Beauty Work: Individual and Institutional Rewards, the Reproduction of Gender, and Questions of Agency

Samantha Kwan[1]* and Mary Nell Trautner[2]
[1] *Department of Sociology, University of Houston*
[2] *Department of Sociology, University at Buffalo, SUNY*

Abstract

Physical attractiveness is associated with a number of positive outcomes, including employment benefits such as hiring, wages, and promotion, and is correlated with social and personal rewards such as work satisfaction, positive perceptions of others, and higher self-esteem. As a result, individuals perform various forms of beauty work, thus reproducing and strengthening a social system that privileges youth and attractiveness. In this article, we explore the beauty work practices that people perform. We begin with an examination of the cultural context in which beauty work occurs, including the individual, social, and institutional rewards accompanying physical attractiveness, and then review the practices themselves. Because these rewards and practices contribute in part to the reproduction of social relations and norms, we then turn to the gender dimensions of beauty work, along with its unique racial embodiment. Throughout, we raise the issue of individual agency in beauty work. Finally, we conclude with suggestions for future research.

Cultural representations of beauty in contemporary Western societies are, by and large, homogeneous, emphasizing a feminine ideal of slenderness and firmness (Bordo 2003; Hesse-Biber 1996; Kilbourne 1999) and a masculine ideal of strength and muscularity (Bordo 1999; Pope et al. 2000). These hegemonic beauty ideals embrace youth and privilege whiteness as embodied in fair skin, eye color, and hair texture (see Collins 1991). While competing discourses theorize whether these ideals are socially constructed (e.g., Wolf 1991) or stem from our evolutionary psychology (e.g., Etcoff 1999), there is little dispute about their prevalence. Images of male and female hegemonic beauty are ubiquitous.

Various beauty practices accompany these cultural beauty norms. Recently, Gimlin (2007) distinguishes among several types of 'body work', including work performed on oneself and work performed on others, also called 'body labor' (Kang 2003). While both types of body work include

appearance-related practices, they also include a wide range of experiences, from the embodied display of workplace sexuality to female care work performed in the domestic sphere. These two types of body work thus capture an array of social processes concerning the body. In contrast, *beauty work* and *beauty labor* are narrower terms that reflect specific appearance and beauty practices performed on oneself and on others, respectively (see Roth and Neal 2006).

In this article, we focus on *beauty work* and explore beauty practices as work that individuals perform on themselves to elicit certain benefits within a specific social hierarchy. We begin with an examination of the cultural context in which beauty work occurs, including the individual and institutional rewards accompanying physical attractiveness. We then discuss specific beauty work practices. Because these rewards and practices contribute in part to the reproduction of social relations and norms, we then turn to the gender dimensions of beauty work, along with its unique racial embodiment. Throughout, we discuss a key theme in the literature – the issue of agency – and conclude with suggestions for future research.

Why beauty work matters: Stereotypes and their individual impacts

Beauty work occurs within a social system that distributes rewards and sanctions based partially on appearance. Early studies show that perceptions of beautiful people are generally positive and, as a whole, individuals associate positive traits with physically attractive persons. An oft-cited phrase in the literature, 'what is beautiful is good', sums up these perceptions. For example, individuals often assume that physically attractive people lead happier and more successful lives than less attractive persons (Dion et al. 1972). Beauty is also equated with talent (Landy and Sigall 1974). Individuals are more likely to evaluate work performed by physically attractive people favorably, a particularly pronounced observation when work is below par. As Landy and Sigall observe: 'You may be able to get away with inferior work if you are beautiful' (1974, 302). Simply stated, physical attractiveness confers status and is an important status characteristic that favorably shapes expectations (Webster and Driskell 1983; for other reviews, see Adams 1982; Hatfield and Sprecher 1986). Scholars fittingly refer to this as a 'halo effect' and explain it in part through implicit personality theory (see Schneider 1973). This theory states that individuals sometimes infer peripheral attributes based on central attributes such as attractiveness.

While a large body of literature supports the beauty-as-good thesis, research also points to several disadvantages that come with being beautiful. Alongside the beauty-as-socially competent stereotype is the perception that beauty also signifies vanity and self-centeredness. For example, despite finding general support for the beauty-as-good thesis,

Dermer and Thiel (1975) report that individuals expect attractive women to be more conceited and likely to engage in adultery. Their research highlights the importance of beauty's social context. As they theorize, a woman stereotyped as professionally competent may have the best chance of getting a sales job, but if considered conceited or adulterous, she may encounter difficulties prosecuting a rapist (1975, 1175).

Subsequent research, however, questions the strength of this thesis. While the meta-analysis of Eagly et al. (1991) confirms the predicted effects of beauty, they concurrently note that the magnitude of the effect is moderate and varies considerably across studies. They also report that the strength of beauty's power is contingent upon the type of inference a perceiver makes. While physical attractiveness induces strong inferences about social competence, it is weaker for potency, adjustment, and intellectual competence. Additionally, their statistical review found no effect of beauty on integrity and concern for others. These nuances partially support Feingold's (1992) meta-analysis indicating that study methodology matters. So while the experimental literature shows that individuals associate desirable social traits (e.g., sociable, mentally healthy, and intelligent) with physically attractive people, correlation studies show generally trivial relationships on personality measures. In sum, the beauty stereotype is present, but it varies in magnitude and by the trait inferred.

Beyond perceptions are the real effects of beauty on life outcomes. Attractive people are in fact treated better and experience desirable social outcomes. Appearance matters on both an individual and institutional level. For example, experimental research on exchange theory and the prisoner's dilemma illustrates that beauty has a double advantage (Mulford et al. 1998). Subjects expect more cooperation from others they view as attractive and, moreover, choose to interact more often with such individuals. Attractive individuals thus have more opportunities for social exchange and these opportunities turn out to be with people who are relatively inclined to cooperate. As a result, beautiful individuals are more likely to encounter opportunities for successful interactions.

Classic studies on interactions also find that physical attractiveness comes with greater peer acceptance (Dion and Berscheid 1974; Kleck et al. 1974) and that attractive individuals possess greater interpersonal influence and elicit greater opinion agreement than unattractive individuals, particularly with opposite sex peers (Dion and Stein 1978; Horai et al. 1974). Additionally, a communicator's attractiveness influences opinion change and under some conditions more so than a communicator's expertise, although beauty's persuasiveness may only be evident when there is an overt expression of persuasion intent (Mills and Aronson 1965; Mills and Harvey 1972). Physically attractive people are also more memorable and likely to elicit favorable reactions from other communicants such as being looked upon and smiled at (Kleck and Rubenstein 1975). It is noteworthy that the relationship between physical attractiveness and

personality traits works in both directions (see Webster and Driskell 1983). Not only is there a certain persuasiveness that comes with attractiveness, but individuals may actually judge the attractiveness of others with whom they interact based on whether their views resonate with their own.

Conversely, unattractive individuals are subject to stigma, stereotyping, and discrimination. Like race or gender, appearance is a visible and diffuse status characteristic (Berger et al. 1977; Webster and Driskell 1983) and deviation from beauty ideals can lead to stigma and a spoiled identity (Goffman 1963). There is much discussion in the literature about the stigma of, for example, disability, disfigurement, and body size. Susman's (1993) review points out that while the stigma of disability remains, these imputations are losing force. Others writing about deformities argue that, while disadvantaging stigmas are present, physical abnormalities such as craniofacial disfigurement, may actually elicit pro-social behavior from others through a 'kindness to the disadvantaged' reaction – a reaction that unattractive, but otherwise normal, individuals do not elicit (Reis and Hodgins 1995). Finally, Puhl and Brownell's (2001) review documents the widespread occurrence of size-based bias, stereotyping, and discrimination in many arenas of social life (on weight stigma and discrimination, see also Allon 1982; Sobal 2004; Solovay 2000).

Social institutions and the advantages of beauty

While beauty matters on an individual level, it also matters on an institutional level. Physical attractiveness affects individual prospects in social institutions such as work, education, and marriage. Again, beauty translates into social rewards. For example, some organizations may communicate, both overtly and subtly, organizational 'image norms'. Abercrombie & Fitch's legal trouble in the early 2000s stemmed in part from the company's desire to hire employees who embody the 'A & F Look'. This policy led to the termination, or transfer to less visible positions, of employees who did not fit this look.[1] Organizational manipulation of appearance for clientele and profit is evident in other organizations as well, including sex organizations such as exotic dance clubs (Trautner 2005).

There is some dispute over what researchers call a Lack of Fit Model (Heilman 1983). According to this model, 'a perceiver makes inferences about attributes and characteristics of an individual based upon stereotypes (e.g., sex, attractiveness), and then evaluates the individual on the degree to which these attributes match the perceived requirements of a job' (Hosoda et al. 2003, 435). Early research by Heilman et al. supports the model, showing that an attractiveness bias occurs based on an employee's gender and the perceived nature of the job as masculine or feminine (Heilman and Saruwatari 1979; Heilman and Stopeck 1985; the model has also been used to explain obesity discrimination, see Polinko and Popovich 2001). However, other work suggests otherwise. Specifically,

Drogosz and Levy's (1996) empirical analysis explicitly rejects the model. They find that attractiveness is an asset regardless of job type or employee's gender. Moreover, a more recent meta-analysis of 27 experimental studies finds that attractiveness matters as much for men as for women, that attractiveness bias does not differ by amount of job-relevant information provided, and that attractiveness is an asset affecting many stages of the employment process including hiring, performance evaluation, and promotion (Hosoda et al. 2003).

The employment benefits of attractiveness ultimately lead to financial advantages. A study of MBA graduates found that facially attractive men start with higher salaries and continued to earn more over time (Frieze et al. 1991). While this study observed no effect on initial salaries for women, more attractive women eventually earned more in their jobs. Others have documented a hierarchy of earnings by appearance (plain looking, average-looking, and good-looking; Hammermesh and Biddle 1994) and a positive correlation between appearance and both family and personal income (Umberson and Hughes 1987). Conley and Glauber's (2005) recent analysis demonstrates the adverse effects of weight on economic outcomes. They report that increases in women's body mass result in a decrease in family income and later occupational prestige. Research also shows that unattractive women generally have lower labor-force participation rates (Hammermesh and Biddle 1994). Discussed below in the section on beauty work practices, it is thus unsurprising that working women claim they perform beauty work, like putting on makeup, in part to appear competent in the workplace (Dellinger and Williams 1997; on body management in the workplace, also see Gimlin 2007).

Similarly, appearance is connected to success in the educational arena. First, attractiveness affects teacher's perceptions. Studies report an association between attractiveness and a teacher's evaluation of a child's intelligence (Clifford and Walster 1973). Evaluations of an attractive child's transgression are also less negative and less likely to be seen as reflecting an enduring disposition to antisocial behavior than that of an unattractive child (Dion 1972). Second, physical attractiveness impacts actual educational attainment. There is a positive relationship between attractiveness and education level and grades (Felson 1980; Umberson and Hughes 1987). Research with obese students also finds that they encounter difficulty at all levels of the educational system and during the college application process (see Puhl and Brownell 2001; Solovay 2000). At the front of the classroom, one naturalistic study even found that appearance matters for both female and male professors; professors' appearances positively correlate with their teaching evaluations (Riniolo et al. 2006).

Given the centrality of physical attractiveness in mate selection, it is not unexpected that physical appearance affects dating and marriage prospects. Initial studies focused on the Matching Hypothesis that predicts individuals will choose to date others who approximate their own level of social

desirability. Results were equivocal, showing that, on the one hand, individuals seek attractive dates regardless of own physical attractiveness (e.g., Walster et al. 1966) and, on the other, individuals match potential dates by physical attractiveness level (e.g., Berscheid et al. 1971). Research also shows that women's attractiveness and body mass negatively influences the probability of marriage (Conley and Glauber 2005; Udry and Eckland 1984). Importantly, appearance correlates with mobility through marriage. Physical attractiveness is an important variable to upward mobility for women, playing a key role in marriage to high-status men (Elder 1969). That is, more attractive women marry highly educated husbands with higher incomes (Udry and Eckland 1984). As researchers claim: 'Women face an additional economic penalty for bad looks in the form of marriage to husbands whose potential earnings abilities are lower' (Hammermesh and Biddle 1994, 1189).

   Institutionalized advantages of beauty are apparent in other arenas of social life beyond work, education, and marriage. In sport, beauty influences success including wins, the distribution of sponsorships, and media exposure (Hilliard 1984; Lowe 1998; Messner 2002). Research in health care administration indicates that unattractive individuals may receive poorer treatment. For example, physician surveys find that obesity is a condition many physicians respond to negatively and associate negative stereotypes to, including laziness and a lack of self-control (Klein et al. 1982; Price et al. 1987). In the mental health arena, studies show that mental health practitioners may consider attractive people better adjusted and see them as having better self concepts and a better prognosis for recovery than unattractive individuals (Cash et al. 1977; Hobfoll and Penner 1978). Finally, in law, extensive research maintains that attractiveness matters. As Hatfield and Sprecher summarize in their review, 'good-looking defendants have several advantages: (i) They are less likely to be caught; (ii) If caught, they are less likely to be reported; (iii) If their case comes to court, judges and jurors are more likely to be lenient' (1986, 91). In light of this plethora of individual and institutional effects, predictably, even when controlling for race, age, and other relevant covariates, attractiveness correlates positively with happiness and negatively with stress (Umberson and Hughes 1987). The social reality for attractive individuals is that they generally report better overall social and psychological outcomes.

Beauty work practices

The social rewards and benefits that accompany physical attractiveness provide strong incentive to participate in beauty work practices. This work ranges from mundane acts like putting on makeup to extraordinary decisions like undertaking cosmetic surgery. Because women's appearances are more carefully scripted and scrutinized than are men's (Jackson 1992; Weitz 2001), most academic studies have focused on the appearance-related

practices of women. Women are conditioned to think about their appearance and to make changes to their appearance in pursuit of achieving the perfection associated with the hegemonic beauty ideal (Chapkis 1986; Gimlin 2002). Even women who reject hegemonic beauty ideals participate in some forms of beauty work, perhaps to achieve a different ideal (for example, pursuing ideals associated with particular subcultures like punks or goths, or wanting to achieve a 'natural' look or a 'lesbian' appearance). For this reason, we focus our attention in this article on beauty work performed by women. However, it is important to note that researchers are beginning to turn their attention to men and the beauty work that they perform as well (e.g., Andersen et al. 2000; Bell and McNaughton 2007; Bordo 1999; Monaghan 2008; Pope et al. 2000).

Women are held accountable for numerous appearance norms, including, among others, those related to their hair, makeup, body hair, body size and shape, clothing, and nails (Chapkis 1986; Gimlin 1996). The basic assumption that underlies all of these norms is that women's bodies must be altered in some way − that their natural state is unacceptable. And if women are unable to perform beauty work on their own to achieve these ideals, a large cosmetic surgery industry exists to support their endeavors. In the section below, we discuss appearance norms and beauty work practices surrounding three key areas of women's appearance: hair (and body hair), makeup, and body shape/size.

Hair and body hair

One particularly important part of a person's appearance, especially for women, is their hair (Gimlin 1996). While ideals associated with hair vary by race, social class, and region, hegemonic norms prescribe that women's hair be long, blonde, and intentionally styled (Weitz 2001). Women are aware of these norms and make choices as to whether they will accommodate or resist them. For example, Weitz (2001) examined the ways in which women's hair conveys messages about conformity, power, docility, or resistance. Based on in-depth interviews, she finds that women are able to *use* their hair (through the style, length, color, etc.) to gain power in both personal and professional settings. The majority of women emphasized attractiveness and accommodation to mainstream ideals in their appearance − what Weitz refers to as a 'traditional' strategy to gain power through their hair.

Gimlin (1996) and Weitz (2001) both find that women can use their hair to influence other people's perceptions of them, as well as to modify their own personalities and behaviors. Many of the women described the power they felt in being attractive to men, regardless of their own sexual orientation. One lesbian woman in Weitz's sample, for example, felt that her long hair helped her to 'pass' as heterosexual, which she felt helped her in the workplace. Another woman dyed her hair red, claiming that

not only did it make people see her differently ('I started getting noticed a little bit more'), but that she also changed her own behavior to conform more closely with what she saw as characteristic of 'red-headed women' ('I stopped waiting to be asked,' and 'I decided I was going to quit being what I thought other people wanted me to be').

Not all beauty work, however, is in service to hegemonic beauty ideals. Weitz found that some women resisted these ideals, employing more non-traditional strategies to gain power through their hair. For instance, several women described cutting their hair short in order to be taken more seriously in the workforce, noting the contradiction between 'professionalism' and hegemonic femininity ('I'm not going to get through life by being girly,' one woman said). Others used their hair to make political, religious, or social statements. One African-American woman stated that her dreadlocks allowed her to express pride in her cultural heritage and to make a statement about 'the realities of cultural alienation, cultural marginalization, cultural invisibility, discrimination, injustice, all of that' (2001, 680). Women also used their hair to assert a specific identity, such as a lesbian or Muslim identity.

Body hair removal

US and Western cultural appearance norms prescribe that women remove and/or vigilantly maintain their body hair (Tiggemann and Lewis 2004; Toerien and Wilkinson 2003). This includes primarily leg, facial, and underarm hair and, increasingly, the partial or full removal of pubic hair (Toerien et al. 2005). Basow (1991) and others argue that this hairlessness ideal essentially de-emphasizes women's adult status and sexuality by returning them to a pre-adolescent state.

Adherence to the hairlessness norm is widespread among Western women. Studies conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia find that over 90 percent of women remove their leg and underarm hair on a regular basis (Basow 1991 reports figures closer to 80 percent, as she oversampled lesbians and older adults in her US study; Tiggemann and Lewis 2004; Toerien et al. 2005). Of the women sampled in Toerien et al.'s (2005) British study, 85 percent reported removing some or all of their pubic hair and 82 percent reported manipulating their eyebrows. These women also reported a range of other sites for hair removal: 12 percent removed hair from their breasts, 11 percent from their stomach, 8 percent from their arms, 2 percent from their toes, and a smattering of participants listed fingers, knuckles, hands, neck, back, feet, and nostrils.

Common reasons for *initially* removing leg and underarm hair related to social norms and social acceptability (e.g., 'it was the thing to do' or 'women are supposed to shave'; Basow 1991). The main reasons women *continued* to adhere to the hairlessness ideal related to femininity and

conventional attractiveness (e.g., 'I like the soft/silky feeling' or 'men prefer women without ... hair'). Later studies found that women who do not remove body hair are not only rated as unattractive, but also as less intelligent, less happy, and less sociable than women who do shave their legs and underarms (Basow and Braman 1998; Tiggemann and Lewis 2004).

Makeup

Women are also held accountable for complying with makeup norms, in both their personal and professional lives. Based on in-depth interviews with professional women, Dellinger and Williams (1997) find that the use of makeup elicits several benefits for women. First, when women wear makeup to work, others perceived them as well-rested and having an overall healthy appearance. When women who usually wear makeup show up to work *without* it, co-workers also subject them to questions about their health and/or energy level (e.g., 'Do you feel alright?'). Thus, the use of makeup can function to help women *avoid* negative attention. Likewise, women who usually did not wear makeup to work received *positive* attention on those occasions when they did. Both reactions to the use – or non-use – of makeup reinforce the norm that makeup is an integral part of looking healthy, energized, and well-rested (Dellinger and Williams 1997).

The use of makeup also marks women as heterosexual. In Dellinger's and Williams' (1997) study, the use of makeup was interpreted as showing respect for, or caring for, men and their opinions. All of the lesbian women they interviewed (25 percent of their sample) noted a connection between wearing makeup and being perceived as heterosexual. This connection is perhaps even more pronounced among women athletes, regardless of their sexuality, who actively use makeup to guard against people's assumptions that they are lesbians (Blinde and Taub 1992; Cahn 1994; Hilliard 1984; Lowe 1998). Thus, like dyeing or styling hair, wearing makeup has the added function of allowing lesbians to 'pass' for straight while also allowing straight women to be free from questions about their heterosexuality.

Finally, many of the women interviewed by Dellinger and Williams (1997) felt that wearing makeup at work enhanced their credibility. Certainly, women who worked in the 'appearance industry' as hairstylists or in cosmetic retail felt that their use of makeup added to their credibility and competence in helping other women with their appearances. As one woman put it, 'you can't look like crap and tell somebody how they should look and expect them to believe you if you look like shit' (1997, 165). Other women also felt that makeup increased their perceived competence and credibility. Wearing makeup for them was seen as part of 'looking professional'. Young women can use makeup to try to look older

(and thus more credible), older women can use makeup to appear younger (and thus more competent), and women of color can use makeup to signal that they 'fit in' with the norms of the dominant culture.

Body size and body shape

Given the prevalence of a thin and firm body ideal for women and a firm ideal for men in western culture, much beauty work today focuses on altering body size and shape. Because the cultural ideal is generally unattainable and has debilitating effects on women, including their mental and physical health (see, e.g., Sprague-Zones 1997), some feminists refer to it as a 'tyranny of slenderness' (Chernin 1994) and a 'beauty myth' (Wolf 1991). This myth, they critique, reproduces gender hierarchies and is a form of patriarchal oppression. According to Wolf, women's fixation on thinness is akin to self-starvation, contributes to lowered self-esteem, and diverts women's attention from social advancement. In her Foucauldian analysis, Bordo (2003) also argues that these practices stem, not solely from direct repression, but from more subtle forms of surveillance including self-surveillance, surveillance by men, and surveillance by other women. We elaborate on the relationship between beauty work and the reproduction of gender norms in the following section.

Like other forms of beauty work, much of the literature on weight loss practices focuses on women. This is consistent with the high rates of female body dissatisfaction documented (Feingold and Mazzella 1998). Body weight concerns are so prevalent that some scholars label it a 'normative discontent' for women (Rodin et al. 1985). Dieting practices vary and include techniques such as reduced calorie consumption, vomiting, diet pills, and fad diets (Ogden 1992). Women have also turned to surgery to alter body size and shape and, in fact, most weight loss surgery patients are women (Santry et al. 2005).

Studies exploring the perspectives of women who undertake cosmetic surgery illuminate a central tension between free will and co-optation. While female beauty norms can be interpreted as an oppressive tool and beauty work as a form of compliance or cooptation, Davis (1991) observes that women's agency is actual central to these practices. Her analysis of Dutch cosmetic surgery patients indicates that women are neither mistaken nor misguided in their endeavors. Instead, abandoning the simplistic notion that women are victims of beauty constraints, Davis argues that women actively pursue cosmetic surgery so that they can regain control of their lives, feel normal, or even right the wrong of an ongoing suffering. In this way, they are far from 'cultural dopes'. Similarly, in her interviews with women who participated in cosmetic surgery, Gimlin (2000) doc-uments the importance women attach to having 'freely chosen' to undergo surgery. The surgery enables women to reposition their bodies as normal, even if it simultaneously requires accounting for charges of inauthenticity.

Beauty work and the reproduction of gender

These practices illuminate the importance of social norms and constraints. Moreover, they highlight a notable gender dimension. We have already alluded to this double standard of beauty. While attractiveness matters for men, for women it is essential, nearly compulsory. We observe this double standard especially with regard to weight and aging. So while there is substantial evidence that large individuals encounter stigma (e.g., Puhl and Brownell 2001), this is especially the case for large women. Because ideologies of weight closely parallel ideologies of womanhood, women experience extraordinary pressure to conform to body ideals and are stigmatized even more so than men when they do not conform (McKinley 1999). The effects are not inconsequential. For example, obese women face downward social and economic mobility (Rothblum 1992), suffer greater economic penalties that obese men do not (Conley and Glauber 2005; Register and Williams 1990), and are more negatively stigmatized as less sexually attractive mates than obese men (Regan 1996). Moreover, as men age and deviate from the youthful beauty ideal, they are given more social latitude than women. So even when aging accompanies diminished attractiveness for both women and men, this decline is greater for women (Deutsch et al. 1986). Not surprisingly, beauty work is much more prevalent among women. Preoccupation with body is so prevalent that young girls' 'fat talk' is a form of beauty work in itself, even as it fulfills a female bonding function (Nichter 2000).

Women face several contradictions when they perform beauty work. If she fails at beauty conformity, she is powerless and condemned as ugly; if she is successful, she is still powerless in a regime that defines her value and worth by her appearance (Tseëlon 1993). It is a double bind. In her conformity attempts, she also reinforces economic structures and a multi-billion dollar-a-year beauty industry profits nicely from her efforts (Fraser 1998). Moreover, hegemonic beauty ideals are not only unrealistic, they are made to seem natural for women. 'She is expected to embody a "timeless" cultural fantasy that is removed from the diverse and changing world of the living. But her special beauty is not really innate, and it takes a lot of effort to maintain' (Tseëlon 1993, 319). Women's effortless authentic beauty is thus far from it. Beauty work is in large part this process of transforming the natural body to fit the cultural ideal, altogether while concealing the process and making it seem natural. Dull and West (1991) observe this phenomenon in their interviews with cosmetic surgeons and patients. Surgeons and patients consider women's pursuit of aesthetic improvement as 'normal' or 'natural'. However, because it is considered less so for men, men's surgery discourses center around instrumental reasons such as job-related concerns. In similar vein, as women age, they laud the natural unmodified body yet nevertheless engage in

beauty work, endeavoring to produce a 'natural look' through their beauty regimens (Clarke and Griffin 2007).

The salience of beauty for women stems in part from Western culture's emphasis on the female body. Mass media images of feminine beauty, however unrealistic, are pervasive and objectify and commodify women's bodies (Kilbourne 1999). From an early age, cultural artifacts, from advertisements to children's fairy tales, expose young girls to the feminine beauty ideal (Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz 2003). These images reinforce what Connell (1987) refers to as 'emphasized femininity', a femininity that is complicit to gender inequality and is organized around men's desires and interests. This emphasized femininity teaches young girls and women that their appearance is central to self and success. Indeed research shows that a woman's body and appearance closely tie to her self-definition and self-esteem (e.g., Tiggemann 1994). One study reports that physical appearance is actually the most important predictor of self-evaluation by college and high school girls (Jackson et al. 1994). Women may even come to define themselves – and other women – in terms of this objectification and 'male gaze' (Berger 1972; Frederickson and Roberts 1997; McKinley 1999; McKinley and Hyde 1996; Mulvey 1989).

Furthermore, the rules of femininity are transmitted through mass media and other visual images (Bordo 2003). Power and social relations are written on the body as text. In Bordo's words, 'we learn the rules directly through bodily discourse: through images that tell us what clothes, body shape, facial expression, movements, and behavior are required' (2003, 170). Even when these rules contradict and gender norms are ambiguous, their bodily inscription is apparent. The female anorexic is exemplary. She embraces with vehemence both a domestic conception of fragility, powerless, and containment, alongside the masculine ideals of self-control and mastery. Through self-regulation and other surveillance techniques, women monitor and discipline their bodies in ways that reproduce the social order. So despite the diversity and complexity of cultural images and ideals, a homogenizing and normalizing tendency occurs (Bordo 2003). In this way, women's beauty work, whether it is donning makeup, hair styling, and/or dieting, is a way of 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987). The body is a text for expressing and reproducing gender hierarchies.

While cultural gender bias means beauty work is more prevalent among women, men too participate in appearance-related work. In recent years, there has been a rise in what Pope et al. (2000) refer to as the Adonis Complex. The sale of men's beauty products, gym equipment, and fitness memberships all point to men's growing concern for their appearance. According to these authors, two important impetuses account for this rise. First, the commonplace of anabolic steroids by the 1980s, along with the Hollywood bodies built from its usage, changed the cultural landscape and enabled young men to surpass the boundaries of physiology. Second,

women's growing equality threatened men's social position, leading them to seek alternative arenas and avenues to enact masculinity. The leading cultural construction of masculinity, or hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995), dictates that 'real men' possess, among other characteristics, strength, control, and autonomy. When women's equality threatens masculinity, control over the body through beauty work such as weight training and body building becomes a way of regaining control. Again, similar to women's feminine beauty work, men's displays of muscularity can help sustain dominant cultural hierarchies and social relations.

Race, body satisfaction, and beauty work

There is an important racial dimension to beauty norms and beauty work. Simply stated, the Western beauty aesthetic is a white ideal defined in opposition to the black body (Collins 1991). As Collins (1991) points out, the black body is the Other and it is this Other that the beauty ideal defines itself in opposition to (see also Young 1990). In her words, '[b]lue-eyed, blond, thin women could not be considered beautiful without the Other – Black women with classical African features of dark skin, broad noses, full lips, and kinky hair' (1991, 79). Moreover, depictions of the Eurocentric beauty ideal come alongside negative, stereotypical, and controlling images of black women's bodies (Collins 1991). These cultural depictions lead to important racial and ethnic differences in body dissatisfaction and beauty work.

While there is some evidence that African-American women idealize Eurocentric features such as lighter skin color (Bond and Cash 1992), studies generally confirm that body dissatisfaction is lower among African-American women and that, as a whole, there is a more flexible standard of beauty in black communities.[2] For example, Milkie's (1999) interviews with white and minority girls found that minority girls' lack of identification with 'white' media images serves as a buffer to their harmful effects on self-concept. Research by Parker et al. (1995) reports that African-American girls' sense of beauty comes from 'looking good' or making what 'you've got work for you'. This is in contrast to white adolescent girls who voice body dissatisfaction and affix themselves to a more rigid conception of beauty. In Lovejoy's (2001) excellent review, she also notes that black women subscribe to an alternative aesthetic. This aesthetic enables them to combat social stigmatization and is a form of cultural resistance. A more flexible and egalitarian aesthetic found in black communities thus celebrates uniqueness and harmony in diversity (Collins 1991). This black aesthetic encourages self-acceptance among African-American girls and women, leading to higher levels of body satisfaction.

Despite black women's positive body image, Lovejoy (2001) cautions that greater body acceptance may lead to a denial of psychological and

physical health problems such as obesity and compulsive overeating. Thompson (1992, 1994) has also written about eating disorders among African American. Importantly, she critiques feminist theories that explain eating disorders as an extension of compulsory thinness for women. Her life history interviews with African-American, Latina, and white women suggest that these behaviors often serve as coping strategies for serious traumas including sexual abuse, racism, and poverty.

Studies of Asian-American women report greater resemblance to whites than blacks and an idealization of the white beauty ideal. For example, Evans and McConnell (2003) exposed three groups of women (Asian, black, and white) to idealized images and found that, while black women did not find mainstream standards relevant to themselves, Asian and white women were more likely to endorse mainstream beauty standards. Lee and Zhan's (1998) review also finds an idealized Caucasian identification among Asian-American youth and general dissatisfaction among Asian-American youths about their appearance. Similarly, Kaw (1993) observes a predominance of nose implants and double-eyelid surgery among Asian-American women. She argues that these alterations are an attempt to escape persisting racial prejudice that correlates stereo-typical genetic physical features such as 'slanty eyes' and a 'flat nose' with negative behavioral characteristics such as passivity. As a whole, there is some evidence that hegemonic Western beauty norms contribute to Asian-American women's body dissatisfaction, leading to normalizing beauty work (Kawamura 2002).

Researchers have also studied beauty work and dissatisfaction among Hispanics. Altabe and O'Garo (2002) note that Hispanic communities' emphasis on a traditional feminine role, along with a cultural fatalism that suppresses interpersonal conflict and defiance, may exacerbate body dissatisfaction among young Latinas. Researchers have also studied the role of acculturation finding that, at times, it plays an important role in eating disorders; for example, immigration to the United States prior to puberty is a risk factor (Lopez et al. 1995), while at other times, it is unrelated (Joiner and Kashubeck 1996). Grabe and Hyde best capture the position of beauty work and body dissatisfaction among Latinas when they state, 'unlike the consistent differences reported in the Black-White literature, recent research regarding differences in body dissatisfaction between Hispanic and White women has been mixed' (2006, 624).

Because most empirical research focuses on women, relatively few studies have examined racial/ethnic differences in body image for men. However, Ricciardelli et al. (2007) recently, systematically, and compre-hensively reviewed the research on men across several body work variables. Specifically, they consider body image, weight loss strategies and binge eating, weight/muscle gain strategies and steroids for several cultural groups in the United States, including blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Middle Easterners. They conclude that

men from minority ethnic groups engage in more extreme body transformation strategies and binge eating than do white men. Moreover, they suggest that, for men, several variables moderate and/or mediate the relationship between culture and body image. These include acculturation, socio-economic status, media exposure, and the internalization of the muscular ideal.

Conclusion

In Western cultures that hold the beautiful body in high esteem, individuals perform various forms of beauty work, thus reproducing and strengthening this social hierarchy. Social structures that confer both individual and institutional rewards to physically attractive individuals encourage these practices. Not only do individuals associate positive traits with beautiful persons, physically attractive people hold a communication advantage in social interactions and are more likely to experience employment, educational, and marital success compared to unattractive persons. While both women and men perform beauty work, in light of the double standard of beauty, beauty work plays a more central role in women's lives. There are also important racial and ethnic group variations in body satisfaction and beauty work practices.

Despite the cultural hierarchy that clearly allocates benefits and privileges to the beautiful, resistance practices are evident. For example, Butler (1990) shows how drag is one way of subverting normative constructions of sex and gender, creating 'gender trouble' (see also Bornstein 1994). Subcultural bodily practices such as scarification enable the reclaiming of the female body (Pitts 1998). Resistance to, and the subversion of, the thin ideal comes in many forms including what Lebesco (2001, 2004) describes as 'queering corpulent bodies/politics' that involves rejecting essentialist approaches to fat (2001, 84). Some have even argued that cosmetic surgery is a possible tool to subvert dominant patriarchal ideals of feminine beauty by highlighting the artificial nature of the body (Balasmo 1996; Morgan 1991; for a review of this perspective, see Negrin 2002).

There are several ways of understanding the relationship between cultural norms and beauty work. On the one hand, individuals who participate in body modification practices can be thought of as 'cultural dopes,' passively adopting hegemonic beauty norms. In this vein, beauty work, especially for women, is a form of complicity. The homogenizing and normalizing effects of hegemonic cultural norms are successful (Bordo 2003; Foucault 1979). Through self-regulation and other mechanisms, docile bodies emerge. In this line of thinking, willing participants need consciousness-raising to understand how their actions play into larger systems of domination. Body acceptance thus becomes crucial to women's advancement (Chapkis 1986).

On the other hand, it is possible to understand individuals as active agents who perform beauty work to consciously reap certain rewards and avoid stigma. As discussed previously, cosmetic surgery undertakers see surgery as a way of regaining control of one's life, feeling normal, and righting the wrong of suffering (Davis 1995; see also Gimlin 2000; Kaw 1993). Dellinger and Williams' (1997) interviews indicate that women feel they need makeup to appear healthy, heterosexual, and competent in the workplace. These researchers also report that women sometimes 'transform the meanings attached to their own use of makeup' (1997, 168), documenting several positive functions of makeup. At times, makeup is a topic of conversation that bonds women and it also symbolizes a woman's time for herself (Dellinger and Williams 1997). Delano (2000) too observes that, for some women, wearing makeup may be an act of agency. During World War II, American women used makeup in part to disrupt wartime's masculine code of power.

As these cases illustrate, individuals are far from simply cultural dopes. Instead, they negotiate their experiences within structural constraints and employ beauty work in the active pursuit of some goal, whether it is happiness, success, or resistance. Gagné and McGaughey's (2002) in-depth interviews with elective mammoplasty patients point to a middle-ground where patients exercise agency within cultural constraints (also see Negrin 2002). That is, beauty practices can be empowering while simultaneously reinforcing oppressive hegemonic ideals. These practices can sustain and reproduce the social order. Weitz (2001) draws a similar conclusion in her study of hair. While women who use traditional means of seeking power through conventional attractiveness 'are actively and rationally making choices based on a realistic assessment of how they can best obtain their goals' (2001, 675), they do little to challenge the broader ideologies that support women's appearance as the primary means through which they are valued. Even women who reject elements of the hegemonic ideals reinforce the importance of appearance. In addition, they may gain personal power at the expense of other women.

Our review of the beauty work literature highlights widespread beauty practices, particularly among women, in a society that rewards beauty and sanctions ugliness. However, it also illuminates several areas of research that currently remain un- or under-explored. First, while much work focuses on how physical attractiveness affects perceptions and social outcomes at both the individual and institutional levels, given the importance of intersecting status characteristics (Collins 1991), it would be valuable for researchers to conduct empirical analyses on how race, gender, and class (among other characteristics) interact with beauty to shape perceptions and outcomes. For instance, how do advantageous and disadvantageous characteristics operate simultaneously? What are their meanings for self and identity, psychological well-being, and other social outcomes? For example, while age usually brings higher income, beauty as an asset

declines with age. What mechanisms are at work in these situations? How do these competing characteristics intersect and interact?[3] Second, while a dialogue has begun about men's bodies, their performance of beauty work, and the rise of the Adonis Complex, we acknowledge that the widespread focus on women's beauty work has resulted in a dearth of literature on men. As such, we encourage continued theoretical and empirical attention on men's practices. Third, while researchers are moving past a one-dimensional focus on women to examine other diffuse status characteristics such as race and ethnicity, most of this literature has focused on large minority groups such as blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. This has come at the cost of other groups such as Native Americans, Middle-Easterners, and multi-racial individuals. Indeed these groups provide a unique epistemological standpoint on beauty work that merit in-depth exploration. Finally, an ideological shift towards public sociology beseeches us as researchers to take our study of social life one step further and contemplate how our work fits into practical and positive social change. As such, we encourage researchers not only to investigate the concrete manifestations of western culture's hierarchy of beauty, but to explore how both formal and informal policy can be enacted to subvert this hierarchy and/or to eliminate stigma, bias, and discrimination for beauty nonconformists.

Short Biography

Samantha Kwan, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and a Women's Studies faculty affiliate at the University of Houston. She received her doctorate in sociology from the University of Arizona in 2007. Her research interests are in the areas of gender, body, and culture. Her current work focuses on contested meanings about body, health, and weight; cosmetic surgery; and the relationship between religion and body work. She teaches various courses at the University of Houston including the sociology of gender, research methods, and criminology.

Mary Nell Trautner, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University at Buffalo, SUNY. She received her doctorate in sociology from the University of Arizona in 2006. Her research and teaching interests are in the areas of law and society, gender, organizations, and labor and labor movements. Her current work focuses on legal decision making and public policy, specifically how tort reform impacts how personal injury lawyers decide which cases to accept and which to decline. Her articles have appeared in Gender & Society, Social Forces, and Working USA.

Notes

★ Correspondence address: Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Houston, 482 Philip G. Hoffman Hall, Houston, TX 77204, USA. Email: sskwan@uh.edu

[1] Appearance/image is not federally protected. In the A & F case, plaintiffs had recourse because of the interrelationship between appearance discrimination and race/sex discrimination. The consent decree stated that the company cannot discriminate by race or sex under the auspice of a marketing strategy for a particular look. In 2004, the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) agreed to a mutual resolution of the lawsuit for $50 million (U.S. EEOC Press Release November 16, 2004).

[2] Grabe and Hyde (2006) question whether there are large differences in dissatisfaction among white and non-white women. Their recent meta-analysis indicates that, while there are differences among these groups, these differences are small.

[3] We thank David Shulman for bringing this paradox to our attention.

References

Adams, Gerald R. 1982. 'Physical Attractiveness.' Pp. 253–304 in *In the Eye of the Beholder*, edited by Arthur Miller. New York, NY: Praeger.

Allon, Natalie 1982. 'The Stigma of Overweight in Everyday Life.' Pp. 130–74 in *Psychological Aspects of Obesity: A Handbook*, edited by Benjamin B. Wolman. New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Altabe, Madeline and Keisha-Gaye N. O'Garo 2002. 'Hispanic Body Images.' Pp. 250–6 in *Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research, and Clinical Practice*, edited by Thomas F. Cash and Thomas Pruzinsky. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Andersen, Arnold, Leigh Cohn and Tom Holbrook 2000. *Making Weight: Men's Conflicts with Food, Weight, Shape, and Appearance*. Carlsbad, CA: Gurze Books.

Baker-Sperry, Lori and Liz Grauerholz 2003. 'The Pervasiveness and Persistence of the Feminine Beauty Ideal in Children's Fairy Tales.' *Gender & Society* **17**: 711–26.

Balasmo, Anne 1996. *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Basow, Susan A. 1991. 'The Hairless Ideal: Women and Their Body Hair.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **15**: 83–96.

Basow, Susan A. and Amie C. Braman 1998. 'Women and Body Hair: Social Perceptions and Attitudes.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **22**: 637–45.

Bell, Kirsten and Darlene McNaughton 2007. 'Feminism and the Invisible Fat Man.' *Body & Society* **13**: 107–31.

Berger John. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London, UK: Penguin.

Berger, Joseph, H. Famit Fisek, Robert Z. Norman and Morris Zelditch Jr. 1977. *Status Characteristics and Social Interaction: An Expectation-States Approach*. New York, NY: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co.

Berscheid, Ellen, Karen Dion, Elaine Walster and G. William Walster 1971. 'Physical Attractiveness and Dating Choice: A test of the Matching Hypothesis.' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* **7**: 173–89.

Blinde, Elaine M. and Diane E. Taub 1992. 'Women Athletes as Falsely Accused Deviants: Managing the Lesbian Stigma.' *The Sociological Quarterly* **33**: 521–33.

Bond, Selena and Thomas F. Cash 1992. 'Black Beauty: Skin Color and Body Images among African-American College Women.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **22**: 874–88.

Bordo, Susan 1999. *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and in Private*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Bordo, Susan 2003. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture & the Body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bornstein, Kate 1994. *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women, and the Rest of Us*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Butler, Judith 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Second edition. New York, NY: Routledge.

Cahn, Susan 1994. *Coming On Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sport*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Cash, Thomas F., Jo Anne Kehr, James Polyson and Valerie Freeman 1977. 'Role of Physical

Attractiveness in Peer Attribution of Psychological Disturbance.' *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* **45**: 987–93.

Chapkis, Wendy 1986. *Beauty Secrets: Women and the Politics of Appearance.* Boston, MA: South End Press.

Chernin, Kim 1994. *The Obsession: Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness.* New York, NY: Harper Perennial.

Clarke, Laura Hurd and Meredith Griffin 2007. 'The Body Natural and the Body Unnatural: Beauty Work and Aging.' *Journal of Aging Studies* **21**: 187–201.

Clifford, Margaret M. and Elaine Walster 1973. 'The Effect of Physical Attractiveness on Teacher Expectations.' *Sociology of Education* **46**: 248–58.

Collins, Patricia Hill 1991. *Black Feminist Thought; Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Conley, Dalton and Rebecca Glauber May 2005. 'Gender, Body Mass and Economic Status.' *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series.* Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Connell, R. W. 1987. *Gender and Power.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. 1995. *Masculinities.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Davis, Kathy 1991. 'Remaking the She-Devil: A Critical Look at Feminist Approaches to Beauty.' *Hypatia* **6** (2): 21–43.

Davis, Kathy 1995. *Reshaping the Female Body: The Dilemma of Cosmetic Surgery.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Delano, Page D. 2000. 'Making Up for War: Sexuality and Citizenship in Wartime Culture.' *Feminist Studies* **26**: 33–68.

Dellinger, Kirsten and Christine L. Williams 1997. 'Makeup at Work: Negotiating Appearance Rules in the Workplace.' *Gender & Society* **11**: 151–77.

Dermer, Marshall and Darrel L. Thiel 1975. 'When Beauty May Fail.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **31**: 1168–76.

Deutsch, Francine M., Carla M. Zalenski and Mary E. Clark 1986. 'Is There a Double Standard of Aging?' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **16**: 771–85.

Dion, Karen and Ellen Berscheid 1974. 'Physical Attractiveness and Perception in Children.' *Sociometry* **37**: 1–12.

Dion, Karen and Steven Stein 1978. 'Physical Attractiveness and Interpersonal Influence.' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* **14**: 97–108.

Dion, Karen, Ellen Berscheid and Elaine Walster 1972. 'What Is Beautiful Is Good.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **24**: 285–90.

Dion, Karen 1972. 'Physical Attractiveness and Evaluation of Children's Transgressions.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **24**: 207–13.

Drogosz, Lisa M. and Paul E. Levy 1996. 'Another Look at the Effects of Appearance, Gender, and Job Type on Performance-Based Decision' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **20**: 437–445.

Dull, Diane and Candace West 1991. 'Accounting for Cosmetic Surgery: The Accomplishment of Gender.' *Social Problems* **38**: 54–70.

Eagly, Alice H., Richard D. Ashmore, Mona G. Makhijani and Laura C. Longo 1991. 'What Is Beautiful Is Good, but … : A Meta-Analytic Review of Research on the Physical Attractiveness Stereotype.' *Psychological Bulletin* **110**: 109–28.

Elder, Glen 1969. 'Appearance and Education in Marriage Mobility.' *American Sociological Review* **34**: 519–33.

Etcoff, Nancy 1999. *Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty.* New York, NY: Doubleday.

Evans, Peggy Chin and Allen R. McConnell 2003. 'Do Racial Minorities Respond in the Same Way to Mainstream Beauty Standards? Social Comparison Processes in Asian, Black, and White Women.' *Self and Identity* **2**: 153–67.

Feingold, Alan and Ronald Mazzella 1998. 'Gender Differences in Body Image are Increasing.' *Psychological Science* **9**: 190–5.

Feingold, Alan 1992. 'Good-Looking People Are Not What We Think.' *Psychological Bulletin* **111**: 304–41.

Felson, Richard B. 1980. 'Physical Attractiveness, Grades, and Teachers' Attributions.' *Representative Research in Social Psychology* **11**: 64–71.

Foucault, Michel 1979. *Discipline and Punish.* New York, NY: Vintage.

Fraser, Laura 1998. *Losing It: America's Obsession with Weight and the Industry that Feeds on It*. New York, NY: Dutton.

Frederickson, Barbara L. and Tomi-Ann Roberts 1997. 'Objectification Theory: Towards Understanding Women's Lived Experiences and Mental Health Risks.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **21**: 173–206.

Frieze, Irene Hanson, Josephine E. Olson and June Russell 1991. 'Attractiveness and Income for Men and Women in Management.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **21**: 1039–57.

Gagné, Patricia and Deanna McGaughey 2002. 'Designing Women: Cultural Hegemony and the Exercise of Power Among Women Who have Undergone Elective Mamoplasty.' *Gender & Society* **16**: 814–38.

Gimlin, Debra L. 1996. 'Pamela's Place: Power and Negotiation in the Hair Salon.' *Gender & Society* **10**: 505–26.

Gimlin, Debra L. 2000. 'Cosmetic Surgery: Beauty as Commodity.' *Qualitative Sociology* **23**: 77–98.

Gimlin, Debra L. 2002. *Body Work: Beauty and Self-Image in American Culture*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gimlin, Debra L. 2007. 'What Is "Body Work"? A Review of the Literature.' *Sociology Compass* **1**: 353–70.

Goffman, Erving 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Grabe, Shelly and Janet Shibley Hyde 2006. 'Ethnicity and Body Dissatisfaction among Women in the United States: A Meta-Analysis.' *Psychological Bulletin* **132**: 622–40.

Hammermesh, Daniel S. and Jeff E. Biddle 1994. 'Beauty and the Labor Market.' *American Economic Review* **84**: 1174–94.

Hatfield, Elaine and Susan Sprecher 1986. *Mirror, Mirror: The Importance of Looks in Everyday Life*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.

Heilman, Madeline E. 1983. 'Sex Bias in Work Settings: The Lack of Fit Model.' *Research in Organizational Behavior* **5**: 269–98.

Heilman, Madeline E. and Lois R. Saruwatari 1979. 'When Beauty Is Beastly: The Effects of Appearance and Sex on Evaluations of Job Applications for Managerial and Nonmanagerial Jobs.' *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance* **23**: 360–72.

Heilman, Madeline E. and Melanie E. Stopeck 1985. 'Being Attractive, Advantage or Disadvantage? Performance-Based Evaluations and Recommended Personnel Actions as a Function of Appearance, Sex, and Job Type.' *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* **35**: 202–15.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene 1996. *Am I Thin Enough Yet? The Cult of Thinness and the Commercialization of Identity*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hilliard, Dan C. 1984. 'Media Images of Male and Female Professional Athletes: An Interpretive Analysis of Magazine Articles.' *Sociology of Sport Journal* **1**: 251–62.

Hobfoll, Steven E. and Louis A. Penner 1978. 'Effect of Physical Attractiveness on Therapists' Initial Judgments of Person's Self Concept.' *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* **46**: 200–1.

Horai, Joann, Nicholas Naccari and Elliot Fatoullah 1974. 'The Effects of Expertise and Physical Attractiveness upon Opinion Agreement and Liking.' *Sociometry* **37**: 601–6.

Hosoda, Megumi, Eugene F. Stone-Romero and Gwen Coats 2003. 'The Effects of Physical Attractiveness on Job-Related Outcomes: A Meta-Analysis of Experimental Studies.' *Personnel Psychology* **56**: 431–62.

Jackson, Linda A., Carole N. Hodge and Julie M. Ingram 1994. 'Gender and Self-Concept: A Reexamination of Stereotypic Differences and the Role of Gender Attitudes.' *Sex Roles* **30**: 615–30.

Jackson, Linda 1992. *Physical Appearance and Gender: Sociobiological and Sociocultural Perspectives*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Joiner, Greg W. and Susan Kashubeck 1996. 'Acculturation, Body Image, Self-Esteem, and Eating-Disorder Symptomology in Adolescent Mexican American Women.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **20**: 419–35.

Kang, Milliann 2003. 'The Managed Hand: the Commercialization of Bodies and Emotions in Korean Immigrant-Owned Nail Salons.' *Gender & Society* **17**: 820–39.

Kaw, Eugenia 1993. 'Medicalization of Racial Features: Asian American Women and Cosmetic Surgery.' *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* **7**: 74–89.

Kawamura, Kathleen Y. 2002. 'Asian American Body Images.' Pp. 243–2439 in *Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research, and Clinical Practice*, edited by Thomas F. Cash and Thomas Pruzinsky. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Kilbourne, Jean 1999. *Can't Buy My Love: How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel*. New York, NY: Touchstone Press.

Kleck, Robert E. and Carin Rubenstein 1975. 'Physical Attractiveness, Perceived Attitude Similarity, and Interpersonal Attraction in an Opposite-Sex Encounter.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **31**: 107–14.

Kleck, Robert E., Stephen A. Richardson and Linda Ronald 1974. 'Physical Appearance Cues and Interpersonal Attraction in Children.' *Child Development* **45**: 305–10.

Klein, David, Jackob Najman, Arthur F. Kohrman and Clarke Munro 1982. 'Patient Characteristics that Elicit Negative Responses from Family Physicians.' *Journal of Family Practice* **14**: 881–8.

Landy, David and Harold Sigall 1974. 'Beauty Is Talent: Task Evaluation as a Function of the Performer's Physical Attractiveness.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **39**: 299–304.

Lebesco, Kathleen 2001. 'Queering Fat Bodies/Politics.' Pp. 74–87 in *Bodies Out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression*, edited by Kane Evans Braziel and Kathleen LeBesco. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lebesco, Kathleen 2004. *Revolting Bodies: The Struggle to Redefine Fat Identity*. Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Lee, Lee C. and Ginny Zhan 1998. 'Psychological Status of Children and Youths.' Pp. 137–163 in *Handbook of Asian American Psychology*, edited by Lee C. Lee and Nolan W. S. Zane. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lopez, Ester, Glen Garry Blix and Arlene Gray Blix 1995. 'Body Image of Latinas Compared to Body Image of Non-Latina White Women.' *Health Values: The Journal of Health Behavior, Education & Promotion* **19**: 3–10.

Lovejoy, Meg 2001. 'Disturbances in the Social Body: Differences in Body Image and Eating Problems among African American and White Women.' *Gender & Society* **15**: 239–61.

Lowe, Maria R. 1998. *Women of Steel: Female Bodybuilders and the Struggle for Self-Definition*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

McKinley, Nita Mary and Janet Shibley Hyde 1996. 'The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **20**: 181–215.

McKinley, Nita Mary 1999. 'Ideal Weight/Ideal Women: Society Constructs the Female.' Pp. 97–115 in *Weighty Issues: Fatness and Thinness as Social Problems*, edited by Jeffery Sobal and Donna Maurer. New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Messner, Michael A. 2002. *Taking the Field: Men, Women, and Sports*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Milkie, Melissa 1999. 'Social Comparisons, Reflected Appraisals, and Mass Media: The Impact of Pervasive Beauty Images on Black and White Girls' Self-Concepts.' *Social Psychology Quarterly* **62**: 190–210.

Mills, Judson and Elliot Aronson 1965. 'Opinion Change as a Function of the Communicator's Attractiveness and Desire to Influence.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **1**: 173–7.

Mills, Judson and John Harvey 1972. 'Opinion Change as a Function of When Information about the Communicator Is Received and Whether he is Attractive or Expert.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **21**: 52–5.

Monaghan, Lee 2008. *Men and the War on Obesity: A Sociological Study*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Morgan, Kathryn 1991. 'Women and the Knife: Cosmetic Surgery and the Colonization of Women's Bodies.' *Hypatia* **6**: 25–53.

Mulford, Matthew, John Orbell, Catherine Shatto and Jean Stockard 1998. 'Physical Attractiveness, Opportunity, and Success in Everyday Exchange.' *American Journal of Sociology* **103**: 1565–92.

Mulvey, Laura 1989. *Visual Pleasures and Narrative Cinema*. Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis University Press.

Negrin, Llewellyn 2002. 'Cosmetic Surgery and the Eclipse of Identity.' *Body & Society* **8**: 21–42.

Nichter, Mimi 2000. *Fat Talk: What Girls and Their Parents Say About Dieting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ogden, Jane 1992. *Fat Chance! The Myth of Dieting Explained*. London, UK: Routledge.

Parker, Sheila, Mimi Nichter, Mark Nichter, Nancy Nuckovic, Colette Sims and Cheryl Ritenbaugh 1995. 'Body Image and Weight Concerns among African American and White Adolescent Females: Differences that Make a Difference.' *Human Organization* **54**: 103–14.

Pitts, Victoria 1998. '"Reclaiming" the Female Body: Embodied Identity Work, Resistance, and the Grotesque.' *Body & Society* **4**: 67–84.

Polinko, Natalie K. and Paula M. Popvich 2001. 'Evil Thoughts But Angelic Actions: Responses to Overweight Job Applicants.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **31**: 904–24.

Pope, Harrison G. Jr., Katharine A. Phillips and Roberto Olivardia 2000. *The Adonis Complex: The Secret Crisis of Male Body Obsession*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Price, James H., Sharon M. Desmond, R. A. Krol, F. F. Snyder and Janelle K. O'Connell 1987. 'Family Practice Physicians' Beliefs, Attitudes, and Practices Regarding Obesity.' *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* **3**: 339–345.

Puhl, Rebecca and Kelly D. Brownell 2001. 'Bias, Discrimination, and Obesity.' *Obesity Research* **9**: 788–805.

Regan, Pamela C. 1996. 'Sexual Outcasts: The Perceived Impact of Body Weight and Gender on Sexuality.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **25**: 1803–1813.

Register, Charles A. and Donald R. Williams 1990. 'Wage Effects of Obesity among Young Workers.' *Social Science Quarterly* **71**: 130–141.

Reis, Harry T. and Holley S. Hodgins 1995. 'Reactions to Craniofacial Disfigurement: Lessons from the Physical Attractiveness and Stigma Literatures.' Pp. 177–198 in *Craniofacial Anomalies: Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Rebecca Eder. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Ricciardelli, Lina A., Marita P. McCabe, Robert J. Williams and J. Kevin Thompson 2007. 'The Role of Ethnicity and Culture in Body Image and Disordered Eating Among Males.' *Clinical Psychology Review* **27**: 582–606.

Riniolo, Todd C. Katherine C. Johnson, Tracy R. Sherman and Julie A. Misso 2006. 'Hot or Not: Do Professors Perceived as Physically Attractive Receive Higher Student Evaluations?' *Journal of General Psychology* **133**: 19–35.

Rodin, Judith, Lisa R. Silberstein and Ruth H. Streigel-Moore 1985. 'Women and Weight: A Normative Discontent.' Pp. 267–307 in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Psychology and Gender*, edited by Theo B. Sondregger. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Roth, Louise and Rachael Neal 2006. *Peaches and Cream: Women Respond to White Images of Beauty*. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology, University of Arizona.

Rothblum, Ester D. 1992. 'The Stigma of Women's Weight: Social and Economic Realities.' *Feminism and Psychology* **2**: 61–73.

Santry, Heena P., Daniel L. Gillen and Diane S. Lauderdale 2005. 'Trends in Bariatric Surgical Procedures.' *Journal of the American Medical Association* **294**: 1909–17.

Schneider, David J. 1973. 'Implicit Personality Theory: A Review.' *Psychological Bulletin* **79**: 294–309.

Sobal, Jeffery 2004. 'Sociological Analysis of the Stigmatisation of Obesity.' Pp. 187–204 in *A Sociology of Food and Nutrition: The Social Appetite*, edited by John Germov and Lauren Williams. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Solovay, Sondra 2000. *Tipping the Scales of Injustice: Fighting Weight-Based Discrimination*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Sprague-Zones, Jane 1997. 'Beauty Myths and Realities and their Impact on Women's Health.' Pp. 249–75 in *Women's Health: Complexities and Differences*, edited by Cheryl B. Ruzek, Virginia L. Oleson and Adele E. Clarke. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Susman, Joan 1993. 'Disability, Stigma, and Deviance.' *Social Science & Medicine* **38**: 15–22.

Thompson, Becky W. 1992. '"A Way Outa no Way": Eating Problems Among African-American, Latina, and White Women.' *Gender & Society* **6**: 546–61.

Thompson, Becky W. 1994. *A Hunger So Wide and So Deep: A Multiracial View of Women's Eating Problems*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Tiggemann, Marika and Christine Lewis 2004. 'Attitudes Toward Women's Body Hair: Relationship with Disgust Sensitivity.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly* **28**: 381–7.

Tiggemann, Marika 1994. 'Gender Differences in the Interrelationship Between Weight Dissatisfaction, Restraint, and Self-Esteem.' *Sex Roles* **30**: 319–30.

Toerien, Merran and Sue Wilkinson 2003. 'Gender and Body Hair: Constructing the Feminine Woman.' *Women's Studies International Forum* **26**: 333–44.

Toerien, Merran, Sue Wilkinson and Precilla Y. L. Choi 2005. 'Body Hair Removal: The "Mundane" Production of Normative Femininity.' *Sex Roles* **52**: 399–406.

Trautner, Mary Nell 2005. 'Doing Gender, Doing Class: The Performance of Sexuality in Exotic Dance Clubs.' *Gender & Society* **19**: 771–88.

Tseëlon, Efrat 1993. 'The Ideology of Beauty.' Pp. 319–23 in *Recent Trends in Theoretical Psychology, Volume III*, edited by Henderikus J. Stam, Leendert P. Mos, Warren Thorngate and Bernie Kaplan. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission November 16, 2004. *EEOC Agrees to Landmark Resolution of Discrimination Case Against Abercrombie & Fitch*. Retrieved March 15, 2008 (http://www.eeoc.gov/press/11-18-04.html).

Udry, J. Richard and Bruce K. Eckland 1984. 'The Benefits of Being Attractive: Differential Payoffs for Men and Women.' *Psychological Reports* **54**: 47–56.

Umberson, Debra and Michael Hughes 1987. 'The Impact of Physical Attractiveness on Achievement and Psychological Well-Being.' *Social Psychology Quarterly* **50**: 227–36.

Walster Elaine, Vera Aronson, Darcy Abrahams and L. Rottman 1966. 'Importance of Physical Attractiveness in Dating Behavior.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **4**: 508–516.

Webster, Murray Jr. and James E. Driskell 1983. 'Beauty as Status'. *American Journal of Sociology* **89**: 140–65.

Weitz, Rose 2001. 'Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation.' *Gender & Society* **15**: 667–86.

West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman 1987. 'Doing Gender.' *Gender & Society* **1**: 125–51.

Wolf, Naomi 1991. *The Beauty Myth*. New York, NY: W. Morrow.

Young, Iris Marion 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.