	2	1.2	99	= Missing Data
63	2	1.2		
66	1	.6		
99	13	7.6	MODE	= 6.000
TOTAL	172	100.0		

Frequency Table 8

Advantage of Attractiveness 1 (Variable 274)

The modal response to the request that subjects list one advantage to being an attractive female was "self-satisfaction," with 38 subjects (22.1 percent of the total sample) giving this response. This number of females who listed the internal benefit of "self-satisfaction" may be expanded by an additional 22 subjects (or 12.8 percent of the total sample) who responded with some variant of a "self-confidence" theme because both deal with external appearance as a source of internal esteem. In that case, 60 respondents (34.9 percent of the total sample) listed internal benefits of attractiveness first. Without combining the categories, "self-satisfaction" and "self-confidence," however, the second most frequent response was preferential treatment, with 36 or 20.9 percent of the total sample responses. The category "preferential treatment" includes comments such as "[Attractiveness] can work to an advantage to get things done, especially in the world which appreciates nice looking people," "faster and nicer service (sometimes)," "societal catering to the attractive," and "people respond more positively to you as a person." One put it very simply, "[Attractiveness] beats ugly." Nine subjects (5.2 percent of the total sample) did not respond.

FREQUENCY TABLE 8
ADVANTAGE OF ATTRACTIVENESS 1
(V274)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	22	12.8	1	= Attention (getting, etc.)
2	32	18.6	2	= Attraction (mentioned males)
3	38	22.1	3	= Self-satisfaction
4	22	12.8	4	= Self-confidence
5	36	20.9	5	= Preferential treatment
6	6	3.5	6	= Job benefits
8	1	.6	8	= Other (sense of humor, etc.)
89	6	3.5		
99	9	5.2		
TOTAL	172	100.0	89	= Misunderstood question
			99	= Missing Data
			MODE	= 3.000

Frequency Table 9

Advantage of Attractiveness 2 (Variable 275)

Altogether, I asked subjects to provide two advantages of being an attractive female. This frequency shows subjects' second response. The modal response was to leave it blank (39 subjects, or 22.7 percent of the total sample did so), followed by a response on the order of "preferential treatment" with 34 subjects or 19.8 percent of the sample.

If one combines the responses to variables 274 and 275 for a potential total of 344 responses, "self-satisfaction" ceases to be the modal response and is replaced by nonspecific preferential treatment (62 responses or 18 percent and 70 responses or 20.3 percent of the total sample, respectively). If all "self-satisfaction" and "self-confidence" responses are combined, however, internal benefits of attractiveness maintain ascendancy (105 responses or 30.5 percent of the total sample).

FREQUENCY TABLE 9
ADVANTAGE OF ATTRACTIVENESS 2
(V275)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	10	5.8	1	= Attention (getting, etc.)
2	21	12.2	2	= Attraction (mentioned males)
3	24	14.0	3	= Self-satisfaction
4	21	12.2	4	= Self-confidence
5	34	19.8	5	= Preferential treatment
6	14	8.1	6	= Job benefits
8	6	3.5	8	= Other (sense of humor, etc.)
89	3	1.7		
99	39	22.7		
	-----	-----	89	= Misunderstood question
TOTAL	172	100.0	99	= Missing Data
			MODE	= 99.000

Frequency Table 10

Disadvantage of Attractiveness 1 (Variable 276)

The modal response to the request that subjects list one disadvantage of being an attractive female was "unwanted attention or harassment" (36 subjects or 20.9 percent of the total sample gave such a response). This response by far outnumbered the one respondent who mentioned positive feelings derived from male attention ("It actually gives me a good feeling when guys look"). Harassment included behavior such as whistles, crude remarks, "constant male hounding," "hoots and hollers," and even rape was mentioned.

The next most frequent response was that attractive females are considered unintelligent (32 subjects or 18.6 percent of the total sample chose this response). One female responded that, "People think of you as pretty--not intelligent," and another put it even more bluntly, "labeled an air-head." This second response may partially reflect the stereotype of "dumb blondes." As one commented, "Some people think you have no brains if your [sic] attractive (especially blondes). I'm a blonde and you can get labeled." It may also reflect the belief that beauty and brains are a rare combination and that presence of one compensates for lack of the other.

Twenty-six subjects (15.1 percent of the total sample) left the variable blank. This is higher than the 9 subjects (5.2 percent of the total sample) who left the first space about advantages of attractiveness blank (Variable 274).

FREQUENCY TABLE 10
DISADVANTAGE OF ATTRACTIVENESS 1
(V276)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	10	5.8	1	= Maintenance
2	32	18.6	2	= Thought unintelligent
3	8	4.7	3	= Thought conceited
4	36	20.9	4	= Unwanted attention or harassment
5	23	13.4	5	= People only interested in looks
6	6	3.5	6	= Problems with jobs
7	7	4.1	7	= Jealousy
8	3	1.7	8	= Don't see any
9	12	7.0	9	= Other
89	9	5.2		(beauty = only skin deep, seen as fake, etc.)
99	26	15.1		
TOTAL	172	100.0	89	= Misunderstood question
			99	= Missing Data
			MODE	= 4.000

Frequency Table 11

Disadvantage of Attractiveness 2 (Variable 277)

The modal response to the request that subjects provide a second disadvantage of attractiveness was to leave it blank, as did 63 subjects (36.6 percent of the total sample). Note that only 39 subjects (22.7 percent of the total sample) left the second advantage of attractiveness question blank (Variable 275), and that 26 subjects (15.1 percent of the total sample) left the first disadvantage of attractiveness question blank (Variable 276). Altogether, there were 48 blanks for variables 274 and 275 combined, and 89 blanks for variables 276 and 277 combined. Subjects were more likely to provide advantages of attractiveness than disadvantages of attractiveness. The next most frequently mentioned disadvantage of attractiveness was that people are only interested in one's looks.

It is interesting that 85 responses (24.7 percent of a total of 344 responses) listed "attention" and "attracting males" as advantages of attractiveness, yet 53 subjects (15.4 percent of a total of 344 responses) listed "unwanted attention or harassment" as disadvantages of attractiveness. From their written responses, one gets the impression that some females think that attracting males is generally an advantage of attractiveness, but that it is a disadvantage as well because undesirable males are also attracted. Eighteen females (10.4 percent of the total sample) mentioned that attractiveness was an advantage in gaining attention and/or

attracting males but also mentioned unwanted attention or harassment as disadvantages.

This research supports the idea that attractiveness aids in getting attention in general, attracting males, and making friends. But these same advantages turn into disadvantages. For example, several females commented that attractive females are "stared at," and one said, "You always seem like your [sic] on display." Subjects said that attractive females are pressured to "keep up" their appearance at a cost of time, effort, and money. (Such responses are shown under the category called "maintenance.") Others said that being near an attractive female "...intimidates some people (men and women)," or makes people feel "threatened." Additionally, one "may be avoided by shy people." Other females may be jealous of your appearance or suspect you of trying to "use it to get ahead." Attractive females also run the risk of having false friends who are only interested in their appearance. The response of one graduate student who considered herself attractive, highlights the ambivalence well. She answered the questions concerning advantages and disadvantages of attractiveness from her own experience. Concerning advantages, she wrote, "People seem to want to be my friend without too much effort on my part," and "It is easy to hold others [sic] attention upon first meeting ([As a] result, my confidence level is fairly high and I'm more gregarious)." Concerning disadvantages, she wrote, "Some people assume I am not intelligent or sensitive to others [sic] needs and think my life has always been

easy--stereotype me (cheerleader type)," and "Understanding mens [sic] motives is hard. I am suspicious of their motives even in professional settings."

Note that more females mentioned that attractiveness would be an advantage for one's job than a disadvantage (20 and 7 responses, respectively). Advantages focused on obtaining interviews and jobs, not on performance. For example, "you may get interviews or jobs that might not have otherwise been available," because "employers tend to hire the more attractive person." Another respondent qualified the benefits, "Far too many times within a professional setting, a woman is judged by her appearance, not her intelligence or abilities. A less attractive female seems more desirable by professional males than attractive females. While attractive females lead in occupations such as secretarial or clerical over unattractive females." She also commented that attractiveness "...hinders attaining a professional status within an organization." Another said that, "If you are too attractive, people in the workforce may not take you seriously enough (like the dumb blonde image)." The others who indicated that attractive females have problems with jobs specifically mentioned sexual harassment at work.

From the number of blank responses for advantages of attractiveness (48 blanks or 13.9 percent of a total of 344 responses) compared to those for disadvantages of attractiveness (89 blanks or 25.9 percent of a total of 344 responses), one might infer that subjects found it easier to

think of and list advantages than disadvantages of attractiveness. This is consistent with findings in much of the physical attractiveness literature cited in the review of the literature. Recall that subjects typically assume that attractive individuals possess more socially desirable personalities and have happier and more successful lives than others (for an exception, see Dermer and Thiel, 1975).

FREQUENCY TABLE 11
DISADVANTAGE OF ATTRACTIVENESS 2
(V277)

CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	9	5.2	1	= Maintenance
2	15	8.7	2	= Thought unintelligent
3	9	5.2	3	= Thought conceited
4	17	9.9	4	= Unwanted attention or harassment
5	19	11.0	5	= People only interested in looks
6	1	.6	6	= Problems with jobs
7	12	7.0	7	= Jealousy
8	2	1.2	8	= Don't see any
9	18	10.5	9	= Other
89	7	4.1		(beauty = only skin deep, seen as fake, etc.)
99	63	36.6		
TOTAL	172	100.0		
			89	= Misunderstood question
			99	= Missing Data
			MODE	= 99.000

Crosstabulations

Each frequency discussed in the preceding section was crosstabulated with the demographic variables used to separate the sample into subgroups. The variables used were sorority membership, marital status, class rank, and employment. Of these crosstabulations, only two met a .05 level of alpha with the the Chi Square Test of Significance. In other words, with only two crosstabulations could I be assured that the relationship between variables would not occur by chance more than 5 times out of 100 in the larger population. Again, I stress that I used an "accidental sample" and therefore my findings are not to be extrapolated to the larger population.

Crosstabulation 1

Grand Total Column A BY Employed
 (Variable GTA BY Variable 269)

The employment question asked whether subjects were either employed for pay outside the home or worked in a scheduled volunteer position. I stipulated these conditions because I was interested in whether they worked outside the home, and therefore might differ in their attractiveness behaviors because they might adapt their appearance to work demands, or they might have extra income to purchase additional products. The variable Grand Total Column A is described on pages 60 through 62 and is the sum of all checks made by each respondent throughout Column A of the chart.

The crosstabulation reveals a high level of significance ($\chi^2 = 8.52$, $p < .01$) and an association of .22 using Cramer's V, with 0 indicating no association and 1 indicating a perfect association. Inspection of the table shows that most subjects were employed, and that most, whether employed or not, used a medium number of items or performed a medium number of behaviors on a regular basis.

The relationship between employment and number of items used requires more understanding than knowing whether the individual is employed. One may be employed and still have less discretionary income with which to buy items than one who is not employed, for example. Yet, one might expect that type of employment would influence use of items; life guards, for example, may not wear many items classified as cosmetics but may be fastidious about removing body hair.

Perhaps type of employment influenced the distribution in the horizontal rows of the table. Of 100 percent of nonemployed females, 10.3 percent gave a number of checks which placed them in the lowest category of Grand Total Column A compared to 28.6 percent of the employed. Looking at the second row and still using 100 percent of those in each employment category, one can see that 67.2 and 47.3 percent of the nonemployed and employed, respectively, were in the middle category of Grand Total Column A. In the category of highest number of items done or used, differences between the nonemployed and employed were slight (22.4 and 24.1 percents).

It may be that unless type of job dissuades extensive use of items (e.g., military, life guard, or camp counselor), employment may not influence the number of things done or used on a regular basis although it may influence "style." My instrument did not differentiate between "styles": pantihose count as pantihose, whether fishnet or fleshtone.

TABLE 1
 GRAND TOTAL COLUMN A BY EMPLOYED
 (GTA) BY (V269)

	COUNT	Employed				ROW TOTAL
		V269		Employed		
	COL PCT	I	1. I	2. I	I	
Grand Total		I	I	I	I	
Column A		I	I	I	I	
	1.	I	6 I	32 I	I	38
		I	10.3 I	28.6 I	I	22.4
	2.	I	39 I	53 I	I	92
		I	67.2 I	47.3 I	I	54.1
	3.	I	13 I	27 I	I	40
		I	22.4 I	24.1 I	I	23.5
	COLUMN		58	112		170
	TOTAL		34.1	65.9		100.0

CHI SQUARE = 8.52737 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0141

CRAMER'S V = 0.22397

Respondents indicated by check marks throughout Column A, the number of behaviors performed and items used on a regular basis. Their totals were then categorized.

VARIABLE
 GTA GRAND TOTAL COLUMN A

CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	= 6,7,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16
2	= 17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25
3	= 26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,37,40

VARIABLE
 V269 EMPLOYED

CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	= NO
2	= YES

Crosstabulation 2

Rate Face BY Total Cosmetics Column A

(Variable V244 BY Variable 32)

Both of these variables were discussed earlier in this chapter (see pages 63-66). I was interested in exploring whether there was a relationship between facial ratings of attractiveness and the number of items checked in the cosmetics section of Column A. The crosstabulation reveals a high level of significance ($\chi^2 = 17.98$, $p < .0012$), and an association of .24 using Somer's D (Asymmetric, with V244 dependent). Somer's D is a measure of association that assumes values between negative 1 and positive 1, with negative 1 being a perfect negative association and positive 1 being a perfect positive association. A value of 0 indicates lack of association.

Examination of the table in a vertical manner shows that the majority of those using the least number of cosmetics rated their face in the middle category which included ratings "6" and "7" (32 of 73 or 43.8 percent). The largest number of respondents who were classified in the middle category of cosmetic use gave ratings which placed them in the middle attractiveness category as well (20 of 44 or 45.5 percent), while the largest number of respondents who used the most cosmetics gave themselves high facial ratings of either "8," "9," or "10" (34 of 52 or 65.4 percent).

Facial ratings of attractiveness with cosmetics were generally higher than facial ratings without cosmetics. This leads me to infer that the first facial rating requested of

subjects (Variable 244) was an evaluation of their face after cosmetic application. If cosmetics and attractiveness are symbols with meaning, then the finding that those who use the most cosmetics also rate their faces in the highest attractiveness category is consistent with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter II. This is not a perfect relationship, however, due to the lack of differentiation in facial ratings of those using least and middle numbers of cosmetics. Mere use of items is not enough to automatically make one a raving beauty any more than nonuse automatically makes one unattractive. Table 3 shows the distribution of scores on both measures of facial attractiveness.

TABLE 2
RATE FACE BY TOTAL COSMETICS A
(V244) BY (V32)

COUNT	Total Cosmetics A						ROW TOTAL
	V32	1.		2.		3.	
COL PCT	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
V244	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
1.	I	19 I	10 I	6 I			35
Rate	I	26.0 I	22.7 I	11.5 I			20.7
Face	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
2.	I	32 I	20 I	12 I			64
	I	43.8 I	45.5 I	23.1 I			37.9
	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
3.	I	22 I	14 I	34 I			70
	I	30.1 I	31.8 I	65.4 I			41.4
	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
COLUMN		73	44	52			169
TOTAL		43.2	26.0	30.8			100.0

CHI SQUARE = 17.98746 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0012

SOMER'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = 0.24269 WITH V244 DEPENDENT
0.00000 WITH V32 DEPENDENT

Respondents provided self-ratings of facial attractiveness on a scale from 1 to 10, inclusive, with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive. Their scores were then categorized.

VARIABLE
V244 RATE FACE

CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	= Ratings 3,4,5
2	= Ratings 6,7
3	= Ratings 8,9,10

Respondents indicated the number of cosmetics they used on a regular basis. Their totals were then categorized.

VARIABLE
V32 TOTAL COSMETICS A

CODE	DESCRIPTION
1	= 0,1,2,3,4,5,6
2	= 7,8,
3	= 9,10,11,12,13

Crosstabulation 3

Rate Face BY Rate Face No Cosmetics

(Variable 244 BY Variable 259)

Both of these variables were discussed earlier in this chapter (see pages 65-68). I was interested in further exploring the relationship between the variables, for it is not enough to know the differences between median scores; one should also examine the distribution when the variables are considered together. A crosstabulation of the two variables allows one to see where individuals rated themselves on one variable and whether it differs from their ratings on the second. For example, do those who placed themselves high on the first rating tend to do the same for facial ratings of attractiveness without cosmetics? And what of those who rated themselves low or moderate?

Examination of the table shows that every respondent but one (0.6 percent of the total sample) either gave herself the same score for both ratings (39 of 169 or 23.1 percent of respondents) or gave herself a higher score for Rate Face than for the facial rating without cosmetics (129 of 169 or 76.3 percent of respondents). The most extreme range between the two scores was for the individual who gave herself a "2" without cosmetics and a "9" with them, and the other "deviant case" was the one who gave herself a "9" without cosmetics and an "8" with them. As one goes up the scale of facial ratings of attractiveness without cosmetics the difference between ratings decreases. Looking at columns 2 through 9, one can see that the range between scores narrows with

increasing attractiveness ratings without cosmetics (ranges of 5, 4, 4, 4, 3, 1, 0). This may be because those who consider themselves attractive without cosmetics simply do not have as far to go to reach the ceiling of the scale as those who rated themselves lower on the scale. On the other hand, it may be that those who rated themselves low without cosmetics use their natural face as a baseline with which to compare their face with cosmetics, while those who rate their faces high in attractiveness are comparing their faces with cosmetics to a standard besides their faces without cosmetics. Because I did not present a stimulus photo for comparison, I have no way of checking this speculation.

What this table and Table 2 show is that those who used the greatest number of cosmetics also tended to rate their faces highest in attractiveness, but cosmetic use does not tend to raise the scores of those who rate their faces highly without it. Females who rated their faces low or moderate without cosmetics tend to increase their scores with cosmetics. Fully 76.3 percent of the sample rated their faces lower without cosmetics.

TABLE 3
RATE FACE BY RATE FACE NO COSMETICS
(V244) BY (V259)

		Rate Face No Cosmetics								TOTAL	
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Rate Face	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	
	5	4	6	6	13	-	-	-	-	29	
	6	1	3	6	12	3	-	-	-	25	
	7	1	5	3	12	13	5	-	-	39	
	8	-	-	4	9	14	14	15	1	57	
	9	1	-	-	3	1	4	2	1	12	
	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
	TOTAL		8	19	19	49	31	24	17	2	169

Respondents provided self-ratings of facial attractiveness on a scale from 1 to 10, inclusive, with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive.

VARIABLE
V244 RATE FACE

CODE DESCRIPTION
3 through 10 = Self-ratings of facial attractiveness

VARIABLE
V259 RATE FACE NO COSMETICS

CODE DESCRIPTION
2 through 9 = Self-ratings of facial attractiveness

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Even a cursory examination of the completed questionnaire frequencies (see Appendix E) shows that females work hard to claim or approximate attractiveness as revealed by the extent of the things they do or use on a regular basis to enhance their appearance. I asked no questions about the amount of time spent in beautification nor about the amount of money spent on products because neither provide valid information. Consider, for example, disparities in time between curling hair overnight with rollers and using electric rollers, or the use of egg whites as a quick-drying facial compared to packaged facials which take longer to dry. Nor is money spent an adequate indicator of commitment; products range in price from the inexpensive to those justifiable only if contents could actually deliver on advertising promises. Instead, commitment can be better gauged by what one does or uses on a regular basis.

This research did not generally reveal significant correlations between the number of things done or products used by various subgroups within the sample. The only exception to this was the relationship between the grand total of things done or used on a regular basis and employment, yet inference is risky because the cross-tabulation shows that both employed and unemployed females tend to use the same number of items on a regular basis. Still, the finding that employed females were the higher

percentage of those who used the least items leads me to speculate that types of employment which dissuade use of many items may have been a factor.

A goal of this research was to examine whether females provide self-ratings of facial attractiveness as a finished product (with cosmetics) rather than as a natural object (without cosmetics) when cosmetic use is not stipulated. If difference between median scores of facial attractiveness when asked to rate their faces and then to rate their faces without cosmetics is an indicator, women do tend to rate their faces as a finished product. In fact, medians dropped from 7.167 on a scale of one through ten for facial ratings to 5.316 without cosmetics. Additionally, when asked to rate their faces, the majority of subjects placed themselves in the upper half of scores, but without cosmetics, the majority considered themselves to fit in the lower half. Scores actually began lower and did not go as far up the scale for ratings without cosmetics.

It is interesting to examine what happens to the distribution of ratings when the variables are considered together. The most interesting thing about the crosstabulation is that those who rate their faces low on the scale without cosmetics tend to increase their attractiveness ratings by several points when rating their faces as finished products, while there is little variation in the scores of those who rated themselves highly without cosmetics. It appears that those who rate their faces without cosmetics feel that cosmetics considerably enhance their appearance,

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while those who rate themselves highly without them tend not to increase their ratings with them. This finding leads me to speculate that perhaps those who rate their faces low without cosmetics use their natural faces as a baseline for comparison when rating their faces with cosmetics and see improvement, while those who rate their faces highly without cosmetics may not use their natural faces as a baseline for comparison but may use a different standard.

The relationship between facial ratings of attractiveness and total numbers of cosmetics used on a regular basis was discussed. It is important to realize that the facial rating in this crosstabulation is not a rating which stipulates lack of cosmetic use, therefore this table should not be interpreted as exhibiting association between how one rates one's natural face and the number of cosmetics used to enhance appearance. Instead, this table shows the ratings which were generally higher than those which stipulated lack of cosmetic use. Those who wore the most cosmetics on a regular basis also tended to rate their faces higher than those who wore less. There was a general lack of differentiation in facial ratings of those using least and middle numbers of cosmetics. It is important to realize that those who scored high on facial ratings without cosmetics are included in the high attractiveness category in this table and that their numbers are augmented by those who scored lower without cosmetics but provided ratings with cosmetics that heightened their placement in the table. If cosmetics and attractiveness are symbols, it may be that cosmetic use

affects self-perception of facial attractiveness rather than vice versa.

I did not find significant correlations between self-ratings of facial attractiveness and marital status, class rank, or sorority membership. Nor did I find them with the age variable, but this may reflect inadequate age range in my sample which included ages from 17 to 44, with the majority of subjects in their twenties.

In addition to facial ratings of attractiveness, subjects were asked to rate their figures on a scale of one to ten. I specified that they rate their figures rather than body or physique because I wanted to tap attractiveness rather than satisfaction with skeletal, organ, or muscular performance. Age, sorority membership, class rank, and marital status were not significantly correlated with self-ratings of figure attractiveness.

Although self-ratings of attractiveness started lowest on the scale for figure ratings ("1" for Rate Figure, "3" for Rate Face, and "2" for Rate Face No Cosmetics), and although more respondents rated their figures less highly than their faces, overall, more gave themselves a higher figure rating than face rating without cosmetics. Yet, when asked "Which part of your appearance are you MOST pleased with?" and "Which part of your appearance are you LEAST pleased with, if any?" more subjects gave double responses to questions concerning most pleasing rather than least pleasing parts of appearance (30 and 17 double responses, respectively). Generally, respondents were most pleased with parts of their

face and head ("head" meaning "hair") and least pleased with parts of their figure. If females are most pleased with parts of their face and head, yet rate their faces without cosmetics lowest of the three ratings, then the case can be made that females in my sample judged their faces as finished products when listing a most pleasing part. Recall that females answered the nonspecific rate face request with higher ratings than for the rating without cosmetics and that I inferred that perhaps the first rating is a rating as a finished product. The same dynamic may have been in place here: indeed, unless specifically asked to rate themselves without cosmetics, females may see themselves as they present themselves. This is certainly consistent with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter II.

In no research but the present study were subjects asked basic questions about advantages and disadvantages of attractiveness. The most frequent responses to the request that subjects provide two advantages were the internal benefits of self-confidence and self-satisfaction. It is interesting that subjects listed internal benefits most often; it is almost "radical" to think that male attention or competition with other females for male attention may not be the primary motivation for female beautification. Indeed, subjects specifically mentioned male attention as an advantage of attractiveness only half as often as they mentioned self-satisfaction and self-confidence.

As discussed earlier in this paper, what is seen as an advantage of attractiveness may also be a disadvantage. For

example, equal numbers of respondents said that attracting males was an advantage as said it was a disadvantage. On the one hand, attractive females are seen as having positive advantages with males, but they may also face increased male harassment. Additionally, subjects reported that people may befriend attractive females, yet attractiveness may intimidate others and she may never be certain that her friends really like her and are not just interested in her appearance. Attractiveness may be both a blessing and a curse, as respondents indicate, but judging from the efforts they expend to enhance their appearance, I advance that it is a curse that few would choose to evade.

Conclusion

Stereotypes about married females "letting themselves go" by not attempting to maintain or enhance their attractiveness, or about sorority members having more extensive "beauty routines" and wearing a greater number of cosmetics on a regular basis than nonmembers simply were not supported by this research. Due largely to the general lack of differentiation in responses by independent variables such as age, marital status, class rank, employment, and sorority membership, I suspect that women perform beautification behaviors because they are expected to as females, not necessarily because they also happen to be members of various subgroups. This is not to say that there is not subgroup appropriateness (age appropriateness, for example), but to

suggest that they differ in degree (shade and hue) rather than in kind.

The theoretical framework presented in Chapter II fits this research well. Simply rating oneself in attractiveness requires the ability to take the role of the other and react toward oneself as an object. This project, however, deals less with the process by which similarity of response develops (Mead, 1950:35) than with showing that similarity exists. Note, for example, the high degree of uniformity in response in the section of the chart which lists cosmetics used on the face. Subjects' attractiveness activities give indication of the extent of symbol use and their meaning. Indeed, subjects tend to rate themselves as they present themselves--as finished products--and to rate themselves higher in attractiveness with cosmetics than without them. Symbol use calls out the same response in themselves as in others.

As noted in Chapter III, academic research concerning attractiveness is primarily focused on tests of the "what is beautiful is good" thesis and only recently has the alternative, "what is good is beautiful," been studied. Although these studies examine relationships between attractiveness and behavioral and personality expectations, no research except the present has asked females to reveal their efforts to approximate or claim an image which is widely presumed to be highly desirable and which research indicates may be central to social evaluation throughout the life course. Even though the majority of attractiveness research

used female targets, female subjects were not consulted within any of the academic research examined about perceived advantages and disadvantages of attractiveness in naturalistic settings. Extant studies were tests of specific hypotheses (for an exception, see Cash and Soloway, 1975) and in many of them, subjects were required to select from prechosen answer categories such as bipolar adjectives or adjective check-lists. In none of the research reviewed were open-ended questions asked, nor were self-ratings of attractiveness left unverified against "objective" ratings as they were in this study. In asking such questions and taking self-ratings at face value, my project departed from standard research design.

Standard attractiveness research design denies validity to women's understanding of women's experiences--indeed, it ignores the whole process of beautification and presents attractiveness as a given. In doing so, attractiveness is treated as being passive rather than as an active process. Eliminating females' everyday experiences from attractiveness research, especially when what is studied is the product of that experience, seems as odd as studying birth rates in formal demography without examining social factors which influence fertility.

This project breaks new ground. It was designed as a surface-scratcher and hopefully will encourage others to ask old questions about physical attractiveness in new ways or new questions, altogether.

APPENDIX A
ANALYSIS OF QUESTION TYPES

**ATTITUDE QUESTIONS
(EVALUATIVE)**

- Q-4
- Q-5
- Q-7
- Q-18
- Q-32
- Q-33
- Q-34
- Q-35
- Q-36

**BELIEF QUESTIONS
(NONEVALUATIVE)**

- Q-2
- Q-3
- Q-19
- Q-32

Q-32 is listed under both categories

BEHAVIOR QUESTIONS

- Q-1
- Q-6
- Q-8
- Q-9
- Q-10
- Q-11
- Q-12
- Q-13
- Q-14
- Q-20

ATTRIBUTE QUESTIONS

- Q-15
- Q-16
- Q-17
- Q-21
- Q-22
- Q-23
- Q-24
- Q-25
- Q-26
- Q-27
- Q-28
- Q-29
- Q-30
- Q-31

APPENDIX B
ANALYSIS OF QUESTION FORMAT

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Q-27
Q-29
Q-32
Q-33
Q-34
Q-35
Q-36

CLOSE-ENDED WITH UNORDERED
RESPONSE CHOICES

Q-14
Q-15
Q-23
Q-24
Q-31

ORDER-CHOICES

Q 1
Q 2
Q 3

CLOSE-ENDED WITH ORDERED
RESPONSE CHOICES

Q 4
Q 5
Q 6
Q 7
Q 8
Q 9
Q 10
Q 11
Q 12
Q 13
Q 16
Q 17
Q 18
Q 19
Q 20
Q 21
Q 22
Q 25
Q 26
Q 28
Q 30

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APPENDIX C
COVER LETTER

APPENDIX C
COVER LETTER

Dear Student:

In the past few years, a lot has been written about the way people treat attractive females and what people expect them to be like. Nearly everyone has opinions about what it means to be attractive. Most studies have shown photographs of faces to students who then imagined what these people were like.

The study I am asking you to help me with is the first of its kind. It will take about 15 minutes for you to complete the questionnaire. From your answers, some important questions about beauty routines can finally be answered. Whether or not you think you are attractive does not matter for this study. Instead, your answers are important for an understanding of beauty behaviors done regularly and for special occasions.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Do not sign your name anywhere on the pages. There is no way of identifying you personally from your answers. I stress this because I do not want you to feel nervous or embarrassed and because I want to encourage you to answer fully.

The results of this study will be available at the end of the summer semester. I would be pleased to go over them with you if you call or come by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology (Coleman Hall 329).

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Gamine Beth Meckel
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

APPENDIX D
INSTRUMENT

Q-1 Because not much is known about the beauty routines of female college students, I would like you to fill out the following chart.

In "COLUMN A" please place a check mark by the things you do or use on a REGULAR BASIS. Leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "B" or "C".

COLUMNS

A	B	C	<u>Hair</u>
___	___	___	bleach, dye or frost
___	___	___	henna pac
___	___	___	permanent wave
___	___	___	natural or artificial hair lighteners for use in sun (lemon, beer, "Sun-In," etc.)
___	___	___	straighten or curl
___	___	___	hair spray or setting lotion/gel
___	___	___	deep conditioners like "Condition" or oil
___	___	___	other(specify)_____
			<u>Feet</u>
___	___	___	toenail polish
___	___	___	buff nails
___	___	___	cut cuticles or use cuticle remover
___	___	___	pumice stone or sloughing lotion or callous machine
___	___	___	other(specify)_____
			<u>Cosmetics</u>
___	___	___	substances taken for appearance (Vitamin E, etc.)
___	___	___	eyebrow pencil
___	___	___	mascara
___	___	___	eye-liner
___	___	___	eye-shadow
___	___	___	blusher
___	___	___	concealer/cover-stick
___	___	___	foundation
___	___	___	face powder
___	___	___	clear lip gloss
___	___	___	lipstick (colored)
___	___	___	lip-liner

List continues on next page. Please turn the page and continue.

Please continue just in the column you were working in.

COLUMNS

A B C

___	___	___	moisturizer on face
___	___	___	toners or astringents
___	___	___	bronzing gel on face (temporary types)
___	___	___	other(specify)_____

Hands

___	___	___	fingernail polish
___	___	___	buff nails
___	___	___	cut cuticles or use cuticle remover
___	___	___	false fingernails
___	___	___	nail whiteners
___	___	___	cuticle creams or nail conditioners
___	___	___	moisturize hands in gloves overnight or during chores
___	___	___	other(specify)_____

Additional

___	___	___	bleach or dye eyebrows
___	___	___	bleach or dye pubic hair
___	___	___	pills that lower cholestrol
___	___	___	diuretics
___	___	___	appetite suppressants
___	___	___	suntan pills
___	___	___	skin lighteners
___	___	___	breast creams
___	___	___	douche (not for medical reasons)
___	___	___	tanning lamp (not at a tanning salon)
___	___	___	bronzing gel on body (temporary types)
___	___	___	facial masks or steam face
___	___	___	shape eyebrows (pluck, shave, etc.)
___	___	___	remove pubic hair
___	___	___	curl eyelashes
___	___	___	body powders (Baby powder, "Shower to Shower," etc.)
___	___	___	cologne or perfume
___	___	___	all-over body fragrance sprays
___	___	___	("Body Flowers") or splashes
___	___	___	("Jean Nate," etc.)
___	___	___	feminine deodorants (spray, towelette, or insert)
___	___	___	panty liners (for "freshness," not heavy discharge)

List continues on next page. Please turn the page and continue.

Please continue just in the column you were working in.

COLUMNS

A	B	C	
___	___	___	mouthwash, breath spray
___	___	___	underarm deodorant/antiperspirant
___	___	___	automatic tanning products ("QT," etc.)
___	___	___	lotions or oils on body
___	___	___	bath oils
___	___	___	products to reduce cellulite ("Elancyl," etc.)
___	___	___	remove hair from legs
___	___	___	remove hair from underarms
___	___	___	facial scrub products/"Buf-Puf"-type products

Foundation Garments

___	___	___	control top pantyhose
___	___	___	girdle-panty
___	___	___	girdle-thigh length
___	___	___	girdle-angle length
___	___	___	padded girdle, any length
___	___	___	padded or inflatable bra
___	___	___	minimizer bra
___	___	___	French bra (push-up type)
___	___	___	demi-cups with adhesives (halfies)

----- Upon completion of
 ----- COLUMN C, go to Q-4

Q-2 Starting again on page one, please place a check mark in "COLUMN B," by any additional things you would do or use in preparation for a MOVIE AND PIZZA TYPE DATE. Leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "A" or "C".

Q-3 To conclude the chart, start again on page one, but this time, please place a check mark in "COLUMN C" by any additional things you would do or use in preparation for a FORMAL TYPE DATE (Weddings, spring formals, etc.). leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "A" or "B".

Q-4 On a scale of one to ten (1 to 10), with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive, rate:

____ YOUR FACE
 ____ YOUR FIGURE

Q-5 Do you consider body hair (excluding pubic, leg, and underarm hair) to be a problem for you? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES

Q-6 Do you remove body hair (excluding pubic, leg and underarm hair)? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES

Q-7 Do you consider facial hair (excluding eyebrows) to be a problem for you? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES

Q-8 Do you remove or bleach facial hair (excluding eyebrows)? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES

Q-9 Have you used a tanning salon since January 1, 1984?

- 1 NO -----
- 2 YES

(If yes, answer Q-10 and Q-11)

IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-12

Q-10 Estimate the number of times you have used a tanning salon since January 1st. (Circle number)

- 1 BETWEEN ONE AND FOUR TIMES, INCLUSIVE
- 2 BETWEEN FIVE AND NINE TIMES, INCLUSIVE
- 3 BETWEEN TEN AND FOURTEEN TIMES, INCLUSIVE
- 4 FIFTEEN OR MORE TIMES

Q-11 In the tanning salon, do you generally use the equipment in the nude? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES

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Q-12 Do you sunbathe?

- 1 NO -----
----- 2 YES

(If yes, answer Q-13)

IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-4

Q-13 How do you generally sunbathe? (Circle number)

- 1 I SUNBATHE ALONE
2 I SUNBATHE WITH ANOTHER PERSON

Q-14 Have you had any of the following? (Circle number)

- 1 ELECTROLYSIS
2 MEDICAL TREATMENT OF "SPIDER"
VEINS
3 SUCTION REMOVAL OF FAT
4 COSMETIC SURGERY (NOT RECONSTRUC-
TION AFTER SURGEY OR TRAUMA)
5 I HAVE NOT HAD ANY OF THE ABOVE

Q-15 What is your sexual preference? (Circle number)

- 1 HETEROSEXUAL (MALES)
2 LESBIAN (FEMALES)
3 BISEXUAL (MALES AND FEMALES)
4 ASEXUAL (NO SEXUAL INTERESTS)

Q-16 Are your ears pierced? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
2 YES

Q-17 How many earring holes do you have (Place number in blank) If none, write "0".

_____ IN LEFT EAR
_____ IN RIGHT EAR

Q-18 On a scale of one to ten (1 to 10), with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive, rate:

_____ YOUR FACE WITHOUT COSMETICS

Q-19 Do you need corrective lenses for your vision? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
2 YES

Q-20 Which do you generally wear in public? (Circle number)

- 1 GLASSES
- 2 CONTACT LENSES
- 3 I DO NOT WEAR EITHER -----

(IF YOU WEAR THESE, ANSWER Q-21)

IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-22

Q-21 If you wear contact lenses, are they colored? (Circle number)

- 1 NO, THEY ARE NOT COLORED
- 2 YES, THEY ARE COLORED

Q-22 Are you a sorority member? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES -----

(If you are NOT a sorority member)

(If you ARE a sorority member)

Q-23a

During the regular school year you reside: (Circle number)

- 1 IN DORMITORY
- 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF-CAMPUS
- 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
- 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING

Q-23b

During the regular school year you reside: (Circle number)

- 1 IN DORMITORY
- 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF-CAMPUS
- 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
- 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING
- 5 IN SORORITY HOUSE

Q-24 This summer you reside: (Circle number)

- 1 IN DORMITORY
- 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF CAMPUS
- 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
- 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING
- 5 IN SORORITY HOUSE

Q-25 What is your student status for summer? (Interession and summer sessions combined) (Circle number)

- 1 FULL-TIME STUDENT (8 credit hours or more)
- 2 PART-TIME STUDENT (less than 8 credit hours)

Q-26 You are presently: (Circle number)

- 1 FRESHMAN
- 2 SOPHOMORE
- 3 JUNIOR
- 4 SENIOR
- 5 GRADUATE STUDENT

Q-27 Please indicate your college major. (Use space provided)

_____ MAJOR
 _____ NOT PURSUING A DEGREE
 _____ UNDECIDED

Q-28 Are you presently working for pay or in a scheduled volunteer position? (Circle number)

- 1 NO
 2 YES -----

(If you work)

 IF NO, SKIP FROM
 HERE TO Q-30

Q-29 Please describe your work.

KIND OF WORK YOU DO: _____

KIND OF COMPANY OR BUSINESS: _____

Q-30 Your present age: _____ YEARS

Q-31 Your present marital status (Circle number)

- 1 NEVER MARRIED
- 2 MARRIED
- 3 DIVORCED
- 4 SEPARATED
- 5 WIDOWED

Q-32 If you do not use cosmetics, please indicate why you do not _____

Q-33 Please list 2 advantages you see to being an attractive female

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

Q-34 Please list 2 disadvantages you see to being an attractive female

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

Q-35 Which part of your appearance are you MOST pleased with?

Q-36 Which part of your appearance are you LEAST pleased with, if any? _____

I appreciate you taking the time to help me on this project. Thanks a lot. If you have any comments or would like to add any beauty behaviors you do which are not covered, please do so on the back of this sheet. Remember, if you want to know the results, just come by the SOC/ANTHRO office at the end of the summer session. Thanks again.

APPENDIX E
FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE

Q-1 Because not much is known about the beauty routines of female college students, I would like you to fill out the following chart.

In "COLUMN A" please place a check mark by the things you do or use on a REGULAR BASIS. Leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "B" or "C".

COLUMNS			TOTAL		
A	B	C	RE-	% of	
			SPONSE	TOTAL	
<u>Hair</u>					
<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	11	6.4	bleach, dye or frost
<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	6	3.5	henna pac
<u>83</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	89	51.7	permanent wave
<u>21</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	23	13.4	natural or artificial hair lighteners for use in sun (lemon, beer, "Sun-In," etc.)
101	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	117	68.0	straighten or curl
<u>91</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	124	72.1	hair spray or setting lotion/gel
<u>80</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	94	54.6	deep conditioners like "Condition" or oil
<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	6	3.5	other(specify)_____
<u>Feet</u>					
<u>59</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>25</u>	90	52.3	toenail polish
<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	25	13.9	buff nails
<u>46</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	57	33.1	cut cuticles or use cuticle remover
<u>36</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	45	26.2	pumice stone or sloughing lotion or callous machine
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0	0.0	other(specify)_____
<u>Cosmetics</u>					
<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	13	7.5	substances taken for appearance (Vitamin E, etc.)
<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	39	22.7	eyebrow pencil
149	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	160	93.0	mascara
102	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	124	72.1	eye-liner
129	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	155	90.1	eye-shadow
153	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	167	97.1	blusher
<u>91</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	114	66.3	concealer/cover-stick
105	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>	131	76.2	foundation
<u>87</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	103	59.9	face powder
<u>80</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	113	65.7	clear lip gloss
<u>72</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	120	69.8	lipstick (colored)
<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	39	22.7	lip-liner

List continues on next page. Please turn the page and continue.

Please continue just in the column you were working in.

COLUMNS			TOTAL	% OF	
A	B	C	RE- SPONSE	TOTAL	
121	1	4	126	73.3	moisturizer on face
63	0	3	66	38.4	toners or astringents
2	3	3	8	4.6	bronzing gel on face (temporary
0	0	0	0	0.0	other(specify)_____ types)
<u>Hands</u>					
105	15	24	144	83.7	fingernail polish
32	7	14	53	30.8	buff nails
80	1	8	89	51.7	cut cuticles or use cuticle remover
5	2	5	12	7.0	false fingernails
3	2	1	6	3.5	nail whiteners
29	4	7	40	23.3	cuticle creams or nail conditioners
16	1	6	23	13.4	moisturize hands in gloves overnight or during chores
3	0	0	3	1.7	other(specify)_____
<u>Additional</u>					
1	0	2	3	1.7	bleach or dye eyebrows
0	0	0	0	0.0	bleach or dye pubic hair
1	0	0	1	.6	pills that lower cholestrol
3	0	0	3	1.7	diuretics
15	0	0	15	8.7	appetite suppressants
0	0	0	0	0.0	suntan pills
1	0	0	1	.6	skin lighteners
0	0	0	0	0.0	breast creams
22	1	3	26	15.1	douche (not for medical reasons)
3	1	4	8	4.6	tanning lamp (not at a tanning salon)
2	0	0	2	1.2	bronzing gel on body (temporary types)
45	8	9	62	36.0	facial masks or steam face
111	4	7	122	70.9	shape eyebrows (pluck, shave, etc.)
30	0	1	31	18.0	remove pubic hair
53	5	6	64	37.2	curl eyelashes
105	7	1	113	65.7	body powders (Baby powder, "Shower to Shower," etc.,)
152	11	3	166	96.5	cologne or perfume
47	8	2	57	33.1	all-over body fragrance sprays ("Body Flowers") or splashes ("Jean Nate," etc.)
20	3	4	27	15.7	feminine deodorants (spray, towelette, or insert)
44	5	2	51	29.6	panty liners (for "freshness," not heavy discharge)

List continues on next page. Please turn the page and continue.

Please continue just in the column you were working in.

COLUMNS			TOTAL	% OF	
A	B	C	RE- SPONSE	TOTAL	
_71	_26	_4	101	58.7	mouthwash, breath spray
170	_0	_0	170	98.8	underarm deodorant/antiperspirant
_8	_0	_0	8	4.6	automatic tanning products ("QT," etc.)
131	_1	_5	137	79.6	lotions or oils on body
_35	_8	_19	62	34.9	bath oils
_1	_0	_0	1	.6	products to reduce cellulite ("Elancyl," etc.)
163	_1	_1	165	95.9	remove hair from legs
162	_1	_1	164	95.3	remove hair from underarms
_46	_2	_4	52	30.2	facial scrub products/"Buf-Puf"- type products
<u>Foundation Garments</u>					
_53	_6	_27	86	50.0	control top pantyhose
_5	_1	_4	10	5.8	girdle-panty
_1	_0	_2	3	1.7	girdle-thigh length
_0	_0	_0	0	0.0	girdle-angle length
_1	_0	_0	1	.6	padded girdle, any length
_5	_0	_0	5	2.9	padded or inflatable bra
_13	_1	_0	14	8.1	minimizer bra
_3	_0	_4	7	4.1	French bra (push-up type)
_1	_0	_1	2	.1	demi-cups with adhesives (halfies)

----- Upon completion of
----- COLUMN C, go to Q-4

Q-2 Starting again on page one, please place a check mark in "COLUMN B," by any additional things you would do or use in preparation for a MOVIE AND PIZZA TYPE DATE. Leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "A" or "C".

Q-3 To conclude the chart, start again on page one, but this time, please place a check mark in "COLUMN C" by any additional things you would do or use in preparation for a FORMAL TYPE DATE (Weddings, spring formals, etc.). Leave blank any that do not apply to you. DO NOT mark in columns "A" or "B".

Q-4 On a scale of one to ten (1 to 10), with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive, rate:

V244 Modal 8 YOUR FACE
V245 (Bi) Modal 5,7 YOUR FIGURE

Q-5 Do you consider body hair (excluding pubic, leg, and underarm hair) to be a problem for you? (Circle number)

V246 144 1 NO
28 2 YES

Q-6 Do you remove body hair (excluding pubic, leg and underarm hair)? (Circle number)

V247 128 1 NO
44 2 YES

Q-7 Do you consider facial hair (excluding eyebrows) to be a problem for you? (Circle number)

V248 135 1 NO
35 2 YES
2 99 Missing Data

Q-8 Do you remove or bleach facial hair (excluding eyebrows)? (Circle number)

V249 137 1 NO
33 2 YES
2 99 Missing Data

Q-9 Have you used a tanning salon since January 1, 1984?

V250 146 1 NO -----
---24--- 2 YES
2 99 Missing Data

(If yes, answer Q-10 and Q-11)

IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-12

Q-10 Estimate the number of times you have used a tanning salon since January 1st. (Circle number)

V251 146 0 Answered "No" to Q-9, Skipped
7 1 BETWEEN ONE AND FOUR TIMES,
INCLUSIVE
8 2 BETWEEN FIVE AND NINE TIMES,
INCLUSIVE
3 3 BETWEEN TEN AND FOURTEEN TIMES,
INCLUSIVE
6 4 FIFTEEN OR MORE TIMES
2 99 Missing Data

Q-11 In the tanning salon, do you generally use the equipment in the nude? (Circle number)

	145	0	Answered "No" to Q-9, Skipped
V252	10	1	NO
	14	2	YES
	3	99	Missing Data

Q-12 Do you sunbathe?

V253	34	1	NO -----
	-----134-----	2	YES
	3	99	Missing Data IF NO, SKIP FROM

(If yes, answer Q-13) HERE TO Q-4

Q-13 How do you generally sunbathe? (Circle number)

	34	0	Answered "No" to Above, Skipped
V254	65	1	I SUNBATHE ALONE
	67	2	I SUNBATHE WITH ANOTHER PERSON
	6	99	Missing Data

Q-14 Have you had any of the following? (Circle number)

V255	3	1	ELECTROLYSIS
	0	2	MEDICAL TREATMENT OF "SPIDER" VEINS
	0	3	SUCTION REMOVAL OF FAT
	1	4	COSMETIC SURGERY (NOT RECONSTRUCTION AFTER SURGEY OR TRAUMA)
	161	5	I HAVE NOT HAD ANY OF THE ABOVE
	7	99	Missing Data

Q-15 What is your sexual preference? (Circle number)

V256	167	1	HETEROSEXUAL (MALES)
	1	2	LESBIAN (FEMALES)
	2	3	BISEXUAL (MALES AND FEMALES)
	0	4	ASEXUAL (NO SEXUAL INTERESTS)
	2	99	Missing Data

Q-16 Are your ears pierced? (Circle number)

V257	15	1	NO
	157	2	YES

Q-17 How many earring holes do you have (Place number in blank) If none, write "0".

V258	Total # of earring holes	_____ IN LEFT EAR	_____ IN RIGHT EAR
	14	0	
	93	2	
	15	3	
	42	4	
	4	5	
	4	6	

Q-18 On a scale of one to ten (1 to 10), with 1 being least attractive and 10 being most attractive, rate:

V259 Modal= 5 _____ YOUR FACE WITHOUT COSMETICS

Q-19 Do you need corrective lenses for your vision? (Circle number)

V260	73	1	NO
	97	2	YES
	2	99	Missing Data

Q-20 Which do you generally wear in public? (Circle number)

V261	----33----	1	GLASSES
	----56----	2	CONTACT LENSES
	75	3	I DO NOT WEAR EITHER -----
	8	99	Missing Data

(IF YOU WEAR THESE, ANSWER Q-21) IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-22

Q-21 If you wear contact lenses, are they colored? (Circle number)

	103	0	Answered "No" to above, Skipped
V262	39	1	NO, THEY ARE NOT COLORED
	21	2	YES, THEY ARE COLORED
	9	99	Missing Data

Q-22 Are you a sorority member? (Circle number)

V263	---155----	1	NO
	16	2	YES -----
	1	99	Missing Data

(If you are NOT a sorority member)

(If you ARE a sorority member)

SEE NEXT PAGE

COMBINED

Q-23a

During the regular school year you reside: (Circle number)

V264

1 IN DORMITORY
 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF-CAMPUS
 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING

Q-23b

During the regular school year you reside: (Circle number)

62 1 IN DORMITORY
 25 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF-CAMPUS
 67 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
 10 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING
 4 5 IN SORORITY HOUSE
 4 99 Missing Data

Q-24 This summer you reside: (Circle number)

V265

10 1 IN DORMITORY
 83 2 WITH FAMILY/PARENTS, OFF CAMPUS
 62 3 OFF-CAMPUS, BUT NOT WITH RELATIVES
 9 4 IN MARRIED STUDENT HOUSING
 3 5 IN SORORITY HOUSE
 5 99 Missing Data

Q-25 What is your student status for summer? (Intersession and summer sessions combined) (Circle number)

V266

8 0 Not Currently Enrolled
 71 1 FULL-TIME STUDENT (8 credit hours or more)
 76 2 PART-TIME STUDENT (less than 8 credit hours)
 17 99 Missing Data

Q-26 You are presently: (Circle number)

V267

41 1 FRESHMAN
 2 SOPHOMORE LOWER DIVISION

 131 3 JUNIOR
 4 SENIOR UPPER DIVISION
 5 GRADUATE STUDENT

Q-27 Please indicate your college major. (Use space provided)

V268

_____ MAJOR
 _____ NOT PURSUING A DEGREE
 _____ UNDECIDED

Q-28 Are you presently working for pay or in a scheduled volunteer position? (Circle number)

V269 -----58---- 1 NO
 112 2 YES -----
 2 99 Missing Data

(If you work)

IF NO, SKIP FROM
HERE TO Q-30

Q-29 Please describe your work.

V270 TITLE: _____

KIND OF WORK YOU DO: _____

KIND OF COMPANY OR BUSINESS: _____

Q-30 Your present age: _____ YEARS

Q-31 Your present marital status (Circle number)

V272 140 1 NEVER MARRIED never married

 22 2 MARRIED married

 3 DIVORCED
 4 SEPARATED
 10 5 WIDOWED ever married

Q-32 If you do not use cosmetics, please indicate why you do not

V273 ___159 NO Response _____
 ___13 Answered _____

Q-33 Please list 2 advantages you see to being an attractive female

1. _V274 _____
2. _V275 _____

Q-34 Please list 2 disadvantages you see to being an attractive female

1. _V276 _____
2. _V277 _____

Q-35 Which part of your appearance are you MOST pleased with?

_____V278 _____

Q-36 Which part of your appearance are you LEAST pleased with, if any?

V279

I appreciate you taking the time to help me on this project. Thanks a lot. If you have any comments or would like to add any beauty behaviors you do which are not covered, please do so on the back of this sheet. Remember, if you want to know the results, just come by the SOC/ANTHRO office at the end of the summer session. Thanks again.

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