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MAKE-UP TIME: A STUDY OF MORNING GROOMING TIME IN THE U.S.

A Thesis in

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by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is 1) to examine morning grooming time for American Women in the U.S., especially for employed women, 2) to discover whether, for career women who spend more time on morning grooming, what do they sacrifice to “make up” this time? And 3) to identify the factors that lead to differences in morning grooming time for women. Considering the requirements of work, social norms and manners, mate-selection preferences, it is found that several different factors result in divergence in grooming time for women. Make-up time has shown to be the most time-consuming activity in daily grooming. Thus I use the grooming time category from the American Time Use Survey as an approximation to make-up time in this analysis. First, I examine morning grooming time for three different groups: employed men, employed women and non-employed women, while considering parenting effects on both workday and non-workdays. The analysis shows that employed women spend an average of 43 minutes on grooming in the morning on workdays and more on non-workdays. Grooming time for non-employed women however, does not differ too much. Parenting effects contribute to a decrease in grooming time in the all three groups discussed in the paper. Second, from the examinations of the time allocation patterns among both employed woman and employed mothers, the time source for make-up activities in each group is observed, which is mainly from sleeping, household activities, socializing and relaxing, and caring for and helping household members. Finally, the analysis shows how other factors such as race, occupation, marital status, parental status, and employment status significantly influence morning grooming time for women.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Earlier empirical research suggests that beauty may affect productivity and alters outcomes in various social contexts. (Hamermesh et al. 2005, 2006; Biddle et al. 1998) Studies which have raised the question of sexuality and invisible organizational norms have brought up the issue of beauty at work. Beauty can either become an asset or a liability to women's credibility at work. (Kaslow & Schwartz 1978)

A voluminous literature discussing beauty focuses primarily on the effects of the physical attractiveness with which women were born. However, that approach ignores the fact that women have the ability to enhance their beauty within a short time by applying make-up. In research by Cash and Cash (1982), satisfaction with facial attractiveness is positively correlated with cosmetics use, which reflects a connection between make-up use and a more positive facial image and feeling of self-satisfaction and confidence.

Although many researchers have studied cosmetics usage, only a handful of researchers have paid attention to the time that women spend on make-up activity. Individual differences in personality factors such as public self-consciousness, public body-consciousness, social anxiety and facets of body image are found to be related to variations in facial make-up use. (Cash & Cash, 1982) Hence, the costs in terms of

time on make-up should vary among individuals. It is also noticeable that the reverse causality of make-up time and other activities occurs, with make-up time altering the time available for other activities, and other activities reducing the time available for make-up. For example, if an employed women wakes up late and she has only 10 minutes to get prepared, she has less time to spend on make-up that morning. On the other hand, if an employed woman takes some of her working time in the bathroom for make-up procedures, then her time spent on work diminishes. Thus the main purpose of this study is to examine the relevant issues affecting time on make-up activities, especially for employed women.

Make-up time is proxied by the grooming time category from American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The grooming category in ATUS captures many activities other than cosmetics usage, such as face washing, shaving, etc. Some of these activities, such as using the toilet, are arguably necessary and have no obvious connection to one's appearance. However, most of these, including face washing, showering, drying one's hair, etc., can be viewed as a time investment in improving one's appearance (and perhaps smell). I use the term "make-up" broadly to capture these time investments.

Statistics suggest that women in the U.S. spend an average of 55 minutes on grooming each day (NPD,1999). Similarly, the New Women Survey conducted in

Britain found that UK women spend 52 minutes on average on cosmetics usage. Although those figures likely represent an overstatement of cosmetics time *per se*, they suggest that a large portion of time spent on grooming is used for make-up activity, so grooming time can be referred as an approximation to make-up time. However, it does not matter for the analysis if some fixed amount of grooming time is spent on non-investment activities, so long as make-up time as defined here is closely correlated with grooming time.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A majority of the literature that analyzes beauty considers women's natural beauty, facial beauty, and body image. The research mainly focuses on the beauty that a woman is born with; in other words, the socially defined beauty a woman possesses without cosmetics. Only a few researchers discuss make-up effects and its rewards for women. Some may suspect that natural beauty – the beauty a woman is born with -- should positively influence make-up time, however, I do not have data available to check for such a correlation. Thus, the main approach in this study is to focus more on the characteristics of women rather than a women's natural beauty. My purpose in this paper is to highlight the costs in terms of time spent on make-up and the factors that contribute to differences in make-up time.

Beauty Wins before the Competition, and Wins More

The multiple links among “face value” and goodness, virtue, competency and advantages have often been considered in research. To what extent has “face value” affected the race to achieve one’s hopes and goals in terms of various social efficacies?

Lakoff and Scherr (1984) suggest that in the realm of competence, there is evidence that if someone is only marginally competent, attractiveness will help them to appear more competent. It was found in their study that college-age male subjects tend to rate essays of attractive women higher than essays by unattractive women, even though all essays are at the same level of competency. (cited in Lakoff & Scherr 1984) They also provide evidence that personnel officers make judgments at least in part based on attractiveness. Moreover, they argue that people hold specific attitudes towards beauty: a beautiful person is viewed as morally ‘better’, as more competent, and as a more worthy person to have as a friend. Thus, beauty instills a sense of virtue and goodness in other’s opinions. As it is in the college example, male evaluators rate competitors’ essays under the influence of beauty. Beauty matters in various social contexts and signals a certain level of professionalism and goodness.

Past research on physical attractiveness stereotyping indicates that attractive

people are perceived as more intellectually competent than less attractive people even though little is known about them except for their physical attractiveness.(Dion, Berscheid & Walster 1971; Miller 1970) Anderson and Nida also found that given identical information about performance, attractive people are evaluated more favorably than less attractive ones. (Anderson & Nida 1978; Cash & Trimer 1984)

Attractive people not only benefit from making a good first impression on others, but also receive higher evaluations of their job performance compared to less attractive people at the same level of competency. However, most the research on attractiveness effects on perceptions of intelligence or intellectual competence has used women as performers and males as evaluators. Therefore, Holahan and Stephan (1981) suggest that there is an implicit assumption that attractiveness effects are limited to females, or are at least that the effects are stronger for females than for male performers. Nonetheless, little evidence proves that these relationship are stronger for females than for males. Indeed, most studies indicate there are benefits from attractiveness for both sexes.(Jackson 1992) In a survey of occupationally successful females - females employed in high status occupations- they reported that they viewed attractiveness as more of an asset than a liability in the workplace. Attractiveness was viewed as an asset in terms of getting new job opportunities initially, and being promoted to positions of high visibility. (Kaslow & Schwartz 1978)

Relatedly, beauty also brings higher income. In a national sample of more than three thousand people, Umberson and Hughes (1987) found that attractiveness was positively related to a variety of measures of occupational success for both sexes. Frieze used a sample of more than six hundred graduates and found positive effects of attractiveness on later income for both sexes, but no effects on starting income. (Frieze, Olson & Russell 1990, cited in Jackson 1992)

Hamermesh et al (2002) examined the association among respondents' beauty, their household expenditures on beauty-enhancing products and respondents' income. They asked how a worker's looks might be affected by their efforts to enhance beauty and how those efforts might in turn affect labor market outcomes. This research comes from a survey of 3000 individuals aged 15-64, conducted in 1996 in Shanghai, China. Hamermesh suggests that good-looking women, or those in the top 35% of women arrayed by appearance, earn roughly 10% more than other women; he also suggests that additional spending on clothing and cosmetics has a positive marginal impact on a woman's perceived beauty. In addition, the analysis suggests that a household's spending on beauty-enhancing products both represents consumption and produces an increase in the productivity-enhancing characteristics of physical attractiveness and beauty. Hence, they imply that beauty-enhancing products in turn generate additional earnings for female workers. It is therefore possible that

investment in purchasing cosmetics and time putting on make-up should be relevant to earning income. Women with higher incomes may spend more on cosmetics, and devote more time to grooming as a way to further enhance their incomes.

Hamermesh et al (2000), also looked at how beauty as capital can bring better returns for businesses and in turn generate higher earnings for executives within firms. A sample of Dutch advertising firms were used in the study given that physical attractiveness and beauty effects are important in the advertising industry. This study found the positive effects of executives' appearance on revenues substantially exceeded the direct effect of beauty on their own earnings. Those returns are later shared with workers and firms. Therefore, the effect of beauty was again found to positively affect professional workers' income.

In conclusion, how a woman dresses and grooms herself in anticipation of a social situation has evolved beyond sexuality and is now considered a normal social process. (Wax, 1957) Attractiveness is now rewarded with occupational success or better outcomes in social situations instead of merely helping with sexual attraction and mating rituals. As a result, American females spend billions of dollars annually on facial cosmetics and cosmetic surgery to enhance their facial attractiveness. Research shows that facial cosmetics indeed enhance perceived attractiveness or beauty, at least for average-looking females.(Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen & Galumbeck in press;

Graham 1985; Graham & Jouhar 1980, 1981; cited in Jackson 1992) Additionally, facial cosmetics enhance self-perceptions of attractiveness, and increase positive affect about the self. (Cash 1985, 1988) As a result, a recent study has shown that a woman's credibility at work, a healthy image, and even her heterosexual inclination are now believed to be linked with her usage of makeup. The established a link between beauty and career success or a better outcome from social situations now extends to the association between make-up and the returns brought by displaying more attractiveness (Dellinger, 1997)

Make-Up and the Career Woman

It was mentioned earlier that a woman dresses and grooms herself in anticipation of particular social situations. The situations that require the most careful make-up are those in which her peers or social superiors will be present and which are not defined as informal or casual. (Wax, 1957) A woman isolated from a "socially formal occasion" will dress and groom herself more casually. For example, suburban housewives are more likely to "neglect" their appearance because housewives receive less pressure from the daily life environment. The idea is that appearance is socially important, so woman will pay less attention to make-up usage when physical attractiveness has few effects on social outcomes. Thus, career women were shown to

spend more time on makeup owing to the fact that a career woman often has an audience of male and female peers alert to her appearance, while the housewife less often has such an audience.

The type of occupation may partly determines the amount of time women spend on grooming. Different occupations and workplace cultures further influence the importance of physical attractiveness or of a professional image at work. Dellinger (2002) compared dress and appearance codes of accountants and members from editorial departments at a feminist magazine and a heterosexual men's pornographic magazine. Accountants at both workplaces attempted to embody rationality and order through their appearance and dress. On the contrary, editors for the most part work in a very casual environment where jeans are acceptable and the line of unacceptability is usually drawn at shorts and ragged clothes. Editors are considered to be creative workers whose appearance and dress are allowed to be more flexible. Thus, the type of occupation affects the clothes employees are allowed to wear and how they should groom themselves. For professional or managerial jobs, how employee dress and appearance can act as a representation of professionalism. In addition, dress and appearance norms may also signal a separation between work and family, work and play, and reflect an employee's attitude toward his or her job. However, certain occupations other than professional jobs may also require

substantial effort on appearance enhancement. Service-related jobs involving extensive interaction with customers and sometimes requiring female workers to emphasize a youthful, pleasurable appearance might also require the correct amount and application of make-up.

In another recent study discussing why women wear make-up to work (Dellinger, 1997), some women spoke of their use of makeup as necessary to gain credibility and as a way to bolster their confidence at work. An interviewee in the study claimed that she felt much more productive with her full makeup on. Some women also explained that one of the purposes of makeup is to avoid negative attention or comments from other people at workplace. For example, women who regularly wear makeup to work and do not wear it for some reason on a particular day may receive comments expressing concerns about their health and level of fatigue.

In sum, career women reveal more pressure to spend time on grooming than do housewives. Moreover, women who are in professional occupations or service jobs require more time on grooming in order to support their expertise and gain respect in the workplace

When discussing how various occupations require varying amounts of makeup, both the amount and the method of cosmetics use may be judged differently across occupations. Harragan has shown that the need for women to manage appearance

seems to vary somewhat among industries or organizations. (Harragan, 1977) As previously mentioned, managers and professional female workers may need to apply make-up in order to show their expertise. Women not only have to try to look their best at work, but they also have to walk a fine line between looking feminine and professional. There is a balance between being femininely attractive and being businesslike-beautiful, and this is maintained with varying degrees of success depending on the situation. For example, it might be that the balance between being femininely attractive and looking professional would be different for an administrative assistant and a corporate president. Hence, how a woman dresses and grooms may establish her image as a 'serious worker' or as no more than an attractive female figure.

Nonetheless, does applying make-up or being attractive always bring benefits to women? Not necessarily at all times. Beauty sometimes brings economic penalties for women with certain stereotypical types of beauty. First, consider a very beautiful girl with blonde hair, a slim body type, and a pretty face. It may not be easy for men to see her as a serious manager; moreover, in some jobs attractiveness is part of a sales effort, as may be true in the case of a beautiful waitress at a restaurant.

This phenomenon is problematized in Sheppard's work, which discusses the balance between appearing too feminine and too masculine for female workers. Either

approach could result in negative labels attaching to women, such that appearing too feminine causes one to be seen as incapable while appearing too masculine may lead men to view the woman as a “lesbian”(Sheppard, 1989). Thus, professional women need to judge where the line falls between the two in order to gain credibility in an organization.

Women on the Judge, and Men are the Judges

American culture values attractiveness in both sexes, but may value it more in females. Jackson provides three different explanations for gender differences in the importance of attractiveness.

“The physical attractiveness stereotype explanation maintains that the stereotype is stronger for females than males. The social roles explanation argues that attractiveness is a cue to performance in the traditional female role of a spouse and a parent, but not a traditional male role of worker. The social power explanation maintains that a female’s attractiveness is a more values exchange commodity than is a male’s attractiveness. “(1992, p.56)

It has long been established that males place a higher value on the physical

attractiveness of a mate compared to women, although other characteristics – such as kindness and understanding- typically top the list for both sexes. (Brislin & Lewis 1968; Buss 1989) Contrarily, females view the possession of material resources, or the potential to have more material resources as more important in a mate than do males. (Berscheid & Walster 1974; Buss 1985, 1987; Buss & Barnes 1986) Ford and Beach (1951) found that this gender difference in respect to the importance of attractiveness is consistent across cultures. In most societies, the physical beauty of the female receives more explicit consideration than does the handsomeness of the male. Male attractiveness usually predominantly depends on his skills and prowess rather than upon his physical appearance. The implication of this gender difference in past findings suggests that women's perceived beauty is judged by the society and the opposite sex to be of greater importance than men's, so women may spend more time on grooming as a result.

Marriage, Motherhood Effects on Women's Cosmetics Use

Buss (1987) conducted cross-cultural research on gender difference in mate preferences. He asked people from thirty-seven different cultures to describe their ideal mate in terms of earning potential, industriousness, youth, physical attractiveness, and chastity. Regardless of the geographical or cultural location, males

put more value on attractiveness and youth, and females put more value on earning potential and industriousness. Females tended to consider the possession of material resources or the potential to gain those resources as more important in her mate while males viewed the physical attractiveness of the female as being more important. Since men favor women who is more attractive, attractiveness may be relatively more important for unmarried women than for married women. Symons (1979) discussed this emphasis on physical appearance from a sociobiological perspective: attractiveness is indicative of reproductive potential for females but not for males.

“[I]t is easily explained by the nature of reproductive competition during the course of human evolution: a female’s reproductive value can be assessed more accurately from her physical appearance than a male’s reproductive value can.”

(1979, p.201)

As a result, mate selection for attractiveness has historically exerted stronger effects on females than males. Daly et al (1983) also showed that the people in presence of others with whom they share an established relationship would preen less than those who are developing a relationship; members of more established relationship preened less than early relationship members.

Thus, Daly’s study suggests that unmarried women have more demands in terms of grooming than married women, because the rewards for these investments are

larger for them.

The previous discussion suggests that women put on makeup to show credibility at work, attract men, and dress for formal occasions. Nonetheless, it makes sense that when a woman becomes a mother; her focus of life will shift towards family and children. On average, her time spent on beauty-enhancing rituals should be less than for non-mother women. This is partly because non-mothers may still focus heavily on work where appearance matters, they may also have more of an incentive to attract men and, most importantly, a non-mother woman typically has more time for herself.

Women and Age Influences

How about attractiveness or beauty throughout the lifespan? Does grooming for women vary across different age groups? Common sense suggests that perceptions of facial attractiveness decline with age, and research confirms this argument with evidence. Ratings of facial attractiveness indeed decline with age. (Berman, O’Nan & Floyd 1981; Campbell, Converse & Rodgers 1976; Deutsch, Clark & Zalenski 1983; Korthase & Trenholme 1982, 1983; Mathes, Brennan & Rice 1985; Nowak 1977; cited in Jackson 1992) Other evidence shows that aging has more negative effects on perceptions of females than on males. (Berry & McArthur 1986; cited in Jackson) Therefore, there is stronger relationship between age and perceptions of

facial attractiveness for females than males.

Relatedly, statistics released by the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (2006) show the cosmetic surgery rate is concentrated among the age group 35-50, who account for 47% of all cosmetic surgeries. While the age groups of 19-34 and 51-64 year-olds only comprise 20% and 26% of all surgical patients, and women below the age of 18 and above 65 account for only 1% and 5% of cosmetic surgeries, respectively. I therefore predict that age will have a quadratic influence on women's make-up time, with grooming time rising in early decades but ultimately falling with age.

Women in South

For a "proper" southern woman, it was believed that the whole meaning of her life lay in sacrifice for husband and children. In historical retrospect to the early 1900s, southern women were supposed to live under men's protection, under a paternalistic system. Their life goal was supposedly to get married, have family and nurture their children. Early marriage was a related phenomenon; Anne Firor Scott in her book "The Southern Lady" suggests that marriages at ages fourteen or fifteen of southern women were common. "The girl [who] had many beaux was envied, and families with a houseful of old maids [were] pitied" (1970, p26) Hence, in order to secure their

golden tickets to get married or even marry young, women were supposed to develop characteristics thought to endear them to men. Earlier, I noted that men value physical attractiveness when looking for a mate. Southern women who live under more traditional gender norms are predicted to emphasize their appearance more than northern women do. Consequently, their grooming time may be longer.

Is there also an urban and rural difference on women's grooming time? In research conducted in China on the cosmetics industry and its growth in rural and urban markets, it was shown that rural women consume fewer cosmetics than urban women. (Li & Fung Research Centre, 2005) Geographic differences may also exist in the U.S., with rural women spending less time on grooming.

The Race Game in Make-Up

The ruling aesthetic in America does not favor minority groups. Lakoff and Scherr (1984) note that some blacks and whites believe that the closer a black's skin approaches to whiteness, the more beautiful it is. Although the ruling norms of beauty and attractiveness change over time, and attractiveness has no inherent requirement to be white, some evidence shows that non-white women are apt to favor Caucasian looks. In Asia, women who have whiter skin color are considered to be more beautiful, and beauty products or cosmetics which can lighten and whiten

women's skin are very popular. (Fuller, 2006) An old proverb in Chinese even says whiter skin can make appearance disadvantages vanish. In Dellinger's work (1997), a 30-year-old Taiwanese homemaker stated that she enjoys putting on makeup when she goes out because cosmetics make her feel confident. She also expressed some ambivalence about the way in which Caucasian eye shapes are considered more attractive than Asian features. It is an implication that the confidence Asian women achieve by wearing makeup is linked to the devaluation of Asian features in America.

Another case study demonstrates a different facet of the relationship between race and makeup.(Dellinger, 1997) A 29-year-old African American woman felt that wearing makeup was particularly important for enhancing her status as a woman of color in the workplace. Looking professional was a must for her because she was African American. She further claimed that the difficult task of being credible in the workplace that women of color experience may require her to gain status through appearance, although at the expense of being sexually objectified. In this case, the African American woman seems to suggest that maintaining a professional appearance can transform racial stereotypes; but she also explained that people do not expect to see a professional African American woman with excellent credentials who dresses professionally and appropriately, who can be articulate and who can perform in the courtroom, therefore, she tries to beat the stereotypes with a professional look

in the workplace. Thus, looking professional for minority women may have a different meaning than it does for many white women. Wearing the right makeup not only gives a look of professionalism but, more importantly, plays a part in gaining respect, and gaining the same status as white women in the workplace. To sum up, putting on appropriate makeup fits the idea of gaining more respect by pursuing a more Caucasian look in American. Therefore, women of color are likely to spend more grooming time in order to achieve these standards.

Career Women's Financing Time for Make-Up

Knowing the importance of beauty rituals in a woman's life, most women must give up their time on other activities to "make up" more time for cosmetics usage, especially in the case of career women who suffer under severe time limitations. There is no relevant information to exactly predict where grooming time will come from, especially for employed women. However, the answer lies in an observable daily schedule. In order to obtain more time for grooming before going to work, employed women might have to reduce their sleeping hours and time for breakfast. They might also perform make-up rituals while driving to work or taking public transportation. Some female workers may put on make-up in the restroom after arriving in the workplace. However, this type of using cosmetics as a secondary

activity is beyond the scope of the data covered in my analysis.

III. DATA AND METHODS

Data

The American Time Use Survey (hereinafter ATUS) is a federally administered, continuous survey on time use in the United States. The survey aims to measure how people use their time across life's activities. Respondents to the ATUS are randomly selected from a subset of households that have completed their eighth and final month of interviews for the Current Population Survey (CPS). These respondents are interviewed once regarding how they spent their time on the previous day. In addition to the time use variables, the ATUS contains some demographic information. However, most demographic information comes from the earlier CPS interviews.

During ATUS interviews, respondents were asked over the phone to provide information about how they spent the day, where they were and who they were with. Data was collected and coded in order to specify the types of activities the respondents were involved with on the diary day.

In the ATUS, there are 18 major categories, such as personal care, household activities, and so forth. Grooming is a subcategory under the larger category of

personal care, and includes activities such as bathing, brushing/flossing teeth, putting on makeup, shaving, changing clothes, putting on hand cream, perming one's own hair, gargling mouthwash, washing one's own feet, brushing lint off of clothing, putting on nail polish, using the bathroom and so forth. The category excludes self care time (e.g., doing exercises), as well as the consumption of beauty services (e.g., going to a salon or barber shop). I separate grooming time from other personal care activities for the present study. This leaves us with 20 time use categories in total for the analysis (see Table 1).

In the data, there are 2,360 respondents who appear to have zero morning grooming time. These are respondents who report grooming activity beyond our time period from 4 a.m. to 12 p.m. These people may just wake up late, but it does not mean that they have no grooming time for the day. These respondents are excluded for the analysis, which leave us 7,784 total respondents from the 2006 ATUS data.

Methods

In my study, a total of 7,784 respondents from the year 2006 are in the sample. In theory, women should dedicate more time to grooming than men. Hence, the analysis here will mainly focus on women. Nevertheless, gender comparisons will be presented in the table in order to detect gender differences. Note that for all mean

comparisons (Tables 1 to 3), figures are weighted by the variable TUFINLWGT in the ATUS. However, the medians generated for Tables 2 and 3 are not weighted.

Average Morning Grooming Time First, I compare grooming time across gender and parental-status categories, with a special focus on employees. In order to capture pre-work grooming time, only grooming time occurring between 4am and noon is considered in the analysis. Beers (2000), in his work studying flexible working schedules, suggested that 26.2% of women, 28.7% of men, and 27.6% of overall workers work flexible hours in the U.S., thus most other people likely work under a traditional “9 to 5” schedule. Thus the restriction to grooming time before noon should give estimates of pre-work grooming. Second, because workday and non-workday behavior should diverge within the employed group, I divide morning grooming time by workday and non-workdays, and expect to find more grooming time on workdays due to rewards for one’s appearance in the workplace. Third, whether a person is employed or not, the type of employment, and the status of that employment as viewed by society should influence the amount of time spent on grooming in the morning, hence each of these factors will be examined here. Fourth, motherhood should also alter daily time allocation. Thus, grooming time comparisons will be made across gender, parental-status, and employment-status categories. (Table

1)

The Financing of Morning Grooming Time Employed women have to manage time for grooming in the morning. Initially, I estimate the median morning grooming time for the employed women on workdays and split them into two subgroups: employed women with high grooming time in the morning (HIG), employed women with low grooming time in the morning (LOG). Next, comparisons among the 20 time use categories will be made to detect the source of grooming time. (Table 2)

Further, I discuss how mothers allocate the time they spend on grooming, compared to time on other activities throughout the day. By the same token, given the median of employed mother morning grooming time on workdays, employed mothers are sub-grouped into those with HIG, and those with LOG.

(Table 3)

Regression Model The last set of analyses use OLS regressions of woman's grooming time in the morning with various independent variables and control variables, and with separate estimates for workdays and non-workdays. Consistent with the theoretical discussion, independent variables include gender, race, parental status, marital status, age of the youngest child in the household, the number of

children in the household, occupation dummy variables, family income, urban/rural residence, age *per se* and its quadratic (age^2). Three regression models are considered: 1) a regression on the entire sample of women regardless of the workday and non-workday distinction, omitting occupational categories; 2) a regression using the sample of employed women on workdays, with occupation dummies included; and 3) a regression using the entire sample of women on non-workdays, again discarding the occupation dummy variables. (Table 4.1- Table 4.3) Note that “sales and office occupation” category is omitted and “region of Midwest”(formerly North Central) is omitted in Table 4.2.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

i. Average Morning Grooming Time in Different Groups

As shown in Table 1, employed men spend 31 minutes on grooming while employed women spend 43 minutes. Non-employed women, unexpectedly, spent about the same amount of time as employed women. The difference is very small in the calculations. This small difference might be due to the time constraints that employed women face on workdays. Looking at grooming times during non-workdays however, we find that that employed women spend more time on grooming than the non-employed women.

Turning to differences within each group, the figure for employed women on non-workdays is surprising. Employed women spend more time on grooming on non-work days. The result contrasts to the previous prediction that employed women will spend more time grooming on workday than non-workday. This fact may be due to the time constraints that they face on regular workdays; on non-workdays, they can spend more time on make-up or morning grooming rituals without being late for work.. Thus, time limitations may be a factor which restricts time on grooming and thus it is worth figuring out where grooming time comes from for employed women on workdays. This time financing issue will be discussed in the next analysis. Parenting also has a smaller impact on the male group than on the female group, but the effect of parenting show a negative association with morning grooming time in all groups, as predicted. This effect is larger for non-employed than employed women. A possible explanation for this divergence is that employed women may be required to dress up to a certain point to meet work requirements. Although being a parent may squeeze out time for grooming, employed women may also have some minimum time necessary for grooming rituals before work. Conversely, non-employed women do not necessarily have to meet social standards at home, so it makes sense that they reduce grooming time further in order to meet parental requirements.

Table 1: Mean Morning Grooming Time for Different Groups, Mean in Minutes (standard error)

	Employed Men	Employed Women	Non-employed Women
Workday	31(.41)	43(.47)	
Sample size	1707	1958	
Non-workday	34(.76)	44(.73)	43(.63)
Sample size	608	1002	1711
Parents Workday	31(.62)	41(.64)	
Sample size	816	966	
Parents Non-workday	32(1.03)	42(1.06)	40(1.19)
Sample size	310	475	469

ii. *The Sources of Morning Grooming Time for Employed Women*

Table 2 shows the mean time for each category of employed women on workdays, separated by high grooming time and low grooming time. As addressed in the methods section, “high grooming” means employed women whose morning grooming time is above the median for the entire employed women group; “low grooming” means the opposite. The median for employed women on a workday is 40 minutes. The HIG group spends 33 minutes more on morning grooming than the LOG group. The HIG group finances that additional 33 minutes by spending 15 minutes less on sleep, 14 minutes less on household activities, 8.5 minutes less on socializing, relaxing and leisure, 8.4 minutes less on caring for and helping household members, while the remaining differences are less than four minutes for any single category.

These findings suggests that the HIG group is likely to gain additional grooming time by first reducing sleep, followed by reductions in household activities in the morning, e.g. washing breakfast plates, then socializing, relaxing and leisure time in the morning, e.g. talking with family members, or reading the newspaper.

Table 2: The Source of Morning Grooming Time for Employed Women, Workdays
Mean in Hours and Minutes (Standard Error in Minutes)

Time Category	Employed Women Workday			
	High Grooming		Low Grooming	
Morning Grooming	58	(0.50)	25	(0.24)
Non-morning Grooming	16	(0.64)	15	(0.64)
Sleeping	7hr40m	(2.87)	7hr55m	(3.41)
Other Personal Care	4	(0.63)	5	(0.92)
Household Activities	1hr06m	(2.43)	1hr20m	(2.74)
Caring For & Helping HH Members	22	(1.61)	31	(2.22)
Caring For & Helping Non-HH Members	4	(0.59)	4	(0.76)
Work	7hr16m	(4.64)	7hr17m	(5.71)
Education	18	(2.10)	21	(2.92)
Consumer Purchases	19	(1.25)	18	(1.26)
Professional & Personal Care Services	4	(0.55)	5	(0.76)
Household Services	1	(0.41)	0	(0.16)
Government Services & Civic Obligations	0 [●]	(0.10)	1	(0.55)
Eating & Drinking	61	(1.32)	58	(1.22)
Socializing, Relaxing and Leisure	2hr29m	(3.25)	2hr37m	(3.82)
Sports, Exercise & Recreation	14	(1.22)	9	(1.03)
Religious & Spiritual Activities	3	(0.74)	3	(0.59)
Volunteer Activities	6	(1.04)	4	(0.84)
Telephone Calls	7	(0.64)	9	(0.86)
Traveling	1hr22m	(1.75)	1hr16m	(1.81)
Not else where classified	8	(1.20)	7	(0.81)
Sample Size	1053		905	

● 0 indicates that the time spent is less than 1 minute.

iii. *The Sources of Morning Grooming Time for Employed Mothers*

The employed mother group is split at the median into HIG and LOG groups. The median grooming time for employed mothers is 35 minutes. The HIG group spends an average of 31 minutes more on morning grooming time than the LOG group. The

HIG group spends 16 minutes less on caring and helping household members, 15 minutes less on household activities, and 9 minutes less on sleeping. The rest of the differences are again below 4 minutes.

These results suggest that the time sources for employed mothers who spend more time on morning grooming is not too different from the non-mother group in table 2. However, the ranking differs slightly, with the HIG employed mother group getting additional time for make-up from first reducing time caring and helping household members in the morning, followed by decreasing time on household activities, and then by reductions in sleep.

I also found that employed mothers on workdays spend 71 minutes on average on caring and helping household members in a day, while employed women on average spend only 26 minutes. For employed mothers, caring and helping household members costs them a lot of time in a day. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that they have to reduce time from this category if they would like to spend additional time on grooming. Additionally, the analysis showed that employed women on a single workday have 7 hours and 47 minutes (weighted) on average for sleep while employed mothers spend slightly less at 7 hours and 43 minutes..

Table 3: The Sources of Morning Grooming Time for Employed Mothers, Workdays
Mean in Hours and Minutes (Standard Error in Minutes)

Time Category	Employed Mothers Workday			
	High Grooming		Low Grooming	
Morning Grooming	55	(0.71)	24	(0.35)
Non-morning Grooming	15	(0.87)	15	(0.83)
Sleeping	7hr38m	(3.86)	7hr48m	(4.44)
Other Personal Care	2	(0.63)	5	(1.29)
Household Activities	1hr17m	(3.48)	1hr32m	(4.21)
Caring For & Helping HH Members	1hr04m	(3.19)	1hr20m	(4.21)
Caring For & Helping Non-HH Members	2	(0.59)	2	(0.59)
Work	7hr16m	(6.63)	7hr13m	(8.08)
Education	5	(1.24)	4	(1.35)
Consumer Purchases	20	(1.89)	18	(1.60)
Professional & Personal Care Services	4	(0.87)	4	(0.94)
Household Services	0	(0.24)	0	(0.18)
Government Services & Civic Obligations	0	(0.21)	0	(0.11)
Eating & Drinking	1hr00m	(1.81)	53	(1.52)
Socializing, Relaxing and Leisure	2hr11m	(4.16)	2hr10m	(5.20)
Sports, Exercise & Recreation	9	(1.19)	7	(1.23)
Religious & Spiritual Activities	3	(0.65)	2	(0.66)
Volunteer Activities	7	(1.40)	6	(1.46)
Telephone Calls	5	(0.69)	7	(1.19)
Traveling	1hr22m	(2.60)	1hr19m	(2.45)
Not else where classified	6	(0.87)	9	(1.28)
Sample Size	506		460	

iv. *Regression Analysis*

From the regression results shown in Table 4.1, African Americans are shown to have a positive relationship with morning grooming time at the 0.05 significance level. Moreover, African Americans have the highest morning grooming time among all the races, followed by other races (not significant), whites, and then Asians. Surprisingly,

the Asian category shows a negative association with morning grooming time at the 0.05 significance level. Morning grooming time seems to be the lowest for Asians among all the racial groups in this analysis. However, only 118 Asian women are located in the analysis, hence, the result may not be robust.

Parental status is significant at the 0.05 level; marital status is significant at the 0.1 level, both of which show negative relationships with morning grooming time. As previously predicted, women who are parents or are married spend less time on grooming. Also, it is noteworthy that a regional effect does exist. Women in the northeast have the lowest grooming time, and the coefficient is significant at the 0.1 level. Surprisingly, women from the west exhibit the highest grooming time also at the 0.1 significance level, followed by women in the south (no significance), along with women in the midwest (the omitted group). Employment shows a positive association with morning grooming time; nevertheless, the result is not significant. Age is also insignificant.

In Table 4.2, the regression model the subsample of employed women shows clear evidence of occupational effects. Women with sales and office related jobs have the longest morning grooming time, followed by those with managerial and professional jobs, service related jobs, production and transportation jobs, farming and fishing jobs, and then construction and maintenance jobs. Note, however, that

only 7 females report have farming, fishing and forest related jobs and 12 respondents report having construction and maintenance jobs. This finding supports the argument that grooming time before the workday represents an investment, especially for sales and office related, and professional and managerial occupations.

For all women on non-workdays (Table 4.3), most of the effects are insignificant. Interestingly, only the racial effect remains. The pattern is similar to that for all women (Table 4.1). African American women have the longest morning grooming time, followed by other races (not significant), whites, and then Asians.

Table 4.1 : Regression Model for All Women, (Sample size)

Dummies	All Women, No Workday Distinction (4066)	
African American	0.087*	(0.019)
Asian	-0.127*	(0.037)
Other Races	0.034	(0.052)
Parental Status	-0.041*	(0.016)
Marital Status	-0.030**	(0.015)
Presence of Kids <18	-0.027	(0.033)
Family Income	0.002	(0.002)
Region ^o _Northeast	-0.033**	(0.020)
Region_South	0.014	(0.016)
Region_West	0.035**	(0.018)
Age	-0.002	(0.002)
Age2	0.000	(0.000)
Employment Status	0.015	(0.023)
Total Hours of Work per Week	0.000	(0.001)
Constant	0.716*	(0.045)
Adj-R ²	0.02	

* Significance at 0.05

** Significance at 0.1

Table 4.2: Regression Model of Employed Women, Workday (Sample Size)

Dummies	Employed Women Workday(1712)	
African American	0.039	(0.025)
Asian	-0.135*	(0.046)
Other Races	-0.025	(0.074)
Parental Status	-0.035**	(0.021)
Marital Status	-0.039**	(0.020)
Presence of Kids <18	0.003	(0.049)
Family Income	0.005	(0.003)
Region [®] _Northeast	-0.027	(0.027)
Region_South	0.006	(0.022)
Region_West	0.020	(0.024)
Age	-0.004	(0.004)
Age2	0.000	(0.000)
Total Hours of Work per Week	0.001	(0.001)
Occ [®] _Managemet/Professional	-0.051*	(0.020)
Occ_Service	-0.080*	(0.025)
Occ_Farming/fishing/Forest	-0.165	(0.175)
Occ_Construction/Maintenance	-0.320*	(0.117)
Occ_Production/Transportation	-0.115*	(0.039)
Constant	0.761*	(0.083)
Adj-R ²	0.0379	

Table 4.3: Regression Model of All Women, Non-Workday

Dummies	All Women,Non-Workday (2305)	
African American	0.132*	(0.027)
Asian	-0.120*	(0.056)
Other Races	0.085	(0.071)
Parental Status	-0.036	(0.024)
Marital Status	-0.021	(0.023)
Presence of Kids <18	-0.054	(0.045)
Family Income	-0.001	(0.002)
Region ^② _Northeast	-0.045	(0.028)
Region_South	0.015	(0.023)
Region_West	0.047	(0.026)
Age	-0.003	(0.003)
Age2	0.000	(0.000)
Employment Status	0.035	(0.037)
Total Hours of Work per Week	0.000	(0.001)
Constant	0.767*	(0.063)
Adj-R ²	0.0232	

②Region: The region where the respondent comes from

③Occ: Occupation of Respondent

v. *Non-Make Up Time*

Finally, I examine the bottom 10% of the distribution for morning grooming time using the entire sample. Mean morning grooming time for the bottom 10% group is around 8 minutes. The mean for the women in the bottom 10% is just slightly higher - 8.5 minutes. If make-up activities are involved in grooming rituals, women are likely to exhibit longer morning grooming time. It was found here that employed women spend an average of 43 minutes on morning grooming (see Table1), which is far longer than 8.5 minutes. Possibly, the 8.5 minute capture average “pure” grooming time without cosmetics usage. Looking more closely, I found that the bottom 10% group compensates by shifting around 14 minutes of grooming time to later in the day while the other 90% of respondents spend around 15 minutes on average at other times, which somewhat validate the assumption that everyone requires some “minimum grooming” time, and that the bottom 10% reflects this minimum

It is found that 53.22% of the bottom 10% of respondents are male, in comparison with 39.23% being male in the overall sample. Only 11.89% of the bottom 10% are younger than 20 years of age, 17.54% are younger than 25, and 25.73% are younger than 30. In the overall sample, only 9.04% are younger than 20 years, 13.45% are younger than 25 years and 20.94% are younger than 30 years. These patterns indicate that the bottom 10% group consists disproportionately of men

and younger people.

Next, in the bottom 10% group, 47.17% have at least a high school diploma or equivalent and 9.75% have a bachelor's degree; while in the overall sample, 58.59% have at least a high school diploma or equivalent, and 11.92% are found to have bachelor's degree. In addition, employed respondents account for 60.43% of the bottom 10%, but they are 67.77% in the overall sample. Another interesting issue is that the "not in the labor force" rate is 36.26% in the bottom 10%, and 29.03% overall. In summary, the average education level in the bottom 10% is less than for the entire sample, and the average labor force participation rate is lower in the bottom 10% as well.

As for parental and marital status, 52.63% of the bottom 10% claim to be partnered, while in the overall sample, 52.56% say they have a partner present. In addition, 44.64% of the bottom 10% group have household children present, a higher figure than for the overall sample (40.22%).

To conclude, the bottom 10% on morning grooming time in our sample are more often males and younger people; lower in education attainment, less often employed or participating in the labor force, and slightly more often partnered or married, and with household children present more often than for respondents in the overall sample.

V. CONCLUSION

The average grooming time calculated in the analysis shows the importance of this time. While earlier cosmetics usage studies helped to further our understanding of why women vary in their patterns of cosmetics use and what the social and personal consequences of cosmetics use might be, the analysis here gives us a basic knowledge of grooming rituals in terms of time. To get ready to work, almost everyone needs to spend some time grooming, employed women were shown to spend 43 minutes on workdays, and even more time on non-workdays, which is contradictory to what we predicted. In addition, and again contrary to predictions, non-employed women only spend less than one minute less on morning grooming compared to employed women on workdays. Again, Miller and Cox (1981) found that women who are publicly self-conscious or body-conscious will be particularly attentive to how they come across to others, and will also be more prone to use cosmetics. Possible explanations for these contradictory results were stated earlier: first, employed women are under time constraints on the workday, therefore their time spent on grooming may be constrained; second, employed women may be more self-conscious on average and thus spend more time on grooming during non-workdays because time constraints are eased then. Parenting has the expected negative association with time spent on grooming within all three groups we discussed.

As we have seen from the results, employed women seeking more time on grooming alter their time allocation patterns in the sample. They sacrifice some time from sleep, household activities, socializing and relaxing, caring and helping household members to 'make up' the time for make-up.

This analysis was able to show that women with sales and office related, professional or managerial, service-related jobs, and those who are not partnered and not parents spend more time to on morning grooming, arguably because this time represents an investment with a return in either wages or promotions in the workplace or in the marriage market. African American women were found to spend the longest time, followed by other races, whites, and Asians.

I assumed that morning pre-work grooming was captured in this study. However, again cited Beers (2000), an average of 27.6 % of the workers in the U.S work in flexible schedules, thus the data may not include the pre-work grooming time for those who work non-standard schedule. In addition, it should be pointed out that only data on grooming times were available instead of actual make-up time for women. Thus the results would be more specific and accurate if another approach looked more closely at cosmetics usage and also could capture pre-work grooming time for analysis.

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