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The effects of attractiveness, ethnicity, and gender on causal attributions of promotion

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THE EFFECTS OF ATTRACTIVENESS, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER ON CAUSAL
ATTRIBUTIONS OF PROMOTION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

By

Masashi Toyoda

May 2003

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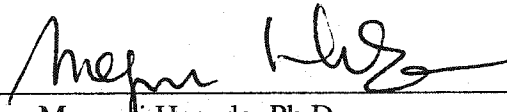
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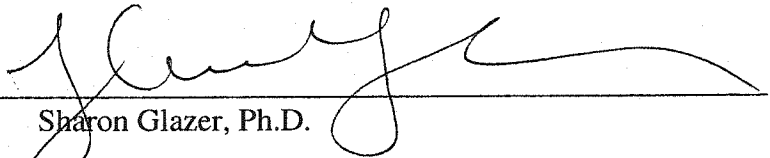
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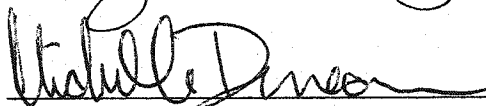
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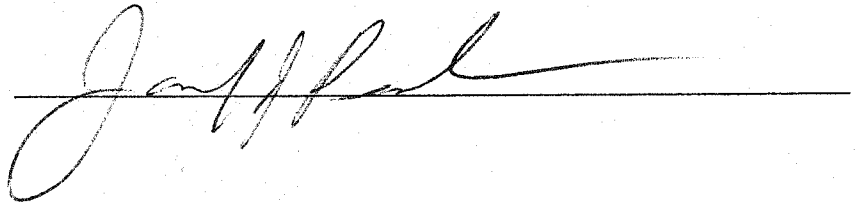


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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF ATTRACTIVENESS, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER ON CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS OF PROMOTION

By Masashi Toyoda

Using a 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) \times 2 (gender of a stimulus person) \times 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) between-subjects factorial design and the data from 229 college students, the present study tested the effects of the physical attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of hypothetical employees on causal attributions of the employees' promotion in a work setting. The purposes of the present study were (a) to test empirically the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory and that from the lack of fit model, (b) to investigate the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions, and (c) to explore the effects of ethnicity in combination with attractiveness and gender on causal attributions. Results did not support the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory or that derived from the lack of fit model. There was partial support for the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions. Finally, the interaction effect of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on causal attributions was not significant. The results supported the general perception that attractive males are assigned to easier tasks so that they receive a promotion more readily than others. Implications of the results and suggestions for future research are discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Effects of Physical Attractiveness in Work Settings.....	3
Effects of Physical Attractiveness on Causal Attributions in Work Settings...	8
Ethnicity as a Possible Moderator.....	14
METHOD.....	18
Participants.....	18
Procedure.....	19
Materials.....	19
Manipulation.....	20
Measures.....	23
Manipulation Checks.....	24
RESULTS.....	24
Manipulation Checks.....	24
Tests of Hypotheses.....	27
DISCUSSION.....	42
Causal Attributions.....	42
Personal Attributes.....	48
Limitations.....	51
Future Research.....	52
Summary.....	54

REFERENCES.....	57
APPENDICES.....	64
Appendix A. Consent Form	64
Appendix B. Career History of Stimulus Person.....	65
Appendix C. Resume of Stimulus Person	66
Appendix D. Questionnaires.....	67
Appendix E. Debriefing Statement	70
Appendix F. Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board Approval Form...	71

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Correlations among Manipulated and Measured Variables	28
2. F Statistics for the Effects of an Employee's Physical Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity on the Perceiver's Causal Attributions of the Employee's Promotions.....	31
3. Mean Ratings of Causal Attribution as a Function of an Employee's Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity	32
4. F Statistics for the Effects of Stimulus Person's Physical Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity on the Perceived Personal Attributes of the Stimulus Person.....	39
5. Mean Ratings of Personal Attributes as a Function of an Employee's Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity.....	40

Introduction

We often form impressions and make judgments about others based on superficial attributes, such as gender, age, or ethnic background (e.g., Ashmore, 1981; Baron & Byrne, 1997; Kreitner & Kinicki, 1998). In addition to these attributes, research on physical attractiveness (referred to hereinafter as attractiveness) has shown that attractiveness plays an important role in perceptions of and judgments about individuals (for reviews see Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992; Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein, Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000; Stone, Stone, & Dipboye, 1992). For example, seminal work by Dion, Bersheid, and Walter (1972) showed that people perceived attractive individuals to be more interesting, sociable, independent, exciting, sexy, well adjusted, and successful than less attractive individuals. Furthermore, attractive individuals were perceived to attain higher status jobs, have more competent spouses, and lead happier marriages than less attractive individuals. Dion et al. (1972) termed such a positive observation associated with attractiveness as the “what-is-beautiful-is-good” stereotype. Subsequent studies on attractiveness have also shown that attractiveness influences (a) choice of a desirable date (Sprecher & Duck, 1994; Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, & Rottman, 1966), (b) decisions to help others (Benson, Karabenick, & Learner, 1976), (c) causal attributions of socially unacceptable behavior (Fredricks & Anderson, 1992), and (d) jury decisions in simulated trials (Efran, 1974).

The effects of attractiveness have also been shown in work settings. Evidences of an attractiveness bias in work settings have been reported in a number of studies and qualitative reviews (e.g., Bull & Rumsey, 1988; Jackson, 1992; Morrow, McElroy,

Stamper, & Wilson, 1990; Stone et al., 1992). Overall, results suggest that relative to less attractive individuals, attractive individuals tend to fare better in a variety of employment-related decisions. The results of a more recent meta-analysis (Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, in press) indicated that attractiveness is *always* an asset to individuals and that such an effect is nontrivial (i.e., $d = .37$).

Despite a large number of studies that have examined the effects of attractiveness on a variety of work-related outcomes, little attention has been paid to the investigation of the effects of attractiveness on the perceived causal attributions in work settings (Spencer & Taylor, 1988). Even among a few studies that have examined the effects of attractiveness on perceived causal attributions in work settings (e.g., Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988), findings are inconsistent. The lack of research attention to causal attributions is unfortunate, given that a causal attribution is considered one of the most important factors that affect organizational decisions (Kreitner & Kinicki, 1998). For example, Green and Mitchell (1979) states that the manner in which a manager attributes his or her subordinate's performance has an effect on the manager's reactions to and subsequent behaviors toward the subordinate (e.g., promotion, termination, training).

Furthermore, the majority of the studies that have examined the effects of attractiveness in work settings have exclusively used Euro Americans (often referred to as "White") as a stimulus person. Relatively little attention (with exception of Marshall, Stamps, and Moore, 1998, and Miller and Routh, 1985) has been paid to the examination of an attractiveness bias using individuals from other ethnic groups (e.g., African

American, Asian American). Therefore, it is not known whether the findings of past attractiveness studies are generalizable to members of non-European ethnic groups.

Given the importance of the attractiveness bias in work settings and the lack of research attention on the effects of attractiveness on perceived causal attributions and on the generalizability of the attractiveness bias to different ethnic groups, the present study was designed to examine the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of hypothetical employees on the perceived causal attributions of his or her promotion. The following section provides a brief review of the literature on attractiveness in the work settings.

Literature Review

Effects of Attractiveness in Work Settings

A number of studies have examined the effects of attractiveness on a variety of work-related outcomes (Beehr & Gilmore, 1982; Cash et al., 1977; Kushnir, 1982; Marlowe et al., 1996; Spencer & Taylor, 1988). For example, attractiveness has been shown to influence selection decisions (e.g., Cash et al., 1977; Cash & Kilcullen, 1985; Gilmore et al., 1986), predicted career advancement (Marlowe et al., 1996; Morrow et al., 1990), and compensation levels (e.g., Frieze et al., 1991; Roszell et al., 1989). Several researchers argued that attractiveness might not be the most important factor in selection decisions, but it may be a crucial deciding factor when a decision-maker faces a difficult choice among many applicants with similar qualifications for a position, or with similar job performances for a reward (Morrow et al., 1990; Stone et al., 1992).

According to Hosoda et al. (in press), there are two theoretical perspectives, implicit personality theory and lack of fit model, that explain the effects of attractiveness on work-related outcomes. The following sections detail these two perspectives.

Implicit personality theory. Implicit personality theory is a hypothetical cognitive structure that comprises personal attributes or characteristics and the set of inferential relations between them (Ashmore, 1981). For example, a friendly person is also thought to be approachable and sociable. In this case, an observer has a hypothetical cognitive structure such that a personal attribute (i.e., friendly) is linked inferentially with other personal attributes (i.e., approachable, sociable). Stereotypes are the implicit personality theories in which group membership is considered to be a personal attribute that is inferentially linked to other personal attributes (Ashmore, 1981). Using implicit personality theory, Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) defined gender stereotypes as “a structured set of inferential relations that link a social category with personal attributes” (p. 225). Using the same logic, Eagly et al. (1991) utilized the implicit personality theory to explain the attractiveness stereotype, and argued that the social categories of “attractiveness” and “unattractiveness” were linked inferentially to personal attributes.

Empirical studies (e.g., Dion & Dion, 1987; Sprecher & Duck, 1994; Benson et al., 1976; Fredricks & Anderson, 1992) and more recent meta-analyses (Eagley et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992) have firmly established the existence of stereotypes associated with attractiveness. For example, meta-analyses by Eagley et al. (1991) and Feingold (1992) showed that attractiveness has (a) a strong effect on perceptions of social competence, social skills, and sexual warmth, (b) a moderate effect on perceptions of

intellectual competence, potency, adjustment, dominance, and general mental health, and (c) a small effect on perceptions of integrity and concern for others.

The implicit personality theory predicts that due to the positive stereotypes associated with attractiveness, decision makers are biased more favorably toward attractive individuals than less attractive individuals. For example, relative to less attractive individuals, attractive individuals tend to fare better in terms of such outcomes as (a) selection decisions (e.g., Cash & Kilcullen, 1985; Cash et al., 1977; Gilmore et al., 1986), (b) predicted career advancement (Marlowe et al., 1996; Morrow et al., 1990), and (c) compensation levels (e.g., Frieze et al., 1991; Roszell et al., 1989).

To illustrate, Roszell et al. (1989) investigated the effects of attractiveness on income attainment, and found that attractive individuals earned higher annual salary than less attractive individuals. Marlowe et al. (1996) examined the effects of job applicants' attractiveness on a hiring decision and a predicted career advancement, and found that attractive applicants, regardless of gender, were preferred over less attractive applicants as a managerial trainee. Furthermore, results of a more recent meta-analysis that examined the effects of attractiveness on work-related outcomes among experimental studies (Hosoda et al., in press), also showed a strong support for the implicit personality theory as a possible explanation for the attractiveness bias.

Lack of fit model. Despite the consistent findings that attractive individuals fare better in a variety of work-related outcomes, two studies (e.g., Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985) have shown that attractiveness has more complex effects on others' perceptions than that which the implicit personality theory predicts.

Several researchers have argued that although attractiveness is beneficial for men in various situations, it becomes detrimental for women who hold or apply for stereotypically masculine jobs (Cash & Trimer, 1984; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988). For example, Heilman and Saruwatari (1979) found that while attractiveness was beneficial for men, regardless of the position sought (i.e., managerial, non-managerial), attractiveness was beneficial for women when they were seeking a stereotypically feminine position (i.e., non-managerial), but detrimental when women were seeking a stereotypically masculine position (i.e., managerial). Heilman and Saruwatari termed this observation, “beauty-is-beastly,” and argued that attractiveness, gender, and job type interacted to influence work-related outcomes. Heilman and Saruwatari used a lack of fit model to explain the attractiveness bias.

The lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983) was originally developed to explain the dynamics and the conditions in which gender bias occurs in organizational settings. According to the model, the expectations of how an individual will perform in a certain job depends upon the fit between perceived personal attributes of the individual and perceived skills and abilities required to perform the job. Individuals often make inferences about a person based on a stereotype (e.g., gender, attractiveness). For example, men are stereotypically described as aggressive, strong, and dominant, whereas women are stereotyped as affectionate, emotional, and sensitive (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). High ranked positions in an organizational hierarchy (e.g., president, vice president, chief executive officer) are often thought to require attributes such as competitiveness,

ambition, and self-confidence, which are attributes also typically ascribed to men. Consequently, men in such positions are expected to succeed because of a perceived fit between their attributes and job requirements, whereas women, in such positions, are expected to fail because of a perceived lack of fit between their attributes and job requirements (Heilman, 1983). Therefore, a bias is likely to occur when there is a perceived lack of fit between the personal attributes and job requirements.

Heilman and colleagues (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985) applied the lack of fit model to explain the attractiveness bias in the work settings. It has been shown that attractiveness enhances the perception of gender characterizations (Gillen, 1981). That is, attractive men are perceived to be more masculine and to possess more masculine attributes than less attractive men, whereas attractive women are perceived to be more feminine and to possess more feminine attributes than less attractive women. According to Heilman (1983), therefore, in a situation where an attractive woman is considered for a high ranked position, her attractiveness, because it enhances the perception of femininity, is likely to result in a perceived lack of fit between her personal attributes and job requirements. The larger the incongruity between the two, the lower the performance expectations are. Consequently, the job performance of attractive women in high ranked positions is expected to be poorer than that of less attractive women, who are also likely to be seen as less feminine. In contrast, attractive men, because it enhances the perception of masculinity, are likely to increase the perceived fit between his personal attributes and job requirements of a masculine job. Therefore, the

job performance of attractive men in high ranked positions is expected to be higher than that of less attractive men.

Although both of the predictions derived from the implicit personality theory and the lack of fit model mentioned above are based on theoretical models, implications of these predictions are different. That is, the implicit personality theory suggests that attractive individuals always fare better than less attractive individuals, whereas the lack of fit model implies that this theory is not always the case. The lack of fit model implies that attractiveness interacts with gender and job type, such that attractiveness is a liability when women apply for or hold a masculine job. The results of a meta-analysis (Hosoda et al., in press) supported the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory rather than the prediction derived from the lack of fit model, however, no study has empirically examined the plausibility of these two predictions. Thus, one purpose of the present study was to empirically examine the plausibility of two predictions.

Effects of Attractiveness on Causal Attributions in Work Settings

One of the important factors affecting organizational decisions (e.g., reward allocations, promotion decisions, disciplinary actions) is the type of causal attributions that a manager makes toward his or her subordinate's behavior (Kreitner & Kinicki, 1997). A causal attribution is the cognitive process by which one presumes or infers the cause of both one's own and other's social behavior (Kreitner & Kinicki, 1997; Sdorow, 1995).

Weiner, Freize, Kukla, Reed, Rest, and Rosenbaum (1971) developed the causal attribution model and argued that individuals use the causal elements of an attribution

both to predict and to interpret their own and others' achievement-related events. The model identifies four causal elements, including ability, effort, task difficulty (referred to hereinafter as ease of tasks), and luck. These four elements are categorized into two dimensions: locus of control (internal or external) and stability (stable or unstable). The first dimension, locus of control, deals with the span of control one has over a certain element. One has a relatively high span of control over his or her own ability and effort, but has little control over the difficulty of a task assigned and luck he or she has. The second dimension, stability, deals with the stability of the element. While ability and ease of tasks are relatively stable over a period of time, effort and luck could fluctuate depending on the situation.

Green and Mitchell (1979) developed a two-step process model that explains how a causal attribution influences organizational behaviors. According to the model, in the first step, a supervisor makes causal attributions of his or her subordinate's behavior (e.g., good performance, poor performance) when the supervisor observes the subordinate. In the second step, the supervisor decides what actions to take, based on the type of attributions made, such as rewarding, promoting, training, or terminating. Therefore, this model implies that depending on the causal attribution made, the supervisor's reactions can be different for the same subordinate behavior.

Other factors, however, also play a role in the two-step process model. In the first step of the attributional process (observation-attribution linkage), supervisor's expectations about his or her subordinate's behavior were posited as one of the mediators of the observation-attribution linkage (Green & Mitchell, 1979). Weiner et al. (1971)

stated that an individual's attribution of other person's achievement-related events is affected by his or her initial expectations toward the person being observed. That is, if a subordinate's success at work is expected and the success does occur, a manager is likely to attribute the success to internal causes (e.g., ability, skill). On the contrary, when the subordinate's success at work was unexpected and success occurs, a manager is likely to attribute the success to external causes (e.g., luck, easy task).

In a situation where one is asked to make a causal attribution of a woman's success in a high ranked position in an organization, the relationship between initial performance expectations and resulting causal explanations for such success might have detrimental effects for these women because of a perceived lack of fit. That is, because a woman's success in a high ranked position is not expected, the perceived causal attributions of her success are likely to be external (e.g., favoritism, easy tasks, luck). Research shows that when the perceived cause of success is external, corresponding organizational rewards are fewer in quantity and less desirable in quality than when the perceived cause of success is internal (Heilman & Guzzo, 1978). Because managers' actions to their subordinates' performance depend on how the managers attribute the performance of their subordinates, causal attributions based on false expectations may lead to poor personnel decisions, such as promoting, transferring, or terminating a wrong person.

Although there exist a substantial number of studies that have examined the effects of attractiveness and gender on access-related work outcomes (e.g., Beehr & Gilmore, 1982; Cash et al., 1977; Gilmore et al., 1986), and a large number of studies that

have investigated the effects of causal attributions on a variety of work-related outcomes (e.g., Green & Mitchell, 1979; Judge & Martocchio, 1996; Struthers, Miller, Boudens, & Briggs, 2001), little attention has been paid to the combination of these two issues, that is, the simultaneous investigation of the effects of attractiveness and gender on the perceived causal attributions of success in organizational settings (Spencer & Taylor, 1988). To the author's knowledge, only two studies (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988) examined the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions, however, the results of these studies were inconsistent.

Heilman and Stopeck (1985) examined the effects of attractiveness, gender, and the magnitude of success on causal attributions of corporate success. Participants were asked to explain stimulus person's promotion in terms of (a) ability to do the job, (b) effort or hard work, (c) a significant work-based relationship, (d) political know-how, (e) luck or circumstances, and (f) a significant social-based relationship with higher-ups. Results showed that there was a main effect of attractiveness, an interaction effect for attractiveness and gender, and a three-way interaction effect for attractiveness, gender, and the magnitude of success on causal attributions. Specifically, Heilman and Stopeck (1985) found that effort or hard work was seen as less responsible for attractive individuals' success as compared to less attractive individuals' success. However, social relationships were seen as more responsible for the success of attractive individuals than that of less attractive individuals. Furthermore, it was also found that the success of attractive men was attributed more to ability than that of less attractive men, but the opposite was true for women. That is, the success of attractive women was attributed less

to ability than that of less attractive women. In fact, ability was seen as the primary cause of success for less attractive women. Moreover, luck was attributed more to the success of less attractive men than that of attractive men, however it was attributed more to the success of attractive women than that of less attractive women. A three-way interaction effect between attractiveness, gender, and the magnitude of success for work-based and socially-based relationships showed that only when the target person was less attractive and a rapid riser in the organization did the relationships (i.e., work- and socially-based) seem more responsible for the success of women than that of men.

On their capability ratings, attractive men were consistently judged to be more capable than less attractive men, whereas attractive women were consistently judged to be less capable than less attractive women. These findings indicate that when individuals make inferences about the causes of an individual's success in an organization, attractiveness has an advantageous effect for men, but not for women. These results, therefore, showed that attractiveness might be detrimental, especially for women.

Likewise, Spencer and Taylor (1988) examined the effects of the attractiveness (attractive, average, or unattractive), gender, and level of performance (good, average, or poor) of a management trainee on the evaluations of and the causal explanations of the work performance. Results showed that the good performance of attractive men was viewed as occurring with less effort than that of unattractive men, and that the overall performance of attractive men was rated lower than that of unattractive men. In fact, the good performance of unattractive men was rated equally high on ability and luck, compared to average and attractive men. However, the attractive women received better

ratings on overall performance than the average and unattractive women did, but their good performance was attributed more to luck and supervisory bias than that of average and unattractive women. The authors argued that although attractive women received high ratings on their overall performance, the causal attribution of their good performance was external (i.e., luck and supervisory bias). Therefore, these high performance ratings are not particularly positive. These results indicate that attractiveness might be a liability for both men and for women.

Both of the studies noted above (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988) examined the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions in a work setting, these results are, however, somewhat inconsistent. Whereas Heilman and Stopeck found that attractive men benefited from attractiveness, Spencer and Taylor found that attractiveness is not particularly beneficial for men. Attractive men's performance was, in fact, rated lower on effort compared to unattractive men. In addition, the overall performance of attractive men was rated lower than that of unattractive men (Spencer & Taylor, 1988). Furthermore, Heilman and Stopeck found that attractive men's success was more likely to be attributed to their ability than less attractive men's success, whereas Spencer and Taylor found that the good performance of attractive men was rated as equally high on ability and luck as that of unattractive men. Findings regarding women, however, were similar between the two studies. That is, both studies agreed that the success of attractive women was attributed more to external factors than internal factors.

Although Spencer and Taylor (1988) argued that these inconsistent findings were probably due to a small sample size (i.e., 13 to 15 participants in each condition) used by Heilman and Stopeck (1985), an additional explanation might be that the two studies used jobs that differed in positions in an organizational hierarchy. In Heilman and Stopeck's study, an assistant vice president was used as a stimulus person's position, whereas in Spencer and Taylor's study, a management trainee was used for the stimulus person's position. These positions are generally ranked differently in an organization's hierarchy, an assistant vice president position being higher than a management trainee in rank. Because these two studies examined different types of job, their results may not be considered comparable. The results of these studies suggest that there is need for more empirical evidence on the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions.

Ethnicity as a Possible Moderator

Over the last few decades, there have been tremendous demographic changes in the workplace due to the increasing number of ethnic minorities in the workforce (Kreitner & Kinicki, 1995). As a consequence, the ethnic composition of the workplace has become far more heterogeneous than before. However, the past research on attractiveness has seldom examined the effect of attractiveness using different ethnicities other than Euro American as a stimulus person (Marshall et al., 1998). Exceptions to this are studies by Miller and Routh (1985), and Marshall et al. (1998). Miller and Routh included African American stimulus persons as a counterpart of Euro American stimulus persons. Participants in the study were asked to decide whether each of the hypothetical applicants for a school psychologist position, who differed on attractiveness, gender, and

ethnicity, would be invited for an interview or nominated for employment. Results showed that although the interviewers preferred (a) attractive applicants over less attractive applicants and (b) women over men for the interview and hiring, ethnicity did not influence the interview and hiring decisions. That is, both attractive Euro American and African American applicants were preferred over less attractive Euro American and African American applicants, respectively.

Marshall et al. (1998) also examined the effects of ethnicity (African American or Euro American), attractiveness (more or less), and job type (inside or outside sales) on a variety of pre-interview impressions of applicants (i.e., qualification, likelihood of hiring, success, and advancement, starting salary, amount of initial training) using a sample of managers and executives from Master of Business Administration (MBA) programs as respondents. The results did not show any main or interaction effects of attractiveness, ethnicity, and/or job type. Interestingly, the results showed evidence of pre-interview biases as a function of the evaluator's own ethnicity. That is, a bias was present among African American managers preferring the applicants of their own ethnicity, but such a bias was not present among Euro American managers. Based on these findings, it could be speculated that the ethnicity of a stimulus person is operating independently from attractiveness. Although the above studies (Marshall et al., 1998; Miller & Routh, 1985) manipulated the ethnicity of stimulus person, the majority of the past research on attractiveness has exclusively focused on Euro American's attractiveness and its effects on causal attributions of work performance. It is assumed that current evidence of the research on attractiveness in work settings is far from complete and comprehensive to

generalize to different ethnicities. Moreover, currently, there is no study that has examined the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on causal attributions in work settings.

Present Study

The present study was designed to investigate the effects of hypothetical employees' attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on perceiver's causal attributions of the hypothetical employees' promotion. The purposes of the present study were three-fold; (a) to empirically test the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory (i.e., "what-is-beautiful-is-good") and that derived from the lack of fit model (i.e., "beauty-is-beastly"), (b) to further investigate the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions, and (c) to explore the effects of ethnicity in combination with attractiveness and gender on causal attributions.

An Asian American stimulus person was chosen as a counterpart to a Euro American stimulus person, because the Asian American ethnic group is reported to be one of the fastest growing groups in the labor force (The U.S. Bureau of Labor, 2001), yet little research attention has been paid to this ethnic group (Leong & Schneller, 1997).

There were three hypotheses and two research questions tested in the present study. According to the implicit personality theory:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a main effect of attractiveness on the causal attributions of the stimulus person's promotion. That is, the promotion of attractive individuals will be attributed more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals.

If this hypothesis holds true, then it propagates the following question whether the implicit personality theory can be generalized to different ethnicities:

Research Question 1: Is the promotion of attractive individuals attributed more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals, regardless of the ethnicity of a stimulus person? Will the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory also hold for Asian American stimulus person?

According to the lack of fit model:

Hypothesis 2: There will be an interaction effect between attractiveness and gender on the causal attribution of the stimulus person's promotion. That is, the promotion of attractive men will be attributed more to internal factors (i.e., ability, effort) than that of less attractive men, whereas the promotion of attractive women will be attributed more to the external factors (i.e., ease of tasks, luck, other's favor) than that of less attractive women.

If hypothesis 2 holds true, then it poses the following research question whether the lack of fit model can be applied to different ethnicities:

Research Question 2: Will there be an interaction effect between attractiveness and gender, regardless of the ethnicity of a stimulus person, on the type of attribution given for the stimulus person's promotion? That is, will the prediction derived from the lack of fit model also hold for Asian American stimulus person?

Asian Americans are often stereotyped as a model minority and ascribed such attributes as hard working and intelligent (Jackson, Lewandowski, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997; Leong & Schneller, 1997). Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that these

stereotypes may be applied when individuals make attributions about Asian Americans' promotion. That is, individuals may attribute the promotion of Asian Americans more to internal factors (e.g., hard work, abilities) than that of Euro Americans. Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3: The promotion of Asian Americans will be attributed more to internal factors than that of Euro Americans.

Method

Overview

Using a 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) \times 2 (gender of a stimulus person) \times 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) between-subjects factorial design, the present study examined the separate and interactive effects of a hypothetical employees' attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on the perceived causal attributions of his or her promotion.

Participants

A total of 229 college students, consisting of 69 men (30%) and 158 women, participated in the present study. The participants' ages ranged from 18 years to 64 years (*Median* = 24). The ethnic composition of the sample was diverse; 34% Asian American ($n = 76$), 26% Euro American ($n = 60$), 15% Hispanic American ($n = 34$), 6% African American ($n = 13$), 7% mixed ethnic origin ($n = 17$), and 11% who indicated other ($n = 26$). The participants have been in the workforce for an average of 6.3 years. Sixty one percent of participants ($n = 140$) were employed at the time of the study. Among them,

16% ($n = 23$) were in an administrative or a clerical position, 12% ($n = 17$) were in a managerial position, and 12% ($n = 17$) were in a professional or a technical position.

Procedures

The experimenter informed participants that the study was about providing perceived explanations for a person's promotion. First, participants were asked to sign a consent form to participate in the present study (see Appendix A). Second, they were provided with an instruction sheet and an envelope that included a career history (see Appendix B), a resume (see Appendix C), a picture of a stimulus person, and a questionnaire (see Appendix D). Third, participants were asked to read the career history and the resume of the stimulus person, and to complete the questionnaire items that were designed to measure (a) the perceived causal attributions of the stimulus person's promotion and (b) the personal attributes of the stimulus person. More specifically, participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with each of the statements explaining the potential causes of promotion, and decide which of those causes they thought was the most and the least likely reason for the stimulus person's promotion (see Appendix D). Participants were then asked to indicate their opinions about the stimulus person's personal attributes. Fourth, participants were asked to provide their demographic information. Finally, after completing the questionnaires, participants were provided with a written debriefing of the present study (see Appendix E).

Materials

Stimulus materials consisted of (a) a career history, (b) a resume, and (b) a picture of the stimulus person. A description of the career history is as follows.

Career history. “[Stimulus person’s name] works for a computer software company. He or she has entered the company as a managerial trainee. He or she was characterized as a high-potential, career-oriented individual at the time of organizational entry. Recently, he or she was promoted to an assistant manager right after he or she received his or her MBA degree. The average length of service to be promoted into the assistant manager position is reported to be 4 years. For him or her, it was 3 years. Typical assistant managers at this company earn \$55,000 a year, but [stimulus person’s name] earns \$65,000 a year.”

The career history used in the present study was based on the description of a career history that Heilman and Stopeck (1985) used in their study and revised.

Resume. The resume of an employee included information on (a) his or her education (i.e., bachelor’s degree, MBA), (b) past work experience (i.e., sales associate, managerial trainee), (c) affiliation (i.e., student management association), and skills (e.g., computer software skills).

Picture. The picture of an employee was in a black and white, shoulder-up. Background of the photographs, facial expression, posture, and attire of the employee was held constant across the conditions to avoid these confounding factors to influence outcome variables.

Manipulation

Attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of a stimulus person. Twenty-four black and white photographs of the individuals of different ethnicities (i.e., Asian American, Euro American) and gender (i.e., male, female) were taken. Each photograph included

shoulder up of an individual. A shoulder-up photograph was chosen over a whole body photograph because a person's body (e.g., attire, physique, posture) may convey a nonverbal message, which might confound the effects of attractiveness. Less attractive stimulus persons were created by applying make-up on the persons' faces, thus making them less attractive. An independent sample of 328 college students was asked to indicate how attractive a stimulus person was on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *very unattractive*, 6 = *very attractive*).

Based on their ratings, eight pictures that differed on attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, were selected using the following criteria. Across the gender and ethnicity conditions, ratings were significantly different between attractive and less attractive conditions ($p < .05$), but not different within the attractive or the less attractive condition ($p > .05$). For example, the rating of an attractive Euro American male should not be different from those of other attractive stimulus persons (e.g., attractive Euro American female, attractive Asian American male, attractive Asian American female), however, this rating should be different from that of any less attractive stimulus persons.

The means and standard deviations of individuals who differed on attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity were as follows: attractive Euro American male ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.03$); less attractive Euro American male ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .94$); attractive Euro American female ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.06$); less attractive Euro American female ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .76$); attractive Asian American male ($M = 4.40$, $SD = .89$); less attractive Asian American male ($M = 2.75$, $SD = .50$); attractive Asian American female ($M = 4.29$, $SD = .95$) and less attractive Asian American female ($M = 2.57$, $SD = .53$).

The criteria were met in most of the conditions. Attractiveness ratings were significantly different between the attractive and the less attractive conditions ($M = 4.41$, $SD = .98$ vs. $M = 2.57$, $SD = .88$), $F(1, 58) = 57.65$, $p < .001$. All the means were not different within the attractive conditions $F(3, 28) = .46$, $n.s.$, but within the less attractive conditions, there was a difference, $F(3, 24) = 4.01$, $p < .05$. Specifically, there was a difference between the ratings of less attractive Euro American female and less attractive Euro American male ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .76$ vs. $M = 2.00$, $SD = .94$), $t(15) = -2.99$, $p < .05$. However, both of the pictures were used because the mean ratings were below the midpoint of the scale.

Furthermore, there was no difference between the rating for the less attractive Euro American female and that for attractive Euro American male ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .76$ vs. $M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.03$), $t(15) = 1.99$, $n.s.$ Again, both of the pictures were used in the present study because the mean score for the less attractive Euro American female was below midpoint and the mean score for the attractive Euro American male was still above the midpoint of the scale.

In sum, the manipulation of attractiveness seemed to be effective. The attractive conditions tend to have high mean ratings overall. Likewise, the less attractive conditions tend to have low mean ratings. Only the less attractive Euro American female condition received a higher rating compared to other less attractive conditions, and attractive Euro American male condition did not receive a rating high enough compared to other attractive conditions.

Measures

Causal attributions. Based on Weiner et al.'s (1971) causal attribution model, the perceived causal attributions of promotion were measured in terms of four types of causal attributions, including (a) internal/stable, (b) internal/unstable, (c) external/stable, and (d) external/unstable. Each type of causal attributions was measured by two items: (a) skills and abilities to do the job (internal/stable attribution; $r = .69$), (b) effort and hard work (internal/unstable attribution; $r = .56$), (c) ease of the tasks and ease of the projects (external/stable attribution; $r = .36$), (d) luck and circumstances (external/unstable attribution; $r = .64$). Furthermore, supervisor's bias and favoritism (external; $r = .65$) was included as another causal attribution, which was also included in Heilman and Stopeck's (1985) study. Participants responded to these 10 items along a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). Furthermore, participants were asked to indicate which of the presumed causes they thought was the most and the least responsible for the stimulus person's promotion.

Personal attributes. A list of personal attributes was developed to measure how an employee was perceived. The items were selected based on the four categories of attributes stereotypically ascribed to attractive individuals (e.g., Eagly et al., 1991). The four categories and examples of items for each category are (a) social competence (4 items; $\alpha = .76$; e.g., sociable - unsociable, popular - unpopular), (b) potency (3 items; $\alpha = .69$; e.g., assertive - not assertive, dominant - submissive), (c) psychological adjustment (3 items; $\alpha = .75$; e.g., happy - sad, confident - not confident), and (d) intellectual competence (5 items; $\alpha = .86$; e.g., intelligent - not intelligent, hard working - lazy).

Each item was measured on a semantic differential scale that was separated by seven equally-spaced line segments. The higher the score, the more positive the perceptions were. This scale was added to the present study in order to derive a possible explanation for any significant differences between the experimental conditions.

Manipulation Checks

Attractiveness of a stimulus person. One item was developed in order to assess the effectiveness of the attractiveness manipulation. Participants were asked to indicate how attractive the stimulus person was on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *unattractive* to 7 = *attractive*).

Ethnicity of a stimulus person. One item was developed in order to assess the effectiveness of the ethnicity manipulation. Participants were asked to choose the ethnicity of an employee from a list of (a) African American, (b) Asian American, (c) Euro American, (d) Hispanic/Latino/a American, (e) Mixed, and (f) Other.

Results

Manipulation Checks

Attractiveness of a stimulus person. The attractiveness manipulation was somewhat successful. Attractiveness ratings were significantly different between the attractive and the less attractive conditions ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.44$ vs. $M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.21$), $F(1, 217) = 39.36$, $p < .001$. However, the results also showed a main effect of ethnicity, $F(1, 217) = 5.59$, $p < .05$, such that Euro Americans were perceived as more attractive than Asian Americans ($M = 4.41$, $SD = 1.40$ vs. $M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.44$), $F(1, 223) = 4.87$, $p < .05$. Furthermore, the results of ANOVA showed a two-way interaction

effect between gender and ethnicity $F(1, 217) = 4.65, p < .05$. A simple effect analysis showed that the Euro American female was perceived to be more attractive than the Asian American female ($M = 4.65, SD = 1.38$, vs. $M = 3.88, SD = 1.26$), $F(1, 113) = 9.77, p < .01$, but the analysis showed no difference between the Euro American male and the Asian American male ($M = 4.15, SD = 1.38$, vs. $M = 4.11, SD = 1.61$). Additionally, an ANOVA showed a three-way interaction effect among attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, $F(1, 217) = 4.99, p < .05$. Simple effect analyses showed that the attractive Euro American female was perceived as more attractive than the attractive Asian American female ($M = 5.29, SD = 1.46$ vs. $M = 4.31, SD = 1.14$), $t(55) = 2.82, p < .05$, the attractive Euro American female was perceived as more attractive than the attractive Euro American male ($M = 5.29, SD = 1.46$ vs. $M = 4.42, SD = 1.60$), $t(52) = -2.07, p < .05$, and the less attractive Euro American female was perceived as more attractive than the less attractive Asian American male ($M = 4.03, SD = .98$ vs. $M = 3.28, SD = 1.39$), $t(56) = 2.41, p < .05$. In sum, the attractiveness manipulation was successful in most of the conditions, except for the following three conditions. The attractive Euro American male condition and the attractive Asian American female condition did not receive ratings as high as the other attractive stimulus conditions. The less attractive Euro American female condition tended to receive a rating relatively high, compared to other less attractive stimulus conditions.

The means and standard deviations of individuals who differed on attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity were as follows: attractive Euro American male ($M = 4.42, SD = 1.60$); less attractive Euro American male ($M = 3.89, SD = .1.09$); attractive Euro

American female ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.46$); less attractive Euro American female ($M = 4.03$, $SD = .98$); attractive Asian American male ($M = 4.96$, $SD = 1.37$); less attractive Asian American male ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.39$); attractive Asian American female ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.14$); and less attractive Asian American female ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.24$).

Ethnicity of a stimulus person. The manipulation of the ethnicity of the stimulus person was successful. Eighty-six percent of the participants ($n = 197$) correctly identified the ethnicities of the stimulus persons.

The Potential Effects of Participants' Ethnicity

Before testing the hypotheses, the ethnicity of participants was examined to see if it affected the outcome variables (i.e., causal attributions, personal attributes) separately and/or interactively with the independent variables of the present study. Because the number of participants who were African American or Hispanic/Latino/a American were small, only Asian American and Euro American respondents were included for the analysis. A 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) \times 2 (gender of a stimulus person) \times 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) \times 2 (participant's ethnicity: Asian American or Euro American) multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) was conducted for the outcome variables of causal attributions and personal attributes. Results showed that participants' ethnicity did not affect causal attributions and personal attributes separately and interactively with any of the independent variables. Therefore, the data were collapsed on the variable of participants' ethnicities.

Tests of Hypotheses

Table 1 shows the correlations among the manipulated and measured variables. As can be seen in the Table 1, the attractiveness variable correlated only with the personal attribute categories of social competence ($r = .16, p < .05$) and intellectual competence ($r = -.16, p < .05$). Gender variable did not correlate with any other variables. Ethnicity variable correlated with the personal attribute categories of social competence ($r = -.16, p < .05$) and adjustment ($r = -.16, p < .05$). The types of causal attribution highly correlated with each other, except that the internal attributions (i.e., ability, effort) showed low correlation with the ease of task attribution (ability, $r = -.12, p n.s.$; effort, $r = -.06, n.s.$). There were also high correlations among the personal attributes categories. The intellectual competence and the potency categories highly correlated with the internal attribution variables (see the bottom half of Table 1).

Hypotheses were tested using a 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) \times 2 (gender of a stimulus person) \times 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) MANOVA, followed by an ANOVA on the causal attributions, using type I error rate of .05 for a main effect. Because, in general, it is difficult to find an interaction effect, an interaction effect was tested using type I error of .10 (McClelland & Judd, 1993). After finding an interaction effect, simple effect analyses were conducted with type I error rate of .0125. Furthermore, a 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) \times 2 (gender of a stimulus person) \times 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) MANOVA, followed

Table 1

Correlations among Manipulated and Measured Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Attractiveness												
2. Gender	-.01											
3. Ethnicity	.01	.01										
4. Ability	-.07	.06	.01	(.69)								
5. Effort	-.13	.01	.03	.59**	(.56)							
6. Ease of tasks	.03	.10	-.08	-.12	-.06	(.36)						
7. Luck	.04	.00	-.01	-.31**	-.26**	.36**	(.64)					
8. Supervisor's bias	.12	.01	-.06	-.20**	-.20**	.37**	.54**	(.65)				
9. Social competence	.16*	.09	-.16*	.14*	.14*	.01	-.04	.04	(.76)			
10. Intellectual competence	-.16*	.08	.03	.25**	.30**	-.09	-.20**	-.14*	.52**	(.86)		
11. Adjustment	.11	.06	-.16*	.06	.05	.00	-.05	.03	.76**	.60**	(.75)	

table continues

table continued

12. Potency	-.04	.05	-.07	.19**	.21**	-.11	-.11	-.01	.61**	.74**	.65**	(.69)
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Note. Numbers in parentheses are Pearson's correlations for the causal attribution variables and Cronbach's alpha reliability estimates for personal attribute variables.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

by an ANOVA, was conducted for personal attributes. Again, type I error rate of .05 was used for a main effect and .10 for an interaction effect.

Causal Attributions

MANOVA showed no main effects for attractiveness, $F(5, 214) = .98, n.s., \Lambda = .98$, gender, $F(5, 214) = .94, n.s., \Lambda = .98$, ethnicity, $F(5, 214) = .32, n.s., \Lambda = .99$, or any of the two-way interaction effects on causal attributions. However, a MANOVA showed a three-way interaction effect among attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, $F(5, 214) = 2.01, p < .10, \Lambda = .96$. ANOVA produced a three-way interaction effect among the outcome variables of supervisor's bias, $F(1, 221) = 3.81, p < .10$, and ease of tasks, $F(1, 221) = 6.36, p < .05$. Tables 2 and 3 provide a summary of ANOVA and descriptive statistics for each of causal attributions, respectively. As can be seen in the Table 3, respondents rated both ability and effort as most attributable to the employee's promotion across the different conditions, followed by supervisor's bias/favoritism and ease of tasks. Respondents rated luck as least attributable to the stimulus person's promotion across the different conditions.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the promotion of attractive individuals would be attributed more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals. This hypothesis was not supported. Results of MANOVA did not show a main effect of attractiveness on the perceived causal attributions, as mentioned above. More specifically, attractive individuals did not differ from less attractive individuals on the ability attribution ($M = 5.55, SD = .89$ vs. $M = 5.67, SD = 1.01$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.19, SD = .96$

Table 2

F Statistics for the Effects of an Employee's Physical Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity on the Perceiver's Causal

Attributions of the Employee's Promotions

	Ability	Effort	Ease of tasks	Luck	Supervisor's bias
Physical attractiveness (PA)	1.02	3.21	.42	.33	2.90
Gender (G)	1.73	.32	2.35	.06	.54
Ethnicity (E)	.00	.07	1.31	.06	.74
PA x G	2.47	1.08	2.67	.54	.13
PA x E	1.68	.00	1.56	.66	.18
G x E	.23	.19	1.08	.41	.11
PA x G x E	.05	1.35	6.36†	1.57	3.81†

† $p < .10$.

Table 3
Mean Ratings of Causal Attribution as a Function of an Employee's Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity

	<i>n</i>	Euro American				Asian American			
		Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
		26	27	28	29	28	29	30	29
Ability	<i>M</i>	5.23	5.69	5.75	5.74	5.48	5.76	5.62	5.55
	<i>SD</i>	.86	.91	.82	.86	.92	.82	1.28	1.04
Effort	<i>M</i>	4.96	5.37	5.48	5.33	5.25	5.21	5.42	5.45
	<i>SD</i>	.76	.99	.87	.90	.99	1.08	1.03	1.11
Ease of tasks	<i>M</i>	3.89 _a	3.41 _a	3.16 _b	3.71 _a	3.14 _b	3.59 _a	3.35 _a	3.55 _a
	<i>SD</i>	.85	.99	.90	.86	.96	.91	.94	.82
Luck	<i>M</i>	3.19	2.80	2.89	3.24	2.96	3.21	2.82	2.88
	<i>SD</i>	1.44	1.20	1.30	1.18	1.48	1.46	1.04	1.21

Table continues

Table
continued

Supervisor's bias	<i>M</i>	4.10	3.70	3.78	3.81	3.48	3.95	3.57	3.48
	<i>SD</i>	1.33	1.21	1.51	1.22	1.06	1.33	1.15	.88

Note. Means in the same row that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .01$.

vs. $M = 5.42$, $SD = .97$). That is, the promotion of attractive individuals was attributed no more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals.

Research Question 1 asked whether the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory would be generalized to a different ethnicity. Specifically, Research Question 1 posed whether the promotion of attractive individuals would be attributed more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals, regardless of their ethnicity. MANOVA did not show main effects for attractiveness and ethnicity. Nor did it show an interaction effect between the two, $F(1, 219) = 1.68$, *n.s.* That is, the attractive Euro Americans ($M = 5.46$, $SD = .91$) and attractive Asian Americans ($M = 5.62$, $SD = .87$) did not differ from the less attractive Euro Americans ($M = 5.75$, $SD = .83$) and less attractive Asian Americans ($M = 5.58$, $SD = 1.16$), respectively, on the ability attribution. Likewise, the attractive Euro Americans ($M = 5.17$, $SD = .89$) and attractive Asian Americans ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.03$) did not differ from the less attractive Euro Americans ($M = 5.40$, $SD = .88$) and less attractive Asian Americans ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.06$), respectively, on the effort attribution. That is, the promotion of attractive individuals was attributed no more to internal factors than that of less attractive individuals, regardless of their ethnicity.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the promotion of attractive men would be attributed more to internal factors than that of less attractive men, whereas the promotion of attractive women would be attributed more to external factors than that of less attractive women. This hypothesis was not supported. MANOVA did not show an interaction effect for attractiveness and gender, $F(5, 214) = .93$, $p > .05$, $\Lambda = .98$. Attractive men did

not differ from less attractive men on the ability attribution ($M = 5.36, SD = .89$ vs. $M = 5.68, SD = 1.07$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.09, SD = .89$ vs. $M = 5.45, SD = .94$). That is, the promotion of attractive men was attributed no more to internal factors than that of less attractive men. Likewise, attractive women did not differ from less attractive women on the ability attribution ($M = 5.72, SD = .86$ vs. $M = 5.65, SD = .94$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.29, SD = 1.02$ vs. $M = 5.39, SD = 1.00$). That is, the promotion of less attractive women was attributed no more to internal factors than that of attractive women.

Research Question 2 posed whether there would be an interaction effect between attractiveness and gender, regardless of the ethnicity of an employee. That is, it posed whether the prediction derived from the lack of fit model would generalize to an ethnicity other than Euro American. As mentioned earlier, MANOVA showed an interaction effect among attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, $F(5, 214) = 2.01, p < .10, \Lambda = .96$. However, an ANOVA did not show an interaction effect for attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on the causal attribution of ability, $F(1, 219) = .05, n.s.$, or effort, $F(1, 220) = 1.35, n.s.$ That is, the attractive Euro American male did not differ from the less attractive Euro American male on the ability attribution ($M = 5.23, SD = .86$ vs. $M = 5.75, SD = .82$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 4.96, SD = .76$ vs. $M = 5.48, SD = .87$), respectively. Therefore, the promotion of Euro American male was attributed no more to internal factors than that of less attractive Euro American male. Likewise, the attractive Euro American female did not differ from less attractive Euro American female on the ability attribution ($M = 5.69, SD = .91$ vs. $M = 5.75, SD = .85$) or on the effort attribution

($M = 5.38, SD = .97$ vs. $M = 5.33, SD = .90$), respectively. That is, the promotion of the attractive Euro American female was attributed no more to internal factors than that of the less attractive Euro American female.

In the same way, the attractive Asian American male did not differ from the less attractive Asian American male on the ability attribution ($M = 5.48, SD = .92$ vs. $M = 5.62, SD = 1.28$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.21, SD = 1.00$ vs. $M = 5.42, SD = 1.03$), respectively. That is, the promotion of the attractive Asian American male was attributed no more to internal factors than that of the less attractive Asian American male. Nor did the results show the difference between the attractive Asian American female and the less attractive Asian American female on the ability attribution ($M = 5.76, SD = .82$ vs. $M = 5.55, SD = 1.04$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.21, SD = 1.08$ vs. $M = 5.45, SD = 1.11$), respectively. That is, the promotion of the less attractive Asian American female was attributed no more to internal factors than that of the attractive Asian American female.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the promotion of Asian Americans would be attributed more to internal factors than that of Euro Americans. This hypothesis was not supported. MANOVA did not show a main effect for ethnicity, $F(5, 214) = .32, n.s., \Lambda = .99$. That is, the Asian Americans did not differ from the Euro Americans on the ability attribution ($M = 5.60, SD = 1.02$ vs. $M = 5.61, SD = .88$) or on the effort attribution ($M = 5.32, SD = 1.05$ vs. $M = 5.29, SD = .89$). Therefore, the promotion of Asian Americans was attributed no more to internal factors than that of Euro Americans.

As mentioned, MANOVA produced a three-way interaction. ANOVA produced a three-way interaction effect for the supervisor's bias/favoritism attribution, $F(1, 221) = 3.81, p < .10$, and the ease of tasks attribution, $F(1, 221) = 6.36, p < .05$. However, the results of simple effect analyses showed no interaction effects on the supervisor's bias/favoritism attribution. Subsequent analyses on the ease of tasks attribution showed that the promotion of the attractive Euro American male ($M = 3.89, SD = .85$) was attributed more to ease of tasks than that of the less attractive Euro American male ($M = 3.16, SD = .90$), $F(1, 52) = 9.14, p < .01$ and that of the attractive Asian American male ($M = 3.17, SD = .96$), $F(1, 53) = 8.42, p < .01$, however the analyses showed no difference within the female conditions, or between the female and the male conditions.

Furthermore, participants were asked to indicate which of the causal attributions they thought was the most and the least responsible for employee's promotion. Chi-square tests were conducted for the outcome variables of the causal attribution most and least responsible for the promotion. Results of chi-square tests showed that attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity did not interact to affect the identification of the causal attribution most responsible for the promotion, nor did they interact to affect the identification of the causal attribution least responsible. Therefore, the data was collapsed on attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, and a chi-square test was conducted to examine which of the causal attributions was perceived as the most responsible for the promotion of the employee. Results showed that participants perceived ability ($n = 130$) as the most responsible cause for the promotion of the employee, followed by effort ($n = 61$), ease of tasks ($n = 61$), supervisor's bias/favoritism ($n = 24$), and luck ($n = 8$), $\chi^2(4)$,

= 250.60, $p < .01$. Likewise, results showed that participants perceived luck ($n = 143$) as the least responsible cause for the promotion of the stimulus person, followed by ease of tasks ($n = 43$), supervisor's bias/favoritism ($n = 29$), ability ($n = 5$), and effort ($n = 3$), $\chi^2(4) = 296.57, p < .01$.

Personal attributes. A 2 (attractiveness of a stimulus person: attractive or less attractive) x 2 (gender of a stimulus person) x 2 (ethnicity of a stimulus person: Euro American or Asian American) MANOVA produced only main effects for attractiveness, $F(4, 205) = 7.29, p < .01, \Lambda = .88$, and ethnicity, $F(4, 205) = 3.79, p < .01, \Lambda = .93$. Results of ANOVA showed that the attractiveness of an employee influenced perceptions of social competence and intellectual competence. More specifically, attractive individuals were perceived as more socially competent ($M = 5.03, SD = 1.04$ vs. $M = 4.74, SD = .92$), $F(1, 208) = 4.77, p < .05$, but less intellectually competent than less attractive individuals ($M = 5.33, SD = 1.21$ vs. $M = 5.73, SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 208) = 6.69, p < .05$, respectively. Tables 4 and 5 provide a summary of ANOVA and descriptive statistics for personal attributes, respectively.

Furthermore, the results of ANOVA showed that the ethnicity of a stimulus person influenced the perceptions of social competence and adjustment. More specifically, Euro Americans were perceived as more socially competent ($M = 5.04, SD = .92$ vs. $M = 4.74, SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 208) = 4.90, p < .05$, and more adjusted ($M = 5.29, SD = .98$ vs. $M = 4.94, SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 208) = 6.67, p < .05$ than Asian Americans, respectively.

Table 4
F Statistics for the Effects of an Employee's Physical Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity on the Perceived Personal Attributes of the Employee

	Social competence	Intellectual Competence	Adjustment	Potency
Physical attractiveness (PA)	4.77*	6.69*	1.61	.81
Gender (G)	1.30	1.43	1.09	.71
Ethnicity (E)	4.90*	.15	6.67*	1.28
PA x G	.02	.29	.11	.09
PA x E	.11	.13	.63	.01
G x E	.40	1.35	1.54	.30
PA x G x E	.14	.00	2.05	.07

* $p < .05$.

Table 5
Mean Ratings of Personal Attributes as a Function of an Employee's Attractiveness, Gender and Ethnicity

	Euro American				Asian American			
	Attractive		Unattractive		Attractive		Unattractive	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>n</i>	26	25	26	28	27	28	28	28
Social competence	<i>M</i> 5.14	5.18	4.87	4.96	4.76	5.06	4.49	4.66
	<i>SD</i> .99	.96	1.01	.74	1.18	1.00	.92	.98
Intellectual competence	<i>M</i> 5.34	5.42	5.65	5.58	5.05	5.50	5.70	5.98
	<i>SD</i> .93	1.28	1.26	.99	1.58	.98	1.05	.84
Adjustment	<i>M</i> 5.53	5.35	5.09	5.21	4.69	5.25	4.87	4.94
	<i>SD</i> 1.23	.86	1.04	.72	1.42	.89	.84	.95

Table continues

Table
continued

Potency	<i>M</i>	4.96	5.08	5.18	5.14	4.78	4.98	4.89	5.08
	<i>SD</i>	1.02	1.00	1.15	.97	1.31	.87	.90	.94

Discussion

Although past research indicates that attractiveness might be one of the deciding factors in employment-related decisions (Morrow et al., 1990; Stone et al., 1992), and two theories (i.e., implicit personality theory and lack of fit model) have been suggested to explain the manner in which attractiveness influences such employment-related decisions, little empirical attention has been paid to examine the manner in which attractiveness biases operate in work settings. Research regarding the effects of attractiveness on causal attributions also suggests the need for more empirical evidence because of inconsistent findings (e.g., Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988). Moreover, research on attractiveness in work settings has mainly focused on the attractiveness bias using Euro Americans as stimulus persons. Consequently, it is not known whether the attractiveness bias also generalizes to other ethnic groups. Therefore, the present study was conducted (a) to investigate empirically the plausibility of the implicit personality theory and the lack of fit model as an explanation for the attractiveness bias, (b) to study the effects of the attractiveness and gender of an employee on perceived causal attributions of his or her promotion, and (c) to examine the effects of the employee's ethnicity in combination with his or her attractiveness and gender on perceived causal attributions of his or her promotion.

Causal Attributions

The present study failed to provide support for either the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory or that derived from the lack of fit model on the effects of an employee's attractiveness and gender on the perceived causal attributions of his or her

promotion. First, with respect to the implicit personality theory, results in the present study showed that the promotion of attractive individuals was attributed to internal factors to the same extent as less attractive individuals. Second, with respect to the lack of fit model, results showed that the attractiveness and gender of an employee did not interact to influence perceived causal attributions for his or her promotion. The present study, thus, demonstrated that the physical attractiveness of employees did not influence the causal attributions of their promotions. Therefore, the results of the present study did not provide evidence that attractiveness and gender of an employee operated to influence causal attributions of his or her promotion. The lack of support for the hypotheses is probably due to the nature of the information about an employee. Research has shown that stereotypes have their greatest influences on judgments or evaluation when the amount and type of information provided about a target is limited (e.g., Lockesley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980; Locksley, Hepburn, & Ortiz, 1982).

However, it has also been shown that individuals place little or no reliance on stereotypes when information available about the target is clearly and unambiguously judgment-relevant (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). For example, a meta-analysis by Tosi and Einbender (1985) showed that sex bias was greatly reduced when more work-related information was provided than when less work-related information was provided.

A closer look at the content of information about an employee in the present study indicates that the employee is a well above-average performer (e.g., holds MBA, characterized as high potential, faster promotion) in the organization. Therefore, participants might have relied more on this work-related information than superficial

characteristics such as attractiveness, gender, or ethnicity when determining the potential causes of promotion. This interpretation is not unreasonable given that participants chose an internal factor (i.e., ability) as the most likely explanation of the promotion, regardless of the attractiveness and gender of the employee. This interpretation is also consistent with the finding by Spencer and Taylor (1988) who found that the good performance of an attractive male and an attractive female were rated as equally high on ability as that of an unattractive male and an unattractive female.

However, it should be noted that Heilman and Stopeck (1985) found a main effect of attractiveness on the effort attribution and an interaction effect between attractiveness and gender on the ability attribution. Specifically, Heilman and Stopeck found that (a) the success of less attractive individuals was attributed more to effort than that of attractive individuals and (b) the success of attractive males was attributed more to ability than that of less attractive males, whereas the success of less attractive females was attributed more to ability than that of attractive females. Given these contradictory findings, more empirical research is inevitable.

Furthermore, one other possible explanation that the results of the present study were partially consistent with Spencer and Taylor (1988), but not with those of Heilman and Stopeck (1985), might have to do with the type of job used in these studies. That is, the present study and Spencer and Taylor's study used an assistant manager and a management trainee job, respectively, which are low-level managerial jobs, whereas Heilman and Stopeck used an assistant vice president job, which is a high-level managerial job. These jobs are generally ranked differently in an organizational

hierarchy. Because the present study and Spencer and Taylor's (1988) study used somewhat similar types of job, the results of these two studies might have been consistent. Thus, the lack of significant effects of attractiveness on causal attributions in the present study might suggest that attractiveness might have a stronger impact on high-level managerial jobs than on low-level managerial jobs. Wilson, Crocker, and Brown (1985) showed that attractive individuals in a high-level managerial job were perceived as less professionally competent, but more socially skilled than less attractive individuals in the same level managerial job. However, the present study did not compare the effects of attractiveness and the level of jobs (i.e., low-level vs. high-level managerial jobs) on causal attributions. Therefore, future research should investigate how level of job (e.g., low-level vs. high-level managerial jobs) and attractiveness affect the causal attributions of an employee's promotion.

One research question was posited to examine whether the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory would also hold for an ethnic group other than the Euro Americans (i.e., Asian Americans). However, results showed that the attractiveness and ethnicity of an employee did not interact to influence causal attributions. Specifically, results showed that the promotion of attractive individuals was attributed to internal factors to the same extent as the less attractive individuals. This was true regardless of the ethnicity of employees. Another research question was posited to examine whether the prediction derived from the lack of fit model would also hold for Asian Americans. The results showed that the promotion of the attractive individuals was attributed to internal factors to the same extent as the less attractive individuals. This

was true regardless of the gender and ethnicity of employees. Therefore, the present study did not provide clear evidence supporting either theory as it applies to Asian Americans.

Furthermore, the present study showed that the promotion of Asian Americans was attributed to internal factors to the same extent as the Euro Americans. Therefore, it does not appear that stereotypes regarding Asian Americans influenced the causal attributions of his or her promotion. These findings regarding ethnicity reaffirm the findings of Marshall et al. (1998) and Miller and Routh (1985), in that they found no main or interaction effect of ethnicity and attractiveness on work-related outcomes (e.g., compensation, promotion, and selection decisions). As Marshall et al. indicated, attractiveness and ethnicity might operate independently of each other, rather than interacting to influence employment-related decisions. In the later section, implications of these results are discussed, along with findings on personal attributes.

There are several possible explanations for the non-significant effects of ethnicity on personal attribute ratings. First, because of work-related information, participants did not rely on stereotypes when judging an employee. Second, the location in which the present study was conducted has a large population of Asian Americans. It can be reasonably assumed that the participants were already exposed to individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds, and such frequent exposure might have minimized the effects of stereotyping (Podberesky, Deluty, & Feldstein, 1990). Third, the majority of participants were recruited from psychology classes, and 43% of the participants majored in psychology. It is highly likely that the participants might have already been primed or

sensitized about the negative effects of stereotypes and biases. Therefore, the participants' responses might have been affected by their knowledge of such negative effects, thus, favoring internal causes as possible explanations for a promotion. In fact, this tendency of creating a positive impression of oneself (i.e., social desirability) has been shown to affect self-report personality measures in such ways that oneself is perceived in a favorable light by denying his or her negative qualities (Paulhus, 1984). Finally, the participants might have responded in a socially desirable manner, especially with respect to the Asian American conditions, because the experimenter was an Asian. An experimenter's personal characteristics (e.g., attire, gender, ethnicity) have been shown to affect participants' behaviors (Barnes & Rosenthal, 1985), and, can be considered a potential confounding factor.

Results showed a three-way interaction effect among attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on the ease of tasks attribution, such that the promotion of the attractive Euro American male was attributed more to the ease of tasks than that of the less attractive Euro American male and the attractive Asian American male. That is, the participants perceived the promotion of the attractive Euro American male to be the result of easy tasks he was assigned to, compared to the promotion of the less attractive Euro American male and the attractive Asian American male. In other words, the attractive Euro American male was perceived to have received the promotion because he was assigned to easier projects and tasks than the less attractive Euro American male and the attractive Asian American male. Therefore, it seems that attractiveness and ethnicity interact to influence the ease of tasks attribution in a disadvantageous manner particularly for an

attractive Euro American male. These results might indicate the general perception that attractive males are assigned to easier tasks so that they receive a promotion more readily than others. This might be especially true for Euro Americans. The implication of these findings is discussed in more detail in the later section.

It should also be noted that neither of the two precedent studies (i.e., Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Spencer & Taylor, 1988) that examined the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attribution included the task difficulty/ease of tasks attribution as one of potential causal attributions. Present findings apparently indicate the need for more extensive investigations for the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on the causal attributions, including a task difficulty/ease of tasks attribution.

Personal Attributes

The present study showed a main effect for attractiveness on the personal attributes of social competence and intellectual competence, such that the attractive individuals were perceived as more socially competent, but less intellectually competent than the less attractive individuals. These findings are somewhat consistent with the stereotypes associated with attractive individuals (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992). These findings on social competence and intellectual competence, along with the aforementioned causal attribution ratings (i.e., the attractive males were perceived to be promoted due to the easy tasks they were assigned to), might imply the general perception that attractive males' promotion was partly due to the help of external factors (i.e., easy tasks, social skills). In other words, the findings indicate a somewhat

disadvantageous perception regarding attractive males, as opposed to other males, in work settings. This is especially true for Euro American men.

The present findings, however, do not support those of past studies (Eagly et al., 1991; Feingold, 1992) regarding intellectual competence, potency, and adjustment. The present study showed that attractive individuals were perceived as less intellectually competent than less attractive individuals, whereas Feingold (1992) found that attractive individuals were perceived as more intellectually competent than less attractive individuals. Likewise, although the present study did not show a main effect for attractiveness on the personal attributes of potency and adjustment, attractive individuals have been found to be more potent (Eagly et al., 1991) and socially adjusted (Feingold, 1992) than less attractive individuals. At this point, there is no reasonable explanation as to why the incongruence between the present study and the past studies occurred on perceptions of personal attributes for attractive individuals. Further investigation regarding the effects of attractiveness on personal attributes is needed.

The results of the present study also showed a main effect for ethnicity on the personal attributes of social competence and adjustment, such that the Euro American employees were perceived as more socially competent and more adjusted than the Asian American employees. These findings are consistent with the findings of Jackson et al. (1999) that individuals tend to have stereotypical descriptions of Asian Americans as being hard to communicate with, unfriendly, unsure of themselves, and easily intimidated. Note, however, that, despite the differences on perception of personal

attributes between Euro Americans and Asian Americans, such differences were not reflected in the aforementioned causal attribution ratings in the present study.

The findings above might indicate that participants of the present study treated the personal attributes and the causal attributions separately. That is, they might have considered that the social competence and the adjustment of the employee were irrelevant to the reasons the employee was promoted. This interpretation is not unreasonable because, as can be seen in Table 1, adjustment was not related with any of the causal attributions, but social competence was related with ability and effort attributions. This indicates a need for future research investigating the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on the causal attributions of promotion and personal attributes, using jobs (e.g., an outside sales representative, or a chief executive officer) in which social competence and adjustment are perceived to be job prerequisite as opposed to jobs (e.g., a factory worker or a janitor) in which social competence and adjustment are less important.

The findings on personal attributes contradict those of past research on the effects of stereotypes on social judgments (Locksley et al., 1980; Locksley et al., 1982), indicating that stereotypes influence judgments, especially when there is not enough information about the target or when information is ambiguous. Furthermore, research showed that sex bias was greatly diminished when decision makers had more job-relevant information than when they had less job-relevant information (Tosi & Einbender, 1985). Given that participants in the present study had a limited amount of information regarding the employee (i.e., a career history, a resume, and a photograph) to attribute a cause to the employee's promotion, participants should have attributed the cause of the

promotion in accordance with the stereotypes regarding attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity, but the results showed that promotion of the employee was attributed to the internal, stable factor, ability, regardless of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of the employee.

This might indicate that, although the amount of information regarding the employee was limited, participants might have perceived themselves to have sufficient and relevant information regarding the employee to adequately decide their opinions as to why the employee was promoted, thereby rendering little place for stereotypes to have an effect. If this is the case, the present study indicates that decision makers are less likely to rely upon superficial characteristics such as attractiveness, gender, or ethnicity if they are provided with work-related information of an employee. Thus, one way to avoid bias is to provide sufficient work-related information about an employee.

Limitations

There are several limitations that need to be mentioned in the present study. First, the attractiveness manipulation was not strong, especially for three conditions (i.e., attractive Euro American male, attractive Asian American female, less attractive Euro American female). Therefore, the lack of empirical support for the hypotheses in the present study might be due to the fact that attractiveness was not strongly manipulated, and not due to the results that showed that attractiveness did not influence causal attributions. A more thorough pilot study, with a large pool of candidates for a stimulus person, should be conducted in future studies. Second, because the majority of participants were recruited from psychology classes, it might be suspected that the

participants' responses were affected by their knowledge on the negative effects of stereotypes and biases. It is, therefore, recommended that the participants be recruited from a variety of disciplines (e.g., art, business, engineering), where exposure to studies on stereotyping and prejudice is minimal. Third, because the experimenter was Asian, participants in the present study might have responded in a socially desirable manner, especially in the Asian American conditions. Therefore, the experimenter in the present study can be considered as a potential confounding factor. Future research should pay attention thoroughly to the potential influence of experimenter characteristics or to explore ways to conduct an experiment without having the presence of an experimenter (e.g., web-based questionnaires).

Future Research

Suggestions for future research have been mentioned throughout the discussion section. Nevertheless, there are several suggestions that need further clarification. First, future research should take into account the ethnicity of participants, as an independent variable. The ethnicity of participants might yield favoritism toward others of his or her same ethnicity (i.e., in-group favoritism). Several studies have shown the effects of in-group favoritism on a potential date selection (e.g., Liu, Campbell, & Condie, 1995) and on work-related decisions (e.g., Hamner, Kim, Baird, & Bigoness, 1974; Marshall et al., 1998). For example, Marshall et al. (1988) showed evidence of pre-interview biases, such that African American managers preferred applicants of their own ethnicity to be invited for an interview. Marshall et al. argued that the endorsement of African American candidates was very likely due to the evaluators' feelings of ethnic identity and

a desire to foster the success of fellow African Americans. In the present study, although an attempt was made to take the participants' ethnicity into consideration, the analysis failed to establish any indication of the effects of participant's ethnicity due to a relatively small number of participants in each experimental condition ($n = 7$ to 9).

Second, although the present study tested the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on causal attributions, questions still remain to be answered in terms of whether the findings derived from the attractiveness research generalize to other ethnicities in the U.S. (e.g., Latin/Hispanic Americans, Chinese Americans, Asian Indian Americans, or Vietnamese Americans). It is believed that individuals would favor those who are more similar to themselves than those who are different from themselves. Additionally, characteristics of a culture (e.g., collectivism of China, individualism of the U.S.) might influence implicit theories of individuals and groups, thereby, affecting the type of causal attributions ascribed for an act of individuals and groups in a variety of situations (Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 1999). According to Menon et al., North Americans are more likely than East Asians to attribute causality of failure to individuals and their dispositions, whereas East Asians are more likely than North Americans to attribute causality of failure to dispositions of collective-level agents (e.g., an organization). Therefore, it would be interesting to cross-culturally investigate the effects of attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on causal attributions in a work setting. Another possibility for future cross-cultural research is to investigate the effects of attractiveness on a variety of job-related outcomes in countries where it is normal for a job applicant to attach a photograph of him- or herself to his or her resume (e.g., France, Japan, Spain).

Third, one of the recurring explanations as to why ethnicity did not have effects on causal attributions is the location where the experiment was conducted. It could be speculated that the stereotypes held by general U.S. population regarding Asian Americans might not be the same in the area where the study was conducted. Therefore, future research should replicate the present study in an area where the population of Asian Americans is relatively small (e.g., mid-western states).

Finally, it is recommended that future research add a job level as an independent variable. Neither in the present study nor in Spencer and Taylor's (1988) study, where the job-level was a fairly low-level managerial job, was there an effect on causal attributions based on attractiveness and gender. However, in Heilman and Stopeck's (1985) and Wilson et al.'s (1985) study, using a high-level managerial job, attractiveness and gender had effects on work-related outcome variables (i.e., perceived causal attributions, professional competence, and social skills). Future research, therefore, might investigate how the level of job one is in (e.g., low-level vs. high-level managerial job), along with attractiveness and gender, affects the causal attributions of the stimulus employee's promotion.

Summary

The present study examined the effects of physical attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of hypothetical employees on causal attributions of their promotions in a work setting. The purposes of the present study were (a) to test empirically the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory and that from the lack of fit model, (b) to investigate the effects of attractiveness and gender on causal attributions, and (c) to

explore the effects of employee's ethnicity in combination with attractiveness and gender on causal attributions.

Results of the causal attributions ratings did not support either the prediction derived from the implicit personality theory or that derived from the lack of fit model on the effects of an employee's attractiveness and gender on the perceived causal attributions of his or her promotion. The results also did not provide support for either of the predictions as they apply to Asian Americans. Regardless of the attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity of the employee, participants chose an internal factor (i.e., ability) as the most likely explanation of the promotion. However, the attractive Euro American male was perceived to have received the promotion because he was assigned to easier tasks and projects than the less attractive Euro American male and the attractive Asian American male, indicating a general disadvantageous attribution given to an attractive Euro American male in work settings. Conversely, the results of personal attribute ratings showed that the attractive individuals were perceived as more socially competent, but less intellectually competent than the less attractive individuals. The Euro Americans were perceived as more socially competent and more adjusted than the Asian Americans.

Although there are no reasonable explanations as to why the present study failed to support the hypotheses, some plausible explanations might be (a) the nature of job information about an employee was sufficient and relevant, (b) the participants might have responded in a socially desirable manner, especially in the Asian American conditions, because the experimenter was an Asian, and (c) considering the location where the present study was conducted, participants might have already been exposed to

Asian Americans, which might have minimized the effects of stereotypes regarding Asian Americans.

The findings of present study imply that (a) sufficient work-related information regarding an employee might reduce the bias associated with attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity on causal attributions, (b) attractiveness might have more impact in high-level managerial jobs than in low-level managerial jobs, and (c) considering that the findings for personal attributes were not reflected in the causal attribution ratings, participants might have perceived the personal attributes of the employee (i.e., social competence, intellectual competence, and adjustment) irrelevant to the reasons the employee was promoted.

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Appendix A.

Consent Form

This is a consent form to participate in a study of person perception conducted by Masashi Toyoda, a graduate student in the Industrial/Organizational Psychology program at San Jose State University. Upon your agreement to participate in this study, you will be asked to play a role of a manager and to decide reasons that a hypothetical employee has been promoted. You will also be asked to fill out a paper-and-pencil format questionnaire describing your opinions and your demographic information.

All the information obtained from this study will remain completely anonymous and confidential. The data set will be kept separate from the consent forms. In addition, in the case where results of this study are published, no information that could identify you will ever be included. There are no anticipated risks involved in this study; probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort are no greater than that encountered in daily life. You may withdraw from the study at anytime without any penalty and without any negative effect on your relations with San Jose State University. You will receive extra credit or credit hours for your participation (please consult your instructor for more details about amount of credit hours rewarded). The results of this study will be included in the thesis supervised by Megumi Hosoda, Ph.D.

Upon completion of this study, you will be given a debriefing of the study and allowed to ask any questions regarding the study. We would appreciate it if you would not discuss the contents of this study with anyone likely to participate in this study later on. If you have any further questions or concerns pertaining to the study or the results of the study, you may contact Masashi Toyoda at 408-298-4569. Any complaints about this study may be presented to Dr. Robert Pellegrini, Chairperson, at the Department of the Psychology (408-924-5600). Questions about research subjects' rights, or research-related injury may be directed to Dr. Nabil Ibrahim, Associate Vice President, Graduate Studies and Research (408-924-2480).

I understand the conditions and the information described above and agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print)

Your signature

Investigator's signature

Date

Appendix B.

Career History of Stimulus Person

Please read the following career history carefully. You will be asked to state your opinion regarding this person after you are finished reading.

Jenny works for a computer software company. She has entered the company as a managerial trainee. She was characterized as a high-potential, career-oriented individual at the time of organizational entry. Recently, she was promoted to a manager right after she received her MBA degree. The average length of service to be promoted into the manager position is reported to be 4 years. For her, it was 3 years. Typical managers at this company earn \$55,000 a year, but Jenny earns \$65,000 a year salary.

Appendix C.

Resume of Stimulus Person

Jennifer Smith
300 Campus Road
Portland, OR 97232

- Objective** Managerial position in computer software industry
- Education** M.B.A., Portland State University, May 2001
B.A., Portland State University, May 1999
- Employment**
- Manager** 2001 to present
Venex Software, Portland, OR
- Set and review monthly goals through regular 30/60/90 days business plans.
 - Coordinate and assign tasks to subordinates.
 - Maintain customer base through telemarketing and constant contact with existing accounts.
 - Monitor competitor marketing strategies and products.
- Managerial Trainee** 1998 to 2001
Venex Software, Portland, OR
- Trained in productivity monitoring, customer service skills, sales skills, hiring, scheduling, and basic computer skills.
 - Field observation in sales and marketing.
- Sales Associate** 1997 to 1998
The Shoes World, Portland, OR
- Customer service
 - Stock maintenance
 - Shoes sales
- Affiliation** Student Management Association, *Member.*
- Skills** Microsoft Excel, Internet Explorer, Outlook, PowerPoint, and Word.

Appendix D.

Questionnaires

Questionnaire 1

This section asks your opinion about why this person was promoted to a managerial position. Using the scale below, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- 1. This person was promoted because of her hard work. _____
- 2. This person was promoted because of her ability to do the job. _____
- 3. This person was promoted because the projects she had been assigned were easy to complete. _____
- 4. This person was promoted because of her supervisor's favoritism. _____
- 5. This person was promoted by chance. _____
- 6. This person was promoted because of her effort. _____
- 7. This person was promoted because of her skills to do the job. _____
- 8. This person was promoted because of the easy tasks that she had worked on. _____
- 9. This person was promoted because of her luck. _____
- 10. This person was promoted because of her supervisor's bias. _____

Which of the above statements do you think is the **most** responsible reason for this person's promotion? (Please indicate the reason by the item number, 1 - 10)

Which of the above statements do you think is the **least** responsible reason for this person's promotion? (Please indicate the reason by the item number, 1 - 10)

Questionnaire 2

This section asks your opinion about the person that you have reviewed. Please circle the number which best describes your opinion about the person.

1. Sociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsociable
2. Not intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Intelligent
3. Attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unattractive
4. Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
5. Assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Assertive
6. Feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Masculine
7. Popular	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpopular
8. Hard working	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lazy
9. Dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Submissive
10. Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not ambitious
11. Selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Selfless
12. Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sad
13. Leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Follower
14. Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Friendly
15. Manipulative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Manipulative
16. Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Confident
17. Approachable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Approachable
18. Egotistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Egotistic
19. Responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Irresponsible
20. Successful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unsuccessful
21. Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Incompetent
22. Low Self-esteem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	High Self-esteem
23. Not Empathic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Empathic

Questionnaire 3

For purposes of statistical analysis *only*, please answer the following questions about yourself. Your answers will remain *anonymous*. However, this biographical data is *crucial* to this study. Most of the questions listed below are answered by circling a number. Some ask that you write a number or words.

1. Gender: _____ Male _____ Female

2. Age: _____

3. Major: _____

4. Ethnicity (Circle the one that applies to you best)

1 = African American

4 = Hispanic/Latino/a American

2 = Asian American

5 = Mixed

3 = Euro American

6 = Other

5. Are you currently employed? Yes _____ No _____

If you answered yes above, what is your job title?

6. How many years have you been in a workforce?

Questionnaire 4

These questions are pertaining to the person you reviewed.

This person's ethnic background is (please circle a number):

1 = African American

4 = Hispanic/Latino/a American

2 = Asian American

5 = Mixed

3 = Euro American

6 = Other

Thank you very much for your participation

Appendix E.

Debriefing Statement

This debriefing concerns the study in which you have just participated. We conducted this study in order to test the validity of two conflicting perspectives currently available that explain the effects of physical attractiveness on employment decisions (e.g., managers' actions to employees' success or failure at work). One perspective is called the beauty-is-good perspective and predicts that attractiveness is always an asset for individuals. However, the other perspective, the beauty-is-beastly perspective, suggests that attractiveness may interact with gender and job type and that attractiveness may be a liability, especially for women, who seek or hold masculine jobs (e.g., managerial job).

Although the topic of physical attractiveness has been studied over several decades, there seems to be no comprehensive research that examined the validity of these two perspectives. Furthermore, only a few researchers have paid attention to the effects of physical attractiveness on perceived causal attributions. Additionally, there are currently only a few studies that have tested the ethnicity of stimulus person as a possible factor affecting the effects of physical attractiveness. Therefore, the present study is designed to examine the validity of the two perspectives by using gender (male or female), attractiveness (attractive or less attractive), and ethnicity (Euro American or Asian American). The effect of attractiveness is expected to be seen on the perceived causal explanations of stimulus person's career success in the workplace.

We believe that this issue is important since employee treatment decisions should not be based on factors (e.g., attractiveness) other than the qualifications of job applicants.

If you have any questions or concerns about anything pertaining to this study, please feel free to contact Masashi Toyoda at (408) 298-4569. We would like to thank you for taking time and effort to participate in this study.

Appendix F.

Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board Approval Form



San José State
UNIVERSITY

Office of the Academic
Vice President
Associate Vice President
Graduate Studies and Research
One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95122-0025
Voice: 408-924-7000
Fax: 408-924-3477
E-mail: gstudens@sjstate.edu
http://www.sjstate.edu

To: Masashi Toyoda
381 North 13th Street, Apt. # 4
San Jose, CA 95112

From: Nabil Ibrahim, *Nabil Ibrahim by J. Beck*
AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

Date: July 19, 2002

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"Effects of Physical Attractiveness, Gender, and Ethnicity
on Casual Attributions of Success."

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subjects portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond July 19, 2003 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-2480.

The California State University
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Chico, Chico, Chico,
Concord, Fresno, Fresno, Fullerton,
Hayward, Merced, Long Beach,
Los Angeles, Maritime Academy,
Modesto, San Bernardino, San Diego,
Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego,
San Francisco, San Jose, San Luis Obispo,
San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus