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The Influence of Physical Attractiveness in Pre-Employment Selection Decisions

Dan LoSardo

Haverford College

Abstract

Empirical research has demonstrated a robust bias in favor of physically attractive individuals such that attractive individuals are often assumed to possess positive personality traits, and superior abilities (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991: Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). This is sometimes identified as the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype (Dion et al., 1972), or as a physical attractiveness (PA) *halo effect,* and has been demonstrated in numerous contexts such as teachers' judgments of students, jury judgments in simulated trials, and voter preferences for political candidates (Shahani-Denning, 2003). Additionally, in the area of pre-employment decision-making, PA has been shown to influence judgments of job candidates across areas such as ratings of perceived job qualification, recommended starting salary, and likelihood of being hired (Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Stevenage & Mckay, 1999). This paper aims to explore the mechanisms behind the PA stereotype in general, and within the context of pre-employment decision-making. To conclude, a model will be presented outlining the role, and significance of PA within pre-employment selection processes, and the fairness of using candidate PA as a job-relevant variable will be assessed.

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Introduction

Within a typical social interaction, physical characteristics of an individual, like race, gender, and ethnicity, are the most obvious and accessible characteristics to interaction participants (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Similarly, an individual's degree of physical attractiveness (PA) is an obvious and accessible personal characteristic. Watkins and Johnston (2000) claim, the "fundamental principle of person perception is that people form first impressions of others on the basis of their immediately apparent physical features, such as physical attractiveness" (pg. 76). It is perhaps for this reason that attractive individuals are perceived to be happier, more successful, and possess more socially desirable personality characteristics than the physically unattractive (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Timmerman and Hewitt, 1980). Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) identified this occurrence as the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype whereby attractive individuals are assumed to possess a wide variety of positive traits, regardless of trait relevance to PA. Other experimental works have demonstrated a similar PA *halo effect,* by which attractive individuals are perceived as more sociable, socially skilled, mentally healthy, and intelligent than unattractive individuals (Feingold, 1992; Lucker, Beane, & Helmreich, 1981; Morrow, 1990; Timmerman & Hewitt, 1980). This bias is seen cross-culturally (Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning, Dudhat, Tevet, & Andreoli, 2010), among children and adults (Dion & Berscheid, 1974; Shahani-Denning, 2003), and across various contexts such as teacher judgments and expectations of students (Clifford & Walster, 1973; Shahani-Denning, 2003), voter preferences for political candidates (Shahani-Denning, 2003; Surawski & Ossoff, 2006; Verhulst, Lodge,

& Lavine, 2010), and jury judgments and sentencing during simulated legal trials
(Shahani-Denning, 2003; Staley, 2007).

Additionally, PA research suggests a multidimensional existence of the PA bias,
extending beyond immediate impression formation and social perception (Eagly et al.,
1991; Feingold, 1992). In addition to biased perception of attractive individuals, evidence
suggests differences in treatment of, and behavior towards, attractive and unattractive
individuals, as well as actual differences in personal characteristics between the attractive
and unattractive (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein,
Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000). For example, physically attractive individuals often
receive more favorable reactions from peers during social interactions (Eagly et al.,
1991), and are often beneficiaries of preferential treatment (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold
et al., 1992; Griffin, & Langlois, 2006; Langlois et al., 2000).

The PA stereotype has also been demonstrated within occupational and
employment contexts, specifically in processes of pre-employment candidate evaluation
and selection, and in post-employment performance appraisal contexts. A considerable
amount of evidence suggests that attractive individuals fare better in ratings of perceived
job qualification, likelihood of being hired, predicted job success, and recommended
starting salary (Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, 2003;
Kutcher, & Bragger, 2004; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011).
However, a wide array of factors such as applicant sex, and job type influence the
strength and direction of the PA bias in employment contexts. One example is seen in the
"Beauty is Beastly" effect, which suggests that when a position being applied for is
traditionally filled by males, the reverse of the typical "What is Beautiful is Good" bias is

found for attractive female applicants: attractive females are evaluated more negatively than unattractive females and males (Hosoda et al., 2003; Kramer, 2007; Marlowe, Schneider, & Nelson, 1996). Research has also shown that PA may only be significant in personnel decisions when comparing amongst employees or candidates possessing similar levels of skill or qualification (Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wiback, 1975; Dipboye, Arvey, & Terpstra, 1977; Hosoda et al., 2003).

Numerous theoretical mechanisms have been put forth to explain and predict the impact of PA on the judgment and treatment of targets by perceivers, and on the behaviors and traits of target persons. Social theories like the implicit personality theory (Hosoda et al., 2003), status generalization theory (Jackson, Hunter, & Hodge, 1995), and social expectancy theories (Langlois et al., 2000) predict that external characteristics, such as PA, generate expectations about target persons, resulting in differing judgment and perception of target persons based on generated expectations (Jackson, Hunter, & Hodge, 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). In this manner, an individual's degree of PA creates performance or trait expectancies, regardless of PA relevance to either (Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). Theoretical explanations such as the good-genes theory contend that PA influences person perception because physically attractive people actually possess different characteristics than physically unattractive people (Langlois et al., 2000; Rhodes, 2006; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). Research also suggests that physically attractive and unattractive individuals may become different as a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy effect through which individuals come to internalize the PA stereotypes attributed to them (Darley, & Fazio, 1980; Eagly et al., 1991; Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977;

Thornhill, & Gangestad, 1999; Zebrowitz, Hall, Murphy, & Rhodes, 2002). Various

models exist detailing the location and importance of PA as a variable in pre-employment

processes. Models such as Umberson and Hughes's (2013) status characteristics model,

and Raza and Carpenter's (1987) proposed model of applicant hirability explain the

mechanism by which the PA operates in personnel selection, and job-related outcomes.

Direction of this paper

The overall purpose of the current work is to understand the influence and

significance of PA as a selection variable in pre-employment personnel selection.

Specifically: What is the magnitude of the PA bias in pre-employment selection

decisions? How relevant is PA as a job related variable compared to other factors such as

prior work experience, level of qualification compared to other applicants, and type of

job being applied for? Can PA ever be a fair and accurate variable to assess when

evaluating a candidate for hire?

Indeed PA is a factor in post-employment performance evaluations, and decisions

to promote or raise the salaries of current employees (Judge & Cable, 2004; Larkin &

Pines, 1979; Kutcher, & Bragger, 2004; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011). However, the

current work will focus on PA in pre-employment selection processes, as an individuals'

degree of PA is much more salient at times of initial impression formation (Hosoda et al.,

2003; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al,. 2000; Morrow, 1990; Webster & Driskell,

1983). A broad review defining PA will be presented first, followed by an examination of

the PA stereotype across a broad range of contexts including the PA stereotype in pre-

employment selection processes. Next, the theoretical underpinnings of the PA stereotype

during impression formation will be explored. This theoretical review will assess the

operational mechanisms behind the bias in favor of physically attractive individuals, and will explore if the positive characteristics attributed to the physically beautiful are accurate to any degree. If PA is indeed an accurate indicator of skill, intelligence, and future job success, then selecting applicants based on PA may not be biased, but a fair practice. The magnitude of the PA as a variable in pre-employment decisions can differ depending on applicant and employer demographic variables, and other job specific variables (Morrow, 1990). This review will consider the function of PA as a fair and accurate job relevant characteristic, and explore its interaction with variables such as applicant sex, and sex job-type. Lastly, a model will be proposed outlining the specific role and significance of PA among other variables (skill, qualification level, and applicant sex) in pre-employment selection decisions.

Defining Physical Attractiveness

What Makes a Beautiful Face?

It has been suggested that every culture has their own standard of beauty, or what they perceive to be characteristic of a beautiful face (Perret et al., 1999; Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, Spring, 1994; Rhodes, 2006). This idea is seen in the common maxim; *Beauty is in the eye of the beholder*, defined by Langlois et al. (2000) as "different people have different ideas about what is beautiful" (pg. 390). However, recent empirical findings report substantial agreement within and across sexes and ethnic groups about what facial features are seen as attractive and unattractive (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004; Perret et al,. 1999; Rhodes, 2006). Rhodes (2006) suggests that biological standards of beauty guide our perception of what makes a beautiful face. Specifically, facial

averageness, facial symmetry, and sexual dimorphism all contribute to perceived PA (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004). Perret et al. (1999) found that increasing levels of facial symmetry increases ratings of PA in male and female faces. Baudouin and Tiberghien (2004) conducted a similar investigation related to the metric characteristics of female faces. By comparing male subject's ratings of female faces differing in facial symmetry, facial averageness, and sexual dimorphism, it was concluded that female facial attractiveness is greater when a face is symmetrical, average, and contains sexually dimorphic features (e.g., small nose, small chin, prominent cheekbones, thick lips, and thin eyebrows; Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004). Although Perret et al. 2006, and Baudouin and Tiberghien (2004) used only Caucasian subjects, evidence suggests cross-cultural agreement in perceived facial beauty. Rhodes (2006) conducted a meta-analysis investigating perceived PA across cultures and concluded that facial averageness, facial symmetry, and sexual dimorphism are cross-culturally seen as attractive facial features in both male and female faces. Meta-analyses conducted by Feingold (1992) and Langlois et al. (2000) also suggest that raters agree about who is and who is not attractive within and across cultures. Additionally, facial preferences have been demonstrated to emerge early in development, well before any cultural standards of beauty are likely to influence facial preferences (Rhodes, 2006).

Non-Facial Physical Features and Attractiveness

In addition to facial features that commonly signal beauty, numerous other physical features also influence perceived PA. For example; in females, physical traits such as youth, bilateral body symmetry, lower waist-to-hip ratios, lower body weights, and lower body mass indexes are rated as more attractive (Bryan et al., 2011; Kniffin &

Wilson, 2004; Larkin & Pines, 1979). Preferences have also been reported for well-developed breasts, and specific sizes of legs, buttocks, and shoulders (Alicke, Smith, & Klotz, 1986). Physically attractive traits in men can be seen as overlapping with physical dominance, Bryan et al. (2011) contend that "in some sense the domain of attractiveness women value may simply be the immediately assessable physical manifestation of dominance" (pg. 366). Preferential traits in men often include high shoulder-to-hip ratios, high shoulder-to-waist ratios, lower waist-to-chest ratios, lower body mass indexes, increased height, and increased musculature (Bryan et al., 2011; Judge & Cable, 2004). Although it has been noted that physically attractive features in both sexes are typically cues to physical health, physically attractive female features may specifically be cues to reproductive health, where as attractive male features are typically indicative of physical dominance, gene quality, and healthy testosterone production (Bryan et al., 2011).

Non-Physical Features and Physical Attractiveness

In addition to the previously mentioned physical characteristics often viewed as attractive, an individual's perception of beauty can be influenced by non-physical factors. Kniffin and Wilson (2004) present the example of a man evaluating a woman as a potential partner for marriage. The woman possesses certain physical traits that contribute to her perceived attractiveness, for example, "her youth, health, symmetry, waist-to-hip ratio, and so on." (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004, pg. 89). However, this woman also possesses a set of non-physical traits that contribute to her perceived PA such as "her niceness, intelligence, sense of humor, compatibility, willingness to work hard, availability, and especially how much she likes him" (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004, pg. 89). Kniffin and Wilson (2004) conducted a series of three experiments investigating the influence of non-

physical factors on judgments of PA. The first asked subjects to rate yearbook photos of high school classmates on measures of familiarity, liking, respect, and PA. Then, a stranger of the same sex and age of the initial rater, rated the PA of these same yearbook photos. Kniffin and Wilson (2004) hypothesized that if perceptions of PA are based purely on physical characteristics, then both raters should agree on judgments of PA. The results indicate that the degree to which a target person was liked, was familiar, and was respected explained more variance in PA ratings, than physical characteristics alone (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). Additionally, the more familiar, liked, and respected a target person was, the more physically attractive they were perceived to be. A second study conducted by Kniffin and Wilson (2004) investigated the relationship between perceived PA and non-physical features within a task-oriented group. It was hypothesized that the most valuable members of a task-oriented group would be perceived as more physically attractive by fellow group members, than by strangers rating PA on the basis of physical characteristics alone. Kniffin and Wilson (2004) distributed a survey to members of a college crew team. This survey asked subjects to rate teammates on measures of perceived talent, effort, respect, liking, and PA (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). Strangers then rated each of the team members on perceived PA, in order to determine if any non-physical factors had influenced team members' initial ratings of PA. The results show that among team members, perception of PA, talent, liking, effort, and respect were significantly correlated with each other, and uncorrelated with stranger's ratings of PA. Results of both studies suggest that non-physical factors influence ratings of target PA: Specifically, subject PA ratings of unfamiliar targets, especially when only photographs are used to convey target PA, may differ as raters who are unfamiliar with targets can

only base PA ratings on physical traits, rather than the physical and non-physical traits available to individuals who know and have interacted with each.

Kniffin and Wilson (2004) conducted a third study to assess the possibility that a stranger may rate PA differently not because they are unfamiliar with the person, but because a photo does not convey PA as accurately as real life interaction. Members of a task-oriented group, in this case a 6-week summer archaeology course where group members are required to work together daily, rated the PA of other group members at the beginning of the course, then rated each other on familiarity, intelligence, liking, respect, and PA at the end of the course, after subjects had the opportunity to interact (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). Kniffin and Wilson (2004) found that initial PA ratings accounted for only 9.3% of the variation in final PA ratings when females rated females, and 19.2% when females rated males. Interestingly, initial PA ratings accounted for 62% of the variation in final PA ratings when males rated females (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). It was concluded that among people who have interacted and become familiar, non-physical traits significantly influence perceptions of PA, however, the effect of non-physical variables on perceived PA is strongest when females rate females, females rate males, and males rate males. The effects of non-physical factors, although still significant, are weakest when males rate females, suggesting that physical traits may be more important to males than females.

The Physical Attractiveness Stereotype

"What is Beautiful is Good"

An abundance of empirical research suggests differences in the perception, and

treatment of attractive and unattractive individuals (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Tsukiura, & Cabeza, 2011; Van Leeuwen, & Macrae, 2004; Zebrowitz, Collins, & Dutta, 1998). Dion et al. (1972) performed one of the first investigations into the differential perception of individuals as a function of their PA. Dion et al. (1972) hypothesized that positive characteristics are automatically associated with PA; specifically, subjects will attribute more socially desirable personality traits to attractive individuals than to individuals of average attractiveness and unattractive individuals, and that attractive individuals will be perceived as having a higher quality of life, higher overall happiness, and higher marital and occupational success. Dion et al. (1972) gathered 30 male and 30 female introductory psychology students and issued them three envelopes containing one stimulus photo each. Of the three envelopes, one contained a photo of a physically attractive individual, one contained a photo of a person of average attractiveness, and one contained a photo of a physically unattractive individual. One half of subjects received all male stimulus photos, while the other half received all female stimulus photos. Subjects were asked to rate each photo on a set of 27 personality traits, and 5 additional personality traits. The initial 27 personality traits were each evaluated on a 6-point scale, of which each end of the scale displayed a polar opposite personality trait "(i.e., exciting-dull)" (Dion et al., 1972, pg. 287). Subjects assessed the 5 subsequent personality traits by indicating which stimulus person possessed the "most" or "least" of a given trait (Dion et al., 1972). After subjects evaluated each photo, they were asked to indicate which stimulus persons is expected to lead the happiest life, most likely to be a successful parent, most likely to find professional and social happiness, most likely to

find marital happiness, most likely to divorce, and most likely to attain deep personal fulfillment or satisfaction. Lastly, subjects were given an index of occupational success listing 30 job types differing in status, "(Army sergeant (low status); Army captain (average status); Army colonel (high status))" (Dion et al., 1972, pg. 287), and asked to indicate which stimulus person is most likely to engage in the different occupations.

Dion et al. (1972) found that physically attractive individuals were rated as more socially desirable than unattractive individuals, regardless of rater gender. Attractive men and women were also expected to occupy more prestigious occupations than individuals of lesser PA, assumed to be more competent spouses and lead happier marriages than less attractive individuals, assumed to have better likelihood of leading happy social and professional lives, and were expected to obtain higher levels of overall happiness than individuals of a lesser degree of PA (Dion et al., 1972).

Overall, the results of Dion et al. (1972) support a "What is Beautiful is Good" phenomenon in the perception of attractive individuals. Numerous other studies have demonstrated the "What is Beautiful is Good" phenomenon among various trait domains and across several situational contexts. For example, Clifford and Walster (1975) found that teachers' expected attractive children to have higher IQ scores than unattractive children, have parents especially interested in academic achievement, and to progress into higher levels of future education. Additionally, teacher expectations of attractive children were positively biased in expectations of a given child's social skills and level of popularity among his peers. The PA bias has also been demonstrated in the legal domain, specifically in the sentencing of defendants differing in levels of PA (Adams, 1977). Research has shown that physically attractive women are convicted less frequently for

crimes they are accused of committing than unattractive women, and that attractive defendants are sentenced more leniently than unattractive defendants convicted of the same crime (Adams, 1977). Staley (2007) examined whether the facial attractiveness of both the defendant and victim has an effect on the length of sentence a defendant receives in a vehicular homicide case. The results indicated that attractive defendants did indeed receive shorter sentences than unattractive defendants. The benefits of being physically attractive also extend into the political domain. Findings suggest that PA can predict political election outcomes, and that physically attractive candidates are preferred over physically unattractive candidates (Shahani-Denning, 2003; Verhlust, Lodge, & Lavine, 2010).

The Physical Attractiveness Halo Effect

The PA "halo effect" is a concept similar to the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype demonstrated by Dion et al. (1972). The *halo effect* was termed by Thorndike (1920) after noticing that individuals' ratings of target persons showed a tendency for positive characteristics to be associated with other positive characteristics more frequently than they should be if these associations were guided by prior experience only. Greenwald and Banaji (1995) describe the *halo effect* as "the tendency for judgment of a novel attribute (A) of a person to be influenced by the value of an already known, but objectively irrelevant, attribute (B)" (pg. 9). In the case of the PA *halo effect*, PA plays the irrelevant variable that positively influences evaluative judgments of target persons. The PA *halo effect* has also been documented in cross-cultural subject populations (Greenwald & Banaji) and across genders (Eagly et al., 1991).

Lucker, Beane, and Helmreich (1981) conducted a series of two studies assessing

the strength of the PA *halo effect* on ratings of male and female targets. Their results suggest that the effect size of the PA *halo effect* is much more limited than previous research has indicated. However, they found a significant interaction between target PA and ratings of sexiness, femininity/masculinity, and overall likability. Landy and Sigall (1974) conducted a similar study investigating the PA *halo effect* in task evaluation. Male subjects were given a short essay, supposedly written by a college female, and asked to evaluate its overall quality. One half of the subjects received an essay of poor quality while the other half received an essay that was well written. One third of the essays included an attached picture of an attractive female author, one third included a photo of an unattractive female author, and the remaining essays did not include a photo or any information about the author of the essay. The results demonstrated that subjects evaluated the writer and her work most favorably when she was attractive, and least favorably when she was unattractive (Landy & Sigall, 1974).

Target Sex, Rater Sex, and The Physical Attractiveness Stereotype

The sex of a target individual, and the sex of the rater may have an important influence on the magnitude of the PA bias (Eagly et al., 1991; Jackson et al., 1995; Kaplan, 1978). This raises questions about the influence of PA across female and male targets; specifically, do men or women place greater value on PA? Previous studies have concluded that when selecting romantic partners, men place more value on PA than women do (Eagly et al., 1991; Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). In a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (1991) it was predicted that the effects of the PA would be stronger for female targets than for male targets. However, Eagly et al. (1991) found no evidence suggesting the influence of PA is stronger for female than male targets. Eagly et al.

(1991) proposed that the hypothesized stronger influence of PA for female target persons might only be valid under circumstances not represented by their current study. Additionally, Eagly et al. (1991) put forth the notion that a greater influence of PA for ratings of female targets may not exist, also noting that this conclusion is in stark contrast with the findings of numerous other empirical studies suggesting a greater influence of PA towards ratings of women. However, subsequent meta-analyses conducted by Langlois et al. (2000) and Jackson et al. (1995) also failed to identify sex differences in the influential strength of PA.

Perceptions Affected Most by Physical Attractiveness

In the previously mentioned study conducted by Dion et al. (1972) attractive subjects were attributed more socially desirable personality characteristics than their unattractive counterparts. This finding that PA is powerful in areas concerning perceived social competence and social skills has continually reemerged in subsequent studies (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Kramer, 2007; Langlois et al., 2000; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Zebrowitz et al., 1998). Dermer and Thiel (1975) found that attractive women are expected to be more sociable, and possess more socially desirable personality traits. The theme of PA biasing perceptions of social skills has even extended to children; Dion and Berscheid (1974) obtained results suggesting that unattractive children were more frequently perceived as exhibiting anti-social behaviors than attractive children, and that unattractive children are less popular than attractive children. These findings suggest that the influence of PA is especially strong in areas of perceived social characteristics, however, PA has also demonstrated large effects on ratings of perceived competence and intelligence of target persons (Jackson et al., 1995; Kanazawa, & Kovar, 2004; Moore,

Filippou, & Perrett, 2011). Feingold (1992) investigated the effects of PA on competence ratings of target individuals and found that attractive individuals are perceived as more intelligent than unattractive individuals. The results of a subsequent meta-analysis conducted by Jackson et al. (1995) demonstrated that physically attractive adults and children were rated as more intellectually competent than their physically unattractive counterparts. Langlois et al. (2000) concluded that although attractive adults were judged more positively in areas of social appeal, and interpersonal competence, attractive adults were judged more positively than unattractive adults particularly on ratings of occupational competence, and attractive children were rated most positively in judgments of academic competence. In contrast with previous findings indicating that PA is most important in social judgments, these results suggest that PA is at least as important in judgments of occupational, and academic competence, as it is in judgments of social skills, and social personality traits.

The Physical Attractiveness Bias in the Workplace

"What is Beautiful is Good" in Pre-Employment Decisions

In general, attractive individuals are often assumed to possess superior abilities and personality traits than their less attractive counterparts (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991: Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). Research also indicates that the effects of PA extend further than initial impressions of strangers, and actually influence the treatment of, and behavior towards, individuals differing in PA, sometimes resulting in preferential treatment of attractive individuals (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold et al., 1992; Griffin, & Langlois, 2006; Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000).

However, the advantages of PA do not stop there; research has shown that the benefits of PA also extend into the occupational domain. Attractive job candidates frequently fare better on various job-related evaluations and outcomes than unattractive candidates (Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Stevenage & Mckay, 1999). Hosoda et al. (2003) conducted a meta-analysis investigating the biasing effects of PA on various job-related outcomes including performance evaluation, and hiring decisions. It was hypothesized that in general, "attractive individuals will be judged and treated more positively with regard to job-related outcomes than unattractive individuals"(Hosoda et al., 2003, pg. 435). Results of this meta-analysis show a strong positive relationship between PA and a variety of job-related outcomes whereby attractive individuals fare better than less attractive individuals (Hosoda et al., 2003). Numerous other studies have also confirmed the positive effects of PA in the workplace. For example, compared to unattractive job candidates, attractive candidates are perceived as more highly qualified than unattractive candidates (Bardack & McAndrew, 1985; Beehr & Gilmore, 1982; Boor et al., 1983; Cash et al., 1977; Hosoda et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2010; Larkin & Pines, 1979; Pingitore et al., 1994; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011), and are more likely to be hired than unattractive job candidates (Boor, Wartman, & Reuben, 1983; Hosoda et al., 2003; Johnson, Podratz, Dipboye, Gibbons, 2010; Kutcher, & Bragger, 2004; Marlowe et al., 1996; Morrow & McElroy, 1984; Pingitore et al., 1994; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011). Attractive individuals are also offered higher starting salaries (Dipboye et al., 1977; Hosoda et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2010; Kutcher & Bragger, 2004; Watkins & Johnson, 2000), are more frequently recommended for

promotion (Hosoda et al., 2003), and are perceived as more likely to achieve job success (Cash et al., 1977; Johnson et al., 2010; Judge & Cable, 2004; Kramer, 2007; Marlowe et al., 1996; Umberson & Hughes, 1987).

Sex, Attractiveness, and Job Sex-Type

While most research on the PA bias reports attractive applicants being rated more favorably than unattractive applicants (Hosoda et al., 2003; Shahani-Denning, 2003), there is an abundance of evidence suggesting the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype only remains true when the sex of a job applicant matches the sex-type of the position being applied for (Cash et al., 1977). This phenomenon was initially suggested by Dipboye et al. (1975) who found that when applying for a managerial position, male applicants were preferred over female applicants. Dipboye et al. (1975) suggested that this preference for male applicants occurred because a managerial position is a stereotypically masculine position, and is perceived to require attributes characteristic of males. A subsequent study performed by Cash et al. (1977) used personnel consultants to evaluate resumes of attractive and unattractive females for traditionally masculine, feminine, and neutral jobs. Cash et al. (1977) found that for masculine jobs, males were perceived as more qualified than females, and attractive males were perceived as more qualified than unattractive males. In traditionally feminine jobs, females were perceived as more qualified than males, and attractive females were perceived as more qualified than unattractive females. Additionally, in sex-neutral jobs, PA was advantageous for both males and females. The results of the studies conducted by Dipboye et al. (1975), and Cash et al. (1977) suggest that the positive bias towards the physically attractive may only occur when applying for a sex congruent job.

"Beauty is Beastly"

Numerous studies suggest that when applying for masculine jobs, attractive females are actually evaluated less favorably than unattractive females, as attractive females are perceived to possess more feminine characteristics than unattractive females, and as result are seen as more incongruent for a job perceived to require masculine traits (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985a; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985b; Johnson et al., 2010; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2010; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011). This phenomenon was labeled by Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) as the "Beauty is Beastly" effect. Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) investigated the "Beauty is Beastly" effect by providing college students with applicant resumes including an attached photo, and asking subjects to evaluate each applicant resume for one of two jobs, a traditionally male managerial job, and a traditionally female non-managerial job. It was found that, for ratings of job qualification, recommendation to hire, and recommended starting salary, PA was advantageous for men when applying for both types of jobs, but only advantageous for women applying for the non-managerial position (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979). Attractive females were also ranked more negatively within the managerial position than unattractive females, as attractive females were attributed increased amounts of feminine characteristics, therefore putting them at a disadvantage when seeking a job perceived to require male characteristics (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979).

The "Beauty is Beastly" effect within the context of pre-employment decision making was also confirmed by Shahani-Denning et al. (2011) who investigated the impact of PA and applicant sex on selection decisions for a marketing director position.

The results showed that while attractive males were rated as most qualified, most likely to be hired, and offered the highest starting salary, attractive females were rated least qualified, least likely to be hired, and offered the lowest salary out of all stimulus conditions including unattractive males and females (Shahani-Denning et al., 2011). While these results support the "What is Beautiful is Good" bias among male applicants, they also lend support to the "Beauty is Beastly" effect as attractive females were evaluated more negatively than unattractive males and females.

An additional study conducted by Shahani-Denning et al. (2010) assessed the influence of PA on selection decisions in the United States and India, two cultures known to be very different (Shahani-Denning et al., 2010). American and Indian subjects evaluated resumes with attached photographs of physically attractive and physically unattractive applicants for a gender-neutral position at a large department store. Different photographs were used among subjects of each culture such that Indian subjects were rating Indian targets, and American subjects were rating American targets. Within the American sample, attractive males were rated as most qualified, were most likely to be hired, and were recommended the highest starting salary, while attractive females received the lowest ratings on each category. Among American males, there were no significant differences in ratings of perceived job qualification between attractive and unattractive males, however attractive males were more likely to be hired, and were recommended a higher starting salary. Amongst American females, unattractive females were rated higher in qualification, were more likely to be hired, and were recommended a higher starting salary than attractive females.

The results of the Indian sample contrast with those of the American sample.

Within the Indian sample, attractive female and male applicants were both rated as more qualified, were more likely to be hired, and recommended a higher starting salary than unattractive males and females. The results of both samples support a bias in favor of the physically attractive, however they suggest the "Beauty is Beastly" effect may be a culturally specific phenomenon. The results from the American sample also suggest that the "Beauty is Beastly" effect can occur in gender-neutral jobs such as the one used in this study, however, Shahani-Denning et al. (2010) note the possibility that American subjects may have viewed the intended gender-neutral position as a stereotypically male position.

The "Beauty is Beastly" effect is not restricted to pre-employment decisions and evaluations, it has also been observed in post-employment performance evaluations, and recommended personnel actions (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985a; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985b; Shahani-Denning, 2003). Heilman and Stopeck (1985a) assessed attributions of skill and ability among attractive and unattractive male and female targets. Subjects were given a brief history of a corporation vice president who was either an attractive or unattractive male or female. This history stated that the vice president has seen great occupational success, and presented subjects with a questionnaire assessing the extent to which they attribute individual ability as the cause the vice president's occupational success. Results showed that PA increased ability attributions for males, while decreasing ability attributions for females. Heilman and Stopeck (1995b) assessed the influence of PA on performance evaluations, and recommended personnel actions for attractive and unattractive men and women holding a managerial or non-managerial job. The results support the occurrence of the "Beauty is Beastly" effect as PA was found to be

advantageous for women in non-managerial positions, but was a disadvantage for women holding managerial positions. Although, the scope of the current work primarily concerns pre-employment decisions and evaluations, it is important to note that the effects of PA, applicant sex, and job sex-type observed in pre-employment processes, also occur in post-employment performance evaluations and recommended personnel actions.

Attractiveness and Relevance of Attractiveness to Job

As previously noted, Cash et al. (1977) investigated the effects of applicant sex and PA on job-related outcomes, however, as this study only varied job type along a masculinity-femininity dimension it appears that Cash et al. (1977) were primarily concerned with job sex-type rather than the relevance of PA to actual job performance. The studies conducted by Shahani-Denning et al. (2011), and Shahani-Denning et al. (2010) investigated the importance of PA and gender on pre-employment decisions and found that PA was an advantage when applying for sex-congruent jobs, but these studies also did not assess the effects of PA in pre-employment decisions in jobs where PA may be beneficial to actual performance. Additionally, Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) found PA to be an advantage for men in managerial and non-managerial jobs, but only an advantage for women in non-managerial jobs, however PA in and of itself had no apparent benefits in carrying out either job. This begs the question of how the influence of PA in pre-employment selection decisions differs for positions where PA, in and of itself, is a job-relevant skill.

In everyday life we commonly encounter attractive individuals holding positions that require a high degree of public exposure (Shahani-Denning, 2003). For example, in the field of modeling where PA is a necessary job requirement (Johnson et al., 2010).

Among other high-exposure positions such as acting, and news reporting, along with others, there are expectations surrounding the necessary degree of PA to qualify for employment (Cash & Kilcullen, 1985; Kramer, 2007). It can certainly be argued that the previously mentioned examples of high-exposure jobs are hard to come by, and not frequently held by the average citizen. Additionally, these jobs often utilize non-traditional forms of pre-employment screening such as auditions, in place of the traditional interview, or resume evaluation process. But there are examples of common high-exposure jobs, acquired through traditional pre-employment selection methods, where PA is relevant to actual job performance. For jobs like waiters, receptionists, and especially salespeople, PA is known to affect the bottom line of performance (Johnson et al., 2010; Kramer, 2008; Shahani-Denning, 2003). Johnson et al. (2010) examined the influence of PA in ratings of employee suitability for jobs in which PA is relevant to job performance versus jobs where PA is irrelevant to future performance. Additionally, within this study Johnson et al. (2010) investigated the occurrence of the "Beauty is Beastly" effect.

Johnson et al. (2010) hypothesized that for jobs in which PA is important to performance, PA will be more positively related to perceptions of employment suitability than for jobs in which PA is unimportant to performance. In regard to the "Beauty is Beastly" effect, it was hypothesized that overall PA will be more positively associated with ratings of employment suitability when candidates apply for sex-congruent jobs (males for masculine typed jobs and females for feminine typed jobs), and that when females apply for masculine typed jobs, PA will be negatively related to ratings of employment suitability (Johnson et al., 2010). To evaluate the importance of PA to a

given position, subjects were presented with a diverse list of 33 jobs and asked to rate, on a scale of 1 ("not at all important") to 7 ("extremely important"), "How important is physical appearance in this position?" (Johnson et al., 2010, pg. 304). In order to assess the perceived sex-type of each job subjects were also asked, with regard to the same diverse list of 33 jobs, "What is your best estimate of the percentage of people actually holding that position in the real world who are male and female?" (Johnson et al., 2010, pg. 304).

Johnson et al. (2010) coded these ratings and presented a list of job titles rated as "High" or "Low" importance of appearance, and "Masculine" or "Feminine" in job sex-type: In the "High" importance category were the jobs "Car Salesperson" ("Masculine"), "Lingerie Salesperson" ("Feminine"), "Cosmetics Salesperson" ("Feminine"), "Secretary" ("Feminine"), "Office Receptionist" ("Feminine"), "Executive Secretary" ("Feminine"), "Dietician" ("Feminine"), "HR Manager" ("Feminine"), "Public Relations Officer" ("Feminine"), "Marketing Manager" ("Masculine"), "Office Manager" ("Masculine"), "Sales Manager" ("Masculine"), and "Corporate Sales Manager" ("Masculine") (Johnson et al., 2010, pg. 307).

Not only do these ratings indicate which jobs PA is most important to, but they also provide evidence that managerial jobs, even as recently as 2010, are perceived as masculine sex-typed. This finding that managerial positions are perceived as masculine in nature also strengthens the findings of the previous studies conducted by Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) and Shahani-Denning et al. (2011) who observed the "Beauty is Beastly" effect amongst attractive female candidates applying for managerial jobs, as the perceived masculine sex-typing of managerial jobs was confirmed.

Johnson et al. (2010) concluded that overall, attractive applicants were rated higher on employment suitability. In regard to PA, sex, and job sex-type, no significant interaction was found between job sex-type and PA for male applicants, suggesting that PA is beneficial for males regardless of job sex-type. Additionally, among females applying for feminine jobs, PA was positively related to ratings of employment suitability. Johnson et al. (2010) failed to find support for the "Beauty is Beastly" effect as PA was positively related to ratings of employment suitability for female candidates applying for masculine and feminine sex-typed jobs.

Although, Johnson et al. (2010) failed to support the "Beauty is Beastly" effect, the results regarding the hypothesis that PA will be more positively related to ratings of employment suitability for jobs in which PA was rated as an important job-related factor were significant. In testing this hypothesis, Johnson et al. (2010) concluded that there is a statistically significant interaction between applicant PA and importance of PA to the job, whereby attractive applicants were rated higher in employment suitability for jobs in which PA was perceived to be important than for jobs where PA was viewed as unimportant.

Beehr and Gilmore (1982) conducted a similar study investigating the interaction between applicant PA and the perceived relevance of PA to job performance. Beehr and Gilmore (1982) held applicant sex and race constant as all resumes evaluated were those of white males, however they varied applicant PA and the relevance of PA to a given position. Subjects were presented with a resume that included an attached picture of an attractive or unattractive white male. A job description of the position being applied for was also provided which indicated that PA is an important factor to job performance, or

that PA was not integral to job performance. Beehr and Gilmore (1982) found that in PA relevant jobs, attractive applicants were attributed more job-specific skills, and were more likely to be hired.

The results of the studies conducted by Johnson et al. (2010) and Beehr and Gilmore (1982) suggest that PA is a more influential factor in pre-employment decisions when PA is perceived as relevant to future job performance. These findings have implications for the influence and location of PA in a proposed model of candidate hirability, as the influence of PA in hiring decisions is altered depending on the perceived relevance of PA to a given job.

Attractiveness, Qualification, and Job-Relevant Information

An additional consideration in assessing the location and influence of PA in pre-employment processes is the interaction between PA and other sources of individuating candidate information such as overall application quality, prior work experience, and additional job-relevant skills. Dipboye et al. (1977) conducted a study assessing sex and PA as determinants of overall quality ratings for candidate resumes. Candidate resumes were manipulated to be highly qualified or poorly qualified. Highly qualified resumes displayed a high GPA, and prior work experience; where as poorly qualified resumes had a low GPA, and no past work experience. Resumes of varying quality were paired with attractive and unattractive male and female applicants. Dipboye et al. (1977) found that regardless of applicant sex and PA, highly qualified applicants were preferred over poorly qualified applicants. Watkins and Johnston (2000) conducted a similar study assessing the interaction of PA and resume quality on the evaluation of job applicants. Subjects were provided with a job description, and applicant resumes differing in quality.

Each resume also included a photograph of an attractive or unattractive male or female applicant. Subjects rated each candidate on likelihood of offering an interview, and recommended starting salary. Watkins and Johnston (2000) found that PA had no impact on applicant ratings when resume quality was high, however when resume quality was low or mediocre, attractive candidates received an advantage.

Carlson (1967) assessed the influence of PA and factual written information on the overall evaluation of candidates applying for a job as a life insurance salesperson. Carlson (1967) found that PA had a very slight impact on final ratings of job candidates, it was also found that when factual candidate information and PA information were presented together, the effects of factual information on overall candidate evaluations were greater than those of PA. These findings were corroborated by Morrow and McElroy (1984) who investigated the influence of PA, sex, and past performance on overall evaluations of student performance. Morrow and McElroy (1984) found that the sex of a student, and his or her degree of PA had negligible effects on overall evaluations, and that past performance had a significant effect on overall student evaluations.

These findings suggest the influence of PA in pre-employment processes may be decreased by the presence of other sources of job-relevant, and individuating information. Perhaps when raters are provided with more concrete indicators of applicant quality, they may consciously discount PA as a job-relevant variable. However, contradictory findings suggest the influence of PA remains pervasive regardless of the presence of other sources of individuating information. Hosoda et al. (2003) found that the influence of PA in pre-employment evaluation did not vary between conditions where highly job-relevant information was present versus conditions where low job-relevant information was

present.

Sources of The Physical Attractiveness Bias

Numerous studies have demonstrated the robust effects of PA on perceptions, attributions, and judgments of target individuals (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Tsukiura, & Cabeza, 2011; Van Leeuwen, & Macrae, 2004; Zebrowitz, Collins, & Dutta, 1998). Generally, the results of these studies support a "What is Beautiful is Good" effect whereby attractive individuals are perceived to possess an abundance of positive, and socially desirable qualities (Dion et al., 1972). The effects of PA on perception of an individual's attributes, and subsequent behavior towards an individual can be explained by understanding social stereotypes, impression formation processes, and through theoretical mechanisms like implicit personality theories (Kim & Rosenberg, 1980).

Stereotypes, Impression Formation, and Implicit Personality Theory

Stereotypes are an ordinary part of social cognition; they can be generally defined as a socially shared set of beliefs about the characteristics and traits of individuals belonging to a certain social group (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Stereotypes can influence perceptions and behavior towards others such that an individual acts towards a target as if they possess the traits encompassed by a given stereotype. Research also suggests that stereotyping has a large impact on processes of impression formation. When individuals form impressions of a target they generally rely on two sources of information; (1) knowledge of a target's social category membership which can be

indicated by apparent physical characteristics like gender or ethnicity, and (2) details of a

target's individuating characteristics (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Hosoda et al., 2003;

Langlois et al., 2000; Schneider, 1973). Additionally, Neuberg and Fiske (1987) assert

that a core assumption in understanding the cognitive processes behind impression

formation is that people categorize individuals as members of social groups, as

individuating them may require too much mental effort. According to this "category-

based" manner of impression formation, when initially categorizing an individual, a

perceiver's behavior toward, and perception of a target person, are often based on

stereotyped and prejudiced views associated with the category assigned to a target

person. However, it is important to note that the use of impression formation based on

categorizing individuals into certain social groups may vary in frequency depending on

contextual factors. For example, Neuberg and Fiske (1987) note that the use of "category-

based" impression formation processes is more likely when a perceiver only has category

based information of a target person, as within these circumstances it would be

impossible to use individuating information to form judgments of target persons. Neuberg

and Fiske (1987) also contend that the use of "category-based" impression formation

processes is more likely when a perceiver has category based information of a target

person and attribute information of a target person that appears to be consistent with a

target person's category. The presence of this relevant information can confirm the

perceiver's initial categorization of a target person allowing for easy impression

formation with minimal amounts of consideration for an individual's other attributes

(Neuberg & Fiske, 1987). Lastly, it is noted that "category-based" impression formation

is also likely in situations where a perceiver has category information of a target person,

and attribute information of a target person that appears to be irrelevant to a target

person's category. In this situation the readily perceivable attributes of a target person are

essentially meaningless, therefore establishing a target's category information as the most

significant piece of information in impression formation (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987).

Fiske (1993) presented the continuum model of impression formation to explain

the use of "category-based" impression versus impression formation based on individual

attributes. Within the continuum model, individual's perceptions of target persons fall

along a continuum with categorically, or stereotype based evaluations, at one end, and

individuated responses at the other end (Fiske, 1993). In the context of the continuum

model, during actual impression formation categorical responses to targets have priority

over individuated responses, and movement across the continuum from category based

responses to individuated responses is a function of motivational and attentional factors;

an individual will use predominantly individuated impression formation processes when

there is high motivation to accurately judge a target, and category based processes under

circumstances of increased cognitive load, time pressure, or lack of motivation to

accurately perceive target persons (Fiske, 1993). Contrasting models, such as the dual

process model presented by Brewer and Feinstein (1999) agree that impression formation

relies on category information and individuating characteristics, however they assert that

instead of impression formation processes falling on a continuum between categorical

information and individual information, individuals select one process or the other

depending on their motivation towards accurately perceiving target persons (Brewer &

Feinstein, 1999; Hosoda et al., 1993).

Research has shown that negative stereotypes exist towards members of certain

genders and ethnic groups. Specifically, negative stereotyping towards African Americans and females, whereby members of these groups are assumed to uniformly possess negative characteristics (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). If individuals categorize target persons on the basis of their membership to a social category, then there is a distinct possibility that this category will have an attached stereotype guiding personality characteristic attributions, and expectancies about a given target. For example, say an individual is in an interaction with an African American target person. The perceiver may categorize this target as a member of a specific ethnicity, in this case African American, and be influenced to attribute negative traits and characteristics to this target based on stereotyped beliefs about the target's category membership.

Social category membership, and their specific stereotypes are not only attached to demographic variables or categories such as gender and ethnicity. An individual's perceived degree of PA can also indicate category membership, and have an attached stereotype (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Tsukiura, & Cabeza, 2011; Van Leeuwen, & Macrae, 2004; Zebrowitz, Collins, & Dutta, 1998). In order to understand the positive stereotyping of attractive individuals, theories such as the implicit personality theory have been put forth. Eagly et al. (1991) assert that "stereotypes can be fruitfully conceptualized in terms of the concept of implicit personality theory" (pg. 4). The implicit personality theory is a general concept that can be defined as a hypothetical cognitive structure encompassing personal attributes and a set of expected relations between them. However, it can also refer to the specific cognitive structure of a given individual; Kim and Rosenberg (1980) define an individual's implicit personality theory

as an individual's general beliefs about personality, they note "This belief system includes the traits that the individual perceives as characteristic of himself/herself and others traits having to do with attractiveness, integrity, intelligence, maturity, sociability, and so on and his/her beliefs about the interrelations among these traits" (pg. 375). In line with this definition, social stereotypes can be viewed as implicit personality theories where group membership is the personal attribute inferentially associated with various other attributes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Hosoda et al., 2003; Schneider, 1973).

Implicit personality theory can be used to understand the PA stereotype, specifically; a target person's degree of PA causes perceivers to categorize target persons as members of social categories such as "attractive" or "unattractive". Membership in either category ("attractive" or "unattractive") is then inferentially linked to a variety of other personality attributes (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Morrow, 1990; Zebrowitz, Collins, & Dutta, 1998). Therefore, implicit personality theory predicts that perceivers will judge attractive individuals more positively than less attractive individuals.

Numerous studies have indicated inferential relations between PA and a number of positive personal attributes (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). However, it is important to note that PA is not just linked to a general favorability of attractive persons, but can also evoke evaluations of specific content, mainly among dimensions of social and intellectual skills and competencies. Numerous studies and meta-analyses show that PA has strong effects on perceptions of specific evaluative dimensions such as social skills, and social

competence, as well as significant effects on perceptions of intellectual competence, and general mental health (Eagly et al. 1991; Feingold et al. 1992; Jackson et al. 1995; Langlois et al. 2000; Morrow & McElroy, 1984).

In order to understand how specific types of evaluative meaning become mentally associated with PA it is crucial to understand how a given individual learns their own implicit theory of personality. There are two general types of input most important in molding an individual's implicit personality theory (Eagly et al., 1991; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Webster & Driskell, 1983). Specifically, Eagly et al. (1991) notes these two methods are "direct observations of attractive and unattractive people in one's social environment" (pg. 6), and "exposure to cultural representations of attractive and unattractive people" (pg. 6). In terms of direct observation, it is easy to see how an individual learns to associate PA with positive characteristics; as previously mentioned, numerous studies show that attractive individual's are the beneficiaries of favorable treatment across a wide array of contexts (Shahani-Denning, 2003; Verhlust, Lodge, & Lavine, 2010). Individual's who are exposed to these occurrences may assume that the favorable reactions were not only a result of a bias towards the physically attractive, but by inherent differences in the personality characteristics and skills of attractive individuals. Through this process, an individual may form the belief that PA is correlated with positive personality traits, then go on to expect all physically attractive individuals to possess these traits. With regard to the second method of input, "exposure to cultural representations of attractive and unattractive people" (Eagly et al., 1991, pg. 6), numerous sources suggest that American culture associates PA with positive things, and ugliness with negative things (Eagly et al., 1991; Griffin, & Langlois, 2006; Kramer,

2007). For example, within popular media there are consistent messages portraying physically attractive individuals as wealthy, popular, and powerful, while unattractive individuals are often portrayed negatively (Kramer, 2007). Additionally, content analyses of television commercials suggest that the verbal content of many television and media productions reinforce the idea that PA is a virtuous characteristic (Eagly et al., 1991; Kramer, 2007)

Status Generalization Theory

The status generalization theory can be used to explain how external status characteristics influence behavior towards, and perceptions of, a given target person, as well as the behaviors and traits subsequently performed by target persons as a result (Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois, 2000; Morrow, 1990; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). This theory proposes that an individual's external status characteristics are used by perceivers to generate expectation states regarding performance and personality characteristics (Jackson et al., 1995; Morrow, 1990; Webster & Driskell, 1983). The generation of expectation states can occur regardless of prior association with specific characteristics and abilities, and often times without conscious awareness (Jackson et al., 1995; Morrow, 1990; Umberson & Hughes, 1987). A status characteristic is very similar to a social stereotype, and can be similarly defined as a readily viewable characteristic such as race or sex, that when viewed by a perceiver "activates patterns of widely shared cultural beliefs" (Webster & Driskell, 1983, pg. 140). Webster and Driskell (1983) were the first to view the effects of PA in person perception as a function of the status generalization theory (Jackson et al., 1995). Webster and Driskell (1983) put forth the notion that similar to demographic status characteristics like

race and sex, PA can also be viewed as a diffuse status characteristic that influences perceptions of, and behavior towards target persons. In this context, PA discriminates among attractive and unattractive individuals, and subsequently generates expectancies about personality and performance ability regardless of whether or not PA is relevant to a given characteristic or performance ability (Jackson et al., 1995; Morrow, 1990; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). Webster and Driskell (1983) found results supporting PA as a diffuse status characteristic used to discriminate against attractive or unattractive individuals. Specifically, people who are high in PA, are evaluated differently than individuals low in PA; high PA individuals are expected to have higher states of various characteristics and abilities regardless of the relevance of PA to a given judgment (Webster & Driskell, 1983). Although the results of Webster and Driskell's (1983) study did not investigate whether attractive individuals are inherently different, they do show that PA is an advantageous characteristic to possess as people associate PA with high status and positive expectations.

Jackson et al. (1995) conducted a meta-analysis investigating the relationship between PA, and perceived intellectual competence. Based on the status generalization theory, they predicted, and found results indicating that physically attractive people are perceived as more competent than physically unattractive people (Jackson et al., 1995). They also hypothesized that individuals should have higher expectation states for attractive males than females, as males have a demonstrated higher status in our culture, and the high status characteristic of being male should extend to attributions of intellectual competence whereby the effects of PA on perceptions of competence should be greater for males than females (Jackson et al., 1995). This hypothesis was supported,

as PA had stronger effects on perceptions of male competence than female competence (Jackson et al., 1995). Additionally, Jackson et al. (1995) predicted that the effects of PA on perceptions of intellectual competence would be stronger when explicit information regarding competence is present. The results concluded that in both children and adults, the effects of PA on perceptions of competence were greater when no explicit information regarding competence was present (Jackson et al., 1995). Overall, the results of the meta-analysis conducted by Jackson et al. (1995) show that PA can be viewed as a diffuse status characteristic similar to race and gender. Depending on an individual's degree of PA, PA being indicative of a high status characteristic and unattractiveness as a low status characteristic, expectations about an individual's performance abilities and personality characteristics are generated.

Lack of Fit Model

The lack of fit model was originally developed by Heilman (1983) to understand the occurrence of the sex bias in the occupational domain (Hosoda et al., 2003). This model can also be applied to understand the PA bias in the workplace, and the interaction between sex and PA in pre-employment selection decisions (Hosoda et al., 2003). According to the lack of fit model, a perceiver, or in this case, an individual making hiring decisions or rating candidates on any number of pre-employment criteria, makes inferences about candidates based on there readily available physical characteristics (Hosoda et al., 2003; Morrow, 1990). These traits generate expectations about various skills and characteristics based upon stereotyped notions inferentially related to a social category (Hosoda et al., 2003; Morrow, 1990). For example, attributions of skill may be different for an attractive white male, than an unattractive white female. After this

attribution occurs, a target individual, or job candidate, is evaluated on the degree to which these attributed characteristics match the requirements of a given job. A bias can occur when there is a lack of fit between the perceived characteristics of a target person, and the requirements of a job. In the context of occupational sex biases, the lack of fit model can predict whether PA will be an asset or a burden to ratings of pre-employment criteria, and ratings of hirability, while also explaining the previously observed "Beauty is Beastly" effect (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Johnson et al., 2010; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2010; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011). The lack of fit model predicts that PA will be a detriment to women applying for stereotypically masculine jobs, while it may not be as significant of a hindrance for unattractive women applying for the same job (Hosoda et al., 2003; Morrow, 1990). This is because attractive women are attributed more feminine traits than less attractive women, and when applying for a masculine job assumed to require masculine traits, highly feminine women are perceived to be at a greater lack of fit than unattractive women who are perceived as less feminine (Hosoda et al., 2003; Morrow, 1990). Although it seems that the same bias should occur amongst men applying for feminine jobs, men are not affected by this perceived lack of fit because they are seen as capable of success in feminine and masculine jobs (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979). The lack of fit model can also explain previous findings of Johnson et al. (2010) and Beehr and Gilmore (1982) suggesting that PA is more beneficial to jobs perceived to require PA as a relevant skill. This is simply because attractive individuals are seen as better fit to perform jobs requiring PA than unattractive individuals. Additionally, the lack of fit model clarifies the interaction between PA, resume quality, work experience, relevant skills, and the presence of other types of job-relevant

information. For example, if a job being applied for requires certain computational skills, then an applicant who displays those skills on a resume, or who indicates that he or she has those skills in an interview, will be perceived as a better fit for the job than a candidate who does not have these skills, regardless of a candidates degree of PA. In this case, PA does not indicate a better candidate-organization fit than does the possession of job relevant skills. However, if a certain stereotype were associated with the physically attractive whereby they are perceived to be better at computational skills, then the attractive candidate may be seen as a better fit for a job requiring these skills.

It is important to note that the lack of fit model does not specifically deal with the influence of PA during pre-employment decisions. It is a model that can be used to understand how PA can affect perceived job fit and evaluations of pre-employment criteria, but the lack of fit model does not suggest that companies always use PA as an indicator of organizational fit. The lack of fit model suggests that whatever a company's criteria is for employment suitability, the candidate perceived as most fit to this criteria is most likely to be hired. Applying the lack of fit model to PA, and other demographics does not assess the mechanisms behind these stereotypes, rather it shows that perceived candidate ability and trait attributions, influenced by stereotypes or not, are criterion on which employment suitability is evaluated.

Modeling the Influence of Attractiveness on Hirability

Raza and Carpenter's (1987) Model of Hirability

Raza and Carpenter (1987) developed a model explaining interviewer

recommendations of applicant hirability. This model proposes that perceived general

employability and perceived applicant skill are the direct causes of hirability. The

perceived general employability of a given applicant is directly influenced by judgments

of intelligence, likability, and skill, whereby ratings of perceived general employability

would accurately represent liking, intelligence, and skill. Raza and Carpenter (1987)

define this relationship as "people who are considered bright, capable, and pleasant are

those most expected to be judged as making good employees" (pg. 5). It is important to

note that Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model asserts that ratings of likability, intelligence,

and skill only indirectly influence a hiring decision through their direct influence on

perceived employability. Within this model, the influence of PA on overall hirability is

very indirect. Raza and Carpenter (1987) propose that PA would directly influence

ratings of likability, such that ratings of PA would be adequately represented by ratings

of likability.

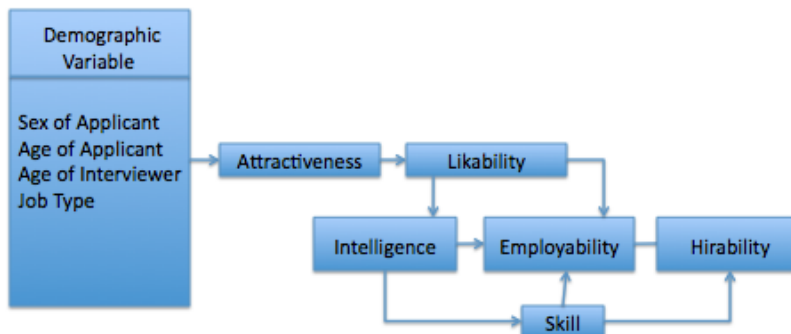*Figure 1*: Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of hirability. Adapted from "Physical

Attractiveness and Selection Decision Making" by P. C. Morrow, 1990, *Journal of

Management, 16*, p. 45-60. Copyright 1990 by the Southern Management Association.

Additionally, certain rating variables are modeled to have indirect and direct

effects on one another. For example, ratings of intelligence directly influence skill

ratings. This interaction is defined by Raza and Carpenter (1987) as "people perceived as brighter are expected to be rated more skillful" (pg. 5). Initial ratings of intelligence are directly influenced by ratings of likability, which, in turn are directly influenced by judgments of candidate PA. With regard to demographic and job type variables, Raza and Carpenter (1987) assert that these variables directly influence ratings of PA, but have a very small influence on overall hiring decisions. This model proposes that demographic and job type variables may indirectly influence hiring decisions through their effects on other rating variables. Specifically, demographic and job type variables indirectly influence hiring decisions only through their direct effect on perceived PA.

Proposed Model of Hirability

The proposed model of applicant hirability assumes that the ultimate decision to hire a candidate is directly influenced by ratings of candidate employability, and hirability. However, ratings of employability and hirability are directly influenced by perceived person/job fit, which is a function of job type, ratings of skill/qualification, intelligence, social skills, and status characteristic information.
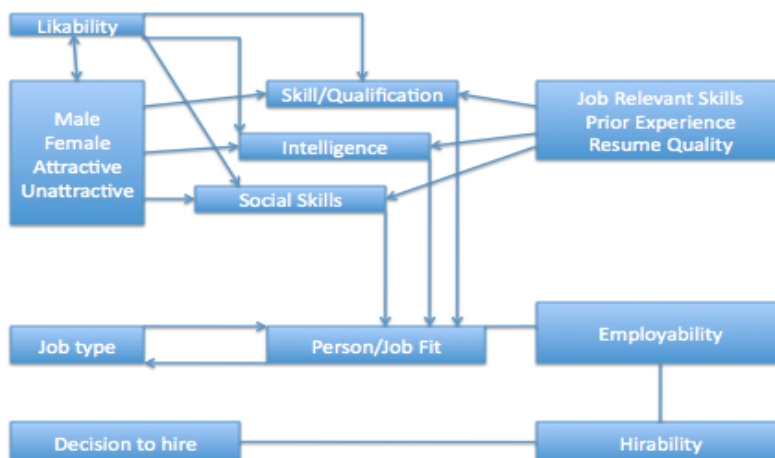
Figure 2: Proposed model of applicant hirability.

Physical Attractiveness as a Status Characteristic

Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of hirability contends that demographic variables, or status characteristics, such as applicant sex, age of interviewer, and job type are determinants of perceived PA, however, excluding findings concerning the interaction between applicant sex and perceived PA, there is inadequate knowledge regarding the interrelationships of applicant/interviewer age, job type, and perceived PA (Morrow, 1990). In contrast with Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of hirability, my proposed model identifies PA as a status characteristic/demographic variable in and of itself, rather than a variable influenced by other status characteristics/demographic variables like sex, age, and job type. Research indicates that PA can serve as a status characteristic, for example attractive candidates (high status characteristics) are often perceived as more intelligent, more socially skilled, and more qualified for a job than unattractive candidates (Jackson et al., 1995; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). Similarly, unattractive candidates (low status characteristics) are frequently attributed more negative ratings of social skills, intelligence, and skill/qualification (Umberson & Hughes, 1987).

Skill/Qualification, Intelligence, Social Skills

Within Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of hirability, ratings of likability, intelligence, and skill influence a hiring decision through their direct influence on perceived candidate employability. Similarly, the proposed model contends that

the decision to hire a candidate is directly influenced by ratings of employability and hirability, which were directly influenced by previous ratings of intelligence and skill. However, unlike Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of hirability, the proposed model presents one further variable, social skills, that can influence subsequent ratings of employability and hirability.

Additionally, this model proposes a direct influence of PA on ratings of the three variables intelligence, skill/qualification, and social skills. As previously noted, research has shown that physically attractive individuals are rated as more intelligent, more socially skilled, and more qualified for a job than unattractive individuals (Jackson et al., 1995; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). The pervasive occurrence of the "What is Beautiful is Good" stereotype in the perception of target intelligence, skill/qualification, and social skills calls for these three variables to be necessary components in a model of applicant hirability. These three variables are also integral to future job performance, ratings of applicant hirability, and as indicators of person organizational fit.

Research has also demonstrated that a candidate's job-relevant skills, prior work experience, and resume or application quality influence ratings of intelligence, social skills, and skill/qualification (Dipboye et al., 1977; Watkins & Johnston, 2000). The proposed model asserts that, in addition to PA, variations in a candidate's degree of job-relevant skills, prior work experience, and resume or application quality, directly influence ratings of intelligence, social skills, and skill/qualification.

Raza and Carpenter's (1987) model of applicant hirability proposes that ratings of candidate PA have a very indirect influence on overall hirability. The only variable that

PA directly influences, in the model presented by Raza and Carpenter (1987), is likability, which has a subsequent direct influence on ratings of intelligence, skill, and perceived general employability. Candidate likability plays a contrasting role within the context of the proposed model; ratings of candidate likability indirectly affect ratings of intelligence, social skills, and skill/qualification via the direct influence of likability on PA, as demonstrated by Kniffin and Wilson (2004).

Person/Job Fit

This model proposes that the decision to hire a candidate is directly influenced by ratings of employability and hirability, which are previously directly influenced by perceived person/job fit. If perceived person/job fit is low then this will negatively influence ratings of candidate employability, hirability, and ultimately the decision to hire. Ratings of person/job fit are a direct result of job type and previous ratings of intelligence, social skills, and skill/qualification. For example, if an unattractive candidate is initially attributed low intelligence, low social skills, and low perceived job qualification, as is the case in numerous studies (Dion et al., 1972; Jackson et al., 1995; Hosoda et al., 2003), and this candidate is applying for a job that requires all of the previously mentioned skills, or is perceived to require the previously mentioned skills, then this candidate will be perceived as a worse fit for the job and will be rated lower on employability and hirability, and is less likely to be hired.

Is Beautiful Actually Better?

As previously mentioned, Jackson et al. (1995) conducted a meta-analysis indicating that PA is a diffuse status characteristic, and that attractive individuals are

attributed more intellectual competence than unattractive individuals. However, Jackson et al. (1995) also examined the possibility that attractive individuals (high status characteristic) will be higher in actual competence than unattractive individuals. This prediction was based on the idea that PA may influence the development of an individual's intellectual competence because if individuals hold higher expectations of high status attractive individuals, in accordance with the status generalization theory, then attractive individuals should "1) receive and act on more opportunities to contribute to task outcomes; 2) receive more positive evaluations from others; 3) exert more influence on group decisions; and 4) be less likely to accept others' attempts to influence them." (Jackson et al., 1995, pg. 110). According to this rationale, attractive individuals experience more positive interactions than less attractive people, thereby facilitating the development of increased competence (Jackson et al., 1995). Jackson et al. (1995) found modest support for this prediction in children, and discovered a weak relationship between PA and actual competence among adults.

Kanazawa and Kovar (2004) similarly contend that the beautiful are actually more intelligent, however unlike Jackson et al. (1995) who believed that the high status characteristic of PA facilitates the development of intelligence within one generation, they believe that beautiful people are inherently more intelligent. Kanazawa and Kovar (2004) assert that the conclusion that beautiful people are more intelligent is logical, based on four assumptions: (1) Intelligent men are more likely to attain higher status than men of lesser intelligence. (2) Men of higher status are more likely than low status men to mate with attractive women. (3) Intelligence is trait that is heritable; therefore the offspring of intelligent men will be more intelligent than those of less intelligent men. (4)

Beauty is a trait that is heritable; therefore the offspring of beautiful women will be more beautiful than those of less beautiful women. Kanazawa and Kovar (2004) present empirical evidence showing that intelligent men are more likely to occupy high-status positions, have higher occupational prestige, and obtain higher levels of personal income. Research has also shown that women in all cultures prefer mating with wealthy men of high status, and that males of all cultures prefer to mate with physically attractive women (Kanazawa & Kovar, 2004). Additionally, empirical research supports the idea that beauty and intelligence are heritable traits (Kanazawa & Kovar, 2004). Kanazawa and Kovar (2004) note that if these assumptions are true, then the theory that beautiful people are more intelligent is logically true.

However, the positive relationship between PA and actual intelligence has received weak support; Jackson et al. (1995) found evidence supporting a weak relationship between PA and actual competence suggesting attractive individuals may only differ slightly in intelligence from the unattractive, and Langlois et al. (2000) found a very slight relationship between adult PA and actual intelligence. Although the evidence to support a positive relationship between PA and intelligence is scarce, numerous studies have provided extensive support that attractive people are attributed more positive traits and are expected to perform at a higher level than unattractive individuals (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000; Webster & Driskell, 1983). This leaves open the possibility that although attractive people may not be inherently more skilled than unattractive individuals, their PA may influence interpersonal interactions in such a way as to make them more skilled at various tasks and obtain more successful outcomes. Specifically, in the context of this review,

even if an attractive individual is not actually more intelligent or more socially skilled than a given job candidate, will his or her PA make them more successful at their job?

Reingen and Kernan (1993) investigated the effects of PA in the context of sales performance via a series of three experiments. Their first experiment involved ratings of attractive and unattractive yearbook photos on a variety of dimensions. The results of this experiment supported the existence of a PA stereotype (Reingen & Kernan, 1995). However, the next two experiments examined the consequences of PA on actual performance. In the second experiment subjects were assigned to the role of either a buyer or seller. Subjects in the buyer condition were given a description of the product being sold and a photo of an attractive or unattractive salesman. Buyers were then told that the salesperson whose picture they received would be in contact with them soon. Buyers were also asked to rate the salesperson on perceived level of social skills, based on the provided photograph. The subjects assigned to the seller condition were instructed to act as a salesman, and were given a written script of what to say to the buyer that included realistic prices and product information. The results of the study indicated that not only did buyers attribute higher social skills to attractive salesmen, but buyers were also more likely to grant attractive salesmen the opportunity to perform an in person product demonstration, and were also more likely to buy the product (Reingen & Kernan, 1995). Reingen and Kernan (1993) acknowledge that the results of the second study may be influenced by the fact that buyers only saw a photograph of the salesman on which to assess PA, and that both the buyer and seller knew they were in a role playing exercise. However, the third experiment bypassed these limitations and assessed target subjects' actual behavior in response to the request of a real solicitor (Reingen & Kernan, 1995). In

this experiment a solicitor, previously rated as attractive or unattractive, approached targets at a university and requested they make a small donation to the American Heart Association. Reingen and Kernan (1993) found that the average donation to attractive solicitors was significantly higher than that of unattractive solicitors, and that the proportion of subjects who complied with the request to donate money was significantly higher for attractive solicitors than unattractive solicitors. These results support the idea that physically attractive people may see more success in the occupational domain; however, this study is limited to the context of a high-exposure job, where interpersonal influence and PA play a crucial role. With that being said, the advantages of attractiveness in the occupational domain may be limited to certain types of jobs.

The previous study conducted by Reingen and Kernan (1993) demonstrated that even if attractive individuals are not inherently better than the unattractive, they might achieve more success in specific jobs requiring interpersonal interaction. But the increased achievement of attractive individuals is not only apparent in a personal selling setting. It is also illustrated in lifetime occupational achievement, personal income, family income, and overall mental well-being. Umberson and Hughes (1987) investigated the impact of PA as a status characteristic positively affecting measures of actual achievement, and actual mental well-being. This study addressed three specific research questions: Does a relationship exist between PA, achievement, and mental well-being? Is there an interaction between PA and other status characteristics like race or sex in predicting mental well-being and overall achievement? Is there evidence to support the claim that PA can be viewed as a status characteristic that can generate expectancies in dimensions such as achievement and mental well-being? Similar to the research

conducted by Jackson et al. (1995) and Webster and Driskell, Umberson and Hughes (1987) assert that PA is a high status characteristic generating positive expectations about the performance and traits of attractive individuals, then attractive individuals will be provided with easier and more frequent opportunities to be successful, and will be afforded more self-esteem resources. Therefore, attractive individuals should surpass unattractive individuals on various measures of achievement. Umberson and Hughes (1987) also argue that if PA is a high status characteristic, then attractive individuals should experience more positive events and interactions than unattractive individuals and eventually obtain higher levels of life achievement and mental-well being. PA was found to have a significant effect on personal income, occupational prestige, and completed level of education (Umberson & Hughes, 1987). Additionally, PA was found to have a significant effect on measures of mental well-being. Overall, the findings of Umberson and Hughes (1987) support the idea that PA can be viewed as a status characteristic that has a significant effect on outcomes of social and psychological well-being. They also suggest that being attractive facilitates success, although Umberson and Hughes (1987) did not touch on actual levels of competence and skill in attractive individuals they did find that PA results in an overall increase in achievement and mental well-being. If PA can be viewed as a predictor of achievement and future mental health, then this has large implications for the practice of using PA as a discriminatory variable in pre-employment selection. However, the findings of Umberson and Hughes (1987) are not conclusive, nor do they imply that PA is a direct cause of increased achievement and mental health. Although there does appear to be a general enhancing effect of PA on achievement and mental well-being, these results only support that this effect is due to PA providing

increased resources for attractive individuals to achieve greater things and acquire enhanced mental well-being.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Beauty

Numerous studies and meta-analyses previously reported in this review reveal a "What is Beautiful is Good" effect whereby attractive individuals are often perceived to posses a variety of socially desirable traits (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). However, evidence suggests that attractive individuals are not only perceived to be better at various tasks, and attributed positive attributes, but that they may actually be better on evaluative dimensions such as social skills, intellectual competence, and various other evaluative dimensions. Numerous studies suggest that self-fulfilling prophecies can operate in such a way as to confirm various social stereotypes and force them to become a reality (Jackson et al., 1995; Kanazawa & Kovar, 2004; Langlois et al., 2000; Snyder at al., 1977; Zebrowitz et al., 1998). Darley and Fazio (1980) contend that the effects of a self-fulfilling prophecy "occur when any one of many possible forces distort the processes occurring in normal social interactions"(pg. 871). In order to examine the mechanism through which a self-fulfilling prophecy functions, Darley and Fazio (1980) first present a model of a normal social interaction: (1) through past observations, or through stereotyping an individual into a membership category, a perceiver develops certain expectancies about the behavior and traits of a target person, (2) the perceiver then behaves towards the given target person in a parallel fashion with their previously generated expectations, (3) the target person interprets and makes meaning of the perceiver's actions towards them, (4) the target person reacts to the perceiver's behavior

based on the previous interpretation made of the perceiver's action, (5) the perceiver

evaluates and interprets the actions of the target person towards them. At this step in the

interaction sequence the perceiver will act again towards a given target person, and the

sequence will be restarted at the second step (Darley & Fazio, 1980). Darley and Fazio

(1980) note that it may be beneficial to view this proposed interaction sequence as

containing one further step, (6), the target person interprets and evaluates the meaning of

his or her actions towards the perceiver. From the interpretation of his or her own actions

towards the perceiver, as characterized by step 6, a target person's self-view may become

altered as "the individual may infer something new about himself or herself" (Darley &

Fazio, 1980, pg. 871). Within this interaction, a self-fulfilling prophecy references the

process through which the expectancies of a target person generated by an individual,

alter the behavior of a target person in such a way that the perceiver evaluates the target's

actions as confirming his or her previously formed expectancies. Darley and Fazio (1980)

note that within their general outline of a social interaction, the process of a self-fulfilling

prophecy predominantly involves the link between steps 1, 4, and 5. Specifically, the

perceiver's expectancy elicits a unique response from a target (step 4), and this response

from the target person meets the expectation of the perceiver proving that the generated

expectancy regarding a target person was correct (step 5). In order to fully understand

this process, it is important to note that this possible self-fulfilling prophecy relies on the

notion that PA can be viewed as a diffuse status characteristic by which expectancies are

formed based on the degree to which a target person possesses a given status

characteristic (Webster & Driskell, 1983). For example, if being a white male is viewed

as high status characteristic in a given culture, then an individual's expectancies of a

target person within Darley and Fazio's (1980) model may be altered, thus activating the chain of events whereby, a perceiver's biased expectancies are confirmed and target person's may come to internalize certain expectations and develop different traits and behaviors.

Langlois et al. (2000) applied this concept specifically to PA and detailed how stereotypes based on the status characteristic of PA can become reality through a multistep process: (1) an individual's PA activates expectations for the behavior and traits of physically attractive and physically unattractive individuals, (2) perceivers act on these differing expectations through differential judgment and treatment of attractive and unattractive individual's, (3) the differential treatment, judgment, and expectation causes attractive and unattractive individuals to develop different behavior and traits, and (4) physically attractive and unattractive individuals internalize this differential treatment and judgment on the basis of their PA, and develop different behavior and self-views (Langlois et al., 2000). Langlois et al. (2000) investigated the occurrence of a self-fulfilling prophecy effect. They hypothesized that if this effect were to be true, then PA must frequently elicit differential judgment and treatment of attractive and unattractive children and adults, there must be noted differences in the behavior and traits of attractive and unattractive children and adults, and differences in the self-views of attractive and unattractive children and adults (Langlois et al., 2000). The results of their study demonstrate that perceivers judged and treated attractive adults and children more favorably than unattractive adults and children (Langlois et al., 2000). Additionally, it was concluded that attractive and unattractive individuals do behave differently. Attractive children possessed more positive traits, behaved more positively than

unattractive children, and were found to be more popular, and exhibit greater intellectual and performance competence than unattractive children (Langlois et al., 2000). The results for the behavior and traits of attractive adults were similar; attractive adults experienced more occupational success, were more popular, had better physical health, had higher self-esteem, and had better mental health, however, attractive adults were only found to be very slightly more intelligent (Langlois et al., 2000). Self-perception results for children were unavailable, however, attractive adults perceived themselves as more mentally healthy, and more competent than unattractive adults (Langlois et al., 2000).

Snyder et al. (1977) investigated the influences of social stereotypes within dyadic social interactions. In this study male subjects interacted with female subjects whom they believed to be physically attractive or physically unattractive. Male subjects were not aware of the actual degree of PA of female subjects, but were informed by experimenters that target female subject was either attractive or unattractive. Experimenters recorded, and analyzed the conversations between subjects to determine if there was any evidence of a self-fulfilling prophecy effect whereby females targets who, unknown to them, were perceived as attractive came to act differently than female targets perceived to be unattractive. Female targets who were perceived to be attractive eventually behaved in a more friendly, sociable, and likeable way over the course of the conversation than female targets regarded by male subjects as unattractive (Snyder et al., 1977). These findings show that the actions of a perceiver based on stereotyped attributions can cause targets to behave in a such a way as to confirm the initial irrelevant views held by the perceiver.

Zebrowitz et al. (1998) conducted a study examining the relationship between an individual's degree of PA and their personality starting from childhood to age 60.

Specifically, they explored the possibility that the effects of a self-fulfilling prophecy of PA could contribute to the accuracy of facial stereotypes over time, and the accuracy of PA stereotypes over the course of an individual's life span. If there is in fact a self-fulfilling prophecy of the PA, then the presence of PA in early childhood should accurately predict a personality later in life that is parallel with the stereotype associated with attractive individuals (Zebrowitz et al., 1998). Zebrowitz et al. (1998) also tested an opposite relationship as to how appearance may become parallel with personality, known as the Dorian Gray effect. The Dorian Gray effect asserts the idea that personality may influence appearance rather than appearance influencing personality (Zebrowitz et al., 1998). Zebrowitz et al. (1998) gives the example of an individual with a stable hostile temperament. The hostile temperament of this person may frequently tense the muscles of their face, and display other facial expressions parallel with their personality and current mood. Over time, these constant facial expressions may affect the development of facial structure altering it in a way that is congruent with the personality of the individual. Therefore, a person whose personality is consistent with either PA or unattractiveness stereotypes, should have a matching appearance later in life. The results found that in men, the effects of PA across time on personality across time were congruent with the effects of a self-fulfilling prophecy, however this was only if PA remained stable across an individual's life span (Zebrowitz et al., 1998). In women, there were demonstrated effects of personality on PA consistent with the Dorian Gray effect whereby early personality produced a parallel appearance later in life (Zebrowitz et al., 1998).

Good-Genes Theory

The good-genes theory predicts that PA should be a meaningful factor in human

interactions because PA can accurately signal health, mate quality, genetic heterozygosity and intelligence (Langlois et al., 2000; Moore et al., 2011; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999; Zebrowitz et al., 2002). In the context of this review, the function of PA as an indicator of intelligence will be focused on primarily, as intelligence is an essential skill in the occupational domain. If the good-genes theory is to hold true then there should be notable differences in the perception of target persons as a function of an individual's PA, as well as actual differences in intelligence levels of attractive and unattractive individuals (Langlois et al., 2000; Moore et al., 2011; Zebrowitz et al., 2002). Three meta-analyses conducted by Langlois et al. (2000), Eagly et al. (1991), and Feingold et al. (1992) found evidence supporting that attractive individuals were perceived to possess greater levels of intelligence, in addition to more positive traits in a variety of other areas. But within the good-genes theory, PA should also be associated with actual intelligence. Meta-analyses conducted by Feingold (1992), Langlois et al. (2000), and Jackson et al. (1995) tested this relationship. Among the two meta-analyses that included children, (Jackson et al. (1995) and Langlois et al. (2000), there was a moderate positive relation between PA and actual intelligence. The relation between PA and actual intelligence among adults was not as conclusive. Feingold (1992) found no evidence that attractive adults were more intelligent, and Langlois et al., (2000) found that attractive adults were only more intelligent by a slight margin. Jackson et al. (1995) found a weak relationship between PA and actual intelligence among adults, and a study conducted by Zebrowitz et al. (2002) found PA was correlated with IQ scores at all ages except later adulthood.

Is Attractiveness an Indicator of Health?

Facial symmetry, facial averageness, and facial sexual dimorphism are

known to influence perceptions of PA and mate selection preferences (Rhodes, 2006), if this is the case, then physically attractive traits may have evolved through a process of sexual selection, whereby possessing these traits enhances reproductive success (Perrett et al., 1999; Rhodes, 2006). The existence of these traits (facial averageness, facial symmetry, and sexual dimorphism) as sexually selected preferences suggests that they may also be associated with overall health, which is an important aspect of mate quality (Rhodes, 2006; Staley, 2007). Kniffin and Wilson (2004) note that "From an evolutionary perspective, beauty is regarded as an assessment of fitness value" (pg. 90). This view is supported by evidence that human PA evolved from mate preference for healthy and fertile mates (Langlois et al., 2000; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999).

Facial Symmetry and Fluctuating Asymmetry

Fluctuating asymmetry (FA) is defined by Thornhill and Gangestad (1999) as "a departure from symmetry in traits that are symmetrical at the population level". FA is generally a result of developmental instability, whereby an asymmetric face represents maladaptation. Some causes of FA include mutations, pathogens and toxins. FA may also be a reflection of the phenotypic and genetic condition of a given individual. Additionally, Rhodes (2006) asserts that facial asymmetries are associated with some sort of chromosomal disorder. Similar to facial averageness, and sexual dimorphism, facial symmetry can be likened to a certificate of health from a mating perspective (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004). However, it is important to note that although FA can signal bad genetics, not many associations have been reported between FA and self-reported negative health symptoms (Rhodes, 2006).

Facial Averageness and Departure from Averageness

Similar to significant deviations from facial symmetry, notable deviations from facial averageness have been shown to signal the occurrence of some chromosomal disorders (Rhodes et al., 2001). Facial averageness may also signal good phenotypic condition. Facial averageness is associated with superior performance in essential tasks such as breathing, and chewing, and can also indicate genetic heterozygosity which Thornhill and Gangestad (1999) note "could signal and outbred mate or provide genetic diversity in defense against parasites"(pg. 455). But unlike facial symmetry, there have been reported associations between facial averageness and overall health in both clinical and nonclinical samples (Rhodes, 2006; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999).

Sexual Dimorphism

The presence of sexually dimorphic traits in males and females signals sexual maturity and reproductive potential (Kalick, Zebrowitz, Langlois, & Johnson, 1998; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). Sexual dimorphism in male and female faces increases during puberty (Bryan, Webster, & Mahaffey, 2011; Rhodes, Chan, Zebrowitz, & Simmons, 2003; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). In males, testosterone stimulates growth of masculine facial and bodily features. In pubertal males, a high testosterone-to-estrogen ratio causes the mandibles, the cheekbones, and the chin to grow laterally while the bones of the eyebrow ridges and central face grow forward (Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). Additionally, a favorable testosterone-to-estrogen ratio in males results in increased musculature and energy utilization through muscular activity (Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). In females a high estrogen-to-testosterone ratio results in an enlargement of the upper lips and upper cheek areas. High estrogen-to-testosterone ratios in females will

ideally result in a sexually dimorphic feminine face characterized by a flat middle face, width and height in the cheeks, large lips, small nose, small chin, and large eyes (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). A favorable estrogen-to-testosterone ratio in females has also been shown to mediate fat deposition in the thighs, breasts, and buttocks (Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999).

There have been numerous studies linking facial masculinity with overall health and adolescent males. Specifically, faces with low levels of masculinity can signal poor health (Rhodes, 2006). However, in feminine faces no link between femininity and overall health was observed (Rhodes, 2006). Rhodes et al. (2003) obtained similar findings suggesting a modest correlation between adolescent facial masculinity and actual health, and no correlation between adolescent facial femininity and actual health.

Is it Fair?

Ratings Based on Candidate Physical Attractiveness

This review has provided extensive evidence that PA is associated with a number of socially desirable personality traits (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Morrow, 1990; Zebrowitz et al., 1998). Early studies such as that conducted by Dion et al. (1972) found that attractive men and women were perceived as more socially desirable, and were expected to have greater success in numerous contexts such as the occupational, and marital domains. Subsequent studies have also shown that attractive individuals are perceived to be more intelligent, motivated, hardworking, popular, and socially skilled (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992; Jackson et al., 1995; Langlois et al., 2000). Research also suggests that attractive

individuals are inherently more skilled (Jackson et al., 1995; Kanazawa & Kovar, 2004; Langlois et al., 2000), may become more socially skilled and intelligent through a process of self-fulfilling prophecy (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Eagly et al., 1991; Langlois et al., 2000; Snyder et al., 1977; Zebrowitz et al., 1998), and that attractiveness is a status characteristic facilitating the development of intelligence and social skills among attractive individuals (Jackson et al., 1995; Morrow, 1990; Umberson & Hughes, 1987; Webster & Driskell, 1983). However, research assessing if attractive individuals are actually different shows mixed support. Jackson et al. (1995) found a weak relationship between PA and actual intelligence among adults. Langlois et al. (2000) found that attractive adults had somewhat better social skills than unattractive adults, and were very slightly more intelligent than unattractive adults. But a meta-analysis conducted by Feingold (1992) found no relationship between PA and actual intelligence.

With these findings in mind, specifically their inconclusive nature, it seems that assuming attractive individuals are inherently different, or better, than unattractive individuals may be biased in nature for ratings of certain criteria. The current paragraph does not directly concern the fairness of basing final hiring decisions on PA, it is primarily concerned with the fairness of rating specific candidate skills on PA. This is not to say that PA is not an asset in some jobs, as in numerous occupations it is beneficial (Kramer, 2007; Reingen & Kernan, 1993; Shahani-Denning, 2003), but in terms of rating specific applicant skills that are not inherently determined, or enhanced, by PA (intelligence, social skills, skill/qualification), basing ratings on candidate PA is not a fair or efficient practice.

Perceived Qualification, Employability, and Hirability

This review has previously demonstrated that attractive job candidates fare better on numerous job specific evaluations and outcomes (Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Hosoda et al., 2003; Morrow, 1990; Shahani-Denning, 2003). Attractive candidates are perceived as more highly qualified, offered higher starting salaries, and are more frequently hired (Boor et al., 1983; Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Hosoda et al., 2003: Johnson et al., 2010; Kramer, 2007; Morrow, 1990; Watkins & Johnston, 2000). Additionally, they are perceived as more likely to achieve occupational success, and more likely to receive promotions (Cash et al., 1977; Johnson et al., 2010; Judge & Cable, 2004). Interestingly PA is also a detriment in certain cases, as characterized by the "Beauty is Beastly" effect whereby attractive female candidates fare worse than unattractive females when applying for stereotypically masculine jobs (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Johnson et al., 2010; Shahani-Denning, 2003; Shahani-Denning et al., 2011), and sometimes even in gender neutral jobs (Shahani-Denning et al., 2010).

Clearly, PA has demonstrated effects on numerous evaluative dimensions within the context of pre-employment selection decision-making. Most researchers write this off as a positive bias towards the physically attractive, and in the case of the "Beauty is Beastly" effect, a negative bias towards attractive females. But is it ever the case that the practice of discriminating based on PA is fair? The answer to this question is yes and no, and can vary depending on the type of job being applied for. For example, if a candidate is applying for a position as a nurse, identified by Johnson et al. (2010) as job with a low importance of appearance. This nursing position may require intelligence, social skills, and job specific skills but it does not directly require PA. In this case, PA is a non-

relevant job factor, and without the presence of other sources of individuating information such as prior work experience, relevant skills, and other qualifications, attractive and unattractive candidates should be viewed as equally suitable for employment and have equal chances of being hired. However, this is often not the case as research has demonstrated that even in positions that are not high exposure, and do not require PA as a job relevant skill, attractive candidates seem to have an advantage (Cash et al., 1977; Dipboye et al., 1975; Dipboye et al., 1977; Shahani-Denning, 2003).

In positions that do not directly require PA as job relevant skill, it is most certainly not fair to base hiring decisions on candidate PA. But there are cases when basing hiring decisions on candidate PA can be seen as a fair practice. For example, in jobs that require a high degree of public exposure such as acting, modeling, and television jobs, PA is a job relevant factor and can affect future performance (Cash & Kilcullen, 1985; Johnson et al., 2010; Kramer, 2007; Shahani-Denning, 2003). Although the average person does not commonly hold the previously mentioned jobs, there is an abundance of more common jobs where PA is important to job performance. Generally these jobs require face-to-face interaction and can be characterized by sales positions, managerial positions, and others such as a receptionist or a secretary (Beehr & Gilmore; Johnson et al., 2010; Reingen & Kernan, 1995). As previously indicated, Reingen and Kernan (1995) found that attractive salesperson were more successful than unattractive salespersons, and that attractive solicitors were more successful than unattractive solicitors. These results show that in positions such as sales, PA affects actual job performance, and can therefore be seen as a job-relevant factor during pre-employment selection. Specifically, basing ratings of hirability, qualification, and employment

suitability on PA can be perceived as fair in cases where PA has previously been shown as a job-relevant variable.

Conclusion and Recommendations

PA undoubtedly has an influential role in general perception of others, and in the context of pre-employment decision-making. The influence of PA, and its role in the hiring process as detailed in the proposed model certainly does not deny that PA is influential in this process. In regard to the fairness of this process, it has been concluded that PA is never a fair indicator of ratings not directly related to or influenced by PA. The practice of basing specific candidate skill ratings that cannot be enhanced by, and are not relevant to PA should be avoided. There is not enough evidence to conclude that PA always indicates increased intelligence, or competence in other areas. Additionally, when PA is not crucial to a given position, or is not required to successfully perform on the job, it should never be a variable used to discriminate amongst candidates. Basing hiring decisions on non-job related factors is not only unfair to candidates, but may also be detrimental to the overall success of an organization. There are numerous forms of legislation that ban employment discrimination based on non-job related factors other than PA such as gender, race, and ethnicity (Shahani-Denning, 2003). It is certainly interesting to note that there is no current legislation banning discrimination based on PA (Shahani-Denning, 2003). Although, there are definitely situations in which PA can be conceived as a job-related factor, and basing hiring decisions and ratings of certain other pre-employment criteria on PA in these contexts may be fair.

In order to reduce the significance of the PA bias in pre-employment selection decision making numerous steps can be taken. A relatively simple approach is alerting

the professionals making these hiring decisions that this bias may occur. Additionally,
steps can be taken to train hiring managers to avoid this bias all together, or at least lessen
its influence. Structuring the format of interviews can also aid in reducing the influence
of PA in the interview process (Jabbour, 2009). Interviews can be structured to focus on
specific job-relevant information such as prior work experience, relevant skills, and other
qualifications. Employers can also use different methods of candidate evaluation where
applicant PA is unknown to them, and thus cannot influence ratings of hirability. For
example, work-sample tests have been shown as a highly valid method of personnel
selection, and do not require knowledge of an applicant's PA (Noe, Hollenbeck, Gerhart,
& Wright, 2006). Additionally, hiring managers can utilize reference checks, cognitive
ability tests, biographical information, and personality inventories, as none of these
require knowledge of an applicant's PA and cannot be influenced by it (Noe et al., 2006).

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