

Spring 1983

Effects of the Rater's Sex and Sex-Role Orientation and the Applicant's Physical Attractiveness Sex and Qualifications on Resume Evaluation

Robert N. Kilcullen
Old Dominion University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/psychology_etds



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kilcullen, Robert N.. "Effects of the Rater's Sex and Sex-Role Orientation and the Applicant's Physical Attractiveness Sex and Qualifications on Resume Evaluation" (1983). Master of Science (MS), Thesis, Psychology, Old Dominion University, DOI: 10.25777/xra9-vs38
https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/psychology_etds/649

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Psychology at ODU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Psychology Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ODU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@odu.edu.

EFFECTS OF THE RATER'S SEX AND SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION
AND THE APPLICANT'S PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS, SEX,
AND QUALIFICATIONS ON RESUME EVALUATION

by

Robert N. Kilcullen
B. A. May 1980, University of Pennsylvania

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

PSYCHOLOGY

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY
May, 1983

Approved by:

Thomas F. Cash (Director)

Valerian J. Derlega

Glynn D. Coates

ABSTRACT

EFFECTS OF THE RATER'S SEX AND SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION AND THE APPLICANT'S PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS, SEX, AND QUALIFICATIONS ON RESUME EVALUATION

Robert N. Kilcullen
Old Dominion University, 1983
Director, Dr. Thomas F. Cash

Androgynous college students (16 males and 16 females) and sex-typed college students (16 males and 16 females) rated the resumes of fictitious applicants for a managerial position. The applicant's physical attractiveness, qualifications, and sex were systematically varied in the resumes. Five-way analyses of variance were performed on the hiring rankings of the applicants and the perceived attractiveness, masculinity, femininity, and social desirability of the applicants.¹¹ The sex and attractiveness of the applicants significantly affected the hiring decisions, but not as strongly as did the applicant's qualifications.¹³ For hiring decisions, the subjects' sex-role orientation moderated the effect of the applicant's attractiveness but not the effect of the applicant's sex. The applicant's sex, qualifications, and attractiveness affected the perceived sex-role orientation and sex-relevant goodness of the applicants. In addition, the applicant's qualifications and sex affected the perceived sex-irrelevant goodness of the applicants. Implications for the employee interview process and suggestions for further research are discussed.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Helen, and my brother, Thomas, whose lives exemplified courage, faith, and compassion for others. May they rest in peace.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the following persons for their help in this project. Dr. Thomas Cash, my committee chair, whose patience and expert guidance were invaluable to me. The other members of my committee, Dr. Val Derlega and Dr. Glynn Coates, for their perceptive advice. To Karen Lound for her administrative assistance. And to my wife, Pamela, whose help and moral support enabled me to complete this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
INTRODUCTION.	1
First Hypothesis: The Effect of the Applicant's Qualifications	9
Second Hypothesis: Rater's Sex-Role Orientation and the Applicant's Physical Attractiveness	9
Third Hypothesis: Rater's Sex-Role Orientation and the Applicant's Sex.	10
Fourth Hypothesis: Perceived "Goodness" of the Applicants.	10
Fifth Hypothesis: Perceived Sex-Role Orientation of the Applicants.	10
METHOD.	12
Subjects	12
Materials and Procedure.	14
Resumes	14
Photographs	14
Job Description	15
Dependent Measures	15
RESULTS	17
Ratings of the Applicants' Attractiveness. . .	17
Personnel Evaluations by the Raters.	19
Rater's Perceptions of Applicant Personality Traits	22

	Page
Sex-Role Classification of the Applicants. . .	30
DISCUSSION.	34
REFERENCE NOTES.	46
REFERENCES	47
APPENDIX	54
Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Short Form)	55
Instruction Sheet and Ranking List.	57
Sample Resume	59
Applicant Recommendation Form	60
Applicant Trait Questionnaire	61

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Attractiveness	18
2. Means and Standard Deviations of the Hiring Rankings of the Applicants	21
3. Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Masculinity.	24
4. Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Femininity	26
5. Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Social Desirability.	29
6. Sex-Typing of Applicants as a Function of Applicant Attractiveness, Applicant Sex, and Rater Sex-Role Orientation	31
7. Sex-Typing of Applicants as a Function of Applicant Qualification Level.	33

Introduction

For many years psychologists have been interested in determining how an individual's physical appearance can affect the behavior of others towards him or her. Physical attractiveness in particular has received a good deal of attention from social scientists. An annotated bibliography compiled by Cash in 1981 included nearly 500 studies on this subject. The scientific curiosity concerning physical attractiveness is undoubtedly a reflection of how much this quality is valued in our culture.¹ One need only to watch television, walk through a department store, or read any newspaper and magazine to be convinced that physical attractiveness is a very highly valued characteristic in our society.^h Our mass media are inundated with advertisements which, directly or indirectly, imply that the use of a product will enable the user to capture an attractive, desirable mate or achieve other valued outcomes. American firms spend billions of dollars each year to advertise their products in this way, and each year the public also spends billions of dollars on cosmetic, personal hygiene, and dietetic products in the hope of making themselves more attractive. Even though popular cliches tell us "not to judge a book by its cover" and that "beauty is only skin deep," our behavior indicates that we believe otherwise.

Given this state of affairs, psychologists have tried to uncover the behavioral and attitudinal consequences of possessing, or not possessing, physical attractiveness. In one landmark study, Dion,

Berscheid, and Walster (1972) found that people go by the assumption that "what is beautiful is good" (and conversely, what is not beautiful is not as good) when interacting with other individuals. In general, according to Dion et al. (1972) and many subsequent replications, attractive males and females are viewed as being more friendly and sociable, more competent, better adjusted, more self-confident, and higher in occupational status than unattractive persons (e.g., Adams & Huston, 1975; Cash, Begley, McCown, & Weise, 1975; Cash, Kehr, Polyson, & Freeman, 1977; Schoedel, Frederickson, & Knight, 1975; Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977). Although physically attractive persons may also be seen as being vain and egotistical (Dermer & Thiel, 1975), this negative stereotype is apparently less influential as compared to the positive stereotypes associated with physical attractiveness (Wilson, Cash, & West, Note 1).

Other researchers have examined the social and psychological implications of the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype. Literature reviews by Berscheid and Walster (1974) and Adams (1977) and Cash's bibliography (1981) indicate that attractive individuals are often treated more favorably than unattractive individuals in many interpersonal situations. For example, studies have found that attractive children are punished less severely (Berkowitz & Frodi, 1979), attractive defendants receive shorter prison terms (Sigall & Ostrove, 1975; Steward, 1980), and the work of attractive persons often is evaluated more favorably (Anderson & Nida, 1978; Cash & Trimer, in press; Landy & Sigall, 1974). The effects of physical attractiveness can be even more pervasive. An elegant study by Snyder et al. (1977) demonstrated that other people's expectations about attractive persons can influence those

individuals to behave in a manner that can confirm these expectations. Thus, the individual's attractiveness can not only affect the attitudes and beliefs of others, it can also indirectly affect the attractive or unattractive individual's own behavior as well.

Recently, social scientists have been examining whether this bias in favor of physically attractive persons influences the selection of personnel in the workplace. Dipboye, Fromkin, and Wiback (1975) found that professional interviewers who evaluated applicants for a managerial position preferred attractive applicants to unattractive applicants when the qualifications of the two groups were equal. A subsequent replication of this study by Dipboye, Arvey, and Terpstra (1977) yielded similar results.

Further research, however, has found limitations to the benefits of physical attractiveness in this context. Studies by Cash, Gillen, and Burns (1977) and Marvelle and Green (1980) indicated that attractiveness was only beneficial to the applicants when they applied for sex-congruent jobs. Further research has indicated that being physically attractive may actually hurt female applicants in certain cases. When applying for a traditionally masculine (e.g., managerial) job, it was found that unattractive females were preferred over attractive females (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Waters, Note 2). Furthermore, Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) reanalyzed data from an earlier personnel selection study by Dipboye, Arvey, and Terpstra (1977) and also reached these conclusions.

This unexpected situation is most likely due to the incongruence between those personality traits assumed to be required of a successful manager and those traits which are attributed to attractive females.

Previous research has shown that a person's physical attractiveness can mediate the degree of sex/gender stereotyping attributed to him or her. In 1975, Gillen (Note 3) hypothesized that physically attractive individuals are perceived as having more of both sex-irrelevant desirable traits and sex-relevant desirable traits than unattractive persons. His results indicated that attractive males were perceived as being more masculine than unattractive males, and that attractive females were perceived as being more feminine than unattractive females. In addition, attractive males and females were perceived as possessing more sex-irrelevant "goodness" than were the unattractive males and females. Recent research has confirmed that physical attractiveness can cue sex/gender stereotyping (Cash & Duncan, in press; Gillen, 1981; Gillen & Sherman, 1980; Jackson, 1980; Lucker, Beane, & Guire, 1981; Lucker, Beane, & Helmreich, 1981).

At the same time, considerable evidence (Powell & Butterfield, 1979; Riger & Galligan, 1980; Rosen & Jerdee, 1978; Schein, 1973, 1975; Terborg, 1977) indicates that the generic managerial job is perceived as being a masculine position requiring stereotypically masculine traits (e.g., be a leader, be forceful in order to get the job done, etc.). Thus, attractive males may be preferred over unattractive males for a managerial job because they are perceived to be more masculine than unattractive males are. But attractive woman may be at a relative disadvantage when applying for a managerial position because, as Cash (Note 4) puts it, "Attractive women may be seen by some as 'too sexy' or 'too feminine' to be taken seriously and treated fairly in situations perceived to require masculine traits for success" (p. 13). Thus, among

applicants for a managerial position, attractiveness may help the male candidate but hurt the female applicant.

This situation has serious implications for those individuals involved in personnel selection. In order to survive and prosper in the business world, an organization must have competent job interviewers who are able to recognize and select the best candidates from the applicant pool for vacancies in their organization. Unfortunately, interviewers often make biased decisions about whom to hire.¹ Springbett (1954, 1958) found that first impressions played a crucial role in the outcome of the interview, suggesting that these initial impressions established a bias within the interviewer which affected all subsequent interactions between the interviewer and the applicant. After reviewing the findings of Springbett and his colleagues at McGill University, Hake1 and Dunnette (1970) concluded that:

Apparently, an interviewer forms a quick judgment of whether to hire or reject an applicant. He says more to those he intends to hire, probably giving the candidate more information about the job or simply "warming up" the candidate. Or he may be seeking to elicit more information to confirm the decision he has already made. (p. 6)

The implication from this research is that an applicant's external appearance can play an important role in the employment decision he or she receives from the interviewer. And indeed, the evidence does suggest that interviewers do differentially respond to the external appearance (e.g., physical attractiveness, sex, race, etc.) of the applicants (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Cash et al., 1977; Cohen & Bunker, 1975; Dipboye et al., 1975, 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Marvelle & Green, 1980).

Naturally, it would benefit the reliability and the validity of the employee selection process if interviewers would not pay so much attention to the applicant's physical appearance. Arvey and Campion's (1982)

comprehensive review of previous research on the employment interview details studies which have explored various methods of counteracting the biases present in this situation. Among the variables which may increase the validity and reliability of the interview include utilizing a structured interview guide, interviewing by a panel instead of by a single individual, using the critical incident technique to formulate relevant interview questions, note-taking on the part of the interviewer, and training interviewers in proper interviewing techniques. While manipulating these variables may prove to enhance the validity and reliability of the employment interview somewhat, this type of research may not address what might be the fundamental source of the employment interview's poor reliability and validity. Arvey and Campion (1982) raised this point in their literature review when they stated:

It may be that certain specific interviewers are more valid than other and that researchers perhaps should focus on differences among interviewers rather than the validity of the interview, collapsed across interviews. (p. 315)

Unfortunately, little research has been done on anything more than the demographic characteristics of employment interviewers. The present study will investigate whether a particular personality measure can identify those individuals who pay excessive attention to the sex and the physical attractiveness of job applicants from those individuals who tend to ignore these irrelevant variables when evaluating applicants for a managerial position.

The personality measure utilized in this experiment is the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). The BSRI was constructed by Bem in 1974 for the purpose of classifying individuals according to their sex-role orientation. Specifically, the BSRI is used to distinguish between what Bem has called "sex-typed" and "androgynous" individuals. According to Bem

(1979), sex-typed persons view themselves as possessing personality traits which are considered typical of their gender as well as not possessing personality traits typically ascribed to the opposite gender. On the other hand, androgynous persons see themselves as possessing a large amount of both masculine and feminine personality traits. According to Bem's (1981a) Gender Schema Theory, the differential self-perception of sex-typed and androgynous individuals is the result of a difference in their cognitive processing. Sex-typed individuals supposedly process, store, and recall environmental stimuli in terms of gender-related schema, even to the point of evaluating their own identity in terms of socially acceptable gender-related traits. Conversely, androgynous individuals presumably use gender-related schema less for processing information.

A recent study by Anderson and Bem (1981) suggests that the BSRI might prove to be a useful device for detecting those interviewers who let the physical attractiveness of the applicant influence their hiring decisions. Anderson and Bem's (1981) study found that, when interacting with another person over the phone, sex-typed individuals were significantly more responsive to supposedly attractive targets than they were to supposedly unattractive targets, while androgynous individuals did not show favoritism toward the supposedly attractive targets.

Additional support for the relationship between the belief in traditionally sexist attitudes and a susceptibility to "beautyism" has been provided by Touhey (1979) and Benson and Vincent (1980), who discovered that those who strongly endorse sexist attitudes and stereotypes let physical attractiveness influence their judgments of other people more than non-sexist persons do. Hence, there appears to be a link

between being sex-typed and being susceptible to beautyism. Furthermore, sex-typed individuals may be especially prone towards sexism as well as beautyism, since sex-typed persons identify with and incorporate society's stereotypes of appropriate behavior for men and women to a greater degree than do androgynous individuals.

In addition to determining whether sexism and beautyism are mediated by the sex-role orientation of the perceiver, this experiment will also use the BSRI to examine whether androgynous and sex-typed persons differentially perceive some personality characteristics of the job applicants. One characteristic that will be focused upon is the perceived "goodness" of the job applicants. As mentioned previously, research by Gillen and his colleagues (Gillen, 1981; Gillen & Sherman, 1980) found that compared with less attractive persons, attractive individuals are seen as possessing more of both sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness. Aside from determining whether this finding may also be present in an employee selection context, this experiment will also investigate whether this effect may also be mediated by the sex-role orientation of the perceiver.

In addition, the perceived sex-role orientation of the applicants will be examined in this experiment. Recent research by Jackson (Note 5) has revealed that persons perceived to be androgynous were better liked, were viewed as possessing a greater amount of desirable sex-neutral traits, and were rated as being better adjusted and more socially adept than persons perceived as being masculine and feminine. Not surprisingly, Jackson (1980) also found that androgynous job applicants enjoy an advantage over sex-typed job applicants, with androgynous and masculine sex-typed persons being favored for typically masculine

jobs, and androgynous and feminine sex-typed persons being favored for traditionally feminine occupations. In other words, Jackson found that a person's sex-role orientation can affect how others perceive his or her qualifications. The present study will examine whether the reverse is also true, whether the applicant's qualifications can affect his or her perceived sex-role orientation. Specifically, this experiment will ascertain whether the highly qualified applicants will be perceived as being more androgynous or more sex-typed compared to the less qualified applicants.

And finally, this study will evaluate whether the applicant's qualifications and the rater's sex have the same effect as reported in previous studies. Specifically, the following hypotheses are made for this experiment:

First Hypothesis: The effect of the applicant's qualifications

Previous studies have documented that the applicant's qualification level has a large impact upon the interviewer's evaluations of the applicant (Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979). This experiment will further test the reliability of this finding. Hence, the first hypothesis is that the well-qualified applicants will be preferred over the poorly qualified applicants.

Second Hypothesis: Rater's sex-role orientation and the applicant's physical attractiveness

Based on Heilman and Saruwatari (1979), it is predicted that for a managerial job, raters will prefer the attractive male applicants over the unattractive male applicants. In addition, raters will prefer the unattractive female applicants over the attractive female applicants. However, this effect is predicted to be moderated by the sex-role

orientation of the rater. Specifically, relative to androgynous raters, sex-typed raters will exhibit these biases to a greater degree. Thus, the second hypothesis is an interactive one.

Third Hypothesis: Rater's sex-role orientation and the applicant's sex

According to Bem's (1981a) Gender Schema Theory, sex-typed individuals process information through gender-based schema and identify with traditional gender-related behavior. Accordingly, the sex-typed raters are predicted to be more sexist than the androgynous raters. Specifically, our second interactive hypothesis is that, compared to androgynous raters, sex-typed raters will prefer the male applicants over the female applicants when the qualifications of the sexes are equal.

Fourth Hypothesis: Perceived "goodness" of the applicants

The fourth hypothesis is also an interactive one. Since sex-typed subjects are predicted to be more responsive to the applicant's attractiveness, it is predicted that sex-typed raters, relative to androgynous raters, will see attractive targets as possessing more sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant "goodness" than the unattractive applicants. In other words, a stronger "halo effect" is predicted to occur for sex-typed than androgynous raters responding to the applicant's physical attractiveness.

Fifth Hypothesis: Perceived sex-role orientation of the applicants

Since a managerial position is a traditionally masculine job, it is predicted that the well-qualified applicants (who should be preferred over the poorly qualified applicants) will be perceived as being more androgynous or masculine relative to the poorly qualified applicants.

In addition, this experiment will investigate whether the sex of the rater affects the evaluations given to the applicants. Studies by

Cash et al. (1977), Dipboye et al. (1975, 1977), and Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) indicate that the sex of the rater does not influence the hiring decisions. Therefore, the sex of the rater is not predicted to affect the evaluations given to the applicants.

Method

Subjects

In exchange for extra credit, college students enrolled in the Introductory Psychology classes filled out the short form of the BSRI during several large-group testing sessions. The short form of the BSRI is a more refined version developed from factor analyses of the original questionnaire (Bem, 1979; Bem, 1981b). The short form of the BSRI is a 30-item questionnaire in which the subjects indicate (on a 7-point Likert scale) the degree to which each attribute applies to them (see Appendix). Ten of the items reflect positive stereotypical masculine attributes (comprising the subject's masculinity score), while another ten items reflect positive stereotypical feminine traits (comprising the subject's femininity score). The remaining items compose a social desirability scale of sex-neutral attributes. Those students who scored above the normative sample median on their own sex's scale and below the normative sample median on the other sex's scale were classified as sex-typed. Students who scored above the normative sample median on both scales were considered androgynous. These medians were 4.8 and 5.5 for masculinity and femininity respectively.

The sex-role orientation (based on normative sample medians) and the T-score (a reflection of the balance between the masculinity and femininity scales) was determined for each student. Within each sex-role orientation, subjects were recruited based upon their T-scores. Sex-typed female students with higher T-scores (indicating predominance

of femininity over masculinity) were recruited before sex-typed females with lower T-scores. Likewise, sex-typed male students with lower T-scores (indicating predominance of masculinity over femininity) were contacted for participation before male sex-typed students with higher T-scores. Both male and female androgynous students were selectively recruited based on how close their T-score was to the median score, which would indicate a balance between masculinity and femininity. In all, 16 male sex-typed subjects (mean T-score = 41.00, S.D. = 5.85), 16 female sex-typed subjects (mean T-score = 63.06, S.D. = 7.24), 16 androgynous male subjects (mean T-score = 52.06, S.D. = 4.15), and 16 androgynous female subjects (mean T-score = 53.13, S.D. = 5.26) were recruited for participation in this study.

College students, rather than professional interviewers, were chosen as subjects in this study. Although one might suspect that this would lessen the validity of this experiment, Bernstein, Hakel, and Harlan (1975) reviewed six separate studies and concluded that students and professional interviewers' evaluations of job applicants were nearly identical. The only difference found between the two groups was that students tended to rate the applicants more leniently. As long as this leniency effect is present across all experimental conditions, any effects found in studies using students as subjects should also be present in studies using professional interviewers as subjects. These conclusions also were supported by the Dipboye et al. (1975) study. Subsequently, researchers have started to use college students in the role of the interviewer/evaluator (e.g., Dipboye, et al., 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979).

Materials and Procedure

Resume. Eight resumes conveying standard biographical data were constructed, four representing highly qualified applicants and the other four depicting poorly qualified applicants (see Appendix). The qualifications of the applicants were reflected by their high school grade point averages (highly qualified $M = 3.63$, poorly qualified $M = 2.70$), college grade point averages (high $M = 3.18$, low $M = 2.35$), high school class standings (high $M =$ upper 15%, low $M =$ upper 40%), college class standings (high $M =$ upper 35%, low $M =$ upper 60%), college majors (well qualified = business major, poorly qualified = nonbusiness major), Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores (high $M = 1285$, low $M = 929$), and their Graduate Management Aptitude Test scores (high $M = 587.5$, low $M = 493$).

The resumes were carefully constructed so that within each qualification level, the overall qualifications of the applicants were generally equivalent. For instance, if one applicant had a slightly higher high school grade point average than another applicant, then the second applicant had a slightly higher Scholastic Aptitude Test score than the first one, etc.

Photographs. The physical attractiveness of the applicants was manipulated by the use of high-quality photocopies of black and white photographs. Those photographs were previously rated by other college students as significantly different in physical attractiveness between attractiveness conditions and as being equally attractive or equally unattractive within each condition (Cash et al., 1977; Cash & Kehr, 1978; Cash, Kehr, Polyson, & Freeman, 1977; and Cash & Salzbach, 1978). A total of eight photographs were used, since the applicant's attractiveness, sex, and qualification level were factorially combined. Thus,

an unattractive male candidate, an attractive male candidate, an unattractive female candidate, and an attractive female candidate were present in both the poorly qualified and the well qualified condition. In order to avoid the possibility of a photo-resume confound in interpreting the results, the photos were switched with their counterparts in the other qualification group halfway through the experiment.

Job description. The job description used in this study was almost identical to the one used by Dipboye et al. (1975). The subjects were given the following information about the managerial job:

The position to be filled is the head of a furniture department in a large department store in a metropolitan area. Once hired, the applicant will participate in a two-month training program. If performance is satisfactory, he or she will assume the position of department head. This position will involve approximately 40% of his or her time interacting with customers and subordinates and the remaining 60% of his or her time dealing with other department heads and sales representatives. The position is a very visible one requiring a high degree of interpersonal skill.

Dependent Measures

The subjects rated the qualifications of each of the eight applicants using an anchored 21-point scale (see Appendix). The purpose for using such a lengthy scale was to counteract the limited variability that would be a consequence of students' tendency (Bernstein, et al., 1975) to rate leniently (e.g., on a 5-point scale, students might only use the upper two points when rating the applicant). Subjects were also asked to rank the applicants in terms of which applicant they would hire first, which they would hire second, etc. This provided a final indication of how they evaluated the applicants, as well as forcing the subject to make ordinal discriminations between the applicants.

The short form of the BSRI was given to the subjects who rated each of the applicants on the 7-point trait dimensions. A 7-point physical

attractiveness item was added to this questionnaire to provide a validity check on both the attractive and the unattractive photographs (see Appendix).

Each subject received a packet containing all of the stimulus materials, the evaluation questionnaires, and a job description of the position to be filled. The subjects then evaluated the bogus resumes of the eight job applicants individually in a soundproof cubical. After the subjects were finished, they returned their packets to the male experimenters and, after being debriefed, were given a credit slip for their participation in the study.

Results

Most of the data in this study have been evaluated by analysis of variance statistics. An objection might be raised concerning the use of a parametric statistic on ordinal data. However, Roscoe (1975) notes that statisticians have debated the validity of the distinction between ordinal and interval data. Roscoe states, "Their conclusions. . . . suggest that the distinction between ordinal and interval data is not a particularly relevant one with respect to selecting a method of statistical analysis" (p. 22). The choice of this test is consistent with the fact that previous studies (e.g., Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979) have analyzed their data with analyses of variance as well.

Ratings of the Applicant's Attractiveness

In order to assess the validity of the attractiveness manipulation, a 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 (Sex Role Orientation of Rater, Sex of Rater, Attractiveness of Applicant, Qualifications of Applicant, Sex of Applicant) analysis of variance was performed. The first two factors were between-subjects factors, and the last three were within-subjects. Cell means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. The attractive applicants were expected to be perceived as being more attractive than the unattractive applicants. A significant main effect for the physical attractiveness of the applicants was found, with the attractive candidates ($\bar{M} = 5.84$) perceived as more attractive than the unattractive candidates ($\bar{M} = 2.69$) on the 7-point rating scale,

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Attractiveness

Rater Characteristics		Applicant Characteristics							
		Poorly Qualified				Well-Qualified			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Males									
Sex-typed	M	5.38	5.94	2.56	2.69	5.44	6.31	2.31	2.81
	SD	0.89	0.93	1.03	1.20	0.81	0.60	1.20	1.42
Androgynous	M	5.56	6.19	2.63	3.31	5.81	6.38	2.38	2.75
	SD	1.09	0.75	1.03	1.58	0.98	0.62	0.81	1.39
Females									
Sex-typed	M	5.25	5.75	1.75	3.00	5.44	5.94	2.13	3.19
	SD	1.13	1.13	0.58	1.59	1.09	0.68	1.09	1.22
Androgynous	M	5.50	6.19	2.31	2.81	6.00	6.31	2.63	3.75
	SD	1.16	0.75	0.70	1.22	0.97	0.79	1.03	1.29

$F(1,60) = 507.26$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .4587$. Although the applicant's attractiveness effect appeared in two significant three-way interactions, the attractive applicants were in all cases rated as more attractive than were the unattractive applicants.

In addition, the following main effects and interactions also achieved statistical significance. Androgynous raters gave higher overall ratings of attractiveness than did sex-typed raters, $F(1,60) = 6.37$, $p < .025$, $\omega^2 = .0049$. Female applicants received higher ratings of attractiveness than did male applicants, $F(1,60) = 76.15$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0681$, although this effect was qualified by a Sex of Rater X Attractiveness of Applicant X Sex of Applicant interaction, $F(1,60) = 6.76$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0052$. Newman-Keuls post-hoc comparisons of this interaction indicated that attractive females were perceived as more attractive than attractive males ($p < .01$), and that unattractive females were perceived as more attractive than unattractive males ($p < .01$). However, female raters gave unattractive female applicants higher ratings of attractiveness than did male raters ($p < .05$). The Rater's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Qualifications interaction also achieved significance, $F(1,60) = 4.00$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0027$. Newman-Keuls analysis revealed that female raters viewed the well-qualified, unattractive applicants as being more attractive than the poorly qualified, unattractive applicants ($p < .05$).

Personnel Evaluations by the Raters

To assess the relationship between the two personnel evaluation measures, a Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient was computed between the 21-point rating scale and the hiring rankings. Because this correlation was so high ($r = .81$), and because the two methods gave an

almost identical pattern of significant results in the statistical analyses, this paper will focus on the hiring ranking data, which is the final and the most important decisional assessment of the suitability of the applicants by the prospective employers.

Another 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 (Rater's Sex Role X Rater's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Qualifications X Applicant's Sex) analysis of variance was performed on the hiring recommendations. Cell means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2. The first hypothesis states that the well-qualified applicants would be preferred over the poorly qualified applicants. The main effect for the applicant's qualification was significant, with the well-qualified applicants being favored over the poorly qualified applicants, $F(1,60) = 932.94$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .6038$. The Applicant's Qualification X Applicant's Sex interaction also achieved significance, $F(1,60) = 7.72$, $p < .01$, $\omega^2 = .0044$. A Newman-Keuls test revealed that both male and female applicants who were well-qualified were preferred over male and female applicants who were poorly qualified ($p < .01$). Furthermore, among the well-qualified applicants, the male applicants were favored over the female applicants ($p < .05$); among the poorly qualified applicants, the sexes were rated equally.

The second hypothesis states that sex-typed raters would favor the attractive male applicant and the unattractive female applicant to a greater degree than will androgynous raters. Hence, a significant Rater's Sex-Role Orientation X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex interaction was expected. This interaction did not achieve significance ($F = 1.62$). The applicant's attractiveness main effect achieved significance, with attractive applicants being favored over unattractive

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of the Hiring Rankings of the Applicants

Rater Characteristics		Applicant Characteristics							
		Poorly Qualified				Well-Qualified			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Males									
Sex-typed	M	5.69	5.75	7.06	7.19	1.31	2.38	3.31	3.19
	SD	0.79	1.07	1.18	1.05	0.48	0.96	0.60	1.42
Androgynous	M	6.31	5.63	7.25	6.13	2.31	2.38	2.38	3.19
	SD	1.35	1.15	1.00	1.41	1.14	1.15	0.96	1.42
Females									
Sex-typed	M	4.88	5.13	7.19	6.50	1.94	2.75	4.13	3.50
	SD	2.13	1.31	0.98	1.59	1.24	1.48	1.93	1.90
Androgynous	M	6.13	6.44	6.63	6.56	1.81	3.19	2.56	2.69
	SD	1.26	1.03	1.20	1.41	0.75	0.91	1.55	1.30

applicants, $F(1,60) = 56.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .0360$. However, this effect was qualified by a Rater's Sex-Role Orientation X Applicant's Attractiveness interaction, $F(1,60) = 19.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .0120$, as well as an Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex interaction, $F(1,60) = 7.82$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .0044$. Newman-Keuls analysis of the Rater's Sex Role X Applicant's Attractiveness interaction indicated that both androgynous and sex-typed raters preferred attractive applicants over unattractive applicants ($p < .01$, for sex-typed raters; $p < .05$, for androgynous raters). However, sex-typed raters gave the attractive applicants a higher rating than did androgynous raters ($p < .01$). At the same time, androgynous raters gave a higher rating to unattractive applicants compared to sex-typed raters ($p < .01$). Newman-Keuls analysis of the Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex interaction indicated that the attractive applicants of both sexes were preferred over the unattractive applicants of both sexes. Although the unattractive male applicants and the unattractive female applicants were rated equally, the attractive male applicants were preferred over the attractive female applicants ($p < .01$).

Based upon the third hypothesis, which predicted that sex-typed raters would be more sexist in their evaluations compared to androgynous raters, the Rater's Sex-Role Orientation X Applicant's Sex interaction was expected to be significant. However, this interaction did not achieve significance, nor did any other interaction involving both of these effects.

Rater's Perceptions of Applicant Personality Traits

A five-way analysis of variance (Rater's Sex-Role Orientation X Rater's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Qualifications X

Applicant's Sex) was performed on each of the three scales of the BSRI. That is, an analysis of variance was performed on the perceived masculinity of the applicants, the perceived femininity of the applicants, and the perceived social desirability of the applicants. Cell means and standard deviations are given in Table 3. The fourth hypothesis predicted sex-typed raters would, relative to androgynous raters, view the attractive applicants as possessing more sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness. First, with respect to the perceived masculinity of the applicants (i.e., the sex-relevant goodness for males), it was expected that the Rater's Sex-Role Orientation X Applicant's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness interaction would be significant. However, this interaction did not achieve significance ($F = .28$).

According to the fifth hypothesis, which states that the well-qualified applicants would be perceived as especially androgynous or masculine sex-typed, a main effect for the applicant's qualifications would be expected to be significant. The applicant's qualification main effect was significant, $F(1,60) = 77.14$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .1143$. This effect was qualified by a significant Rater's Sex Role X Rater's Sex X Applicant's Qualification interaction, $F(1,60) = 8.16$, $p < .01$, $\omega^2 = .0108$. Post-hoc Newman-Keuls tests revealed that all of the highly qualified applicants were perceived as being more masculine than all of the poorly qualified candidates ($p < .05$). It was also found that androgynous female raters gave higher scores of masculinity to the highly qualified applicants compared to the androgynous male raters, the sex-typed female raters, and the sex-typed male raters ($p < .05$).

There were also several other effects which achieved significance for the perceived masculinity ratings. Attractive applicants were rated

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Masculinity

Rater Characteristics		Applicant Characteristics							
		Poorly Qualified				Well-Qualified			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Males									
Sex-typed	M	4.64	4.12	4.09	3.67	5.27	4.90	5.04	4.75
	SD	0.73	0.65	0.88	0.62	0.48	0.77	0.71	0.80
Androgynous	M	4.36	3.96	4.18	3.79	5.28	4.71	4.67	4.35
	SD	0.78	0.73	1.03	0.68	0.65	0.64	0.94	0.94
Females									
Sex-typed	M	4.66	4.12	4.10	4.03	5.35	4.79	4.05	4.36
	SD	1.10	0.96	0.78	0.92	0.79	0.74	1.36	0.83
Androgynous	M	4.44	3.95	4.05	3.89	5.91	5.40	5.09	5.06
	SD	0.80	1.02	0.91	0.79	0.60	0.58	0.76	0.87

higher in masculinity as compared to unattractive applicants, $F(1,60) = 37.05$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0054$, and male applicants received higher masculinity ratings than did female applicants, $F(1,60) = 21.05$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0301$. The interaction of these two factors (Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex) also achieved significance, $F(1,60) = 10.67$, $p < .005$, $\omega^2 = .0145$. Yet this was qualified by a significant Rater's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex interaction, $F(1,60) = 4.76$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0056$. Newman-Keuls analysis revealed that both male and female raters viewed the attractive male applicants as possessing more masculinity than all of the other applicants ($p < .01$), with female raters giving the attractive male applicants higher masculinity ratings compared to male raters ($p < .05$). In addition, male raters perceived the unattractive female applicants as having a lower degree of masculinity than all of the other applicants ($p < .05$). The Rater's Sex Role X Rater's Sex interaction achieved significance as well, $F(1,60) = 4.39$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0051$, but was qualified by the Rater's Sex Role X Rater's Sex X Applicant's Qualification interaction as previously discussed.

Another five-way analysis of variance was performed on the perceived femininity of the applicants (i.e., the perceived sex-relevant goodness for females). Cell means and standard deviations are given in Table 4. Again, a significant Rater's Sex Role X Applicant's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness was expected, since the fourth hypothesis predicts sex-typed raters would, relative to androgynous raters, see the attractive applicants as possessing more sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness than the unattractive applicants. Although the applicant's attractiveness main effect indicated that attractive applicants were

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Femininity

Rater Characteristics		Applicant Characteristics							
		Poorly Qualified				Well-Qualified			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Males									
Sex-typed	M	4.36	4.97	4.01	4.93	4.76	5.24	4.58	5.08
	SD	0.74	0.93	0.86	0.59	0.61	0.61	0.60	0.53
Androgynous	M	4.14	4.87	4.04	4.81	4.52	5.04	4.16	4.89
	SD	0.89	0.62	0.87	1.00	0.59	0.90	0.72	0.62
Females									
Sex-typed	M	4.13	5.13	3.97	4.79	4.56	4.85	4.13	4.90
	SD	0.87	0.81	1.04	0.81	0.85	0.68	0.81	0.96
Androgynous	M	4.51	5.24	4.78	5.23	5.07	5.55	4.97	5.34
	SD	0.78	0.70	0.92	0.75	0.74	0.52	0.81	0.73

perceived as more feminine compared to the unattractive applicants, $F(1,60) = 5.29$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0063$, the Rater's Sex Role X Applicant's Sex X Applicant's Attractiveness interaction did not achieve significance ($F = 1.00$).

Based upon the fifth hypothesis, which proposes that the well-qualified applicants should be perceived as being more androgynous (or more masculine) than the poorly qualified applicants, a significant main effect for the applicant's qualifications on femininity was anticipated. This effect did achieve significance, $F(1,60) = 14.57$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0200$, but it was also qualified by a significant Applicant's Qualifications X Applicant's Sex interaction, $F(1,60) = 4.41$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0050$. Post-hoc Newman-Keuls analysis revealed that both the well-qualified and the poorly qualified female applicants were perceived as being more feminine than both the well-qualified and the poorly qualified male applicants ($p < .01$). Moreover, while the highly qualified and the poorly qualified female applicants were perceived as equally feminine, the highly qualified male applicants were seen as being more feminine than the poorly qualified male applicants ($p < .01$).

Additionally, the applicant's sex main effect achieved significance, with the female applicants perceived as being more feminine compared to the male applicants, $F(1,60) = 143.36$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .2102$. The Rater's Sex Role X Rater's Sex interaction also reached significance, $F(1,60) = 7.37$, $p < .01$, $\omega^2 = .0094$. Newman-Keuls analysis indicated that androgynous female raters gave higher ratings of femininity to the applicants compared to sex-typed female raters ($p < .05$) and androgynous male raters ($p < .05$).

Another five-way analysis of variance was performed on the perceived social desirability (i.e., sex-irrelevant goodness) of the applicants. Cell means and standard deviations are given in Table 5. The fourth hypothesis states that sex-typed raters would, to a greater extent than androgynous raters, view attractive applicants as possessing more sex-irrelevant and sex-relevant goodness compared to the unattractive applicants. Therefore, a significant Rater's Sex Role X Applicant's Attractiveness interaction was expected. This interaction was significant, $F(1,60) = 4.40$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0059$, although it was qualified by a significant Rater's Sex Role X Applicant's Attractiveness X Applicant's Sex interaction, $F(1,60) = 4.64$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0063$. Post-hoc Newman-Keuls comparisons revealed that sex-typed raters viewed the attractive male applicants as possessing more social desirability than did the androgynous raters ($p < .05$).

Other effects which achieved significance were the rater's sex, with female raters giving higher ratings of social desirability to the applicants than male raters did, $F(1,60) = 12.91$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0208$. The main effect of applicant's qualifications also achieved significance, with the well-qualified applicants receiving higher ratings of social desirability than did the poorly qualified applicants, $F(1,60) = 49.97$, $p < .001$, $\omega^2 = .0854$. Additionally, the Applicant's Qualifications X Applicant's Sex interaction was significant, $F(1,60) = 4.29$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .0057$. Newman-Keuls analysis revealed that the well-qualified male and female applicants were perceived as more socially desirable compared to the poorly qualified male and female applicants ($p < .01$). Furthermore, the well-qualified male applicants were viewed

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of the Applicant's Perceived Social Desirability

Rater Characteristics		Applicant Characteristics							
		Poorly Qualified				Well-Qualified			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Males									
Sex-typed	M	4.30	4.18	4.11	4.17	4.74	4.67	4.63	4.63
	SD	0.70	0.52	0.60	0.55	0.53	0.57	0.59	0.61
Androgynous	M	4.06	4.20	4.20	4.24	4.49	4.45	4.65	4.47
	SD	0.51	0.49	0.56	0.39	0.56	0.60	0.47	0.39
Females									
Sex-typed	M	4.58	4.60	4.64	4.51	5.06	4.76	4.74	4.73
	SD	0.61	0.52	0.44	0.63	0.57	0.52	0.48	0.47
Androgynous	M	4.33	4.65	4.62	4.61	4.96	4.89	4.99	4.76
	SD	0.40	0.68	0.60	0.47	0.50	0.41	0.47	0.59

as being more socially desirable than the well-qualified female applicants ($p < .05$).

Sex Role Classification of the Applicants

In order to provide another perspective on how the physical attractiveness of the applicants affected their perceived sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness (Hypothesis Four), a Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed between the applicant's physical attractiveness and the applicant's perceived sex-role orientation (based upon sample median splits). Four analyses were done for male and female applicants as perceived by androgynous and sex-typed raters (see Table 6). A significant effect was found for sex-typed raters evaluating male applicants, $\chi^2(3) = 11.10$, $p < .025$. Examination of the table reveals that attractive males are more likely to be viewed by sex-typed raters as being androgynous or masculine sex-typed (i.e., they are more likely to possess sex-relevant goodness) than are the unattractive males. A significant effect was not found, however, for sex-typed raters evaluating female applicants, $\chi^2(3) = 1.78$. In the eyes of sex-typed raters, attractive females are equally likely to be perceived as feminine sex-typed (i.e., equally likely to possess a high amount of sex-relevant goodness) compared to unattractive females. Recall, however, that the effect was observed in the analysis of variance of femininity as a continuous variable.

A significant effect was also present for androgynous raters who evaluated male applicants, $\chi^2(3) = 7.81$, $p < .05$. Although attractive male applicants were more likely to be viewed as being androgynous compared to the unattractive males, they were equally likely to be viewed as being male sex-typed compared to the unattractive males. The

Table 6
Sex-Typing of Applicants as a Function of
Applicant Attractiveness, Applicant Sex, and Rater Sex-Role Orientation

Group	Frequencies for Classification of Applicants			
	Andro- gynous	Male Sex-typed	Female Sex-typed	Undiffer- entiated
Androgynous Raters				
Attractive Male Applicants	21	20	6	17
Unattractive Male Applicants	10	21	15	18
Attractive Female Applicants	27	6	19	12
Unattractive Female Applicants	17	5	24	18
Sex-typed Raters				
Attractive Male Applicants	21	22	2	19
Unattractive Male Applicants	9	17	7	31
Attractive Female Applicants	23	5	20	16
Unattractive Female Applicants	17	4	22	21

Chi-Square test for female applicants evaluated by androgynous raters proved to be non-significant, $\chi^2(3) = 4.15$, indicating that androgynous raters, like sex-typed raters, did not perceive any difference between the sex-relevant goodness of attractive female applicants and the sex-relevant goodness of unattractive female applicants.

A similar analysis was conducted to investigate the validity of the fifth hypothesis (see Table 7). A Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed to assess the effects of the applicant's qualifications upon the perceived sex role of the applicants. The test revealed a significant effect, $\chi^2(3) = 82.83$, $p < .001$. Examination of the table indicates that the well-qualified applicants were more likely to be perceived as being androgynous or masculine sex-typed, while the poorly qualified candidates were more likely to be perceived as being feminine sex-typed or undifferentiated.

Table 7
 Sex-Typing of Applicants as a Function
 of Applicant Qualification Level

Qualification Level	Frequencies for Classification of Applicants			
	Andro- gynous	Masculine Sex-typed	Feminine Sex-typed	Undiffer- entiated
Highly qualified	109	64	35	48
Poorly qualified	36	36	80	104

Discussion

Beyond re-examining previous findings by other personnel evaluation studies, this experiment investigated whether biases present in this context are mediated by the sex-role orientation of the rater. The results from this study are mixed. Regarding the applicants' physical attractiveness, androgynous and sex-typed individuals did indeed respond differently as was predicted by the second hypothesis. Sex-typed raters gave attractive applicants significantly higher hiring recommendations than did androgynous raters. At the same time, sex-typed raters gave unattractive applicants significantly lower evaluations than did androgynous raters. Thus, the difference between sex-typed and androgynous raters was in the magnitude of their "beautyism," with sex-typed subjects showing a greater prejudice in favor of attractive candidates and against unattractive applicants than did androgynous raters. However, it is important to note that the androgynous raters were not totally insensitive to the applicants' attractiveness.

When trying to generalize this finding to the actual employee selection context, it must be remembered that the magnitude of the difference in physical attractiveness between the attractive and the unattractive applicants in this study was quite large. The analysis of variance performed on the attractive ratings in this study yielded an ω^2 statistic for the applicant's attractiveness main effect of .4587, indicating a powerful attractiveness effect. In real life, of course, most of the people we encounter are neither extremely attractive nor

extremely unattractive. Under more realistic conditions, when physical attractiveness would not be as prominent as it was in this study, androgynous individuals may not evaluate somewhat attractive and somewhat unattractive persons any differently, while sex-typed persons might still take into account small differences in the applicant's attractiveness. Therefore, it may be useful for future studies to include one or two intermediate levels of physical attractiveness in addition to the two extremes. This way the difference in magnitude of the applicant's physical attractiveness which is necessary to affect the evaluations given by androgynous and sex-typed persons could be determined. Assuming that sex-typed persons will be more sensitive to physical attractiveness than will androgynous individuals (an assumption which is supported by our data), we would predict that the evaluations given to the applicants by sex-typed persons would take into account relatively small changes in the applicant's physical attractiveness, while androgynous individuals should ignore all but very large differences in the applicants' attractiveness. In other words, androgynous raters may give unbiased judgments under less extreme conditions, while sex-typed raters may still take attractiveness into account.

It was also predicted that sex-typed subjects would be more sexist than androgynous subjects in their evaluations of the candidates. However, this turned out not to be true, as androgynous and sex-typed subjects responded similarly in this regard. Under certain specific conditions, both groups proved to be sexist in their evaluations. Specifically, the attractive males were preferred over the attractive females, and the well-qualified male was preferred over the well-qualified female. In other words, it appears that sexism was most

likely to occur among the "good" candidates (the highly qualified and the highly attractive), while all of the "poor" candidates were lumped together, perhaps because finer discriminations are unnecessary among candidates who simply are not "in the running".

Unfortunately, the situation is clouded by the effects of the applicant's attractiveness, which may have distorted the influence of sexism in this study. Attractive female applicants were rated as more attractive than attractive male applicants, and unattractive female applicants were assigned higher attractiveness ratings than were the unattractive male applicants. Thus, the bias in favor of the male applicants may have been counteracted and diminished by the bias in favor of the most attractive applicants. To the extent that this is true, sexist behavior could have an even larger effect than it did in this study. Another experiment using equally attractive male and female photos (or using no photos at all) would be necessary to adequately determine the true amount of sexism occurring in this situation. Nevertheless, it would appear that sexism was alive and well in this analogue personnel selection study, and that androgynous and sex-typed individuals were equally sexist in their hiring recommendations, contrary to what we expected. Further research should continue to focus upon identifying those personal characteristics of interviewers which distinguish sexist from non-sexist interviewers.

Our fourth hypothesis was that sex-typed subjects would, more than androgynous subjects, view attractive candidates as possessing more sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant "goodness" than the unattractive candidates. The hypothesis received little support. The evidence from the analysis of variance indicated that sex-typed and androgynous subjects

did not significantly differ in evaluating the masculine "goodness" of males or the feminine "goodness" of females. Both rated the attractive applicants as possessing more sex-relevant goodness compared to the unattractive applicants. The Chi-Square tests also indicated that the sex-role orientation of the rater did not mediate the perceived sex role of the applicants. Androgynous and sex-typed raters both viewed the attractive male applicants as possessing more sex-relevant goodness (i.e., more likely to be either androgynous or male sex-typed) than the unattractive male applicants. Androgynous and sex-typed raters alike were unaffected by attractiveness in their sex-role perceptions of female applicants. Thus, androgynous and sex-typed raters are very similar in their perceptions of the sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness of the applicants. This argues against the idea that the sex-typed rater's higher susceptibility towards beautyism is a function of perceiving the sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness of the applicants differently than the androgynous raters do.

On the other hand, it is possible that the stronger tendency towards "beautyism" shown by sex-typed raters compared to androgynous raters may be a function of which "goodness," sex-relevant or sex-irrelevant, that sex-typed raters pay attention to. If sex-typed individuals are more attentive to sex-relevant aspects of the environment, as we would expect based on Bem's Gender Schema Theory (1981a), then they may weigh the sex-relevant goodness of the applicants more heavily than the sex-irrelevant goodness of the applicants. The results from this study indicate that attractive applicants were perceived as having more sex-relevant goodness than the unattractive applicants, with attractive males seen as more masculine and attractive females as more

feminine on the analysis of variance. Therefore, sex-typed subjects might be expected to favor the attractive (good) applicant over the unattractive (not so good) applicant. What then would account for the androgynous rater's weaker demonstration of "beautyism"? Perhaps androgynous raters consider not only the sex-relevant goodness but also the sex-irrelevant goodness of the candidates when evaluating the applicants. Since all subjects rated attractive applicants higher than unattractive applicants on sex-relevant goodness, androgynous raters then would be expected to show some amount of "beautyism." However, androgynous raters may not be as biased because their hiring decisions may also take into account the sex-irrelevant goodness of applicants, and in this study attractive and unattractive candidates were perceived similarly on sex-irrelevant goodness. This interpretation is admittedly speculative, but it does explain why androgynous and sex-typed raters evaluated the applicants differently while similarly perceiving their sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness. This explanation is also in accordance with Bem's Gender Schema Theory, which predicts that sex-typed individuals are more cognitively attuned to gender-related stimuli than are androgynous individuals. This explanation should be further investigated by subsequent studies.

The fifth hypothesis proposed that the highly qualified applicants (who were preferred over the poorly qualified applicants) would be perceived as being either androgynous or masculine sex-typed. This prediction was supported by the results of this study. A Chi-Square test indicated that the well-qualified applicants were much more likely to be perceived as either androgynous or masculine sex-typed, while the poorly qualified applicants were more likely to be viewed as feminine

sex-typed or undifferentiated. Results from the analysis of variance on masculinity and femininity ratings show the same trend, but also indicated that this effect may be more pronounced for the male candidates. The highly qualified male applicants were perceived to be both more masculine and more feminine vis-à-vis the poorly qualified male applicants. The well-qualified female applicants were perceived as being more masculine, but as equally feminine, relative to the poorly qualified female applicants. This suggests that there might be a stronger "goodness" halo effect for the male applicants than for female applicants, which again highlights the differential treatment of men and women in this context. At any rate, while Jackson's (1980) study demonstrated that subjects will differentially assess the candidate's qualifications based on the sex-role orientation of the candidates, this study illustrates that the reverse can also be true--that subjects will differentially assess the sex-role orientation of the candidates based on their qualifications.

Additionally, this experiment investigated the reliability of some previous findings by other studies in this field. The first hypothesis predicted that the well-qualified applicants would be favored over the poorly qualified applicants. In agreement with previous research, this hypothesis was confirmed. In every case, the well-qualified applicants were hired over the poorly qualified applicants, no matter what other effects achieved significance.

In contrast, the sex of the rater had no influence in determining the hiring rankings given to the applicants. This finding is also in agreement with previous studies, and it now seems reasonable to conclude that the sex of the rater plays a minimal role in evaluating the

suitability of job applicants. There were, however, a few significant sex differences in judging the other dependent measures of the applicants. Female raters did give higher ratings of sex-irrelevant goodness to the applicants than did male raters, and under certain conditions, androgynous female raters tended to give higher ratings of sex-relevant goodness than did other raters. Males and females also differed in their perceptions of the applicant's attractiveness. Male raters did not let the qualifications of the applicants significantly affect their judgments of the applicant's attractiveness, while female raters found the well-qualified unattractive applicants to be more attractive than the poorly qualified unattractive applicants. In effect, "what is good" is sometimes seen as more beautiful.

Concerning the effect of the applicant's attractiveness, the present study replicated the results of previous research (Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979) by finding that attractive males were favored over unattractive males. For female applicants, unattractive female applicants were expected to be preferred over attractive female applicants. However, the opposite effect was found, in contradiction to the results of Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) and to a similar effect in the Dipboye et al. (1977) experiment. In the present investigation, attractive female applicants were preferred over the unattractive female applicants. The discrepancy among the findings of these studies is most likely the result of differences in the job description used by the studies. The present study's job description was nearly identical to the description used by the Dipboye et al. (1975) study. This description indicates that the job is a very visible one that requires good interpersonal skills for interacting with

customers and coworkers. In other words, the ideal candidate for this job must possess expressive (feminine) skills. Instrumental (masculine) skill is deemphasized by its omission in the job description. Therefore, attractive females may enjoy an advantage over unattractive females when applying for this type of management position because attractive females are perceived as being more expressive (i.e., as possessing more sex-relevant goodness) compared to unattractive females (Gillen, 1981). And indeed, the Dipboye et al. (1975) study and the present study, both of which used the job description emphasizing expressive skills, did find that attractive males and females were preferred over unattractive applicants.

Conversely, Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) and the re-analyzed effect from the Dipboye et al. (1977) study indicated that unattractive female applicants enjoyed the advantage over the attractive female applicants. However, these studies utilized a different type of managerial job description. Their job description emphasized the need for the successful applicant to possess instrumental skills (e.g., to make decisions quickly and accurately under pressure, to lead and motivate other workers, etc.). It is precisely in this context that we would expect a bias against attractive females compared to unattractive females, since attractive females may be stereotyped as too feminine for such a job. The effect that the job description can have was further demonstrated by Beehr and Gilmore (1982). They discovered that attractive applicants received higher evaluations when applying for managerial jobs requiring much interpersonal interaction than they did when applying for managerial jobs that did not require as much social interaction. At any rate, it is too simplistic to assert that attractive male

applicants and unattractive female applicants are always preferred over their counterparts when applying for managerial positions. Rather, the effects of the applicant's attractiveness appears to be mediated by the type of managerial position (instrumental emphasis versus expressive emphasis) for which the candidates apply.

Concerning the effects of the applicant's attractiveness upon the perceived sex-relevant and sex-irrelevant goodness of the applicants, the results from the analyses of variance indicate that attractive males were higher in perceived masculinity (i.e., sex-relevant goodness) than unattractive males, and attractive females were perceived as higher in femininity (i.e., sex-relevant goodness) compared to unattractive females. However, there was no evidence that attractive and unattractive applicants differed in their perceived social desirability (sex-irrelevant goodness). Hence, in the context of personnel selection, Gillen's (1981) findings are only partially supported by this study. Of course, Gillen's use of the 20-item rather than the 10-item scale represents another respect in which the studies are not comparable.

To briefly summarize our results, we found that androgynous individuals are more resistant (although not immune) to the influence of beautyism than are sex-typed persons. It was suggested that the difference in the ratings given by androgynous and sex-typed persons may be the result of a discrepancy in the way they process the information about the applicants, with sex-typed being sensitive to the sex-relevant "goodness" of the applicants and androgynous individuals being sensitive to both the sex-relevant and the sex-irrelevant "goodness" of the applicants. We also found evidence of subtle sexism in this study, with the well-qualified female applicants and the attractive female applicants

being those more likely to be discriminated against relative to their male counterparts. Androgynous and sex-typed individuals were equally sexist in their ratings, indicating that androgynous individuals may not always be more fair than sex-typed individuals when dealing with prejudices other than "beautyism." Unlike previous studies, we found that attractiveness was, in all cases, beneficial to the managerial applicants. We did not manipulate the type of position, however, and the effect of attractiveness might depend on the type of managerial position (i.e., requisite instrumental and expressive aspects of the job for which the candidates apply). In agreement with other studies, the sex of the rater was found to have a minimal impact on the hiring decisions of the raters, while the qualifications of the applicants had a very large impact upon the hiring decisions. And finally, the qualification level of the applicants was found to significantly affect the perceived personality characteristics of the applicants.

Given the results of this study, what conclusions can be drawn concerning the effect of these processes in the actual employment interview setting? Some might object that the results of this study (and other laboratory analog studies such as this) cannot be justifiably applied to real-life employee selection situations. After all, the subjects in this study did not actually conduct an interview with another individual. Their hiring decisions were based solely upon the resume materials and photographs provided to them. On the other hand, this study did provide the subjects with the same information that job interviewers utilize in forming their first impressions of an applicant. The interviewers' first impressions of an actual interview situation are determined by the applicant's resume and his or her appearance at the

start of the interview. As was noted before, first impressions of the applicant by the interviewer can have a considerable effect upon the outcome of the interview. Interviewers tend to make a quick decision to hire (or not to hire) the applicant and then conduct the interview in such a way so as to confirm their initial judgment about the applicant (Anderson, 1960; Farr, 1973; Hake1 & Dunnette, 1970; Springbett, 1958). Since analog studies such as this provide raters information that professional interviewers use to form first impressions of job applicants, it is likely that the results obtained from these studies do provide us with a reasonable indication of some of the actual processes involved in the employment interview.

In fact, these variables may have a stronger effect in the actual interview setting than they do in the analog experiments. A study by Newman and Kryzstofiah (1979) found that interviewers who did not take the applicant's race into account when making their hiring decisions in an analog study did discriminate on the basis of race when working at their actual jobs (where they believed they were unobserved). This implies that if significant effects are found in an analog study where subjects may be trying to act in a socially desirable manner, then the effects of these variables should be even greater in the actual employee selection context. This is not to say that improvements should not be made to make employment interview studies more realistic. New research techniques, such as videotaping entire interviews for presentation to the subjects, are a positive step toward increasing even further the ecological validity of this type of research.

Finally, it would be beneficial to examine how other personality characteristics of interviewers might affect the fairness of their

evaluations of job applicants. Just as the BSRI might be effective in predicting which interviewers would be most susceptible to beautyism, other personality measures may prove effective in identifying those interviewers who are more likely to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, age, etc. The ultimate goal of such research would be to determine which personality tests would differentiate those interviewers who are most fair from those who are least fair in their hiring decisions. Obviously, much research has to be done before this goal can be achieved. But the utilization of such tests may prove to be one effective way of improving the remarkably low reliability and validity of the job interview in the employee selection process.

Reference Notes

1. Wilson, M., Cash, T. F., & West, S. G. Divergent effects of physical attractiveness on impression formation as a function of the situational context. Paper presented at the meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, Washington, D. C. , April 1978.
2. Waters, J. The relationship between physical appearance, age, and level of skill in women seeking employment. Unpublished manuscript, Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1979.
3. Gillen, B. Physical attractiveness as a determinant of perceived sex-role appropriateness. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, Atlanta, March 1975.
4. Cash, T. F. The interface of sexism and beautyism. Symposium paper presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles, August 28, 1981.
5. Jackson, L. A. The perception of androgyny and physical attractiveness: Two is better than one. Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, 1982.

References

- Adams, G. R. Physical attractiveness research: Toward a developmental social psychology of beauty. Human Development, 1977, 20, 217-239.
- Adams, G. R., & Huston, T. L. Social perception of middle-aged persons varying in physical attractiveness. Developmental Psychology, 1975, 11, 657-658.
- Anderson, C. W. The relationship between speaking times and decisions in the employment interview. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1960, 44, 267-268.
- Anderson, S. M., & Bem, S. L. Sex typing androgyny in dyadic interaction: Individual differences in responsiveness to physical attractiveness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1981, 41, 74-86.
- Anderson, R., & Nida, S. A. Effect of physical attractiveness on opposite and same-sex evaluations. Journal of Personality, 1978, 46, 401-413.
- Arvey, R. D., & Campion, J. E. The employment interview: A summary and review of recent research. Personnel Psychology, 1982, 35, 281-321.
- Beehr, T. A., & Gilmore, D. C. Applicant attractiveness as a perceived job-relevant variable in selection of management trainees. Academy of Management Journal, 1982, 25, 607-617.

- Bem, S. L. Theory and measurement of androgyny: A reply to the Pedhauzer-Tetenbaum and Locksley-Colten critiques. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 1047-1054.
- Bem, S. L. Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. Psychological Review, 1981a, 88, 354-364.
- Bem, S. L. The Bem Sex Role Inventory. Consulting Psychologists, Palo Alto, California, 1981b.
- Benson, P. L., & Vincent, S. Development and validation of Sexist Attitudes Toward Woman Scale (SATWS). Psychology of Women Quarterly, 1980, 5, 276-291.
- Berkowitz, L., & Frodi, A. Reactions to a child's mistakes as affected by her/his looks and speech. Social Psychology Quarterly, 1979, 42, 420-425.
- Bernstein, V., Haka, M. D., & Harlan, A. The college student as an interviewer: A threat to generalizability? Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 266-268.
- Berscheid, E., & Walster, E. Physical attractiveness. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology (Vol. 7). New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- Cash, T. F. Physical attractiveness: An annotated bibliography of theory and research in the behavioral sciences. JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 1981, 11, 83 (Ms. 2370).
- Cash, T. F., Begley, P. J., McCown, D. A., & Weise, B. C. When counselors are heard but not seen: Initial impact of physical attractiveness. Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology, 1975, 22, 273-279.

- Cash, T. F., & Duncan, N. C. Physical attractiveness stereotyping among Black American college students. Journal of Social Psychology, in press.
- Cash, T. F., Gillen, B., & Burns, D. S. Sexism and beautyism in personal consultant decision making. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, 301-310.
- Cash, T. F., & Kehr, J. A. The influence of nonprofessional counselors' physical attractiveness and sex on perceptions of counselor behavior. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1978, 25, 336-342.
- Cash, T. F., Kehr, J. A., Polyson, J., & Freeman, V. The role of physical attractiveness in peer attribution of psychological disturbance. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1977, 45, 987-993.
- Cash, T. F., & Salzbach, R. F. The beauty of counseling: Effects of counselor physical attractiveness and self-disclosures on perceptions of counselor behavior. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1978, 25, 283-291.
- Cash, T. F., & Trimer, C. A. Sexism and beautyism in women's evaluations of peer performance. Sex Roles, in press.
- Cohen, S. L., & Bunker, K. A. Subtle effects of sex role stereotypes on recruiters' hiring decisions. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 566-572.
- Dermer, M., & Thiel, D. When beauty may fail. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 1168-1176.
- Dion, K., Berscheid, E., & walster, E. What is beautiful is good. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 24, 285-290.

- Dipboye, R. L., Arvey, R. D., & Terpstra, D. E. Sex and physical attractiveness of raters and applicants as determinants of resume evaluations. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, 288-294.
- Dipboye, R. L., Fromkin, H. L., & Wiback, K. Relative importance of applicant's sex, attractiveness, and scholastic standing in evaluation of job applicant resumes. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 39-43.
- Farr, J. L. Response requirements and primacy-recency effect in a simulated selection interview. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 57, 228-233.
- Gillen, B. Physical attractiveness: A determinant of two types of goodness. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 1981, 7, 277-281.
- Gillen, B., & Sherman, R. C. Physical attractiveness and sex as determinants of trait attributes. Multivariate Behavioral Research, 1980, 15, 423-437.
- Hakel, M. D., & Dunnette, M. D. Checklists for describing job applicants. In W. F. Cascio, Applied psychology in personnel management. New York: Reston Publishing Company, Inc., 1978.
- Heilman, M. E., & Saruwatari, L. R. When beauty is beastly: The effects of appearance and sex on evaluations of job applicants for managerial and nonmanagerial jobs. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1979, 23, 360-372.
- Jackson, L. A. The influence of sex, physical attractiveness, sex role orientation, and occupational sex-linkage on occupational attainment and advancement. Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, 1980.

- Landy, D., & Sigall, H. Beauty is talent: Task evaluation as a function of the performer's physical attractiveness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1974, 29, 299-304.
- Lucker, G. W., Beane, W. E., & Guire, K. The ideographic approach to physical attractiveness research. Journal of Psychology, 1981, 107, 57-67.
- Lucker, G. W., Beane, W. E., & Helmreich, R. L. The strength of the halo effect in physical attractiveness research. Journal of Psychology, 1981, 107, 69-75.
- Marvelle, K., & Green, S. K. Physical attractiveness and sex bias in hiring decisions for two types of jobs. Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 1980, 44, 3-6.
- Newman, J. M., & Kryzstofiah, F. Self-reports versus unobtrusive measures: Balancing method variable and ethical concerns in employment discrimination. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1979, 64, 82-85.
- Powell, G. N., & Butterfield, D. A. The "good manager": Masculine or androgynous? Academy of Management Journal, 1979, 22, 395-403.
- Riger, S., & Galligan, P. Women in management: An exploration of competing paradigms. American Psychologist, 1980, 35, 902-910.
- Roscoe, R. T. Fundamental research statistics for the behavioral sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc., 1975.
- Rosen, B., & Jerdee, T. H. Perceived sex differences in managerially relevant characteristics. Sex Roles, 1978, 4, 837-843.

- Schein, V. E. The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 57, 95-100.
- Schein, V. E. Relationship between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among female managers. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 340-344.
- Schoedel, J., Frederickson, W. A., & Knight, J. M. An extrapolation of the physical attractiveness and sex variables within the Byrne attraction paradigm. Memory and Cognition, 1975, 3, 527-530.
- Sigall, H., & Ostrove, N. Beautiful but dangerous: Effect of offender attractiveness and nature of the crime on juridic judgment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 410-414.
- Snyder, M., Tanke, E. D., & Berscheid, E. Social perception and interpersonal behavior: On the self-fulfilling nature of social stereotypes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1977, 35, 656-666.
- Springbett, B. M. Factors affecting the final decision in the employment interview. Canadian Journal of Psychology, 1958, 12, 13-22.
- Springbett, B. M. Series effects in the employment interview. In W. F. Cascio, Applied Psychology in Personnel Management. New York: Reston Publishing co., Inc. 1978.
- Steward, J. E. Defendant's attractiveness as a factor in the outcome of criminal trials: An observational study. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1980, 10, 348-361.
- Terborg, J. R. Women in management: A research review. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, 647-664.

Touhey, S. C. Sex-role stereotyping and individual differences in liking for the physical attractive. Social Psychology Quarterly, 1979, 42, 285-289.

APPENDIX
Research Materials

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (short form)

Full Name _____
(please print)

Sex _____ Age _____ School _____

Year in School _____ Occupation _____
(if not a student)

TELEPHONE _____ (If you have no phone, please
give us some way of contacting you, e.g., your address:)

On the following page, you will be shown a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly

Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly," never or almost never true that you are "malicious," always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible," and often true that you are "carefree," then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

Sly	3	Irresponsible	7
Malicious	1	Carefree	5

Defends own beliefs	Has leadership abilities
Affectionate	Eager to soothe hurt feelings
Conscientious	Secretive
Independent	Willing to take risks
Sympathetic	Warm
Moody	Adaptable
Assertive	Dominant
Sensitive to the needs of others	Tender
Reliable	Conceited
Strong personality	Willing to take a stand
Understanding	Loves children
Jealous	Tactful
Forceful	Aggressive
Compassionate	Gentle
Truthful	Conventional

The Instruction Sheet

BE SURE TO READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS
CAREFULLY BEFORE OPENING THE PACKAGE

This package contains the resumes of eight candidates who are applying for a managerial job in a department store. Your task in this experiment is to evaluate each of their resumes and determine which candidate is the best person for the job. A rating scale is attached to each resume to help you classify the applicants according to their suitability for the job. We are also interested in the impression you get of the applicant's personality from reading his or her resume, so we have included an adjective checklist for you to fill out for each applicant.

The following is a brief description of the job that the eight applicants are applying for:

The position to be filled is the head of a furniture department in a large department store in a metropolitan area. Once hired, the applicant will participate in a two month training program. If performance is satisfactory, he or she will assume the position of department head. This position will involve approximately 40% of his or her time interacting with customers and subordinates and the remaining 60% of his or her time dealing with other department heads and sales representatives. The position is a very visible one requiring a high degree of interpersonal skill.

Please be sure that you read each resume carefully, that you assign each applicant a number on the rating scale provided, and that you fill out an adjective checklist for each applicant.

After doing this, we would like you to indicate the applicant you would first choose for the job, which applicant would be your second choice, which would be your third choice, etc. To do this, refer to the list on the next page and put the number 1 (one) by the person you would first offer the job to, then put the number 2 (two) by your second

choice, then put the number 3 (three) next to your third choice, and so on until all of the applicants have been assigned a number (the least preferred candidate should have the number 8 [eight] next to his or her name). After you have completed this task, you will have finished the experiment. Please return the envelope (with all of the forms inside it) to the person who gave it to you. He will then give you a two credit slip for your participation in this experiment. Thank you for your cooperation.

_____ Kathy R. Anderson

_____ Kevin E. Bowers

_____ Barbara K. Cooper

_____ Richard T. Denton

_____ Marcus N. Jones

_____ James S. Kelly

_____ Nancy c. Pelton

_____ Pamela A. Smith

Sample resume

PERSONAL DATA

Name: Kevin E. Bowers	Photo
Address: 842 Adler Rd., Seattle, Washington	placed
Date of birth: April 25, 1960	here
Place of birth: Portland, Oregon	
Height: 5' 8" Weight: 147	

HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION

School and location: Ritter High School, Seattle Washington
 High school standing: 7 in a class of 74 (upper 10%)
 Grade point average (A = 4.0): 3.55

COLLEGE INFORMATION

Major interest: Management Minor interest: Marketing
 Percent of total expenses earned: 85% Approx. work hrs. per week:
 30 College standing: 942 in a class of 2,354 (upper 40%)
 Grade point average (A = 4.0): 3.24
 Activities and hobbies: tennis, racketball, classical music

STANDARDIZED TEST SCORES

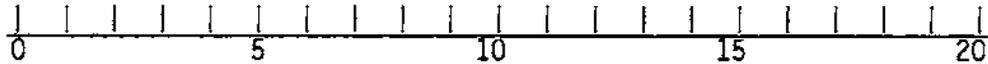
Scholastic Aptitude Test (max. score = 800 on each subtest): Math-670
 Verbal-655
 Graduate Management Aptitude Test (max. score = 800): 580

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

IBM; clerk; 1980 to 1982
 General Services Administration; clerk/typist; 1978 to 1980
 Exxon; gas station attendant; Summer, 1977

Applicant Recommendation Form

Please assign this applicant a number, from one to twenty, indicating his or her suitability and overall potential for success for this job.



- 0 - The applicant is definitely not recommended for the job, he/she has very little potential for success.
- 5 - The applicant is not recommended for the job, his/her potential for success is below average.
- 10 - The applicant is marginally recommended for the job, he/she shows average potential for success.
- 15 - The applicant is recommended for the job, he/she demonstrates above average potential.
- 20 - The applicant is highly recommended for the job, he/she has excellent potential for success.

Recommendation rating _____

Applicant Trait Questionnaire

Using the scale below, indicate the extent to which each of the following personality traits apply to this applicant. Please make sure that you do not leave any traits unmarked, even if you are only guessing.

Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE of this applicant.

Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE of this applicant.

Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE of him or her.

Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE of this applicant.

Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE of this applicant.

Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE of this applicant.

Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE of him or her.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Defends own beliefs | <input type="checkbox"/> Has leadership abilities |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Affectionate | <input type="checkbox"/> Eager to soothe hurt feelings |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conscientious | <input type="checkbox"/> Secretive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Independent | <input type="checkbox"/> Willing to take risks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sympathetic | <input type="checkbox"/> Warm |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moody | <input type="checkbox"/> Adaptable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assertive | <input type="checkbox"/> Dominant |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sensitive to the needs of others | <input type="checkbox"/> Tender |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reliable | <input type="checkbox"/> Conceited |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Strong personality | <input type="checkbox"/> Willing to take a stand |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Understanding | <input type="checkbox"/> Loves children |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jealous | <input type="checkbox"/> Tactful |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Forceful | <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Compassionate | <input type="checkbox"/> Gentle |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Physically attractive | <input type="checkbox"/> Conventional |