"GOOD-LOOKING": PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS AND EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN LATIN AMERICA, THE ECUADORIAN CASE.

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Summary Abstract

This paper explores a relationship between job discrimination and physical attractiveness on jobs seekers in the main cities of Ecuador (Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca). Following the experimental methodology called Audit Study, several resumes of people were sent to potential employers with the same work and academic backgrounds except for their photographs, which received a qualification of physical attractiveness -determined as such by panel of independent auditors-. The objective is to measure changes in response rates. According to results, employers in Ecuador value applicants more according to their physical attractiveness rather than their skills or academic background for a job, which can carry consequences in terms of efficiency and productivity.

Keywords: Discrimination, physical attractiveness, hiring, labour market.
Classification JEL: J710.

1. BACKGROUND

Labour discrimination issues are still ubiquitous in modern societies. Exclusion based on physical, biological, and cultural traits, among others, has motivated democratic governments to take actions to stop this phenomenon. So, if most of them are seeking to guarantee 'non-discrimination' in their legal systems, why does this problem persist? According to (Lanas Medina, 2010) this question arises because of the difficulty of proving this negative behaviour since in most cases it is hidden in the intentions of individuals.

This behaviour can be detected in the early stages of the personnel selection processes, that is, when the initial interest of the employer arises. The decision to take an individual into account or not for an employment interview always depends on who evaluates the resume. However, a drawback occurs when selection mechanisms fail, giving individuals more weight based on characteristics not related to their capabilities.

According to a report from the National Institute of Statistics and Census of Ecuador, INEC, in March 2018, individuals who sought employment faced differences in the waiting time. The data shows that 18.4% of workers took more than six months to enter in the labour market, 30.8% took between 2 and 6 months, 20.6% between 1 and 2 months, and the remaining 30.2% less than one month. This gap in waiting times can become associated with the personnel selection systems. Although this process requires making a rational and objective decision, recruiters are not exempt from presenting biases based on their biographical experiences, cultural stereotypes or for an explicit order from companies (Horcajo, Briñol, & Becerra, 2009). Therefore, inequalities in access to job opportunities can reflect prejudices that harm certain groups with certain characteristics such as race, gender, etc.

Although it is rare to find job offers that explicitly require certain physical traits, race and gender have historically been characteristics for which people have suffered discrimination (Galarza & Yamada, 2014). In addition, the physical attractiveness associated with individuals has become especially important, since a greater dedication to body care is observed (Sanhueza, Bravo, & Giusti, 2008), which in many cases contribute to encourage discrimination within the processes of selection. The role of recruiters is fundamental, but if they have a biased point of view, they could make a poor decision, which would lead to discarding optimal candidates and, consequently, incurring in adverse selection problems (Horcajo et al., 2009). According to (Vera Rojas, 2006), when a person is excluded from the labour market, "it also limits their personal development and generates an open field for activities that have negative social effects".

So, it is necessary to design mechanisms in order to try to measure the extension of this bias. For this, and according to the methodology suggested by (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998), a panel of independent auditors assesses with a score from 0 to 10 a group of photographs of men and women. These photographs are subsequently grouped into three categories: unattractive, average and attractive, and resumes are prepared so that they comply as closely as possible with the requirements presented by various job offers. Finally, several resumes are sent to the employers, in such a way that they receive folders of attractive, average and unattractive people who comply with what they seek, but with different applicant's photos. All positive and negative responses are classified, and the information is processed and plugged in a logit specification designed to evaluate the probability of occurrence of attractive bias. In other words, an applicant would be considered for a job offer according to their level of physical attractiveness or gender.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In Latin America, there is too little relevant literature on the impact of physical attractiveness on the selection of job seekers. In Lima, Peru (Galarza & Yamada, 2014), using an experimental methodology known as Audit Studies, carried a group of field experiments in which a researcher has auditors evaluate candidates with similar characteristics except for that which is believed to generate exclusion, so it is possible to control the variable causing the discriminating effect. This method consists of two procedures: the first is a personal approach, where individuals are sent to job interviews. The second is sending phony resumes for real job vacancies. With this, it is expected to assess the impact of physical appearance, race and gender of a given applicant appointed for a job interview. Among their results, there is evidence of larger racial and appearance gaps in professional[1] jobs compared to non-professional ones. They also found that applicants considered physically attractive have a positive response rate from employers that is 83% higher than those that were not considered attractive by the auditors. From these candidates, 55% corresponds to Caucasian applicants and 34% were male.

1A Job where a college degree diploma is required.

Following the same line of research, (Sanhueza et al., 2008) studied the effect of the physical appearance of the job seekers in Chilean labour market. Using an experimental design in which an "index of beauty" is built for an individual based on the perception of a panel who would be able to commonly assess the attractiveness of the applicants. Their conclusions showed that a high physical attractiveness rewards individuals in the first years after entering the labour market. The retribution was 33% for women who were above the beauty average and a punishment for men with 36% for being below average. The authors claim that this effect dissipates more quickly for men than for women as they gain experience in the labour market. In addition, this effect is more profound in the private owned companies than in the government.

(Solano-Gómez & Smith-Castro, 2017) base their study on the impact of attractiveness and gender of potential candidates for a job in Costa Rica, with a total emphasis on attributions of warmth and skills. They used experimental methods as well, involving 153 recruiters (120 women and 33 men) aged between 22 and 56 years who had an experience range from 2 months to 20 years. Their approach consisted of measuring the hiring intentions of recruiters based solely on the photo of the applicant. Among their findings, it is detected that there is a significant effect of gender and attractiveness from the photographs for the intention of hiring at a level of significance of 1% and 10% respectively.

In the case of male recruiters, the photographic stimuli were identified as the main cause of recruitment for those considered attractive than for those non-attractive, especially with women applicants. Similar case with female recruiters, highlighting the intention of a greater recruitment for male applicants than females.

(Agthe, Spörrle, & Maner, 2011) evaluate the bias caused by preference for more attractive people. Their research shows that the nature of this event is related to the gender of the candidate. Two experiments were carried out: in the first, a group of applicants for a scholarship was surveyed. Their results suggest that there is a pro-active bias in favour of applicants of the opposite gender. In the second experiment, the evaluations of potential candidates for a certain position were surveyed as well. Their results showed evidence of a

pro-active bias for aspirants of the opposite gender. In conclusion, there is a prejudice at the instant that evaluator and applicant have the same gender and level of attractiveness.

(Dávila Chiriboga, 2016), uses experimental data to recognize the effect of discrimination in the Ecuadorian labour market. He centres his analysis on three dimensions: gender, surname and place of origin. Using the same methodology as (Galarza & Yamada, 2014), he sends resumes with similar experience and education backgrounds to real job offers, but with a difference in gender and ethnicity. Through a logistic regression, it succeeds in proving the existence of positive discrimination in favour of men, that is, a greater propensity to be hired compared to women. Regarding ethnicity, evidence was found in favour of people with Spanish surnames.

Back in the United States, (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), analyse racial discrimination in the labour market. Their study is based on a field experiment that consists in responding with fictitious resumes to job offers in the cities of Boston and Chicago. The control variable was the ethnic group, which is represented by the surname and name expressed in the resume, that is, African American or Caucasian. Other aspects were also considered, such as the place of residence and the ethnic group. Their results show that resumes with Caucasian names have a 50% higher response rate compared to their African American counterparts. As for the place of residence, those who live in more prosperous and quiet places receive more calls regardless of their ethnicity. Finally, Caucasian names with better resumes receive 30% more calls compared to those with African American names.

(Vera Rojas, 2006) explains that, although discrimination and inequality of opportunities are avoided by recruiters, this ideal scenario is not always the general case. These distortions are attributed to arbitrariness and improper distinctions that should not be considered by public and private institutions. In his research, the variable employment is used to evidences a discriminatory process in the labour market. Intuition suggests that because it is an activity where the individual generates income, negative social effects occur at moment that access to a job for this person is restricted or denied. The objective of this study is to highlight the discriminatory variables that influence the personnel selection process in the Peruvian market, as well as to serve as a guide for the design of public policies. For this purpose, he uses three

instruments: personnel selection search forms, labour databases and job offers in the government. In order to obtain variables that allow capture discriminatory evidence in the personnel selection processes, this research uses the first instrument as the primary source of registration of job offers by companies. His results show that 78% of vacancies were for men and only 22% for women. Regarding age, it was found that 68% suggested bias, preferring younger people when jobs were offered for women. As for the physical attractiveness, it was found that the specific characteristics that employers valued most were that the applicant had white skin, good image, good physical condition, among others. This is accentuated in job offers focused in women, where even greater importance is given to good appearance and to a younger age, especially for operational positions related to customer service.

Finally, through the estimation of mincerian income equations, (Torresano Melo, 2009) proposes a composition methodology of the salary gaps of (Oaxaca, 1973) and (Neumark, 1988). When correcting the problem of sampling selection bias, results shown that the Ecuadorian female population and indigenous peoples have presented income inequalities respecting to the male and non-indigenous population respectively, reporting that part of these wage differences is a result of the gender and ethnicity of applicants. For this, he uses the Survey of Employment and Unemployment in the Urban and Rural Area (ENEMDUR), accounting for 19 394 households (78 742 people). His results showed evidence of wage discrimination against women and indigenous people. A lower salary of 18% and 22% respectively. In addition, years of education and experience in respect to income level evidenced a positive correlation.

3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

To verify discriminatory processes in the selection of personnel we use a variant of the methodology by (Galarza & Yamada, 2014) which consists of preparing fictitious resumes that must be duly modified and adjusted to the requirements sought by employers. Six resumes were sent to each job offer (three men and three women) in order to cover the three levels of attractiveness proposed (unattractive, average, and attractive). The recruiting

companies were those who used traditional media for publishing a job offer, that is, classified ads on newspapers (both paper and online), and other digital platforms where it is possible to send the resume via email. The discriminatory process was assessed through the response rate of the applicants. Only labour offers from the cities of Cuenca, Guayaquil and Quito were accounted for, because these cities are where the main demand for labour is concentrated in Ecuador. It is important to indicate that for this paper, due its exploratory character, a non-probabilistic sampling method was used.

The resumes were sent to job offers that comply with the necessary and sufficient conditions, that is, the advertisement must not state any type of preference (salary, gender, age, physical complexion, etc.) capable of generating a bias. The job offers that were considered were those that only required the resumes via e-mail, discarding all those in which the applicant must leave his/her resume personally. Finally, the offers were divided into job categories professional and non-professional.

At this point, the issuance of a realistic resume is necessary for reliability, with three main sections: 1) Personal data, 2) Education, 3) Experience. In the first section, several unique names of applicants would rotate around, and 15 days were accounted for in order to avoid confusion when a response from a recruiter is received. Only the most common surnames among the Ecuadorian population and only addresses located near the centre of each city were considered. For the second section, the primary and secondary education information of the resumes were adjusted to each city. Regarding college education, the ranking of universities of excellence proposed by the Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (SENESCYT) served as reference. Finally, in terms of experience, the resumes were adapted to fit the profile required by employers.

Classification of physical attractiveness and objectivity issues

As the physical attractiveness is a subjective quality, a panel of auditors was needed, whose function was to provide a general perception of physical attractiveness and, in this way, to convert this subjective perception into an objective one. This procedure is the same used by (Sanhueza et al., 2008) and consisted of gathering the opinion of 8 auditors (4 men and 4

women). The ages of these were established according to the protocol used by (Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998); 4 people (2 men and 2 women) over 35 years old and 4 (2 men and 2 women) under 35 years old.

On the other hand, a set of 50 photographs meet the necessary requirements. To each of the fictitious resumes a photograph was assigned that was previously assessed according to the parameters of attractiveness established by the panel. In this way, the auditors evaluate 50 photographs (25 men and 25 women) on a scale over 10 points, and these are classified in three categories: "Unattractive", "Average" and " Attractive". The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1.Classification of Photographs According to Attractiveness Level

Classification	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL	
	Number	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**
Attractive	8	32%	6	24%	14	28%
Average	12	48%	10	40%	22	44%
Unattractive	5	20%	9	36%	14	28%
TOTAL	25	100%	25	100%	50	100%

Source: The authors

An arithmetic mean of the responses is calculated by obtaining the vector of average physical attractiveness of the sample and consequently a correlation matrix between the 8 auditors is constructed, as can be seen in table 2. Each of the correlations is significant at 5%, revealing an objective parameter of attractiveness, in other words, the points of view of the auditors are similar respecting to the perception of the 50 assessed photographs.

Table 2. Correlation Matrix on Attractiveness Level

AUDITOR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1							
2	0,901**	1						
3	0,857**	0,852**	1					
4	0,819**	0,827**	0,85**	1				
5	0,784**	0,795**	0,832**	0,772**	1			
6	0,790**	0,812**	0,74**	0,715**	0,667**	1		
7	0,855**	0,873**	0,851**	0,841**	0,869**	0,829**	1	
8	0,848**	0,867**	0,817**	0,824**	0,819**	0,699**	0,804**	1

** 5%

Source: The Authors

In addition to this classification, a last filter was applied considering photographs with minimal variance, in other words, the pictures on the resumes were only those that presented more homogeneous means. The intention of hiring was measured through the response to the submitted curriculum vitae. For this, any written response via e-mail or telephone call is considered.

Econometric considerations

To measure the probability of being contacted for an interview according to the level of attractiveness, this investigation proposes the following specification:

$$p_h = \alpha + \beta_1 a_i + \beta_2 X_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Where p_h is a response variable with a value of 1 for any positive response. β_1 is the parameter of interest associated with variable a_i that on a scale of 1 to 10 points it becomes a coefficient of employment discrimination attributable to physical attractiveness. Finally, X_i is a vector of control variables among which are:

x_1:   Age of applicant.

x_2:   Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if it represents a professional occupation and 0 otherwise.

x_3:   Dummy variable that, with the value of 1, represents a job advertisement from the city Cuenca or Quito; and 0 if it is from Guayaquil.

x_4:   Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if the applicant is a woman, and 0 for men.

x_5:   Interaction term between the level of attractiveness and gender of the applicants.

x_6:   Interaction term between the level of attractiveness and the type of occupation.

x_7:   Interaction term between gender and type of occupation.

x_8:   Dummy Variable that represents the resumes with photographs on an attractive scale.

x_9:   Dummy variable that represents the résumés with photographs on an Average scale.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results presented below are based on the response rate of job advertisements. Between February and May of 2018, 534 job offers were sampled, so 3204 resumes were sent, that is, 6 resumes per job announcement. To validate this data, the criteria of (Galarza & Yamada, 2014) were used. According to these, an offer was considered valid if there was a response to one or more applicants, and the other job ads are discarded. In our case, of the 534 offers, 123 job advertisements were validated, that is, 738 resumes. Of these, only 379 received positive responses. It is important to note that each job offer corresponds to some type of response, that is, each of them corresponds to a different number of responses (from 1 to 6). Table 3 shows a result of an overall response rate of 11.8% (Guayaquil, Quito and Cuenca with 11.6%, 11.1% and 14.5% respectively), close to those found by (Galarza & Yamada, 2014), with a 13.95% response rate in Lima, (Sanhueza et al., 2008) with 16.76% in Chile, (Ruffle & Shtudiner, 2010) for Israel with 14.50% and (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) with 8.05% for the USA.

Table 3. Rate of Response by Sex, Category of Employment and City

Job Category	Resumes Sent			Response Rate (%)					
	A. Gender and Employment Category								
	Female	Male	Total	Female		Male		Total	
				N°	%	N°	%	N°	%
Professional	660	660	1320	72	0,11	90	0,14	162	0,123
Non-Professional	942	942	1884	101	0,11	116	0,12	217	0,115
Total	1602	1602	3204	173	0,11	206	0,13	379	0,118
City	Resumes Sent			Response Rate (%)					
	B. City and Employment Category								
	Professional	Non- Professional	Total	Professional		Non- Professional		Total	
				N°	%	N°	%	N°	%
Cuenca	240	132	372	35	0,15	19	0,14	54	0,145
Guayaquil	726	1458	2184	83	0,11	170	0,12	253	0,116
Quito	354	294	648	44	0,12	28	0,10	72	0,111
Total	1320	1884	3204	162	0,12	217	0,12	379	0,118

Source: The Authors

A higher response is observed for applicants to professional jobs (12.3%) compared to non-professionals (11.5%). Recruiters show a preference for male applicants (Panel A) in the two employment categories, which reveals a greater propensity of males to be chosen in a

personnel selection process. When comparing these results with those reported by (Galarza & Yamada, 2014) it is clear that men have higher response rates in each of the employment categories (Professional 14.95%, Technical 15.25% and Unskilled 17.56 %). On the other hand, Panel B suggests higher response rates in the cities of Cuenca and Quito for professional jobs categories, while in Guayaquil there was a greater response for non-professionals job by 12% compared to 11 % in those professionals.

Table 4.Response Rate by Classification of Physical Attractiveness.

Employment category	Number of resumes sent				Response rate (%)								
	C. By attractiveness and category of employment												
	Attractive	Average	Non-Attractive	Total	Attractive		Average		Non-Attractive		Total		
					N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	
Professional	440	440	440	1320	80	0,18	55	0,13	27	0,06	162	0,12	
Non-Professional	628	628	628	1884	95	0,15	74	0,12	48	0,08	217	0,12	
Total	1068	1068	1068	3204	175	0,164	129	0,121	75	0,070	379	0,12	

Gender	Number of resumes sent				Response rate (%)								
	D. By attractiveness and gender.												
	Attractive	Average	Non-Attractive	Total	Attractive		Average		Non-Attractive		Total		
					N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	
Male	534	534	534	1602	88	0,165	69	0,13	49	0,09	206	0,13	
Female	534	534	534	1602	87	0,163	60	0,11	26	0,05	173	0,11	
Total	1068	1068	1068	3204	175	0,16	129	0,12	75	0,07	379	0,12	

City	Number of resumes sent				Response rate (%)								
	E. By attractiveness and city.												
	Attractive	Average	Non-Attractive	Total	Attractive		Average		Non-Attractive		Total		
					N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	
Cuenca	124	124	124	372	30	0,242	15	0,121	9	0,073	54	0,145	
Guayaquil	728	728	728	2184	113	0,155	90	0,124	50	0,069	253	0,116	
Quito	216	216	216	648	32	0,148	24	0,111	16	0,074	72	0,111	
Total	1068	1068	1068	3204	175	0,164	129	0,121	75	0,070	379	0,118	

Source: The Authors

On the other hand, in table 4 (Panel C) the effect of physical attractiveness is analysed, resulting in a response rate for resumes of applicants qualified as attractive of 16.4%, while the same parameters for those applicants rated as average and unattractive were 12.1% and 7% respectively. Consequently, this suggests that having included photos of the attractive applicants in the resumes influences personnel selection decisions. In addition, the results in panel C show a higher response rate for attractive applicants (18%), than for averages (13%) in professional occupations, while unattractive applicants have a higher response rate (8 %) for non-professional jobs.

In Panel D, the physical attractiveness in respect to gender of the applicant is analysed. The data shows that males have a higher response rate in the three categories of attractiveness level compared to females with 0.2%, 2% and 4% respectively. Finally, in Panel E, attractive applicants have a higher response rate than the other categories (24.2% for Cuenca, 15.5% for Guayaquil and 14.8% for Quito). In this way, there is evidence of a revealed preference for attractive applicants regardless of the city where the advertisement is issued. When performing the statistical tests, a significant relationship between the response rate, the gender of the applicant, type of occupation and level of attractiveness is revealed (with a 5% of significance). Therefore, these variables play a role on the decisions for the selection of personnel. Likewise, there is no evidence of a significant relationship between the response rate and the city of origin of the job offer.

Econometric Results

Table 5 details the marginal effects of three variants for the proposed specification. For the first variant in column1, some non-controlled variables were examined, with the exception of age, which, although it is similar for all the individuals in the same offer, varies according to the employment announcements. The lack of significance of the variables age of the applicant and geographical location suggest that they do not provide relevant information in the selection of personnel. At this point, it is important to note that, in order to maintain parsimony in the specification, no different age ranges were considered.

Table 5. Estimations Results

X	Estimations								
	(1)			(2)			(3)		
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value
a_1	**0,1013***	(0,0113)	0,000	**0,0711***	(0,0165)	0,000	**0,0771***	(0,0165)	0,000
x_4	**-0,1405***	(0,0396)	0,000	**-0,3661***	(0,1177)	0,003	**-0,3764***	(0,1177)	0,001
x_2	**-0,1444***	(0,0404)	0,000	**-0,1969**	(0,0391)	0,134	**-0,1537***	(0,0391)	0,000
x_1	**0,0181**	(0,0174)	0,297						
x_3	**-0,0358**	(0,0358)	0,403						
a_1*x_4				**0,0458***	(0,0228)	0,045	**0,0444***	(0,0227)	0,051
a_1*x_2				**0,0111**	(0,0228)	0,62			
x_4*x_2				**-0,0424**	(0,0815)	0,603			
Cases			738			738			738
Predict			0,516			0,511			0,513

***1%, **5%, *10%

As said before, geographical location lacks statistical significance within the model; therefore, the probability of being hired is similar in the three cities. Thus, both variables are omitted from the model for later estimates. In column 2, three interaction terms were included, where cross-analysis of physical attractiveness versus gender, and physical attractiveness versus type of work, did not show statistical significance. This suggests an equal effect of the variable level of attractiveness for the selection of personnel, regardless of whether is for a professional or non-professional job. Additionally, based on the interaction between gender and the type of occupation, male or female category influences (in the same proportion) the selection of personnel; it is also indifferent to the job category. Column 3 shows the results of the estimation once the non-significant variables of the model have been omitted. It is observed that the candidates have a higher response rate as their rating of attractiveness increases, each additional point in their level of attractiveness, increases the probability that it will be selected in a 7.71%. Table 6 shows a gap of 69.39 percentage points between the best rated candidate and the lowest rated, which reveals the presence of a discriminatory effect towards less attractive applicants.

As for women, the probability of being selected for a job interview is reduced by 37.64% compared to men; thus, there is a preference for male applicants that could be attributed to

social, economic or cultural factors[2]. On the other hand, for professional jobs, results show that probability of being called for an interview is 15.37% lower, compared to non-professionals. Finally, at a significance level of 10% in the interaction between the level of attractiveness and gender of the applicants, suggests that being female and attractive favours the chance of being called for a job interview by a 4.44% more than for male applicants.

*Table 6.*Probability of being hired according to physical attractiveness

Probability of being hired			
Physical Attractiveness Score	**%**	**Physical Attractiveness Score**	**%**
1	7,71%	6	46,26%
2	15,42%	7	53,97%
3	23,13%	8	61,68%
4	30,84%	9	69,39%
5	38,55%	10	77,10%

Source: The authors

More details on the impact of gender on personnel selection

Table 7 shows that attractiveness has greater influence on women (12.14%) comparing to men (7.57%), confirming the previous results. Physical attractiveness is an important influential factor for women in the personnel selection. On the other hand, males are more likely to be selected for jobs where skilled labour is required (at least with a university degree) than females.

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2   The hiring of a woman could imply additional costs for the organizations; a clear example is the maternity leave that directly affects the companies, since they must employ a person to fill the position temporarily, which increases the cost of training, salaries and social benefits.

Table 7.Estimation according gender on personnel selection

X	Estimation by gender					
	Females			Males		
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value
a_1	**0,1214*****	(0,0157)	0.000	**0,0757*****	(0,0161)	0,000
x_2	**-0,1712*****	(0,0567)	0.003	**-0,1354****	(0,0528)	0,010
Cases			**369**			**369**
Predict			**0,461**			**0,564**

***1%, **5%, *10%

Impact of the Job Category in the personnel selection

Results in Table 8 show that physical attractiveness is more important for those professional jobs (10.41%) compared to non-professionals (9.38%). Analogously, women are less likely to be selected for a professional job (-15.17%) than men.

Table 8.Estimation according job category on personnel selection

X	Estimation by gender					
	Professional			Non-Professional		
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value
a_1	**0,0938*****	(0,0151)	0,000	**0,1041*****	(0,0158)	0,000
x_4	**-0,1227**	(0,0538)	0,023	**-0,1517****	(0,0554	0,006
Cases			**369**			**369**
Predict			**0,594**			**0,433**

***1%, **5%, *10%

Categorizing the level of physical attractiveness

The level of attractiveness of an individual has an important influence for an applicant to be considered for a job interview. In order to perform a more detailed analysis, a complementary estimate is provided (table 9) in which the level of attractiveness was categorized into attractive, average and unattractive applicants, as to give a more adjective character to this variable. The results are consistent with those presented in the initial specification.

Table 9. Estimation according physical attractiveness category

X	Estimation by PA Category		
	(4)		
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	P-value
a1	**0,4080*** **	(0,0392)	0,000
PA Category	**0,2314*** **	(0,0443)	0,000
x2	**-0,1030*** **	(0,0393)	0,009
x4	**-0,1601*** **	(0,0389)	0,000
Cases			**738**
Predict			**0,515**

***1%, **5%, *10%

Once again, women are less likely to be called for a job interview (10.30% less compared to men). In addition, a greater acceptance for non-professional jobs persists, which shows the difficulty, for an applicant, of accessing positions that require greater academic background. Finally, regarding the categorized variables it is observed that resumes with photos of attractive applicants have a 40.80% greater probability of being considered for a job interview meanwhile those with an average attractiveness only have a 23.24%. These differences are obtained when compared to unattractive applicants.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results show that the recruiters in Ecuador, when faced with many resumes of men and women, prefer to select those binded to photographs of attractive applicants. So, an job applicant with a score of one (1/10) on the attractiveness scale has a disadvantage of 30.84 percentage points compared to one with an average rating (5/10), and 69.39 percentage points in comparison with one with the highest rating (10/10). One of the most interesting results of this research was the greater predisposition of recruiters to select male candidates. These outcomes are similar to those found by (Dávila Chiriboga, 2016), which proves the existence of positive discrimination in favour of men. In addition, the intention of selection according to the job category is analysed, and considering all the global responses of job advertisements, there is enough evidence of a greater intention to call for non-professional jobs, regardless of gender.

Classified data according to gender showed evidence of a preference for resumes of attractive applicants, for both women and men. However, it also reflects a greater marginal effect for women with a 4.57 percentage points compared to men. Finally, classified data according to job category showed that physical attractiveness is more influential in professional jobs with 1.03 percentage points more compared to non-professionals. Likewise, women have a lower chance for professional position interviews. All these partial results suggest the presence of employment discrimination in the first phase of personnel selection in Ecuadorian organizations, where the physical attractiveness and the gender of an applicant have an impact on the hiring intentions.

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