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The Effect of Women's Hair Color and GPA on Perceptions
of Competence and Attractiveness

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Abstract

Prior research has shown that stereotypes regarding women's hair color have very real effects. The purpose of the present research was to examine the pervasiveness of stereotypes regarding women's competence and attractiveness in relation to hair color and GPA. Hair color, blond or brunette, and grade point average, high or low, was manipulated. Participants were asked to rate a female graduate school applicant on the basis of perceived competence and attractiveness. Based on prior research and current stereotypes, it was hypothesized that blond women with a high GPA would be evaluated as most attractive and that brunettes with a high GPA would be evaluated as most competent and thus stereotypes would dominate decisions. Results indicated that brunettes are perceived as most attractive, as are women of either hair color with low GPAs. Ability ratings were also higher for women with high GPAs.

The Effect of Women's Hair Color on Perceptions of Competence and Attractiveness

For many years psychologists have studied the occurrence of stereotypes. According to Aronson, Wilson, and Akert (2002), “a stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of variation among the members” (p. 461). They may also be thought of as schemas applied to social groups. Aronson et al. also asserts that stereotypes may be helpful when knowledge about individuals in a situation is limited. They can work to fill in the gaps and to organize the overwhelming amount of information taken in by the brain. However, stereotypes are not always beneficial for the person making them, or the person who they are being made about. They are often incorrect and although they may provide some instantly accessible information, the ramifications of inaccuracy may be severe.

Consider for a moment stereotypes regarding the hair color of women. Most people are familiar with the “dumb blond” stereotype and with the belief that brunettes are bookish and intelligent. Is this an accurate assessment? Does hair color really determine intelligence? Not likely, but that is precisely the belief that was supported in a study by Kyle and Mahler (1996). They found that when all factors, except hair color, were held constant and resumes were evaluated, women with blond hair were assigned a starting salary of \$23,792 while brunettes were assigned a starting salary of \$26,737. This is a significant difference, especially if one happens to be blond, and a difference that most would not consider fair if brought to light. Perhaps if people become more aware of the powerful stereotypes that are associated with women’s hair color, and the lack of truth behind them, they may be more inclined to adjust their thinking and evaluations accordingly. This is precisely the goal of the present research, to

examine the pervasiveness of stereotypes regarding women's competence and attractiveness in relation to their hair color.

In American culture there is a saying that "blonds have more fun." Regardless of whether or not this is true, behind the saying seems to be a popular belief that blond women are more physically attractive. In a study by Clayson and Klassen (1989) this is exactly what was found. The study examined the interaction between obesity and hair color because of the perceived difference in personal responsibility of the two characteristics; however, for the purpose of this paper, only the effects of hair color will be examined. Using a relatively large sample of college students, researchers asked students to evaluate the resume of a potential worker. Resumes included personal information about the worker including hair color, which was listed as blond, brown, red, or black, and the gender of the worker. Among other things, students were asked to assess the perceived attractiveness of each person. Researchers found that overall blonds were viewed as most attractive. Next were individuals with brown and black hair, which were rated as nearly equal. Collectively, people with red hair were rated as most unattractive, but it must be noted that in the non-obese woman condition, red hair was seen as equal to blond hair in attractiveness, though in every other condition red hair was seen as significantly less attractive. Clayson and Klassen concluded that although natural hair color is not a matter of personal choice, it is still a factor by which people are judged. Since non-obese blond and red haired women were seen as equally attractive it is unlikely that blonds really do have more fun and one may suppose that there is no truth to this saying.

However, Feinman and Gill (1978) conducted a study in which stereotypes were examined in relation to the "kernel of truth" hypothesis and found some support, which indicates that there may in fact be some truth in the stereotype of "blond bombshells" or in other words,

blond women are perceived as more attractive. According to Triandis, the “kernel of truth” hypothesis (as cited in Feinman and Gill, 1978, p. 44) is defined as “the proposition that cognitive components of stereotyped attitudes correlate at a greater level than chance with actual reality” and has been supported in various contexts. Feinman and Gill used the hypothesis to investigate the coloration ideal portrayed to each sex. They asserted that there is a stereotype of attractive males being darker in coloration and attractive females being lighter in coloration that is produced by “American media and popular culture” (Feinman and Gill, 1978, p. 44). What researchers focused on were the perceptions of ideals for each sex as believed to be held by the opposite sex.

Using over 1000 participants, Feinman and Gill (1978) distributed a questionnaire that examined likes and dislikes of hair color, eye color, and complexion color. Participants rated preferences in relation to the opposite sex and then gave responses as to their own characteristics. The hair color options listed were blond, red, brown, and black. The results supported the hypothesis overall, with women preferring dark haired men and men preferring light haired women, when one examines the extreme ends of the scale. Of men, 38% preferred women with blond hair while only 14% preferred women with black hair. These findings are similar to those of Johnston and Oliver-Rodriguez (1997), who found that faces with blond hair were rated as more attractive than those with black hair. It is also interesting to note that according to Feinman and Gill (1978), 14% of males also disliked black hair. Women preferred dark hair for men with brown and black hair making up 70% of the likes and showed an intense dislike for red hair, as it contributed 84% of the dislikes. However, this study was prone to various limitations. One of which is that the hypothesis was supported when preferences for “dark” hair color were compared with “light” hair color, i.e., black to blond. If one looks exclusively at the results of

the hair color preferences it can be plainly seen that brown hair is the most desirable of all. Preference for brown hair made up 41% of male likes, exceeding the blond male likes by 3%, and contributed to 47% of the female likes. Although, this is only one piece of what Feinman and Gill examined, the finding in and of itself is still valid and may raise questions as to whether or not men really do prefer blond women.

A study by Jacobi and Cash (1994) seemed to answer this question by investigating the differences between perceived opposite sex ideals and actual opposite sex ideals in hair color. A questionnaire was distributed to participants listing ten shades of hair color, but to avoid insignificant categories colors were then grouped into blond and brunette. What they found was somewhat of a surprise, 48.5% of men believed that women preferred blond men while only 17.4% of women actually preferred blond men. Even more striking was that 84.1% of women believed that men prefer blond women while only 34.8% do. Of the sample 51.5% of men prefer brunette women and 79.4% of women prefer brunette men. There seems to be a relatively widespread notion that blond hair is an attractive ideal in America, yet a considerable amount of research on hair color seems to reveal that in actuality brunettes are also desirable. However, the message sent to Americans via media is somewhat different.

Rich and Cash (1993) conducted archival research of several magazines to determine just what message was being sent to Americans regarding hair color. Their research covered four decades, from the 1950's through the 1980's, and three popular magazines. Two of the magazines, *Vogue* and *Ladies Home Journal*, were directed at American women and the third, *Playboy*, was directed at a male audience. They hypothesized that the percentage of blondes in all three magazines would increase, and exceed the base rate of blondes in the population, due to the appearance of many blond actresses, such as Marilyn Monroe and Veronica Lake, and

because of new hair coloring techniques. They also believed blond was becoming related to heightened sexuality so the number of blondes would increase more in *Playboy* centerfolds. Between the years of 1950 and 1989, *Vogue* was sampled on alternating even years and *Ladies Home Journal* was sampled on alternating odd years. Since *Playboy* wasn't established until 1953, beginning then, it was sampled on alternating odd years until 1989. Hair color of adult Caucasian female models was assigned to one of ten categories, defined by Clairol standards, and at least 50% of the samples were rated by a second judge. After computing the inter-rater reliability, researchers collapsed the ten categories into three, consisting of blond, brunette, and redhead. Cash also collected data to establish a base rate of blond Caucasian women by using self reported hair color.

Rich and Cash (1993) found that the proportion of blonds in these three magazines did in fact surpass the base rate of blond in the population. The base rate, as self-reported, was 26.8%, while the percentage of blonds in *Vogue* (35.7%), in *Ladies Home Journal* (36.4%), and in *Playboy* (41.2%) was higher. These are significant differences and as expected blonds were even more prominent in *Playboy* than either of the women's magazines. Regarding the increase in the number of blonds over time researchers found individual differences between magazines, but overall the 1950's and 1960's depicted a lower percentage of blonds than did the 1970's, which saw a fairly dramatic increase. Another significant finding was the gradual decrease in the number of redheads pictured in magazines over the examined period. Rich and Cash concluded that the distortion of blonds seen in the media may be sending men a message that equates blondness to sexuality and a message to women that blond is the beauty ideal.

Similar results were found in a study of another, more pervasive, media source. Davis (1990) examined characteristics of women on prime time television. He taped prime time

television for one week and, using two trained coders, coded the film for the percentage of women and men, hair color, age, marital status, and parental status. What he found was somewhat disturbing. Davis discovered that 65.4% of characters were male, while only 34.6% were female. These results are very similar to what Head (as cited in Davis, 1990) found in the 1950's with only 32% of characters being female. Davis (1990) also found significant differences in hair color, with women being "five times more likely to be blonde than men" (p. 329). With 35.7% of female characters sporting blond hair, a significant increase over any other hair color, a clear ideal is portrayed to the public. According to Clairol Corporation (as cited in Davis, 1990) this percentage is twice the number of blonds in the average female population. Women were also more likely than men to have red or auburn colored hair. These trends tend to reflect a traditional feminine ideal and support the notion that a woman's value in the television industry is a consequence of her beauty.

In a study conducted by Lawson (1971) characteristics associated with various female hair colors were investigated. In the case of blonds, the results he found closely matched those characteristics portrayed by the media. The categories for females were brunette, blond, redhead, and artificial blond and they were each rated by a group of women and a group of men. The ratings were performed on a 21 bipolar adjective scale and dispensed in booklets containing standard instructions. Generally, men seemed to rate brunette women very favorably, surprisingly, even more favorably than blond women. Men viewed brunette women as intelligent and ambitious while blond women were seen as beautiful. Brunettes were also regarded as strong, valuable, effective, and dependable. Men rated blond women as feminine, interesting, and entertaining although not significantly more so than brunettes. Redheads were rated by men as rugged, complex, colorful, and strong willed. Overall women also rated brunette

women more positively on 18 of the 21 characteristics. Blonds and redheads were rated positively on four traits, while artificial blonds were rated more positively on only one. Brunettes were rated by the women as intelligent, ambitious, sincere, strong, and warm. Blonds were again rated highly on traits such as feminine, warm, and relaxed. Redheads were seen as rugged, complex, colorful, and strong willed, exactly the same as the male condition. Artificial blondes were seen as equally rugged to brunettes and redheads. Lawson concluded, that despite the popular belief that men favor blonds, both men and women rated brunettes more highly on many positive traits.

In a similar study, by Clayson and Maughan (1986), redheads and blonds were rated in their relation to adjectives using a distance matrix. Blond females were rated very close to femininity, whereas redheads were over five times as far. However, redheads were rated quite close to the professions of doctor and professor, although they were not rated as attractive. Overall, blonds were rated more positively with adjectives such as beautiful, pleasant, gentle, soft, and pleasing, results that are very similar to those found by Lawson (1971). Clayson and Maughan (1986) note that the rarity of redheads may account for their negative portrayal and that the ratings of redhead women go up with the age of the respondent. Contrarily, ratings of blonds go down with age. These findings were comparable to those of Roll and Verinis (1971), who found that blond hair was viewed as most valuable and red hair as least valuable. They also found that black hair was seen as most potent and most active. These studies suggest that blond hair may be viewed as beautiful and desirable, but that red hair and especially dark hair seem to have a stereotype as professional and competent. Dark hair is also assigned many valuable interpersonal traits, like sincere and warm, suggesting that they may be thought of as more respectable and worthy people, even if they lack the perceived beauty of blonds.

If dark hair maintains a more professional and able stereotype, one would think this would be an advantage. As a woman, having dark hair may help to be taken more seriously in the workplace and may possibly affect both hiring and promotion decisions. Indeed, Kyle and Mahler (1996) found that both hair color and cosmetic use have a significant impact on a female's perceived ability. Specifically, they found that women with dark hair and without cosmetics were assigned higher starting salaries. Is this difference related to stereotypes? It may be according to Cash, Gillen, and Burns (as cited in Kyle and Mahler, 1996). They found that when personnel decisions are being made about female applicants, physical characteristics might in fact play a role.

In the study by Kyle and Mahler (1996) six conditions were created for a group of participants to evaluate. Each condition included a resume for a female applicant and a photo of the applicant with blond, brunette, or red hair and wearing either a "moderate" amount of cosmetics or no cosmetics. The woman's hair in the picture had been electronically altered so the attractiveness of the applicant was held constant. The position in question was for that of an accountant and participants were asked to rate the applicant's perceived ability and assign a starting salary. A seven-point scale was used for rating ability and a range of \$22,000 to \$29,000 was given for the starting salary. Authors predicted that brunettes would receive the highest ratings and starting salary and that blonds would receive the lowest, based on popular stereotypes and past research. They also thought that the condition without cosmetics would be rated more highly, as cosmetics use is related to higher femininity. Prior research has shown that greater femininity resulted in lower assessment of women in non-gendered occupations. These predictions were in fact correct. In both the blond and brunette conditions, applicants were rated as significantly lower and assigned lower starting salaries when wearing cosmetics. Little

difference was seen in the ratings of the redhead condition, but a \$675 difference was found in assigned salaries. Overall the brunette without cosmetics condition was rated most highly and the blond with cosmetics was rated lowest, with an almost \$4,000 difference in assigned salaries. The blond without cosmetics condition was rated and assigned a starting salary slightly above the redhead with cosmetics condition. Are these differences the product of stereotypes? Quite possibly when one understands that the differences are due to differences in a physical characteristic, hair color, when attractiveness is held constant.

A meta-analytic review Jackson, Hunter, and Hodge (1995) found that attractive individuals were viewed as more competent than less attractive individuals, and that the effect was more pronounced when explicit information regarding competence was missing. They concluded that in actuality there is virtually no relationship between attractiveness and actual competence. However, they had to remove two studies from the analysis to form this conclusion and in a previous study a negative correlation was found between attractiveness and intelligence (Feingold, 1982). If a woman's hair color does indeed influence perceptions of attractiveness it makes sense to conclude that hair color may have a direct effect on perceptions of her competence.

Overall, the research on women's hair color has been somewhat inconsistent. Blonds seem to be viewed as more beautiful than either brunette or redheads (Clayson and Maughan, 1986; Feinman and Gill, 1978; Lawson, 1971; Rich and Cash, 1993). In some studies however, men seemed to prefer brunettes, and red hair was seen as comparable to blonds in attractiveness (Clayson and Klassen, 1989; Davis, 1990; Jacobi and Cash, 1994; Kyle and Mahler, 1996; Lawson, 1971). In others, redheads are seen as least attractive of all hair colors, but this may be the result of changing trends (Clayson and Klassen, 1989; Feinman and Gill, 1978; Rich and

Cash, 1993; Roll and Verinis, 1971). Blonds were depicted as rather feminine and with qualities such as interesting and warm (Clayson and Maughan, 1986; Lawson, 1971). Brunettes were also typically seen as possessing valuable interpersonal qualities (Clayson and Maughan, 1986; Lawson, 1971). They, along with redheads, may be seen as being more intellectual than their blond contemporaries (Clayson and Maughan, 1986; Lawson, 1971). These results are rather discrepant in some areas and it may be due to the differences in methodology, where some studies use photos and others use descriptions. In the case of descriptions, individuals may have different images of women with each respective hair color and with less information to go off of than a photo; stereotypes may play a larger role in these evaluations. Another limitation to be considered is that the majority of this research has been done on college students, presumably for reasons of accessibility, making it difficult to generalize results to the greater population. Finally, these studies are self-report studies and rely on participants to know how they actually perceive and might react to the stimulus. While past research is relevant, it may be more informative to use actual situations to determine whether interactions between individuals with specific hair colors do in fact differ.

Stereotypes are a pervasive influence in the judgments and evaluations made about women. The purpose of the present study was to examine whether stereotypes regarding hair color persist and would possibly override information that contradicts them when individuals are evaluated, or whether given information regarding a woman's competence individuals would base their evaluations on it. Using similar methodology to Clayson and Klassen (1989), a picture and a resume of female graduate school applicant's hair color and GPA were manipulated to measure the effects on perceptions of the woman's competence and attractiveness. Based on prior research and current stereotypes, it was hypothesized that blond women would be evaluated

as more attractive in the high GPA condition and brunettes would be evaluated as most competent in the condition with the high GPA and thus stereotypes would dominate decisions.

Method

Participants

This study used 54 participants from a midwestern university who were generally between the ages of 18 and 23. Students signed up to participate and likely received credit for lower level psychology classes. All participants were treated in accordance with the ethical principles of the American Psychological Association.

Materials

A fake resume (see Appendix A) was used to give an academic description of a potential graduate school applicant and a 3 x 3.5 inch photo was attached (see Appendix B). The photos were obtained using a Cosmopolitan Virtual Makeover computer program. They were electronically altered to control for attractiveness and were the same in each condition except for the color of hair, brown or blond. Various characteristics, such as attractiveness, competence, ability, friendliness, liability, and likeliness to recommend the applicant to graduate school, were listed for participants to rate on a seven point semantic differential scale (see Appendix C).

Design and Procedure

Participants were run in groups of approximately four, were spaced around the room, and every effort was made to prevent participants from seeing other participant's materials. Each participant was asked to sign and return an informed consent. Then they were given the materials which included instructions, a photo, and a resume containing a description of a potential graduate student applicant. There were four conditions, identical, except hair color and GPA were manipulated to create a 2 (hair color: blond or brunette) x 2 (GPA: low or high)

factorial design. Students rated various characteristics of the applicant on a seven-point semantic differential scale and filled out basic demographic information. When complete, participants were asked to place the response sheet in a manila envelope and were fully debriefed. It was expected that, consistent with stereotypes, participants would find blond haired applicants to be most attractive when GPA was high and brunette haired applicants to be most competent when GPA was high. It was also expected that brunettes would be rated as more competent across conditions and blondes would be rated as more attractive across conditions.

Results

A 2 (hair color) x 2 (GPA) between measures ANOVA was used to analyze the data. The data was coded directly from the scales with one being the lowest possible rating and seven being the highest possible rating for each variable. The descriptive statistics are shown in table 1 and give a general idea of the direction of the results. The results indicate that the interaction did not reach significance for any of the dependent measures, attractiveness $F(1, 50) = 0.58, p = .45$, ability $F(1, 50) = 0.02, p = .88$, friendliness $F(1, 50) = 1.08, p = .30$, competence $F(1, 50) = 0.001, p = .97$, likableness $F(1, 50) = 1.17, p = .23$, or likeliness to recommend the applicant to graduate school $F(1, 50) = 0.26, p = .61$.

The main effects for attractiveness revealed marginal significance for GPA $F(1, 50) = 3.03, p = .09$ and hair color $F(1, 50) = 3.37, p = .07$. For the ability measure the main effects indicated that GPA was marginally significant $F(1, 50) = 3.05, p = .09$, but that the effects of hair color were not significant $F(1, 50) = 0.03, p = .87$. Neither of the main effects for GPA or hair color was significant for friendliness with F values of $F(1, 50) = 0.26, p = .61$ and $F(1, 50) = 0.32, p = .58$ respectively. Similarly the main effects on competence were not significant for GPA $F(1, 50) = 1.97, p = .17$ or hair color $F(1, 50) = 1.13, p = .29$. The effects of GPA were not

significant on likeability $F(1, 50) = 0.34, p = .56$ nor were the effects of hair color $F(1, 50) = 1.02, p = .32$; additionally GPA and hair color had little effect on likeliness to recommend the applicant to graduate school with respective F values of $F(1, 50) = 0.49, p = .49$ and $F(1, 50) = 0.48, p = .49$.

Discussion

The results of this study seem to suggest that stereotypes are not as straightforward as they may seem or that individuals rely on them less than previously believed. Brunettes were rated as more attractive than blonds in both the high and low GPA conditions. Additionally, applicants with a low GPA, regardless of hair color, were viewed as more attractive than those with a high GPA. This seems to contradict previous research that concluded attractive individuals are perceived as more competent than less attractive individuals, but support research that concluded a negative relationship exists between intelligence and attractiveness (Jackson, Hunter, and Hodge, 1995; Feingold, 1982). It may be possible that stereotypes are beginning to change or that participants rated those with low GPAs as more attractive because they were forced to rate them as less competent, lower in ability, and less likely to be recommended to graduate school.

GPA seemed to be affecting ability ratings without regard to hair color; the high GPA applicants were rated as higher in ability than the low GPA applicants at a marginally significant level. This is obviously in the expected direction for the relationship, but it is interesting to note that neither the competence nor the likeliness to recommend the applicant variables showed these results although all three were highly correlated. It is unclear how the ability variable differs from the others, but it might be an interesting distinction to make in further research.

The current study had several limitations that might be addressed in future research including the resume that was used. It may have included too much positive information for the low GPA conditions to have a measurable effect relative to the high GPA conditions. This becomes more plausible if the ceiling effect that was found across all conditions is considered. Additionally, this effect may have been due in part to scales that were not reversed, leading participants to simply respond with tendencies rather than thought. Finally, asking participants to judge computer generated pictures on attractiveness, for a graduate school applicant no less, does not have a great deal of psychological realism.

Future research may consider these limitations and improve upon this design. It may prove useful to use actual performance ratings of some sort to measure variable such as competence and ability. Furthermore, it would be most useful if the time and resources are available, to conduct research in real world settings, especially the work place where the consequences of stereotypes may be serious.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for the Effects of Hair Color and GPA on Interpersonal Variables

	GPA Condition	Hair Color	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Ability	low	blond	5.5333	1.06010	15
		brown	5.5385	1.19829	13
		Total	5.5357	1.10494	28
	high	blond	5.9231	.49355	13
		brown	6.0000	.57735	13
		Total	5.9615	.52769	26
Friendliness	low	blond	5.6000	.73679	15
		brown	5.4615	1.12660	13
		Total	5.5357	.92224	28
	high	blond	5.1538	1.21423	13
		brown	5.6154	1.12090	13
		Total	5.3846	1.16883	26
Competence	low	blond	5.6000	.73679	15
		brown	5.8462	.89872	13
		Total	5.7143	.80999	28
	high	blond	5.9231	.95407	13
		brown	6.1538	.68874	13
		Total	6.0385	.82369	26
Attractiveness	low	blond	5.1333	.74322	15
		brown	5.6923	.75107	13
		Total	5.3929	.78595	28
	high	blond	4.9231	.75955	13
		brown	5.1538	.89872	13
		Total	5.0385	.82369	26
Recommend	low	blond	5.8000	.67612	15
		brown	5.8462	1.34450	13
		Total	5.8214	1.02030	28
	high	blond	5.8462	.80064	13
		brown	6.1538	.80064	13
		Total	6.0000	.80000	26
Likableness	low	blond	5.6667	.61721	15
		brown	5.6154	.96077	13
		Total	5.6429	.78004	28
	high	blond	5.2308	.92681	13
		brown	5.7692	1.01274	13
		Total	5.5000	.98995	26

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Appendix A

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Kay L. Williams
Address: 1825 Maple Street
Reader, MN 56653
Telephone: 218-278-4567
Date of Birth: March 15, 1981
Citizenship: United States of America

Education:
University of Reader, Reader, Minnesota
Major: Psychology
Degree: B.A. (anticipated), May 2005
GPA: 3.70 or 2.90

Honors and Awards:
Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities, 2002
Reader Community Scholarship, 2003
Psi Chi, 2003

Membership in Professional Associations:
Psi Chi (National Honor Society in Psychology)
American Psychological Society (student affiliate)
Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology Inc. (student affiliate)

Research Experience:
Research Assistant, University of Reader, Department of Psychology, September 2002-June 2004.
Duties: word processing, data analysis, and running participants, 10 hours weekly.

Clinical Experience:
Behavioral Health Technician, Reader Psychiatric and Mental Health Facility, Reader, Minnesota, June 2002-August 2003.
Duties: supervision of adult patients, providing daily care for patients, and maintaining progress charts for patients.

Appendix B



Appendix C

Please indicate a single choice on each of the following measures by **circling** the response that most closely resembles your opinion of the graduate school applicant.

Do you perceive this applicant as high in ability? (circle one)

LOW ABILITY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **HIGH ABILITY**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely

Do you perceive this applicant as friendly? (circle one)

UNFRIENDLY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **FRIENDLY**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely

Do you perceive this applicant as attractive? (circle one)

UNATTRACTIVE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **ATTRACTIVE**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely

Do you perceive this applicant as competent? (circle one)

INCOMPETENT 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **COMPETENT**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely

Do you perceive this applicant as likable? (circle one)

NOT LIKABLE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **LIKABLE**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely

How likely would you be to recommend this applicant for graduate school? (circle one)

NOT LIKELY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **LIKELY**
 extremely quite slightly neither slightly quite extremely