AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Corey J. Wedel for the Master of Science Degree
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Title: Reducing the Physical Attractiveness Stereotype in the Employment Interview: A Structured Telephone Interview Approach

Abstract approved:

The employment interview enables the employer and applicant to exchange job-relevant information. Even though the interview remains the primary selection tool in business, biases exist. The current study investigated the reduction of the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews by using a non-visual (i.e., telephone) interview format. Eighty students from a midwest university were presented with videotaped interviews and audio portions of the same videotaped interviews of two sales-manager applicants, one being physically attractive and the other being physically unattractive. Participants were then asked to rate the applicants on five job-relevant characteristics. No support was found for the non-visual interview format reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews.
REDUCING THE PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS STEREOTYPE IN THE EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEW: A STRUCTURED TELEPHONE INTERVIEW APPROACH

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Approved for the Graduate Council
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The employment interview provides the interviewer and the applicant the opportunity to exchange job-relevant information. Most commonly, the interview is used to screen or select potential employees. According to Cascio (1991), the employment interview performs two vital functions by (a) filling information gaps in other selection devices (e.g., incomplete or questionable application blank responses) and (b) evaluating factors (e.g., appearance, speech, poise, and interpersonal competence) that can be measured only via face-to-face interaction.

Even though the interview remains the primary selection tool in business, it has low validity as a selection device (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Hunter & Hunter, 1984) because the interviewer may bias the interview ratings and decisions based on those ratings. However, improving interview structure improves its validity (Campion, Pursell, & Brown, 1988; Harris, 1989; Huffcutt & Arthur, 1994; Wiesner & Cronshaw, 1988). Controlling for human observation and judgment requires methods for decreasing interviewer bias, especially since legal problems may result from unfair employment opportunities. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission testing guidelines for selecting employees considers the interview a test (Arvey, 1979). Although the employer must hire based on applicant qualifications, biases still exist in the employment interview.

One such bias that has affected objective observation is the physical attractiveness stereotype (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972), the belief that physically attractive people are also highly intelligent, highly personable individuals who can better reward associates than unattractive people (Berscheid
& Walster, 1974). Thus, interviewers could be influenced by the physical attractiveness stereotype when making hiring decisions. Since this stereotype is identified visually, a non-visual alternative to face-to-face interviews needs to be developed. The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of physical attractiveness on the employment interview using a structured non-visual (i.e., telephone) interview format. By using a structured telephone interview, the physical attractiveness visual bias should be reduced and possibly eliminated. Therefore, this format should increase the fairness of the employment interview for all applicants, regardless of physical attractiveness.

First, the author will briefly discuss the employment interview, examining the unstructured interview and the structured interview. Second, the physical attractiveness stereotype will be elaborated. Third, the relationship between the employment interview and the physical attractiveness stereotype will be addressed. Fourth, the telephone interview as an alternative to face-to-face interviewing will be introduced. Fifth, the hypotheses of this study will be stated.

Employment Interview

The employment interview enables the employer and applicant to exchange job-relevant information. Job relevant information is interviewee knowledge, skills, abilities, and behaviors that predict subsequent employment success (Wiesner & Cronshaw, 1988). During the interview such information is obtained from the interviewer's questions, observations, judgments, and perceptions.

"Because of its subjective nature, the interview process is vulnerable to the personal biases, prejudices, and stereotypes of interviews, thus making it open to challenge from civil rights litigants" (Arvey, 1979, p. 742). If the information
exchanged between the interviewer and applicant is not job-related, then it cannot be legally used by the interviewer to make hiring decisions. Therefore, the interviewer must remain objective throughout the hiring process and also be provided with the necessary tools for maintaining objectivity.

**Unstructured Employment Interviews**

During the early 1980s, research indicated that the unstructured employment interview as a selection device had a validity of 0.14 (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Hunter & Hunter, 1984). This disturbingly low validity means better than random selection but is well below such predictors as cognitive ability tests (0.53), assessment centers (0.43), biodata (0.37), and reference checks (0.26) (Wright, Lichtenfels, & Pursell, 1989). However, Huffcutt and Arthur (1994) noted that interview validity increased to 0.57 by structuring the interview.

Organizations should be concerned about the employment interview as a selection device because interviews are such a popular method of predicting successful applicants rather than gathering information. Unfortunately, popularity does not make a selection device valid. Business and industry should support research towards alternate methods of selection and, more importantly, improvements in the employment interview.

**Structured Employment Interviews**

While interview content has posed legal concerns, interview structure has also contributed to employment problems. A fair personnel interview must be consistent and structured in the questions and format. Only about 35% of organizations, however, use structured interviews (Cascio, 1991).

The structured interview in contrast to the traditional unstructured interview contains four types of questions: (a) situational where applicants
respond to various situations, (b) job knowledge, (c) job sample/simulation questions that range from mock-ups of job samples to questions using the terminology of the job, and (d) worker requirement questions that ask applicants their willingness to perform certain tasks under certain working conditions (Wright et al., 1989). Using a structured interview format, Wiesner and Cronshaw (1988) found interview validity to be 0.62. In a study by Campion et al. (1988), interview validity increased to 0.56 as a result of a structured format.

Structured interviews reduce interviewer discretion while the interview is being conducted (Huffcutt & Arthur, 1994). "Structure is a major moderator of interview validity and that validity generally increases with increasing structure" (Huffcutt & Arthur, 1994, p. 188). By following a preestablished format, interviewers are able to focus on job-relevant questions that have been asked of each applicant. Thus, interview consistency is maintained. As an alternative to traditional interviewing, structure will mean a better selection device, building support for the validity of the employment interview. Industrial/organizational professionals have identified areas of concern and are willing to research different avenues towards better selection methods.

Physical Attractiveness Stereotype

Stereotype impairs judgment in the decision-making process through the formation of impressions and trait descriptions of particular classes and categories of individuals and subsequent assignment of these traits to a particular individual once his or her membership in that class or category is known (Arvey, 1979). Specifically, the physical attractiveness stereotype identifies those perceived as attractive as being better people than those perceived as unattractive. However, physical attractiveness (i.e., facial features, body shape) does not imply
appearance (i.e., hygiene, grooming, dress), even though the two are associated with one another. For example, while individuals might temporarily alter their appearance by dressing more appropriately for the job or by improving their grooming habits, people should not be expected to increase their physical attractiveness by going on a diet or by having plastic surgery. Therefore, this paper will concentrate on attractiveness as it relates to physical characteristics.

During the early 1970s, a plethora of research focused on physical attractiveness. Miller (1970) examined the relationship between physical attractiveness and first impressions and found unattractive persons were associated with the negative or undesirable characteristics while attractive persons were judged significantly more positive. Thus, he identified physical attractiveness as a potentially strong determinant of first impressions. Dion et al. (1972) obtained support for their hypothesis that attractive stimulus persons are assumed to possess more socially desirable personality traits and lead better lives than unattractive persons. A physical attractiveness stereotype appears to exist.

Physical Attractiveness Stereotype and Employment Interviews

In the context of employment interviews, research does support the physical attractiveness stereotype positively influencing interviewer ratings of applicants. Stereotyping is one of two possible mechanisms that contribute to differential evaluations (Arvey, 1979). "Once an individual's membership in a particular class or category is established, a number of trait characteristics are ascribed to the individual based on the traits associated with the larger class of which he or she is a member" (p. 742). Attaching negative traits to an unattractive applicant could offset any positive information exchanged during the interview. Eliminating the effects of this stereotyping would then be very
difficult. Once the interviewers have seen the applicant, they have formed an opinion or first impression. Unattractive individuals would then be at a strong disadvantage throughout the remaining portions of the selection process. In effect, simply based on their attractiveness, individuals may be denied the opportunity to present more job-relevant attributes.

The physical attractiveness stereotype hinders both unattractive and attractive individuals' employment opportunities. Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) suggested attractiveness consistently proved to be an advantage for men seeking white-collar jobs. However, only when the position was nonmanagerial (i.e., clerical) was attractiveness an advantage for women. "This finding sadly implies that women should strive to appear unattractive and as masculine as possible if they are to succeed in advancing their careers by moving into powerful organizational positions....Surely giving up one's womanhood should not be a prerequisite for organizational success" (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979, p. 371). Cash and Kilcullen (1985), however, reported that attractive relative to unattractive women were still preferred for managerial positions. The authors attribute the differences in the two studies to the managerial job descriptions used. Still, woman or man, one should not be expected to look a certain way (i.e., masculine) in order to obtain employment.

Several studies investigating methods to reduce the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews have focused on interviewer training (Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wiback, 1975) and sex of the interviewer (Dipboye, Arvey, & Terpstra, 1977). Dipboye et al. (1975) hypothesized that professional interviewers having had training in interview situations would be less biased towards physically attractive applicants than would college students with no
interviewer training. The authors found that when comparing college students with professional interviewers, the training and experience of professional interviewers did not diminish their tendency to discriminate on the basis of physical attractiveness. Subjects rated physically attractive applicants as more suitable for the position regardless of interviewer training and experience. Dipboye et al. (1977) also accurately predicted that men and women would both be biased against unattractive candidates, challenging the belief that women might be less biased by an applicant's physical attractiveness.

Cann, Siegfried, and Pearce (1981) altered the presentation of information to interviewers by forcing evaluators to attend to specific items of information before making a summary judgment to hire or not hire. The authors hypothesized that attractiveness would affect summary judgments only when these ratings were not preceded by careful consideration of specific individual items. Forcing the interviewer to first attend to specific items of information seems to have made the rater more consistent and more lenient, but it did not remove the impact of superficial characteristics on the final decision. Cann et al. (1981) concluded that "ingrained societal stereotypes are resistant to manipulation and therefore must be subject to modification" (p. 71).

In a recent study, Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale and Spring (1994) researched body weight, an aspect of physical attractiveness, and assessed whether moderately obese individuals would be discriminated against in a simulated employment interview. Using theatrical prostheses to manipulate apparent body weight, two professional actors were interviewed on videotape. The participants then viewed the videotaped interviews and rated the "applicants." The authors found body weight was an employment bias that existed against the obese.
There are several reasons why Pingitore et al. (1994) is significant to the present study. First, their study demonstrates the difficult and extreme effort researchers must take to manipulate physical characteristics in a controlled setting. Second, their study indicates that, even after 13 years, "ingrained societal stereotypes" are still a basis for employment decisions.

Although identifying and reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews has been a concern in the research literature, no studies focused on a non-visual interview method as a possible remedy for the visual stereotype. Hence, the telephone interview is introduced as a non-visual alternative to the conventional face-to-face interview format.

Telephone Interview

While there is an abundance of research on employment interviews and structured interview alternatives, very little research using a non-visual or telephone interview format has been identified in the literature. Goldman and Lewis (1977) used telephone conversations to assess the level of social skills in attractive and unattractive subjects. However, the authors only used the telephone as a convenient method for conducting their research and did not address the telephone as a possible solution to reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype. Similarly, business and industry utilize telephone interviews when time and/or money do not allow face-to-face encounters.

Research indicates no other studies have focused on the telephone as a possible solution. This seems rather remarkable considering the usefulness and vast expansion of telecommunications. A possible reason for not using telephone interviews is that by conducting a telephone interview, the interviewee's nonverbal behavior is lost. Addressing this issue, Arvey and Campion (1982)
state that the interviewee's nonverbal behavior does influence the interviewer's evaluations. "However, the magnitude of influence [of the interviewee's nonverbal behavior] appears to be generally less than what is communicated verbally by the candidate" (Arvey & Campion, 1982, p. 306). Success in the hiring interview is most strongly dependent on the interviewee's verbal responses with nonverbal behavior playing a much lesser role (Riggio & Throckmorton, 1988). As a result, research is not conclusive on the importance of nonverbal communication in employment interviews. Unfortunately, however, organizations have overwhelmingly adopted the face-to-face interview as the standard interview format, not recognizing the potential for visually biased decisions.

If the same job-relevant information can be exchanged through both nonvisual and face-to-face interviews, then the telephone interview should be considered a legitimate interviewing alternative, especially for ensuring fair and non-discriminatory employment practices. Therefore, this study proposes that by using the telephone interview in combination with a structured interview format, the effects of the physical attractiveness stereotype will be reduced.

Hypotheses

Thus far, employment interviews have been discussed, the structured interview format has been examined, the physical attractiveness stereotype has been identified, and the relationship between the employment interview and the physical attractiveness stereotype has been addressed. The telephone interview as an alternative to face-to-face interviewing has been introduced. The purpose of this study was to demonstrate that a non-visual method of interviewing (i.e., telephone interview) would reduce visual biases (i.e., the physical attractiveness
stereotype) in an employment interview. In effect, this study hypothesized an interaction between physical attractiveness and mode of interview that would test the following predictions.

**Hypothesis 1**

Participants give the attractive applicant interviewed on videotape with audiovisual (AV) stimulus a higher overall rating. Based on the premise that the two AV stimulus interviews are the same, the information gathered from each interview should be the same as well. However, since the level of applicant attractiveness is the only variation between the two video interviews, there would be a difference in the traits ascribed to each applicant, a result of the physical attractiveness stereotype. This hypothesis demonstrated that even though the job-relevant information exchanged by each applicant is the same, the applicant's level of attractiveness would influence the participant's decision making, resulting in the attractive applicant receiving higher ratings.

**Hypothesis 2**

Participants give the unattractive applicant interviewed on videotape with AV stimulus a lower overall rating. Since the unattractive applicant in the AV stimulus interview was seen by the participants, those participants' decisions would then be biased by the physical attractiveness stereotype, and they would associate negative traits with that applicant, resulting in the unattractive applicant receiving lower ratings. As for the unattractive applicant in the auditory (A) stimulus interview, attractiveness would not be a factor in ascribing traits due to the non-visual interview approach. Therefore, the unattractive applicant in the AV stimulus interview would receive lower ratings for the job than the unattractive applicant in the A stimulus interview. As well, the unattractive
applicant in the AV stimulus interview will be rated lower than the attractive applicant in both the AV and A interview mediums.

**Hypothesis 3**

Both the attractive applicant and unattractive applicant interviewed on videotape with only A stimulus would be given similar overall ratings. This hypothesis is based on the premise that the two A stimulus interviews are the same. From this non-visual interview format, the participants would evaluate each applicant based on job-relevant information and not on visual prejudices such as the physical attractiveness stereotype. A non-visual method of interviewing would create an equal environment for hiring by controlling for applicant attractiveness.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Eighty undergraduate (n = 69) and graduate (n = 11) students from Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas volunteered to participate in this study. The participants consisted of forty men and forty women with a mean age of 24.27 years (SD = 6.54). The participants had limited years of business experience (M = 4.74, SD = 3.98) and interviewer experience (M = 1.03, SD = 1.92). The only requirement for participation in this study was that the student must either have taken a college business course during a prior semester or currently be enrolled in a business course. Students participated either individually or in groups.

Instruments

The physical attractiveness rating of each applicant and the similarity of the interview responses were determined during a preliminary study. Graduate students from the Psychology and Special Education division at Emporia State University were presented with the videotaped interviews and asked to provide feedback.

Sales Manager Job Description

To familiarize the participants with the position for hire, a job description of the sales manager position (Dipboye et al., 1977) was given to the participants for their review (see Appendix A). This job description became the criteria on which the participants were to rate the applicants during the completion of the interview perception form.
Interview Perception Form

The interview perception form contained five common traits associated with the sales manager job description and was developed specifically for this study (see Appendix B). The traits were motivating, decisive, competent, problem solver, and communicator. Using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Very Low to 7 = Very High), the participants rated the applicants on each trait based on their perception of the applicant.

Demographics and Manipulation Check Form

This form consisted of demographics and a manipulation check on physical attractiveness of both Applicant D and Applicant P (see Appendix C). A question included on this form asked participants to determine, based on the information the participants had gathered during the two interviews, if Applicant D, Applicant P, or both applicants would be more suited for the position. This question was important because it indicated which applicant the participants would most likely select if they were hiring for the sales manager position.

Videotapes

The six minute videotaped audiovisual (AV) stimulus and only audio (A) stimulus interviews were presented to the participants using a VCR with monitor. One interview was of an attractive applicant, Applicant D, and the other was of an unattractive applicant, Applicant P. Using a structured interview format, all questions and answers were scripted (see Appendix D). Although the applicants did respond with different answers, the degree of variation was minimal. Thus, the difference in the two interviews was the degree of applicant attractiveness. The non-visual interview method using the A stimulus was simulated by using
only the audio of the AV stimulus videotaped interviews. For this to be possible, the video portion of the tape was removed, leaving only the audio track.

**Filler Task**

The filler task, 10 minutes in length, consisted of participants completing the BEM Sex Role Inventory. This task was included to allow for a time interval between completing the first interview perception form and viewing the second interview.

**Procedure**

As the participants reported at their scheduled time, they were seated, given a folder and a participation consent form (see Appendix E), and asked to complete the participation consent form. Participants completed the participation consent form and returned it to the researcher. The researcher then explained to the participants that the purpose of the study was to assist in validating the interview perception form. Participants were told that the interview perception form may become a standardized interview rating form for sales manager positions. The researcher then explained that two videotaped interviews would be presented and following each interview the participants would rate the applicant. The participants were also told that the folders they had been given were for their completed forms. After a form was completed, it was placed into the folder and was not to be removed. In order for the participants to understand why some videotaped interviews had only audio, the researcher explained to the participants that due to a technical error, video was not available for all applicants and that the audio of the interview had been saved and would be used.

At this point, the different treatment conditions were administered to the participants. Twenty participants were presented with an AV stimulus interview
of Applicant D and an AV stimulus interview of Applicant P. Twenty participants were presented with a stimulus interview of Applicant D and an A stimulus interview of Applicant P. Since there was no visual component of the A stimulus interviews, these subjects were unable to distinguish between Applicant D and Applicant P. This was done to simulate a non-visual interview (i.e., the telephone interview) method. Twenty participants received a combination of an AV stimulus interview of Applicant D and an A stimulus interview of Applicant P. Other participants (n = 20) were presented with an A stimulus interview of Applicant D and an AV stimulus interview of Applicant P. The treatment conditions were counterbalanced.

After the first interview was presented, participants were given time to complete the interview perception form for the applicant. The first interview perception form was placed into the folder when completed, and the participants were given a ten minute filler task and the BEM Sex Role Inventory. The second interview was then presented followed by the completion of the interview perception form for the applicant. Participants were then asked to complete a final form consisting of demographic and manipulation check questions. In concluding the procedure, the participants were informed of three debriefing sessions scheduled to occur after all the data had been collected. The debriefing consisted of explaining the original purpose of the study and providing an opportunity for participants to ask questions (see Appendix F). After the participants had rated both applicants, a physical attractiveness check was conducted by having each participant rate the physical attractiveness of Applicant D (attractive) and Applicant P (unattractive) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Very Unattractive to 7 = Very Attractive).
CHAPTER III
RESULTS
Statistical Design

This study manipulated one between-participants independent variable, mode of interview, and two within-participants independent variables, physical attractiveness and order of presentation. The 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design based on a mixed model consisted of a mode of the interview variable with two levels, audiovisual (AV) stimulus interview or audio (A) stimulus interview, a physical attractiveness variable with two levels, attractive and unattractive, and an order of presentation variable with two levels, first and second. Order of presentation was not included in the hypotheses but was part of supplementary analyses. The dependent variable was the applicant's overall score from the five traits on the interview perception form, which were derived from the participant's perception rating. Demographic information was collected for use in describing the sample.

Manipulation Check

The effectiveness of the physical attractiveness manipulation was analyzed using a t-test. Manipulation of physical attractiveness resulted in a significant difference between the level of physical attractiveness of the two applicants, \( t(78) = 11.35, p < .0 \). Applicant D was rated higher (\( M = 5.35, SD = 1.14 \)) than Applicant P (\( M = 3.79, SD = .96 \)), thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the physical attractiveness manipulation.

Hypotheses

A two-way analysis of variance using mode of interview and physical attractiveness was performed to test Hypotheses 1 and 2. The two-way interaction was not significant, \( F(1, 152) = .555 \). Hypothesis 3 predicted no
difference between audio interviews and support was found. Further explanations of each hypothesis are discussed below. The means and standard deviations for the two-way interaction are presented in Table 1.

**Hypothesis 1**

Participants would give the attractive applicant interviewed on videotape with audiovisual AV stimulus a higher overall rating. Thus, participants would give the overall higher rating to the Applicant D AV stimulus interview. However, this was not found. The Applicant D AV stimulus interview ($M = 26.98, SD = 4.34$) did receive higher overall ratings than either the AV or A stimulus interviews of Applicant P ($M = 25.35, SD = 5.09$, and $M = 25.23, SD = 4.80$, respectively). Yet participants gave the highest overall rating to Applicant D's A stimulus interview ($M = 27.93, SD = 4.96$). Therefore, this hypothesis was not supported. The AV stimulus interview did not affect higher overall ratings for Applicant D.

**Hypothesis 2**

Participants were predicted to give the unattractive applicant interviewed on videotape with audiovisual (AV) stimulus a lower overall rating. Based on this hypothesis, Applicant P's AV stimulus interview would receive a lower overall rating than either the Applicant P's A stimulus interview or both Applicant D's AV and A stimulus interviews. Surprisingly, this was not found. As expected, Applicant P's AV stimulus interview ($M = 25.35, SD = 5.09$) was rated lower than the AV and A stimulus interviews of Applicant D ($M = 26.98, SD = 4.34$, and $M = 27.93, SD = 4.96$, respectively). However, even though they were not significantly different, participants rated Applicant P's A stimulus interview ($M = 25.23, SD = 4.80$) lower than Applicant P's AV stimulus interview. As a result,
<table>
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Notes: Maximum score = 35.

Within each cell, the upper number refers to the mean, while the lower number refers to standard deviation.
this hypothesis was not supported. The AV stimulus interview did not lower overall ratings for Applicant P.

**Hypothesis 3**

Both the attractive applicant and unattractive applicant interviewed on videotape with only audio (A) stimulus were predicted to receive a similar overall rating. Therefore, there would be no significant difference between Applicant D's A stimulus interview (M = 27.93, SD = 4.96) and Applicant P's A stimulus interview (M = 25.23, SD = 4.80). As predicted, the two A stimulus interviews were not significantly different, thus, they were given similar overall ratings. This hypothesis was supported.

**Supplementary Analyses**

**The Order of Presentation and Physical Attractiveness Interaction**

A third component, order of presentation, was investigated along with physical attractiveness and mode of interview. Using analysis of variance, this three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1, 152) = .367$. However, the two-way interaction of order of presentation and physical attractiveness was significant, $F(1, 152) = 12.12, p < .001$. When Applicant P was presented first (M = 25.98, SD = 5.02), Applicant D received a significantly higher overall rating (M = 29.27, SD = 3.75). When presented first, Applicant D (M = 25.62, SD = 4.80) was rated similar to both Applicant P's AV and A stimulus interviews (M = 25.98, SD = 5.02 and M = 24.60, SD = 4.77, respectively). The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2, and the two-way interaction is graphically depicted in Figure 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical attractiveness</th>
<th>Order of presentation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive (Applicant D)</td>
<td>25.62</td>
<td>29.27</td>
<td>27.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unattractive (Applicant P)</td>
<td>25.98</td>
<td>24.60</td>
<td>25.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.02</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25.80</td>
<td>26.94</td>
<td>26.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Maximum score = 35.

Within each cell, the upper number refers to the mean, while the lower number refers to standard deviation.
Figure 1. The interaction of order of presentation and physical attractiveness
The Order of Presentation and Mode of Interview Interaction

The two-way interaction of order of presentation and mode of interview was also significant, $F(1, 152) = 5.96, p < .02$. Hence, applicants presented second in the A stimulus interview ($M = 28.02, SD = 5.29$) were given significantly higher overall ratings. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3 and the two-way interaction is graphically depicted in Figure 2.

Applicant Suitability

From the data concerning which, if either, applicant was more suited for the sales manager position, participants chose Applicant D ($n = 43$) over Applicant P ($n = 18$). Nineteen participants indicated that both applicants were equally suited for the position. In a further investigation using applicant suitability by mode of interview, a chi-square test identified a significant difference between the number of times Applicant D was chosen more suited than either Applicant P or the option of both applicants, $\chi^2 (2, N = 160) = 8.08, p < .05$. As a result, participants perceived Applicant D to be more suited for the sales manager position. Chi-square data is presented in Table 4.

The Physical Attractiveness Main Effect

Using analysis of variance, the physical attractiveness main effect was identified as significant, $F (1, 152) = 8.98, p < .01$. Applicant D was given higher overall ratings ($M = 27.45, SD = 4.66$) than Applicant P ($M = 25.29, SD = 4.91$). Overall, this finding is consistent with the physical attractiveness stereotype. Attractive individuals are perceived more positively than unattractive individuals and thus, receive more favorable ratings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of interview</th>
<th>Order of presentation</th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiovisual (AV)</td>
<td>26.48</td>
<td>25.85</td>
<td>26.17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.37</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>26.94</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Maximum score = 35.

Within each cell, the upper number refers to the mean, while the lower number refers to standard deviation.
Figure 2. The interaction of order of presentation and mode of interview
Table 4
Chi-square Data for Applicant Most Suited for Sales Manager Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applicant suitability</th>
<th>Mode of interview</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Audiovisual (AV)</td>
<td>Audio (A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicant D</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicant P</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Applicants</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N = 160
CHAPTER IV
DISCUSSION

Before the present study could investigate the effect of reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype during employment interviews, a difference in physical attractiveness had to exist between applicants. The manipulation check of the present study indicated that the physical attractiveness manipulation was successful. Therefore, Applicant D was rated significantly more attractive than Applicant P. Thus, a foundation was built for evaluating whether the physical attractiveness stereotype could be reduced using a two-way interaction of mode of interview and physical attractiveness.

Hypothesis 3, which predicted no significant difference between Applicants D's and P's audio only (A) stimulus interviews' overall ratings, was supported. By using a non-visual interview method, there was no opportunity for the physical attractiveness stereotype to affect the participants' decisions. Therefore, participants based their ratings on the interview information they heard rather than on the interview information they saw. These findings are encouraging; however, analyses of the two-way interaction of mode of interview and physical attractiveness did not support Hypotheses 1 and 2, creating uncertainty as to the usefulness of the mode of interview.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that participants would give a higher overall rating to Applicant D's audiovisual (AV) stimulus interview. In accordance with the physical attractiveness stereotype, Applicant D's AV stimulus interview would receive higher overall ratings because participants would see the attractiveness of Applicant D and associate higher ratings to his five job-relevant traits. Even though the non-visual interview format of the attractive applicant was not
significantly greater than the three other treatment conditions, participants gave a higher overall rating to the Applicant D's A stimulus interview.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants would give the lower overall rating to Applicant P's AV stimulus interview. Since a visual interview approach would assist an attractive applicant (i.e., Hypothesis 1), a visual approach would therefore hinder an unattractive applicant. However, the lower overall rating was given to Applicant P's A stimulus interview. The non-visual interview approach, which was supposed to benefit the unattractive applicant, actually induced a lower overall rating than the three other treatment conditions. Hypotheses 1 and 2 based on the mode of interview and physical attractiveness two-way interaction indicate that the physical attractiveness stereotype did not affect the participants' overall ratings of the two applicants. Mode of interview, specifically using a non-visual interview approach, was unsuccessful in reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype.

Additional findings in the present study from the applicant suitability results indicate the physical attractiveness stereotype was very much evident in determining the most suited applicant for the sales manager position. Although, the A stimulus interview did increase the suitability of Applicant P, Applicant D was still overwhelmingly chosen over Applicant P as most suited for the position. Likewise, Applicant D was rated significantly more attractive than Applicant P and received significantly higher overall ratings than Applicant P. These findings are important because they demonstrate the impact of stereotypical behavior amidst the interview process.
Theoretical Implications

The present study looked at reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype by using a non-visual interview method. Consistent with past theoretical research on the physical attractiveness stereotype (Miller, 1970; Dion et al., 1972) and its impact on employment interviews (Arvey, 1979), the present study identified that physical attractiveness can influence the decision-making process of individuals rating two equally-qualified applicants. Even though there is strong support for the stereotype impairing an interview's validity, using a non-visual interview method did not reduce the influence of the physical attractiveness stereotype. No theoretical explanation exists for the attractive applicant receiving higher ratings on the audio interviews and the unattractive applicant receiving lower ratings on the audio interviews. However, the vocal attractiveness of the two applicants may have influenced participant ratings. Yet, the author concludes that mode of interview is not a solution, or even a factor, to the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews.

The present study also examined the order of presentation variable and its relationship to physical attractiveness and mode of interview. The findings indicate the order of interview and physical attractiveness two-way interaction was significant. Applicant D, when presented second, received a significantly higher overall rating than when presented first.

In support of Rowe (1967), the present study identified contrast effects whereby acceptance or rejection of an applicant for a job depended less on his or her own qualifications than on the qualifications of previously interviewed applicants. Maurer, Palmer, and Ashe (1993) state "when this effect occurs, ratings of target behavior are contrasted away from the level of behavior
observed in the same or preceding context" (p. 226). In the present study, order of presentation had a significant influence on the participants' ratings of the applicants. Due to the physical attractiveness stereotype, participants perceived the unattractive applicant as less favorable. Therefore, when participants were presented the attractive applicant second, they rated him higher resulting in a positive contrast effect. Thus, the participants used their biases about the unattractive applicant as a standard by which to base applicant ratings.

Research Implications

Since a non-visual interview method obtained no significant support for reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype, future replications should include the following recommendations. First, the same person should be used to portray both applicants. This would provide greater control for applicant communication style and vocal intonation. The present study unsuccessfully attempted to create two applicants from one person. Second, future replications should increase the interview time. Six minute interviews were used to insure participant interest but increasing the interviews to 20 minutes would be more realistic. A third recommendation is to have participants use telephones during the interviewing process rather than listen to videotaped interviews. The present study assumed that individuals gather information the same way whether they are listening to a videotaped interview or interviewing over the telephone. However, this premise may be false.

An additional consideration includes the generalizability of the present study to applied interview situations. One obvious concern about most interview research is the "laboratory setting" used to gather data. The present study is no exception. A future suggestion, although questionably deceptive, is to create a
scenario in which participants believe they are members of a search committee involved in the selection process.

Practical Implications

The unsettling conclusions about the present study are an observed physical attractiveness stereotype and an unsubstantiated non-visual remedy. Importantly, the notion of the physical attractiveness stereotype influencing interviewer perceptions and creating contrast effects has serious employment consequences and needs to be addressed. The physical attractiveness stereotype observed in future managers, administrators, and executives is disappointing. However, the unsupported hypotheses and stereotypical behavior should not overshadow the practical implications of the present study.

The present study has strength through its use of a structured interview format and utilization of an effective physical attractiveness manipulation. As a result, evidence that using a non-visual interview method increased the unattractive applicant's suitability for employment is encouraging. Yet, a solution to the physical attractiveness stereotype is far from reality. Research needs to continue efforts at eliminating stereotypes, biases, and prejudices in the selection process. Hence, the belief that reducing the physical attractiveness stereotype through a non-visual interview method should not be abandoned but rather reexamined.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Job Description: Sales Manager

The requirements of this managerial position include:

- The ability to motivate sales personnel
- The ability to make prompt and explicit decisions
- Clarity of thought in stressful situations
- The ability to foresee management problems and initiate plans and actions promptly to ward off these problems
- The ability to communicate effectively with and ensure cooperation with other parts of the company and the public
APPENDIX B

Interview Perception Form  APPLICANT: ____

INSTRUCTIONS: Below are five traits. Each trait matches the requirements listed in the job description and is necessary for the sales manager position to be performed successfully. After the interview has been presented to you, evaluate the applicant on these five traits. Following each trait, there are seven alternatives for you to choose from. Please indicate the level of your perception by writing one of the seven alternatives in the blank next to the trait.

____ Motivating: A person with the sense of need, desire, energy, etc., to prompt another individual to act.

(7) Very High--(Instills in employees the need, desire, energy, to succeed)
(6) Moderately high
(5) Slightly high
(4) Neither high or low
(3) Slightly low
(2) Moderately low
(1) Very low--(Punishes employees for exhibiting initiative)

____ Decisive: The ability to make up one's mind.

(7) Very High--(Makes business decisions promptly and with confidence)
(6) Moderately high
(5) Slightly high
(4) Neither high or low
(3) Slightly low
(2) Moderately low
(1) Very low--(Refuses to make important decisions for fear of failure)

____ Competent: Having the necessary understanding and/or skill for a specific job.

(7) Very High--(Understands his/her personnel, customers, and department)
(6) Moderately high
(5) Slightly high
(4) Neither high or low
(3) Slightly low
(2) Moderately low
(1) Very low--(Lacks any knowledge of sales or management issues)
**Problem solver:** Someone who can react to a situation by evaluating the problem and then formulate a solution.

(7) Very High--(Identifies and solves problems quickly and thoughtfully)
(6) Moderately high
(5) Slightly high
(4) Neither high or low
(3) Slightly low
(2) Moderately low
(1) Very low--(Unable to notice problems until they become serious)

**Communicator:** An individual with the capacity to inform others of his/her ideas and promote discussion and ideas in return.

(7) Very High--(Open to all ideas, concerns, and communication channels)
(6) Moderately high
(5) Slightly high
(4) Neither high or low
(3) Slightly low
(2) Moderately low
(1) Very low--(Prefers no involvement with employees, and public)
APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS: Please write or circle the response that best describes you.

1. How many years of business experience do you have? _____ years

2. What is your classification?
   (1) Undergraduate       (2) Graduate

3. What is your business emphasis?
   (1) Accounting           (2) Marketing          (3) CIS
   (4) Management           (5) Economics          (6) Finance
   (7) General Business     (8) Other __________

4. Which applicant from the interviews is more suited for the position?
   (1) Applicant D         (2) Applicant P       (3) Both are equally suited

5. How many years of experience do you have as an interviewer?
   _____ years

For questions 6 and 7, indicate each applicant's level of physical attractiveness by using the seven-point scale listed on the right.

6. _____ Applicant D       (7) Very attractive
   (6) Moderately attractive
   (5) Slightly attractive
   (4) Neither unattractive or attractive

7. _____ Applicant P       (3) Slightly unattractive
   (2) Moderately unattractive
   (1) Very unattractive

8. Have you ever seen either applicant before?    (1) Yes    (2) No

9. What is your age? _____ years

10. What is your gender?  (1) Female     (2) Male

11. What is your race?
    (1) African-American     (2) Asian-American
    (3) Caucasian            (4) Hispanic-American
    (5) Native-American      (6) Other __________
APPENDIX D

Interview Script

Interviewer:
Hello I am the personnel director here at Quality Products. How are you doing today?

Attractive:
Very good, and you?
I'm doing fine, thank you.

Unattractive:
Great, how about yourself?
I'm doing very good, thank you.

Interviewer:
I am not sure how familiar you are with Quality products but we are the second largest paper supply company in the United States. Our sales cover all 50 states and we expanded into Canada and Mexico several years ago. At the end of the interview, I will be more than happy to answer any questions you might have. The purpose of this interview today is to exchange information. The more I know about you, the easier it will be for me to assess your abilities for a possible position. Is it true that you are interested in one of our sales manager positions.

Attractive:
Yes, I am very interested.

Unattractive:
Correct, I am interested in a sales position.

Interviewer:
Throughout the interview, I will be asking you questions about your educational background, work background, and your career plans. I will also be taking notes so don't let that be a distraction for you. Let's begin with your educational background. Tell me about some of the courses or training you have taken that you believe will help you as a sales manager?

Attractive:
While receiving my business degree, I made a point to become active and attended seminars on how to be an effective leader and sales professional. I particularly enjoyed the courses which focused on specific management styles. I feel it is important to understand different styles of management so a person can decide which style is best for them, as well as, be able to deal with different management styles they may encounter.
Unattractive:
My degree in business allowed me to get involved in classes on effective communication and management skills. I believe these courses made me a well-rounded business professional because they made me focus on my management philosophy, and how it effects other personnel. My classes also taught me about the advantages and disadvantages of different management philosophies. I really enjoyed these courses and feel they have made me a better manager.

Interviewer:
What one thing do you feel you have learned the most about through your educational experiences that would relate to a sales manager position?

Attractive:
That business is constantly changing and developing new approaches to success.

Unattractive:
The importance of being flexible and open minded to new and different business methods.

Interviewer:
On your resume, you listed some activities that you have been involved in. Tell me what you have learned from those activities that will help you in sales?

Attractive:
Most importantly, I developed effective time management skills. Since I worked in groups, it was exciting to see what team work can accomplish.

Unattractive:
Being involved in activities enhanced my organizational skills through working with other people. I also learned how to manage my studies, activities, and personal time.

Interviewer:
Overall, how can your education benefit Quality Products?

Attractive:
I know my education will benefit Quality Products because of the well-rounded experiences my education has provided me. I know my skills will compliment Quality Products.
Unattractive:
My education provided me with many diverse skills which will be an asset to Quality Products, especially since business has become so diverse. I am confident I can fill the sales position at Quality Products.

Interviewer:
OK. I have asked you all of the questions I have concerning your educational background. Are there any other points of interest you would like to discuss concerning your education?

Attractive:
No.

Unattractive:
Not at this time.

Then let's move on to your work experience. Please highlight some of your previous work experience.

Attractive:
First and foremost, I consistently met my sales requirements. This even includes the larger accounts I controlled. As well, I maintained an excellent relationship with my clients. I believed in my abilities as a salesperson, and I felt it was important to provide the customer with quality service.

Unattractive:
During my prior work experience, I managed several large accounts, for which I met my sales requirements. My past work experience really enabled me to focus on customer service. My previous work in sales also taught me the importance of marketing myself as a confident salesperson.

Interviewer:
What steps would you take to motivate other employees in the sales department?

Attractive:
Most importantly, be a good role model. I would possibly establish incentive programs for those employees who maintain satisfactory performance.

Unattractive:
One step would be to implement an award system for top sales performers. As well, it would be necessary for the employees to see me motivated.

Interviewer:
If you noticed Quality Products was losing sales on a certain product to the competitor, what steps would you follow in resolving the problem?
Attractive:
The first step would be to look at issues such as customer service or possibly a bad product. I would then examine the information before resolving the problem.

Unattractive:
I would first look at the source of the problem. It might be the sales personnel or even the product. Correcting the problem would take careful evaluation and analysis before making a decision.

Interviewer:
From a sales manager perspective, how do you view the customer?

Attractive:
Customers are the experts when it comes to products. It is vital that sales personnel understand the customer's needs and desires. Therefore, it is important to provide the customer with the services and qualities they ask for.

Unattractive:
Customers are the lifeblood to success in sales. Their opinions must be valued and taken seriously by sales managers and all other support staff. A sales manager is effective if they can think like the customer, knowing what they want.

Interviewer:
Are there any final comments about your work experience before we move on to your career plans?

Attractive:
Not at this point.

Unattractive:
I don't believe so.

Interviewer:
Let's talk about your career plans. First tell me about your short range career plans.

Attractive:
I want to become a district sales manager after one year of experience at Quality Products, and then work towards the next sales level.

Unattractive:
My short term goal is to become familiar with Quality Products and through hard work move into an upper level sales position after several years of experience.
Interviewer:
What steps have you taken or do you plan to take in effort to achieve those goals?

Attractive:
A position with Quality products would definitely be a first step towards achieving my goal. I feel it is important for a person to understand their limitations, but be able to exceed them when necessary.

Unattractive:
I would first want to determine what the requirements are to achieve that goal. It would then be important to evaluate my strengths and weaknesses in that area and then aggressively move forward towards achieving that goal.

Interviewer:
What are your long range career plans?

Attractive:
To become a sales executive for Quality Products within five years.

Unattractive:
To be vice president of sales for Quality Products through hard work and determination.

Interviewer:
As well, what steps have you taken or do you plan to take in effort to achieve those goals?

Attractive:
My professional career is very important to me and I feel it is important to write down goals and objectives and to establish dates of when to complete those tasks.

Unattractive:
Long range goals are important so I often chart my goals I have set forth along with what the requirements are, as well as, the time frame of when I want to accomplish those goals.

Interviewer:
Well, those are all the questions I had. Is there anything else you would like to add about either your education, experience, or career objectives. In addition, if you have any questions please feel free to ask me.

Attractive:
I have one question. Does Quality Products assist employees with training seminars or any courses that may help them further their experience?
Yes, Quality Products does make those opportunities available to its employees.

Unattractive:
Yes, I was wondering if I wanted to continue my education while at Quality Products, would the company support my endeavors? Quality Products does encourage its employees to continue their education and money is available to do so.

Interviewer:
Any other questions? If not, thank you for visiting with me today. I enjoyed our conversation and I sincerely appreciate your interest in Quality Products. I anticipate all other interviews will be completed by the end of the week, so you should hear back from us by the middle of next week. Thanks again.
APPENDIX E
Participation Consent Form

Read this consent form. If you have any questions ask the experimenter and he/she will answer the question.

You are invited to participate in a study investigating interviewer perceptions. Interviewing is an important part in the hiring process, and your participation will assist in validating the interview perception form. Ultimately, the perception form may become a standardized interview rating form for sales manager positions.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Should you wish to terminate your participation, you are welcome to do so at any point in the study. There is no risk or discomfort involved in completing the study.

If you have any questions or comments about the study, feel free to ask the experimenter.

Thank you for your participation.

I, ____________________________, have read the above information and have decided to participate. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without prejudice after signing this form should I choose to discontinue participation in this study.

__________________________   __________________________
(signature of Participant)       (date)

__________________________
(signature of Experimenter)

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS
APPENDIX F
DEBRIEFING

In the study on interview perceptions you were presented with two interviews and then asked to rate each applicant using the interview perception form. You were told that your participation in this study would assist in validating the interview perception form. It is true that this study was concerned with interview perceptions, however, the study was not trying to validate the interview perception form. The purpose of this study was to investigate the physical attractiveness stereotype in employment interviews and attempt to reduce the stereotype by using a non-visual method (i.e. telephone).

The physical attractiveness stereotype is the belief that those people who are perceived as physically attractive are also perceived as better employees. The stereotype has been identified in the research literature as being a bias that does influence an interviewer’s decisions towards applicants.

In the study, some of you were presented with two videotaped interviews, some of you were presented with two audiotaped interviews, and others were presented with a combination. For those participants who were presented with only the audio portion of some interviews, this was intentional and an important aspect of the study. In order for this study to be successful some deception was involved and for that I apologize. However, it was necessary for this particular topic. Again, thank you for your participation!

Are there any questions?
I, Corey J. Wedel, hereby submit this thesis to Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree. I agree that the Library of the University may make it available for use in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying, or other reproduction of this document is allowed for private study, scholarship (including teaching) and research purposes of a nonprofit nature. No copying which involves potential financial gain will be allowed without written permission of the author.

Signature of Author

December 4, 1995

Date

Reducing the Physical Attractiveness Stereotype in the Employment Interview: A Structured Telephone Interview

Approach

Signature of Graduate Office

12-4-95

Date Received