# Testing the Salience of Phenotypic Bias as Basis of Evaluation of Attractiveness among University Students

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## ABSTRACT

This research aimed to look into the influence of skin complexion on the attractiveness of people. The objectives of the study are the following: determine if a change in the skin color causes a significant difference in the perceived attractiveness of models, identify if the skin color of models are a salient basis for their perceived attractiveness, and distinguish if a subject's actual skin color, skin color preferences for self, and for one's ideal partner have a significant relationship with one's perception of the models' attractiveness. Data were obtained through an experiment which required the subjects to rate the attractiveness of 13 models with varying skin tones.

Results were analyzed using descriptive statistics, test of population on paired samples, and spearman rank correlation. The results of the study indicate that phenotypic bias is prevalent among the subjects. The results showed a significant difference in the scores of the models which are always in favor of the models with lighter skin. The results also indicated that skin color is part of the factors considered by majority of the subjects in evaluating of the attractiveness of the models. Results further indicated that the subjects have a preference for lighter skin both for themselves and their ideal partner, and that this preference is salient in their evaluation of attractiveness. This relationship between phenotypic bias and evaluation of attractiveness as mediated by socio-demographic characteristics such as age, sex, and relationship status were also explored in the study.

Keywords: colorism, phenotypic bias, attractiveness, experiment, skin color

## INTRODUCTION

Color preference or *"colorism"*, according to Harris (2008), is prejudice or discrimination against individuals with a dark skin color. Hochschild and Weaver (2007) adds that colorism is also closely linked with the urge to obtain and maintain power over others, and that it differs from prejudice mainly by making distinctions within a nominal racial group instead of across groups; light-skinned and sometimes even dark-

skinned people attribute higher status and grant more power and wealth to the white group simply because they believe that doing so is the right thing to do. Hochschild and Weaver (2007) further explained that the concept of colorism can be thought of as either unidirectional – only those with power and status can exhibit it, or multidirectional – people of any skin shade can denigrate or subordinate people of another. Hence, for colorism to occur, people must see fairly subtle differences of color and must attribute meaning to those differences that largely accord with others' attributions. This is manifested in several literatures such as those conducted in the Latin America and in the United States.

In a study conducted by Harris (2008), she explained that the hierarchy employed in colorism is similar to that which governs racism: light skin is prized over dark skin. She added that light skin is the gold standard of beauty and desirability, and individual and collective action has proceeded accordingly. Harris cited several Latin American nations that embarked on self-conscious whitening campaigns in the late 19th and early 20th century as a form of nation-building. She also mentioned how people in several countries would evaluate potential romantic and marriage partners based on their skin color, and discussed how darker children are pitied and teased by others in such countries.

Horchschild and Weaver (2007) mentions in their paper on skin color paradox and the American racial order that there is colorism even within the African-American group in the United States, stating that dark-skinned blacks deal with even more barrier to success and happiness than lighter-skinned blacks. In a review of literature they conducted on existing studies of colorism in the United States, they surmised that people give normative valences to the color differences that they discern. Americans both within and outside a given racial or ethnic group attribute more favorable traits to lighter-skinned members of that group, believe that others see light-skin as more attractive than dark-skin – this view is more likely to be held by women than by men, and would prefer to have lighter skin and more Eurocentric features themselves (Parrish, 1946; Bond & Cash, 1992; Ross, 1997; Hill, 2002; Maddox, 2004; as cited by Hochschild & Weaver, 2007). Other studies also reported similar results regarding the stereotyping of dark-skinned as criminals or associating the dark-skin color to criminality

(Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Mastro, Lapinski, Kopacz, & Behm-Morawitz, 2009).

Colorism is also very evident in Philippine society. This white-skin ideology conditions the minds of Filipinos that availing products and services offering various methods of skin-whitening ranging from soaps and lotions to pills and cosmetic surgeries is a necessity in order to achieve beauty and acceptance. Television programs, magazines, newspapers, and other forms of media showing the said products and services and having white-colored idols and models instills either consciously or unconsciously in the minds of Filipinos that what is white is beautiful even at a very young age. According to Blay (2013), the desire for whiteness in many countries is due to colonialism. Tamblyn (2013) explained that during the time of colonization, manual laborers tend to have darker skin complexion because they are working under the sun. On the other hand, the wealthy and powerful have whiter complexion since they lived a life of leisure indoors. Therefore, the fair skin ideology can be linked to power, civility, social mobility, and beauty.

A paper by Maddox (as cited by Harris, 2008) on perspectives on racial phenotypic bias mentions an observation in Latin America that "money whitens" since people with high economic and social status are able to claim lighter color identities than people with the same skin color but fewer material resources. Maddox (2004) then concluded that the more precise term for colorism is "phenotypic bias."

Phenotypic bias is the bias on one's observable traits and characteristics. In this study, phenotypic bias is defined as a person's bias towards lighter skin as a basis for attractiveness. In a study conducted by Kiang and Takeuchi (2009) on phenotypic bias and ethnic identity of 2,092 Filipinos situated in San Francisco and Honolulu, it was found out that after controlling for age, nativity, marital status, and education, darker skin was associated with lower income and lower physical health for both females and males.

The aforementioned is also related to the discussion of David (2013) on colonial mentality or the internalized oppression experienced by the Filipinos, which he attributes to the historical and contemporary experiences of Filipinos. David (2013) cites Filipinos' consumption of skin

whitening products, the thriving skin whitening clinics in the Philippines, the growing popularity of celebrities endorsing skin-whitening procedures, and even having Filipino parents warning their children to stay away from the sun so they will not get too dark as manifestations of the above said colonial mentality.

This study aimed to test whether phenotypic bias is prevalent among university students. A study conducted by Matthews (2013) on African-American university students revealed that there is a "double standard" of colorism. Female university students reported to desire a dark-complexioned mate, and this was consistent among all skin tones. Matthews (2015) discussed that dark skin as a male attribute has been historically associated with masculinity, strength, and praise; whereas African-American women possessing dark skin color has been shown less favorable perceptions. On the other hand, high confidence was seen in women of light complexions in the study. It was associated by Matthews (2015) with the belief that women with light skin are privileged and that they hold a more elevated status in society. Matthews also mentions that a significant number of her women respondents acknowledged society's belief that dark skin is an unattractive female trait and that women respondents having a dark complexion reported the highest instances of skin tone discrimination. Another study on phenotypic bias among university students was conducted by Hugenberg and Bodenhausen (2003). Using a facial emotion change-detection task in which their European-American subjects detected the offset or onset of facial anger in both black and white targets, it was found out that these university students are high in implicit racial prejudice and are biased to perceive threatening affect in black, but not white faces.

**Research Questions:**

The study intends to answer the following questions:

1. Does a change in skin color cause a significant difference in the perceived attractiveness of models?

   This study attempted to determine if skin color of the models will influence the subjects' evaluation of the attractiveness of the

models utilized in the study. It was hypothesized that models with lighter skin will be evaluated as more attractive compared to models with darker skin.

2. Is the skin color of models a salient basis for their perceived attractiveness?

   After determining whether the skin color of the models will have a significant influence in their perceived attractiveness, this study aimed to determine whether the impact of skin color in the decision-making process is salient in the subjects' cognition as one of the, if not the most, important factors considered in their scoring of the models. It was hypothesized that the skin color of the models will be a salient basis for their perceived attractiveness.

3. Do a subject's actual skin color, skin color preferences for self, and for their ideal partner have a significant relationship with their perception of the models' attractiveness?

   Finally, the study wanted to determine if the subjects' own skin color as well as their idealized skin color for themselves and their partners will be influential in their perception of the attractiveness of the models. The following hypotheses were considered for this research question:

   a. The subject's actual skin color will have a significant relationship with his or her perception of the attractiveness of the models.
   b. The subject's preferred skin color skin color will have a significant relationship with his or her perception of the attractiveness of the models.
   c. The subject's preferred skin color for his/her partner skin color will have a significant relationship with his or her perception of the attractiveness of the models.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### A. Research Subjects

A total of 110 university students served as subjects of the study. This is comprised of 32 (29.1%) Freshmen, 43 (39.1%) Sophomores, 20 (18.2%) Juniors, and 15 (13.6%) Seniors. Roughly 3 out of every 5 subjects (61.3%) are female. In terms of age, the subjects range from 16 to 26 years old, with the biggest proportion being 18 years old (40%). All subjects are students of an introductory Social Science course during the time of the study. The permission of the course professors and the informed consent of the subjects were obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

### B. Research Design

The experiment was divided into three parts:

The first part of the experiment made use of 13 images of models, 7 of which are males while the other 6 are females. Only the bare facial features of the models were shown to the subjects. Out of the 13 models, three are replications of selected models whose images have been computer-edited to manipulate their skin color. This allowed the experiment to have models that are similar in all facial features except for skin color, effectively eliminating the potential problems of attribution when determining if the difference in the evaluation of attractiveness is caused by features aside from skin color. The models utilized for the study are shown in Appendix A.

All 13 images were shown to the subjects for only eight seconds through a Microsoft PowerPoint show. The sequences of the images were arranged in such a way that the chances that the subjects will notice the redundancy of three of the models are relatively small. Subjects were also instructed to maintain their silence throughout the duration of the experiment. The subjects were asked to evaluate each of the models shown by rating them from 1 (least appealing and least likeable model) to 5 (most appealing and likeable model). The subjects were asked to submit their accomplished questionnaires after all 13 models have been evaluated.

In the second part of the experiment, the researchers asked the subjects to enumerate the characteristics they looked at as basis of their

ratings. This part aimed to identify if subjects consciously or unconsciously made use of skin color as a basis in their evaluation on what is appealing and likeable for them. The subjects were also asked to encircle the most important characteristic that influenced their scoring. The subjects were asked to submit their accomplished questionnaires before the process moved on to the third part of the experiment.

In the third part of the experiment, the researchers made use of a skin color meter and asked the subjects to identify their current skin color, their preferred skin color for themselves, and their preferred skin color for their partner. This part of the experiment aimed to know if the subject's actual skin color, skin color preferences for him/herself, and skin color preferences for his/her ideal partner have a significant relationship with his/her perception of the attractiveness of the male and female models.

## C. Data Analysis

In order to determine if skin color causes a significant change in the perceived attractiveness of the models, two approaches were utilized. In the first approach, the average score of each of the 13 models obtained from the first questionnaire were computed. A scatterplot diagram based on the average score of each model relative to their skin color was constructed to see if there is a linear relationship between attractiveness and skin color. In the second approach, the average scores of the three pairs of images that utilized the same edited model were analyzed for significant difference using a test of population on paired samples at $\alpha=0.05$.

In order to determine if skin color is a salient basis in the perception of attractiveness, the characteristics identified by the subjects in the second questionnaire were analyzed through descriptive statistics and correlational analysis. The answers of the subjects were checked to see if they fall under any of four indicators utilized in the study: (1) Color considered, (2) Color prioritized, (3) Skin considered, and (4) Skin prioritized. The answers of the subjects are counted under "Color considered" or "Skin considered" when any of the characteristics they identified as influential in their scoring decision is related to color or skin respectively, and under "Color prioritized" or "Skin prioritized" when the characteristic they reported as their most important basis is related to color of skin respectively. The

correlational coefficients between the four aforementioned indicators and the attractiveness scores of the models were obtained. To protect against spurious factors, only the six images from the three edited models were utilized.

In order to determine if the subject's current skin color, preferred skin color for one's self and for one's partner have a significant relationship with the perceived attractiveness of the models, the answers given by the subjects in the third questionnaire were analyzed. The correlation coefficients between the subject's three skin preferences and the attractiveness scores of the models were obtained. Similar to the previous research question, only the six images from the three edited models were utilized to protect against spurious factors.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Does a change in skin color cause a significant difference in the perceived attractiveness of models?

The average scores of each of the 13 images are provided in Table 1.

**Table 1**
Lowest, highest, and average scores of the models utilized in the study

| Models | Lowest | Highest | Average |
|---|---|---|---|
| Model 1* | 1 | 3 | 2.23 |
| Model 2** | 1 | 4 | 2.68 |
| Model 3*** | 1 | 5 | 2.88 |
| Model 4 | 1 | 4 | 2.53 |
| Model 5 | 1 | 4 | 2.65 |
| Model 6* | 1 | 3 | **1.91** |
| Model 7 | 1 | 4 | 2.95 |
| Model 8 | 1 | 4 | 2.58 |
| Model 9*** | **2** | **5** | **3.84** |
| Model 10 | 1 | 4 | 2.20 |
| Model 11 | 1 | 4 | 2.74 |
| Model 12** | 1 | 5 | 2.36 |
| Model 13 | 1 | 5 | 3.47 |

**,**,*** feature the same models respectively with edited skin color*

The results in Table 1 shows that the 13 models were rated generally more negatively than positively with 12 out of the 13 models receiving a score of 1 from the subjects at least once, and only 4 out of the 13 models receiving a score of 5 at least once. Furthermore, the highest average score received was only 3.84 out of 5 while the lowest was 1.91. The highest score was received by a model with the lightest complexion (M1 in the skin color chart) while the lowest score was received by a model with the darkest complexion (M13 in the skin color chart).This may lend support to the hypothesis of this study that skin color is a significant basis of attractiveness from the perspective of university students. However, it must be noted that when the 13 models are plotted on a scatterplot based on their skin color and average attractiveness score, the relationship between attractiveness score and skin complexion showed the following results:

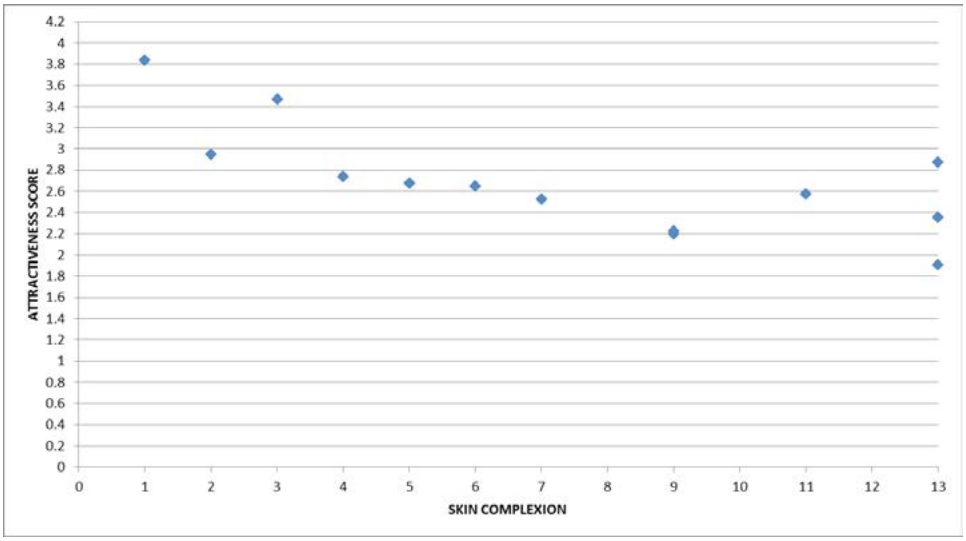


**Figure 1.** Scatterplot of the average attractiveness scores of the 13 models relative to their skin complexion.

The results in Figure 1 show a trend wherein the average attractiveness score of the models decrease as their skin complexion becomes darker. It is observable from the scatterplot, however, that the decline does not follow a straight downward trend but rather, there are fluctuations in the trend with some models scoring higher than others despite having a darker skin complexion. A highly plausible explanation

for this is that the fluctuations are brought about by other noticeable features of the models which also play a part in influencing the subjects' evaluation of their attractiveness such as hair style, shape, size, and color of the lips, and even their perceived ethnicity. In order to eliminate the influence of these intervening factors, a comparison of the three pairs of models whose skin colors have been edited was conducted. The results are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2**
Difference in average scores of each pair of models

| Pairing | Models | Average Score | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Model 1 (lighter) | 2.23 | 0.32** |
| | Model 6 (darker) | 1.91 | |
| 2 | Model 2 (lighter) | 2.68 | 0.32** |
| | Model 12 (darker) | 2.36 | |
| 3 | Model 3 (darker) | 2.88 | 0.96** |
| | Model 9 (lighter) | 3.84 | |

** *significant at* $\alpha$*=0.05*

The results in Table 2 show that Models 1, 2, and 9 –all of which are the three lighter model variants – received higher average scores than their darker-skinned counterparts. For Models 1 and 2, the difference in score with their darker-skinned counterparts is just 0.32. The difference is slightly larger between Model 9 and the darker-skinned variant, Model 3, with a value of 0.96. Results of paired samples t-tests for the three pairs indicated that the differences are significant at 95% level of confidence. This means that when all other facial features of the models are held constant, the lighter-skinned models have a significant advantage in terms of perceived attractiveness. This is in support of the study's hypothesis that lighter skin color would be preferred by the subjects over darker skin.

**B. Is the skin color of models a salient basis for their perceived attractiveness?**

The previous part of the paper has shown that lighter-skinned models are considered by the subjects of the study as more attractive. The purpose of this part of the paper is to ascertain whether this bias towards lighter skin is explicitly or implicitly held, or in other words, whether the subjects are aware or unaware of their bias towards lighter skin color.

**Table 3**
Frequency count and percentage distribution of respondents' ascription of importance of skin color in their evaluation of attractiveness of models

| | Yes | No | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Color Considered | 80 (72.7%) | 30 (27.3%) | 110 (100%) |
| Color Priority | 21 (19.3%) | 88 (80.7%) | 109 (100%) |
| Skin Considered | 84 (76.4%) | 26 (23.6%) | 110 (100%) |
| Skin Priority | 28 (25.7%) | 81 (74.3%) | 109 (100%) |

The results in Table 3 shows that roughly 4 out of every 5 of the subjects self-reported that they gave consideration to skin and/or color when they scored the attractiveness of the 13 models. However, only around 1 out of every 5 subjects reported that characteristics related to skin and/or color served as their most important basis in the scoring. It must be noted that in several instances, the subjects were able to list characteristics related to skin and/or color first than the other possible bases for scoring – which might suggest that skin and/or color is very accessible in their cognition as basis for scoring attractiveness. Further evidence towards this assumption are accomplished questionnaires wherein the entries related to skin and/or color were initially encircled but, perhaps due to social desirability bias, the subjects eventually opted to erase and declare another characteristic as their most important basis of attractiveness. Sample images of these questionnaires are shown in Figures 2 and 3. A red rectangle is used to direct the attention of readers to the pertinent detail in the figures. (Note: Some words were written in Filipino by the subjects.)

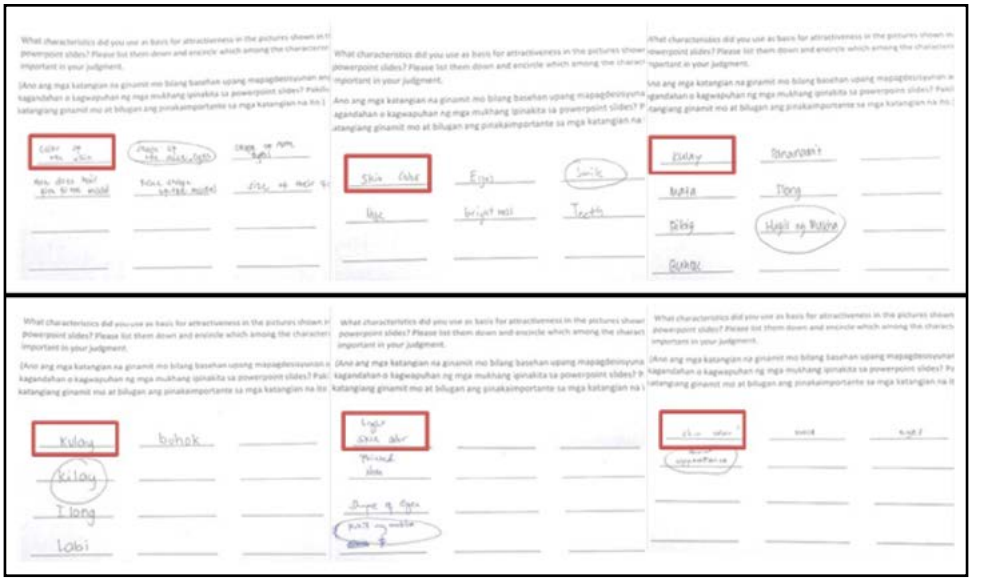

**Figure 2.** Sample images of subjects listing characteristics related to skin and/or color as first entry.

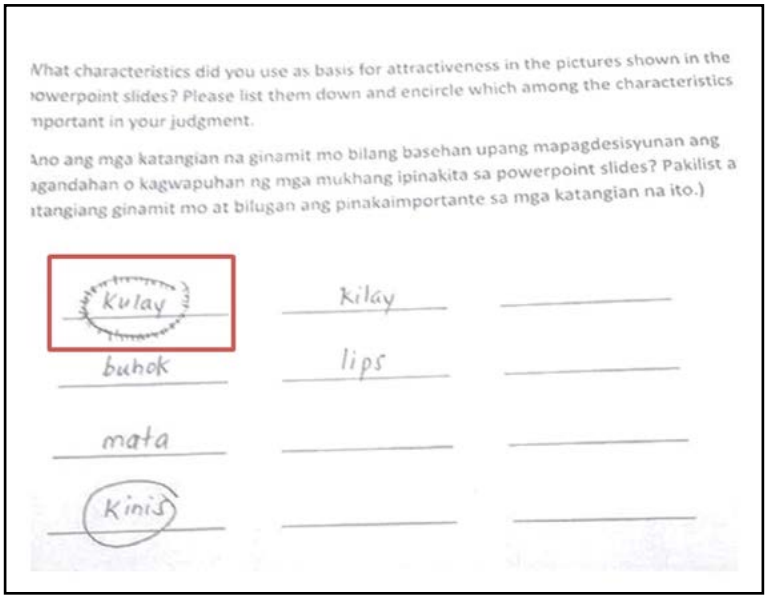


**Figure 3.** Sample image of skin and/or color related characteristics bearing signs of initially being encircled but eventually erased.

To determine if there is a statistically significant relationship between the importance given to skin color and the attractiveness scores of the models, their correlation coefficients were obtained. Table 4 shows the results.

**Table 4**
Correlation coefficient between importance of skin color and score of models

| Pairing | Models | Color Considered | Color Prioritized | Skin Considered | Skin Prioritized |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Model 1 (lighter) | .140 | .150 | .107 | .187 |
| | Model 6 (darker) | -.059 | -.175 | -.054 | -.166 |
| 2 | Model 2 (lighter) | .176 | .152 | .090 | .095 |
| | Model 12 (darker) | -.156 | **-.267**** | -.019 | -.173 |
| 3 | Model 3 (darker) | **-.234**** | **-.517**** | -.121 | **-.427**** |
| | Model 9 (lighter) | -.048 | -.098 | .022 | -.036 |

*** significant at α=0.05*

The results in Table 4 show that subjects who gave priority to color tend to give lower scores to Models 3 and 12 both of which are the darker model variants. Results further show that even when color is just one of the characteristics considered in evaluating attractiveness, Model 3 (the darker variant of the model) tends to receive lower scores. In addition to these two findings, the results in Table 4 showed that when skin is prioritized by the subjects as basis of attractiveness, Model 3 also tend to receive lower scores. Further analyses of the relationship between the declared bases of scoring and the attractiveness scores shown in Table 5 provides additional insights into the phenomenon.

**Table 5**
Correlation coefficient between importance of skin color and margin of difference between each pair of models.

| Models | Color Considered | Color Prioritized | Skin Considered | Skin Prioritized |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model 1 and Model 6 | .185 | .233 | .167 | .320** |
| Model 3 and Model 9 | .176 | .336** | .098 | .310** |
| Model 2 and Model 12 | .315** | .345** | .114 | .213* |

*** significant at α=0.05*

The results in Table 5 were obtained when the researchers tried to see if there is a significant relationship between the declared importance of skin color and the difference between the scores of the darker and lighter skinned variants of the models. The correlation coefficients suggest that those who prioritize skin-related characteristics tend to give scores with higher margins between the darker and lighter model variants for all three pairs. The same pattern was found between subjects who considered color in their scoring and those who prioritized color in their scoring, though the pattern was not significant in all three model pairings.

**C. Do a subject's actual skin color, skin color preferences for self, and for their ideal partner have a significant relationship with their perception of the models' attractiveness?**

This part of the paper looked into the relationship between the subject's current skin color, his or her ideal skin color, and his or her ideal skin color for a partner and the scores they gave to the models. Table 6 shows the summary of the current and ideal skin color of the subjects and their ideal skin color for their partners.

**Table 6**
Range and average of respondents' reported current skin color, ideal skin color, and ideal skin color for partner.

| | Range | Average |
|---|---|---|
| Current Skin Color | M2 to M13 | M8 – Golden Beige |
| Ideal Skin Color | M1 to M13 | M6 – Slightly Pink Base |
| Ideal Skin Color for Partner | M1 to M10 | M6 – Slightly Pink Base |
| Difference between current and ideal skin color | -4 to 8 | 2 |
| Difference between current skin color and ideal skin color for partner | -5 to 10 | 2 |

The results in Table 6 indicate that the subjects' skin color during the time of the study ranged from having the second the lightest skin color to the darkest skin color though, on average, their skin color is M8-Golden Beige. It must be noted at this point that this is based on their personal assessment whilst exposed to the skin color chart rather than the product of the researcher's own observations of their skin color. The results further suggest that the subjects prefer that they and their partner have the same degree of skin color, and that this preferred skin color is two degrees higher than their current one: from M8 – Golden Beige, they prefer themselves and their partner to be M6 – Slightly Pink Base. These results suggest a desire to have lighter skin complexions than they currently have.

In particular, the subjects of the study indicate a desire to attain a skin complexion similar to those who usually reside in the low temperate Western countries which currently stand as First World countries and are historically the colonizers of countries inhabited by darker-skinned inhabitants. Hence, it could be said that the above-said result is parallel with the notion that white-skin ideology remains dominant although perhaps subconsciously in the minds of many Filipinos.

The aforementioned result also indicated that the study's subjects also desire a lighter skin color for their partners. This could be interpreted as the subjects imbibing other Western ideologies such as the dislike to be associated with dark-colored skin.

This study also checked if the subjects' evaluation of their current skin color and their ideal skin color for themselves and their partner would have a significant relationship with the scores they gave to the models. Table 7 shows the results of the correlational analyses.

**Table 7**
Correlation coefficients between respondents' reported current skin color, ideal skin color, and ideal skin color for partner and their numerical evaluation of models.

| | PAIRING 1 | | PAIRING 2 | | PAIRING 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **SKIN COLOR*** ** | **Model 1 (lighter)** | **Model 6 (darker)** | **Model 2 (lighter)** | **Model 12 (darker)** | **Model 3 (darker)** | **Model 9 (lighter)** |
| Current Skin Color | .135 | -.007 | .120 | .138 | -.040 | .055 |
| Ideal Skin Color | .126 | **.204**** | .017 | **.359**** | **.196**** | .125 |
| Ideal Skin Color for Partner | .128 | .133 | .019 | **.286**** | **.206**** | .034 |

** *significant at α=0.05*
*** *M1 to M13. Higher the value equals darker skin tone.*

The results in Table 7 shows that subjects tend to give lower scores to the darker-skinned models as their ideal skin color for themselves become lighter. This pattern was also observed when it comes to the relationship between the scores they gave and their ideal skin color for their partner, albeit on only two out of three darker-skinned models. These findings are significant at 95% level of confidence.

With the aforementioned result, it could be said that the more the study's subjects desire to have a fairer skin, the more they are prejudiced with dark-colored skin. One way of interpreting the ratings they gave could be that since they aspire to have a whiter-colored skin, their standards of what is beautiful and likeable is also prejudiced against dark-colored skin.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study tried to see the salience of phenotypic bias as basis of attractiveness of models from the perception of university students. The results of the study indicate that phenotypic bias is prevalent among the subjects. This is shown in the results of the first research question which consistently reported a significant difference in the scores of the models which are always in favor of the models with lighter skin. The results of the second research question also indicated that skin color is part of the factors considered in their evaluation of the attractiveness of the models. The results of the third research question further showed that they have a preference for lighter skin both for themselves and their ideal partner, and that this preference is salient in their evaluation of attractiveness as well.

From the said results, it can be concluded that the white-skin ideology continuous to prevail in the minds of many Filipinos. Although the Philippines has been liberated from Western colonizers for more than a century now, it can be said that this liberation remains artificial as many of its citizens remain colonized consciously or subconsciously through the proliferation of Western standards in various forms of media such as in television programs, magazines, newspapers, billboards, social media advertisements, and et cetera. The continuous campaign for whitening products on advertisements while using Western-looking models is an example of how the Philippines is standardizing its concept of beauty based on the standards of the West.

Using the mere exposure effect or the familiarity principle, it can be said that the continuous exposure of Filipinos to skin whitening advertisements will do no good in their quest for nation building and emancipation from Western ideologies given that exposure to these advertisements only strengthens the inculcation in their minds that they are *in dire need* of whitening products and that it is only through skin bleaching that they will become beautiful. Hence, in the context of the study, it can be said that instead of propagating acceptance, media or mass media as a social institution had only intensified and is continuously contributing in the intensification of colorism among Filipinos.

The outlook of Filipinos on color can be explained by the Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) which posits that knowledge acquisition can be

directly related to observing others. Using the said theory, it can be surmised that the positive outlook of the previous generations of Filipinos on white skin served as a model that inspired the current outlook of Filipinos. As mentioned earlier, historically speaking, the Philippines was colonized by Spain for more than 300 years and during these years, Western ideologies including white-skin ideology was salient. Using SCT as basis, it can be said that the current generation of Filipinos had inherited the white-skin admiration of its ancestors. Considering SCT while looking at the study's results and anticipating the position of Filipinos in the discourse of color and acceptance can be worrisome. It entails that if the current generation of Filipinos continues to standardize beauty based on Western-looking models and *porcelana* colored skin, then this will be remembered and be copied by the future generations. By allowing them to inherit abhorrence rooted in prejudice and discrimination based on color, we have failed as a nation.

Another evident outcome of the study is that even the educated are vulnerable in succumbing to colorism. Education is a key to fight various forms of prejudice and discrimination; however, this study only proved that aside from education, other social institutions are also powerful and influential in shaping the minds of people.

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## APPENDIX:

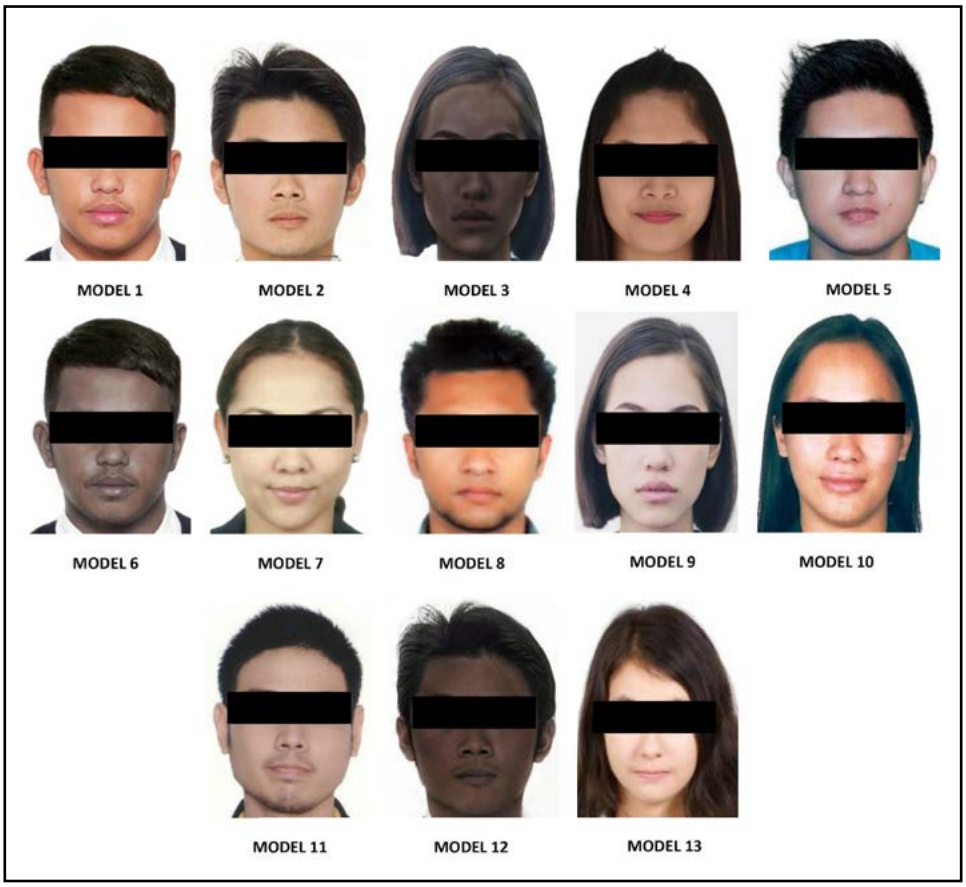


**Figure 4.** Models utilized in the study.

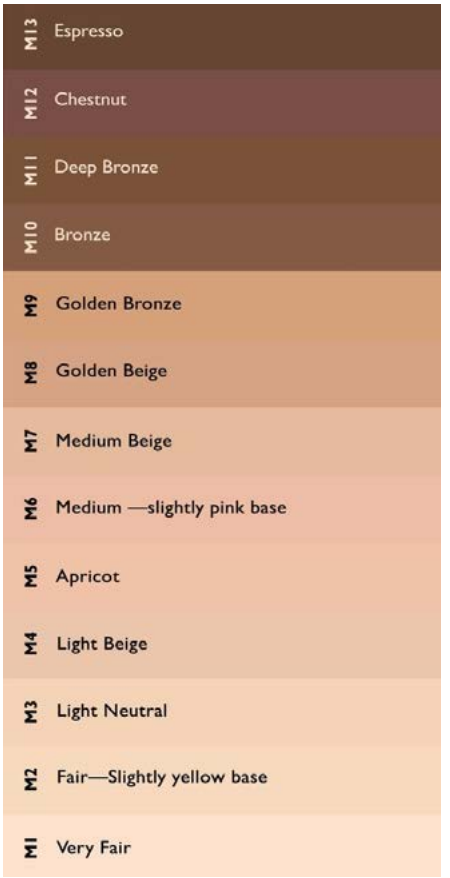


**Figure 5.** Skin color chart utilized in the study.