

Running head: PERSONNEL SELECTION AND BODY ART

The Influence of Body Art on Personnel Selection

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Abstract

Previous research on physical appearance and personnel selection suggests physical appearance significantly affects hiring decisions. With individuals dramatically changing their physical appearance with body art, such as tattoos and body piercings, this study was designed to examine the impact body art has on personnel selection and person-organization fit. Each applicant packet included a photograph of the same Caucasian male, a fabricated personal statement, with an attached resume creating three applicant packets. Application materials were identical in nature, with the exception of the photograph. The level of body art was manipulated in the photograph (Level One: pictured without visible body art, Level Two: pictured with a moderate amount of body art, and Level Three: pictured with excessive amounts of body art). Forty-five Management Professionals with Hiring Responsibilities (ranging in age from 25 years and up) and Forty-five Supervisory Professionals without Hiring Responsibilities (ranging in age from 18 years to 25 years) were asked to evaluate an applicant packet from one of the variable levels and rate the likelihood that they would be selected for an entry-level position, as well as perceived level of attractiveness. The male with no visible body art was viewed as the most attractive. The amount of visible body art did not appear to influence hiring decisions. Although age of the rater was predicted to be a potential moderator, did not moderate the effects of body art on attractiveness, person-organization fit, selection, or stereotyping.

The Influence of Body Art on Personnel Selection

In the applicant selection process, recruiters and management theorists often suggest that selecting employees that match the employer environment is crucial (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Acquiring employees that correspond to corporate style, morale, and appearance is often challenging and bewildering. While there is much research on the topic of personnel selection, there is still a great deal that recruitment researchers do not understand about employment selection and recruitment activities (Breugh & Starke, 2000). As the field of recruitment begins to deviate from historical predictors of employment (such as cognitive assessment) and propels into alternative forms of assessment, recruiters and organizational psychologists are beginning to acknowledge new obstacles (Bobko, Roth, & Potosky, 1999).

Physical Appearance and the Job Search

Beginning with the job search and typically ending in an interview, employers evaluate applicant qualifications (Shannon & Stark, 2003). The process of defining selection qualifications is often elusive and unclear (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Employers seemingly determine personnel selection based on notions of intelligence, experience, skills, and ability (Breugh & Stark, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Shannon & Stark, 2003). Despite employer refusals, previous research indicates that evaluation of applicants is not based solely on the aforementioned qualifications (Marshall, Stamps, & Moore, 1998; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993; Stuart & Fuller, 1991). Applicant evaluations are often tarnished by opinions, prejudices, and personal biases based on gender, race, physical attractiveness, and other identifying qualities (Bardack & McAndrew, 1985; Brewis, Hampton, & Linstead, 1997). As there are too many identifying qualities to

consider, the aim of this study is to focus on physical appearance as a significant predictor of personnel selection.

Physical appearance often indicates status, prestige, and power (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). Demographic characteristics are seen as defining qualities in almost all aspects of society, including personnel selection and corporate decision-making (Morrow, 1990). This social construct is so important to today's corporations that companies are willing to spend billions of dollars each year defining, acquiring, maintaining, and monitoring employees' physical appearance through recruitment practices, construction of employee manuals, and departmental trainings (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). Evaluation of physical appearance is so embedded in corporate selection that interviewers are often unaware of their biases throughout the recruitment process (Shannon & Stark, 2003). Applicants viewed as physically attractive and well groomed are often selected over less attractive applicants, despite equivalent cognitive and experiential qualifications (Bardack & McAndrew, 1985; Marshall et.al., 1998; Morrow, 1990; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993; Shannon & Stark, 2003; Stuart & Fuller, 1991). Physical attractiveness is conceptualized as a beneficial status characteristic, carrying with it many other positive inferences (Bardack & McAndrew, 2001; Morrow, 1990). Even so, organizations questioned on the importance of appearance respond as if physical appearance and attractiveness are peripheral and unimportant (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993).

Personnel Selection, Physical Attractiveness, and Applicant Fit

In their study on “beardedness” and personnel selection, Shannon and Stark (2003) examined the ‘peripheral and unimportant’ affects of physical appearance and attractiveness using 50 undergraduate students posing as employers. Using FACES software, researchers constructed 9 faces, with 3 levels of beardedness. Participants were asked to rank applicants based on photographs, resumes, and job qualifications. Results indicated that the faces viewed as more attractive were more likely to be hired for the available positions, although questionnaire responses indicated subjects did not feel appearance was a factor (Shannon & Stark, 2003).

Morrow (1990) found through previously documented studies that physical attractiveness plays a significant role throughout the selection process, employee advancement, and compensation decisions. In examining many facets of physical attractiveness, such as race, age, and gender, Morrow (1990) proposed a model for personnel selection that suggested individuals who were rated as highly attractive (e.g. youthfulness) would be more likely to be selected for employment, more likely to advance, and more likely to be better compensated than those rated as less attractive. Morrow (1990) indicated that while the affects of physical appearance were influential, their influences were in fact unconscious.

In a similar study, 60 MBA students evaluated physical appearance, age, and sex as determinants for selection for three separate positions (Post Master, Manager of an Industrial Firm, and a Vice Principal of a High School) (Quereshi & Kay, 1986). Physical appearance was found to be the most influential determinant of the three. As

previous research had also demonstrated, subjects previously indicated that appearance was unimportant (Quereshi & Kay, 1986).

In examining much of the documentation of physical appearance and personnel selection, it is suggested that many other demographic characteristics may influence personnel selection (Bardack & McAndrew; Marshall et.al., 1998; Morrow, 1990; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993; Shannon & Stark, 2003; Stuart & Fuller, 1991). In research conducted by Graves & Powell (1996), the concept of *relational demography* examines demographic characteristics used in the applicant selection process. The idea of relational demography refers to the relative similarity and dissimilarity in physical and experiential characteristics between individuals (Graves & Powell, 1996). Born out of research on the influence of sex-similarity on selection outcomes, results indicated demographic similarity had a significant effect in work related outcomes (selection, psychological attachment to the organization, and turnover). Dissimilarity in relationship dyads (e.g. interviewer-applicant) was found to negatively affect likeability and effectiveness (Graves & Powell, 1996). So what does that mean to applicants?

Research indicates that corporations search for applicants who "match" or "fit" the ideas or values prescribed by their company (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). Homogeneity within the workplace affects both organizational and individual dynamics in the workplace including compliance, legitimacy, organizational image, utilization of human resources, and consistency within the organization (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). Applicants who are viewed as similar are also viewed as less threatening, more competent, and more likeable by interviewer/rater during the decision-making process (Morrow, 1990).

Given the evidence cited, it would seem reasonable to assume that physical appearance and attractiveness are implicit factors in the applicant selection process. The question remains: how does one determine what is physically attractive? Some researchers define physical attractiveness as appearance characteristics that are favorable and consistent (Morrow, 1990). Following cultural trends, physical attractiveness is based on factors of physical appearance such as dress, masculine and feminine traits, height, weight, etc. Attributes that were seen as attractive a decade ago may no longer be culturally acceptable and normal (Chahine, Jazdzewski, Lannelongue, Mohrt, Rousso, & Vormese, 2000). Recognizing that appearance and attractiveness are indeed affected by cultural change, one must not only acknowledge “new” physical demographics, but also define them in order to evaluate the effect of physical appearance on personnel selection in the 21st Century.

Body Art and Physical Attractiveness

Empirical data indicates that 15 to 25 percent of today’s young adult population has one or more tattoos (Armstrong, Owen, Roberts, & Koch, 2002). In Stirn’s (2001) research on piercing behavior, a survey of 481 collegiate level adults in the State of New York indicated that about 50 percent of students had a body piercing, other than an earring. Interest and popularity in both piercing and tattooing continues to increase across all types of people regardless of creed, occupation, socio-economic status, age, and gender (Armstrong et.al., 2002; Cronin, 2001; Roberts and Ryan, 2002; Schildkraut, 2004; Stirn, 2003). It is evident that with increased popularity and cultural acceptance, tattoos and piercings should now be included as physical demographics liable to effect employment of individuals entering the work place.

Long associated with the exotic “Others” or non-Westerners by scholars, increased prevalence of *body art* in Western culture has spawned questions about why people modify their bodies in these ways (Bell, 1999). Many American and European subcultures such as bikers, greasers, hippies, skinheads, and punks have all used *body art* as a way to separate themselves from mainstream culture through adornment (Bell, 1999). *Body art* has become a way to separate oneself from normalized culture, by means of self-expression using jewelry, color, and images. Referred to by some as a “loaded choice” (Bell, p.54, 1999) or “body as being in the world” (Schildkraut, p.320, 2004), body art intentionally draws attention to oneself and separates individuals from social groups.

Unfortunately, a very personal act can suddenly become a Scarlet Letter in the corporate arena (Chahine et.al, 2000; Chiu & Babcock, 2002). Body art is linked to stereotypic beliefs such as self-destructive patterns, poor morale, violence, lower socio-economic status, lower intelligence, and higher levels of resistance as it is viewed as outside the normative group (Bell, 1999; Cronin, 2001; Roberts & Ryan, 2002; Schildkraut, 2004). Individuals with body art are perceived as having poor morale and decreased productivity; factors that may influence how an applicant is perceived in the workplace (Bardack & McAndrew, 1985; Bobko, Roth, & Potosky, 1999; Hosoda, Stone-Romero & Coats, 2003). In a world that values homogeneity, individuals viewed as “others”, “different”, or “weird” do not exactly “match” or “fit” easily into most corporate structures (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990).

Applicant fit is defined primarily as the correspondence between individual knowledge, skills, abilities, and job qualifications and corporate style (Rynes & Gerhart,

1990). Recruitment agents seek to find applicants who demonstrate appropriate chemistry and type. Specifically, companies wish to hire applicants who value the same things they do, look the way they do, speak the way they do, and judge others (customers and co-workers alike) in the same manner in which they do (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). As mentioned before, companies desire employees who will have the same work expectations as those employed in the company and superiors (Morrow, 1990; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Much of the research on applicant fit appears to have left out a significant demographic, physical appearance and attractiveness.

Applicant fit is commonly referred to as “person-environment fit” by many organizational psychologists (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Person-environment fit is a large portion of the organizational selection process and has often been referred to as the foundation of the organization selection process (Kristoff-Brown, 2000). In order to examine the intricate workings of person-environment-fit, organizational psychologists have categorized person-environment fit into two specific indices: 1) person-job fit and 2) person-organization fit (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000).

The traditional focus in selection is based exclusively on Person-job fit (Kristoff-Brown, 2000). Research indicates that the applicant matching job related qualities such as vocational skill, education, and specific work related qualities primarily determines the level of person-job fit (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). As noted by research on physical attractiveness and selection one may assume that this is not entirely true. Organizational psychologists have conducted further

research on applicant fit to combat such a response. Their response is Person-Organization fit.

The second category of person-organization fit suggests that recruiters and interviewers will often interplay the significance of job related qualities with moral and attitudinal characteristics (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). This standard measurement of applicant fit affects applicants in an entirely different way. Person-organization fit implies that the organization has a need to recruit and select individuals who are favorable and similar. The physical appearance of an applicant can and is often used to form a judgment of person-organization fit. Does this applicant look like me? Does their physical appearance indicate that they have values that are similar to mine? Do they care about the way they will be representing this organization as one of its employees? These are all commonly asked questions used by recruitment agents when assessing person-organization fit.

Hosoda, Stone-Romero, and Coats (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of experimental studies addressing job-related outcomes and physical attractiveness. Born out of research on social cognition, Hosoda et.al. (2003) indicated in their research that people are primarily characterized than categorized by available physical cues including attractiveness. Initial categorization is usually followed by the pairing of job-related expectations that match the categorization, thus resulting in a judgment of applicant fit (Hosoda et.al, 2003).

The ideas posed by Hosoda et.al. (2003) are similar to person-environment fit issues discussed previously. Using physical appearance as an indicator of values and character, recruitment agents and hiring professionals tend to “size-up” applicants within

the first minutes of an interview. The principle that underlies this phenomenon is what leads people to view first impressions as crucial. The notion of person-organization fit has several implications for individuals choosing to use body art as a means of identity. This is a scenario in which the book is literally being judged by its cover. Individuals with body art are stereotypically identified as members of an out-group. It leads one to believe that individuals with body art will be immediately judged, thus unable to qualify for positions due to their out-group status and lack of fit.

Research on physical attractiveness and personnel selection consistently yield similar results. This information leads one to believe that physical attractiveness is valued in the work place; where applicants are sized up in the initial impression; with work-related judgments being quickly conceived all before the interviewer is able to ask the first question. With increasing numbers of 15-25 year olds decorating their flesh, recruitment theorists have only begun to examine the effect of body art on personnel selection and applicant fit (Armstrong et.al., 2001; Cronin, 2001; Gardyn & Whelan 2001; Stirn, 2003).

Body Art and Personnel Selection

Potentially, growing numbers of today's youth will be entering the job force with the notion that their education, qualifications, experience, and personality will be at the forefront of the recruitment evaluation. Research on physical attractiveness seems to present information that this will not be the case. Body art distinguishes an individual from the normative group, affecting one's appearance through dermal modification (Schildkraut, 2004; Stirn, 2003) and potentially stigmatizing the individual. Previously presented research on applicant fit, physical attractiveness, and personnel selection

suggest that normalcy is strikingly necessary when presenting oneself in an interview (Hosoda et.al, 2003; Marshall et.al. 1998; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). So how does one whose physical characters are visibly “outside of the box” size up in the personnel selection process?

New-age social scientists seem to have a different perspective on the affect of body art. Schildkraut (2004) and Bell (1999) imply through extensive research that body art acts in 21st century Western society the same as it does in non-Western culture, as a means to solidify identity through physical representation of experience, truth, life style, status, culture, and self. Fifty-five percent of decorated individuals have reported that *self-expression* inspired them to modify their bodies (Armstong et.al, 2001). Social scientists studying body art have speculated that individuals whom chose to decorate their bodies carry with them a sense of confidence, belonging, and identity; all favorable attributes in the work place (Bell, 1999; Bobko et.al., 1999)

The presence of conflicting thought on body art creates many prejudices regarding individuals with body art (Stirn, 2003). Due to heavy affiliation with subcultures and “out groups”, body art is often presumed to be related to negative lifestyles, self-destructive patterns, and pathology (Armstrong et.al., 2002; Bell, 2001; Roberts & Ryan, 2002; Stirn, 2003). Roberts and Ryan (2002) found through a bivariate analysis of tattooing and high-risk behaviors that there was a significant association between body modification and sexual activity, gang membership, smoking, and physical violence. Research was conducted in such a manner that it is not generalizable to other populations (Roberts & Ryan, 2002). This indicates the need for further discussion on the topic. If societal views on body art are heavily influenced by stereotypes, it is likely

that our perception of individuals and their “fit” for employment are likely to be prejudiced.

As body art can mildly to severely affect the value of one’s physical appearance, it is important to note the significance of stereotyping individuals with modifications, as they are often dictated by societal values. Despite the rising popularity of body art and the rising abundance of critiques on misleading information about why individuals tattoo or pierce, minimal information on pathology, behavior, and status continues to shroud the topic of body art with negativity. There still may be a stigma attached to body art. The tension between creating individualism and identity and the negative characteristics attributed to people with body art suggest that research on applicant attractiveness and likelihood of selection is needed.

The present research will systematically manipulate the amount of body art of a job applicant and examine how levels of this variable influence the applicant’s perceived qualifications and “fit” for an entry-level position. Attitudes of participants toward body art and physical appearance will also be evaluated as a secondary aim.

Hypothesis 1: The amount of body art pictured will negatively affect the applicant’s attractiveness rating: The applicant with no visible body art will be rated most attractive, the one with moderate amounts of body art will be rated moderately attractive, and the one with excessive amounts of body art will be rated least attractive.

Hypothesis 2: The amount of Body Art will negatively affect the likelihood that the individual will Fit or match the organization. The applicant with no visible body art will be rated highest in terms of fit, the one with moderate amounts of body art will be

rated moderately, and the one with excessive amounts of body art will be rated lowest in terms of fit.

Hypothesis 3: *The amount of Body Art will negatively affect the likelihood an individual will be selected for a position. The applicant with no visible body art will be most likely to be hired, the one with moderate amounts of body art will be rated moderately, and the one with excessive amounts of body art will be rated lowest.*

Hypothesis 4: *The amount of Body Art will affect the amount of negative stereotypes generated about the individual. The applicant with no visible body art will be least likely to be negatively stereotyped, the one with moderate amounts of body art will be rated moderately, and the one with excessive amounts of body art will be most likely to be negatively stereotyped.*

Age as a Moderator

Researchers for this study predict that the age of the rater will negatively affect the perception of the applicant dependent on the level of body art pictured. It is suspected that the older the rater is the more likely he/she will be to view the male pictured with no visible body as more attractive and more likely to select him for an entry position. Body art is suspected to have an opposite effect when ratings are made by younger individuals. Younger raters are predicted to disregard body art as a key factor in making hiring decisions and rating attractiveness. Research conducted by Armstrong et.al. (2002) and Stirn (2001) indicates that the average young adult has a tattoo or piercing. In interviewing these young adults, researchers found that participants reported that body art was viewed as an acceptable and normal method of self-expression.

Hypothesis 5A: *The age of the rater will moderate the relationship between the amount of body art and attractiveness. Older raters will rate applicants with the least amount of body art the most attractive. Younger raters will rate all male applicants similarly despite the level of body art.*

Hypothesis 5B: *The age of the rater will moderate the relationship between the amount of body art and the perception of applicant fit. Older raters will rate applicants with the least amount of body art the most likely to “Fit” the Organization. Raters between the ages of 18 and 25 years are will rate all male applicants similarly despite the level of body art pictured.*

Hypothesis 5C: *The age of the rater will moderate the relationship between the amount of body art and personnel selection. Older raters will rate applicants with the least amount of body art the most likely to be selected for a position. Raters between the ages of 18 and 25 years are will rate all male applicants similarly despite the level of body art pictured.*

Hypothesis 5D: *The age of the rater will moderate the relationship between the amount of body art and stereotyping. Older raters will indicate the most negative attitudes toward body art. Raters between the ages of 18 and 25 years will not negatively stereotype the applicant based on amount of body art.*

Method

Participants

All individuals participating in the research are employed by New Hope Community, Inc., a Not-for-Profit Mental Health Agency for Developmentally Disabled Adults. Individuals within this sample were culturally diverse, racially diverse, and of different genders. Participants were 18 years of age and older. To assure range of ages in this study participants were recruited from two pools from this organization.

Participating individuals included Management Professionals with Hiring Responsibilities (ranging in age from 25 years of age and above) who interview and hire applicants for employment on a regular basis. The participant pool also contained Supervisory Professionals without Hiring Responsibilities (ranging in age from 18 to 25 years), employees likely to be promoted to management positions in the future (Supervisory positions are a pre-requisite for Management positions in this particular agency). Participating individuals were recruited during mandatory Management Meetings. The researcher attended two meetings in advance to introduce herself and describe the study. During two meetings following the introductory meetings, the researcher recruited participants to complete research materials. Participation was voluntary, with no penalties for those who chose not to participate.

Materials

Applicant Packets: The study materials were comprised of fictional personal information of a potential applicant (see Appendix A&B). Three variations of the applicant packet were created. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. Condition One: male without visible body art, Condition Two: male with a

moderate amount of visible body art (no less than two no more than four tattoos and/or piercings), and Condition Three: male and excessive amount of visible body art (no less than five tattoos and/or piercings) (see Appendix C). The same male was depicted in each of the photographs. He was pictured in a light blue, collared shirt and khaki pants against a neutral background. Attire was chosen to indicate semi-professional dress. Each photograph was taken using a digital camera. No modifications were made to the photographs.

Attractiveness Scale: The attractiveness questionnaire for this research consisted of three items (see Appendix D). Items in the questionnaire were measured using a Likert Scale (1-5, 5 being the highest). These items were designed to assess the level of attractiveness specific to the photographs used in this study. Participants were asked to rate the level of physical attractiveness of the individual represented in the photograph.

Demographic Items: This five-item questionnaire identified the following demographic characteristics about the participant: 1) age 2) gender 3) race/culture 4) body art? (yes/no) and 5) the number of body art items the participant possessed (see Appendix E). Items were created to assess differences among those whom participated in this study.

Applicant Fit Scale: The fit items were based on the person-organization fit theory posed by Kristoff-Brown (2000) (see Appendix F items 1, 2, 3, and 6). Items in this scale were utilized to evaluate whether the participants felt the man in the photograph would “fit” into the organization based on the photograph and resume packet.

Selection Scale: The selection items for the measure were derived from the selection items used in the Kristoff-Brown study (see Appendix H items 4 & 5). These

items were used to assess if the man in the photograph would be likely to be selected for the position at the organization used in this study based on the photograph and the applicant packet.

Stereotyping Scale: The stereotyping and attitudes items were based on a measure used by Shannon & Stark (2003) in their study on ‘beardedness’ (Appendix F). Items on the questionnaire were modified to reflect body art instead of beardedness. These items were created to evaluate the extent to which participants stereotyped the man in the photographs dependent on the level of body art,

Procedures

The study was administered to 90 hiring professionals. Each rater was asked to evaluate one of the three fictional applicant packets. Raters were asked to evaluate a fictional resume with photograph from the applicant packet. They were required to also examine a fictional personal statement from the chosen applicant packet. Next participants were asked to rate the applicant on the dependent measures (ie. Attractiveness, Person-Organization Fit, Personnel Selection, and Stereotyping).

Results

Hypothesis 1: Relationship between Body Art and Level of Attractiveness

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between body art and level of attractiveness. The independent variable, the body art factor, included three levels: no visible body art, a moderate amount of visible body art, and an excessive amount of body art. The dependent variable was level of attractiveness. The ANOVA was significant, $F(2, 87) = 6.16, p < 0.05$. The level of body art accounted

for 12% of the variance in attractiveness ($\eta^2=0.12$). The hypothesis was partially supported because participants rated the individual pictured with no body art and the individual pictured with a moderate amount of body art significantly different than the male with an excessive amount of body art. The male pictured with no body art and the male pictured with a moderate amount of body art were not rated significantly different from each other.

Follow-up analysis was conducted to evaluate pairwise differences among the means. The results for this test, as well as the means and standard deviations for this test are indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

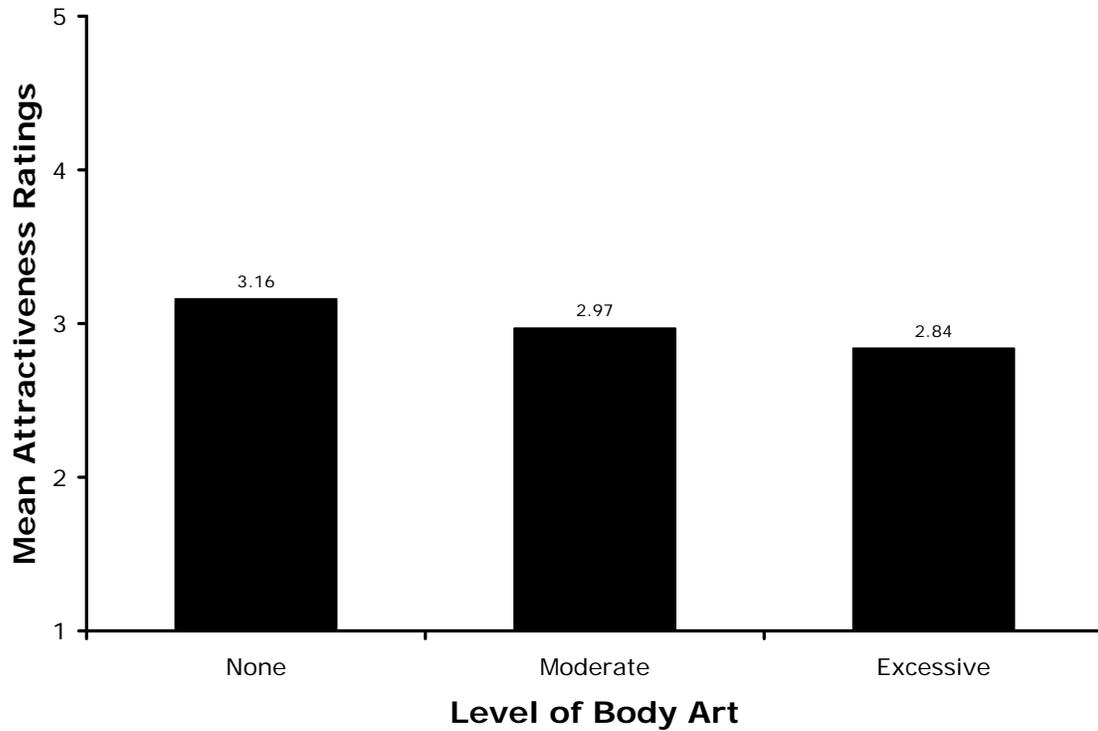
Attractiveness ratings based on Level of Body Art

Level of Body Art	N	M	SD
None	30	3.16 _a	0.91
Moderate	30	2.97 _a	0.74
Excessive	30	2.84 _b	0.98

Note. Judgments were made on a 5-point scales (1 = Not at all, 5 = Completely). Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < 0.05$ in the Tukey honestly significantly difference comparison.

Figure 1

Attractiveness Ratings vs. Level of Body Art



Hypothesis 2: The relationship between Body Art and Person-Organization Fit

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between body art and level of person-organization fit. The ANOVA was not significant, $F(2, 87) = 1.28, p > 0.05$. The level of body art accounted for 3% of the variance in person-organization fit ($\eta^2 = 0.029$). The results as well as the means and standard deviations are reported in Table 2. The hypothesis was not supported for this relationship.

Table 2

Fit ratings based on Level of Body Art

Level of Body Art	N	M	SD
None	30	3.21 _a	0.77
Moderate	30	3.46 _a	0.63
Excessive	30	3.47 _a	0.72

Note. Judgments were made on a 5-point scales (1 = Not at all, 5 = Completely). Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < 0.05$ in the Tukey honestly significant difference comparison.

Hypothesis 3: Relationship between Body Art and Selection

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between body art and selection. The ANOVA was not significant, $F(2, 87) = 4.79$, $p > 0.05$. No significant differences were found across conditions for personnel selection. The level of body art accounted for less than 1% of the variance in selection ($\eta^2 = 0.08$). The results as well as the means and standard deviations are reported in Table 3. The hypothesis was not supported for this relationship.

Table 3

Selection ratings based on Level of Body Art

Level of Body Art	N	M	SD
None	30	3.37 _a	0.85
Moderate	30	3.47 _a	0.63
Excessive	30	3.30 _a	0.72

Note. Judgments were made on a 5-point scales (1 = Not at all, 5 = Completely). Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < 0.05$ in the Tukey honestly significantly difference comparison.

Hypothesis 4: Relationship between Body Art and Stereotyping

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between body art and level of stereotyping. The ANOVA was significant, $F(2, 86) = 3.63, p < 0.05$. The level of body art accounted for less than 8% of the variance in stereotyping ($\eta^2 = 0.08$). The hypothesis was partially supported for this relationship. There was a significant difference in stereotyping between the male pictured with a moderate amount of body art and the male pictured with excessive amounts of body art. The male pictured with a moderate amount of body art was rated as less likely to be stereotyped than the male with an excessive amount of body art. There was not a significant difference found between no body art and a moderate amount of body art, indicating that raters tend to disregard one or two tattoos or piercings, however once this number is exceeded, raters may judge more negatively.

Follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pairwise differences among the means using a Tukey test. See Table 4 for means and standard deviations.

Table 4

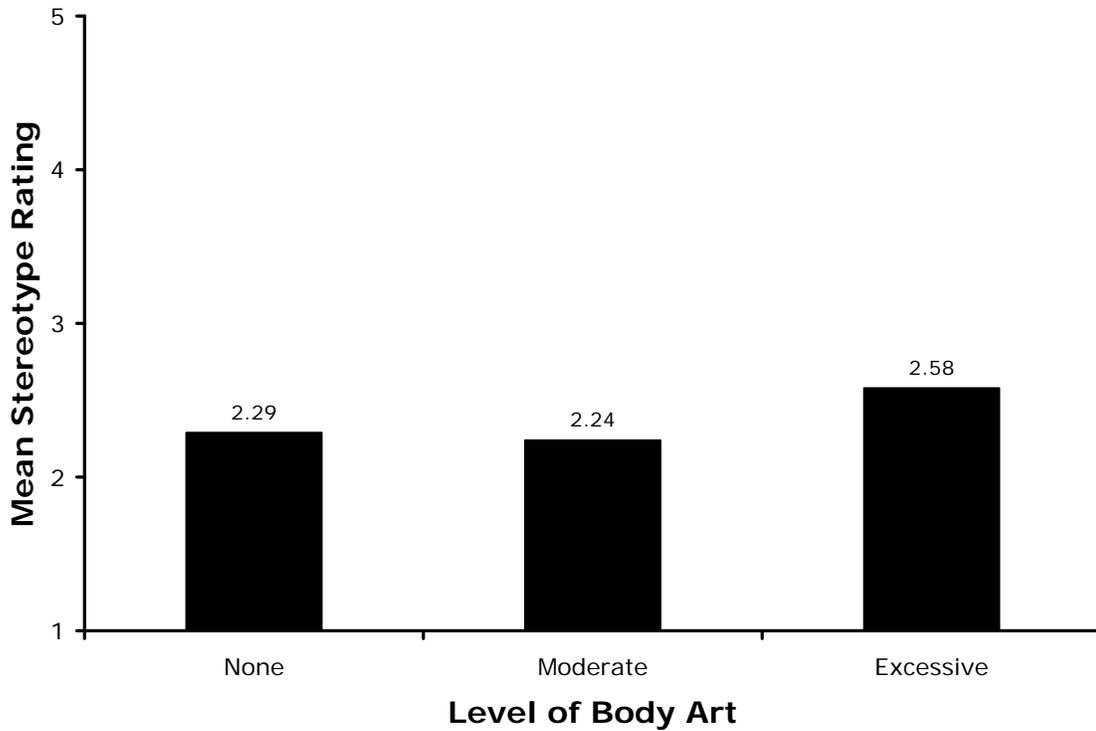
Stereotyping ratings based on Level of Body Art

Level of Body Art	N	M	SD
None	30	.29 _{ac}	0.61
Moderate	30	2.24 _a	0.48
Excessive	30	2.58 _{bc}	0.54

Note. Judgments were made on a 5-point scales (1 = Not at all, 5 = Completely). Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < 0.05$ in the Tukey honestly significantly difference comparison.

Figure 2

Stereotype Ratings vs. Level of Body Art

*Age as a Moderator**Hypothesis 5A: Age of the Rater, Level of Body Art, and Attractiveness*

An Analysis of Covariance was conducted to evaluate whether age moderated the relationship between body art and attractiveness. The results of this analysis indicated that this hypothesis should be rejected, $F(2,84) = 2.03$, $p > 0.05$, ($\eta^2 = 0.046$) suggested a very weak relationship between level of body art and age on ratings of attractiveness. There was no significant interaction between body art and age and there was not significant main effect.

Hypothesis 5B: Age of the Rater, Level of Body Art, and Person-Organization Fit

An Analysis of Covariance was conducted to evaluate whether age moderated the relationship between body art and person-organization fit. The results of this analysis indicated that this hypothesis should be rejected, $F(2,84)=0.16$, $p>0.05$, ($\eta^2 =0.004$) suggested a very weak relationship between level of body art and age on ratings of attractiveness. No significant interaction was found between body art and age. There was not a significant main effect.

Hypothesis 5C: Age of the Rater, Level of Body Art, and Selection

An Analysis of Covariance was conducted to evaluate whether age moderated the relationship between body art and selection. The results of this analysis indicated that this hypothesis should be rejected, $F(2,84)= 0.20$, $p>0.05$, ($\eta^2 = 0.005$) suggested there was not a relationship between level of body art and age on ratings of attractiveness. No significant interaction was found between body art and age. There was not a significant main effect.

Hypothesis 5D: Age of the Rater, Level of Body Art, and Stereotyping

An Analysis of Covariance was conducted to evaluate whether age moderated the relationship between body art and stereotyping. The results of this analysis indicate that this hypothesis should be rejected, $F(2,84)= 0.57$, $p>0.05$, ($\eta^2 = .014$) suggested there was not a relationship between level of body art and age on ratings of attractiveness. Data did not indicate a significant interaction between body art and age or significant main effects for age were found.

*Further Analysis of Data**Body Art, Attractiveness, and Job Position of the Rater*

A 3x2 Analysis of Variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between three levels of body art and job position on attractiveness ratings. The ANOVA indicated no significant interaction between level of body art and job position, ($F(2, 83) = 0.01$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.001$), and there was no main effect for job position, ($F(1, 84) = 0.26$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.003$). The job position main effect indicated that job position did not have an effect on the level of body art and stereotype ratings. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Effect of level of body art and job position on attractiveness ratings

Level of Body Art	<u>Position</u>			
	Management		Supervisor	
	M	SD	M	SD
None	3.07	0.90	3.24	0.95
Moderate	2.91	0.84	3.02	0.65
Excessive	2.31	1.00	2.50	0.97

Body Art, Person-Organization Fit, and Job Position of the Rater

A 3x2 Analysis of Variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between three levels of body art and job position on person-organization fit ratings. The ANOVA indicated no significant interaction between level of body art and job position, ($F(2, 83) = 0.05, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.001$), and there was no main effect for job position, ($F(1, 84) = 0.26, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.003$). The job position main effect indicated that job position did not have an effect on the level of body art and stereotype ratings. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Effect of level of body art and job position on fit ratings

Level of Body Art	<u>Position</u>			
	Management		Supervisor	
	M	SD	M	SD
None	3.25	0.86	3.17	0.70
Moderate	3.50	0.72	3.45	0.56
Excessive	3.53	0.64	3.40	0.80

Body Art, Selection, and Job Position of the Rater

A 3x2 Analysis of Variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between three levels of body art and job position on selection ratings. The ANOVA indicated no significant interaction between level of body art and job position, ($F(2, 83) = 0.45,$

$p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$), and there was no main effect for job position, ($F(1, 84) = 0.76$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.009$). The job position main effect did not indicate that job position had any effect on the level of body art and stereotype ratings. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Effect of level of body art and job position on selection ratings

Level of Body Art	<u>Position</u>			
	Management		Supervisor	
	M	SD	M	SD
None	3.40	0.91	3.33	0.81
Moderate	3.63	0.61	3.30	0.62
Excessive	3.30	0.65	3.30	0.68

Body Art, Stereotyping, and Job Position of the Rater

A 3x2 Analysis of Variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between three levels of body art and job position on stereotype ratings. The ANOVA indicated no significant interaction between level of body art and job position, ($F(2, 83) = 0.70$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.17$), and there was no main effect for job position, ($F(1, 84) = 3.57$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$). The job position main effect did not indicate that job position had any effect on the level of body art and stereotype ratings. The means and standard deviations for the interaction are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Effect of level of body art and job position on stereotype ratings

Level of Body Art	<u>Position</u>			
	Management		Supervisor	
	M	SD	M	SD
None	2.11	0.47	2.50	0.69
Moderate	2.14	0.49	2.33	0.46
Excessive	2.56	0.47	2.60	0.52

Additional Correlations

Correlation coefficients were computed among the ten dependent variables (see Table 9). The results of the correlational analysis showed that four correlations were statistically significant. These correlations were Attractiveness and Gender ($r(88) = 0.28$, $p < 0.01$), Attractiveness and Fit ($r(88) = 0.34$, $p < 0.01$); Attractiveness and Selection ($r(88) = 0.28$, $p < 0.01$), and Selection and Fit ($r(88) = 0.74$, $p < 0.01$).

As attractiveness ratings increased ratings for fit also increased in this research. Selection ratings were also found to increase as attractiveness ratings increased. An interesting finding was that female participants rated all levels of body art higher in attractiveness when compared to their male counterparts, indicating a relationship between gender and attractiveness ratings. Research also indicated that the better the applicant “fit” into the agency, the more likely they were to be selected for the position.

Table 9

Correlations between subscales for body art and personnel selection

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age	-								
2. Gender	-0.21	-							
3. Race	-0.14	-0.22*	-						
4. Body Art	-0.06	0.03	0.08	-					
5. # items	-0.09	-0.00	0.30	0.88*	-				
6. Fit	0.15	0.15	-0.17	-0.01	-0.26	-			
7. Attr.	-0.12	0.28*	-0.05	0.30	0.05	0.34*	-		
8. Selec.	0.20	-0.03	-0.08	0.05	0.05	0.47*	0.28*	-	
9. Stereo.	-0.13	-0.05	0.08	0.15	0.12	-0.20	0.39	-0.13	-
10. position	-0.49	-0.02	0.23*	-0.05	0.02	-0.05	0.08	-0.09	0.19

Participants (n=90)

Discussion

In this study, the amount of body art an individual exhibits was found to affect job applicant's attractiveness ratings. Participants also indicated that they would be more likely to stereotype potential applicants with higher levels of visible body art than those applicants that did not exhibit tattoos and piercings. This yields interesting implications for those individuals seeking jobs with visible body adornment.

The finding that attractiveness ratings were affected by the physical presentation of the applicant was supported by previous research. Applicants who appeared well-groomed and appropriate have been viewed as more attractive throughout research conducted on job selection (Bardack & McAndrew; Marshall et.al., 1998; Morrow, 1990; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993; Shannon & Stark, 2003; Stuart & Fuller, 1991). Clean-cut applicants were typically less negatively stereotyped based on the first impression of the interviewer (Morrow, 1990; Shannon & Stark, 2003). Previous research often indicated that individuals who were seen as less attractive were more likely to be negatively stereotyped when entering an interview.

Physical appearance of applicants played a significant role in job selection and hirability as well. Applicants who elicited positive responses were seen as non-threatening, similar to the interviewer, thus indicating a greater potential for success in the work place (Graves & Powell, 1996). During the recruitment process, interviewers who felt more comfortable with applicants often rated the applicants more positively when compared to the applicants who did not illicit a similar response. Past research suggested that this "first impression" was often based on physical similarities and

attractiveness (Bardack & McAndrew; Graves & Powell, 1996; Marshall et.al., 1998; Morrow, 1990).

Although this research did not find a significant effect of body art on selection and/or person-organization fit, previous research indicates that the variables are linked to attractiveness and stereotyping (Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristoff-Brown, 2000; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Schildkraut, 2004; Stirn, 2003). As indicated in past research, when selecting an applicant for a position, most recruiters are not aware of their personal biases surrounding personal appearance (Bell, 1999; Stirn, 2003). When evaluating for selection, most corporate agents will continue to assess education, experience, and skills.

Raters in this study were also asked to evaluate credentials, skills, and previous experience of a potential applicant. Perhaps one reason attractiveness did not influence selection was that participants were only asked to evaluate one applicant packet. When making this rating, participants judged whether the applicant was acceptable or not. Research indicated that the more attractive the applicant was viewed, the more likely the applicant was selected for the position. Had raters been able to choose among a set of applicants, it might be that attractiveness would play a larger role in their selection decisions. Each applicant could have been compared to the others, with the possibility of being selected based on which of those applicants was more similar to rater, thus making the rater more “comfortable”.

Person-organization fit has been noted as being a large part of the selection process (Kristoff-Brown, 2000). The focus of this process is to find employees that “match” the standards set forth by the organization itself (Bell, 1999; Cronin, 2001; Roberts & Ryan, 2002; Schildkraut, 2004). In this study research yielded no affect of

body art on selection or person-organization fit. This suggested that raters were able to separate their personal reactions to physical appearance of the applicant when deciding whether an applicant would “fit” into the organization. There was however, a correlation between physical attractiveness and person-organization fit.

It was also difficult to evaluate person-organization fit in this study because fit was often based on “first impressions”. This study utilized photographs of an individual. In most interview settings, raters are asked to evaluate the applicant in person during the initial interview. It is much more difficult to form a primary impression when asked to evaluate an applicant based on their resume, personal statement, and photograph. It would be interesting to utilize video interviews of applicants in the future to evaluate whether level of body art would effect personnel selection differently.

The relationship between body art and personnel selection demonstrated a greater need for understanding the phenomenon between physical appearance and employment. Body art is an entirely new demographic, with organizational implications. It implies the question, “How will the decision to tattoo or pierce my body effect my future employment? And how will employment affect my future?”

This research also hypothesized that the age of the rater would moderate the association between body art and employment decisions. This idea developed out of past research on body art and stereotyping. Past research suggested that “older” raters were more likely to rate applicants with body art more negatively based on cultural norms. The cultural norms of older generations believed that individuals with body art were associated with “out-groups” such as criminals and other deviant groups (Bell, 1999; Cronin, 2001; Roberts & Ryan, 2002). More recent research on body art indicated the

opposite (Stirn, 2003). It is suggested that younger generations statistically had more items of body art and believed that body art was not linked to deviance but individuality. This research did not find a difference between older and younger raters groups. It is possible that this is the result of raters being more similar in age. Most raters in this research were under the age of 35 years as well. Based on past research and the age of the raters used in this study, participants were generally not old enough to match the cultural values of older generations associating body art with “out-groups” (Stirn, 2003). Yet, body art predicted ratings of attractiveness even in the young age group.

With increased interest and popularity in body art among young generations, this research supported the need for future research on selection with body art as a primary demographic. Body art was often linked to perceptions of low productivity, decreased personal morale, low economic status, low educational levels, and high levels of insubordination (Armstrong et.al., 2002; Bell, 2001; Roberts & Ryan, 2002; Stirn, 2003). Past research showed responses that physical appearance and attractiveness reduced the likelihood of being selected for a position. This study however did not replicate these findings. In a society that values familiarity and homogeneity, individuals considered outside the normative group are less likely to be viewed as fitting or even welcomed into most organizations (Bardack & McAndrew, 1985; Bobko, Roth, & Potosky, 1999; Hosoda, Stone-Romero & Coats, 2003; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990).

The environment in which this research was conducted may have affected the outcomes of this research. The agency used was a Not-For-Profit Mental Health agency in Upstate New York. The agency is distinguished from other agencies and corporations in that its primary focus is to assist adults with Developmental Disabilities acquire

residential placement and proactive programming to meet their individual needs. If another type of organization had been used, raters may have evaluated the potential applicant differently based on the duties of the organization. The policies of the agency used focused primarily on the safety of the employee and casual dress is very acceptable. In other words, physical appearance and dress is based more on function than fashion.

The position that the applicant was applying for may have also affected the outcomes of this research. The applicant being rated in this study was applying for an entry level position within this agency as well. Qualifications for an entry level position and qualifications for an administrative position are judged differently because of the role of employee. Administrators tend to have more responsibilities and are judged based on higher standards. It would be interesting to ask raters to judge applicants based on different job positions to see if body art has a greater effect on personnel selection.

Further research is warranted based on the outcomes of this study. Research is needed to examine specific factors that influence how body art will influence personnel selection. Such examinations should include the use of several different types of organizations, positions within those organizations, and different organizational cultures.

Another suggested modification is to have participants evaluate several applications; including several different demographics and make employment decisions. Perhaps body art would have been viewed as more acceptable if there was only one candidate but body art might have been used to distinguish between two different candidates. Applicant packets should have also included several different materials containing different educational levels and experience.

This research indicated the need to further investigate the affects of body art on personnel selections. Job applicants in this study were found to be viewed as less attractive and were more likely to be stereotyped. The impact of superficial body adornments may negatively affect employment decisions. Organizations should be aware of these biases as they could result in the selection of employees based on physical appearance and not job qualifications. Potential job applicants should be aware that physical appearance and attractiveness does influence judgments about their character, thus altering their likelihood of being selected for a position.

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Appendix A

Personal Statement Component

James Johnson: Applicant

1234 Memory Lane

New Paltz, NY 12561

Personal Statement

I feel that the qualities and qualifications that I possess would make me an effective and successful Direct Support Professional. I am an extremely good team player and have no problem communicating with others. In addition, I am an extremely patient person who empathizes with others experiences, which I feel is quite appropriate for the duties I will be performing. My qualifications include an associate's degree in the liberal arts as well as extensive volunteer work with the Red Cross. Additionally, I have worked for three years as a lifeguard at a town pool. This experience has taught me to be accountable for the safety of others and to take my job seriously. I feel that all of these personal attributes make me a very viable candidate for this position.

Appendix B**Resume Component****JAMES JOHNSON****1234 MEMORY LN., NEW PALTZ, NY 12561****(845)687-0367**Objective: **To obtain the Direct Support Professional position.****Education:**

New Paltz High School
 New Paltz, NY 12561
 Years Attended: 1999-2002
 Regents Diploma

Sullivan County Community College
 Associates Degree in Arts (May 2005)
 Major: Liberal Arts
 GPA: 3.0

Work Experience

- Life Guard*, New Paltz Town Pool, New Paltz, NY (2000-2003)
- Observed and enforced New Paltz Town Pool park and water safety policies
 - Certified in First Aid and CPR
 - Maintained park and pool equipment
 - Provided customer service with park and pools guests
 - Taught adult and child swim classes
- Server*, Simone's Italian Deli and Eatery, Highland, NY (1999-2000)
- Served customers daily
 - Created daily display board
 - Cleaned following each shift
 - Counted money upon completion of each shift
- Volunteer*, American Red Cross, Sullivan County, NY (1998-present)
- Provide secondary crisis care finding housing and food for displaced families
 - Dispense food and clothing

Skills

Basic Computer Skills (Microsoft Office)
 CPR/First Aid Certification
 Elementary Spanish

Appendix C







Appendix D

Attractiveness Questionnaire

Please follow instructions carefully. Do not put an identify information on this sheet.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least		Moderately			Very	

Please indicate the number you feel best describes the individual in the above photograph.

1. How good-looking is this man?

1	2	3	4	5
Least		Moderately		Very
Good Looking		Good Looking		Good Looking

2. How attractive do you believe this man is?

1	2	3	4	5
Least		Moderately		Very
Attractive		Attractive		Attractive

3. Overall, how pleasant is this person to look at?

1	2	3	4	5
Least		Moderately		Very
Pleasant		Pleasant		Pleasant

Appendix E

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions. Please DO NOT put any identifying characteristics (e.g. Name, address, phone number, etc.) on this or any other page in this folder. This is to protect your privacy. Thank you for your participation.

1) Please identify your age.

2) Please identify your gender.

- a) Male
- b) Female

3) Please identify your culture/race.

- a) White/Caucasian
- b) African American
- c) Asian American
- d) Hispanic American
- e) Other (please identify) _____

4) Do you have any body art (tattoos/piercings)?

- a) yes
- b) no

5) If yes, please identify how many items of body art you have.

- a) one
- b) two-five
- c) five or more

Appendix F

Person-Organization Fit Questionnaire

Please follow directions carefully. Do not put any identifying information on this sheet.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

1. To what degree do you believe this applicant would fit into your team?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

2. To what extent is this applicant similar to other employees on your team?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

3. To what degree will other employees think this applicant will fits well into your team?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

4. How confident are you that this applicant is qualified for this position?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

5. How confident are you that this applicant would be successful working for your company?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

6. Overall, would you recommend hiring this individual?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

Appendix G

Stereotype Questionnaire

Please follow directions carefully. Do not put any identifying information on this sheet.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

1. Tattoos/Piercings affect job performance.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

2. Tattoos/Piercings are appropriate in a professional setting.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

3. Tattoos/Piercings are attractive.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

4. Team players should not have tattoos/piercings.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

5. Negative characteristics are associated with men who have tattoos/piercings.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

6. Physical appearance should play a role in the evaluation of job applicants.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all		Some-what		Completely

Appendix H

Recruitment Script Component

Researcher: Hello. My name is Marissa Dvorscak. I am an Assistant Clinician at New Hope Community. I am currently finishing my Master's Degree in Psychology. My degree requires that I complete a Graduate Thesis or study. I have chosen to do my research on personnel selection and hiring practices. At the end of this meeting, I will be asking for voluntary participation. Each participant will choose a number to determine the subject group they will be in. You do not have to participate if you do not wish to. If you do not have time to participate at the end of this meeting I will be available to provide you with research materials individually. I will contact you through our email system. I appreciate your participation. Thank you.

Procedural Script

1. Read informed consent aloud to participants. Researcher will ask if there are any questions in regard to the consent. (Participants will be provided a copy in the materials.)
2. Participants will choose a number to identify participant group (Level of Body Art). Materials will be distributed as labeled to represent that group.
3. Upon completion of the research materials the researcher will collect materials and distribute debriefing paperwork indicating the purpose of the study.
4. Paperwork will include contact information.
5. Anyone unable to participate during the allotted time will be contacted through Microsoft Outlook (agency email) to schedule a participation date.
6. Participants will be thanked for their time.
7. Researcher will be present to answer any questions.

Appendix I

Informed Consent Component

State University of New York at New Paltz

Informed Consent for Participation: Graduate Study

Name of Principle Investigator: Marissa Dvorscak, Graduate Student

Department: Psychology

Please contact *Marissa Dvorscak* at (845) 399-2548 or by email dvorsc43@newpaltz.edu if you have any questions or concerns in regards to this study.

This is a Psychological research study. This study only includes participants who choose to take part. Please take a moment to make your decision. You are being asked to take part in this study because you are either a Management Professional and/or a Supervisory Professional.

About 50-150 participants will take part in this study. You must be 18 years of age to participate.

The purpose of this study is to examine how participant characteristics influence hiring decisions. There are three different applicant packets, you will be randomly assigned to review one of these applicant materials and asked to evaluate and rate the applicant's materials in items of selection and fit with your organization and whether or not you would hire this person.

If you chose to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete the following tests and procedures: You will be asked to evaluate an applicant packet and complete 4 questionnaires. Please follow the directions on the research materials.

There are no known risks to being involved in the current study.

There are no known benefits to being involved in the current study. However, participation in the following study may provide insight into personal characteristics of applicants (ie. Body art) and how these characteristics may affect hiring decisions.

In order to keep your identity confidential, we request you do not sign your name or put any identifying characteristics on the research materials. If you choose to link yourself to the research materials, there is a place to sign at the bottom of this form. If you choose to sign the form, every effort will be made to keep your identification confidential. The form would be kept in a locked filing cabinet up to one year following participation. After that year it will be destroyed. We cannot always guarantee confidentiality. Identification may be disclosed if required by law.

As a participant you have rights. Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part. You may decide to stop participating at any time. If wish to stop participation, you are encouraged to speak with the researcher. There will be no penalty or loss if you choose not to participate.

The researcher will assume informed consent through the completion of the research packet and questionnaires.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix J

Debriefing Component

Please read the following thoroughly. It provides important information in regard to your participation.

Research on physical appearance and personnel selection suggests physical appearance significantly affects hiring decisions. With individuals dramatically changing their physical appearance with body art, such as tattoos and body piercings, this study is designed to examine the impact body art has on personnel selection and person-organization fit. Each participant has received one of three different applicant packets. Each applicant packet includes a photograph of the same Caucasian male, a fabricated personal statement, with an attached resume. Application materials will be identical in nature, with the exception of the photograph. The level of body art will be different for each packet. (Level One: pictured without visible body art, Level Two: pictured with a moderate amount of body art, and Level Three: pictured with excessive amounts of body art) determines the level of the variable.) I have asked that each participant evaluate an applicant packet from one of the variable levels and rate the applicant on attractiveness, and selection/fit. Questionnaires on demographics and stereotyping were also included. The male with no visible body art will be viewed as the most attractive. The amount of visible body art will influence hiring decisions. The more visible body art, the lower the likelihood that the applicant will be hired. It is predicted that one potential moderator for this study is the age of the rater. It is suspected that raters above the age of 25 years will yield stronger differences than raters under the age of 25 years.

Thank you for your participation. Please notify the researcher with any questions in regard to participation following completion of materials.

Phone: (845) 399 2548

Email: dvorsc43@newpaltz.edu