BIAS IN SELECTION PROCESS DURING RECRUITMENT AGAINST APPLICANTS WITH TATTOOS, PIERCINGS AND BODY MODIFICATIONS IN IT INDUSTRY

Mehr Khan[1*] **Dr. Suruchi Pandey** [2]
[1] Research Scholar, Symbiosis International University, Pune, India
[2]Associate Professor, Symbiosis International University, Pune, India.

Abstract: Orientation: Selection process by nature could involve bias and prejudices of the interviewers on interviewees. This study is an attempt to evaluate whether there is any bias in recruitment process for a tattooed interviewee in IT industry

Research Purpose: The study intends to evaluate and examine the nature and extent of bias prevalent in selection of candidates in IT Industry. The study is specific to identify the biases which could be there for tattooed interviewees.

Motivation for the study: The dimension of tattooing has been researched to a lesser extent empirically in India. The issue of bias in recruitment process has also not been explored or studied very much – these research gaps have motivated the study

Innovative thinking and originality:

This study by nature deals with the perceptions and orientations of HR managers towards tattooing in India for the first time. This study also examines the perceptions of potential candidates who had attended interviews. Suitable recommendations and suggestions have been provided to remove the perceptual gaps in HR mangers of India. The innovative thinking has been provided by giving new strategies and frameworks, approaches for Indian industries. This is duly supported with creativity, novelty and originality in approach.

Research approach: This research would be quantitative and empirical in nature. This study would deploy mixed research method approach. This would include exploratory, conclusive and action oriented research.

Main findings of the study: It was found in the study that although the managers were not having personal discrimination due to tattooing or body piercing, they had to follow the company rules and regulations. The candidates felt that they had been discriminated due to tattoos and body piercing during interviews.

Managerial implications: It provides a new outlook for HR recruiters and reorientation of HR policies in IT industry is suggested

Contributions: New dimension and innovative thinking is provided.

Keywords: Employment discrimination, Tattooing, body piercing, body modifications, recruitments, IT industry, personal discrimination, HR policies and procedures

INTRODUCTION

Employment discrimination is a factor which prevails at various levels with various factors across the

globe. It is a popular menace but yet which cannot be eradicated. Tattooing, body piercing and body modifications are one such employment discriminating factor which is prevalent among companies. The companies tend to reject candidates who wear tattoo, body piercing and body modifications. This study is an attempt to find out and evaluate the nature and extent of bias in selection process during recruitments against applicants who have tattoo, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry.

This research is an attempt to find out the nature, extent and prevalence of Biases in selection process against applicants with tattoos, piercings and body modifications in IT industry. This study is an empirical and quantitative study. The research method used for the study is survey method. The study evaluates the impact of tattooing on organizational culture and policies. The factors which influence interview panel and which lead to their biases would also be ascertained in this study. The organizational perception on tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry would be evaluated.

There is a potential loss of good candidates due to the rejection of tattooed, body pierced potential employees in IT industry. Strategies and implementation mechanisms to manage these biases which are prevalent in IT industry would be provided. An empirical framework would also be provided which is an outcome of the study.

Tattooing and body piercing – Impact on selection process

[1] an empirical study to evaluate and examine the popular perceptions and attitudes of employers on tattooed and pierced employees who appear for the interview. The study states that tattoos have been part of our cultural and social existence since 400 B.C. It has cultural significance as well as it is used to identify and categorize criminals in the entire process. It is linked with groups and sub groups for identification and membership which is considered as a sense of pride display of association with a particular sect.

[2] have evaluated and concluded that tattooing and piercing has been a debatable topic for decision making among recruiters of global companies all over the world. It is a symbolic representation and association of humanity, nature and integration. It is associated with individual personal will. But this factor has its implication as it leads to selection biases as it leads to non-selection of candidates based on these criteria. As recruiters have so many biases and perceptual problems, this is another issue which they have to manage and select right candidates for the job based on performances and not on piercing and tattooing.

[3] has categorically said that tattoos and piercing could result in negative evaluation and conclusion of employers regarding candidates in the interview process. This could lead even to rejection of candidates despite all other factors are same when compared with other potential candidates in an interview

I.   Literature review:

Theoretical Back drop of the study:

[4] have found that historically the origins of tracing of history of tattoos and piercing could be tracked to 400 BC in this world and the first traces could be tracked in Egyptian Mummies. Studies have illustrated the connection of having tattoos and piercing with mental disorder in people.

[5] had said that Greece had the practice of identifying and management of socially evil and dangerous persons by having visual displays like tattoos on their body for public identification and management.

But we could find that there are very few studies which have been conducted in India on these dimensions which has to be carried out.

[6] have evaluated and concluded that a visit to the prison would make us understand tattooing and piercing as we could see so many people wearing it which does not provide information on any other aspect

of the persons in the prison. So this study states that there is a need for revaluation of the role and impact of tattoos and piercing and its influences, impact and effects on recruitment process in Indian IT industry.

[7] have found that there are deep historical roots which are associated with tattooing and piercing. It was found that this emerged as a mark of identity of sailors who were travelling all over the world as it was found in 1769.

[8] has said that tattoos and piercing are often associated with negative aspects such as homicide, suicide and tragic accidents. So there is a social rejection of these persons who are making their self-expressions in society.

These mind sets and attitudes of society have changed and altered over a period of time which is clearly provided in the next section.

[9] had evaluated and found that there are deviations in the way society had dealt with tattoos and piercing and it was accepted during 1970s which was associated with respected people like sailors, police and doctors. Today this industry is very much regulated and controlled with medical support and government initiatives have made this industry popular and to flourish to heights.

Recruitment biases and its implications

[10] has conducted a study and found that tattooing and piercing had lot of potential biases during recruitments & persons with no tattoos were having a better chance of getting selected for the job. The biases and perceptual prejudices which are prevalent in body piercing and tattooing has to be studied from Indian industry point of view. As there are no empirical studies which have been conducted in Indian IT industry, there is a need to evaluate and find out the perceptual biases which are prevalent in recruitment process.

Tattoo Vs tattooed

[11] had done a study to evaluate the difference between small tattoos and larger ones. Small tattoos one or two or piercings could be done and it could also be secretly covered in Business attire. The large tattoos are for social representation, identity and it's a display of the cult and practices where recruiters have felt biased towards the whole process.

Tattoo location and its impact

[12] have said that tattoos as such are not problematic but they are in their place or location in the body. The tattoos which cover the neck, hands and face which are exposed and visible to a larger part in an interview process is considered to be problematic for recruiters.

Screening & selection – Discrimination and rejection in Interviews:

[3] had considered and evaluated the current existing perceptual biases and attitudinal issues of recruiters on selection of candidates with visible tattoos and piercings.

[13] had conducted a study and found that there are no individual differences or biases on individuals – men and women at work place due to tattoos and piercing. However when a photo of a person is provided with tattoo and a person without tattoo, the tattoo is generally affecting on the individual in a negative way. Although employees do not have any problem with their own co-workers having tattoos, there is an inherent bias when it is in the screening and selection of candidates for the job.

Gender gap on Tattooing and piercing for Job interviews:

[14] had done a study to evaluate and find out the prevalence of gender gaps and its relative associations in selection of candidates in a job interview.

Participants Responses	n	%	Female n	Female %	Male n	Male %
Yes to hire	294	51	86	53	208	50
Depends on position	260	45	69	43	191	46
No to hire	24	4	6	4	18	4
Total	578	100	161	100	417	100

Fig: 1 Gender gaps in selection of candidates

It is found very clearly that male and female recruiters are having similarities in opinions regarding selection of men and women with tattoos and piercing in work place situations.

II. Types of Bias and its impact on HR decision making:

Role of emotions:

[15] summarized that emotional responses of the evaluator place a great role in selection process. There is a need to empirically evaluate and examine the role of emotions in selection of candidates in Indian context.

Salience effect:

[16] had discussed on one special salient information which is bound to have effects on recruitment decision making.

The study clearly states that extraordinary information either good or bad tend to have an influence on the recruitment process and it could influence the entire process.

Confirmation bias:

[17] have said that HR recruiters tend to confirm the information that they are looking for and they cross check and verify to accept or reject a candidate in the process.

Selective attention process;

[18] have told that the interviewer checks for information similar to his own experience, field, expertise and knowledge and tend to accept candidate based on similarities which are associated with them in the process.

Body art in work place: Implications and effects

[19] had done a study to evaluate the implications and effects of body art in work place. The study in specific addressees the challenges and problems associated with it in work place situation and the perceptions of co-workers in the entire process.

This study has been conducted with college students only and it does not reflect real life situations or problems. It is found from the study that employees still prefer not to work with employees having body piercing or tattooing on them.

[20] has analysed the effects of body piercing and tattooing in selection of candidates and their acceptance in work place situations. The study finds that social stigma and prejudices play a crucial role in the entire process which would have negative effects in selection and recruitment practices. The study concludes that the negative effects of body piercing and tattooing has reduced in non-customer roles to a larger and greater extent. In customer oriented roles, tattooing has a lower chance of selection of candidate than piercing.

[21] highlighted several studies particularly about body modification and its negative effects on candidate selection. The study also concludes that the visible tattoos are not desirable for indicating professionalism.

III. Body art modifications, types and implications on Recruitment process:

Body piercing:

[22] has described the history, origins and peculiarities of various forms of body piercing. Body piercing definitions are highlighted in the study. Every society around the world is using a common practice of body piercing which is confined to the ears, mouth and nose. Tribal society people around the world in each continent are the beginners of body piercing particularly in Africa, Asia, and South America.

Scarification:

[23] has highlighted that scarification as the process by which a design is created on the skin which is done by cuts to create scars in the skin. This has been done by dark skinned individuals in the region to overcome their color of skin and the process. The tribes of Papua New Guinea, Australia and Ethiopia follow this cult of scarification on their skin to reflect their identity, traditions and cultures.

Implanting:

[24] discussed and evaluated regarding history of tattooing, piercing, implanting, scarification in detail. Implanting is as a process of surgery by which an object is placed after the skin which is a relatively new method and technique of identity. Metals such as sterile stainless steel, titanium, or gold ring are place through the skin. Other corrodes metals like silver not acceptable.

Hard core modifications:

[25] discusses and evaluates regarding the hard core modifications that is done by surgery which is given as ear pointing, tongue splitting and other types of modifications done for their identities and personalities.

[26] have said that when potential candidates enter for interviews with tattoos and body piercings, management must decide on HR policies on how to treat and manage them in the process. This could also be a part of impression management by the potential candidates to impress the recruiters on which decisions have to be taken carefully.

[19] had done a study and found that body piercing and tattooing has its impact on self-esteem and self-worth of Individuals in organizations. There is a need for providing a clear HR policy on piercing and tattooing in Indian organizations which is the need for the hour. The implications and its impact on selection and recruitment process has to be examined and analysed in detail and in depth with special reference to Indian IT industry.

Research gaps:

There has been no clear evident HR policy on piercing and tattooing in most of Indian industries. The role of piercing and tattooing in selection and recruitment process has to be clearly provided by Indian companies. How well they would be treated in work situations after selection also has to be examined. All these aspects and dimensions have not been covered in Indian IT industry which has to be done empirically and its implications has to be examined in detail and in depth.

IV. Research Methodology:

Sample plan and sample type:

31 HR managers of IT industries located in North India would be contacted for the study and 30 candidates would be contacted .The study would stratify the HR managers based on age, income, gender, experience and total number of years in this company. So this sample would be stratified random sample.

The HR managers in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Indore and Jaipur would be contacted for the study.

Data collection method: Data would be collected from 31 HR managers of IT industries located in North India and 30 candidates by administering a questionnaire. This would contain 15-25 questions with multiple choices, open ended questions and Likert scale questions.The two different question sets are used separately for managers and candidates. The question set for manager covered the following aspects in detail whether the selection process based on company policies and procedures or personal choices and preferences,manager's perception towards tattoos, body piercing and body modifications and how they feel when they interviewing the candidate with visible tattoos. The question set for candidateincludes their last interview experiences, whether they having tattoos, body piercing and body modifications any and it is visible or invisible. And the changes take place in the interview panel when interviewing the candidate with visible tattoos,body piercing and body modifications.

Data analysis methods

The collected data from customers, companies and government officials would be analysed using SPSS - correlation, regression & Anova tools would be used for analysis.

I level analysis

Cross tabulations of various demographic factors and its impact would be assessed at the first level.

II level of analysis

Cross tabulations of various factors and its impact would be assessed at the second level and necessary interpretations would be provided.

III level of analysis

Correlation, regression, F test, T test and Anova, Tests of significance would be done

Confirmatory factor analysis has to be done.

Hypothesis

HO: There are specific biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry which lead to the rejection of candidates

H1: The organizational policies towards biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry is correct

HO: There is no role of interview panel which lead to specific biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry which lead to the rejection of candidates

Objectives of the study:

1. To find out and evaluate the prevalence of any bias during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry

2. To examine the impact these biases during selection in Indian IT industry?

3. To provide modifications & suggestions in organizational policies to manage these biases effectively in Indian IT industry

4. To evaluate the role of interview panel in the biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry

Scope and limitation of the study

The study is confined to specific cities India only & other states are not covered in this study.

The aspects which are mentioned as objectives would be covered in this study and the other aspects other than objectives and conceptual framework do not form a part of this study.

Expected outcomes of the study

1. The study would also provide an empirical framework as an outcome of the study.

2. The study would conclude that there are biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry

3. The study would conclude that these biases during selection lead to rejection of candidates in Indian IT industry

4. The study would conclude that modifications required in organizational policies to manage these biases effectively in Indian IT industry

5. The study would conclude that interview panel plays an important role in the biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry
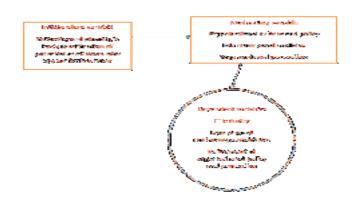
Conceptual framework for the study:

Fig: 2Conceptual frameworks

V. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Recruiter's perception

Table 1: Correlation between selecting candidate having like tattoos, body piercing, body modification and Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection

Correlations		
	Selecting candidate having Like tattoos, body piercing, body modification	Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection

Selecting candidate having Like tattoos, body piercing, body modification	Pearson Correlation	1	-.091
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.626
	N	31	31
Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection	Pearson Correlation	-.091	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.626	
	N	31	31

From table 1 it is inferred that selecting a candidate with tattoos, body piercing, and body modification negative correlated with the factor company policies and procedures followed regarding candidate selection. Company policies and procedures are very strict on selecting candidate with tattoos in IT industry. (Ashleigh Webber 2018) survey report revealed that majority of recruiters believes having a tattoo could limit career progression.

Table 2: Ranking test on company procedures and personal choices &preferences of recruiter

Ranks			
	Selecting candidate having Like tattoos, body piercing, body modification	N	Mean Rank
Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection	No	5	15.50
	Yes	10	17.00
	May be	16	15.53
	Total	31	
personal choices and preferences in selection process	No	5	13.60
	Yes	10	9.90
	May be	16	20.56
	Total	31	

From table 2 it is inferred that Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection more than the personal choices and preferences in the selection process.

Candidate's perception

Table 3: Ranking analysis of Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview and wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview

	Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview	No	15	11.07	166.00
	Yes	15	19.93	299.00
	Total	30		

Test statistics	
	wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview
Mann–Whitney U	46.000
Wilcoxon W	166.000
Z	-2.920
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.004
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.005[b]
a. Grouping Variable: Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	
b. Not corrected for ties.	

From table 3 it is inferred that wearing visible tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview

Table 4: Correlation between Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview and wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview

Correlations

		Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview
Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	Pearson Correlation	1	.507[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.004
	N	30	30

wearing tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview	Pearson Correlation	.507**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	
	N	30	30
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

Inference:

From table 4 it is inferred that tattoos body modification and body piercing visible to the HR panel during the interview positively correlated with the factor led to rejection in last interview.so there is an impact of visible tattoos and body piercing for the candidate rejection.

Table 5: Correlation between Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview and any changes in the interview panel after saw the tattoos, body modification and body piercing

Correlations		Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	Any changes in the interview panel after saw the tattoos, body modification and body piercing
Tattoos visible to the HR panel during the interview	Pearson Correlation	1	.344
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.063
	N	30	30
Any changes in the interview panel after saw the tattoos, body modification and body piercing	Pearson Correlation	.344	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.063	
	N	30	30

From table 5 it is inferred that there is positive correlation between the factors visible tattoos to the HR panel and changes in the interview after seeing it.

Hypothesis test summary

- **Specific bias followed in recruitment process** against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in IT industry which lead to the **rejection of candidates.**

- **Organizational policies** towards biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing, body piercing and body modifications in the IT industry **are correct.**

- **No role of interview** panel which lead to specific biases during recruitment process against candidates with tattooing which lead to the rejection of candidates.

VI. SUGGESTION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Recruiter's View

Company policies will influence the recruiter's evaluation process .Recruiter's feel that they are hiring the best candidate not only for the position and also for the company.

Recruiter's feel uncomfortable when seeing candidate with tattoos, body piercing in interview. People looking for a professional job especially in IT field should avoid tattoos in general. Tattoo display will make bad impression that they are less desirable and less serious on their work. But people interested in other creative sectors like media, fashion designing etc. can have them without any problems as tattoo then can be taken as an extension of their creativity

Candidate's view

Candidates those having tattoos and it are not visible to panel never agree that their tattoos are the reason for rejection. But most of the candidate having tattoos and it is visible to panel surely agree that it is the major reason for rejection.

There is a specific bias during recruitment process against candidates with visible tattooing take place.

The candidate should be aware all about company especially company culture before any job interview. Now a day it is very easy with social Medias. Then the candidate can easily analyse themselves whether they will fit in the company or not. Many employers are

reframing their policies based on their customers whether their customers are youngsters then some changes may take places but still the professional jobs like teaching, law, IT, finance, Management, Medical the visible tattoos will make bad impressions.

CONCLUSION

- Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection in IT sector. There are several positive outcomes of the selection process based on the company procedures. They are great job satisfaction, more likely to retain with the business, superior job performance.

- The recruiters are in equal count for both like and dislike category of tattoos .Most of the recruiters not wear any tattoos, body piercing and body modification .Even though the recruiter likes tattoos and piercing, body modification they won't wear because of their profession.

- Recruiters those not having any tattoos, body piercing, and body modification are not sure on recruiting candidate having   tattoos, body piercing, body modification.

- Company procedures are followed regarding candidate selection more than the personal choices and preferences in the selection process.

- Candidates those having tattoos and it are not visible to panel never agree that their tattoos are the reason for rejection. But most of the candidate having tattoos and it is visible to panel surely agree that it is the major reason for rejection.

- There is a specific bias during recruitment process against candidates with visible tattooing take place. Wearing visible tattoos, body modification and body piercing led to rejection in last interview.

- There is a change in the interview panel after seeing the candidate with tattoos, body modification and body piercing. Candidates not get any suggestions from panel members personally or officially regarding tattoo wearing.

- There is an impact of visible tattoos and body piercing for the candidate rejection.

Ethical Statement:

I confirm that this work is original and has not been published elsewhere, nor is it currently under consideration for publication elsewhere.

- This research work was not funded by any organization/institute/agency.

Competing Interests

None of the authors have any competing interests in the manuscript.

REFERENCES

1.   P. J. Antonellis Jr, G. Berry, and R. Silsbee, "Employment Interview Screening: Is The Ink Worth It?," *Global Journal of Human Resource Management,* vol. 5, p. 38, 2017.

2.   L. M. Watkins and L. Johnston, "Screening job applicants: The impact of physical attractiveness and application quality," *International Journal of selection and assessment,* vol. 8, pp. 76-84, 2000.

3.   R. P. Whorton, "Marked: A Policy Capturing Investigation of Job Applicant Tattoos as Stigmatizing Marks in Blue and White Collar Employment," Bowling Green State University, 2015.

4.   S. M. Ferguson-Rayport, R. M. Griffith, and E. W. Straus, "The psychiatric significance of tattoos," *Psychiatric Quarterly,* 1955.

5.   S. L. Neuberg, D. M. Smith, and T. Asher, "Why people stigmatize: Toward a biocultural framework," 2000.

6.   T. F. Heatherton, *The social psychology of stigma*: Guilford Press, 2003.

7.   C. Sanders, "Customizing The Body: The Art And Culture Of Tattooing."

8.   J. Blackburn, J. Cleveland, R. Griffin, G. G. Davis, J. Lienert, and G. McGwin Jr, "Tattoo frequency and types among homicides and other deaths, 2007–2008: a matched case-control study," *The American journal of forensic medicine and pathology,* vol. 33, pp. 202-205, 2012.

9.   J. Serup, "Seamless prevention of adverse events from tattooing: integrated strategy emphasising the customer-tattooist interaction," in *Tattooed Skin and Health*. vol. 48, ed: Karger Publishers, 2015, pp. 236-247.

10.   A. D. Ellis, "A picture is worth one thousand words: Body art in the workplace," *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal,* vol. 27, pp. 101-113, 2015.

11.   A. E. Laumann and A. J. Derick, "Tattoos and body piercings in the United States: a national data set," *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology,* vol. 55, pp. 413-421, 2006.

12.   L. Dickson, R. L. Dukes, H. Smith, and N. Strapko, "To ink or not to ink: The meaning of tattoos among college students," *College Student Journal,* vol. 49, pp. 106-120, 2015.

13.   M. Mendez, "Attitudes toward tattoos in the work place," *Angelo State University Social Sciences Research Journal,* vol. 2, 2016.

14.   V. Swami, U. S. Tran, T. Kuhlmann, S. Stieger, H. Gaughan, and M. Voracek, "More similar than different: Tattooed adults are only slightly more impulsive and willing to take risks than non-tattooed adults," *Personality and Individual Differences,* vol. 88, pp. 40-44, 2016.

15.   L. A. Rivera, "Go with your gut: Emotion and evaluation in job interviews," *American journal of sociology,* vol. 120, pp. 1339-1389, 2015.

16.   D. Kahneman, S. P. Slovic, P. Slovic, and A. Tversky, *Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases*: Cambridge university press, 1982.

17.   R. Pohl and R. F. Pohl, *Cognitive illusions: A handbook on fallacies and biases in thinking, judgement and memory*: Psychology Press, 2004.

18.   D. Griffin and L. Brenner, "Perspectives on probability judgment calibration," *Blackwell handbook of judgment and decision making,* pp. 177-199, 2004.

19.   B. K. Miller, K. M. Nicols, and J. Eure, "Body art in the workplace: Piercing the prejudice?," *Personnel Review,* 2009.

20.   A. R. Timming, D. Nickson, D. Re, and D. Perrett, "What do you think of my ink? Assessing the effects of body art on employment chances," *Human Resource Management,* vol. 56, pp. 133-149, 2017.

21.   T. Ruetzler, J. Taylor, D. Reynolds, W. Baker, and C. Killen, "What is professional attire today? A conjoint analysis of personal presentation attributes," *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* vol. 31, pp. 937-943, 2012.

22.   A. Stirn, "Body piercing: medical consequences and psychological motivations," *The Lancet,* vol. 361, pp. 1205-1215, 2003.

23.   D. L. Fountain-Jagodzinski, "The Implications of Body Modifications on the Hiring

Process," *Albion,* 2014.

24.   J. A. Rush, *Spiritual tattoo: A cultural history of tattooing, piercing, scarification, branding, and implants*: Frog Books, 2005.

25.   B. Gross, "Tattoos in the Workplace: What's an Employer to Do," *All Business,* 2012.

26.   M. R. Leary and R. M. Kowalski, "Impression management: A literature review and two-component model," *Psychological bulletin,* vol. 107, p. 34, 1990.