Does race matter in international beauty pageants? A quantitative analysis of Miss World

By Selena Zhong and Rima Wilkes, PhD University of British Columbia

Abstract:

Most research on race and beauty pageants uses qualitative research methods and focuses on national beauty pageants. For this reason it is unclear whether there are broad patterns of racial inequalities in international beauty pageants. My study addresses this issue by using a quantitative approach to examine whether race affects success rates in international beauty pageants. This study examines countries that have competed in the Miss World pageant from 1951 to 2011 and examine each country's probability of winning and being in the semifinals. The analysis shows that race matters. White countries have a much higher chance of winning and being in the semi-finals than non-white nations. Furthermore, white nations have been over-represented as winners and semi-finalists while non-white nations have been under-represented in both those categories. The patterns of success for white nations and lack of success for non-white nations demonstrates that beauty is not neutral and that global beauty pageants can be seen as a reflection of racial hierarchies and a reaffirmation of the ideology of white beauty.

Introduction

Browsing through the headshots of the 2011 contestants on the websites of the Miss World and the Miss Universe pageants, the women's beauty was indisputable. Each one was endowed with big, round eyes, straight hair, narrow nose, and an attractive smile. I then decided to visit the photo gallery of Miss Universe 2011, the African winner Leila Lopes. I clicked through images of the photo album that featured her homecoming visit to Angola. In the photographs where her body was juxtaposed with her countrymen, what became apparent was that Ms. Lopes was a shade or two lighter than the others. Ms. Lopes' body and the bodies of the other contestants demonstrate that in order to be selected to compete in international beauty pageants one must embody white phenotypic characteristics¹ such as straight hair, light skin tone and, a narrow nose.1

It is important to analyze how beauty is defined and what kind of beauty is valorized in forms of popular culture such as beauty pageants. Popular culture shapes notions of feminine beauty for women across the globe², and if white phenotypes are privileged and valorized, this could affect the self-image of women who do not embody these characteristics. For instance, the pressure to subscribe to the ideal of white beauty could lead women to lighten their skin with harmful chemicals and may also negatively affect their self-concept.²

Studying Race in Beauty Pageants

Although race is a socially constructed concept, the concept of race and racism persists3, and in order to study racial inequalities, race needs to be operationalized. There are many different ways to study race. For this analysis, the categories "white" and "non-white" are used to study racial inequalities, and this categorization draws on Telles' (2009) study that notes that the white and non-white distinction is a conceptually clear racial divide.4 The categories of white and non-white are applied to countries, rather than to the bodies, of the Miss World beauty pageant contestants themselves because not all 61 years of images and videos of these contestants were available. However, information on the countries that participated and succeeded in the 61 years of the Miss World pageant was readily available. In order to categorize countries as white and non-white, I viewed the images and videos of pageant contestants that were available and coded the countries that have consistently sent women with Western phenotypes, such as white skin, to the competition as white. This includes all the European countries, Australia, Canada, and the United States. While many of these countries that are coded as white have a portion of their population that does not identify as white, the pageant contestants from these countries do not reflect this racial diversity.

While the concept of race embodies more

than simple phenotypes, in beauty pageants where the body is visually displayed, physical appearance is a noticeable way of signifying race. Moreover, the general public that view beauty pageants also understand race and racial (in)equality in terms of skin colour. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, most of the pageant contestants possess Westernized facial features such as straight hair, narrow nose and large eyes; thus skin colour remains one of the key ways to differentiate the women in the international pageants.

As with all methodologies for studying race, there are limitations to the one employed in this analysis. Race is a complex concept and the method used in this study cannot fully capture its nuances.

National Pageants and Race

Studies have shown that many non-white countries send representatives that look white to the global beauty pageants in order to increase their chances of winning.^{2,7,8,9,10} King-O'Riain noted "both India and Venezuela have recently sent taller, more Western-looking women forward to international pageants because they want a queen that will win on the global stage." While King-O'Riain noted that there is a practice where Western-looking women are preferred, Runkle and Barnes' studies show that the process of favouring Western-looking women is a very active process.^{7,10}

Table 1: Studies on Beauty Pageants

Author	Methodology	Pageant Studied	Time Period Studied
Lawson and Ross (2010)	Quantitative analysis	Miss Universe	1952-2008
Oza (2001)	Ethnography	Miss India	1996
Parameswaran (2004)	Media analysis	Miss India	1998-2000
Russel (2006)	Media analysis	Miss India	1996
Barnes (1994)	Historical analysis & media analysis	Miss Jamaica	1950s-1980s
Callahan (1998)	Historical analysis & media analysis	Miss Thailand	1934-1990s
Edmonson (2003)	Historical analysis	Pageants in the Caribbean	1999
Mattson and Pettersson (2007)	Media analysis	Miss Sweden	1949-1960
Runkle (2004)	Ethnography	Miss India	2003
Shissler (2004)	Media analysis	Miss Turkey	1929-1932
Wilk (1995)	Ethnography	Miss Belize	1990s
King-O'Riain (2008)	Literature review	Multiple	
Banet-Weiser (1999)	Ethnography	Miss America	
Balogun (2012)	Ethnography	Miss Nigeria	2009-2010

Runkle's ethnographic study on the month-long training boot camp prior to the Miss India pageant reveals the salience of skin colour in the lives of these beauty queen aspirants. Each girl was on some type of medication to lighten her skin colour. Runkle demonstrates that light skin is not only preferred, it is created. The dermatologist administering these skin treatments justified the process by citing the benefits of light skin in beauty pageants – "we still lighten their skin here because it gives the girls extra confidence when they go abroad [to international pageants]."¹⁰

Barnes' study on Miss Jamaica reveals the preference for a light-skinned Miss Jamaica by demonstrating the active selection of a white beauty queen. Although 90% of Jamaicans identify as black, white women have been favoured as beauty queens. In the 1980s, the Miss Jamaica contest was turned over to private sponsorship and the focus shifted to selecting beauty queens that would have the best chance of winning the international pageants and providing financial rewards. It was during these years that white women were selected to win Miss Jamaica.⁷

In national pageants, there is a clear preference for whiteness or lightness. By continuously selecting white or light-skinned women as winners in national pageants, "white aesthetic standards do not appear more attractive – they become the norm."¹¹

International Pageants and Race

Many studies on beauty pageants have focused on national pageants,^{7,11,13,14} and while some of these studies have shown that there is a favouring of lighter-skinned

contestants on the national stage, none of the studies addressed the issue of skin colour and its implications for racial inequities in international beauty pageants. Research has shown that whiteness influences the success rates in national pageants, ^{8,15} but there is a lack of research on whether whiteness also plays a significant role in determining success on the global stage.

Although there is a lack of research on international pageants, studies on national pageants, such as India, the United States, Jamaica, and Belize, provide evidence that race plays a role in global pageants. Osuri points out that "dark-skinned winners are still fewer in comparison to light or white-skinned contestants." King-O'Riain suggests that the "continued valorization of 'whiteness' or 'lightness' and European beauty standards seem to be impacting the Miss World and Miss Universe pageants

even with an increase in the proportion of women of colour named as queens."8 While King-O'Riain does not elaborate on what this means (how and in what way do European beauty standards impact global pageants?), she does suggest that whiteness plays a role in global pageants. Banet-Weiser also argues that "although non-European nations and heritages are clearly supported in terms of their presence on stage, the structural and ideological basis of the pageant remains firmly embedded in US and Western European values and histories."16 King-O'Riain and Banet-Weiser suggests that whiteness has an advantage in beauty pageants since the pageants are so steeped in white privilege. Non-white women may embody white aesthetics, but they are still at a disadvantage compared to white women. These studies suggest that race plays an important role in international

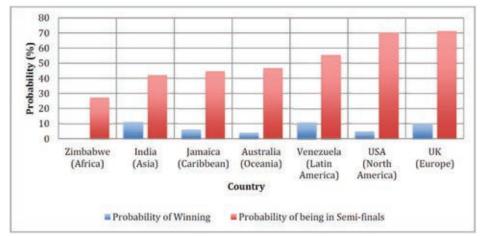


Figure 1: Countries with the highest success rate from each continent.

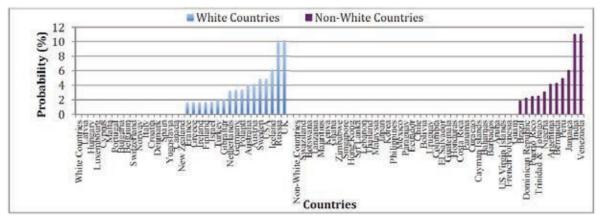


Figure 2: Probability of winning for each country.

Table 2: Miss World Winning Countries and Winning Probabilities

Probabilities				
Country	Probability of			
	Winning (%)			
France*W	1.64			
Greece*W	1.69			
Ireland*W	1.69			
Finland*W	1.72			
Israel*W	1.75			
Brazil	1.92			
Turkey*W	2.00			
Gibraltar*W	2.04			
Dominican Republic	2.27			
Puerto Rico	2.50			
Trinidad & Tobago	2.56			
Nigeria	3.13			
Netherlands*W	3.28			
Germany*W	3.39			
Poland*W	3.45			
Australia*W	4.08			
Argentina	4.17			
Austria*W	4.17			
Bermuda	4.35			
Sweden*W	4.92			
USA*W	4.92			
Peru	5.00			
Iceland* ^W	6.12			
Jamaica	6.12			
Russia*W	10.00			
UK*W	10.20			
India	11.11			
Venezuela	11.11			

Note: Countries with (*W) indicates white countries

beauty pageants and they open up the space for questions. Is there a privileging of white women over non-white women as winners and semi-finalists in global beauty pageants? How much does whiteness affect the winning outcomes? What will this tell us about the type of feminine beauty that is produced, valorized, and circulated on the global stage?

Why Study International Pageants?

International beauty pageants are a form of what Malkki calls the "family of nations," which "constitutes the differences between national units in a way that is dehistoricizing, depoliticizing, and ultimately homogenizing of differences."17 This homogenizing of differences is found in the judging of the pageant. Each girl is assigned a score for each round and the scores are awarded based on the merits of each girl, which invokes an "idealized conception of equality."16 By studying and critiquing the practice of privileging whiteness in these international pageants, we can dismantle the "romance of internationalism"¹⁷ that frames these spectacles and recognize the racial inequities in global beauty pageants.

Miss World and Miss Universe are public spectacles and they beam images of smiling beauty queens around the globe. Images of the contestants are easily accessed, downloaded, or purchased from the Internet. However, circulating along with these images of smiling beauty queens is a particular message about feminine beauty – a message where whiteness is equated with beauty. The mass media and forms of popular culture such as the Miss World and Miss Universe pageants shape notions of feminine beauty.2 By continuously displaying images of lightskinned women on the global stage and by privileging European aesthetics, international beauty pageants problematically entrench the ideal of white beauty¹¹ and reaffirm existing racial hierarchies.

The ideal of white beauty could affect

how women who do not embody these characteristics view themselves. Many have turned to skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery to achieve this ideal, which poses health problems.² Moreover, research has shown that beauty is associated with privilege and resources.¹⁸ If Western aesthetics are what is considered beautiful, then those with these physical traits will have access to more resources than those without.

Quantitative Approach

Most studies on beauty pageants are qualitative studies (Table 1). To date, only one study¹⁹ has employed a quantitative method to studying beauty pageants. However, this study looks at the role of a nations' market liberalism on the success rates of the contestants and does not address issues regarding the racial inequities inherent in these beauty pageants.

The qualitative studies use methods of ethnography, historical analysis, and media analysis to understand and explore issues surrounding national pageants. While qualitative studies contribute excellent knowledge to the body of literature on beauty pageants, the qualitative studies on beauty pageants tend to be restricted by time period. The fourth column in Table 1 shows that most of these studies often do not cover long time periods. A quantitative approach can provide a way of looking at the long history of the international beauty pageants (61 years of Miss World and 60 years of Miss Universe), giving us a clearer picture of the patterns of inequities in these pageants. Qualitative studies have indicated there is a general preference for light or white-skinned women in international pageants, but have not elaborated on this trend. A quantitative study can provide empirical evidence for this trend and can show us exactly how often white skin has been favoured over dark skin throughout the history of international beauty pageants. All the qualitative studies

have only considered the winners of beauty pageants and have neglected the significance of the semi-finalists. A quantitative approach can examine beauty pageants through the bodies of the winners and the bodies of the semi-finalists.

Method

This study examines the countries that have succeeded in the Miss World pageant from its inception in 1951 to a recently held pageant in 2011. Data was gathered on the competing nations, the winning countries, and the semi-finalists through the Miss World website, pageant fan-sites, as well as through viewing video clips of the pageant uploaded by fans. In the analysis only the countries that competed at least 20 times throughout the 61 years of the Miss World pageant were considered.

I used 81 competing countries in my analysis whose competing years range from 20 to 61. They also vary tremendously in the amount of successes in the pageant (0-6 wins and 0-43 semi-finalists). For a list of the 81 countries see Appendix A.

I coded the 81 countries into seven different continents - Europe, Africa, Asia, North America, Latin America, Caribbean and Oceania. Latin America includes Central America, South America, and Mexico. Central America and Mexico are geographically part of North America, but are culturally more similar to South America. I combined Central America, Mexico and South America to recognize the similar histories and cultural traditions between these areas. The Caribbean is geographically part of North America, but some parts can be considered part of Latin America. I coded the Caribbean as a separate continent because of its distinct traditions and experiences with beauty pageants. Geographically, Turkey straddles both Asia and Europe. After viewing several photos of Turkish contestants in the Miss World and Miss Universe pageant, I coded Turkey as European. After viewing photos of Israel's contestants in the Miss World and Miss Universe pageant, I also coded Israel as European. For a list of countries coded into continents see Appendix B. I also coded the 81 countries as white countries and nonwhite countries. White countries include all the European countries and North American countries as well as Australia and New Zealand. Out of 81 competing countries, 34 countries are white countries and 47 countries are non-white countries. White countries make up 42% of the competing nations and non-white countries constitute 58% of the competing nations. For the list of white and non-white countries see Appendix C.

For this analysis, I looked at each country's probability of winning and reaching the semi-finals. The probabilities of winning were calculated by dividing the number of times each country has won by the number of times they competed in the Miss World contest. The probability of being in the semi-finals was calculated by dividing the number of times each country has been represented in the semi-finals by the number of times they competed in the Miss World contest.

Data

Different continents have varying levels of success in the Miss World pageant (Figure 1). Figure 1 provides us with the probability of winning and of being in the semi-finals for the most successful nation from each of the seven continents. Africa has been the least successful in both winning and being selected for the semi-finals, while Europe has been one of the most successful continents. Zimbabwe has a much lower probability (27.27%) of being in the semi-finals than UK (71.43%). While each country's probability of winning the Miss World title is quite low, certain countries have a higher probability of winning than others. India, Venezuela,

and the United Kingdom have the highest success rate, while Zimbabwe has yet to win the Miss World title. A black country like Zimbabwe has a much lower chance of being selected for the semi-finals and capturing the crown compared to white countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, or brown countries like Venezuela and India.

India and Venezuela have higher rates of winning than some white countries. However, these countries' rates of being in the semi-finals do not display their advantage over non-white countries. Since winning is a highly visible act, perhaps the crowning of two non-white countries suggests that tokenism plays a role in international beauty pageants.

Many white countries have had the opportunity of winning the Miss World contest, but a large proportion of non-white countries have yet to win the Miss World competition (Figure 2). The graph also shows that compared to white countries, a much larger proportion of non-white countries have not been able to win the pageant.

Tables 2 and 3 examine the information presented in Figure 2 in more detail. Table 2 lists all the countries that have won the Miss World competition from its inception in 1951 to 2011. Throughout the 61 years of the Miss World competition, 28 different countries have successfully captured the Miss World title. Out of these 28 countries, 17 of the winning countries are white (60.7%) and 11 of the countries are non-white (39.3%). This means that even though white countries make up 42% of the competing nations in the Miss World competition, they constitute 60.7% of the winning countries. White countries are over-represented as winners of the Miss World pageant, while non-white countries are under-represented.

Table 3 lists the 53 countries that have yet to win the Miss World title. Out of these 53 countries, 17 (32.1%) are white countries, while 36 (67.9%) are non-white countries.

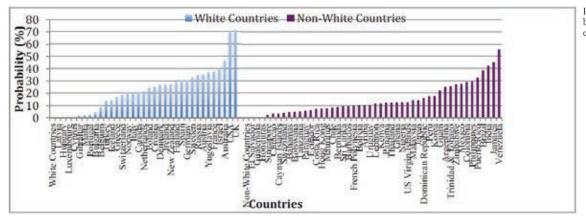


Figure 3: Probability of being in semi-finals for each country.

Table 3: Countries That Have Not Yet Won Miss World

World	D. 1. 1. 11.
Country	Probability of
	Winning (%)
Tanzania	0.00
French Polynesia	0.00
Croatia*W	0.00
Latvia*W	0.00
Botswana	0.00
Barbados	0.00
Hungary*W	0.00
Zimbabwe	0.00
Bulgaria*W	0.00
Ghana	0.00
US Virgin Islands	0.00
Swaziland	0.00
Luxembourg*W	0.00
El Salvador	0.00
Kenya	0.00
Mauritius	0.00
Guam	0.00
Yugoslavia*W	0.00
Guatemala	0.00
Curacao Cayman Islands	0.00
Panama	0.00
Honduras	0.00
	0.00
Paraguay Chile	0.00
Portugal*W	0.00
Uruguay	0.00
Singapore	0.00
Bolivia	0.00
Aruba	0.00
Hong Kong	0.00
Thailand	0.00
Sri Lanka	0.00
Malaysia	0.00
Switzerland*W	0.00
Bahamas	0.00
Costa Rica	0.00
Malta*W	0.00
Lebanon	0.00
Philippines	0.00
Colombia	0.00
Spain*W	0.00
Mexico	0.00
Cyprus*W	0.00
Ecuador	0.00
Norway*W	0.00
Korea	0.00
New Zealand*W	0.00
Denmark*W	0.00
Canada*W	0.00
Italy*W	0.00
Japan	0.00
Belgium*W	0.00
	1

Note: Countries with (*W) indicates white countries

Table 4: Top 30 Countries with Highest Probability of Being Selected for Semi-Finals

Country	Probability of		
	being in Semi-		
	finals (%)		
Netherlands*W	21.31		
Guam	22.22		
Poland*W	24.19		
Croatia*W	25.00		
Argentina	25.00		
Trinidad & Tobago	25.64		
Denmark*W	26.92		
Ireland*W	27.12		
Zimbabwe	27.27		
New Zealand*W	27.45		
Mexico	27.66		
Colombia	28.89		
Finland*W	29.31		
Philippines	29.55		
Spain*W	30.44		
Germany*W	30.51		
Puerto Rico	32.50		
Sweden*W	32.79		
Russia*W	35.00		
Austria*W	35.42		
Yugoslavia*W	37.04		
France*W	37.71		
Brazil	38.46		
Israel*W	40.35		
India	42.22		
Jamaica	44.90		
Australia*W	46.94		
Venezuela	55.56		
USA*W	70.49		
UK*W	71.43		

Note: Countries with (*W) indicates white countries

Although non-white countries form 58% of the competing nations, they constitute 67.9% of the countries that have not been able to succeed in winning the crown, thus are under-represented.

Success in beauty pageants can also be measured by looking at the semi-finalists in the pageants. Figure 3 presents the probabilities of white countries and non-white countries being in the semi-finals. The graph reveals that most white countries have a fairly good chance of being selected for the semi-final round. The majority of white countries have a success rate of 20% to 35%. The probability of being in the semi-finals for non-white countries, on the other hand, are spread across a wide range and the majority of non-white countries

Table 5: Bottom 30 Countries with Lowest Probability of Being Selected for Semi-Finals

	Country	Probability of	
	•	being in Semi-	
		finals (%)	
	Latvia*W	0.00	
	Hungary*W	0.00	
	Luxembourg*W	0.00	
ı	El Salvador	0.00	
	Guatemala	0.00	
ı	Honduras	0.00	
ı	Cyprus*W	0.00	
ı	Gibraltar*W	2.04	
ı	Malta*W	2.27	
	Singapore	2.56	
	Portugal*W	2.63	
	Curacao	3.23	
	Cayman Islands	3.23	
	Swaziland	4.00	
	Bulgaria*W	4.35	
	Bahamas	4.65	
	Botswana	4.76	
	Tanzania	5.00	
	Paraguay	5.71	
	Ecuador	6.25	
ı	Costa Rica	6.98	
	Hong Kong	7.32	
	Mauritius	7.41	
	Chile	8.11	
	Belgium*W	8.62	
	Bermuda	8.70	
	Barbados	9.52	
	Sri Lanka	9.52	
	French Polynesia	10.00	
	Bolivia	10.26	

Note: Countries with (*W) indicates white countries

have less than a 20% chance of being in the semi-finals. The non-white country with the highest probability of being in the semi-finals (Venezuela 55.56%) has a much lower success rate when compared to the United Kingdom's 71.43% and USA's 70.49%. Compared to white nations, non-white countries have a much lower probability of moving forward into the semi-final round. This is more clearly illustrated by considering the average success rate for each group. The average probability of being selected for the semi-finals for white countries is 23.36%, while for non-white nations this probability decreases to 14.9%.

Tables 4 and 5 look at Figure 3 in more detail by examining the countries with the highest and lowest probabilities of being

in the semi-finals. Table 4 looks at the 30 countries with the highest probability of being in the semi-finals. Out of these 30 countries, 18 are white nations (60%) and 12 are nonwhite nations (40%). White countries make up 42% of the competing nations and yet constitute 60% of the countries with a high probability of successfully moving forward into the semi-final round. White countries are over-represented as semi-finalists, while non-white countries are under-represented. Table 5 considers the 30 countries with the lowest probability of being in the semifinals. Out of these 30 countries, nine are white countries (30%) and 21 are non-white countries (70%). Non-white countries make up 58% of the competing nations and yet represent 70% of the least likely countries to move into the semi-finals.

Conclusion

Studies have shown that skin colour matters in national pageants, and lighter-skinned women are consistently preferred. This preference for white aesthetics affects the types of contestants we see competing in the international pageants and it also lends evidence to racial inequities based on colour.² This paper extends the analysis of skin colour and beauty pageants by considering whether race affects success rates of countries competing in the international pageants.

The analysis showed that race does matter. Race affects the probability of being selected as a semi-finalist and of being selected as Miss World. The data showed that white countries have a much higher chance of winning and reaching the semi-finals than non-white nations. White nations have also been over-represented as winners and semi-finalists while non-white nations have been under-represented. African countries have the lowest success rate in winning and reaching the semi-finals while

Western countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom have had the most successes in the Miss World beauty pageant.

Racial inequalities operate on two levels in these international pageants. Firstly, nonwhite contestants selected to compete on the global stage embody Western aesthetic norms because they are lighter in skin colour and have more Westernized features, such as straight hair, narrow nose, and large eyes, than women in their home countries. Furthermore, once on the global stage, nonwhite women have a much lower success rate in these global pageants compared to white women. The consistent patterns of success for white nations and lack of success for non-white nations demonstrates that beauty is not objective or neutral – it is raced. Global beauty pageants like the Miss World competition reflects racial hierarchies and reaffirms the ideology of white beauty. Furthermore, this pattern also suggests that the occasional success of non-white nations is not due to a genuine valorization of nonwhite beauty, but rather it is a way to display diversity while preserving the privilege of whiteness that underlies these spectacles.

References

¹Keith, V.M. (2009) "A Colorstruck World: Skin Tone, Achievement, and Self-Esteem among African American Women." *In Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters.* Glenn, E.N., ed(s). Stanford University Press. Pg 25-39.

²Glenn, E.N. (2008) "Yearning for Lightness:

Transnational Circuits in the Marketing and Consumption of Skin Lighteners." Gender & Society. 22.3. Pg 281-302.

³Winant, H. (2006) "Race and Racism: Towards a Global Future." Ethnic and Racial Studies. 29.5. Pg 986-1003. "Telles, T. (2009) "The Social Consequences of Skin Color in Brazil." In Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters. Glenn, E.N., ed(s). Stanford University Press.

Pg 9-24.

⁵Glenn, E.N. (2009) "The Significance of Skin Color: Transnational Divergences and Convergences." *In Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters.* Glenn, E.N., ed(s). Stanford University Press. Pg 7-8.

"Gore, A. (2012) ""White as Snow' Miss France Beauty Queen gets Caught in Racism Row and Catfight with Previous Winner." *Daily Mail*. Daily Mail. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2248200/White-snow-Miss-France-beauty-queen-gets-caught-racism-row-catfight-previous-winner.html/. (Accessed 12/14/2012).

Pageants." The Massachusetts Review. 35.3. Pg 471-492.

⁸King-O'Riain, R.C. (2008) "Making the Perfect Queen: The Cultural Production of Identities in Beauty Pageants." *Sociology Compass.* 2.1. Pg 74-83.

⁹Leung, F., Lam, S. and Sze, S. (2001) "Cultural Expectations of Thinness in Chinese Women." *Eating Disorders*. 9.4. Pg 339-350.

¹⁰Runkle, S. (2004) "Making "Miss India": Constructing Gender, Power and the Nation." South Asian Popular Culture. 2.2. Pg 145-159.

"Kang, J.M. (1997) "Deconstructing the Ideology of White Aesthetics." *Michigan Journal of Race & Law.* 2. Pg 283-357.

¹²Callahan, W.A. (1998) "The Ideology of Miss Thailand in National, Consumerist, and Transnational Spaces." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.* 23.1. Pg 29-61.

¹³Parameswaran, R. (2004) "Global Queens, National Celebrities: Tales of Feminine Triumph in Post-Liberalization India." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*. 21.4. Pg 346-370.

¹⁴Wilk, R. (1995) "The Local and the Global in the Political Economy of Beauty: From Miss Belize to Miss World." Review of International Political Economy. 2.1. Pg 117-134.

¹⁵Osuri, G. (2008) "Ash-coloured Whiteness: The Transfiguration of Aishwarya Rai." South Asian Popular Culture. 6.2. Pg 109-123.

¹⁶Banet-Weiser, S. (1999) The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity. University of California Press.

¹⁷Malkki, L. (1994) "Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations." *Diaspora*. 3.1. Pg 41-68.

Nations. Diaspora. 3:1.1g 71-06.
 Anderson, T.L., Grunert, C., Katz, A., and Lovascio, S. (2010) "Aesthetic Capital: A Research Review on Beauty Perks and Penalties." Sociology Compass. 4.8. Pg 564-575.
 Lawson, R. and Ross, J. (2010) "Economic Freedom and Beauty Pageant Success in the World." Journal de

Economistes et des Etudes Humaines. 16.1. Pg 2.

(Appendices on next page)

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Appendix ATable 1: Countries Used in Analysis

Country	Probability of Winning	Probability of being in Semi- finals	Total Wins	Total Semi-finalists	Number of Times Competed
Tanzania	0	5	0	1	20
French Polynesia	0	10	0	2	20
Croatia	0	25	0	5	20
Russia	10	35	2	7	20
Latvia	0	0	0	0	21
Botswana	0	4.762	0	1	21
Barbados	0	9.524	0	2	21
Hungary	*	0	0	0	22 22
Zimbabwe	0 0	27.273 4.348	0	6	23
Bulgaria Bermuda	4.3478	8.696	1	2	23
Ghana	0	12.5	0	3	24
US Virgin Islands	0	12.5	0	3	24
Swaziland	0	4	0	1	25
Luxembourg	0	0	0	0	26
El Salvador	0	0	0	0	26
Kenya	0	11.538	0	3	26
Mauritius	0	7.407	0	2	27
Guam	0	22.222	0	6	27
Yugoslavia	0	37.037	0	10	27
Poland	3.4483	24.138	1	7	29
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	31
Curacao	0	3.226	0	1	31
Cayman Islands	0	3.226	0	1	31
Nigeria	3.125	12.5	1	4	32
Panama	0	12.121	0	4	33
Honduras	0	0	0	0	34
Paraguay	0	5.714	0	2	35
Chile	0	8.108	0	3	37
Portugal	0	2.632	0	1	38
Uruguay	0	10.526	0	4	38
Singapore	0	2.564	0	1	39
Bolivia	0	10.256	0	4	39
Aruba	0	10.256	0	4	39
Trinidad & Tobago	2.5641	25.641	1	10	39
Peru	5	17.5	2	7	40
Puerto Rico	2.5	32.5	1	13	40
Hong Kong	0	7.317	0	3	41
Thailand	0	12.195	0	5	41
Sri Lanka	0	9.524	0	4	42
Malaysia	0 0	14.286	0	6	42
Switzerland Bahamas	0	19.048 4.651	0	8 2	42 43
Costa Rica	0	6.977	0	3	43
Malta	0	2.273	0	1	44
Lebanon	0	11.364	0	5	44
Dominican Republic	2.2727	15.909	1	7	44
Philippines	0	29.545	0	13	44
Colombia	0	28.889	0	13	45
India	11.1111	42.222	5	19	45
Spain	0	30.435	0	14	46
Mexico	0	27.66	0	13	47
Cyprus	0	0	0	0	48
Ecuador	0	6.25	0	3	48
Argentina	4.1667	25	2	12	48
Austria	4.1667	35.417	2	17	48
Gibraltar	2.0408	2.041	1	1	49
Iceland	6.1224	14.286	3	7	49
Jamaica	6.1224	44.898	3	22	49
Australia	4.0816	46.939	2	23	49
UK	10.2041	71.429	5	35	49
Turkey	2	14	1	7	50
Norway	0	20	0	10	50
Korea	0	17.647	0	9	51
New Zealand	0	27.451	0	14	51
Denmark	0	26.923	0	14	52
Brazil	1.9231	38.462	1	20	52
Canada	0	20.755	0	11	53
Venezuela	11.1111	55.556	6	30	54
Italy	0	20	0	11	55
Japan	0	14.286	0	8	56
Israel	1.7544	40.351	1	23	57
Belgium	0	8.621	0	5	58
Finland	1.7241	29.31	1	17	58
Greece	1.6949	16.949	1	10	59
Ireland	1.6949	27.119	2	16 18	59 59
	2 2000		/.	10	
Germany	3.3898	30.508			61
Germany Netherlands	3.2787	21.311	2	13	61
Germany Netherlands Sweden	3.2787 4.918	21.311 32.787	2 3	13 20	61
Germany Netherlands Sweden France	3.2787 4.918 1.6393	21.311 32.787 37.705	2 3 1	13 20 23	61 61
Germany Netherlands Sweden	3.2787 4.918	21.311 32.787	2 3	13 20	61

Appendix B

Table 3: Countries Coded According to Continent

Europe	Africa	Asia	North America	Latin America ^a	Caribbean ^b	Oceania
Croatia	Tanzania	Singapore	Canada	El Salvador	Barbados	French Polynesia
Russia	Botswana	Hong Kong	USA	Guatemala	Bermuda	Guam
Latvia	Zimbabwe	Thailand		Panama	US Virgin Islands	Australia
Hungary	Ghana	Sri Lanka		Honduras	Curacao	New Zealand
Bulgaria	Swaziland	Malaysia		Paraguay	Cayman Islands	
Luxembourg	Kenya	Lebanon		Chile	Aruba	
Yugoslavia	Mauritius	Philippines		Uruguay	Trinidad & Tobago	
Poland	Nigeria	India		Bolivia	Puerto Rico	
Portugal		Korea		Peru	Bahamas	
Switzerland		Japan		Costa Rica	Dominican Re-	
Malta				Colombia	public	
Spain				Mexico	Jamaica	
Cyprus				Ecuador		
Austria				Argentina		
Gibraltar				Brazil		
Iceland				Venezuela		
UK						
Turkey ^c						
Norway						
Denmark						
Italy						
Israel ^d						
Belgium						
Finland						
Greece						
Ireland						
Germany						
Netherlands						
Sweden						
France						

Notes:

^a Latin America includes Central America, South America and Mexico. Central America and Mexico are geographically part of North America, but is culturally more similar to South America. I combined Central America and South America to recognize the similar histories and cultural traditions between these two areas.

^b The Caribbean is geographically part of North America while some parts can be considered part of Latin America. I coded the Caribbean as a separate continent because of its unique and distinct traditions and experiences with beauty pageants.

^c Geographically Turkey straddles both Asia and Europe. After viewing several years of Turkish contestants in Miss World and Miss Universe I coded Turkey as European differ viewing photos of Israel's contestants in the Miss World and Miss Universe pageant, I coded Israel as European

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Appendix C
Table 3: List of Countries Coded as White and Non-White

White Countries	Non-White Countries
Croatia	Tanzania
Russia	French Polynesia
Latvia	Botswana
Hungary	Barbados
Bulgaria	Zimbabwe
Luxembourg	Bermuda
Yugoslavia	Ghana
Poland	US Virgin Islands
Portugal	Swaziland
Switzerland	El Salvador
Malta	Kenya
Spain	Mauritius
Cyprus	Guam
Austria	Guatemala
Gibraltar	Curacao
Iceland	Cayman Islands
Australia	Nigeria
UK	Panama
Turkey	Honduras
Norway	Paraguay
New Zealand	Chile
Denmark	Uruguay
Canada	Singapore
Italy	Bolivia
Israel	Aruba
Belgium	Trinidad & Tobago
Finland	Peru Peru
Greece	Puerto Rico
Ireland	Hong Kong
Germany	Thailand
Netherlands	Sri Lanka
Sweden	Malaysia
France	Bahamas
USA	Costa Rica
00/1	Lebanon
	Dominican Republic
	Philippines
	Colombia
	India
	Mexico
	Ecuador
	Argentina
	Jamaica Vortes
	Korea
	Venezuela
	Brazil
	Japan