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MEANING OF WORKING IN THE USA

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ABSTRACT

This study's goal is to determine the many reasons why people work, and in this case, why citizens and residents of the USA work. There are currently 308 million US residents and the vast majority of them, 91.0% percent as of January according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, hold jobs in this country (http://www.bls.gov/cps/) which is roughly 5% more than China's unemployment rate. The USA has a rich history of working hard to accomplish individual needs and desires. As a capitalist country its citizens compete fiercely with each other and the rest of the world for jobs and business. In the USA among 490 employees Centrality of Work, Obligation, and Sense of Entitlement were the three work norms found to be related to income.

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MEANING OF WORKING IN ISRAEL

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ABSTRACT

What is working? The answer varies among those who work to get out of debt particularly students who pursue a higher education, this is a trade-off for the promise of a high paying job which might not even be there once they obtain their degree. The relative understanding of paid work or working is analogous to the importance of finding a quality of life that at times may seem unattainable considering that economy one lives in may be or is in a recession. As far as most international and domestic university/college students believe, working is critical because it serves many functions and fulfills purpose of getting an education. The meaning of working from a professional may be defined in greater detail. In a recent survey that we conducted, we asked a select group of current students who are different in cultures, majors, race, gender, working background and where they live, their opinion on working. Regardless of the difference/similarities of each person they all reached the same conjuncture saying working is the expenditure of limited time and maximum effort. This was then compared to what we found in an examination of the international meaning of working studies done in Israel.

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ESCALATION OF COMMITMENT: AN ATTRIBUTION THEORY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This study examines individual biases in the attributions made for a generalized performance related event, and relates those attributional differences to the individual's propensity to escalate their commitment to a failing course of action. Initial results show that causality and internal attributions predict escalation of commitment, whereas stability attributions are only marginally significant predictors of escalation of commitment tendencies. Both theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Escalation of commitment (Aka misguided persistence) has been a salient topic in management research since the seminal work of Staw (1976). People exhibit strong tendencies to become locked into courses of action (Brockner, 1992; Staw, 1997). Individuals must be able to judge when it is appropriate to avoid or abandon tasks or projects (Janoff-Bulman & Brickman, 1982). When they fail to do so, individuals can escalate their commitment to a losing course of action. Escalation of commitment typically manifests itself as the tendency to continue to invest in a losing course of action, particularly when one is personally responsible for the initiation of the failing investment (Staw, 1976). Escalating commitment involves investing time and effort, even when the likelihood of failure is high and perhaps even certain. The causes of escalation of commitment can be found in self-justification, problem framing, sunk costs, goal substitution, self-efficacy, accountability, and illusion of control (Wong, Yik, & Kwong, 2006). Furthermore, studies have demonstrated that escalation of commitment (Moon, 2001; Staw, 1976:1997) can undermine performance (Steel, Brothen, & Wambach, 2001; Wolters, 2003), decision quality (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002; Staw, 1997), and goal setting (Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1994). However, despite multiple theoretical and empirical advancements and attempts aimed at disentangling the causes and processes behind escalated commitment, we know very little about the attributions people make of their escalated commitment. After a review of the literature we find that attributional biases offer important insights into the causal mechanism that leads people to escalate their commitment to a failing path. Therefore, we will present a review of attribution theory followed by theoretical derived and tested hypotheses about the relationship between performance attributions and misguided persistence.

ATTRIBUTION THEORY

Originating from Heider's (1958) description of the "naive psychologist", attribution theory attempts to find causal explanations for events and human behaviors. Several models have been developed from this idea, which attempt to explain the process by which these attributions are made in the case of self attribution (e.g. Weiner, 1974; Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978) and social attributions made regarding the behaviors and outcomes of others (e.g. Kelley, 1973, Thomson and Martinko, 2004).

The attributional model of achievement motivation and emotion has evolved over the past 20 years as an influential theory in social psychology and management (McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992). Weiner (1974), in his development of the achievement motivation model of attributions, classified causal attributions across two dimensions; the locus of causality, and the stability of the cause. The first, locus of causality, originally proposed by Rotter (1966), is the degree to which the attributed cause is internal to the person, or part of the external environment. Internal attributions might include factors such as low intelligence, or lack of attention. External attributions could include weather conditions, or task difficulty. A second dimension, stability, refers to the degree to which the cause remains constant over time. The example of low intelligence would be stable, where the example of lack of attentiveness, would be unstable. Weiner (1979) and Zuckerman and Feldman (1984) added the dimension of controllability to the achievement motivation model. This dimension focused on whether the cause of an event or behavior is controllable or uncontrollable.

McAuley, Duncan and Russell (1992) expanded the concept of controllability by proposing dual dimensions of personal and external control. For personal control, the attributor indicates that he or she either can or cannot personally control the outcome of the event. The external control dimension measures the degree to which the attributor sees the situation as being controllable by anyone else, such as a supervisor or co-worker. Vielva and Iraurgi, (2002) suggest that a response indicating external control is different from a response indicating uncontrollability. This paper proposes that the type of attribution made by an employee is likely to impact an employee's tendency to engage in escalation of commitment.

ESCALATION OF COMMITMENT

Traditional models of economic rationality posit that resources should be allocated and decisions based on an assessment that the benefits outweigh future costs (Vroom, 1964), yet managers' tendencies to throw "good money after bad" have been well documented and examined from multiple perspectives. There is a strong stream of research that examines misguided persistence from the commitment perspective, recognizing that both behavioral consistency expectations and self-justification processes play an important role when commitment escalates. According to Staw (1984), self-justification processes play an important role in commitment decisions and therefore can cause commitment to escalate. Self-justification theory postulates that managers will bias their future decisions in order to justify their past behavior. Further, research has shown that managers may selectively filter information from their

environment in order to achieve consistency between their past behavior and their current and future decisions. The mechanism underlying self-justification is largely based on self-esteem protection. This is caused by the decision maker's perceptions of societal and peer expectations.

Escalation of commitment has been studied from different theoretical backgrounds. On the one hand researchers have focused on the characteristics of the task (i.e. sunk cost), while on the other hand researchers have focused on theories of risk (Staw, 1997; Moon, 2001), specifically, escalation of commitment has been studied using prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). It has been found that among other factors, sunk cost, degree of completion, the attractiveness of the outcome, and the record of success or failure play an important role in the decision to escalate commitment (Moon, 2001).

HYPOTHESES

Past studies have looked at the role of internal and external attributions on employee behaviors and decision making (McCormick, 1997, Norris and Niebuhr, 1984). Of particular interest to this study are those that looked at the relationship between attributions and escalation of commitment. In particular, Bateman (1987), found a link between attributions made by powerful others and the subsequent escalation of commitment of subjects. Similarly, Staw (1981) found that escalation of commitment after a failure was highest when the attribution made for the failure was external, unstable and uncontrollable. While the results of his study have been criticized for methodological reasons (Conlon and Wolf, 1980), the basic finding that there was a relationship between attributions and escalation of commitment seem to encourage more research in the area (Bettman and Weitz, 1983).Using the findings of Staw (1981) as a starting point for our research, we hypothesize the following:

H1: External LOC will be related to higher Escalation of commitment.

H2. High stability will be related to lower Escalation of commitment.

H3. High external control will be related to higher Escalation of commitment.

H4: Low internal control will be related to higher Escalation of commitment.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

Participants were 363 students at a regional state university located in the southeastern United States. The sample consisted of graduate and undergraduate students at the university's college of business. The survey contained the measurement scales as well as questions on demographics of the participants. The participants took the survey during their respective class periods. 99% of the participants returned a usable survey.

51.2% of the participants were female, 47.1% were male; 1.7% did not respond to this question. The average age was between 23 and 25 years of age with 9.9% of the sample age 35 or older. 56.5% were white (non-Hispanic), 30% African-American, 4.7% Hispanic, 3.6% Asian,

.6% Native American, and 2.2% specified as "other", 43.3% responded that they had high school diplomas, 11.8% indicated they had associate degrees, 38.9% stated they held a bachelors degree, and 3.9% stated that they had master's degrees. .3% suggested they had doctorates. The average work experience of this sample was 6 years and 5 months. 92.4% of the respondents had at least one year of work experience, 83.6% reported work experience of at least 2 years, 46.4% reported 5 years or more, and 14.8% expressed that they had worked for at least 10 years. We believe that this demographic composition of the sample makes a strong argument for the generalizability of the sample to an average "working" population. The average participant also maintained a 2.9 GPA.

MEASURES

Attributions

For the measurement of performance attributions, we used the Causal Dimension Scale II (CDS II), developed by McAuley, Duncan and Russell (1992). The CDS II consists of a 12 questions, which make up 4 scales, with three items per scale, which evaluated the attributional dimensions of (1) locus of causality, (2) external control, (3) stability, and (4) personal control. Reliabilities using the CDS II are generally reported to be high (McAuley, Duncan and Russell, 1992). The reliabilities of the scales in our sample are as follows: Locus of causality α = .74, external control α =.7, stability α = .6, and personal control α.= .83

Escalation of Commitment

Escalation of commitment was assessed with an adaptation of the blank radar plane scenario, which has been established and validated in the literature (Arkes & Blumer, 1985; D.E. Conlon & Garland, 1993; Garland, 1990; Garland & Conlon, 1998). On the basis of the scenario, participants indicated via two questions on a scale of 0 to 100% the extent to which they would continue to pursue the project and invest more resources toward its completion.

ANALYSIS

We conducted a series of regression analyses to examine the relationships between attribution styles, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions using SPSS. Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations are reported in Table 1.

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities, and Correlations among all Variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
Locus of Causality	6.3	1.46	**-0.74**			
External Control	5.1	1.53	-0.1	**-0.7**		
Stability	5.3	1.49	.44**	.17**	**-0.62**	
Personal Control	2.4	1.46	.68**	-.26**	.35**	**-0.83**
Escalation	61.25	25.14	-0.001	-0.073	0.1	1.09*

Note: Reliabilities (Cronbach's Alphas) are given in parentheses.
**Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
*Correlation is significant at the .05 Level.

The initial results show that, as hypothesized in H1, based on the early tentative findings of Staw(1981) locus of causality is significantly related to escalation of commitment at p=.01. The standardized path coefficient for the relationship between locus of causality and escalation of commitment was estimated to be β=.-20.

However, unlike Staw's earlier (1981) study, we found no support for H3, which hypothesized that the attribution dimensions External control was related to escalation of commitment.

Interestingly, H2 received some support as the hypothesized relationship was marginally significant at p=.06. However, while we hypothesized, consistent with Staw's (1981) findings that unstable causes would be more likely to lead to escalation of commitment, the findings are in the opposite direction. We found that stable attributions lead to higher incidence of escalation of commitment.

However, as hypothesized by H4, we also examined the relationship between internal control and escalation of commitment. We found a significant, positive relationship between internal control and increased escalation of commitment. While this is directly opposite of the findings of Staw (1981), we do not find the results surprising. This is entirely consistent with Staw's earlier (1976) assessment that escalation of commitment typically manifests itself as the tendency to continue to invest in a losing course of action, particularly when one is personally responsible for the initiation of the failing investment

Table 2: Regression results:

Regression results with Escalation of Commitment as Dependent Variable

	β*	s.e.	t-value	p-value
Locus of Causality	-0.2	1.4	-2.4	0.017
External Control	-0.06	1.5	-0.955	0.34
Stability	0.121	1.1	1.9	0.06
Personal Control	0.206	0.21	2.5	0.01

*Standardized path coefficient

DISCUSSION

While past studies have peripherally included attributions in their examination of the phenomenon of escalation of commitment (Staw 1981, Bateman, 1981 Bettman and Weitz, 1983), few have explicitly questioned the relationship between attributions and escalation of commitment as a primary focus. We explicitly ask: "Do attributions impact escalation of commitment?" through the use of four hypotheses. Our results explicitly support one of these hypotheses and find a significant, yet in the opposite direction, relationship for two others. The traditional locus of causality dimension was negatively related to escalation of commitment, as we hypothesized. Those who placed the responsibility for a performance related failure on environmental rather than internal causes were more likely to exhibit escalation of commitment. However, these specific findings highlight the contrast between locus of causality and the construct of internal or external controllability. External locus of causality relates to higher escalation, however, external control (someone else controls your failures and successes) is not statistically related to escalation. In contrast, internal control (you have control over success and failure) is statistically related to escalation. What this suggests is that individuals will be most likely to engage in escalation of commitment if they feel that they generally control their success or failure, but that this particular event is failing due to external causes. Essentially, the high internal controllability leads the individual to believe that they can personally force a positive outcome, in spite of the fact that environmental forces are stacked against them. Related to this, we also found that attributions to stable causes increased escalation of commitment. While this differed from Staw's (1981) findings, it is not inconsistent with the original conception of escalation of commitment. Since escalation of commitment involves making decisions to achieve consistency with past behaviors, there would be more need psychologically to do this when confronted with a stable cause for failure. The cause would have been present in the same form and therefore factored into the original decision, while in the case of an unstable cause, it would give the decision maker an way to psychologically let themselves "off the hook" in terms of responsibility, as the cause was not already present when the original decision was made.

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WE'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY, OR HAVE WE?

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ABSTRACT

In 1964, women were only 34.56 percent of the labor force, but for the last 24 years, women have been more than 45 percent of the labor force on payrolls. By March 2010, they were up to 46.86 percent of the labor force (English, Hartmann, & Hayes, 2010).

Although tremendous growth of women participating in the workforce is evident, equal treatment is not. Women continue to make 80 percent of the salary of a white male (Institute for Women's Policy, 2010) and fill 51.4 percent of managerial positions (Catalyst Statistical Overview, 2010). Barriers such as stereotypical attitudes, 'good ole boy networks', and the 'glass ceiling' continue to stifle women's achievements and contributions to the corporate world.

As a result, many women are electing nontraditional careers such as engineering and science technicians, computer specialists, and starting their own businesses.

The purpose of the research was to explore how far the women in the US workforce have come including (1) a comparison of men and women's pay, work positions, and promotion possibilities, (2) a review of women entrepreneurs, and (3) an examination of obstacles facing women in the workplace.

INTRODUCTION

Massive changes have been documented by the U.S. Census Bureau, (2010), indicating the change in Caucasian population in 1950 of 89 percent, to the 74.5 percent in 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Significant societal changes also placed women in position of head of home and as sole support or in dual income family situations. In 2009, women held 47% of jobs in the U.S. and 50% of all managerial jobs. Women have been promoted and make up 2.4 percent of the U.S. Fortune 500 chief executives (Toegel, 2011; Prosser, 2010). Only 6.3 percent of top managers are women (chairman, vice chairman, CEO, president, chief operating officer, senior executive vice president, executive vice president) (Soares, Combopiano, Regis, Shur, & Wong, 2010).

The purpose of this research is to explore how far the women in the US workforce have come including (1) a comparison of men and women's pay, work positions, and promotion possibilities, (2) a review of women entrepreneurs, and (3) an examination of obstacles facing women in the workplace.

WOMEN ENTER THE US WORKFORCE

During the early 1900's, women's participation in the workforce made up 18.1 percent and had risen only to 20.4 percent by 1920 and 21.9 percent by 1930 (Kay, 2000).

World War II brought major change in the demographics of the US work force. Many women entered the job market, working on farms and in factories to take the place of men who had gone to war (Judy & D'Amico, 1997). During this difficult time, women became the head of the home, held full-time jobs, and educated their children. Generally, women did not return home after World War II and made up 57 percent of the workforce in 1945 (Kay, 2000).

In 1964, women were 34.56 percent of the labor force. Women have made up more than 45 percent of the labor force on payrolls for the last 24 years. By March 2010, women were 46.86 percent of the labor force (English, Hartmann, & Hayes, 2010). The current recession, which began in December 2007, has increased women's share of paid employment because the heavier job losses were among men. This is expected to be temporary. As the economy recovers, men's employment will probably rebound more than women's (English, Hartmann, & Hayes, 2010).

Obtaining advanced education is a reliable prediction of work force participation, and women have taken advantage of this path for entering the work force in greater numbers and at higher entry levels, possessing greater possibilities for promotion and advancement. In 2005 - 2006 women earned 55 percent of bachelor's degrees, 60 percent of master's degrees, and 48.9 percent of doctorates. Women are projected to earn 62.9 percent of master's degrees and 55.5 percent of doctorate degrees by 2016 - 2017 (Catalyst Academia, 2010).

Increased divorce rates, women's changing self perceptions, and abandonment of families by men, truly launched new trends. There are about 14 million single parents in the U.S. today. They are responsible for raising 21.6 million of our nation's children. Statistics show that 83.1% of the single custodial parents are mothers as compared with 16.9% being custodial fathers (Single Parent Statistics, 2010). In 2008, 26.3% of children lived in one-parent families (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

A COMPARISON OF MEN AND WOMEN'S PAY, WORK POSITIONS, AND PROMOTION POSSIBILITIES

Even though a gap remains between men and women's pay, the gap has been gradually closing since 1973. Women's pay experienced its greatest increase during the 1980's, and men's earnings peaked in the 1970's. Although progress in equity pay has been made, according to the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau, women continued to make only 80 cents to a man's one dollar in 2009 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010).

Women faculty members earn less than men faculty across all ranks and institutions, also. Women earn 81 cents while men earn one dollar. Just as in corporate America, the percentage of women in academic positions drops off the higher they climb (Catalyst Academia, 2010).

Around 54% of custodial single parents are employed on a full-time basis, 28% on a part-time basis and 18% do not work at all. In 2007 about 24.6 percent of custodial parents and their

children had incomes below the poverty level while only 12% of the entire United States population lives below the poverty level (Thadani, 2010). The poverty rate of custodial parents declined between 1993 (33.3 percent) and 2001 (23.4 percent) and has remained statistically unchanged since. The poverty rate of custodial mothers fell from 36.8 percent in 1993 to 27.0 percent in 2007 and was significantly higher than the poverty rate for custodial fathers, 12.9 percent (Grall, 2009).

Although the pay gap is decreasing, the presence of women in top-level corporate positions is minimal. In 2009, women held 49% of jobs in the U.S. and 50% of all managerial jobs. Women have been promoted and make up 2.4 percent of the U.S. Fortune 500 chief executives (Toegel, 2011; Prosser, 2010). Only 6.3 percent of top managers are women (chairman, vice chairman, CEO, president, chief operating officer, senior executive vice president, executive vice president) (Soares, Combopiano, Regis, Shur, & Wong, 2010).

WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS

Women are starting their own businesses because of the flexibility, freedom, and opportunity it gives them to find a balance between work and family (MacNeil, 2009). In 1977, women owned fewer than one million firms (Equal Pay, 1998). However, women owned businesses increased 15 percent each year between 1977 and 1992. By 1992, they owned nearly 6.4 million businesses and by 2009, they owned 50 percent or more of 10.1 million businesses (Equal Pay, 1998; Center for Women's Business Research, 2011).

BARRIERS

Catalyst conducted a survey in 2007 and 2008 of women and men who graduated between 1996 and 2007 from MBA programs at 26 leading business schools in Asia, Canada, Europe, and the United States. The N = 4,143 women and men who graduated from full-time MBA programs and worked full-time in companies at the time of the survey (Carter & Silva, 2010). Women were more likely to start at a lower rank with fewer responsibilities than men, taking into account years of experience, industry, and global region; women started behind the men, and they don't catch up in promotions or in salary. Women are being paid, on the average, $4,600 less in their first job than men (Carter & Silva, 2010).

According to Hinchliff (2010) of the Louisville Women's Careers Examiner, "Glass ceilings are still found in the workplaces, not only in the discrimination of pay scales, but also marked by sexual harassment, exploitation at work, a feeling of insecurity in women due to conduct of the opposite sex" and absence of role models at the highest levels.

Businesses are beginning to set challenging goals (25 percent) around the number of women in senior management positions. Research shows the value of having a gender-diverse management team. Companies that have more than three women in management positions have a better return on equity and assets than those who don't, they tend to score higher on organizational effectiveness criteria, and because women are better prepared for meetings, they raise the bar for others. This leads to better discussions and better decisions (Toegel, 2011).

Because of the downturn of the economy, men have been hit harder than women. The majority of workers in the US could be women for the first time in history (Gibbs, 2009). Women make 85 percent of the buying decisions and make most of the chief purchases for their households. For every two males who graduate from college or get a higher degree, three women do. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010) predicts women will make up the majority of the workforce in 9 out of 10 occupations and will add the most jobs in the next eight years (Luscombe, 2010).

SUMMARY

Women entered the U.S. work force in mass and in nontraditional work positions primarily in response to jobs left vacant during World War II. After the War many women continued to work although they were relegated to role segregated jobs and jobs considered to be traditional, such as teaching and nursing. Women had to fight for equality in the home and in the workplace. Education was one venue that women elected to follow to increase their value, worth, and advancement possibilities in the workplace.

Significant societal changes also placed women in position of head of home and as sole support or in dual income family situations. In 2009, women held 47% of jobs in the U.S. and 50% of all managerial jobs. Women have been promoted and make up only 2.4 percent of the U.S. Fortune 500 chief executives (Toegel, 2011; Prosser, 2010). Only 6.3 percent of top managers are women (chairman, vice chairman, CEO, president, chief operating officer, senior executive vice president, executive vice president (Soares, Combopiano, Regis, Shur, & Wong, 2010).

Even though a gap remains between men and women's pay, the gap has been gradually closing since 1973. According to the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau (2010), women continued to make only 80 cents to a man's one dollar in 2009.

Even though women are beginning to be respected in the workforce, the glass ceilings are still found in the workplaces, not only in the discrimination of pay scales, but also marked by sexual harassment, exploitation at work, as a feeling of insecurity in women due to conduct of the opposite sex, and the absence of role models at the highest levels (Hinchliff, 2010).

As a result of these and other hindrances, many women are choosing nontraditional work positions such as financial managers, computer specialists, and self-employment. By 2009, three-quarters of women-owned businesses were majority owned by women (51% or more) for a total of 7.2 million firms and generating $1.1 trillion in sales. Three percent of all women-owned firms have revenues of $1 million or more compared with 6 percent of men-owned firms (Center for Women's Business Research, 2011).

Although women are making great strides in the work environment, they still face and must deal with stereotypical attitudes, “good ole boy” networks, and the “glass ceiling.”

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CHINESE COMPENSATION SYSTEMS

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ABSTRACT

"Chinese labor relations are currently in a period of rapid change which began with the fundamental turn from the Left in economic policies signaled in December of 1978 at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party"(Nelson, 1985,p.13). China's rapid and efficient modernization has acquired them contracts with western firms not just through trade but contract productions, licensing, and joint ventures."The "permanent" workers in the 400,000 industrial enterprises which are wholly owned and managed by the State, or, as they say in China, "owned by the whole people" (Nelson 1985, p.13). There are over 1 million collective industrial enterprises which the State controls but does not own and most of the employees which are temporary receive less pay, benefits, and less job security. Wages in China are really low to United States standards, but in China living standards are also much lower and usually housing is provided by the government or the corporation. The Communist theory would dictate, wage differentials in China do not vary widely among workers, technicians, and managers"(Nelson 1985, p.14). In the Chinese working class workers classified in grades one through eight which also represents their skill and income level. "The benefits of rank in China are not in wages, but in perks. The use of a government limousine and driver, delicious food at formal and informal banquets, much more living space in assigned housing, people to help with day-to-day chores, access to vacations in beautiful places, access to Westem books and movies, access to stores that sell foreign-made products, and so on are all carefully graded in terms of managerial rank" (Nelson 1985, p.14). The wages are the best part of working actually it is receiving the bonuses which are incentives to maximize effort and work. Bonuses are distributed even when the corporation suffers financial losses. In the Chinese society it is very important to "save face" so managers do not want shame any of their employees and since usually two or three people do a job of one managers do not really know who does or do not deserve bonuses. "The present leadership of China wants very much for the bonus system to work as a genuine incentive system, both for enterprises and for individual workers" (Nelson 1985, p.14).

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TOWARDS A MODEL OF HUMAN TERRITORY

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to establish a simple robust model which helps explain human territorial behavior. A huge body of knowledge regarding territory already exists. Human territory is composed of objects and boundaries. A territorial object is any item that you value. The boundaries determine how an object will be influenced, used and controlled. The territories are dynamic, multi dimensional and change over time. The objects and boundaries of a territory can expand or contract. Most individuals seek to secure and expand their territory over time. Territorial conflict occurs when an individual perceives a territorial loss. When this happens, they act in ways to defend their territory.

INTRODUCTION

"You can't sit there. Why not? Because it's *my* favorite chair."

Humans seem to have a lot in common with the children's story, Goldilocks and the Three Bears." They are territorial. People, like other animals, have certain territories they claim as their own. They seek to enhance them and protect them. It can be a chair, a bed, a bowl, a goal, a job, a department, or an idea. For example, millions of people have personal internet sites on MySpace or Facebook. They can determine who has access to their site and, within bounds, use their sites as they see fit.

A huge body of knowledge regarding territory already exists. It is multi- disciplinary and comes from a variety of fields (Van Dyne, et. al. 2004). These disciplines range from hard sciences such as math, physics, and biology to softer sciences such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and military science. It is a concept that that has been used to explain the behavior of individuals, animals, families, tribes, groups, organizations, cities, states, and countries.

This paper attempts to establish a simple robust model which helps explain human territorial behavior. While the model can be applied to many different disciplines, it draws heavily from socio-psychological fields. The constructs of the model can be found in the following theories.

FOUNDATION THEORIES

Need Theory (Maslow, 1943): A need is a requisite or a requirement for an individual. It gives purpose to behavior. The most fundamental need is survival, causing one of the most basic behavioral choices, fight or flight.

Motivation theory (Cornelius, K, & Steel, P., 2006): Motivation is a driving force towards goal accomplishment or the reductions of need. When a need is not being met, it creates tension or anxiety. The reduction of the tension is rooted in providing pleasure and avoiding pain.

Object Relations Theory (Grotstein, J. S. & Rinsley, 1994): An object is any item that exists in an individual's mind. The object can be tangible or intangible.

Attachment Theory (Bowlby, J., 1969): An attachment is a bond or relationship that a person feels towards an object. The object can be physical such another person or meta-physical such as an idea.

Learning Theory (Skinner, B. F., 1971): Conditioning sets the rules for behavior through rewards or punishment (i.e., providing pleasure or pain in response to behavior).

Boundary Theory (Desrocher, L. & Sargent, L., 2003): A boundary is a limit, rule, law, norm or demarcation that defines a physical space or defines reasonable ways to behave. A boundary also determines the control or influence over objects.

Ownership Theory (Peirce, et. al., 2003): Ownership is the feeling of the right to influence, use or control an object.

Self-Concept Theory (Greas, V., 1982): The concept of the self is an attitude about one's identity. It is how a person views himself and is made up of cognitive, effective, and behavioral components.

Place Theory (Markus, H. & Wurf, E., 1987): Where the self is in relation to objects and boundaries.

TERRITORIAL MODEL

Human territory is composed of objects and boundaries. A territorial object is any item that you take ownership of and value. The object can be tangible or intangible. As an individual matures, objects become relational and transferable (Bowlby, 1969, Grotstein & Rinsley, 1994). As an individual develops attachments with objects, the objects gain value by the amount of investment one puts into the relationship with the object or by how the objects can be traded or

exchanged for other objects of value. The closer the relationship between the objects and the individual, the more valuable the object becomes.

The boundaries determine how an object will be influenced, used and controlled. The territories are dynamic, multi-dimensional and change over time (Pierce, et. al. 2003). The objects and boundaries of a territory can expand or contract. Territorial conflict occurs when an individual perceives a territorial loss. When this happens, the person attempts to defend their territory (Wlipert, 1991).

TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of human territory has its roots in developmental psychology. At the most basic level is an instinct to engage in behavior that ensures survival and seeks to enhance pleasure and avoid pain. When an individual senses a threat, his level of anxiety or fear increases, and he is motivated to reduce this fear. Infants are dependent on parents or caregivers to ensure their basic needs are met and begin to form attachments with them because they provide a sense of security and pleasure (Bowlby, 1969).. As children develop their attachment towards their parents, the attachment is often transferred to inanimate objects such a blanket or a pacifier which also provides them with a sense of security, thus reducing their anxiety in the absence of their parents (Issacs, 1933).

Territory emerges when children learn boundaries which determine how they can interact with or use an object. At a very early age they are taught what is and is not acceptable behavior. Most of the early rules a child learns are taught to them by their parents and later by siblings, friends, teachers and other figures of authority. Sometimes the boundaries are clear cut and other times they are not. The boundaries can be rigid, flexible or fuzzy. As children mature they attempt to behave in a way to ensure their control and influence over objects that are important to them and to secure the boundaries that determine the use of the objects.

At some point in time, the attachment a child feels towards an object develops into a sense of possession and finally a sense of ownership (Wilpert, 1991). Once the ownership becomes manifest, an individual assumes control and influence over the object. This sense of ownership determines what is mine and what is theirs (Issacs, 1933, Van Dyne, et. al. 2004). For instance, a child determines that a toy is his or hers and assumes control over who can play with it. This sense of entitlement over an object creates power for whoever is in control. As a result, the object takes on value if it can be used as an asset, resource or tool by whoever controls it.

The control and interaction between the individual and objects provides a means of determining and expressing a self-identity. The more an individual invests in an object, the closer the individuals identify with the objects causing the objects to become more valuable to the person (Begann, 1992). As this progresses both the tangible and intangible objects owned by individuals become part of a persona or personality and an extension of the self.

In order to maintain a degree of stability, they develop a sense of place in relation to their objects and boundaries (Pierce, et.al. 2003, Wilpert, 1991). This sense of place increases their feeling of security and reduces feelings of anxiety (Porteous, 1976). As children move into adolescence, they acquire more objects including attachments to groups and ideas and more

boundaries are imposed that influence the uses and interactions with the objects they value. They seek to ensure control and ownership of the objects they value by protecting themselves against loss and seek to enlarge their territories and increase the value of these objects within the boundaries which will enhance their self image (Hall, 1996). This process continues into adulthood as the attachment, ownership, and boundaries become increasingly complex and more dynamic.

TERRITORIAL COMPLEXITY

As human territory develops it becomes more complex (Pierce, et. al., 2003, p. 103). Territories of an individual overlap and become shared with others. They become multi-dimensional occurring at both horizontal and vertical levels within organizations, and exist across multiple systems.

Some of the objects a child develops attachments to must be shared with others. This is especially true in families that have siblings giving rise to sibling rivalry and rules to resolve the conflict. The shared or overlapping territories creates an interaction that includes interdependence, assimilation, and adjustment. For instance, rooms and toys can be shared. Rules, norms and procedures can be created as to who can use them, how they are to be used, and when they are to be used. The same thing happens in an office where common areas such as break rooms and equipment are shared. It can happen between individuals or groups of individuals where community property is shared such as roads and recreational facilities.

Human territories are multi-dimensional and hierarchical. Territories exist horizontally where a child has his or her own clothes, toys, room or chores within a family structure. At school a child can have his or her own desk and a certain place in the lunch line. Individuals can own property or have their own ideas. At work a person can have their own parking space, desk and responsibilities. Territories also exist vertically across and between levels in the social structure of families or the hierarchical structure of a formal organization where territories such as formal work groups span vertical boundaries (Desrocher, L. & Sargent, L., 2003). Or, they can be a combination of both horizontal and vertical territories where interaction and sharing is required.

Human territories also exist in systems. The family unit is a social system just as schools, businesses, or communities are social systems. There will be multi dimensional and overlapping territories within and between the systems adding to the complexity of boundaries which determine how territories are managed (Desrocher, L. & Sargent, L., 2003). As a result an individual can belong to and share numerous territories with different and sometimes conflicting boundaries.

For instance children, from different families or cultures can have a different set of rules for sharing a toy at home and have yet a different set of rules for sharing the same toy at school. Or a person from one department can have a norm, policy, procedure or rule for using a copier or cleaning up a common area that differs from another department, an informal group, or from what is expected by the boss. These rules can be quite clear or vague and imprecise. To complicate matters further, the rules can change over time.

TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS

Human territories are dynamic. Although objects and boundaries are necessarily durable and have an element of continuity to maintain a sense of security and stable self image, they can vary and fluctuate, sometimes dramatically causing the size and shape of the territory to change (Dirks, et. al. 1966). A person's family, possessions, friends, or assets can increase or decrease suddenly or gradually. Just as norms, rules, policies, and laws can change or be modified suddenly or gradually. This can happen naturally, be self-determined or be imposed by others.

An individual can enlarge a territory by increasing the number or value of objects. This can be accomplished through innovation by creating new objects, buying or trading existing objects, sharing objects with others or taking objects from others. Since boundaries determine the use and influence over objects, a territory can be changed by increasing or decreasing the boundaries.

Changing a boundary implies the use of power. The power may be legitimate backed by laws and policies; be positional or personal backed by authority, expertise and persuasion; or be backed by imposing your will on others. In all cases the level or amount of power to change a boundary is relative to the force of the individual versus the force of others. Changing a boundary in a positive manner can increase the number or value of objects in an individual's territory which increase the resources or assets under the individual's control. This, in turn, increases or enhances the force available and, thus, the power to establish new boundaries.

The level or amount of force that can be generated from the resources is moderated by the interaction between the self and the objects. If the changes in the boundaries are not perceived by the individual as enhancing the self or providing a more secure place then the increase in the value of the objects may not result in the generation of more resources. Consequently, power to increase territory is hindered.

TERRITORIAL CONFLICT

The amount of power that can be generated also is moderated by the force of others. If there are opposing forces from others, territory may be lost. When change is imposed by others territorial conflict is created. There are two types of imposed conflict. Type A conflict is a dispute or a disagreement over the ownership of objects, the rules governing the use of objects, and differences in the way an individual is perceived.

Type B conflict is fear of the actual loss of objects, loss of their value, or the loss of use or control over them. There are three types of B conflict. The first is real or imagined threats to an object, boundaries or self-image. The second is trespassing that occurs when a boundary is inadvertently crossed or a personal object is used without permission. This can be caused by fuzzy or ill-defined boundaries or even flexible boundaries. The third is an attack or invasion of a person's territory resulting in the actual loss.

The notion of loss creates stress, anxiety, and fear (Dirks, et. al., 1996). This causes individuals to engage in behavior to protect, defend, change or abandon their territory (Hall, 1996). There are five types of defensive behavior. The least aggressive is flight. The next least

aggressive is a warning. This can come in the form of a signaling, marking, or posturing. Animals engage in this type of behavior when staking out a territory by posturing, urinating or whistling. A simple example of humans doing this would be a child putting up a keep out sign on their room or club house. A second passive way of protecting a territory is developing barriers. These can be physical barriers such fences or walls or psychological barriers such as not listening to others ideas. More aggressive behavior can come in the form of enforcing laws, policies and rules. The most aggressive way to protect a territory is to fight for it.

A dispute about or loss of territory can result in either positive or negative behavior. On the negative side, there can be anger and retaliation. Resentment can lead to the need for vengeance, punishment or restitution. On the positive side there can be resignation and forgiveness. This can lead to coping, adjustment, stabilization and positive reconciliation. The idea of a positive approach is willingness to give up territory or share it by accepting the reduction in the value or use of the objects, adjusting to new boundaries, and developing a new view of yourself.

MANAGING TERRITORIAL CONFLICT

Managing territorial conflict can be approached on three different dimensions. The simplest is a single dimension that measures aggression. It is essentially the flight or fight approach to defending a territory. The defensive behavior exists in a continuum ranging from, in descending order of aggression, flight, warning, barriers, enforcement, to the most aggressive behavior, fight.

The second model is more sophisticated and is composed of two dimensions: assertiveness and cooperation. The behaviors of conflict resolution in this model include avoidance, competition, compromise, accommodation, cooperation, and collaborating.

The third model uses the dimensions of the second model and adds the contingency factors of the value of objects and relative power of the aggressor. The size of the threat or loss is a combination of the value of the object and the relative power of the aggressor versus the power of the individual.

The greater the potential loss, the greater the fear.

The greater the power of the aggressor, the greater the fear.

The greater the power of the individual, the less the fear.

If power is equal and the value is high then cooperation and accommodation should be high. If relative power is low and the value is high then compromise or accommodation should be high. If the relative power of the individual is high and the value is high then competition or collaboration should be high.

If the value for the individual is low regardless of the power differentials then avoidance, accommodation, or compromise should be high.

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CAN COPING REPAIR THE CAREER DAMAGE OF WORKPLACE WEIGHT DISCRIMINATION?

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ABSTRACT

Obesity has been deemed the new epidemic, with much of the focus on achieving a socially acceptable body size. Often overlooked, however, are the interpersonal workplace implications. Discrimination against employees who are overweight is an increasingly more prevalent form of employee devaluation which has varied negative impacts on career success, including income disparities, less attractive job assignments, and fewer promotions. Drawing on attribution theory, spillover theory and the transactional stress model, we examine the moderating influence of coping on weight discrimination and career success. In this study we used moderated hierarchical regression, and found support for the relationship between weight discrimination and career success and interesting findings on the moderating effects of coping. Implications, limitations, and future research are presented.

INTRODUCTION

Obesity stigmatization, a form of employee devaluation scarcely addressed legally, socially, or within organizations, is widespread (Andreyeva, Puhl, & Brownell, 2008) and is a very serious social problem that deserves attention (Shkolnikova, 2008). As social problems become organizational challenges, it is necessary to expend significant effort exploring workplace weight discrimination.

Studies have established that workplace discrimination does in fact occur in the workplace in all phases of the employment process (Roehling, Pichler, Oswald, & Bruce, 2008). Little research has been conducted on how employees actually cope with weight discrimination. Therefore, in this study, we explore how employees cope with perceived weight discrimination via active and disengagement strategies (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989) and drawing on attribution, spillover theory, and the transactional stress model. We seek to address two research questions: 1.) What are the career outcomes of workplace weight discrimination and 2.) What are the moderating influences of coping strategies on the effects of workplace weight discrimination?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Workplace Weight Discrimination

Workplace weight discrimination is surprisingly common as a study found that 54% of respondents experienced weight stigmatization from co-workers or colleagues, 43% from employers or supervisors, and 25% experienced overall job discrimination (Puhl & Brownell, 2006). Weight discrimination may be explained by attribution theory. According to attribution theory, negative judgments of obese individuals surface among employers, co-workers, and society largely due to a belief that obesity can be controlled by individuals who are obese (Crandall & Martinez, 1996). These negative opinions are linked to a just world belief which implies that people with negative characteristics should be treated in accordance to that characteristic (Crandall, et al., 2001). The outcome for the obese is generally workplace weight discrimination at every phase in the employment process from selection to termination (Roehling, et al., 2008).

Coping

So how does one deal with perceived weight discrimination? Consistent with a study by Puhl and Brownell (2006), we propose that individuals utilize coping mechanisms. Lazarus and Folkman (1985) offer the transactional stress model which proposes three processes for understanding stress; primary appraisal, secondary appraisal, and coping. Coping is the process of executing a response after one has perceived a threat (primary appraisal) and evaluated potential responses (secondary appraisal) (Lazarus, 1966). Puhl and Brownell (2006) discovered that most frequently those experiencing weight stigma in the form of job discrimination coped via positive behaviors such as being nice, ignoring the situation, and dieting. However, based on a study by Diamond et. al. (2008), the two approaches to coping examined in this study are active coping and behavioral disengagement because of their focus on workplace discrimination. "Active coping is the process of taking active steps to try to remove or circumvent the stressor or to ameliorate its effects, for example initiating direct action, increasing one's efforts" (Carver, et al., 1989, p. 268). Conversely, behavioral disengagement refers to reducing effort to overcome a stressor, even to the point of abandoning goals which are being hindered by the stressor (Carver, et al., 1989).

Diamond et al. (2008) suggest that victims of discrimination may benefit more from disengagement coping because the victim is unlikely to be able to be removed from the environment and behavioral disengagement allows them to avoid the discrimination, deny its existence, or just plain accept it (Carver, et al., 1989; Diamond, et al., 2008). Alternately, if the victim chose to actively cope, there is a likelihood of lower career success because of retaliation as in cases of sexual harassment. This argument is valid for victims of weight discrimination.

OCP

A relatively new phenomenon in organizational behavior research, citizenship pressure (OCP) occurs when an individual perceives that the performance of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) is either implicitly or explicitly required (Bolino, Turnley, Gilstrap, & Suazo, 2010). When perceived as a valuable resource, OCBs are viewed as something that can be used to support or help the organization or its stakeholders. Therefore, managers and employees begin to use it as a tool to be drawn on when needed. A study by (Bolino, et al., 2010) revealed that citizenship pressure is related to the actual performance of OCBs.

OCP may help to explain the active coping of those who perceive weight discrimination. We argue that OCP falls consistent with "increasing one's efforts" when performed by a person who perceives devaluation. Employees may feel that they must perform these behaviors (Organ, 1997) in order to be seen as a "team player" and to receive the best possible performance evaluations, promotions, and raises. Referring back to the attribution theory, the negative attribute of obesity explained by attribution, may at least be neutralized by the performance of OCBs. Thus,

H1 Perceived weight discrimination will be positively related to organizational citizenship pressure.

Career Success, perceived discrimination, and coping

Perceived weight discrimination has been found to influence career success in the form of lower salaries, fewer promotions, and unattractive job assignments (Roehling, et al., 2008). Consistent with prior research, we conclude

H2 Perceived weight discrimination will be negatively related to career success.

Coping has been determined as a key to employees experiencing favorable work attitudes and extrinsic rewards (Diamond, et al., 2008; Judge, Thoresen, Pucik, & Welbourne, 1999). Foster (2000) even suggests that it is the coping mechanism executed that influences outcomes more so than the actual discrimination itself. Therefore, we will investigate how coping moderates the relationship of perceived weight discrimination and career success.

Drawing from Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson's (2003) work suggesting that devalued employees benefit from disengagement coping rather than active coping because of their low status in the workplace, Diamond et. al. (2008) tested the moderating effects of active coping and behavioral disengagement on the relationship between workplace discrimination and career success. They found that, in a study of ethnic minorities, active coping and behavioral disengagement moderated the relationship between perceived workplace discrimination and perceived career success and that only active coping moderated the relationship when testing an objective measure of career success, salary increase (Diamond, et al., 2008). Further, active coping of the devalued employee produced less career success, while higher levels of behavioral disengagement produced no negative impacts on career success and lower levels produced reduced career success.

Although we will test weight discrimination in similar relationships as Diamond et. al. (2008), as discussed above, we will add citizenship pressure as a form of active coping. However, based on the fact that citizenship pressure implies executing extrarole behaviors which are essential to effective performance, we propose that the moderating effect will be opposite that of active coping (as described by Carver, et al. 1989).

H3 aActive coping will moderate the relationship between perceived weight discrimination and career success

H3b Organizational Citizenship Pressure will moderate the relationship between perceived weight discrimination and career success

H3c Behavioral disengagement will moderate the relationship between perceived weight discrimination and career success

METHODOLOGY

Data for this study was collected using a Web survey instrument, which was sent via electronic invitation to US residents employed in diverse industries. This study resulted in 106 eligible (employed) responses with a response rate of 20%. Of the respondents, the majority were female (82.4%) and white (53.4%).

The constructs were measured using a seven-point Likert scale, anchored from "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (7). *Perceived Weight Discrimination* was measured as a modification of a tested 7-item scale created by James, Lovato, and Cropanzano (1994) for race/gender discrimination. The Cronbach alpha value is .890. Career success was measured using 8-items from Gattiker and Larwood's (1986) scale of subjective career success ($\alpha = .951$). Coping was measured with the Carver et. al. (1989) active and behavioral disengagement scales ($\alpha = .951$.). Organizational Citizenship Pressure was measured with 22 questions from two dimensions (individual initiative and helping) of the Bolino and Turnley (2005) scale ($\alpha = .858$). Gender/sex, race/ethnicity, and body mass index (BMI) were controlled in this study.

RESULTS

We introduced citizenship pressure as a form of active coping. Based on Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient, a small, but significant amount of correlation does exist between active coping and citizenship pressure ($r = .253$, $p < .05$).

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested using regression. Perceived weight discrimination was positively related to citizenship pressure ($\beta = .320$, $p < .01$) indicating support for hypothesis 1. Perceived weight discrimination was negatively related to career success ($\beta = -.155$, $p < .088$) but only at .10 level in significance, indicating marginal support for hypothesis 2.

Hypotheses 3a-c suggest that active coping, citizenship pressure, and behavioral disengagement will moderate the relationship between perceived weight discrimination and career success. After conducting the moderated hierarchical regression analysis, no support for

the moderated relationships with career success were found, as none of interaction terms were significant.

DISCUSSION

We analyzed the ways in which active and disengagement coping affected the career success of those who perceive workplace weight discrimination. Based on the data analysis, we found no complete support for the career outcome, only marginal support for the relationship between career success and perceived weight discrimination. The findings indicate that increased amounts of workplace weight discrimination result in lower levels of career success. This is consistent with the findings in studies measuring more objective measures of career success (Maranto & Stenoien, 2000; Register & Williams, 1990). Although only marginal support, this finding provides valuable implications for organizations related to employee devaluation in that weight discrimination can have detrimental effects on organizational success via its human resource.

Our limited results related to career success may be attributed to the subjective measure utilized. Generally studies of career and success have focused on the more external or objective measure (Gattiker & Larwood, 1986) because it provides "hard" data in the form of income, job title, promotions, and distance from top executive positions. Other scholars though, have argued that the subjective measures are a better assessment of one's thoughts on personal career success (Kotter, 1982) in that it is possible to have received promotions, an attractive salary, and job title, yet still feel as if personal levels of career success have not been achieved. While the scholars present a compelling argument, we now think that surveying victims of discrimination using a subjective measure comes with unique challenges. Ruggiero (1996) indicated that disadvantaged individuals may minimize discrimination and its effects in order to maintain the perception of control over social and performance outcomes in their lives. Therefore, victims of weight discrimination may not report perceiving lower career success or even the weight discrimination itself in an effort to maintain control of their careers, even though their salary, job title, and promotions clearly indicate the negative effect of this devaluation. Interestingly, our post-hoc analysis even indicates that those individuals with higher BMIs have marginally lower career success ($\beta = -.183$, $p < .10$) and higher weight discrimination ($\beta = .333$, $p < .05$). Given this, a multidimensional measure of career success, which includes both the subjective and objective aspects, may be more appropriate.

The moderating influences of active coping, citizenship pressure, and behavioral disengagement, all produced insignificant findings, suggesting further investigation of the coping mechanisms with the objective measure of career success. Post hoc analysis though, does indicate that there is a marginally significant relationship between perceived weight discrimination and active coping ($\beta = .079$, $p < .10$). We also explored citizenship pressure, as a form of active coping and found a significant marginal correlation between OCP and active coping. The more one feels weight discrimination, the more citizenship pressure they feel, which may confirm that devaluated employees are performing these OCBs in an effort to achieve equal status with employees that are not devaluated. These two findings indicate that victims do

indeed attempt to deal with the discrimination by actively doing something about it. Managers and HR practitioners should take notice of this. Employees are expending mental and physical efforts to overcome this devaluation. These efforts could most certainly be better used in helping achieve organizational goals, as opposed to attempting to achieve organizational equality.

Managerial and Practical Implications

This study and previous studies reveal negative career success related to weight discrimination (Register & Williams, 1990; Roehling, et al., 2008). Workplace weight discrimination's effects far exceed just the employee though. It also impacts the company, which is further justification for organizations and their managers to focus on helping not hindering the career success of their employees. Moreover, as organizations craft human resource policy, this study illustrates that a renewed focus should be on the fair treatment of all employees regardless of personal characteristics. Seeing that the rate of weight discrimination has almost doubled in the last ten years (Andreyeva, et al., 2008), the personal characteristic, body size should be added to the EEO statement printed on many company documents, from employment applications, to websites, to annual reports.

Limitations, Future Research, and Conclusion

As with any research study, limitations are present. The sample in the study is a limitation. While a diverse sample was intended, the sample was overwhelmingly female (82.4%). The subjective measure of career success proved to be a limitation. Only marginal support of the relationship between weight discrimination and career success was found, although there is an abundance of support for an objective measure of career success in the literature. As in Diamond et. al. (2008) future weight discrimination research should use both the subjective and objective measures of career success (e.g. income, number of promotions, distance from top level management). Additionally, differences in race and gender, and other life outcomes of workplace weight discrimination should be examined in future research.

This study extends research on workplace stigmatization based on body size by offering discussion of its effects on career success. As scholars (e.g. Brownell, Crandall, Hebl, King, Puhl, Roehling, Rothblum) have devoted considerable time and research effort to this literature stream, this study further confirms that there is still much work to be done.

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